# Journalistic practice of emotionality

## A cross-cultural comparison of India and the United Kingdom

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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# ABSTRACT

In the past, the appearance of emotions in news journalism has been evaluated largely negatively. This concerns both the professional norms guiding journalistic work practice, and actual news output. Television news drawing on emotionalizing elements has been associated with 'bad' journalism practice, infotainment or sensationalism. In this way, it was even considered a threat to the democratic role of news journalism. However, this trend is changing, giving space to a more nuanced examination of the role of emotions within the field of journalism.

In particular, this study is interested in what role emotions play for news producers in television – how they experience, manage and handle personal emotions, how they judge and treat emotive news contents and elements, what they think of emotionality with regard to their audience, and linked to this, what emotionalizing devices they employ in order to establish "audience connect".

This research draws on a comparison between a Western and a non-Western journalism culture – the United Kingdom and India. This cross-cultural selection is also based on the assumption that culturally distinct emotion philosophies can exercise diverse influences on the understanding and acceptance of emotions in different journalism cultures.

The research focused especially on television as the "medium of feeling". Interviews with more than 50 Indian and British journalists showed a remarkable set of commonalities in their reflections about emotions, but also some very fundamental differences. Among the most important findings are that journalists agree about emotions as a positive work resource (as gut feeling, empathy, or passion) and about the increasing importance of emotion-driven audience bonding in competitive news markets. On the other hand, differences emerged in the much higher approval of interventionism among Indian journalists, but also in how news emotionality is shaped by relevant extra-media factors such as national broadcasting regulations and the degree of journalistic autonomy in a country.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Acknowledgements** ........ **iii**

**Abstract** ........ **v**

**Table of Contents** ........ **vi**

**List of Tables** ........ **xii**

**List of Figures** ........ **xiii**

**1| Introduction: The 'stiff upper lip' vs. Bollywood masala** ........ **1**

Towards a "news of feeling"? ........ 3

Academic contributions of the thesis ........ 6

Structure of the thesis ........ 8

**2 | Trans-Cultural Emotions: Emotion cultures in India and the United Kingdom** ........ **12**

2.1 Emotion knowledge production in cross-cultural research settings ........ 13

2.2 Definitional framework: Culture and cross-cultural research ........ 15

2.3 Models of the cultural self, social relations and emotions ........ 16

2.3.1 Markus & Kitayama: The independent-interdependent self ........ 17

2.3.2 Laungani: A four-factor model ........ 21

2.4 Emotional Theories ........ 22

2.4.1 A 'Western' perspective on emotions and emotionality ........ 22

England: How the upper lip became stiff ........ 24

2.4.2 A 'South Asian' perspective on emotions and emotionality ........ 25

Emotions on the Indian subcontinent 1: Hinduism ........ 26

Emotions on the Indian subcontinent 2: Buddhism, Islam and Sikhism .. 28

2.5 Conceptualization of emotions at the intrapersonal level ........ 29

2.5.1 Emotional expression ........ 29

2.5.2 Emotional regulation & Emotional Practice ........ 31

2.6 Conclusion ........ 33

**3 | Inside News: Journalism cultures and a sociological-professional perspective** ........ **35**

3.1 Core concepts: Journalism cultures in India and the United Kingdom ........ 36

3.1.1 The concept of *Journalism Cultures* ........ 37

3.1.2 Tacit emotions? Of journalistic audience imaginations .......... 38
The audience orientation of journalism – a neglected field? .......... 38
Are all audiences just 'issue publics'? .......... 41
3.1.3 From audience imaginaries to journalistic role identities .......... 43
What are journalistic roles? .......... 43
Between publics and consumers: Interlinking audience and journalist roles .......... 45
Journalism of Engagement .......... 50
Groups of sentiment: Imagined Communities and Moral Panics .......... 51
3.1.4 From micro to macro: What influences journalism? .......... 52
3.1.5 Journalism cultures and media ecology in the United Kingdom and India .......... 54
Systemic factors: United Kingdom .......... 55
Systemic factors: India .......... 56
Television journalism as profession: the personal, education, newsroom, and autonomy .......... 60
Role understanding: Interventionism, Power Distance, Market orientation .......... 61
Absolute and relative ethics .......... 63
3.2 Core mezzo-level theory: Institutions and journalistic agency .......... 64
3.2.1 Bourdieu's Field Theory .......... 64
3.2.2 North's Theory of Institutions and New Institutionalism .......... 68
3.2.3 Journalistic Autonomy and Boundary Theory .......... 71
3.2.4 The stance of emotions in mezzo theoretical approaches .......... 75
3.3 Conclusion .......... 78
**4 | News as Entertainment? Journalistic principles and emotionalization strategies .......... 80**
4.1 News sociology and news ideology .......... 81
4.1.1 The news paradigm .......... 82
4.1.2 News value theory .......... 82
Locating the emotive in news value theory .......... 83
4.1.3 Professional principles, emotions, and emotional labor .......... 85
"Emotion" and "objectivity" in journalistic codes of conduct .......... 89

Strategies of incorporating emotions: Interventionism, outsourcing, and emotional labor ........................................................................ 91

4.2 The conflicting harmony of news and entertainment........................... 92

4.3 Why infotainment and sensationalism rely on emotions ...................... 93

4.4 Emotionalization as product – tracing emotions in broadcasting news 97

4.4.1 Thematic emotions: “emotional” soft/tabloid vs. “sober” hard news? ........................................................................ 98

Myth: The emotionality of soft/tabloid vs. hard news ............................. 98

4.4.2 Emotion as means of style ........................................................ 99

Image.......................................................................................100

Human Interest .........................................................................100

4.4.3 Emotion in angle and presentation.......................................... 101

Narratives and storytelling.................................................................. 101

Anchoring and presentation................................................................102

The myth of being authentic...............................................................103

The myth of liveness ..........................................................................104

4.5 Emotions in the news: A literature overview .......................................105

4.5.1 An emotive turn in journalism ..................................................105

4.5.2 Emotions in journalistic news thinking, practices and contents .................................................................................109

4.6 Conclusion..........................................................................................113

5 | **Research Design and Methodology ...........................................115**

5.1 Rationale.............................................................................................116

5.2 Research design: Why a comparative approach?...................................118

5.2.1 Why a comparative research setting?..........................................118

5.2.2 Why India and the United Kingdom? .........................................119

5.2.2 Why television? ......................................................................... 122

5.3 Method and data acquisition................................................................ 123

5.3.1 In-depth interviews as method................................................. 123

5.3.2 Sample Selection and Recruitment............................................124

Selection of television channels...........................................................124

Interviewee selection and recruitment.................................................. 125

5.3.3 Research instrument for the interviews..................................... 129

5.3.4 Fieldwork .......... 131
Reflection .......... 132
5.3.5 Supplementary methods: Document analysis and secondary material .......... 133
5.4 Data management and data analysis .......... 134
5.4.1 Transcription and data presentation .......... 135
5.4.2 Data analysis .......... 136
5.5 Ethical issues .......... 137
5.6 Concluding reflections on the research design and limitations .......... 138
**6 | Emotions and the normative realm of news work .......... 140**
6.1 Can emotions be 'objective'? The tension between emotions and journalistic core professional values .......... 141
6.1.1 The value of objectivity .......... 141
6.1.2 The value of detachment: The terminology of the "dispassionate" .......... 145
6.1.3 The discourse about objectivity, detachment and emotions .......... 146
6.1.3.1 Rejected emotions: The normative-idealistic stance .......... 147
6.1.3.2 Naturalized emotions: The realistic-disruptive stance .......... 152
6.1.3.3 Convenient Emotions: Pragmatic boundary-negotiating stance .......... 158
6.1.4 The 'factual' value of emotions: An epistemological-pragmatic debate .......... 166
6.2 News values, authenticity and emotions .......... 170
6.2.1 News Values in Journalism in British-Indian comparison .......... 170
6.2.2 Authenticity and emotions .......... 173
6.3. Conclusion .......... 177
**7 | The emotional journalist: Professional resource or trauma? .......... 180**
7.1 Emotions as a professional resource .......... 181
7.1.1 "Passionate hona kitna zaruri hai!" – How passion drives news journalists .......... 182
7.1.2 The 'nose for news' – towards a journalistic gut feeling .......... 184
Ontological dimension .......... 184
Professional functionality .......... 186
7.1.3 Connecting with News Subjects I: Empathy .......... 189
7.1.4 Connecting with News Subjects II: Compassion .......... 193
7.2 Emotion management of distress: Mental well-being and coping with trauma .......... 196

7.2.1 Coping with negative emotions during work routines ................. 196
7.2.2 Coping with Trauma & Compassion Fatigue ..............................200
Locating trauma in journalism ................................................... 201
Trauma-Management: individual and institutional ....................203
7.3 Conclusion ..........................................................................................207
**8 | Tacit emotions? Of journalistic audience imaginations .............209**
8.1 Waiting for audience feedback ............................................................. 210
8.2 The audience addressed: "people", "public", "mass", or "nation"?........211
8.2.1 When "people" turn public ......................................................... 212
8.2.2 The actual "public" ............................................................ 214
8.2.3 Mass ................................................................................... 215
8.2.4 The Indian case of nationalism – an emotive collective? ... 216
8.3 Emotions and Dimensions of Audience Impact .................................... 219
8.3.1 Generating attention ................................................................. 219
8.3.2 Informing I: enabling 'rational' decision-making....................... 221
8.3.3 Informing II: Emotion as agenda ............................................... 222
8.4 Journalism of Engagement & Campaign Journalism ............................224
8.5 Crossing emotive lines: Negative effects of journalism .......................... 231
8.6 Conclusion..............................................................................................234
**9 | Emotionalizing news coverage ................................................ 237**
9.1 Was there an "emotional turn" in British and Indian TV news? ..........238
9.2 Can news topics be "emotional" or "boring" as such?............................ 241
9.3 'Productive' emotionalizing devices in news output ...............................244
9.3.1 Visuals.........................................................................................245
9.3.2 The human element: case studies ...............................................247
9.3.3 Narrativity and Storytelling ....................................................... 253
9.3.4 Presenting and anchoring .......................................................... 255
9.4 Dysfunctional emotionalization practices.............................................. 258
9.5 Conclusion..............................................................................................270
**10 | Conclusion ........................................................................ 272**
10.1 Answering the research questions ...................................................... 273
RQ1: Emotions as "agent provocateur": Conflicting the norm ............. 273
RQ2: Emotions as a productive resource in the context of news production ............................................................................................... 276
RQ3: Emotions as audience intermediator........................................... 278
RQ4: Emotions as means of competition ............................................280

10.2 Key contributions ........................................................................ 281

10.2.1 Empirical contributions............................................................ 282

10.2.2 Theoretical contributions......................................................... 283

10.3 What impacts? Towards an a/effective quality news culture ............... 285

**Bibliography ........................................................................ 290**

**List of Abbreviations.....................................................................321**

**Appendix I "Objectivity" and "Impartiality" in British and Indian Journalistic Codes of Conduct.................................................. 322**

**Appendix II Media Systems in Comparison: United Kingdom and India............................................................................... 324**

**Appendix III Interview Participants: Detailed Tables ....................... 326**

**Appendix IV Interview Questionnaire and Guidelines (summary) .... 328**

**Appendix V Solicitation Email.........................................................331**

**Appendix VI Appendix to Solicitation Email – Letter of University ... 332**

**Appendix VII Information Sheet (UK) ............................................ 333**

**Appendix VIII Participation Consent Form...................................... 335**

**Appendix IX Interview Form........................................................... 336**

# LIST OF TABLES

**Table 1: Livingstone's intersections between the personal and other social spheres ................................................................ 47**

**Table 2: Multi-axes journalistic role performance concepts ................ 48**

**Table 3: Interviewees from the United Kingdom ............................. 127**

**Table 4: Interviewees from India.................................................... 128**

**Table 5: Analyzed journalistic codes of conduct in India and the UK . 133**

**Table 6: Three stances of journalists on own emotions and professional principles .......................................................... 165**

**Table 7: Types of emotion work in news journalism.......................... 181**

**Table 8: Impartiality, objectivity and basic normative professional values in journalistic codes of conduct in the United Kingdom and India ................................................................................ 322**

**Table 9: British and Indian media systems in comparison ................ 324**

# LIST OF FIGURES

**Figure 1: UK and India in the 6-dimension model of cultural values by Hofstede (1980/2018) ........................................................... 20**

**Figure 2: Hierarchies of influences on News Decisions....................... 53**

**Figure 3: The Onion Model according to Weischenberg (1992) ........... 53**

**Figure 4: Proportion of viewing to national and international news by channel group.................................................................. 56**

**Figure 5: Top 5 English-language news channels in India.................. 58**

**Figure 6: Top 5 Hindi-language news channels in India..................... 59**

**Figure 7: "Today the whole of Pakistan cries..."................................ 256**

**Figure 8: Huw Edwards anchoring BBC News at Ten........................ 260**

**Figure 9: ITV News LIVE Special – Manchester Terror Attacks......... 260**

**Figure 10: Sky News Live Interview with guest who breaks down...... 260**

**Figure 11: Follow-up of Sunanda Pushkar's mysterious death case.... 263**

**Figure 12: News coverage of Times Now, 2017, and Republic TV ....... 265**

**Figure 13: 'Heated' anchor Arnab Goswami (Republic TV)................ 268**

**Figure 14, 15: Anchor Rahul Kanwal debating with defiant guest ...... 269**

**Figure 16: Emotive influences in journalistic perception and news practice.......................................................................... 285**

# 1| INTRODUCTION: THE 'STIFF UPPER LIP' VS. BOLLYWOOD MASALA

Studying journalism is often linked to its normative position in society; particularly in relation to journalism's role of enabling a successful social communication. In this context, 'quality' journalism (see Vehkoo, 2010) has been associated with a set of 'universal' core principles such as objectivity, impartiality, balance, or detachment. This is in order to guarantee a public debate that is, overall, rational and scientific (Lippmann, 1920). From the end of the 19th century to our times, journalism has claimed professionalism through its ability to separate 'rational facts' from emotions and opinions. This self-perception, however, is under threat.

Not only do the traditional business models of news production and dissemination that underpinned the commercially-driven paradigm of journalistic objectivity (Allan, 2010; Schudson, 2001) seem exhausted, but the core notions of objectifiable 'rational choice' behavior models (Tullock & Buchanan, 1962) have also become less relevant among publics or audiences, who have started to engage more with the intimate, subjective and affective realm in the processes of decision-making and public debates. This has led to a rebalancing between rationality and emotionality, as we have seen in the rise of populism worldwide.

Journalism as a profession, as I will argue in this thesis, is no exception to this social trend. However, far from accepting that this dichotomy is somehow real, this thesis suggests that it is, instead, a performative distinction with which journalism has had to struggle right from the beginning of its professionalization, in order to gain legitimacy and trust. Hence, the strict implementation of professional principles in journalistic practice – associated with objectivity – actually had the role of making emotions invisible in the public debate. This is because emotions have always been there, and it is their increasing visibility that challenges 'classic' conceptions of journalism, which are based on a predominantly factual account of reality.

Therefore, this study explores emotions in journalism practice; a subject that remains relatively under-researched. It chooses to focus on television news, as television is a "feeling medium" (Grindstaff, 2002: 147). The study asks some

probing questions about the understandings, norms, values and everyday practices of the professionals whose task it is to produce daily newscasts for millions of people to watch on their television or mobile screens. In this study, I suggest that emotions in television possess an immense power to establish particular versions of reality, and thus, to mobilize. Understanding these mechanisms in different cultural backgrounds will help to unravel the dynamics between TV news, publics, and audiences. As a variety of emotions, together with feeling and display rules, are considerably shaped by cultural factors, this might indeed pose a challenge to universalistic notions of journalism.

How do journalists understand emotions? How do these emotions relate to their professional core values? What is their understanding of "audiences" in this context? And how do they decide which emotions fill our screens? In trying to answer these questions, this study focuses on aspects of journalistic perceptions and practices in two countries with historical ties, and exceptional traditions in their journalism cultures – India and the United Kingdom. Indeed, beyond the stereotypical clichés of the "stiff upper lip" and "Bollywood masala", I will argue that there are distinctive and tangible cultural paradigms that shape how journalism is practiced and understood. I propose that by carrying out this comparison we can further the de-Westernization (Curran & Park, 2012) of media studies and gain a greater understanding of what journalism is nowadays, in the times of digital revolution and post-colonial counter flows. This comparative analysis, I believe, can therefore help us challenge some of the most prevalent assumptions and axioms around journalism principles.

In addition, the study looks at other factors that influence the production of television news. Among them are mechanisms of commercialization, audience ratings and profit-generation, ownership, or the role of journalism in public debates, all of which have an impact on what I call journalistic emotion practice.

The findings of this study are the result of research conducted over a five-year period in libraries and newsrooms between Leeds, London and Delhi. This work is influenced by my own experiences as a trained journalist and practitioner in print, radio and television journalism in Germany, India, France and Egypt. However, before presenting the findings for this study, it is important to address some key definitions and notions that underpin the research.

## Towards a "news of feeling"?

In news production, journalists face the predicament that they must create products for an audience which is mostly absent. News does not exist in an audience vacuum. For a long time, these audiences were conceptualized as 'rational' publics (Habermas (1990 [1962]). This perspective, however, has been widely criticized. Indeed, in an ontological sense, there is now a general acceptance that decision-making is often based on 'rationalized' irrational judgments (Sutherland, 1992). Political studies acknowledge more emotive forms of political participation (F. Weber, 2012). In this context, it is worth examining the ongoing structural emotionalization of politics (e.g. due to global identity conflicts) and the change of the media audience itself. Consequently, many journalism practitioners have come, slowly, to realize that a focus on a purely cognitive dimension of information transfer, a strictly detached impartial stance, will not be sufficient to "catch eyeballs", in the words of many Indian TV journalists.

Complex democratic societies rely on quality journalism as a mediator, which is thought to facilitate successful public communication. This means questioning social processes while suggesting answers, e.g., in scrutinizing power (Köhler, 2009). Normative communication scholars such as McQuail or Blumler point to journalism's role in serving public interests, embedded in an imperfect world and superior to particularistic interests (Blumler, 1998). Linking journalism with responsibility grants its authority and position in society (McQuail, 2010). To be taken seriously as social institution, journalism has to orient its production mode based on these predominant expectations.

If we recognize both the 'rational public' perspective of audiences and their affective engagement as valuable to democratic culture, then we need to rethink how we study journalism as a practice. For decades, behavioristic and cognitive approaches shaped a research culture which largely downplayed or neglected emotive aspects in journalism, including emotional arousal in audiences, journalistic sentiments of compassion, and modes of engagement.

In the past two decades, however, Western societies have experienced an "affective turn" (Clough & O'Malley Halley, 2007), and academics have started to highlight new developments towards a "therapy culture" (Furedi, 2004), an "emotional public sphere" (Richards, 2009), the intertwined emotional and economic spheres (Illouz,

2007), or a call for considering the affective dimension in audiences (van Zoonen, 2004). These developments also led to a re-evaluation of emotions in journalism studies, which will be outlined further below.

Before setting out how emotions are understood in relation to other key concepts (such as culture) I will briefly present my perspective on emotions and journalism.

First, I understand *emotions* not only from a biological/psychological perspective, but also as constructed through social and cultural contexts. While first-order emotions are conditioned bodily reactions such as fear or anger, second-order emotions such as shame and pride are fundamentally shaped by learned emotional scripts. Here, social norms (shared beliefs and rules) provide prototypes for the matching of emotions (Averill, 1980); and these vary in different cultural settings (Averill, 2012). Emotions are also tied to concepts of the self, with a main cultural trend of self-focused environmental control ('Western') versus other-focused connectedness ('Asian'; Laungani, 2007; Mesquita & Markus, 2004). With appraisal theory, emotions involve an object of evaluation (Ortony, Clore, & Collins, 1988). However, as I will also write about "emotional arousal" in this research, emotions might equally refer to bodily affective states, in the sense of physiological arousal.

Second, my understanding of *journalism* is informed by Deuze (2005). According to him, journalism is both a professional identity and occupational ideology, relying on a collective knowledge which consists of five ideal-typical values: autonomy, a sense of immediacy, a sense of ethics, providing a public service, and following professional principles, the first of these principles being objectivity (Ibid: 447-450). However, this identity and ideology appears highly porous. Journalism has been criticized time and again for lacking specific patterns of training, licensing, and institutionalization of professional associations (Zelizer, 2004). Hence, it consists of "routines of journalistic working practices and [routines] in the construction of news" which form the essential core of journalistic activity (Hopper & Huxford, 2015: 28). Among them we can subsume the key practice of enacting distinct emotional postures – from 'cool', or detached, to engaged (Peters, 2009; Stearns, 1994).

This research looks at the intersection of *emotion cultures* and *journalism cultures* in two distinctive settings. It analyses a) how journalists perceive, process and implement emotions and emotionalizing devices in news production, and b) how they cope with their own emotional experiences and challenges during work, and

the required emotional labor in their job performance. In order to investigate these questions, elite interviews were conducted with journalists from the United Kingdom and India, supplemented by a documentary analysis of journalistic guidelines and codes of conducts, and based on an explorative analysis of a broad set of audio-visual news texts. The decision to cross continents and news contexts in a comparative setting allowed me to explore a range of potential answers to the questions posed.

To structure the analysis, there are two main research questions. The first concerns the present shape of journalism cultures and practices as such; the second one reflects an overarching cross-cultural approach:

(I) How do content producers – journalists, editors, reporters – reflect on emotions and their deployment in news coverage; and upon which premises is their reasoning based?

This question can be broken down into several key research questions:

1) What is the normative value and status of emotions for journalists in their professional work?

2) How do emotions inform and contribute to journalistic work practice, and do they require emotional labor?

3) How is the relationship between journalists and their audience shaped?

4) Do news-content producers use emotionalization strategies in news coverage?

(II) In what way do British and Indian journalism cultures share, or not, a common professional understanding of television news journalism, and what role do culturally varying emotion philosophies play in this?

The four research questions about journalism practice structure the analysis in the empirical chapters 6 to 9. Parallel to this, the second major research question informs the analysis throughout all chapters as well as the discussion in the conclusion.

The following subchapter will outline, in more detail, the issues addressed by the research questions, and the contributions that this study of journalists' understanding about emotions in TV news journalism can make.

## Academic contributions of the thesis

When asked about the normative status and value of emotions in their work, many journalists, especially Western ones, often perceive emotions as compromising and contaminating the quality of journalistic work principles. Journalists discussing their professional identity continue to exclude emotions largely from professional work (Pantti, 2010; Peters, 2009; Richards & Rees, 2011). Though their presence is acknowledged, emotions are usually relegated to an invisible and private backwater of news production, as they are considered to interfere negatively for a variety of reasons, among them bias or sensationalism. At the same time, journalists have developed different strategies to handle elements of emotional content. These rituals of emotion practice include "outsourcing" emotive contributions to external actors – ordinary citizens, 'legitimate' news subjects, or user-generated contents (Pantti & Husslage, 2009; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013, 2015).

However, building up tensions between principles such as normative objectivity, practical work, and emotions restricts, unnecessarily, a more reflective debate about emotions, as their full potential in news journalism is barely addressed. Hence, I argue that this debate needs to widen, particularly in relation to the value of emotions, and related emotive dispositions, for journalism and journalistic practice. Can they be seen not merely as distorting elements, but appreciated as positive factors in communicating news and fostering public engagement? How would they fit within traditional normative professional expectations within journalistic practice? To explore a range of possible answers to these questions, the comparison between a journalism culture with a rather restricted set of emotive expressions on TV (United Kingdom) and one with a large repertoire of emotionalizing content (India) helps to set up the discussion. The interviews chosen as the main qualitative method for this study allow in-depth exploration of the understandings of journalists by highlighting more hidden processes of meaning construction beyond previous survey-oriented responses (WJS, 2017a, 2017c).

From a second angle, journalists' self-regulation of emotions in order to maintain journalistic principles and conform to organizational expectations can be understood as everyday emotional labor. In this sense, it becomes a routine and informal rule prescribed by institutions of journalism. Instead of claiming to *be* authentic, journalism *appears* authentic in a performative sense. This has rarely been highlighted, as the strict relegation of emotions to backstage in practice and

academic research has, in most cases, concealed these processes. However, more recent studies have engaged with emotion management, emotional labor and strategies of coping – often linked to crisis journalism and trauma; rarely to routine coverage (Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Jukes, 2015; Pantti, 2010; Richards & Rees, 2011). This has opened a new avenue of discussion about the ways in which journalists are emotionally affected by daily journalistic work practice, and what personal or institutional care mechanisms exist. Of special interest are journalists in newsrooms who deal with incoming visuals. They are exposed to an endless flood of gory and brutal images (Jukes, 2015). How do they cope with this?

As a third aspect, it is worth noting the recent invocations to rethink journalism along emotive lines, by a series of practitioners and academics (Beckett & Deuze, 2016; Fuller, 2010; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016). Emotional investment in audiences is now considered a valid strategy in certain parts of the industry, as journalism bends to the rules of new technological developments such as social media "where trust and authority is increasingly based on the ability to create emotional bonds" (Møller, 2016). This means that in order to provide meaning, raise curiosity (and hence attention), and evoke passion or engagement, emotions can help to create an "experience of involvement" (Peters, 2009). In the words of British and Indian journalists, news reports should be "powerful". For this study, this belief informs questions about what sense journalists have of publics and viewers, how they relate to different parts of the audience, and how a "powerful" story is made. But this research goes further – it reflects on the "civic value" of emotions – can emotions contribute, in a stimulating way, to the public sphere?

In this sense, journalism cultures of the United Kingdom and India could not be more distinct. British news television – especially the BBC – is characterized by a certain formality, detachedness, and seriousness in the style of anchoring and reporting – what could be associated with the remains of "the stiff upper lip". In contrast, the Indian television market appears to seek emotion-driven audience engagement while "shaping political discourse in a noisy democracy" (Thussu, 2010: 128). Accordingly, it is not a "balance of emotion and information… the affective and the cognitive" (Dean, 2017) that we find here, but a frequently excessive emotionality. In consequence, misinformation, distrust, and bias emerge; emotive appeals to particularistic group identities ("the nation wants to know" – Times Now) diverts attention from underlying socio-structural problems such as neoliberal ideology and pressing national inequalities (Thussu, 2007).

After having outlined the main points this research aims to address, this introduction concludes with an overview of how this thesis is organized.

## Structure of the thesis

This thesis is organized into ten chapters. Following the introduction, chapters 2 to 5 give the background, as they introduce the theoretical and methodological framework of this study. Chapters 6 to 9 provide the empirical analysis of the data. Chapter 10 concludes this thesis.

Chapter 2 introduces the underlying theoretical framework for this study of a cross-cultural research setting between 'Western' (British) and 'Eastern' (Indian) emotion cultures. I present the key concepts, which include cultural-hegemonic notions of the self, and linked to this, varying emotion philosophies and emotion display rules. In this chapter I argue that emotions are not only physiological manifestations of the human body, but are also shaped and acquired through processes of socio-cultural construction. I suggest that this, in turn, potentially influences how emotions and emotionality find expression in journalism cultures, with the United Kingdom facing a predominant "stiff upper lip" tradition focused on emotional control, while India appears to prize rather uncontrolled and highly affective modes of expression.

Chapter 3 presents the overarching meso-level approaches to this study. First, I establish the choice of journalism cultures as the second overarching link of this thesis, and why this concept best explains cultural variations in journalistic role identity, and corresponding audience perceptions. It also addresses how technological, political, economic, social and historical settings shape and influence the "emotionality" of journalism today in the United Kingdom and India. The chapter engages with three sociological approaches which can help us to understand the dynamics within professional journalism fields across countries: Pierre Bourdieu's field theory, Douglas North's new institutionalism, and boundary theory. This chapter argues that emotion repudiation or, alternatively, integration into news journalism represent a specific kind of boundary work. Of special interest here is also the role of emotional capital.

Chapter 4 discusses the existing knowledge about journalistic work practice and news sociology that helps us to contextualize the formation of journalistic discourse.

I review the literature about the news paradigm, objectivity, news values, and the role authenticity plays in journalism. This chapter also touches on notions of Hochschild's emotional labor and its relevance for journalism. It goes on to engage in a discussion of infotainment and sensationalism in journalism and proposes varying concepts of emotion deployment in news journalism. This is subsequently used in my empirical analysis. This chapter then presents the main academic literature about emotions in journalism.

Chapter 5 introduces my methodological approach and its underlying rationale. This research is located between social-constructivism and pragmatism. First, I explain the choice of a cross-national comparative approach including a 'Western' and 'non-Western' journalism culture. Subsequently, I outline the selection of media genre, television channels, materials chosen for this research, and the interview sample. The design of the empirical investigation relies strongly on semi-structured interviews with a diverse group of journalists and media experts across the two countries, narrating their notions of journalistic role conception and performance with regard to emotions. The interviews were developed with the help of an explorative content analysis of Indian and British news television material conducted prior to this. They are supplemented by a document analysis of journalistic codes of conduct.

Chapter 6 is the first of four empirical chapters. Entering the normative newsroom, it centers on how journalists understand and reflect on the formal professional principles and the tension and threats emotions pose to them. This discussion can be located between journalists as human beings, organizational demands, and deeply internalized journalistic norms. The mezzo-sociological approaches of field theory, new intuitionalism and boundary work (chapter 3) provide the theoretical framework here, together with news sociology (chapter 4). In this chapter I argue that journalists in the United Kingdom display a stricter adherence to 'classic' professional values such as objectivity, impartiality and detachment, with a mainly normative discourse largely excluding emotive elements from the professional realm. On the Indian side, this discourse appears mainly pragmatic. Professional principles are acknowledged but of less importance, which manifests in a more integrative stance on emotive elements. I go on to argue that emotions matter increasingly as a largely "tacit" news value, and within the context of authenticity as a trust-building measure towards audiences.

Chapter 7 centers on the informal realm of the journalist as an individual. Here, I understand emotions as both a productive resource but also a risk element in news production. First, I present different manifestations of emotive states which support journalistic routines, like passion for the job, gut feeling, empathy, and compassion. I argue that these partially intuitive-emotive elements help in multiple tasks such as social bonding with news sources, information gathering, or the verification of facts. Then, I move on to potentially negative consequences of emotions. I indicate that not just foreign correspondents in war areas suffer from states of emotional overload and even trauma, but also domestic journalists inside newsrooms. This requires them to perform emotional labor; a concept by Hochschild outlined in chapter 4. The results show that British broadcasters have introduced provisions for mental health care in the last decade, while in India, journalists are left alone by their employers to face full individual responsibility for effective emotional coping strategies.

Chapter 8 touches on the more "tacit" realm of the relation between journalists and audiences in TV news previously theorized in chapter 3. Across the two countries, audience perceptions have become more relevant for journalistic news practice. In this chapter I suggest that journalists often collapse notions of audiences. While on the British side a perhaps neutral terminology of "viewers" stands in the foreground, combined with a recurrent "public" implication, Indian journalists address their viewers as hedonistic citizen-spectators looking for entertainment, as groups to engage in the (commercialized) 'name of the nation', through moral appeals, campaigns or scandals. While British journalists prefer to officially remain detached, though verbalizing an intention for audience connection, I suggest that Indian journalism can be characterized as "journalism of engagement".

Chapter 9 returns to the newsroom – this time as a locus of journalistic performance and output. Editorial practices comprise, in both countries, the deployment of various emotionalizing elements as outlined in chapter 4. Visuals with a human element appear to be dominant, complemented by impactful emotive storytelling and narratives. In addition, Indian TV journalism relies partially on charismatic anchors who enact a clearly articulated repertoire of displayed emotions. The higher degree of sensationalism, manifest in many elements of Indian TV news coverage, transforms journalism into a performative act. This over-reliance on emotions stands in stark contrast to the British sample, which

strategically under-uses emotive devices in order to maintain its 'classic' professional boundaries.

Chapter 10 concludes the results of the empirical chapters on a more abstract level, asking how TV journalism can fulfill its role in a contemporary environment. The chapter also outlines the contributions of this study to academia, and addresses further avenues of study.

# 2 | TRANS-CULTURAL EMOTIONS: EMOTION CULTURES IN INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

Emotions are not only a means of expression, but also of communication. They help to structure social relations in society. Emotions can be understood as both biologically present and socio-culturally constructed. Display and feelings rules determine everyday interactions, be they interpersonal or mediated.

This work seeks to develop a perspective which understands news as a form of communication which is deeply embedded in specific hegemonic emotion cultures. I argue that these emotion cultures, which can differ historically, geographically or within social categories, shape news as a communicative practice. This is reflected most visibly in the medium of television; as audio-visual texts can be considered to have a rich capacity to express emotions.

Emotions can be understood from an evolutionary perspective as "complex, manifold and highly adaptive answers of the body for situations which require a respective behavioral answer" (von Scheve, 2009: 143, see also Laungani, 2007).[1] They emerge from the interplay of the body, cognition, sensations, memory, and the social environment (see e.g., Damasio, 2005; von Scheve, 2009). It would be a reduction of their real intricacy to regard emotions purely biologically, as inherited schemata (Darwin, 1872), or as congruent with the idea of basic emotions (Ekman, 1982), or as mainly embodied cultural practices (Mascolo, Misra, & Rapisardi, 2004), or as (purely) emerging (with)in social relations (Ahmed, 2004; Kakar, 1997). Much has been written about how emotions, feelings, affects, sentiments or passions can be located and seen from different perspectives. This chapter will not address this vast and comprehensive debate. Rather, it presents an overarching framework for the empirical analysis; with a multiperspectival understanding of how emotions inform the cultural institution of journalism in different countries.

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[1] Own translation; in German: „[dass Emotionen] eine komplexe, facettenreiche und hoch adaptive Lösung des Organismus für Situationen darstellen, die eine entsprechende Verhaltensantwort erfordern."

In short, and without falling into superficial essentialisms, I ask: Do dominant emotion philosophies in the United Kingdom and India differ ontologically and performatively? Are they antecedents to news cultures, and in what way do they shape emotive expressiveness and professional emotion ideologies? For a tentative preliminary answer I agree with Lonner that empirically "there are far more similarities in human behavior than there are differences" among different cultures (Lonner, 1980; quoted in Panksepp, 1994: 23).

This chapter raises a cross-cultural comparative perspective on emotions. It starts with an explanation of why discipline-specific knowledge generation in cross-cultural psychology is not on a par but considerably imbalanced between the UK and India. This is followed by an outline of the epistemology of emotions and the criticism of the tradition of knowledge generation about emotions. The next section considers concepts of the "self" and of social relations across cultures. It will conclude with a discussion of the ways emotions, emotion regulation and emotional practices vary across population groups.

## 2.1 Emotion knowledge production in cross-cultural research settings

When analyzing emotion philosophies in the UK and India, a major limitation needs to be taken into account. This is the underdeveloped state of research about cross-cultural differences in emotions in general – and in India, in particular. I argue that we find Indian emotion philosophies and understandings less well researched for two reasons: 1) the global dominance of Western-centric research concepts and a neglect of indigenous approaches, and 2) a lesser degree of sustainable academic research institutionalization in India. As disciplines like psychology drew mainly from Euro-American ideas, culture got neglected as an influential factor on human behavior (Spering, 2001).

The relative imbalance in academic knowledge production about emotions from a cross-cultural perspective originates partially in research traditions which can be called "Eurocentric". This rather loose paradigm is marked by a clear dichotomy between a "superior West" and an "inferior East"; and its emergence ran parallel to the rise of the mercantilist-industrialized Europe and its subsequent "imperial

civilizing mission" (Heim, 2008: 219).[2] It was especially the British Empire of the Victorian era which – influenced by English Protestantism – understood itself as "one of the chosen people of history" (Houghton, 1963: 45).

The resulting Eurocentric distinctions were uncovered in Edward Said's (1978) "Orientalism" in a strikingly transparent manner. While "the West" saw itself as dynamic, rational, democratic and civilized, it constructed "the East" as passive and unchanging, being marked by irrationality, passion, body-orientation, and despotic and savage. The thinking traditions of Asian origin appeared as threatening and incalculable to Western interests. To be handled, they had to be brought under control.

Among those who legitimized this mindset were academics. Since the 19th century, Eurocentric discourses and biases were highly influential in shaping the humanities and social sciences (Laungani, 2007). Europe (and the "white" America) was the benchmark to measure and judge any cultural setting on this planet, as their "civilization mission" justified the rule of an upper class conscious of their own superiority (Elias, 1994 [1939]). This rendered the acquisition and categorization of knowledge heavily unequal and determined power structures among knowledge systems.

The Indian example is a particularly illustrative case. Under the British Raj, Thomas Macaulay's 1835 "Minute on education" introduced the English language and a Western thinking approach as standard. As early as 1857, it was "*Western* philosophy that formed the basis of the curriculum in the Indian universities, with traditional Indian philosophy being... ignored or despised" (Perrett, 2016: 15). Today, we can find traces of this in disciplines such as management, media studies or psychology, with curricula imported from colonial powers or leading industrial nations. Therefore, Western concepts became global at the cost of indigenous traditions.[3]

In post-independence cross-cultural psychology, psychologists were trained according to Western curricula. Until the 1960s, research was a largely "Western

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[2] Words in quotation marks direct attention to a deeply underlying constructedness of those terms. "West" can be related to mainly Europe, and "East" comprises the vast area of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East up to Polynesia (Hobson, 2004).

[3] Prominent was also to localize societies on a "civilization and progressivity scale" with Western societies considered as most progressive and subsequently devaluing indigenous research capacities (Chakkarath, 2007).

enterprise" which sought to investigate "Western 'problems' in Eastern cultures" (Laungani, 2007: 52). The inherent bias was little reflected. Subsequently, Indian researchers faced difficulties to relate to ancient thought traditions in sacred religious texts, despite this canon shaping today's living reality for the majority of Hindus (Turner, 2000). Only a handful (among them Sudhir Kakar) challenged Western scholarship by 're-introducing' indigenous knowledge into the professionalized sphere, supported by synchronous movements of post-colonialism and subaltern studies (Glück, 2015). That way, indigenous psychologies became increasingly 'acceptable', and cultural sensitivity gained momentum in both research approaches and research methods.

I provide these reflections as a background to my own cross-cultural research perspective because what I have outlined here applies in a special way to any investigation about emotions. In the next section, I will provide some core definitions of the concepts required for later discussions.

## 2.2 Definitional framework: Culture and cross-cultural research

Recent research in cross-cultural psychology suggests a shift in the understanding of what 'culture' is: Being not static but rather fluid and hybrid, cultures are "dynamic open systems that spread across geographical boundaries and evolve through time" (Hong & Chiu, 2001: 181; see also Segall, Lonner, & Berry, 1998). The social-constructive character of culture manifests as "intersubjective reality" (J. G. Miller, 1997: 103), marking the "value-seeking process of human beings and implicat[ing] a particular worldview or design for living. Culture is simultaneously a product of human action as well as a determinant of future human action" (Misra & Gergen, 1993: 226).

Talking about cross-cultural psychology, it suggests that one ought to study phenomena like emotions with regard to the cultural context in which they occur. While Western psychology has developed comprehensive context-appropriate tools, the Indian case is different. The simple transfer of Western psychoanalytic concepts as labels to India has helped to create "conceptions of the Indian people that essentially dismisses the importance and richness of the culture". In consequence, "fatalism", "passivity", or "authoritarianism" were considered as 'basic Indian

values' (Durganand Sinha, 1988). To avoid this pitfall, emic perspectives need to be integrated, such as indigenous psychological approaches or informal folk theories (Greenfield, 2001). This can essentially contribute to understanding human behavior, and how it is "shaped and influenced by social and cultural forces" (Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1990: 3).

This research understands emotions as being cultural specific traits which are more dominant in certain cultures than in others, and which vary inter-individually, as emotion practices do not need to be the same with every human.

Emotions are marked by different levels and complexities. Two major distinctions can be given here: Primary emotions (fear, anger, etc.) relate to an affect system which is located in the evolutionarily older subcortical parts of the brain (Damasio, 2005; von Scheve, 2009). Anthropologists call these common emotional characteristics "taxonomies of universals" (Laungani, 2007: 43). Secondary emotion elaborations consider more cultural and social upbringing and practices, and are anchored in the cortical areas of the brain, where affective and cognitive information becomes integrated. This allows for complex – and culturally varying – social emotions such as shame, pride, or embarrassment.

In the next section I will look at the self as a basic concept of cultural psychology, and how it shapes emotion practice and feeling rules. This will highlight some of the main cultural differences between the United Kingdom and India. The two countries serve as examples of Western and non-Western thought traditions, respectively.

## 2.3 Models of the cultural self, social relations and emotions

When displaying emotions, professional journalists usually follow a set of feeling rules prescribed by the news organization they work for. Feeling rules are shared social norms about how to 'appropriately' feel in given social relations (Hochschild, 1979). They are deeply interwoven with the conceptualization of the self, which is an intrinsic source of emotion:

> The self not only selectively encourages, sustains, or constrains emotional engagements but is also shaped by them (Misra, 2010: 95-6).

I suggest that culturally varying conceptions of the self also produce different notions of emotions and wellbeing. Current psychological approaches locate cognition and emotion as originators of self-reflection, comprising both self-conception and self-feelings (Damasio, 2005; Misra, 2010; Panksepp, 1994; Turner, 2000). Western and indigenous ideas appear diametrically opposite here. Western thought traditions assume the self to be universally stable over time, individual and creating a sense of identity (McDaniel, 2008). Applied to an Indian context, however, this idea fails to achieve a genuine understanding of local conceptions. The self in India is rather perceived as dynamic and in flux, consisting of multiple elements from metaphysics, the social, and the physical (Herder, 1774).

In the following, I present three relevant approaches to the self within different cultural scenarios. I center on Markus and Kitayama's (1991) suggestion of the independent versus interdependent self and Laungani's (2007) 4-factor-model, while also referring to Hofstede's study of cross-cultural core values (1980). These approaches contribute to an understanding of how fundamental differences in self and self-construal can potentially shape different emotion objects, priorities, and practices. This is of relevance for the later empirical analysis in this study as one of the aims is to find out if these differences in concepts of self and feeling rules are also reflected in journalism.

### 2.3.1 Markus & Kitayama: The independent-interdependent self

A major influential theory about intra- and inter-culturally varying self-concepts was presented by Markus and Kitayama (1991, 2010). Their model of independence-interdependence is anchored in debates of Eastern versus Western values and focuses on individual agency and its relation to others. Here, a disjoint or conjoint agency mode refers to "whether or not others are actively referenced and centrally implicated in an individual's action" (Mesquita & Markus, 2004: 345).

The *independent self* is seen as bounded, stable and separate from social context. It appears as an autonomous agent who strives for uniqueness and promotes his/her own goals. It relates closely to *individualist* societies such as the US and the UK. The disjoint self is less prone to influences by the social context (see Misra, 2010). This has also consequences for self-feelings and emotions. They are in comparison less social in nature, but rather considered to be a property of the individual.

The independent self is far from being universally applicable. It is contrasted with the *interdependent self*. In this sense, the self is understood as being intertwined with social context. As an agent, it depends on others and, thus, strives for social harmony, promoting the others' goals. Prioritizing social relations, the conjoint self carries important socio-centric and relational notions (Markus & Kitayama, 1994; Mascolo, et al., 2004). Emotions are shared more often, therefore emotions tend to be construed as more social and show rather the nature of a social relationship than an inner state related to an individual (Lutz, 1988). Self and self-feelings appear flexible and variable, mediated by the situation, and externally oriented (statuses, roles, relationships). The interdependent self adjusts more readily with the expectations of others. Interdependent societies can be largely found in "Eastern cultures" (Asia, Africa, the Arab world).

However, strict distinctions such as this one (and subsequently, individualism versus collectivism) might appear binary and essentializing cultures. These distinctions serve a rather analytical purpose. For instance, Sinha and Tripathi (1994) argue from an indigenous perspective that Indians have both interdependent and independent selves. Modes of independent thinking can also easily be discovered in Eastern cultures – and vice versa. Interdependent settings demonstrate a subjective notion of individuality and independence which includes creating boundaries to "others". The focus of South Asians on groups and carefully regulated social relations needs to include the consideration that the ethics of duty in the Hindu context result in highly individualistic motives like fulfilling one's role determined by the law of karma, with the intention to avoid negative karma. Not every action is "selfless".

In contrast to a sense of self popular in Britain, the Indian self transcends the physical existence of Western concepts and is regarded as a metaphysically "real" self (ātman), which is embedded in the biological self and acquires a social self by birth into the caste system (Bhawuk, 2008: 393). This spiritual dimension is less acknowledged by Western scholars (Misra, 2010).

For Kakar (1978, 1997), the basis of the self in the Indian context is marked by mutual caring, involvement, and emotional affinity, which contrasts with forms of emotional restraint in the UK. In India, the more common sharing of emotions serves as an important means of information. Further, emotional experience through the social is more central in interdependent cultures (Misra, 2010).

A third difference with the 'British' sense of self consists in the rejection of regarding a person as an acting agent or separate being. Indian classical philosophy considers Ahamkāra (egoism or identity consciousness) as highly problematic delusion (Cornelissen, Misra, & Varma, 2011). Besides this, the value put on connectivity makes the Western ideal of an autonomous self appear as myth and, subsequently, a symptom of illness (Gelbhardt, 2010: 69; Kakar, 2009).

After having outlined some of the main differences between the concepts of the self in India and the United Kingdom, some words need to be said about how concepts of self link to cultural contexts. Many studies have found that contemporary Western societies put an emphasis on *individualism*, while non-Western societies are seen to be shaped in a rather communalist manner.

*Individualism* describes a way of life in which one can "exercise a degree of control over one's life, have reliance upon oneself, being independent, autonomous, responsible for one's actions, self-fulfilment and self-realization of one's internal resources" (Laungani, 2007: 59). Also, priority is given to one's own goals over the goals of one's in-group or family (Triandis, 1994). The independent self is clearly anchored here. Emotions tend not to be shared with others. Respect for physical and psychological boundaries is very high (Laungani, 2007). From these reasons, as well as the emphasis upon self-reliance, a danger of existential loneliness arises. With discourses about individuality linked to notions of modern societies as "risk-society", the pressure increasingly is on individuals actively choosing and creating their own life and identity (Beck, 1992), with the pressure of responsibility for one's own actions. The shaping of human identity becomes a task to fulfil (Bauman, 2001).

The other pole, *communalism*, describes very well the Indian (Hindu and Islamic) society which is rather family-based and community-centered (Abd Al Ali, 1977; Kakar, 1981), in which problems affect not only the single individual, but the entire, often extended family. This links clearly to the interdependent self. Achievement is interpreted in a collective sense, and social responsibility appears in the form of informal community help (Laungani, 2007). The Indian caste system relies on the principles of hierarchy, purification, and the blurring of the sacred and the secular in wide-spread (religious) rituals. Identity is ascribed by status of birth (caste), and less through developmental processes. This determines the social frame which

prescribes how to conform to multiple role expectations from family, society, or caste, which can result in stress (Channabasavanna & Bhatti, 1982; Yang, 1997).

An example of this is provided by Hofstede (1980, 2001), one of the first to study cross-cultural core values. He distinguishes six cultural values (see Figure 1). For this study, the particularly relevant dimensions are individualism versus collectivism, and indulgence versus restraint. Individualism describes how much a society values the goals and actions of a singular autonomous individual in relation to a group, while restraint describes the extent to which people try to control their desires and impulses. The other four values are of lesser importance for this study.

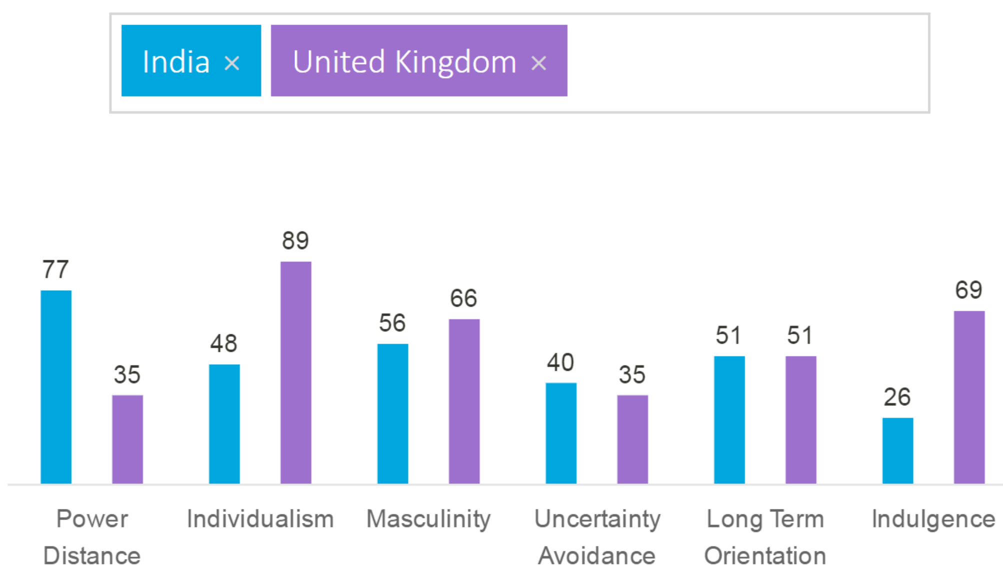


**Figure 1: UK and India in the 6-dimension model of cultural values by Hofstede (1980/2018)**
*Source: https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison/india,the-uk/*

Though these results are almost 40 years old by now and despite methodological flaws in the sampling and operationalization,[4] this study shows the tendency of the United Kingdom to rank high in individualism (route to happiness understood through personal fulfillment) and indulgence, while India appears to be a society with both collectivistic and individualistic traits (where individuals are expected to act in accordance to the greater good of one's defined in-group(s), but also follow an individual way of life determined, e.g., through karma). Also, compared to the UK,

[4] For example, it remains unclear what each culture exactly understands as "individualism" (McDaniel, 2008).

India shows a surprisingly much higher restraint of individual desires (exemplified by a low score in indulgence). Hence, the picture remains ambivalent, and despite all classifications, cultures exist far from dichotomic ideas.

### 2.3.2 Laungani: A four-factor model

For his theoretical model of cross-cultural differences, Laungani (2007: 57-81) compounded four core values while contrasting English and Indian cultural characteristics: individualism-communalism, cognitivism-emotionalism, free will-determinism, and materialism-spiritualism. Each should be understood as two extreme poles in a continuum, but not as dichotomous.

Individualism-communalism has been explained above. Cognitivism-Emotionalism is of special interest for this work. It relates to the construction of the social and private worlds of individuals. Pande (1968) suggested that Western societies are rather work-and-activity-centered, while the Indian society in particular is relationship-centered, again emphasizing a more social notion of the self. This means (especially in the British case) that in work-and-activity-centered societies' rationality, logic and control appear to remain prevalent, and public expression of emotions is avoided. Relationships are defined by shared commonalities.

In relationship-centered societies, on the contrary, the emphasis rests on relationships, where work and activities rather remain a by-product, not the central defining feature. Certain emotions are displayed in public more freely, although contextualized and partially of symbolic nature.

Free will and determinism refer to the exercise of non-causal, voluntary actions. Emotion practice is shaped by, for example, a Western emphasis on a proactive freedom of choice – this considers emotions like self-blame or guilt feelings as a consequence of failure. In India, however, the law of karma refers to a moral sphere by stating that all human actions lead to consequences which affect solely the individual (individualism). This more limited freedom of choice understands guilt not necessarily as a consequence of failure.

The last dimension, materialism and spiritualism, relates to the epistemology of the world. Materialism sees the world as 'real', and 'reality' as external to the individual. Spiritualism anchors 'reality' as internal to the individual and puts an emphasis on spiritual transformation.

## 2.4 Emotional Theories

Emotions are shaped by culturally bound meaning systems and evaluation processes (Hofstede, 1980; Markus & Kitayama, 1994). They comprise part of the meaning-making process of individuals and are easily integrated into cognitive constructions of reality (Kotchemidova, 2010). Although Western emotion cultures broadly have the relation between cognition and emotion in common with Indian philosophy, they differ in several other basic aspects from the South Asian understanding of emotions (Ellsworth, 1994; O. M. Lynch, 1990; Triandis, 1994).

The next sections will discuss the dominant approaches to emotion philosophies in Western and South-Asian contexts.

### 2.4.1 A 'Western' perspective on emotions and emotionality

In classical Western thought, philosophers distinguish clearly between reason and emotions. Since the period of Classical Antiquity, Western thinking has been marked by strong dualisms, among them body/mind, nature/culture and private/public (S. J. Williams & Bendelow, 1998). A great many philosophers elevate reason and consider emotions as something to avoid (O. M. Lynch, 1990). Spinoza or Hume think of them as a cause of suffering (Tuske, 2011).

The European discourse (this includes the British Isles) is shaped fundamentally by Greek philosophers of Classical Antiquity. Plato followed a concept of recognizing emotions as a central part of the soul, but his triadic idea of the soul as comprising intellect, will and thymus (meaning anger, passion, or in general affection) lost out in the battle of ideas to Aristotle. Together with the Stoics, emotions were generally seen as of lower value or even destructive. Although, in his *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle emphasized the cultivation of passions as a means of rhetoric and a morally constructive force, to help one to reach by means of the right feeling and right action both virtue and true moral excellence (Tilmouth, 2007: 20-21), emotion was seen as inferior. This idea became subsequently integrated into the doctrines of an institutionalized church (Tallon, 2008).

A look at medieval England demonstrates how predominantly reason was perceived as ruling the mind and constituting society, while passions were mostly seen as

disruptive to this order. This psychomachic[5] view of the mind considered passions and the body dismissively. In this dualistic conception, the soul represents the "battle ground upon which reason fights the passions, and those passions become enemies within the gates" (Tilmouth, 2007: 15). Aquinas' dyadic soul conceptions also relegated emotions to the "lower" body (Tallon, 2008).

The Enlightenment era ostracized the emotive aspects of life to a private sphere, often reserved for women. This way, emotions became excluded from the "rational" sphere of public life, in a sharp Cartesian mind-body dualism. For 17th century Descartes, body and its emotions are material and cognitions immaterial (Descartes, 1984 [1641]).

The discourse about emotions changed only in the 19th century with the rise of a rather atheological worldview. This was represented by, among others, Bain, Darwin and Spencer, as well as Freud's emphasis on the subconscious. This transition is visible in the change of terminology. Christian writers hitherto had only spoken of "passions and affections of the soul". The term "emotion", however, was deployed as a means of distinction by later secular theories which did not relate emotions to the soul or God, but considered them as products of their ancestor's environment (Dixon, 2001: 289).

Elias (1994 [1939]), in his remarkable "The civilizing process," understood the development and refinement of the expression of emotions – or the emotional make-up – from the Middle Ages to modernity as an ideology of "being-civilized" and as habitus changing in relation to dynamics in social structures.

The inheritance of dualisms has been starting to disintegrate only in the last decades, leading to two main parallel perspectives: On the one hand, emotions are (still) understood as interfering with object-directed reason, exemplified in Habermas's (1990 [1962]) ideal notion of the rational-cognitive "public sphere" which excludes emotions and feelings (Calhoun, 1992). The dominance of this stance persists socially, as "in today's Western industrial societies, emotionality is often regarded as weakness, immaturity or luxury which should only be afforded in special free spaces like for example, family" (Ulich, 1982: 12).[6]

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[5] *Psychomachia* („fight of the souls") was written by the Christian poet Prudentius in the 4th century B.C. It describes an allegorical fight between the personified seven virtues and vices.
[6] Own translation; originally „Wer erkennbar ‚Gefühle' hat, wer ‚zu viele' hat bzw. wer sie offen zeigt, der gilt leicht als kopflos und labil. Emotionalität wird in westlichen Industrie-gesellschaften häufig als Schwäche, als Unreife oder als Luxus angesehen, den an sich nur in besonderen, dafür vorgesehenen ‚Freiräumen' wie z.B. der Familie erlauben sollte."

On the other hand, current debates in emotion research indicate a shift: They highlight interdependencies between mind/cognition and emotions/affects from a neurobiological and socio-cultural perspective (e.g., Harmon-Jones & Harmon-Jones, 2011; Marks, 1995; Phelps, 2011). It is only with the emergence of these new directions that emotions can be discussed as an emancipated phenomenon in social contexts – such as journalism.

**England: How the upper lip became stiff**

The United Kingdom as a rather work-and-activity-centered society emphasizes (outer) rationality and logic within an individualistic self. Since the Victorian Age and especially in England, control has been seen as a major feature of the expression of emotions, according to the principle “dignity lies in restraint” (Laungani, 2007: 70). Negative feelings and emotions are expressed subtly, guided by maxims like not to cry in public or to have a “brave face”.

The “stiff upper lip” has long been considered “*the* element of self-restraint in our [the English] cultural DNA” (Foxe, 2013). It was from the beginning a sign of the aristocratic English middle classes and elites, who practiced moral training, thought and reason over passions in order to distinguish themselves from the working classes (Julie Marie Strange, in: Foxe, 2013).

This cult of manly silence and sacrifice, of over-socialization and hyper-masculinity, of self-discipline and strength of the mind was mainly institutionalized in public schools and practiced in sports competitions (Nandy, 1983: 44). The formation of character and schooling of emotions go back to the 19th century (Michele Cohen, in: Foxe, 2013). The Victorian mind-set enforced a “cultivation of detachment” (A. Anderson, 2001) which was originally meant as a strategy of power, of distancing oneself from colonial subjects within the British Empire context. Narratives of statistics and pseudo-scientific paradigms gave the impression of neutrality and balance in the judgment of others (Harkins & Lugo-Ocando, 2016). It also set the base for today’s objectivity norm.

To avoid any misunderstandings: The stiff upper lip was never about the abolition of emotion, but about its rules of performance – how to display them, over what, in what context and by whom, says historian David Starkey (in: Foxe, 2013). The English case is an extreme form within a wider British and European emotion

culture, marked by country-specific heterogeneous expressions of emotions, dependent on class and social group.[7]

Since the 1970s/80s, the Victorian heritage of strict discipline seems to have softened due to changes and disruptions in modern societies. It is the notion of "therapeutic society" (Furedi, 2004) and "therapeutic turn" (Madsen, 2014) which sees therapeutic discourses guiding individuals, emphasizing the display of emotions to be part of "a real human being!" (Furedi on BBC Radio 4, Foxe, 2013). The upsurge of psychological discourses contributed essentially to a transformation of attitudes towards emotional restraint, as secular materialism poses new challenges for the feeling life of British citizens. Psychology replaces in some ways religion which used to dominate British social and political life but does not feature strongly in contemporary British society (Madsen, 2014).[8]

Apart from that, novel "intimate public spheres" connect people by an (active or passive) participation in a public affective experience of feeling, and are marked by a circulation of the personal, the sexual, and the intimate (L. G. Berlant, 1997). In Great Britain, a major "intimate public moment" was the death of Princess Diana in a car accident in 1997 which fundamentally softened the "stiff upper lip". Here, citizens expressed their grief in public to an extent that the term of "dictatorship of grief" emerged, implying the suffering of a whole nation about a "people's princess" (Foxe, 2013; MacMillan & Edwards, 1999). Today, a survey by the ICM Research on behalf of the British Future (2013) thinktank showed that more than half of the British population (51 %) considers the "stiff upper lip" an outdated stereotype. Thus: British society is slowly experiencing a shift in its emotive practice.

### 2.4.2 A 'South Asian' perspective on emotions and emotionality

Contrary to Western conceptions, South Asian cultures distinguish less clearly between cognition and emotion, or affects: in general both are considered as interdependent and states to overcome (Paranjpe, 2011) with the aim of finally liberating the mind from ignorance and achieving samatā, which means equanimity.

[7] For instance, Spanish men do express grief in public, as demonstrated after the Madrid bomb attacks in 2004 (Gerhards et al., 2011).

[8] The institution of the church dominated the social and political life in the "age of faith", when emotions were deeply integral to the religious practice of missionaries, religious services, devotion, or daily acts (Tallon, 2008: 118-119).

One of the most prominent emotion theories in India relates to classical Indian arts. The "rasa theory" is laid down in the 3000-year old Sanskrit text Natya Shastra. It describes the aesthetics of visual, poetic or musical works, which are seen to elicit an emotive reaction in audiences which transforms into a meta-emotion and aesthetic mood (Cornelissen, et al., 2011). Hereby, it relies on eight primary emotive states or rasa (love, compassion, fury, etc.). It starts with the sensory level, and through bhāva (emotional arousal and specific emotion formation) moves to the level of imagination and finally the transcendental, with reference to the universal self. Artist and audience might reach ānanda, an altered state of perfect joy or ecstasy away from mundane experiences (Misra, 2011; Prasad, 2007).

The Vedic heritage of the rasa theory has been influenced by later Islamic components. However, until today it influences cinema traditions, and hence, indirectly also Indian TV news culture, which draws on affective visual representations of cinema culture.

But concepts of emotionality on the Indian subcontinent are not limited to the artsy rasa theory. Traditions, religion and spirituality play an important role in India's present, different to the British scenario. As the Indian economist and philosopher Amartya Sen states,

> The cultural inheritance of contemporary India combines Islamic influences with Hindu and other traditions, and the results of the interaction between members of different religious communities can be seen plentifully in literature, music, painting, architecture and many other fields. (Sen, 2005b)

These spiritual-religious influences will be outlined in the following two sections about Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Sikhism.

### Emotions on the Indian subcontinent 1: Hinduism

In Hindu thought traditions, there is no coherent system of understanding emotions. Ideas range from emotion as a "distraction, to emotion as concentration, as pain, as pleasures, as the substance of spiritual bodies… as a pathway to the god" (McDaniel, 2008: 62). Classical Indian thinking defines human life and existence as permanent suffering – and only metaphysical-philosophical worldviews suggest coping options.

Classical Indian philosophy is laid down in ancient Sanskrit texts (like the Upanishads from the 8th to 5th century BC), but originates also in Buddhist thinking. Four basic schools of thought can be made out (Tuske, 2011); but in order to explain

the concept of the self, I will select some classic Indian philosophy Vedānta traditions based on the Upanishads.

The most ancient Indian philosophical school, the Sāṃkhya-Yoga tradition, follows a metaphysical dualism distinct from Western concepts: not mind-body, but consciousness-mind. Both cognition and emotion are seen as prakṛti, as nature or primordial matter. A desirable state of the human being can only be found in the puruṣa, a state of pure contentless consciousness or self, free of material emotions and cognitions. For a human, it is important to overcome the illusion that conscious acts originating in prakṛti are attached to the mind. The key for understanding that they are not is that puruṣa remains in an "observing" state of the material events of prakṛti, but is not actually touched by them (McDaniel, 2008; see also Perrett, 2016: 173-4). Therefore, suffering originating in prakṛti can be overcome by understanding its difference to puruṣa, using techniques of practices for the body and the mind (e.g., yoga).

The school of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, in comparison, resembles most closely the Cartesian dualism, though with some differences (Perrett, 2016). It defines emotions and cognitions as elements of the qualities of the self. Emotions can have a disturbing effect on the self, while cognition provides the ground for the experience of the other qualities. But in the end, even cognition needs to be overcome to achieve final spiritual liberation (Tuske, 2011).

When discussing emotion understandings in Hinduism, a look at folk traditions is obligatory. The Bhakti or devotional traditions regard emotions positively as a foundation of identity, as a means to reach an utmost closeness to a transcendental entity, as it emphasizes the love towards a deity. Worshipping involves the ritual of puja where sensual items "of food, music, and scent" (O. M. Lynch, 1990: 14) are offered. Through ritual emotions the believer has the aim to build up another (spiritual) soul "composed of love, which can experience emotion more intensely than can the ordinary personality" (McDaniel, 2008: 58). While similar affective devotional elements – but also guilt – can be found in Catholicism, Western Protestantism rather emphasizes rationality with a suppression of emotions (M. Weber, 2010).

Further relevant ideas of how to understand the emotional self in a (Hindu) Indian context relate to ideas of morality and duty. The singular soul (ātman) of the individual can overcome suffering by recognizing her identity with the principle of an all-encompassing world soul (brahman). The individual needs to understand that all intentions, desires and the suffering connected to it are illusions. And

different degrees of suffering are explained by theories of karma (deed), samsara (circle of rebirth), dharma (world order or law, duty) and moksha (salvation). For each individual, the moral quality of his actions creates conditions which will decide almost like a law of nature about the destiny of his soul (Laungani, 2007; McDaniel, 2008).[9] Emotion rules for shame or guilt, compassion or loyalty are linked to this.[10]

### Emotions on the Indian subcontinent 2: Buddhism, Islam and Sikhism

The division of Indian society along communal lines is in many ways based on religious belonging. Markus and Kitayama (1994) have related the "self-less" behavior of interdependently-oriented people to religious ideas of East Asian origin like Confucianism and Buddhism which propagate a certain set of values.

Chinese scholars described India before the arrival of Islam as a "Buddhist kingdom". Buddhism played a central role in India and dominated Hindu beliefs for more than a millennium (Sen, 2005a). Like Hinduism, Buddhist traditions relied on the classical Indian texts Vedas and Upanishads. Buddhism differs from the Vedānta school of thought in several ways: it supports the doctrine of "no-self" (anātman) and emphasizes emotions at the core of its doctrine in a much more profound way than most other religious traditions: Its basic teaching of the 'Four Noble Truths' starts with a (painful) emotional truth – life involves sorrow, suffering, and grief (duhkhna). The Buddhist system of thought does not recognize the frequent Western division of the mind into three faculties – affective, cognitive, and volitional –, but acknowledges the complexity of certain emotions so central in Buddhism like kindness and compassion (Heim, 2008; Perrett, 2016). Emotions here are located inside the individual, as deep sources that generate experience, world understanding, and behavior. The focus is on obtaining a quiet, happy and clear mind which can only be reached by not clinging to the world through passions, but by freeing the self from hatred, greed and anger.

Compassion is not only central in Buddhism, but also shapes Sikhism, India's fourth largest religion with 1.72 % of the country's total population. Believers consider compassion (Daya [ਦਯਾ]) along with love (Pyaar [ਪਿਆਰ]) among the five "weapons" of

[9] The caste system matters strongly in this regard, and to achieve a higher status of birth or even salvation, it is for each individual necessary to produce good karma and fulfill the duties of its caste (McDaniel, 2008).

[10] The permanently changing but fixed demands of the life cycle which require the individual to act in different roles (pupil, husband, father etc.) support a "none-alignement" (anasakti) which requires strong discipline of the self.

spiritual Sikhism, which similarly to Buddhism oppose negative emotive motivations (“vices”) such as lust, anger or greed (Slover, 2016).

While Buddhism reached its zenith centuries back, the present day sees Islam as the second-most widespread belief system after Hinduism in India, with Muslims comprising 14.6 % of the total Indian population (Rediff News, 2011). Similarly to Hinduism, Islam emphasizes duty. Emotions gain a central place in being “an access to and an expression of a moral order”, they are seen as “ethical conduct” (Gade, 2008: 35) and “religious cultivation” (p. 47) on the basis of shared ethical norms. This is anchored in the holy scripts, the Qur’an or the Sunni jurisprudence which provide information about appropriate emotional reactions to reading the Qur’an. Happiness is achieved by veneration and obedience to the will of Allah, and in disobedience lie pain, suffering and sorrow. Feelings become here a “mode of orientation to God” (p. 37), as affective piety. They center on the paradigms of affliction and love. The most famous example is the public display of a mass mourning with the yearly Shiite Ashura festival commemorating a massacre in the distant past.

From this vitality of emotions in contemporary society I suggest that Indian emotion theories and traditions potentially influence contemporary Indian news culture, though the degree of influence is hard to predict, as it faces competition from institutionalized professional norms, ownership structures, and media policies. This will be discussed in the empirical part (chapters 6, 8, 9). The following subchapter, however, bridges the gap from emotive theory and tradition to practical emotion display.

## 2.5 Conceptualization of emotions at the intrapersonal level

### 2.5.1 Emotional expression

In social interactions, including television news journalism, display rules of emotions are an integral part of performative-social functionality. Emotional expressions act as communicative agents here, as a “sign system analogous to human language” (Friedlmeier, 2005:120). Communication can only be successful when the “right” techniques of display are mastered together with adequate expressions such as signs and symbols.

Display rules for emotions are regulated by social norms. They can be valid cross-culturally, for instance, the suppression of disappointment when receiving a gift, expressing instead joy and thankfulness to the giver. But there are many examples of cultural differences, which can lead to misreading and misjudgments.

On the aggregate level, Asian cultures tend to avoid displaying explicit negative emotions, or to express them in a much subtler way than done in a Western culture. This is rooted in the norm of maintaining harmonic social relations with others. Expressed anger would be a too disruptive force here.[11] However, cultural lines become blurred here. Looking to the UK, the deeply anchored norm of imperturbable displayed formal politeness in interpersonal contact within a middle-class segment of society (manifest in an overtly frequent deployment of "sorry" or "thank you") also relates to a high formality of expression fixed in strict display rules.

Another example for the cultural embeddedness of emotions stems from Matsumoto et al. (Matsumoto, 2006) who studied the relation between expression and experience of emotions with Japanese and American subjects. As a result, compared to American participants, the Japanese identified displayed anger as "strong" with much lower intensity of expression, as they assume feeling rules at work to moderate intense (inner) anger. A further increase of the anger level caused Japanese to consider it even as loss of control of expression, whereas for Americans, displayed strong anger is considered merely an exaggeration.

From these observations it can be concluded that opportunities for misunderstandings in cross-cultural face reading practices might arise, and that the oppression of strong negative emotions in Asian cultures (but also in the UK) points to an important difference of arousal-intensity. Here, I suggest that individuals with an Asian background 'trained' through daily practice in maintaining a wide variety of social relations might be able to read emotions more precisely at a much earlier (less intense) stage of expression. This cannot only be understood as adaptive social functionality, but also for this study, this can translate into emotional capital as capacity to successfully master everyday social – or professional journalistic – interactions.

[11] This can lead to a confusing cultural misreading, exemplified with the German philosopher Herder who regarded Hindus as "the gentlest branch of humanity", being "moderate and calm, a soft feeling and a silent depth of soul characterize their work and their pleasure..." (Herder, : 70, quoted in Sen 2005: 152).

### 2.5.2 Emotional regulation & Emotional Practice

Emotional regulation can occur on the intrapersonal level in different ways. The strictness of rules of display matter, but more important for an internal regulation is the aim to achieve a change in the actual emotion (including its physical manifestation) itself. This can happen via a goal-oriented strategy which aims to change the outer situation perceived to cause a subjectively experienced emotion. This problem-oriented regulation seeks to influence existing realities and is associated more with (Western) notions of control. Another strategy can be described as emotional labor (see chapter 4.1.3). It aims to change the emotion itself, as an emotion-focused regulation (Greenfield, 2001), accepting existing reality. Consciousness of the emotional state leads to self-soothing strategies (calming down), distraction (thinking of something different), or reappraisal of the occurrence.

As an example, developmental psychology has found that mechanisms of secondary control (emotion-focused regulation) are more prevalent in Asian cultures, while primary control (and hence, change of an outer situation) is more dominant in Western cultures. Hong and Chiu (2001) found, in a study of Nepali and American school children, that lower-status Nepalese children showed a higher preference for emotion-focused regulation strategies, as cultural expectations require the display of rather harmonic feelings which involves the suppression of anger towards both their own group and outsiders. On the contrary, American children tended to use rather problem-focused regulation where – trying to change the situation – they more clearly expressed their anger.

Similarly, when mothers and their children were put under distress for a study, Japanese mothers tended to distract their child more and allow "as if" situations (as if the negative event had not happened), while German mothers chose a problem-focused regulation, verbally addressing and analyzing the problem, as well as talking about solutions (Segall, et al., 1998).

Different cultures prefer varying sets of emotions. This is reflected in language. Some use a specific terminology for distinct emotion concepts often located in the social realm (see T. W. Smith, 2015). In Asia, this would be the Japanese *amae* (a voluntary dependency upon someone), or the Indian *abhiman* (a 3,500-year-old Sanskrit word for bruised pride or self-pride); while Western examples are the German *Schadenfreude* (enjoying someone's misfortune) or the Polish *żal* (a sense of melancholy for an irretrievable loss).

Cultural emotive display differences also manifest in the character type preferred. Cain (2012) presents findings which identify North American kids as more self-expressive and favoring sociability and cheerfulness, while introversion with kids (e.g., among Chinese-born) is less preferred.. On the other side, the introvert trait links to a personality understanding favored in China, where in public the emphasis rests on the display of quietness, sensitivity, persistence and restraint.

The Indian cross-cultural psychologist Laungani (2007) lived for a long time in England, which helped to shape a theory about differences between Indian and English emotion concepts and display rules (see 2.3), among them eye-contact. While it is common in England to avoid looking directly into the eyes for a long time, this "intrusion" into the private realm of the individual is mostly accepted in India.

Laungani also considers cognitivism more prevalent in England, and emotionalism in India. In England, the expression of emotions is generally "guided by control", by putting a "brave" face on, even "in situations where it would seem legitimate to express feelings openly ... at funerals, for instance" (Ibid.: 70). The Indian context operates rather with the concept of emotionalism within a family context, where

> crying, dependence on others, excessive emotionality, volatility, even verbal hostility, both in males and females, are not in any way considered as signs of weakness or ill-breeding… Emotional outbursts are, as it were, 'taken on board' by the family members… [they] are of a symbolic nature, even highly stylised and ritualistic. (Laungani, 2007: 71)

In India, emotions are celebrated in public during religious as well as grieving ceremonies (Laungani, 2007). As described earlier, emotions receive a material component through puja rituals such as food offerings, which are meant as a loving devotion to a deity among Vaishnavites (Toomey, 1990).[12] Emotions are here equated with bodily states of eating and nurturing.

Examples of happiness relate to the self and its conjoint or disjoint orientation (Mesquita & Markus, 2004). In Western environments, happiness tends to be more construed in (individualistic) behavioral terms and linked to individual effort and achievement, self-realization, or self-value. In South Asia as far north as parts of China, happiness is more understood as an internal state of mind, a state of peace and quiescence, achieved through religious beliefs (law of karma, fulfilling the

[12] Central is the similarity in experiencing an emotion and bodily states of eating and nurturing.

dharma as duty; with Muslims obeying the will of Allah; with Buddhists the eight-fold path) and family life and responsibilities.

These contrasts highlight relevant differences in emotion logics and practices. The question remains in what way this might shape journalistic news cultures.

## 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter showed how emotions are deeply embedded in local social norms and cultural scenarios, resisting the pressures of globalization. It has set the base for a comparative study by showing how British and Indian individuals share many "taxonomies of the universal". However, cultural differences emerge on the basis of contrasting hegemonic concepts of the self and its agency in relating to other social beings. Together with a lasting influence of spiritual-religious traditions in India this leads to diverse emotion practices, which subsume emotions of second-order elaboration (e.g., pride, shame, guilt) as well as emotion regulation and display rules.

The chapter highlighted the importance of understanding emotions from multiple perspectives, as both biological and socially constructed. It explored the communicative capacity of emotions in two distinct cultures, outlining not only hegemonic features but also many contradictions. It demonstrated the dynamic character of emotions and how their accepted role in society shifts with time. Sometimes an 'intimate public event' can bring about swift change (e.g., Princess Diana's death).

These points need to be taken into account for a comprehensive analysis of emotions within the professional realm of the news media. I suggest three implications which will inform the analysis:

1) Understanding news as a performative act requires cultural display rules. The classic emotional restraint will be reflected in British news coverage, while a more expressive emotionalism might impact Indian news broadcasting.

2) During news production as information dissemination and learning about the world, the capacity to read, interpret and react to emotive expressions is essential for the work of journalists and the reception modalities of audiences. Considered as emotional capital, I raise the question whether this

might matter more in an Asian context, as individuals are embedded in manifold social networks and social relations.

3) Daily life requires emotion regulation. While Western notions emphasize outer control, South Asia rather appears to favor inner emotional labor. Is this also reflected in how journalists talk about news coverage?

The following chapter will now outline the process and the conditions of news production, professional ideologies, and news routines.

# 3 | INSIDE NEWS: JOURNALISM CULTURES AND A SOCIOLOGICAL-PROFESSIONAL PERSPECTIVE

To figure out what “the forces behind the headlines” are (Esser, 1998) – to understand what journalism is, how it works, and how it is embedded in an ecology – various starting points can be taken. These can range from systems theory which considers journalism to fulfill the synchronization needs of increasingly complex societies (Görke, 2007), to a sociology of cultural chaos which considers journalism an organism evolving organically – with actions of individuals “nearly always based on emotional or ideologically rooted thought processes of various kinds (love, fear, anger, sadness)” (McNair, 2003: 553). Alternatively, journalists might be interpretative communities (Zelizer, 1993) or safeguard the democratic public sphere (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999). Hence, the meaning of journalism and its role is manifold and highly dynamic.

In this chapter I argue that we need to acknowledge that news journalism is shaped by a core characteristic of emotion regimes. Even if emotions seem to be absent they have been and are always there – in manifold ways. Emotions influence and shape the processes of journalistic meaning construction in news via emotive representation strategies and emotion-discursive rules. They are distributed between macro and micro levels, and they underlie journalistic coverage, editorial processes, and professional orientations of journalists.

This chapter intends to disclose the shapes, spaces and moments of these emotive elements. For this, a core theoretical and analytical framework is built up. The selected approaches and theories share one thing in common: All combine individual agency with external structures.

The chapter starts with outlining what journalism cultures are (3.1). In doing this, I outline the main features of journalism cultures in Britain and India, including dominant role conceptions and, closely linked, audience perceptions. Here I suggest that two distinct media ecologies with fundamentally deviating logics might lead to very different emotion scenarios, enabling or disabling a variety of emotive news features. This is completed by an outlook on two holistic models, which comprise media-external and internal influence factors on journalistic news production.

The remaining part of this chapter will cover three core mezzo theories which approach the emergence of emotion regimes in journalism from a sociological perspective (3.2). A focus on individual and organizational journalistic acting potentials within the structures of a media ecology is combined in ideas of fields, rules and institutions, and boundary work. From field theory, new institutionalism and boundary theory this final chapter section derives an overview about emotion potentials in TV news.

## 3.1 Core concepts: Journalism cultures in India and the United Kingdom

Journalism in the Western world talks about its crisis, while other parts of the globe see a thriving news industry. India has a uniquely growing newspaper market. How are we to explain these divergences?

The actual condition of a journalism culture in its entirety – and its practices materialized as news contents – can be understood as being shaped by multiple factors, which can be found on the political, economic, social and cultural level. However, journalism cultures are not relegated to passive structural dependency – they equally shape processes of cultural mediation and public opinion.

In order for us to apprehend journalism cultures, the following sections describe some of its main features. This includes explaining the relation between audience perceptions and professional role understandings, as well as mapping out a range of external and internal factors which shape the diversity of journalism cultures, using two models for the latter. In a final step, the most relevant of these factors are put in a comparative perspective. This helps to highlight where British and Indian journalism cultures diverge, but also where they meet.

### 3.1.1 The concept of *Journalism Cultures*

Journalism cultures[13] can be understood as a theoretical concept applicable to "diverse national and organizational contexts" of professional news production (Hanitzsch, 2007: 371). Considering the three levels of cognition, evaluation and performance, journalism culture

> ...can be defined as a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists, consciously and unconsciously, legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful for themselves and others. (Ibid: 369)

Consisting of seven dimensions, the concept unites normative journalistic role understandings, philosophical underpinnings about truth claims, and ethical orientations. The three main dimensions comprise institutional roles (interventionism, power distance, and market orientation), epistemologies (objectivism, empiricism) and ethical ideologies (relativism, idealism). As the following sections will demonstrate, emotions can be pinpointed most with interventionism, epistemologies, and market orientation.

Journalism cultures denote ethically a "collective conscience for the profession" (Keeble, 2007: 55) and a universal "shared occupational ideology among newsworkers" (Deuze, 2005: 446). In this regard, Reese (2010: 348) speaks of a "global news arena" with transnationally connected media professionals. However, in the face of premature idealizations about globally shared journalistic values, some skepticism seems advisable, as local circumstances are impactful. Journalism can be quite heterogeneous, as Amado and Waisbord (2015: 64) show in the Argentinian case, concluding that "it seems improbable that journalists can effectively function as a cohesive community with clear boundaries". As journalism cultures are deeply interwoven with their corresponding political communication cultures, a globalization of journalism seems unlikely in the near future.

That national journalism cultures comprise commonalities but also substantial differences was established by journalism research in the last decade. This includes the rich empirical data acquired through the large-scale Worlds of Journalism project (67 participating countries), but also other cross-national studies (e.g.,

[13] The alternative concept of "news cultures" (Deuze, 2002) comprising occupational characteristics and professional practices is equally useful in comparative work. However, this study favors "journalism cultures" with its wider notion, i.e. as it integrates an ideally and materially existent audience relation.

Dalen, Vreese, & Albæk, 2012; Weaver, 1998). For example, one important difference manifests in a higher status of the interventionism dimension in non-Western countries parallel to a detached role conception (more details in 3.1.3).

The next two sections explore the intertwined relationship between audiences and journalistic role identity as a core feature of journalism cultures. I set out from journalistic audience imaginations (section 3.1.2), as these orientations shape subsequent behavior understandings which in journalism translate into (appropriate) journalistic role identities. In this sense, section 3.1.3 maps out how certain audience imaginations correspond with distinct role understandings.

### 3.1.2 Tacit emotions? Of journalistic audience imaginations

When observing how journalists produce news, one essential pillar of professional newswork remains usually invisible: the news recipient. In a newsroom, the audience is simultaneously present and absent. It is frequently talked about but rarely conversed with directly.

Starting from the deep embeddedness of an audience during news routines, this subchapter seeks to engage with journalistic audience perceptions. These matter fundamentally for journalistic role conceptions. I ask, first, how do journalists structure their interaction with audiences – what role does audience perception play, and what modes of feedback are used? Building on this, in a second step I outline the ways in which journalists imagine an audience. Finally, the positioning of emotions within this journalist-audience relationship will be explained and related to journalistic impact.

#### The audience orientation of journalism – a neglected field?

But this default perception of audiences as politically receptive publics among (Western) journalists is closely linked to the type of relationship journalists are ready to engage with. The journalist-audience relationship is characterized by mutual expectations, among them “expected expectations” – or what journalists assume about what the audience expects and wants journalistically (Heise, Loosen, Reimer, & Schmidt, 2014).

However, for journalists it is not an easy task to verbalize who their audiences are. In daily news production the degree of abstraction of an audience remains high, and at times journalists appear detached from actual audiences. This originates in the

mode of audience feedback, which enters newsrooms time-delayed and/or fragmentary, commonly in direct reciprocity via Twitter, email, or posterior personal reactions, or indirectly via comments on social media (see also S. C. Lewis, Holton, & Coddington, 2017). This mode of delayed feedback barely leaves a synchronous momentum or space during news production to co-coordinate or adjust to an audience. Moreover, time pressures put the accomplishment of a product image at the forefront which needs to pass different levels in the editorial decision chain (Ryan & Peterson, 1982).

The impossibility of genuine relationships to audiences leads to a substitution with two auxiliary constructs – one of quantitative character, the other remaining imaginary. The first construct is the "average viewer" circulated internally by news organizations themselves (Darnton, 1990). It relies on audience measurements. However, this portrayal of users as quantifiable and consuming aggregates remains too abstract a category to be deployed in daily newswork (C. W. Anderson, 2011). Besides, journalists time and again remain skeptical and "jaded" towards quantified means of audience research, with reasons suggested including that these methods cast "doubt on their news judgment and their professional autonomy", while being conducted by field-external actors relegated to separate audience research departments (Gans, 1979: 232). For journalists, audiences and their desires are 'believed to be known'.

A second auxiliary construct translates to an audience imaginary, where journalists seek to replace the absent audience with their own horizon of experience. As early as 1979, Gans described journalists considering themselves as "audience representatives", as "most journalists take the congruence of their own and the audience's feeling for granted" (Gans, 1979: 237). They assume for an audience the "same curiosities and ... concerns", constructing through this "an image of the audience" which informs editorial decision-making (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997: 94). Batabyal (2012: 13) established a similar attitude for the Indian context, where "middle-class journalist[s] imagining the self as the audience" produce news content "based on their own likes and dislikes and those of their immediate families and friends".

This "mind game" where a mental representation of a virtual audience helps to plan news production regarding ethics or audience dispositions also includes empathy, directed towards a viewer as a virtual subject. This "re-enactive empathy" (Hollan,

2012) conflates the imaginary with positive-empathic dispositions of journalists. Cognitive-reflexive elements prevail. I call this mental working construct "imaginary empathy", describing a mode of relating to a subject (such as an audience) "with no material existence as it remains virtual in editorial rooms and mobile editing suites" (Glück 2016: 900).

In order to understand how emotions contribute to the relationship between journalists and audiences, a careful look is required in order to disclose the mostly tacit assumptions (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997) and "operative fictions" of journalists (Zurstiege, 2006: 72). They are constituted and maintained by what Schön (1983) calls "knowledge-in-action" and "reflecting-in-action":

> Often we cannot say what it is that we know. When we try to describe it, we find ourselves at a loss... Our knowing is ordinarily tacit, implicit in our patterns of action and in our feel for the stuff with which we are dealing. It seems right to say that our knowing is in our action[s]... We do not have to think about them prior to or during their performance. (Ibid: 49, 54)

Perceiving the audience is a task without conscious deliberation. "Tacit knowledge" about audiences (Polanyi, 1966) becomes most manifest within the routines of news production, "the news product itself" and in "journalists' rhetoric about their product" (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997: 2). Journalistic newswork is characterized by a high degree of gut feeling and built-up experience, as described with reference to investigation techniques in chapter 7. Audience knowledge re-appears within the translation of journalistic professional values into practice, or in news values and their hierarchy (see section 4.1.2). Values like interest and impact range higher than proximity or prominence, as news journalists assume a higher audience concern (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997: 118).

To conclude this section: Economic, editorial and technological pressures diminish efforts for a proactive audience connection. This adds to journalists hiding in mythologizing "the public" (C. W. Anderson, 2013), or resting "on lazy assumptions about their democratic importance" (S. C. Lewis, et al., 2017: 171) and democratic polity role (Boczkowski & Mitchelstein, 2017).

The impossibility of direct exposure to an (immediate) audience results in two consequences: first, journalists use auxiliary constructs to imagine an audience, and second, journalists incorporate a tacit knowledge of their audience into professional values and unspoken routines.

**Are all audiences just 'issue publics'?**

To start with audience imaginations, I argue and subsequently criticize the newsroom phenomenon that – voluntarily or involuntarily, consciously or subconsciously – journalists consider audiences foremost as publics. For many journalists, news audiences are "magically transformed into citizens" (Madianou, 2005: 99), and the imaginary resulting publics can be fantasized in a highly normative manner as "active, critically engaged and politically significant", while at the same time referring to "audiences" becomes a denigrating act (Livingstone, 2005c: 18).

When speaking of "publics" (Eliasoph, 2004), journalists frequently refer to what Dewey (2012 [1927]) called "issue publics". Dewey grounds his understanding of a "public" on the pragmatist socio-ontological realm – for him, publics are less emphasizing the general common good or aiming to participate, but focus on particular problems that existing institutional arrangements fail to address as well as political participation motivated by anticipated indirect consequences (Marres, 2007). Dewey's public is constituted by citizens affected by and acknowledging an identifiable issue, searching for an appropriate solution. Does this way of issue highlighting and consequential analysis not strongly resemble a core function of liberal journalism? Newswork appears here as a technological mediator, providing space for publics to organize around an issue.

But this emphasis raises questions about alternative types of relationships between television viewers and news programs. What television news viewer realistically seeks purely factual input in each and every moment of news consumption, in a multitude of situations and circumstances? With the carefully nourished normative idea(l) of the audience as a public demanding news "in order to get information" (Mullainathan & Shleifer, 2005: 90), with an overemphasis on cognitive and deliberative elements, journalists do little to incorporate actual audience practices or the existence of a news audience striving for a more emotional gratification.

The perception of an audience solely as public also counters the imperatives which a market economy imposes on news journalism – where news appears as a product, and where independent audiences might simply refuse "to become publics, satisfied to engage with the media purely for reasons of identity, pleasure, knowledge, lifestyle" (Livingstone, 2005b: 11).

It is evident that different relationships of an audience to news journalism and its products lead to different modes of reception and consumption which require varying journalistic means of creating interest, impact, importance and engagement. DeWerth-Pallmeyer (1997) qualifies these differences, based on interviews with U.S. broadcast journalists. He links evoking "interest" to a market orientation of journalists, "importance" to a normative professional value orientation, and "impact" as the mediating factor in between. Impact again can be variously understood as consequence (Izard 1990), significance (Carey 1986), or personal involvement. In brief: "The [journalistic] goal is to make the important story interesting. Impact is the tool [for this]..." (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997: 81). Though De-Werth-Pallmeyer speaks of "interest" as a means to engage audiences to follow news stories, the emotive component in this process shines through.

In order to create impact, the role of emotional appeal and connect is central. So far, calls for a reflexive consideration of emotive processes have been sparse or overshadowed by a normatively led sensationalism debate. Two exceptions are van Zoonen and, more recently, Beckett and Deuze. With van Zoonen's (2004: 39) concept of "affective intelligence," I argue that emotional processes cannot remain relegated to a private consumer sphere. Instead, they are equally essential in civic and public participation and deserve to be incorporated into these spheres, as well as within media coverage.

This intrinsic relevance of emotions in public activity is complemented by what Beckett and Deuze (2016) identified as external factors of technological progress and a subsequent change in media consumption modalities which blur the intimate personal sphere with a world orientation. Emotion serves here as a means to connect and "fuel engagement with news and information" (p. 2). In addition to this, I propose as a third factor the "affective turn" (Clough & O'Malley Halley, 2007). The increased relevance of neurocognitive knowledge of brain processes suggests an integrative understanding of how cognitions, emotions, and perceptions relate to each other. Equally, news consumption is informed by both 'rational' elements and emotions being intertwined (Madianou, 2005).

From this last point, some traditional journalism techniques appear increasingly problematic. An example is the choice of narrative storytelling practices: If broadcasters follow a rather mechanistic expository style of hard news stories (J. Lewis, 1991), if they "simply lay out a series of facts, often in declining order of

importance", news stories may spark in viewers nothing more but "a superficial interest in their content" (J. Lewis, 2016: 186). Having a real impact on an audience, to "mix the important with the interesting" and engage viewers (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997: 109) relies on touching their emotions in order to draw them into a story:

> If we were to determine that you needed to know about something, and we produce a story about it, and you were bored by it, … then … we failed to attach an emotional tendril to it to show you why this is interesting to you. (Paul Sanders, WGN news director, quoted in DeWerth-Pallmeyer 1997: 109)

WGN colleague Paul Davis emphasizes "emotional triggers" – at least one out of four key emotions of Mowrer's (1960) learning theory needs to be incorporated into stories:

> You have to get the emotional attention with either fear or hope, relief or disappointment in your story… Absent any of those four pieces of emotional baggage, you won't get anything. (Davis, WGN news director, quoted in DeWerth-Pallmeyer 1997: 112)

Appealing to audience emotions is a first observation which transcends country-hegemonic emotion cultures. Understanding emotions as generating attention and creating interest in audiences emerges as a phenomenon across journalism cultures and hence, might shape news production.

### 3.1.3 From audience imaginaries to journalistic role identities

This section starts with a general outline of what journalistic role identities are. Afterwards, a selection of more specific audience understandings will be linked to corresponding role perceptions. The audience and its expectations play a central part in this, as roles are seen as outcomes of social negations – and are therefore dynamic, context-sensitive and adaptive (K. D. Lynch, 2007; Mellado, 2015). This opens the ground for giving a first indication about spaces of potential cultural differences in British and Indian journalism, namely in their respective stances towards interventionism. Here, distinct motivational journalism approaches will be included, such as journalism of engagement and imagined communities.

**What are journalistic roles?**

Journalistic role conceptions form the core of journalistic action. They enable journalists to legitimize the importance of their work within their profession and to

society (Aldridge & Evetts, 2003). Role understandings follow a "logic of appropriateness", where actors strive less for individual interests, but "seek to fulfil the obligations encapsulated in a role, an identity, a membership in a political community or group, and the ethos, practices and expectations of its institutions" (March & Olsen, 2004: 3).

Role concepts combine two essential structural components: journalistic normative role orientations with actual strategies of their enactment. How journalists conceptualize their professional action differs from how they enact these beliefs, values and attitudes in their role performance which combines both actual practice and its narrative reconstitution and reflection (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017).[14] As emotion regimes are part of journalistic norms and practice, it can be assumed that journalistic role orientation influences attitudes and beliefs about the deployment of emotions.

Journalistic identity transcends the micro level, as an ontological "aggregate of journalists' role perceptions" (Ibid: 118). As journalism can be thought of as a (material) social institution (North, 1991, see the next subchapter), its ideas and values can be understood as contingent constructs of meaning. In other words: Journalistic identity (trans-)formation can be considered as a discourse, following discursive institutionalism (Panizza & Miorelli, 2013; V. A. Schmidt, 2010, 2011). This institutional discourse can be conceptualized as

> ...struggle over discourse authority in conversations about the meaning and role of journalism in society... Journalistic roles define positions in a discursive space... We can characterize this space as a field of forces in which the various actors struggle over the preservation or transformation of journalism's identity. (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017: 122)

With Bourdieu (1998b), journalistic identity is shaped by agents internal to this discursive field, a "discursive community" which acquires shared understandings about institutional roles, institutional mythologies – or simply "the way one should do" things (Schudson, 2001: 152). Journalists "rely on these scripts and internalize them as they cognitively assess which role to enact or practice" (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017: 121), assimilating into a newsroom culture. Hence, a "community of practice" (Meltzer & Martik, 2017) emerges. External actors also contribute discursively

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[14] Hanitzsch and Vos (2017) identify four dimensions of journalist roles: "normative ideas (what journalists *should do*), cognitive orientations (what they *want to do*), professional practice (what journalists *really do*), and narrated performance (what they *say they do*)" (p. 118).

through feedback of news sources and public interactions with journalists (Craft, Vos, & Wolfgang, 2016; Gans, 2004).

With this discursive field, journalistic role conceptions can highlight two distinct features: their dynamic nature (within a field of journalism) and their embeddedness in functional contexts (within different fields of journalism). The next section finally tries to bring audience perceptions and journalistic role choices together.

**Between publics and consumers: Interlinking audience and journalist roles**

As we have seen, journalistic audience knowledge remains imaginary and tacit, embedded in news routines and news values, and seemingly narrowed to issue publics. Before addressing the emotive aspects of the audience, it is necessary to create a more theoretical framework of audience concepts, as this has implications for the emotive realm.

The earliest influential move forward to categorize audiences goes back to Siebert and Schramm's "Four Theories of the Press" (1956), with audiences regarded as diffuse masses to educate (authoritarian and communist systems) as they are not qualified to make intelligent political decisions, or as practicing deliberation (liberal model), among others. The perception of an audience as a "mass" or "crowd" goes back to Gustave Le Bon's (2006 [1896]) early concept of linking an undefined diffuse spectator group with negative affective connotations. Recipients of (media) messages appear structurally as atomistic in character, brainless and of little intelligence, irrational and destructive, guided by basic emotional drives. Craving an object of shared attention (Blumer, 1939), the mass is seen as passive in contrast to active publics. However, the masses' passivity might be an erroneous belief, as they can operate on the basis of emotional contagion.

Though the theory is dated and role concepts static, it does appear in the statements of journalists, with British journalists appealing to a more cognitive deliberative autonomous audience to inform, and Indian journalists sometimes emphasizing the need to educate or motivate, as will be summarized later. Also, understanding the audience as a homogeneous mass emphasizes primitive emotive and contagious aspects as potential effects of news coverage. For journalistic role conceptions, this

early view already indicates one of the main differences in role concepts: interventionism.

More recently, diagnosing a “crisis of public communication” in British public service broadcasting, Blumler and Gurevitch (1995) suggest potential complimentary complementary roles for audiences and journalists within political journalism. For audiences they distinguish:

> The partisan, seeking a reinforcement of existing beliefs; the liberal citizen, seeking guidance in deciding how to vote; the monitor, seeking information about features of the political environment ...; and the spectator, seeking excitement and other affective satisfactions. (p. 14)

Between these audience roles and political agents, they place four complimentary journalistic roles as mediating elements (p. 15):

| *Audience* | *Media personnel* |
|---|---|
| Partisan | Editorial guide |
| Liberal citizen | Moderator |
| Monitor | Watchdog |
| Spectator | Entertainer |

While moderator and watchdog roles present a rather autonomous-detached stance of journalists with a more cognitive citizen orientation, partisan and entertainer roles comprise additionally an affective-engaging element, reiterating Cohen’s (1963) distinction between neutral and participant roles.

Against these rather static roles, two approaches were recently put forward: on the one side, Livingstone’s (2005b) efforts to incorporate the living sphere of audiences, including news practices and habits; on the other side, Mellado and van Dalen (2016) proposing a more dynamic audience-journalist role conceptualization. Both approaches will be subsequently outlined in more detail.

Starting with Livingstone, four different spheres of society are related to the media. Two of these are of special relevance for this study, as they lead to different emotive translations. Livingstone distinguishes four spheres and their intersections along two axes (see table 1): first, the system versus the lifeworld axis, where audiences are considered either passively as object (system) or actively as agent (lifeworld); and second, the public versus the private realm – or audiences regarded as citizens (in the public realm) or consumers (in the private realm).

**Table 1: Livingstone's intersections between the personal and other social spheres**

| | **Public** | **Private** |
|---|---|---|
| **System** | **The state:** Audiences as object of media education, content guidelines and controls | **The economy:** Audiences as commodity or market, characterized through ratings, market share, unmet needs |
| **Lifeworld** | **The public sphere:** Audiences as active and engaged, informed, participatory, resistant | **The personal or intimate sphere:** Audiences as selective, interpretative, pleasure-seeking, identity work |

The concepts most relevant for journalism are the "public sphere" where the audience member is seen as a citizen and agent, as "active and engaged, informed", and also the "personal or intimate sphere" where the focus rather rests on the identity and lifestyle of audiences (Livingstone, 2005a: 173). Publics today cannot be understood without media – "journalism plays a central role in exposing problems and reporting on them" (Ahva & Heikkilä, 2017: 318), while audiences are seen to occupy the realm of interpretation, criticism and humor based on their personal backgrounds.

Blumler and Gurevitch's (1995) four audience roles fit in, with monitoring and liberal citizens clearly located in the public sphere, and a spectator placed in the personal sphere. However, the role of a partisan viewer shows an overlap. It does not only carry an affective active character which goes against locating the "emotions" with the spectator role solely, but also links the public and personal sphere (van Zoonen, 2004), touching furthermore on Livingstone's idea of the economic sphere. In the contemporary Indian television news context, this translates into the practice of a highly relevant particular version of patriotism-nationalism, as will be seen later. For journalistic role identity, this now clearly implies an active-interventionist attitude of journalists, transcending the editorial guidance suggested by Blumler and Gurevitch.

However, applying Livingstone's spheres of the public and the personal or intimate onto reflections of journalists remains challenging. While Livingstone's (2005c) distinction between audiences and publics can be understood analytically as two poles of a spectrum, including a mediating domain of "civil society" in between, I

argue that the biggest obstacle here is the collapse of (intimate) audience and public sphere not only in theory, as “the media become ever more embedded in all aspects of society” (Livingstone, 2005c: 35), but also in journalistic practice (see the analysis in chapter 8).

This collapse of boundaries perhaps also requires a move away from static journalistic roles. Three recent attempts have met this need with proposals of multi-axis role conceptions in the following way:

**Table 2: Multi-axes journalistic role performance concepts**

| | Set-up | Journalistic Role Dimensions |
|---|---|---|
| Donsbach (2008) | Axis | participant-observational<br>neutral-advocate<br>educational-commercial |
| Van Dalen et al. (2012),<br>Albæk et al. (2014) | Axis | impartial-partisan<br>pragmatic-sacerdotal<br>information-entertainment |
| Mellado (2015) | Parallel | Intervention<br>Watchdog<br>loyal-facilitator<br>service<br>infotainment (includes emotion and sensationalism)<br>civic |

As can be seen, despite having varying terminologies these role concepts overlap. At the core are the binaries of detached-neutral versus active-participating, plus economy-oriented criteria. What matters most is the change from static to dynamic journalistic role conceptions. Here, journalists can activate whole role repertoires selectively dependent on specific situations and contexts.

The approach of Mellado and van Dalen (2016) is particularly interesting, as – like Blumler and Gurevitch previously– the authors link audience and journalist roles together. Complimentary to the outlined six journalist roles above (Mellado, 2015), they propose a more flexible understanding of news audiences, differentiating three approaches: in the infotainment model, journalists see the viewer as spectator. The service journalistic approach considers the audience as client, while the civic model approaches audience members as citizens. Mellado and van Dalen argue that the social roles of media actors and audiences are not mutually exclusive, but can coexist and overlap. They are “’simultaneously salient’” (K. D. Lynch, 2007: 396), as “multiple roles are a common part of our modern, pluralistic culture” (p. 379).

Hence, it is up to journalists to decide "which mix of the three audience approaches is most suited to live up to the different goals (both commercial and democratic) that the media organization may pursue simultaneously" (Mellado & van Dalen, 2016: 228). This goes clearly beyond the dichotomy of citizen and consumer.

From an emotion point of view, the above presented role concepts include emotive components in multiple ways – in info- and entertainment, as well as underlying the participant, advocate and loyal-facilitator roles as motivational element. All these relate to what Hanitzsch et al. (2011) established as "interventionism" as one of seven main characteristics distinguishing journalism cultures cross-nationally.[15] Interventionism reflects the willingness of journalists to actively involve themselves in social development, being "involved, socially committed, assertive" (Hanitzsch, et al., 2011: 275). Hence, this reflects an implicit understanding of audiences as being open to motivation and engagement.

This motivational role orientation is currently far more prominent in non-Western contexts than among Western news professionals (Kalyango et al., 2017; WJS, 2017c).[16] These collective role repertoires are both normative and pragmatic. They are not limited to the classic "development journalism", but comprise far more differentiated concepts of, for example, social responsibility, agents of change or empowerment, nation builders, public advocates, citizen educators, or in some cases, partners of the government (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017; Pintak, 2014; Ramaprasad & Kelly, 2003; Ramaprasad & Rahman, 2006; Romano, 2005).

Many Western and non-Western journalists share a strong normative consensus that an appropriate journalistic practice is rooted in social values, modernity, and journalism's contribution to democracy, citizenship and participation. For these voices, journalists should provide guidance and commentary, surveillance and information, and act as critic and watchdog (C. G. Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, & White, 2009; Hanitzsch, 2011; McQuail, 2010; Schudson, 2001). In Western countries, this translates majorly into a professional ideology of detachment and impartiality.

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[15] A second relevant distinction criterion is power distance – journalists either openly challenging or collaborating with loci of power in society.

[16] Similar past approaches in Western countries were public journalism, peace journalism, appreciative-cum-solutions journalism, and social responsibility (for a brief overview, see Kalyango, et al., 2017: 578).

Countries of the global South, however, involve more inherently emotive forms of journalism. A stronger acceptance of interventionist reporting practices might lead to an active deployment of more engaging news styles, combining motivational and persuasive elements, instead of strict detachment. It can be assumed that these modes of journalistic engagement contain emotions and emotive elements on both sides – news content (output) and audiences. How this affects the discursive construction of an "appropriate" emotionality within news coverage is one of the aims to investigate in the empirical analysis in this study.

For now, several affective ways are suggested in order to build on emotive receptive predispositions in audiences: Journalism of engagement, imagined communities, and moral panics.

**Journalism of Engagement**

Responsible citizen-viewers – or publics – cannot only be created by journalists performing as a watchdog or disseminator of information. For some journalists, subjectivity supervenes, and emotional engagement becomes the central means of connecting with and engaging an audience. I label this subjective-motivational journalism "journalism of engagement". It originates in developmental journalism (Waisbord, 2010), peace journalism (J. Lynch & Galtung, 2010), and citizen/participatory journalism.

Building an emotional connect does not require active publics. It relies on the arousal of affective predispositions and emotions of citizens or ordinary news consumers. Schudson sees a primary role of journalism in bringing a "compassionate understanding of how people very different from us experience their lives". He termed this "social empathy" (In: Brown, 2008). Here, journalists aim to motivate audience members for action or behavior change by an invitation to participate in a certain world view or ideology via a distinct (and often visual and emotional) media message. In its extreme form, engagement can take the shape of a "campaign frame" which

> declares the news outlet's stance on a particular issue or cause and typically seeks to galvanize sympathies and support for its intervention, political or otherwise, beyond the world of journalism. (Cottle & Rai, 2008: 83)

**Groups of sentiment: Imagined Communities and Moral Panics**

While journalism of engagement aims to communicate an emotive-moving message, two other approaches target rather the formation of communities of sentiment – communities of pride (as imagined communities) and fear (moral panics). Emotionalization can evoke feelings of a shared positive identity on a social-emotive level or diffuse identities under a perceived threat; it helps to build and reinforce these identities.

This can happen on the private level such as fan cultures, or contain a public-political implication such as ethnicity or national sentiments. The latter was suggested by Anderson (1991) while analyzing nationalism. Anderson put forward the idea of the nation as a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves to be part of that group. Mass media can take over an essential role in creating imagined regional or national communities, as

> regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. (Anderson 1991: 6-7)

The resulting collective emotions on joint commitments are highly impactful as a social phenomenon (Gilbert, 2014). For journalists, arousing nationalistic sentiments such as national pride helps to establish "viewer connect". The audience here becomes an imaginary nation.

With moral panics, the shared group identity remains more implicit and diffuse (Rapport, 1997). Cohen's (1972/2002) seminal work suggests that moral entrepreneurs aim for discursive hegemony via establishing a deviant subject – making it a scapegoat and a threat to society values. Here, journalists see their role in mobilizing anxieties and emotions (Garland, 2008).

### 3.1.4 From micro to macro: What influences journalism?

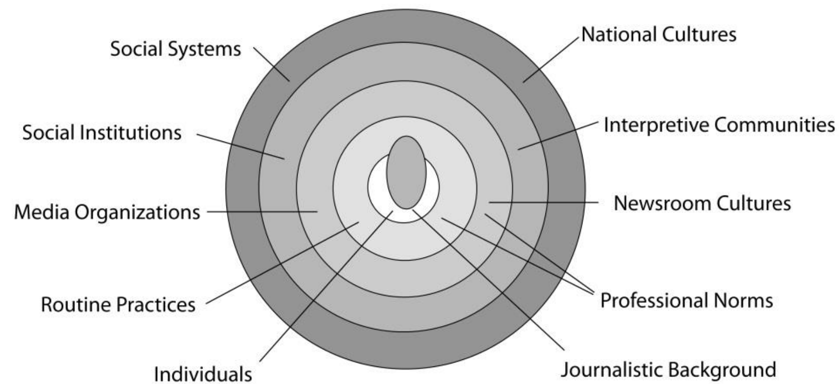
Though this work focuses mainly on the analysis of emotions within the individual and organizational framework of news production, news journalism cannot be properly understood without it being closely intertwined surrounding ecologies, structures, and influence factors. Benson's (2004) suggestion for the main influences on (political) news coverage comprises the commercial/economic, political, and interorganizational domains with a historical-cultural understanding. On the economic level he considers concentration of ownership and related profit pressures, level and intensity of competition, and type of funding as determining. For the political-governmental level, Benson goes along with Kuhn's (1995) distinction of state roles as censor, regulator, enabler, and primary definer. Finally, the organizational-institutional level is covered more in detail below in section 3.3. This complexity and diversity of influence have found their way into only a few academic studies so far (e.g. Aalberg & Curran, 2012; MeCoDEM, 2017).

To understand the diversity of levels and how they overlap or are intertwined, I draw on two integrative models: Shoemaker and Reese's "Hierarchies of Influence" and Weischenberg's "onion model".[17] Both combine theoretical and pragmatic understandings, and both locate journalism between heteronomy and autonomy, structure and agency.

Prominent within Anglo-Saxon journalism research, Shoemaker and Reese (1996, 2014; see also Shoemaker & Vos, 2009) assume that news production itself is structured by powerful media routines which are dependent on a multilevel of influences. The model unites five concentric circles, with the single individual in the core (micro level), followed towards the outside by layers of routine practices, media organizations, social institutions and social systems (macro level, see Figure 2). With social media and online journalism, modifications include the increased role of the individual subject, while media routines lose autonomy and, subsequently, power (Keith, 2011).

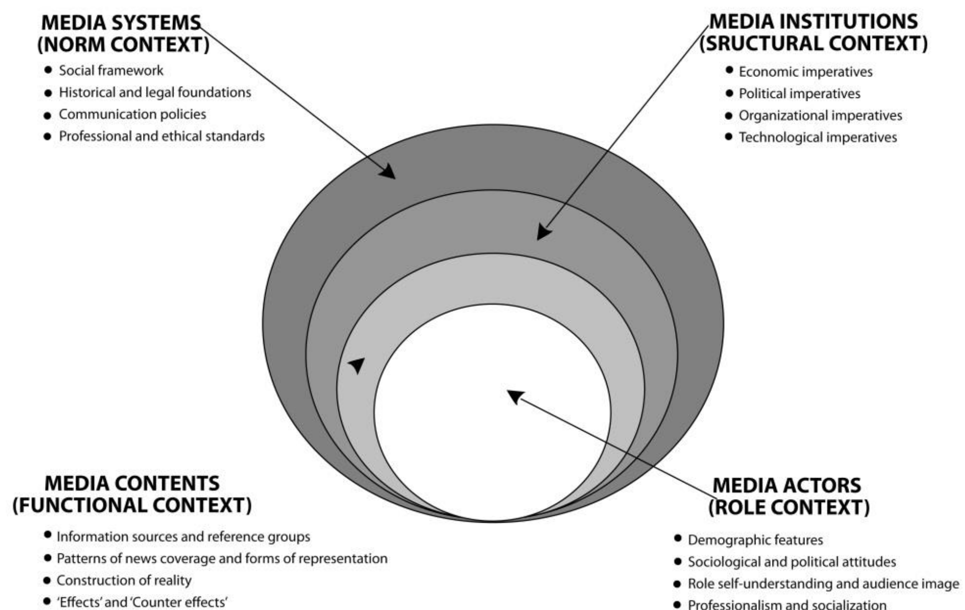
[17] For a synopsis of other typologies see Hanitzsch (2009: 156).

**Figure 2: Hierarchies of influences on News Decisions**




Weischenberg's (1992: 66) "onion model" (*Zwiebelmodell*) is more complex and widespread among German-speaking researchers. Though it is criticized for neglecting feedback effects, it gives a comprehensive overview on influential factors in media production which can be easily made empirically fruitful. Arranged like the layers of an onion (see Figure 3), it understands journalism as a social system, following the tradition of the system/environment paradigm (Blöbaum, 1994; Marcinkowski, 1993).

**Figure 3: The Onion Model according to Weischenberg (1992)**




The model comprises four hierarchically arranged spheres which represent the contexts of journalism from a micro to a macro level: the inner circle comprises the

role context, focusing on the individual journalists; they are embedded in the functional context of media claims; followed by the structural context of media institutions (political, economic, organizational and technological). The last layer is the norm context which includes regulation policies etc.

Emotions as a productive resource in news production can be located on two main levels: as subjective state and idea of individual news professionals, and also in the form of both codified and implicit practices and routines anchored to the institutional-organizational level. These appear with Weischenberg on the levels of media actors, institutions, and contents; while with Shoemaker and Reese it comprises the three inner circles of journalistic background, professional norms, and newsroom cultures. All this also provides the rationale for the selection of sociological theories with a meso-level range. While Bourdieu's field theory focuses on the interplay of emotions within journalistic fields, the approach of new institutionalism looks at codified and non-codified ways in which emotions appear. Boundary theory, finally, allows an understanding of how actors embedded in organizational contexts and various institutions choose to negotiate the legitimacy of and permission to express emotions as part of journalistic routines and products.

However, an integration of larger macro structures such as social systems and political economy was possible only in a few cases owing to research-pragmatic decisions made for reasons such as constraints of space and time made (for a comparative overview of basic media system factors see Appendix II).

In the following section, some of these factors are analyzed more in detail in order to set the comparative framework for distinctive journalism cultures in India and the United Kingdom.

### 3.1.5 Journalism cultures and media ecology in the United Kingdom and India

The following sections comprise some relevant parts of the journalism culture concept, with additional systemic-organizational data. Within the space given, a summary of the British and Indian television news ecology will be provided. Of central importance will be those factors which might help to explain the later

empirical findings. Some of the factors allow a direct comparative approach. It needs to be kept in mind that

> The patterns of similarities and differences are not neatly classifiable along common political or cultural dimensions. (Hanitzsch, et al., 2011: 287)

**Systemic factors: United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom with its long democratic tradition is historically characterized by liberal media markets guaranteeing autonomy to news outlets. While the current press market is shaped by both quality and strongly partisan tabloid news outlets, radio and television succumb to legal rulings which emphasize journalistic professionalism and integrity instead of mainly commercial aims, sensationalism, and partisan connections (Hallin, 2005: 233). The UK is characterized by a strong public service tradition.

Regulation guidelines are provided by the Royal Charter for the BBC. All channels are subject to regulation by the Ofcom Broadcasting Code which demands impartial, unbiased coverage for news programs. Besides this, the BBC (funded by a license fee) together with commercial ITV, Channel 4 and Channel 5 form the British "public service" model, with specific obligations.

As Figure 4 shows, BBC1 continues to be the most watched television news program each year. It retains around 67 % of news watching time, while main competitor ITV[18] comprises around 12 %. Among the 24-hour channels, BBC News reaches 9 %, and Sky News 7 % (see Figure 4). BBC1 is also the sole news source for 29 % of adult news consumers – with 11 % using only ITV, and 9 % only Sky News. An Ofcom report also states that news viewers consider accuracy, trustworthiness and impartiality to be almost equally distributed across the major news providers (Ofcom, 2017: 73).

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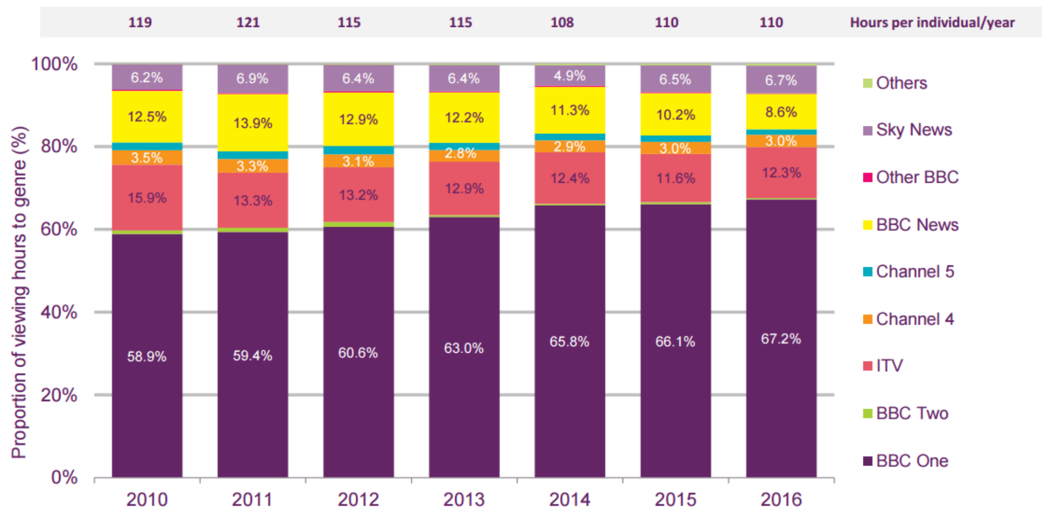
[18] The news for ITV and Channel 4 and Channel 5 are produced by ITN (Independent Television News).

**Figure 4: Proportion of viewing to national and international news by channel group**

Adults 16+, 2010-2016. Source: Ofcom (2017)




Source: BARB, Network. Network programming based on 4+ area filter; Genre = *national / international news*. Channels include their HD and +1 variants. Others = all other channels that showed national/international news that are not any of the listed channels above.

In the interviews conducted for this thesis, British interviewees specified their viewing habits according to the time of day. The relevance of the 9pm watershed came through with BBC and ITV, as both maintain an evening and a nightly bulletin. A regional BBC journalist (B4) explains that viewers of the regional 6.30 pm bulletin are "not earning a tremendous amount, doing ... blue collar work...", while at 10.25 pm "there is a lot more of the people who are the movers and shakers, the people with professional careers". For them "more graphic" content can be allowed after 9 pm (B15).

In contrast, ITV's news audience does not comprise the "A" type – the "big achievers", but rather "Bs and Cs" – the ones that are not "professionally upper classes highly level educated skilled work force" (B20), "economically a little bit lower than the BBC audience" (B10). The nightly news after the 9 pm watershed displays a "more broadsheet mentality; so more foreign news, politics, more analysis" (B5). Differences in class, gender, and age open up. Sky News' B19 speaks of "more a young audience" which tends to "not have such high power jobs" as with the BBC audience.

## Systemic factors: India

India is a comparatively young and troubled democracy. After independence in 1947, the democracy and broadcasting market were shaped according to the British

Westminster role model. Initially, journalism in India served a different purpose than in Western democracies. The post-independence government saw it as an instrument to enhance education, especially in rural villages and towns in India; and under the custody of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting it was treated therefore as a responsibility of the state. Television developed slowly after independence. Under governmental All India Radio, broadcasting started in 1959; but it was not until 1982 that Doordarshan ("Tele-vision") became a national channel.[19] At present, this only Indian public service provider consists of 37 channels in English and local Indian languages, as well as 4 allied channels (Himanshi Dhawan, 2012).

Today, India's media market is highly multifaceted. It experienced radical changes and a vast expansion since liberalization attempts in 1991, and is now marked by ambivalences and the co-presence of old and new patterns, with a rich variety of a strong national and regional press in the vernacular and in English. Regional print markets keep growing, and today more than 800 satellite television channels – among them 392 news channels – populate the Indian TV public sphere (Government of India, 2017).

Contrary to its role model, the BBC, Doordarshan was never seen as truly independent. Instead of safeguarding an autonomous journalism, it was named the "white elephant" (G. K. Kumar, 2013) or "mouthpiece of the government".[20] This is rooted in its institutional control body. Despite its original intention to be an independent body, the Prasar Bharati's board members are all appointed by the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, unlike the British Ofcom.[21] Still, air time for the political opposition and controversial topics, as well as a renewed *News Night* program with a strongly modernized visual design, indicate general pressures to compete in a highly competitive 24-hour news channel environment. Doordarshan uses professional journalistic news criteria and rejects sensationalism (R. Kumar, 2013; The Telegraph India, 2004). Today, the channel DD News, *News*

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[19] Contrary its original aim of educating rural population, it was mostly available in the big cities. Today more than 90 % of the population can receive Doordarshan.

[20] This negative image emerged through incidences like broadcasting government propaganda during Emergency, occasional censorship, and source bias. In 2002, Doordarshan had less than 3 % audience share (Subramanian, 2002).

[21] Dependency on the government shows also financially. While the Information and Broadcasting Ministry directs Indian taxpayers' money to Prasar Bharati (R. Kumar, 2013), plans for a license fee have been turned down (Himanshi Dhawan, 2007).

*Night* and the Hindi news service seem to top the evening news programs regularly (Himanshi Dhawan, 2012; Jha, 2013; PTI, 2013).

The tough commercial competition in the Indian market has favored from the beginning infotainment tendencies with private broadcasters, where liveness and loudness substitute for substance (Kumar, 2015; Thussu, 2007, 2016b). The fight for an appropriate rating measurement system long made it impossible to determine actual audience ratings, and self-proclamations by Times Now or NDTV dominated. Since 2014, the former controversial Television Audience Measurement (TAM) system has been replaced by BARC (Broadcast Audience Research Council), in its own words at present the "world's largest viewership measurement system" with 34,000 panel homes (Sam, 2017).[22] Among the leading news channels with a large or national circulation, from which this study recruited a sample of journalists, are English-language Republic TV, Times Now and CNN News18, while the strong Hindi news market is dominated by Aaj Tak, Zee News, and ABP News (see Figures 5 and 6).

**Figure 5: Top 5 English-language news channels in India**
Week 25: Saturday, 17th June 2017 to Friday, 23rd June 2017, source: http://www.barcindia.co.in/statistic.aspx (2 July 2017)

| Rank | Channel Name | Weekly Impressions (000s) sum |
|---|---|---|
| | | Week 25 |
| 1 | Republic TV | 868 |
| 2 | Times Now | 670 |
| 3 | CNN News18 | 367 |
| 4 | India Today Television | 364 |
| 5 | NDTV 24x7 | 316 |
| All India (U+R) : NCCS AB : Males 22+ Individuals, To get this data on your Twitter timeline, tweet with #BarcTweet Top 5 English News Channels | | |

[22] This replaced and took over TAM's merely 12,000 meters in the whole of India.

**Figure 6: Top 5 Hindi-language news channels in India**
Week 25: Saturday, 17th June 2017 to Friday, 23rd June 2017, source: http://www.barcindia.co.in/statistic.aspx (2 July 2017)

| Rank | Channel Name | Weekly Impressions (000s) sum |
|---|---|---|
| | | Week 25 |
| 1 | Aaj Tak | 94317 |
| 2 | Zee News | 83087 |
| 3 | ABP News | 69594 |
| 4 | News18 India | 60456 |
| 5 | India TV | 56131 |
| HSM (U+R) : NCCS All : 15+ Individuals, To get this data on your Twitter timeline, tweet with #BarcTweet Top 5 Hindi News Channels | | |

In addition, during the empirical interviews it evolved that Indian interviewees distinguish audiences along a combined line of language, class, and emotion. The Indian news market with its countless news channels categorizes audiences along the dichotomy of English versus the vernacular.[23] In this study, journalists expressed repeatedly that it is the vernacular Hindi channels which they consider to be more sensationalist and emotionalizing. The rationale for this commercial orientation goes back to how audiences are characterized. English-language channels are associated with viewers being intelligent (I5) and "sophisticated" and able of "deducing news on their own" (I10). They are usually considered young, using social media (I9, I14), better educated (I15 and I5), from a metro (big city) or maybe from the South as Hindi is not a major language there (I5). Viewers of News18 India are described as "that 9pm news watched by the Sec A which is the segment which is higher earning, urban, majority male decision-makers" (I13).

Hindi channel audiences, in contrast, shall generally appeal to "the common man" – which is considered to be a rikshawala (rickshaw driver, I8, I9, I10), a chaiwala (tea-seller, I9), a driver or gardener (I19). Though viewers can be "matured and informed" (I18), in addition, an (upper) middle class audience is targeted with a more nationalist focus on "Brand India" (I8). In consequence, with this simplistic picture of thinking about the audience along communal lines (I15) and being more religious (I19), channels assume Hindi audiences to like more emotionalized coverage (I19), reflected in a simpler language, topic choices – and a somewhat

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[23] There is a second dividing line comprising the urban-rural divide, but this is of less importance here.

more defensive style of presentation. India Today's I15 who works for both Hindi and English-language newscasts summarizes the stance.

> You have to keep in mind the emotions of people involved because what we air can lead to riots... Those concerns are more with the Hindi channel than the English channel because the English channel has a bunch of viewers who are more earning, better educated, probably better able to keep control of their emotions, or probably better able to process things they don't agree with, whereas with a Hindi channel, because of communal fault lines, because of tension, because of anger, the situation can explode... (I15, anchor, senior journalist, AT/HT).

Like British channels, Indian news producers try to anticipate over-emotive reactions of audiences. However, the perception among communal and language lines differs from the British focus on age and a watershed.

Besides this rather binary distinction between English- and Hindi-speaking audiences, anchor Arnab Goswami of English-language Republic TV and formerly Times Now successfully recognizes and encourages the sentiments of a new segment of viewers – an audience marked by "the ruff [sic] and tumble of acrimonious debates" in Hindi news who benefit from the rising Indian economy but "are convinced, nevertheless, that the system is biased against them and favors a cosy privileged elite" (Haridas, 2016).

### Television journalism as profession: the personal, education, newsroom, and autonomy

The recent Worlds of Journalism (2017e) project establishes some pre-quantitative (and therefore not representative) general trends about British and Indian newsrooms.[24]

British employees in journalism appear to be generally older than their Indian colleagues, with an **age** median of 43 years (N=640) compared to 34 years (N=454) on the Indian side. Related to this is a difference in **education**, with twice as many Indian journalists holding university degrees, especially in relation to journalism (70.3 % to 34 %), and with a number of Indian journalists trained in the West.

In contrast, journalists in India and the United Kingdom have similar levels of union membership (between around 36 and 44%), and also share similar

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[24] Data gathering was achieved through a consistent method. However, with a case base below N=1000, the results indicate merely trends in national journalism cultures, but not reliable statistics. It represents the discursive reflections of journalists, not their performance. Finally, WoJ studied journalists working across all types of media.

perceptions about the degree of professional **autonomy**. While British journalists consider themselves to enjoy “a great deal of freedom” and Indian news personnel just “some freedom”, average figures indicate overall high values for both. Autonomy in selecting stories (>70 %), emphasizing aspects of news stories (>73 %) and editorial coordination (>52 % here the UK is lower; WJS, 2017a) were also reported by majorities of respondents in both India and the United Kingdom.

Across both countries, journalism is perceived to be most influenced by ethics, time limits, information access and editorial policy; these factors form the top 4 in both countries (Ramaprasad, 2016; Thurman & Kunert, 2016).

Similar to the example of Argentina (Amado & Waisbord, 2015), India is a society marked by high divisions. This means that journalists are confronted with a rather weak underlying social consensus about fundamental issues and will subsequently diverge into more heterogeneous directions.

**Role understanding: Interventionism, Power Distance, Market orientation**

Journalistic role conceptions in India and the United Kingdom have relevant ideas in common, but they are also marked by a major difference due to different premises. Across countries, journalists seem to agree about the two most important role motivations: reporting things as they are, and educating the audience (WJS, 2017c).[25] Informing audiences appears to be a universal value for British and Indian journalists.

But, from here priorities start to vary. British journalists emphasize as their top-most identities the detached observer, the analyzer and the monitor – three classic Western journalism traditions.[26] Like their British counterparts, Indian media professionals aim to analyze current affairs, but consider in equal proportions the importance of promoting national development (81.7 %) and expressing cultural

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[25] The figures for this are as follows: Reporting things as they are: 93 % UK, 88.4 % India; educating the audience: 78.8 % UK, 85.5% India. The sample size ranges from N=663-697 UK and N=498-518 India.
There is very little academic literature about role concepts in India. For the UK, studies remain incoherent due to mixing diverging print and television role concepts (e.g., Dalen, et al., 2012). Though this is also the case with WJS it uses functional equivalence for a direct country comparison.

[26] “extremely/ very important”: ranging from 93 % to 58.6 %.

diversity and tolerance in public opinion (77.9 %). Also, more than half of the Indian journalists support encouraging people to participate in political activities.

These more engaging aspects rank very low with British journalists. Less than half favor tolerance and cultural diversity; less than one fifth supports notions of national development or motivating people to participate politically.

In brief: according to the WJS (2017c), British journalists prioritize roles fitting a traditional Western approach to journalism, while Indian news producers do not correspond to a clichéd model of developmental journalism, but combine national development with motivational citizen-oriented and government-critical Western journalistic elements to create an affirmative stance on interventionism. In Godler and Reich's (2017) terms this difference can be explained by a positive correlation between a "detached reality depiction" and a country's higher level of democracy and press freedom, professional autonomy, and a lesser profit orientation/dependency on advertising revenue.

The higher reliance on scarce advertisement resources impacts the set of Indian role understandings. Here, journalists also need to be entertainers; attracting audience attention becomes a means of survival in the highly competitive Indian news market. This is achieved through means of commercial entertainment, including sensationalism. Although news programs in the United Kingdom also faced a shift towards infotainment, they rely more on a public service ideal focused on audiences as citizens. The empirical analysis in chapters 8 and 9 will engage profoundly with aspects of role understanding, audience orientation, and means of engagement.

Interventionism has been established as one of the core distinguishing features between Indian and British journalism cultures. It is closely intertwined with a second element: power distance. Manifest indirectly in the degree of trust in institutions, journalists with low power distance tend to "accept information provided by government sources as authoritative, credible and trustworthy" (Hanitzsch, 2007: 374). Indian journalists appear to have a much higher trust level – in parliament, military, judiciary, and government – but also in other news media (72.1 % - 59.4 % with at least a "great deal of trust"). In the United Kingdom, the opposite scenario emerges. Journalists appear to be highly skeptical, with around 41 % and fewer trusting the judiciary and other institutions – the parliament institutions were trusted by only 13.2 % (Ramaprasad, 2016; Thurman & Kunert, 2016).

This difference again can be linked to role concepts. Indian journalism strives for national progress which requires cooperation while being traditionally critical at the same time. Here we find an extremely heterogeneous market, with Times Now, Zee News or India TV famous for their Pro-Modi-reporting and "saffronizing" news content, while India's leading party BJP bites back on critical NDTV (S. Bhushan, 2014, 2016; Financial Express Online, 2017; Verma, 2017).

### Absolute and relative ethics

Ethics in British broadcasting are largely regulated through editorial guidelines set by Ofcom, and Indian broadcasters acknowledge several codes of conduct (e.g., NBA – News Broadcasters Association) together with context-specific informal inter-organizational arrangements.[27] While complaints to Ofcom are seriously pursued, legal enforcement is considerably less common in the Indian case. Both characteristics indicate a rather low institutionalization (and hence autonomy) of Indian news organizations compared to other actors.

Moreover, Amado and Waisbord (2012: 63) argue that if the collective consciousness of journalists is rather weak, "there is no strong, unanimous push to regulate internal behaviors through codes of ethics or defensive actions to fend off assaults by public officials, advertisers, or media owners".

In their ethical attitudes, journalists from both countries show considerable similarities and differences (WJS, 2017b).[28] British journalists agree almost unanimously (94.1 %) with the statement that journalists should "always adhere to codes of professional ethics", without exception. In the Indian case, this receives less approval (77.6 %). British journalists' ethical attitudes "closely match the codes of conduct they work under", conclude Thurman and Kunert (2016: 2).

On the other hand, ambivalences emerge. Journalists of both countries agree that ethical actions can be situation-specific (around 66 %). Indian news professionals are more inclined to leave moral standards aside in extraordinary circumstances

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[27] The use of a round email to leading journalists from the main English-language channels on how to handle sensitive (upsetting) material and legal consequences was narrated by a member of the NBA.

[28] Sample sizes: India N=512-519, UK N=688-694.

(45.5 %) than their British colleagues (34.9 %).[29] The higher relativism in India, which becomes apparent here, indicates that moral absolutes and idealism have little relevance in journalism cultures marked by a low professional autonomy, where less predictable dynamic circumstances require a higher flexibility and greater adaptation to circumstances.

## 3.2 Core mezzo-level theory: Institutions and journalistic agency

Understanding how news media and journalism work is neither achieved through systemic theories with an overtly structural focus nor overemphasizing individualistic agency, neither with the “media-centrism” of journalism research (Benson & Neveu, 2005b; Schlesinger, 1990) nor the “media-phobism” which dominated political communication scholarship for many years (Benson, 2004). Adequate news sociological approaches are required which focus on helping to link micro and macro levels.

Here, I present three approaches on the mezzo level. While journalism cultures relate more to journalistic individuals as an aggregate idea, the following three sociological approaches incorporate structures and external factors with individual agency. All three – Bourdieu’s (and Benson’s) field theory, North’s new institutionalism, and Carlson and Lewis rethinking autonomy and boundaries in journalism will help to develop the argument of this work further.

The three approaches will be presented below in order to show how they inform my study. Subsequently, a discussion will outline how emotions are integrated and interwoven in these three theories.

### 3.2.1 Bourdieu’s Field Theory

The theoretical work of Bourdieu (e.g., 1993, 1998b, 2005) seeks to transcend the dualism between structural determinism and humanistic voluntarism, but also goes beyond the object-subject divide. Bourdieu’s field theory has been richly explored

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[29] The rough agreement of what constitutes still acceptable controversial reporting practices comprises using hidden microphones or cameras – most accepted in India (sting operations), and 4th with British journalists. Second in both countries are re-creations/dramatization of news (Ramaprasad, 2016; Thurman & Kunert, 2016).

and made productive for media studies by Benson and Neveu (2005a) and others. Here, only ideas relating closely to this work will be discussed.

Drawing on Kurt Lewin, Bourdieu links the ideas of social (power) relations, habitus and capital in the analytical concept "field" (Bourdieu, 1993, 1998b):

> A field is a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field. (Bourdieu, 2005: 30).

> Fields are arenas of struggle in which individuals and organizations compete, unconsciously or consciously, to valorize those forms of capital which they possess. (Benson, 2006: 190)

Bourdieu thought about how to connect macrostructures with organizational routines and journalistic practices. As modernity causes differentiation in specialized spheres of action, this process can be explained not only through external factors, but also by intrinsic field-own rules and incentives which circulate around practices of power. These power relations structure human action fundamentally. An application in journalism means to regard journalism as a semi-autonomous field, to outline the constantly shifting tensions between audiences and news teams as cultural producers, between class distinctions on the basis of economic and cultural resources, and looking upon processes of competition and difference.

Bourdieu understands as *capital* both resources for actors to deploy within the field but also targets actors fight for. Bourdieu differentiates several basic forms of capital. Most important are *economic* and *cultural capital*. They form two poles, in between which cultural industries finds its loci: the heteronomous pole comprising forces external to the field (mainly economic-political), and the autonomous pole representing internal specific cultural capital not dependent on commercial forces (Bourdieu, 2005). Applied to the television journalistic field

> ...economic capital is expressed via ... advertising revenues, or audience ratings, whereas the "specific" cultural capital of the fields takes the form of intelligent commentary, in-depth reporting, and the like – the kind of journalistic practices rewarded each year by the US Pulitzer Prizes. (Benson & Neveu, 2005b: 4)[30]

Cultural capital appears through signs of culture and taste. On the other, economic side, ownership and funding sources matter. Inspired by the opening up of (French) state regulation to private broadcasters, Bourdieu makes out a general shift of the journalistic field towards the heteronomous field. He warns that a "ferocious competition" among media outlets can only produce "uniformity, censorship, and even conservatism" instead of diversity (Bourdieu, 2005: 44).

Further, *social capital* refers to institutionalized relationships to colleagues or source networks (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), and *symbolic capital* manifested through "the *recognition*, institutionalized or not, that they receive from a group" (Bourdieu, 1991: 72). As an example, this might be the location of a broadcaster's main office (Benson, 2006). Symbolic goods reflect a duality in being produced "according to internal intellectual imperatives" (autonomous pole) or "to respond to external demands" (heterogeneous pole; Champagne, 2005: 55). Agents who convert successfully one form of capital into another tend to dominate the field – either conserving or transforming it.

Here, I suggest adding a fifth type of capital which becomes relevant for this work: **emotional capital**.[31] Thagard (2015) understands it as "the abilities of people to use emotions effectively for many purposes", comprising self-esteem, self-regulation, emotional (motivational) energy, resilience or attachment. Cottingham (2016) considers it as an embodied form of cultural capital, as

> ...one's trans-situational, emotion-based knowledge, emotion management skills, and feeling capacities (p. 454)

In a field, individuals who can draw on emotional resources might gain a competitive advantage in (re)defining power relations.[32] Emotional capital can take

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[30] Cultural capital comprises also embodied capital (socialization), institutional capital (educational credentials and or verbal abilities), and objectified capital (objects owned), see Ashley and Empson (2017).

[31] The term goes back to both Nowotny (1981) and his study about Austrian women in public and Jackson's (1959) take on grief.

[32] Emotions as resource should not be conflated with its practical activation as emotional concern or support.

different forms such as empathy, care or compassion in a positively-valued sense. However, it can also appear as the skill of deceiving and manipulating others in their emotive world.[33] The way that

> ... [individuals] activate and experience emotion in practice can shed light on the embodied and nonconscious aspects of emotion within social hierarchies of power and distinction. (Cottingham, 2016: 453)

Emotions become accumulated, embodied and activated as a resource in the practice of field actors. The example of male nurses shows that an innate emotion capital of empathy and compassion starts building up in a person's formative years (as a child). When entering professional training, this gets further developed in the course of occupational experiences – establishing a field *habitus* (p. 462-3).

*Habitus* is Bourdieu's second core concept of field theory. It comprises the tacit rules of the game. They can be understood as enduring patterns of thoughts and behavior (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), a "socialized subjectivity" where the personal and subjective is also social and collective, or in different words:

> ...individuals' predispositions, assumptions, judgments, and behaviors [being] the result of a long-term process of socialization ... in the family ... and professional education. (Benson & Neveu, 2005b: 5)

As illustrated with male nurses before, emotions form part of the habitus. Within social relations emotions function to maintain privilege through the exercise of power (Cottingham, 2016). On a more abstract level, emotions as habitus are shaped by emotion cultures. The link between field theory and emotions will be further explored in section 3.3.4 of this chapter.

Agents in the field ready to play a given game also share a "doxa", a "universe of tacit presuppositions" organizing a field's action (Bourdieu, 2005: 37). These shared implicit practical schemes can even take the shape of a specific doxa based on membership in a professional field. In journalism, this could be the acceptance of professional principles of rational objectivity or tacit news values in serious news journalism.

The field of journalism is thought to be central within the larger field of power due to its closeness to the elite (or capital-rich). Bourdieu (2005) points out how it competes with the political and social science fields for the authority of imposing

[33] A fictive but prominent illustration of this case appears in the two main characters of the US American TV serial "House of Cards".

"the legitimate vision of the social world" (p. 36), carrying therefore a mobilizing character (p. 39). Champagne (2005: 58) defines it succinctly as "the power to say who and what is important, and what we should think about important things and people". Maybe here it can be added "what we should *feel* about important things and people".

Television with its appeal for a broader-scale public requires a "simple vocabulary and powerful images" (Champagne, 2005: 59), picking up topics from other sources, and combining the logics of the intellectual field (internal legitimacy through peer-judgment) and the political field (external legitimacy through viewer plebiscite).

While Bourdieu's field theory has strengths in explaining the momentary position of actors in a field and the power relations of fields towards each other, it shows deficits in neglecting the actual influence of the political sphere and legislation.[34] Some gaps can be compensated for by looking into New Institutionalism, and this will be covered in the next section.

### 3.2.2 North's Theory of Institutions and New Institutionalism

The new institutionalism (NI) can act in a complementary manner to the field theory, as it focuses on aspects of power, politics, culture and processual shifts within the institution of journalism.[35] Like field theory, NI gains effectiveness on the mezzo level, linking micro and macro structures, individual and organizational agency with large-scale forces such as capitalism. It assumes that (news)

> ...organizations are deeply embedded in social and political environments [suggesting] that organizational practices and structures are often either reflections of or responses to rules, beliefs, and conventions built into the wider environment (Powell, 2007: 1).

From among several streams of NI, Douglass North's "institutions-as-rules" approach appears highly interesting for this work.[36] North (1990: 5) considers organizations as "groups of individuals bound by some common purpose to achieve

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[34] This has been addressed by Benson's (2006) incorporation of the political sphere in each of the two poles of cultural and economic capital, with a stronger influence of culture.
[35] NI is partially subsumed under organizational theory, though institutions and organizations need to be differentiated.
It is seen by scholars like Kaplan (2006) as a remedy for political and cultural deficits in most existing social theories dealing with news.
[36] North's work originates in the economic realm and has been referred to in New Economic Institutionalism. For media studies also relevant are Cook (1998) and Sparrow (2006) – see also Caballero and Soto-Oñate (2015).

objectives". They are agents embedded in and shaped by institutional frameworks. Similar to Bourdieu's principles of action, North compares institutions to "rules of the game in a society" (p. 3). News media, routines and practices are part of that (Ryfe, 2006). With North, institutions are "humanly devised constraints that human beings impose on themselves" (p. 5) and that

> ...structure political, economic and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights). (North, 1991: 97)

While formal constraints often materialize as legally defined constructs, informal constraints are rooted in the realm of culture. They are "rules that have never been consciously designed and that it is in everyone's interest to keep" (Sugden, 1986: 54) such as informal common practices, routines, and discursive formations. Informal rules are usually the outcome of historical struggles. With the same formal rules imposed on different society, different outcomes or paths are produced (path dependency, Cook, 1998).[37] This explains why, for example, the principles of objectivity and detachment are implemented differently across the globe despite its global diffusion.

North (1994) understood that the nature of human learning and hence, societal change, is rooted not only in rational choice assumptions, but fundamentally shaped by actors' subjective frames and representations of a problem. This means culture and beliefs, "ideologies, myths, dogmas, and prejudices matter" as subjective mental models in understanding decision-making in contexts of uncertainty (p. 362).

Rules and their enforcement shape the character of the game and how it is played. They facilitate the exchange on different levels, with institutions keeping transaction costs low. North (1990: 6) sees their purpose economically to "reduce uncertainty by establishing a stable (but not necessarily efficient) structure to human interaction" within complex environments (p. 6).[38]

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[37] For example, political news coverage can be considered as result of the interaction between journalists and politicians and the broader fields they are embedded in. This setting limits the role variations journalists can take in a democracy. Blumler and Gurevitch (1995) identified a more "sacerdotal" attitude of British journalists (considering official institutions like the Parliament as "priestly" and hence newsworthy) with more pragmatic approaches.

[38] Transaction costs can roughly be understood as costs of transacting (costly) information and (costly) enforcement, consisting in "the costs of measuring the valuable attributes of what is being exchanged and the costs of protecting rights and policing and enforcing agreements", where they act as sources of institutions (North 1990: 27-32).

In news journalism, we find a variety of institutionalized informal rules which help to lower transaction costs – and risks. Here, (im)material journalistic codes of conduct can be subsumed, but also the anchoring of objectivity and impartiality as core journalistic principles at the turn of the 20th century. Tuchman (1972) comprehended it as serving to reduce uncertainty in areas such as law and liability or relations with sources and audiences, while simultaneously making journalistic claims legitimate – and powerful. Similarly, Sparrow (2006) sees the establishment of journalistic legitimacy as one of three taken-for-granted assumptions of the "institutional regime of news". These assumptions (which also include profit generation and finding information on time) are required to reduce the inherent uncertainty in the professional field.

Going back to the establishment of objectivity in American journalism, Kaplan (2006) uses NI to holistically explain the fundamental transformation from a partisan press to "objective media". He sees the change in implicit rules of journalistic practice caused by developments such as the major political parties in the USA losing power, with rising progressive ideas of "public service" and professional expertise:

> Journalism dispensed its previous practices and ideals of forthright, emotional partisanship in news and editorials. The daily press, instead, asserted a right to mediate the public sphere as impartial, expert professionals. (Kaplan, 2006: 182)

A final example for a strategy of risk reduction in journalism is "mimetic isomorphism" which explains the phenomenon of largely similar views appearing across mainstream media outlets, exhibiting only small variations (Cook, 2006). Homogeneity dominates especially in news companies which face uncertainty. They tend to deploy mimetic isomorphism – mirroring the practices of other news organizations in a strong ties network (Lowrey, 2011; similar Sparrow, 1999).

However, change and innovation are seen to happen in news organizations which appear more ready to innovate if their connections with the audience and resources are good (Lowrey, 2011). Change happens when actors exploit conflicting institutional or systemic logics – doing "bricolage", means using strategies of reinterpretation in order to establish new cultural identities (Bannerman & Haggart, 2015; J. L. Campbell, 2004). Today's competitive market supports adaptations, for example, editorial lines in Scandinavian newspapers shifting from independent to "views papers", with political commentators as experts and brand names, despite retaining the myth of the "4th estate" (Allern & Blach-Ørsten, 2011).

From the findings of Kaplan (2006) and Allern and Blach-Ørsten (2011) we can learn about the dynamics of journalism – its formal and informal rules, shaped by path dependencies. 100 years after the journalistic turn to a norm of sobered objectivity it is maybe time to revise again implicit institutional rules – with emotions retaking a position in the public arena. As news organizations' tasks change together with dynamics in the broader environment, is it right to blame news media for moments of soft news, scandals, sensationalism?

From the new institutionalist perspective of North, a shift of informal rules might lead to a more ready acceptance of emotions in journalism as a potential solution to reduce transaction costs. Emotions contribute functionally towards both aiding audience access in increasingly competitive markets but also (re-)emerging with the general Zeitgeist, which gradually leaves behind the ideology of scientific rational-objectified expert understandings that had been a relevant news institution-supporting mechanism of the 19th and 20th century. This means that emotive sensationalism can be extraordinarily beneficial to simply arouse audience attention in a market of increasingly scarce attentiveness, supported by infotainment becoming more (pragmatically) respectable.

Therefore – emotions as threat or treat? It can be debated what consequences the increasing prominence of emotive elements within "quality" journalism have. Will they pose a danger for journalistic autonomy – or will they maybe enrich journalism by allowing new ways? Boundary Theory will help to develop an answer to this.

### 3.2.3 Journalistic Autonomy and Boundary Theory

Journalistic autonomy appears as both a discursive construction and actual contextualized practice. With economic pressures impacting journalism considerably, Bourdieu (2005) sees a decreasing autonomy for the journalistic field, drifting to the heteronomous pole. Benson (2006: 197) differentiates the field theoretical approach, adding that journalists balance the tension in a "contested space somewhere between nonmarket and market-oriented forms of state regulation", between the state-cultural and state-economic poles. Autonomy from within is demonstrated through professional organizations, press reviews, awards, institutionalized forms of constraints (negative sanctions) or encouragements. But autonomy can also be externally institutionalized, for example in statutes to protect public television (Benson & Neveu, 2005b: 10).

As journalism as an institution "refracts rather than simply reflects the play of external forces" (Benson, 2006: 196), it gains space to establish autonomy discursively. This can appear objectively – as insulation from outside influences – and subjectively – in professional role and self-understandings (Benson & Neveu, 2005b: 16).

The evaluation of autonomy is contested. While on the positive-normative side autonomy protects journalists against unwanted intrusions such as demagogy and allows for "multiperspectival news" in benefit of democracy (Gans, 1979), criticism on the practical level claims "intellectual narrowness" (Schudson, 2005a: 219) or "'egoistic' closing-in on the specific interests of the people engaged in the field" (Bourdieu, 2005: 45). As journalists might forget that "they are supposed to write for the readers and not for one another" (Champagne, 2005: 56), Schudson (2005a) in turn asks for a degree of openness in preserving (field) autonomy, as journalism shall incorporate social, political and economic currents.

Journalistic autonomy is dynamic and needs to be renegotiated frequently. It is a result of differentiation processes. Autonomy can be an outcome of functional differentiation (Luhmann, 2000), incentive for ongoing differential processes (for Alexander, 1981, it is manifest in the growth of professional norms and self-regulation), or subject to parallel processes of de-differentiation, where autonomy is gained in one part of the field and lost in another. These processes might contribute to a higher homogenization of the field (Bourdieu, 2005).

Luhmann's (2000) functionalist distinction between the news sector, advertising and entertainment may have never existed in practice because of ongoing pressures of commercialization but also new formats and styles such as hybrid infotainment.[39] But not all scholars see journalism losing out in autonomy against external threats. On the contrary, Bolin (2014) argues that it is actually journalism's gain of autonomy through processes of differentiation which lets journalism enter new fields successfully. For example, the once peripheral field of entertainment might not conquer journalism in shape of "emotive sensationalism"; on the contrary, it might actually be the more autonomous journalistic field (re)appropriating "ways of doing things" in the entertainment field.

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[39] Bourdieu describes this development in "On Television" as "drama, novelty, timeliness, vividness, color, easily described stories with two distinct sides, terseness, good visuals, pithy sound bites" (Benson, 2006: 197).

It is not only journalistic autonomy which seems to be under pressure from the deployment of emotive elements or a change in display rules for emotions among presenting journalists. What gets equally challenged is the discourse about the institution of journalism and its claim for legitimacy.

> Gains in symbolic resources translate into material rewards. Being deemed a "legitimate" journalist accords prestige and credibility, but also access to news sources, audiences, funding, legal rights, and other institutionalized prerequisites. (Carlson, 2015: 2)

Journalism aims to become legitimate through professionalism, consisting of ethical norms, rules of practice and expectations of autonomy. When boundaries of journalism get contested by different actors, it becomes a symbolic "credibility contest" (Deuze, 2005) about who has epistemic authority, meaning, who "qualifies" to define what journalism is supposed to be. The claim for legitimacy (or capital) of a certain professional ideology happens in a social context (Keeble, 2007) and can be contested by external actors (the state) or internal ones (higher-status journalists). The aim is to achieve a "mapmaking authority". But to lay "claim to a certain space *and* impose a particular vision about the character, meaning, and distinctiveness of that space" (S. C. Lewis, 2015: 219) requires strategies to defend one's position.

This is where boundary work acquires relevance. Gieryn (1983) pioneered the concept, describing it as discourses "demarcating, defending, expanding, contesting the limits of legitimate science" (Gieryn, 1999: 4-5). Strategies of boundary work include expansion (such as journalism taking over new fields – and their respective meanings such as entertainment in infotainment formats), expulsion (of deviant elements such as fake news), and the protection of autonomy (as control against potential intruders).[40] Emotions work here on the level of practices and professionalism – they might appear as new media practices (expansion) which contest established "correct" practices, therefore challenging autonomy. On the level of professionalism, emotive displays might appear to be expelled as deviant because "tabloid news is not journalism" (for an overview about the dimensions of boundary work, see Carlson, 2015: 10).

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[40] Boundaries were shaken in a case described by Fakazis (2006), where a journalist defended her decision to compress original interview material in order to create a readable narrative as compromise between professionally demanded objectivity and reader-orientation. This was seen as a threat to the autonomy of the profession.

Boundary work in journalism is highly dynamic, more than in other professions. What differentiates journalism is threefold: its porous character which imposes few formal barriers to field actors (journalists require mostly no licensing or fixed education), its lack of a stable identity due to constant adaptations to new technologies, and its non-specialized general audience (Berkowitz & Liu, 2016; Carlson, 2015). The internal heterogeneity of the field makes it seem "improbable that journalists can effectively function as a cohesive community with clear boundaries" (Amado & Waisbord, 2015: 64).

In order to secure legitimacy, competing agents in the field strive to differentiate themselves from others, showing the superiority of one's group. Therefore, boundary work in social fields rests on **dualisms** such as rare/common, masculine/feminine – or rational/emotional. They mark the boundaries by defining who is inside and who is outside, what is acceptable or deviant. Legitimate reporting is positioned against unethical reporting, citizen journalism or public relations (Amado & Waisbord, 2015; S. C. Lewis, 2015). The closer agents are to each other in their respective orientation and aims, the more they will try to distinguish themselves from their competitors in the field. This results in competition, manifest in chasing scoops, big names, peer monitoring and other factors of relational journalistic identity (Bourdieu, 2005: 44).[41]

Closely linked here is **paradigm repair**, where discursive strategies address norm transgressions within the news paradigm. Initially, the deviant agent is separated and isolated from the (majority) journalism, reasserting that journalistic routines are able to prevent threatening values from news "distortion", with later ritual rhetorical self-criticism (and self-flagellation) in public (Berkowitz, 2000; Berkowitz & Liu, 2016; Carlson, 2016; Hindman, 2005; T. Kuhn, 1962; Reese, 1990). This rather defensive reaction helps to maintain the status quo (Carlson, 2016).

To retain control over the field, which is challenged by new actors and ideas of innovation, journalists practice "discursive containment" to achieve what Abbott (1988) calls "jurisdiction" over a social practice – which often manifests in falling back on accepted norms and clinging to enduring values. For example, audiences

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[41] Bourdieu (2005: 45) describes this excellently with the following words: "The essential part of what is presented in *L'Express* and *Le Nouvel Observateur* is determined by the relationship between *L'Express* and *Le Nouvel Observateur*."

are co-opted and segregated at the same time. Invited for participatory practices, audiences are kept segregated from main news decisions. Hence, this re-integrates an audience into traditional news production routines (A. Williams, Wardle, & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011).

A telling example for multiple boundary work is the case of hard and soft news. While news items become more "impersonal and unemotional in [their] style" when considered to be politically relevant (Reinemann et al., 2012: 233), emotional elements are usually associated with soft or sensational news or remain in news reports relegated to eye witnesses as *private* (not political) entities without power status (see Berkowitz & Liu, 2016; Sjøvaag, 2015: 106-7; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2015). Hence, citizen journalists are allowed to be personal; to them subjectivity and emotive expression is granted in the name of authenticity (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2015). So also is audience participation – viewers are left as supplementary in their emotions instead of becoming serious news material or a credible authority (A. Williams, et al., 2011). However, this adaptive routine is actually a differentiation criteria and unites both co-optation and segregation strategies which helps to fix the boundaries of the established professional journalistic ideology.

At this point, it seems useful to summarize what role and position emotions can occupy in the reflected theories on the mezzo level. As the theories overlap in basic ideas, so do emotions find a place in all three approaches.

### 3.2.4 The stance of emotions in mezzo theoretical approaches

Drawing on the three mezzo theories presented, in this section I aim to develop a preliminary framework for emotions in news sociology, sketching the dynamics of emotions in fields and institutions, their impact on the legitimacy and autonomy of news journalism, and in what way emotive elements help to shape the dynamics of boundary work. A strong research interest of this work consists in understanding the effects of emotional capital and emotion-as-resource on news content, intertwined with the (nationally) different formation of professional cultures in India and the United Kingdom.

I argue that emotions have always been part of the journalistic realm; despite being declared nearly "invisible" in Anglo-American news practice of the last century and in academic work about journalism. Apart from emotion sociology, none of the above presented theories addressed emotive dynamics explicitly as a relevant

influential social force. Bourdieu (1998b) merely spared a side blow on sensationalist media practices in television.

In order to understand how emotions inform and interfere with journalistic news production, I suggest four relevant functions and involvements of emotions: 1) emotional capital and habitus as cultural resource of power, 2) emotional capital in emotion regulation, 3) emotions as a conceptual threat to professional self-understanding and journalistic autonomy, and 4) emotion containment through boundary work.

First, emotional capital serves on the aggregate level as a resource within interpersonal relations in order to gain a competitive advantage, for example, through the quality of information and information gathering (access and evaluation of information) or manifest in the knowledge about how to deploy emotions in news presentation and storytelling to achieve an impactful audience connect.

Emotional capital aids a news organization in the struggle for a good position in the journalistic field. It is a resource which can be transformed into economic capital (as market growth and ratings increase). In North's theory of institutions, deploying emotions might reduce transaction costs for media institutions in increasingly competitive and uncertain markets – this means enacting a moderate emotional connect which does not violate formal or informal institutionalized rules of journalistic quality, and equally contributes to stimulating viewer attention.

The economic capital of audience connect can also be transformed into symbolic capital, defining also symbolic power within a field (e.g. being declared as the most trusted TV channel). As emotions also form part of the habitus, they cater to emotive audience expectations which are indirectly shaped by hegemonic emotion cultures. As habitus, emotions become embodied and can serve in struggles for power.

Second, emotional capital on the individual level supports an adequate emotion regulation and management, as "active effort of individuals and groups to align felt and expressed emotions with interactional emotion norms (or feeling rules)—the constructed and situation-specific expectations for what and how to feel" (Cottingham, 2016: 453). Relevant especially for empathic interactions and stress management, these processes are subsumed under Hochschild's (1979, 2003)

concept of emotional labor (see chapter 4.1.3) and pertain to the autonomous-cultural pole. Emotions are understood as social, "embodied and felt, while also managed and strategically used in interactions contextualized by distinct fields" (p. 453).

Third, emotions are perceived as a threat to professional identity and autonomy, especially in Western public service ecologies defined by professional principles emphasizing non-emotionality. Emotions challenge the legitimacy of journalism through several developments: socially, the affective realm is increasingly prominent (Furedi, 2004; Richards, 2007), while a Cartesian dualism is losing its long established significance. Also, television journalism is becoming more heteronomous through highly competitive commercial pressures, new technologies and new entrants into the field. These external 'shock effects' can indeed provoke a shift towards understanding emotions increasingly as a journalistic means to deploy in news contents in order to engage audiences.

This creates a dilemma especially for some Western newsworkers: Emotions shape and legitimize approaches to news coverage which might internally challenge traditional (Western) notions of journalism as a profession. But also the external reputation of journalism is under threat: Encouraging emotive perceptions in the newsroom or a deployment of emotive elements might thereby become a threat to journalistic legitimacy and autonomy. As journalism centers on facticity often equated with "rationality" as well as non-involvement, claims of journalists who appear emotionally motivated are devaluated as "opinion" or "being subjective". They endanger the outside reputation of a news journalist or organization among colleagues and the public. As a consequence, journalists perceived to be "emotional" might experience a loss of trust and tougher control through senior journalists.

Fourth, in order to contain the 'threatening potential' of emotions, boundary work and paradigm repair can be deployed – combined with a re-adaptation of professional actions, and an adjustment of informal rules (such as the doxic institution of objectivity). Subsequently, the corresponding threat to the semi-autonomous state of the journalistic profession might be understood as a shift in its field boundaries, towards a more differentiated autonomy which might be in the process to draw new informal rules. These new "rules of the game" might be able to absorb under certain conditions an integration of increasingly emotive elements in

news coverage, by drawing on a different self-understanding regarding its autonomous and heteronomous poles.

Here, two strategies can be made out – relegation and devaluation of emotions. As previously mentioned (British) journalists relegate emotive expressiveness in news to "ordinary" agents in non-status positions – to citizens or eye-witnesses. Emotions remain in the sphere of a subjective individual – despite being presented in and to a public sphere.[42] Through the use of strategies of co-option and segregation, journalists aim to safeguard their professional difference to other social carriers of meaning, distinguishing their field and upholding a professional autonomy built on notions of classic detachment.

The second strategy comprises the devaluation of forms of journalism which are marked by a regular performance of emotionalizing elements as "sensational", "tabloid", or even "popular" (see Bourdieu's *On Television*). However, deploying discourses of defending a news paradigm resting on objectivity and detachment is a tactics of decreasing relevance. For example, the distinction between "impartial" hard and "emotive" soft news becomes less convincing when analyzed for emotional elements. As can be seen later in chapter 4, hard news can indeed carry more emotive elements than soft news; and a distinction between "hard" and "soft" remains empirically ambiguous and arbitrary (Reinemann, et al., 2012).

## 3.3 Conclusion

This chapter outlined a variety of approaches which help to understand how news content is shaped, and how journalism is located in between structures and individual-organizational agency. It starts with explaining the concept of journalism cultures, linking audience perceptions with journalistic role concepts and contextual factors in order to understand how distinct emotive regimes in news production are established. This is used as a framework for the cross-cultural comparison between the United Kingdom and India. A main potential difference between the two countries can be found in journalistic attitudes towards interventionism which on

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[42] A particularly interesting though minor aspect at this point is the genderedness of emotions (see Cottingham, 2016; Ridgeway, 2011). Emotions being traditionally relegated to a classically "female private sphere" re-emerge in the "rational" public domain within a field, though some still conflate women's socialization with an "automatic" emotional capital acquisition.

the Indian side favors at times a motivational-engaging role performance which includes emotionalization, while British television journalism is bound by implicit professional and regulating rules to classic journalistic principles of objectivity, impartiality, or detachment.

This chapter also has demonstrated how emotions in journalism can be productively conceptionalized using mezzo-level sociological approaches of fields, institutions, and boundaries. The theoretical and empirical reflections resulted in four dimensions of how emotions impact news production. Adding "emotional capital" to Bourdieu's field theory helps in understanding processes such as information gathering and the formation of social interactions and bonding. Emotional capital also refers individually to professional feeling and display rules, incorporating a performance of Hochschild's emotional labor through emotion management. Furthermore, North's "institutions-as-rules" approach aids in understanding why emotions have maybe become a viable "economic option" in journalism, although they gain at the same time the potential to threat journalistic legitimacy and autonomy. This, in turn, requires either a shift in journalism or strategies of boundary work and paradigm repair. The latter relies on differentiating between legitimate journalistic practices and illegitimate, which includes segregating "unwanted" emotive practitioners, but also continues to relegate emotions into a privatized low-status realm.

# 4 | NEWS AS ENTERTAINMENT? JOURNALISTIC PRINCIPLES AND EMOTIONALIZATION STRATEGIES

After having set in the previous two chapters the theoretical frameworks for this study, covering emotion philosophies and journalism cultures, this final theoretical chapter enters the realm of newsroom practice. It depicts the tensions between normative professional values from the field of journalism and external commercial pressures. Here, I highlight the ambivalent role of emotions in this struggle, asking further, how journalism can unite its normative role in a democracy with audiences reacting on emotional-affective stimuli.

I proceed in three steps. Firstly, I turn to the professional context of news production in journalism and present key factors shaping television news coverage. In the process, I introduce three relevant analytical approaches, including the news paradigm, news value theory, and professional principles. This section makes the argument that during news production emotion is understood as an implicit element, though at times considered diametrical to core norms such as objectivity. On the other side, emotion emerges here as a valuable resource through emotional labor, another key concept informing my research.

Secondly, I enter discourses about emotionalizing news formats. I discuss the concepts of sensationalism and infotainment and establish that emotions do not necessarily need to be a disadvantageous element in news production. Subsequently, I provide an overview of the relevant emotionalizing devices and modes of narration which shape a potentially engaging storytelling in order to capture viewer interest and identification.

Thirdly, I bring both strands together and complement them with a literature overview. In this, I engage first with reasons for the recent “emotional turn” in journalism, before I turn critically to research about how emotions are presented and interwoven with news, and what emotional practices journalists follow. Suggesting a new social responsibility for journalism, the ideas outlined in this chapter are used to answer my research questions in my empirical analysis.

## 4.1 News sociology and news ideology

News media occupy a special position in political democracy. Journalists are gatekeepers and text producers with exclusive access to sources and publics. They are chroniclers of events in the world (Carlson, 2016), and a key component of their craft is to "establish the newsworthiness of reported events" (Bednarek & Caple, 2017: 36). Historically they have been arenas for communication in the public sphere (Allern & Blach-Ørsten, 2011). News media are considered to nourish identification, ideology and the myth of having a normative "societal mission of vital importance for democracy" (Allern & Blach-Ørsten, 2011: 94), but at the same time, being exposed to a variety of dynamics puts pressures on journalists as professional group. In other words:

> Journalism's status as an authoritative form of knowledge creation is not guaranteed or static, but the product of discourses that both delimit and legitimate its cultural forms. (Carlson, 2016: 361)

Deuze (2005: 442) proposes journalism as a "professional identity of journalists with claims to an exclusive role and status in society, based on and at times fiercely defended by their occupational ideology". This approach allows understanding journalism and its claims for hegemony and cultural authority rather as discursive construction, which relieves the debate from the often questioned professionalization of journalism (see C. Anderson, 2006). Deuze (2005) identifies five ideal-typical elements representing a journalistic occupational ideology: providing a public service; following principles of objectivity or fairness and credibility; autonomy; a sense of immediacy and actuality; and a sense of ethics and legitimacy. These elements influence journalistic decision-making (Reese, 2001). Despite initial claims of a worldwide diffusion of these central paradigms (Golding & Elliott, 1979), regional journalism cultures vary considerably.

The following section will outline three relevant professional concepts and institutional characteristics in news journalism: the news paradigm, news values theory, and the paradigmatic norms of objectivity, impartiality and other professional principles. These concepts will help to develop an understanding about the process of news selection.

### 4.1.1 The news paradigm

The "news paradigm" is one vital characteristic of journalism as an institution. It comprises a logic of appropriateness, as "a common understanding of certain basic genre rules, news values, tacit procedures and conventions regarding what journalism must observe, report and how it should be presented" (Allern & Blach-Ørsten, 2011: 94; see Høyer & Pöttker, 2005: 10). Relying on Kuhn's (1962: 23) definition of a paradigm as "an accepted model or pattern", the news paradigm guides practical journalistic decision-making in information gathering as a complex information-producing task, which differs from other occupations such as science:

> Journalists observe phenomena that can fight back, dispute the way they are described, and set the rules for their observation... In the absence of well-defined theoretical guideposts, journalists rely more heavily than scientists on routines as a basis and justification for descriptions of reality. (Reese, 1990: 393)

These routines of news gathering are the result of a journalistic consensus, where journalists agree amongst themselves about their validity. The routine of news judgment comprises the evaluation of stories based on common, agreed upon criteria that make the event selection consistent for gatekeepers (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014).

The news paradigm contains tacit and explicit norms – news values and objectivity. These will be addressed in the next two subsections.

### 4.1.2 News value theory

News values are considered to be among the most relevant explanative grounds to understand journalistic decision-making when selecting the stories that are "newsworthy". At the same time, their immaterial side is frequently emphasized – be it that journalists seem to decide based on their "gut feeling" (Schultz, 2007) or that news values appear to be part of a "tacit newsroom culture that quickly absorb and internalize" these values (Allern, 2002: 139), as "*internalized assumptions* about what is important to transmit" (Cotter, 2010: 56, italics in original). News values belong to the "professional journalistic habitus" or "news habitus", which Schultz understands as

> ...a bodily knowledge and feel for the daily news game which can be seen in the journalistic practices surrounding qualification and legitimisation of newsworthiness which almost takes place without words. (Schultz, 2007: 202)

While orthodox/heterodox news values are “debatable and belong to the sphere of journalistic judgment”, doxic news values such as newsworthiness are “silent and belong to the universe of the undisputed” (Ibid: 204).

The idea of news values can be traced back to Lippmann in 1922, but Galtung and Ruge (1965) provided the foundation for today’s complex news value research.

According to news value theory, the news value of a story consists of news factors.[43] The news value depicts journalistic hypotheses about the relevance of news events, with news factors as *perceived* event characteristics (Kepplinger & Ehmig, 2006; Schulz, 1976). This is done in order to meet “*(imagined)* preferences of the expected audience” (Richarson, 2007: 94, italics in original). A news value can then be high if many – or the right set of – news factors are present. Eilders (2006: 10) takes these ideas one step further, arguing from a perception-psychological approach that news factors are “efficient selection criteria in both media use and the retention of news items by the audience”. News factors correspond to “general relevance indicators in human perception” (Eilders, 1997; 2006: 13).

However, deciding what’s news is also determined by other factors. Bourdieu’s field theory helps to locate some of these. Among them are practical ones (such as the availability of visual material for television news items or exclusiveness within competitive environments), social-cultural influences, news ideologies (S. Hall, 1973), work environment and position as well as the type of audience (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016; Schultz, 2007). For the latter, Allern (2002) has proposed a set of “commercial” news values, where sensationalism (and emotion) dominate.

### Locating the emotive in news value theory

News value theory reflects that journalists think of the emotional participation of viewers. This is part of journalistic audience imagination (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997). In journalism handbooks practitioners show a clear preference for emotions as explicit criteria for news selection (Maier et al., 2010: 44-45). But, academic approaches remained skeptical, with the exception of German journalism research

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[43] The terminology and distinction between “news value” and “news factor” is not coherent among researchers. In this study, the news value of a story consists of various news factors.

which proposed time and again to incorporate emotions directly into news value theory.[44] Schulz (1982) established six dominant news value dimensions. One of them, “identification”, comprises proximity, ethnocentrism, personalization, and – emotions. Here, emotions serve as an offer for the audience to identify themselves with news contents. This thought was retaken first by Eilders (1997, "emotions") and subsequently re-conceptualized as “Gefühlswert” (value of feeling, Ruß-Mohl, 2003) and as news factor “visual representation of emotions” (Georg Ruhrmann & Göbbel, 2007). It also remains implicit in “personalization” and the broader “human interest” (e.g., Harrison, 2006; Lee, Han, Shoemaker, & Cohen, 2005; Weischenberg & Rakers, 2001: 31), which includes “almost anything which stirs human emotion in any way” (Masterton, 2005: 47).

Cross-cultural differences in rating news factors were identified in a survey among 63 countries (Masterton, 2005). Surprisingly, that study located India, in contrast to other South Asian countries and to actual news program output, within international average scores – the emotionally charged Human Interest factor seemed less important than proximity, conflict, or novelty.

The shift to emotions as news value is reflected in its link with visuals, where the assumed presence of emotions appear to be an increasingly relevant element in selecting news stories for both public and private broadcasters (Maier, et al., 2010; Georg Ruhrmann & Göbbel, 2007). Non-political topics especially would benefit from the inclusion of emotions alongside visuals, personalization, and/or aggression, conclude Ruhrmann et al. (2007: 16).

Online news rely essentially on emotions – making “shareability” a news factor (Hermida et al., 2012), and replacing click-baits with “emotion-baits”. In consequence, stories are selected that “...inspire, educate and inform, or entertain ... [where] successful stories need to be conversational, timely, and appeal to peoples’ emotions” (Boland, 2017).

Though, emotive news value continues to manifest implicitly in several news factors. Analytically, five distinct news factor categories can be considered as “emotionally charged”:

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[44] Almost forgotten today seems Lippmann’s (1922) news value of “sensationalism”. Also *Østgaard* (1965) regarded topics and a recurrent understanding of “emotion arousing” as affecting viewers.

- oddity or the unusual, novelty, unexpectedness[45]
- positive news or usefulness/success[46]
- negative news: damage/failure/loss[47]
- negative news: conflict, controversy, or scandal[48]
- negative news: violence and aggression[49]

In conclusion, emotions appear directly and indirectly as news selection criteria: directly in items with anticipated emotional arousal such as visuals, as an individual news factor (surprise), or as an implicit valence dimension (positive or negative); and indirectly as tacit or doxic selection criteria.

### 4.1.3 Professional principles, emotions, and emotional labor

The debate about emotions develops a special dynamic when put in relation to normative core principles of professional journalism: facticity, neutrality, impartiality and objectivity (Schudson, 2001). These tenets are with Bourdieu a field's habitus, as all members of the professional field have to follow it (Amado & Waisbord, 2015).

The value of objectivity continues to form a cornerstone of the cultural authority of journalism which dominated the 20th century. Originating in the thinking of North American "scientific rationalism" during the 19th century, news aimed to appear formally as "scientified" journalism, with journalists encouraging an impression of being merely event-detached professional observers.

For Maras, who comprehensively discusses the topic, objectivity is a

[45] Present in every news value theory apart from Östgaard (1965). Only main news value theory proposals are considered.
[46] In Lippmann (1922), Östgaard (1965), Schulz (1982), Staab (1990), Eilders (1997), Ruhrmann et al. (2007), Harcup & O'Neill (2016), Bednarek & Caple (2017).
[47] In Lippmann (1922), Östgaard (1965), Galtung & Ruge (1965), Golding & Elliott (1979), Staab (1990), Eilders (1997), Harrison (2006), Ruhrmann et al. (2007), Montgomery (2007), Harcup & O'Neill (2016), Bednarek & Caple (2017).
[48] In Östgaard (1965), Schulz (1982), Golding & Elliott (1979), Staab (1990), Eilders (1997), Masterton 2005, Harrison (2006), Ruhrmann et al. (2007), Montgomery (2007), Harcup & O'Neill (2016), Lee et al. Bednarek & Caple (2017).
[49] In Golding & Elliott (1979), Schulz (1982), Staab (1990), Harrison (2006), Ruhrmann et al. (2007), Montgomery (2007), Harcup & O'Neill (2016), Bednarek & Caple (2017).

> ...product of history, linked to particular cultural formations, as well as the professional aspirations of journalists themselves. (Maras, 2013: 2)

Following this line, Tuchman (1972) understands objectivity functionally – as a "strategic ritual" of journalists through which they aim to safeguard and protect their profession against legal claims of liability, and which allowed an adaptation to a structurally changing audience at the demise of the big democratic U.S. parties (Kaplan, 2006). Again changing perspective, it appears as an instrument of power since the Victorian age, aiming to mantle and hide unwanted socio-structural phenomena such as poverty behind quantified factual appearances (Harkins & Lugo-Ocando, 2016).

Through global diffusion, the principle of objectivity became a norm transnationally. It reached not only Great Britain but also – over the Empire's colonial ties – India. In both cases, it became what Robertson (1994) would call "glocalized" – a general (U.S.) idea adapted to specific national, local or temporal circumstances (Allan, 1997; Ward, 2011).[50]

Today, objectivity appears in the United Kingdom to be closely tied to the British public service broadcasting regulation system. However, the term is largely replaced by "impartiality" which dominates the regulative and professional wording (BBC, 2016; Secretary of State, 2006),[51] being anchored in Royal Charter and Ofcom regulations (Hampton, 2008; Sambrook, 2012). Impartiality remains a key principle which BBC editors are not getting tired of emphasizing (Bailey, 2017; Richards & Rees, 2011; Thurman, Cornia, & Kunert, 2016).[52] Professional and credible acting ought to manifest in intellectual and emotional detachment as well as neutrality in order to both avoid bias and secure an independent information gathering process (Richards & Rees, 2011). This paradigm became openly

[50] While the U.S. and Britain preferred an information- and fact-centered approach, European and Arab countries shared a different understanding. In Germany, France, Egypt and Lebanon journalists saw themselves as high literary creators and cosmopolitan or national political thinkers.

[51] Sambrook (2012: 5) proposes a synonymous deployment of the words, though admitting that "impartiality, the removal of bias, is the more complex of the two, although objectivity – a disciplined approach to isolate evidence and facts – is still far from easy to achieve".

[52] Determining a realistic number of journalists supporting objectivity and their stance towards emotions suffers from two methodological weaknesses: a) anticipated desired responses in interviews and b) data which does not incorporate a comparable inquiry about the valorization of subjectivity or emotional engagement (Godler & Reich, 2017).

questioned only on rare occasions, most prominently through former Yugoslavia correspondent Martin Bell (1998).

In India, objectivity is associated with neutrality, balance, and facticity (see Yadav, 2011, S. 6).

Professional norms like objectivity and impartiality are under constant pressure from routine, organizational and external constraints such as news routines centered on events, action and persons that are claimed to push negativity; and detachment leading to reporting political techniques instead of outcomes, or relying overtly on officials as "legitimate" public sources (Gans, 1979, 2003; Schudson, 2011; Tuchman, 1972, 1978).

While a narrow epistemological understanding of objectivity does not exclude emotions, the wider notion emphasizes in a positivist manner the aspects of strict dispassion, rationality and factuality. These principles appear to be most in tension with emotions. In consequence, they replace, transform or exclude emotive reporting elements from the professional realm of (serious) news journalism.

This stance manifests also with researchers. Dennis and Merrill (1984: 111) associate the "emotionally detached view of the news" as core of objectivity, Schudson (2001: 150) defines objective reporting as "cool, rather than emotional, in tone", and McQuail (2010: 357) considers impartiality as "avoiding value judgments or emotive language or pictures". Hopper and Huxford (2015: 33) reported how some British journalists equate the "unspoken rule of objectivity" with being "emotionless".

Here, objectivity is not only a quality criteria for news output, but also a practice involving what Arlie Hochschild (1979, 2003) describes as **emotional labor**.

Emotional labor can be understood as the difference between a subjectively felt emotion and a professionally required emotional adaptation and display. The set of industry-created feeling rules for commercialized purposes builds on social and cultural norms. In the Goffmanian (1959) tradition, Hochschild identifies processes of surface and deep acting at work, referring to both the outer facial expression management (physiological) and the more cognitive inward management of emotions by "deceiving the self" (Ellis & Tucker, 2015: 138; see Hochschild, 1990). Deep acting is seen as leading ultimately to feelings of alienation from one's own (authentic) emotions, and therefore to emotional dissonance which can have long-

term psychological effects.[53] On the other hand, a successful emotional regulation can be considered as one form of emotional capital in the sense of Bourdieu.

Journalists have to deal with personal distress or other emotional regulations, emerging as a consequence of practicing care, empathy or compassion, or in the British case – as a cognitive (and emotional) dissonance between internalized norms and professional role expectations and actual emotive predispositions and feelings.

I argue that emotional labor is required in different amounts during information gathering (processes of cooperation), news packaging and audience imagination. The professional impression management in the sense of Goffman (1959) involves feeling rules, which can guide social encounters and facilitate social arrangements and moral order.

> The emotion-rules are implicit to the professionals' disciplines and training that, typically, emphasize rationality, objectivity and detachment. (Fineman, 2003: 36)

This means that journalists training to be objective at the same time learn adequate detached "cool" feeling rules. Interviewers or anchors adjust with surface or deep acting to the social interactions performed on/off screen and the news contents they narrate. Feeling rules for narrating a terror attack will differ from talking about the homecoming of soldiers. Cultural differences in rules and emotion scripts also matter (Fineman, 2003).

Similar to health workers, journalists encounter routinely human subjects facing varying degrees of distress. Often insufficiently prepared on a case, journalists need to be empathic to allow organic productive interviews with occasionally vulnerable subjects, but at the same time they are required to (inwardly) distance themselves and (outwardly) maintain a professional-sympathetic appearance. Hence, emotional regulation is of primordial importance even in routine work (Richards & Rees, 2011). Besides this, functional social bonding is a core activity for field reporters, correspondents and (to a lesser extent) anchors. If not observed, this performative work can lead to the risk of emotional draining and burnout, as

[53] Various criticisms address mixed-forms between surface and deep acting, the problem of "authentic" emotions, and a neglect of the autonomy workers exercise while performing (emotional) labor (Barbelet, 1998; Bogner & Wouters, 1990; Elias, 1994 [1939]; Fineman, 2003).

cognitive, affective and motivational processes are involved in establishing an empathic mode or for the performance of emotional labor.

This work aims to identify both universal and culturally-anchored journalism-specific feeling rules and situations where emotional labor becomes indispensable.

This subsection has outlined how strict adherence to the objectivity norm requires implicit emotional labor. Now I shift to another tacit realm of journalistic knowledge. Professional codes of conduct regulate the understanding of key principles among journalistic practitioners as informal rules. It seeks to understand how professional journalist associations handle conflictive terms such as objectivity and emotions in their codes of conduct.

### "Emotion" and "objectivity" in journalistic codes of conduct

Journalistic codes of conduct represent a shared basic agreement about professional norms and practices, and an instrument to secure quality in news journalism. For this study, four Indian and five British journalistic codes were analyzed; all available in English.[54] The main aim was to explore the way in which the relationship between "objectivity", the related "impartiality" and emotions is structured (for detailed text passages of all nine codes see Appendix I).

Although codes of conduct can potentially provide guidance in dealing with emotive news situations, none of the codes examined contained any element of the "emotion" word cluster,[55] with the exception of Ofcom and Sky News, referring to emotive situations within the duty of care obligation for news subjects.[56] More explicit is a report by Article 19 (Ruth & Mendel, no date), a charity focusing on the freedom of expression. This alludes to the emotional consequences of news coverage – through showing scenes of violence to emotionally insecure viewers (1.6) or human suffering with a risk of sensationalism (2.5).

The term "objectivity" shares the fate of "emotion" to some extent, as it features only in one British and two Indian codes, without any definition other than a case-

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[54] For an overview about codes of conduct applicable to British broadcasting see Ruth & Wendel (no date: 6-17). The Indian NBA code of ethics was also available in Hindi; objectivity was translated as वस्तुनिष्ठता (*vastunishthata,* factual error, taking out of context) and "impartiality" as पक्षपात (*Pakshapaat,* bias).

[55] This comprises words containing "emotion", "affect", "feel", or "sensation".

[56] This relates to the emotional welfare of under 18 year olds (Ofcom, 2015: §1.28; Sky News, 2014: 23).

specific one.[57] Hence, the codes leave "objectivity" largely implicit; its normative character and its relation to emotion are not investigated. Instead, objectivity is replaced by other principles of journalism. "Impartiality" stands out as it is mentioned in *all* five television-specific codes.

From these observations, two conclusions can be drawn. First, commonalities exist transnationally. The nine journalistic codes of conduct reflect a high degree of consensus in the UK and India, confirming previous research (Hafez, 2002). Second, the deployment of "impartiality" appears determined by media genre and regulation instead of country-specific journalism cultures. All four British television codes (apart from the NUJ) follow the regulation standards set by Ofcom: ITC or Sky News emphasize "due impartiality/dully impartial", which is generally understood as "not favoring one side over another" (Ofcom, 2015: Section 5).[58] For the Indian NBA code, the reason might be found in the historical orientation towards the British media system but also general international journalism standards.

Within the boundary theory framework, the near-absence of and non-relation between the terms "emotion" and "objectivity" in British and Indian television codes of conduct implies that one of the journalistic core principles is allowed to remain flexible in its boundary setting. This might allow news journalism to remain dynamic and adaptive to shifting requirements. Objectivity can retain its 'mythical' looming character –being largely replaced by the more pragmatic "due impartiality" as an expression of context-dependent balance in addition to accuracy, balance, fairness and neutrality. Even more 'mythical' remain the emotions which only exist as a duty of care towards the audience's wellbeing. In this sense, Van der Wurff and Schönbach (2013) suggest a rather symbolic function for journalistic codes of conduct: Their interpretation is subject to the ethical culture of news desks. The absence of relevant definitions for elements in professional journalism practice – objectivity but also emotions – allows journalists to maintain symbolic contests for

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[57] The newspaper-oriented Press Council of India specifies the case of covering HIV/Aids: this shall be done in an accentuated "objective manner ... without exaggerating or distorting" (Press Council of India, 2010, §45).

[58] The Royal Charter of the BBC follows a slightly different approach: "Due impartiality is often more than a simple matter of 'balance' between opposing viewpoints. Equally, it does not require absolute neutrality on every issue or detachment from fundamental democratic principles" (2006: Section 4 – Introduction).

control over definition and flexibility in reinterpreting and adapting professional values to shifting demands of professional journalism.

This manifests visibly in journalistic performance. Emotions are (and always have been) part of journalistic practice. Epistemologically, emotions can be understood as part of truth, contributing to a more holistic picture of events, while purely factual news might hide more abstract problems in society (Ettinger, Caspar, & Udris, 2016; Santos, 2009). Hearns-Branaman (2014) explains the difference between a strong normative professional ideology among journalists and modes of role execution:

> [J]ournalists do not need to believe that their professional norms [including objectivity or impartiality] are correct or that they actually produce their desired result, they just need to behave as if they do. (Hearns-Branaman, 2014: 32)

The distinction between belief and performance forestalls what Hanitzsch and Vos (2017) described as discursively constructed role orientation and role performance.[59]

### Strategies of incorporating emotions: Interventionism, outsourcing, and emotional labor

In practice, the tension between aspects of objectivity and emotions or emotive elements is addressed in several ways and varies with journalism cultures. It depends, first, on the normative stance towards interventionism (see chapter 3). While journalism in the United Kingdom largely insists on a normative role understanding of detached and impartial reporters, the Indian context legitimizes more interventionist engagements including at times partisanship or subjectivity.

From this, second, pragmatic news output strategies are derived, like the "strategic ritual of emotionality" (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013), where emotive statements and expressions are "outsourced" to actors external to professional journalism (news subjects). Rejected are an emotive authorial voice of journalists as well as generally inauthentic emotions (Pantti, 2010).

Finally, as news production involves many highly performative moments, it can be suggested here that news organizations put professional-organizational demands on

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[59] Role orientation comprises normative and cognitive roles, while role performance relates to practiced and narrated roles.

their employees by implicitly expecting them to carry out personal emotional management at various stages and contexts of work practice – hence, performing emotional labor (Hochschild, 1979, 2003).

## 4.2 The conflicting harmony of news and entertainment

In entertainment, the audience is central. Viewers alone decide how they perceive and engage with news reports – if they 'feel entertained', according to their self-determined needs and preferences. Entertainment can be understood as providing "pleasurable reassurance to audiences by satisfying their deep-felt desires for distinctive reflections of their own lives" (Mendelsohn & Spetnagel, 1980: 15). Früh (2002) defines entertainment as cognitive-affective gratification experience which only takes place if a "triadic fitting" between individual, media offer and situative background is given. In short: A viewer is entertained if a pleasant macro emotion is experienced during information processing.

The experience of pleasure and entertainment as such becomes value-loaded within the context of public service television systems (Bolin, 2013). 'Good entertainment' (and good television) – based on values such as education, information and entertainment – stands in explicit opposition to 'bad entertainment' relying on market principles, as outlined in a simplistic manner by Bourdieu (1998b). The commercial entertainment with its explicit affective pleasure orientation seems to threaten journalism in its conceptualization as provider of a public sphere and "public knowledge project" (Corner, 1991). Neil Postman (1986) warned of "disinformation" if entertainment mixes with journalism.

Leaving the devaluation of entertainment aside helps to uncover two important points: First, both entertainment and information are reception categories. While journalists can decide about 'intended' effects when constructing a news story, the actual effects can only be felt by audiences (Dehm & Storll, 2003). Programs declared as "informational" can more than just stimulate thinking – they can equally appear very pleasurable, diversionary or amusing (Delli Carpini & Williams, 2001):

> Information and entertainment are not mutually exclusive. What is informative for one person may be merely entertaining for another, and vice versa. There is information in any entertainment... Conversely, the process of acquiring information has an entertainment aspect to it... (Bogart, 1980: 237)

Here, the strict dichotomy between information and entertainment breaks down. In addition, locating the entertainment factor with the actual news recipients demands a different way of referring to news production. Journalists do not create "entertainment" – but rather communicative offers with an entertainment potential (Früh & Wünsch, 2007).

A second argument against 'bad entertainment' is the compelling obligation of media producers to create first an identification potential with news consumers, as "the one who has no audience cannot spread information" (Wegener, 2001: 116; own translation). Already Lippmann (1922: 223-4) understood the need of "inducing [the reader] to feel a sense of personal identification with the stories he is reading". This identification can manifest as personal impact or personal involvement (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997: 81).

Journalistic strategies of packaging news as entertainment remains rather limited and – to be impactful – need to incorporate reception situation, type of audience, and socio-cultural context (Früh, 2002), as well as commercialism, communication culture and professional autonomy (Umbricht & Esser, 2016).

An entertainment orientation builds fundamentally on emotions and requires journalists to deploy emotionalization strategies. In television, concerns are expressed with reference to two perceived developments: Infotainment and sensationalism. This will be the focus for the following sections.

## 4.3 Why infotainment and sensationalism rely on emotions

Infotainment describes the intersection of informing and entertaining an audience. Of interest are communicators who produce "current news or factual information embedded in entertainment" (Khorrami, 2011: 32, own translation). Characteristic features of infotainment are colors, graphics, animations, sounds or dynamic visuals as well as an informal anchoring style.

The idea can be traced back to the early 1980s. Its recent upsurge as entertaining journalism can be explained in two ways. First, Blumler and Gurevitch (1995) propose a commercialization thesis which links infotainment and sensationalism to the growing competition among television channels after the introduction of private broadcasting.

A second explanation refers to a rise in in journalistic autonomy combined with changing environmental and technological demands (Bolin, 2014; Weischenberg, 2007). Technological change and the specific logic of TV contributed to news being "repositioned" as entertainment (Bogart, 1980: 237). With an increasingly differentiated society, journalism conquered new territories in news. This might be visible at journalism's periphery, where news journalism adapts in novel ways, with old principles having turned dysfunctional (Görke, 2007). Understood in Bourdieu's field theory, journalism becomes more differentiated and autonomous. It interacts with the economic field from competitive reasons for attention and quota, while turning into "hyperjournalism ... marked by a diversified journalistic institution with a high degree of autonomy" (Bolin, 2014: 338).

Infotainment aims to present information in an emotionalizing affect-oriented way, which seeks to create an entertainment experience. It differs from the related terms of sensationalism and tabloidization. After an extensive literature review, Otto et al. (2017) suggest to consider sensationalism as mostly "within item"-related, where visual and verbal production routines are employed which target immediate or automatic audience attention and effects (e.g., Bas & Grabe, 2015; Vettehen, Nuijten, & Peeters, 2008). Different from this, infotainment appears in the model two levels higher – as a hybrid genre in media outlets.

These new circumstances make rethinking journalistic role concepts inevitable. The classic (Western) notion of information disseminator-watchdog might in the new context add the role element of infotainer/entertainer (Weischenberg, 2007). Though journalists might fear losing privileges and authority when giving up their normative role exclusively tied to information dissemination (Lünenborg, 2007), their desire to produce engaging news coverage of publicly relevant issues together with commercial pressures and trends of media populism makes journalism transgress its traditional boundaries in order to attract audiences (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999).

Infotainment involves not only integrating a broad scale of emotions but also deploying several emotionalization strategies, triggering emotions on an audio-visual level, through speech, gestures, and mimics (Schultheiss & Jenzowsky, 2000). The medium in which this works best – from reasons outlined in detail later in this subchapter – is television. Here, traditional means of "reporting *cold hard facts only* might not be the most effective route to informing the populace", conclude Bas and Grabe (2015: 177-8). They agree to what Mast proposed 25 years earlier, where emotion becomes a precondition for successful journalism:

> Information as such is uninteresting for the recipients. It needs to open up possibilities of emotional participation. The interesting thing about information therefore is its emotional content. (Mast, 1991: 185, translated from German)

Here, it becomes necessary to understand which role emotions can play in the intersection between news programs and audiences. Gans (2009) argues that news programs can benefit from some pragmatic coloring as long as substantial contents are still meeting the level of professional standards. With the more serious consideration of emotional arousal, information production starts to transgress boundaries and to occupy a place at entertainment's periphery, where "cognitive mechanisms are entangled with emotional activation" (Bas & Grabe, 2015: 164).

In infotainment – including politainment, edutainment, or confrontainment (Dörner, 2001; Klöppel, 2008), "highly complex events get concentrated experientially which creates opportunities of follow-up communications" (Meyer & Schicha, 2002: 54; own translation) and foster therefore a sense of meaningful connectedness.

This forms the keystone of potential civic engagement. The shift from considering emotions no longer as "the enemy of informed citizenship" allows us to see their informing and engaging potential (Bas & Grabe, 2015: 162). Therefore, emotions can first take on a "facilitative role" as they can help to optimize knowledge transmission (Ibid., Früh, Kuhlmann, & Wirth, 1996; Lang, Potter, & Grabe, 2003; A. Miller & Leshner, 2007). Used in moderate doses, "contextual infotainment"

(Stephens, 2007) can enhance viewers' attention and therefore potentially increase the disposition for information reception, memorizing, or political engagement.[60]

Second, on a democratic and citizenship level, it serves the emotional needs of audiences, it can stimulate emotional-wellbeing by rewarding social and cognitive experiences (Bartsch & Schneider, 2014), but also motivates action as "informed and active citizenship might require emotional involvement and personal identification with social issues" (Bas & Grabe, 2015: 160). This relates to eudaimonic or truth-seeking forms of emotional involvement, where an affective state characterized by "negative valence, moderate arousal, and feeling moved" prompts a more elaborate form of information processing in viewers and stimulates reflective thinking about political issues (Bartsch & Schneider, 2014: 369).[61] This can translate into an interest in political issues and hard-news contents – and therefore, provide the foundation for an informed citizenship.

Third, even politically less interested and motivated audiences might learn incidentally through entertainment strategies and subsequently gain more knowledge which can lead to changes in attitude (Baum, 2003; Baum & Jamison, 2011). Incidental learning is based less on reflection, and more on fast-track automatic physiological arousal. In this sense, emotional experience helps to better memorize factual headlines, especially when viewers can relate to a situation. Here, emotion serves memory formation (Damasio, 2005; Graber, 1990).

However, the flip side of the emotionalization argument focuses on its negative implications which are often correlated with overtly sensationalist practices and hedonistic escapist viewer motivation. Criticism addresses the consequences of being overwhelmed by news emotionalization in several ways: On the normative realm, it might violate the ideal of rational citizenship, resulting in a "crisis of

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[60] This can be seen in Bilandzic's (2003) salience analysis of formal and content features of television programs, where among others emotions were a cue to cause an effect on attention and arousal. This is especially true when it comes to abstract topics (Brosius, 1993a; Früh & Wirth, 1997; Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001; see Hestermann, 2010). As the psychological retention of news is generally very low, it can be increased by the use of emotions (Brosius, 1993a; Lang, Dhillon, & Dong, 1995). A study by Lang, Potter and Grabe (2003) proofed this experimentally by a successful revision of previously aired local television stories in a manner to make them easier to process without reducing the arousal of viewers. They were better remembered than the original stories.

[61] Wirth et al. (2012) define eudaimonic entertainment experiences in five dimensions: competence and personal growth, activation of central values, relatedness, autonomy, and purpose in life.

communication for citizenship... an impoverishing way of addressing citizens about political issues" (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995: 203). On the physiological level, it can lead to memory learning and processes being impaired (Grabe, Lang, & Zhao, 2003), a misreading of news texts (Brosius, 1993b), or obstacles in the informational function of news coverage (Früh & Wirth, 1997). A flamboyant packaging style for news can increase arousal and attention, but does not necessarily support recalling information and potentially diminishes news credibility (Grabe, Zhou, Lang, & Bolls, 2000).

This raises questions of subjectivity, bias and manipulation. For this reason, sensationalist moments in journalism are seen as a worrying trend of dislimitation. Rooted in market-driven journalism (McManus, 1994), fears are raised of making conventional news values obsolete (Bogart, 2000; McChesney, 1999). There is evidence that "the style of newscasting may come to dominate the substance of what is communicated" (Bogart, 1980: 214; see also Thussu, 2007).

However, it is hard to draw a line between a rather "positive" infotainment and a more "negative" sensationalism, as it depends on individual viewer dispositions, reception contexts as well as on news item content features.[62] Emotionalization can be positive and ideal if generating a "flow" experience in viewers (Csíkszentmihályi, 1992) – but if banal topics replace fundamental socio-political issues, the concern for a democratic community is real.

## 4.4 Emotionalization as product – tracing emotions in broadcasting news

Journalists do not create emotional arousal by a strict chain of cause and effect. Instead, it emerges from a multicausal network of (potentially) emotionalizing elements, or "multi-informational stimuli" in news items (Uribe & Gunter, 2004). These narrative and visual features with emotion-eliciting properties have been identified by audience research (see Uribe & Gunter, 2007). They can interact in various ways – from being cumulative to contradicting each other. For instance, an imbalance between pictures and words, information and emotive contents can have

[62] For example, Grabe et al. (2003) demonstrate this difficulty when finding that emotionalizing elements "enhance memory for calm news items but overburden the information processing system when applied to strongly arousing news content".

disruptive effects on news reception. Also, some elements might work with a certain audience and context more than with others.

Emotionalizing devices, as I will call them subsequently, are usually divided into the categories of content and style. While content focuses on "naturally" emotionalizing topics of news events, conventionally labelled as "soft", "sensational", "tabloid" or "blood, sex and crime", style elements are rooted in television and drama grammar such as images or sound. But the actual picture is more complex. I propose to incorporate a third strategy of infotainment when thinking about emotional arousal: News events are usually condensed – into an angle or emotional frame. This gives them distinctive spin and meaning.[63] All three emotive categories will be outlined in the following.

### 4.4.1 Thematic emotions: "emotional" soft/tabloid vs. "sober" hard news?

A variety of scholars link emotions to what they consider inherent content qualities. An emotive topicality is considered to elicit a more immediate reaction of viewers. This reflects in news value theory (see section 4.2.2) and the discussion about hard/soft news, which will be outlined below.

**Myth: The emotionality of soft/tabloid vs. hard news**

Since Schramm (1949), news has been regularly categorized (or dichotomized) as either "hard" serious information (HN) or "soft" entertainment (SN), as non-sensational vs. sensational. This distinction is applied most often to topics, but also to program formats. Underlying this is the intuitive assumption that "certain topics are presented in a certain hard or soft news 'way'" (Otto, et al., 2017: 142), with HN covering politics, economy or society, and SN disasters, crime, sports or gossip, though scholars disagree about these categorizations.[64] While HN are assumed to be of societal relevance or major disruptions and with a rational, impersonal and unemotional character, SN are seen as containing a more individual (or emotional)

[63] Verbalite (2017: 9) suggests here a more complex model of emotive-discursive work in (written) news texts, based on language games with/of emotion.

[64] Here, the case of disasters is telling: Patterson (2000) considers breaking events and disruptions of daily life as hard news, Wittwen (1995b) as "spot news", and Scott & Gobetz (1992) as soft news.

angles and with more dramatic elements, episodic framing and human interest (Gans, 2009; Sparks, 2000; Uribe & Gunter, 2004).

The stigma attached to SN and its perceived emotionality is political and reflected in the discourse about tabloidization. For Bourdieu, tabloid news is empty, an "information illusion", which is only about "things that won't shock anyone, where nothing is at stake, that don't divide, that generally are agreed on, and interest everybody without touching on anything important" (Bourdieu, 1998a: 18). Like many others, Gans (2009) raises normative questions of an "alleged deterioration of the informational and intellectual content of news media", as news occupies a too important role to be subject to popularization.

Leaving this aside, it is important to understand that considering soft stories automatically as more emotion-laden and empty of content is from two reasons highly problematic. First, audiences decide subjectively what matters and what arouses their interest. Second, research reveals a disconnection between (soft) topics, interest and emotionality of news. For instance, Uribe and Gunter (2004) found more emotive cues in the verbal modality of *hard* news narratives in Britain such as politics, while they indicated that SN "cannot be equated with enhanced emotionality in news" (p. 21).

### 4.4.2 Emotion as means of style

Television has wide potential for emotion-arousing elements in packaging news. Sensational practices are understood to target immediate sensorial and emotional reactions, being of unexpected or dramatic character (Bas & Grabe, 2015; Grabe, et al., 2001). Despite a negative image, sensationalizing and emotionalizing practices do not automatically lead to a "popularization of news", as suggested by Umbricht and Esser (2016).

However, determining what actually acts as emotional stimuli in viewers is difficult. Hickethier (2003) referred to television's advantage of the moving image and emotional-entertaining orientations, while others see human interest, informal anchoring, or an empathetic approach instead of confrontation as easily accessible and eliciting emotional reactions. But emotionalization devices do not need to be limited to style. For Brants and Neijens (1998), they are also embedded in the news format, comprising conversation, music, or a participating public. However, as sound is not a standard device of newscasts, it will not be considered here.

Regarding verbal news texts, eight semantic-lexical emotionalization strategies were identified by Wittwen (1995b: 133-135), among them affective terminology, informal language, superlatives, or metaphors which serve to elicit emotional arousal. In the following section, however, I focus on the two main style elements: visuals and human interest.

**Image**

The moving image is considered most important in arousing emotions – often in combination with human interest (or personalization). Visuals are central for news selection – items without acceptable visuals are less often considered for broadcasting. Grabe et al. (2001) identified several empirically tested emotion-eliciting visual elements such as close-ups (for a detailed display of emotive states and potential emotional contagion), light (darkness rather leads to fear), or perspective (with a lower perspective appearing more threatening). Visual scenes of human suffering are stronger than verbal reports. Their vividness makes them memorable, and some might become iconic images. As early as in the Vietnam war, television crews were requested to "'shoot bloody' for maximum dramatic effect" (Bogart, 1980: 231). Audience research found a more automatic processing of video information (in comparison with audio information), which also enhances memory (see Uribe & Gunter, 2007).

Taking the recall of information as a measure for viewer engagement, Renckstorf (1980) is one of many who identified filmed stories as superior to studio-based news. Ballstaedt (1977) points to the concreteness of object-showing in television and the consequential visual surface which makes it obligatory to be embedded in a more structural (verbal) text. However, a high information density might reduce the understanding of complex topics, and an editing style of rapidly changing images arouses physiologically, but the constant bombardment of new information reduces understanding and leave viewers emotionally dissatisfied (Ibid., Sturm, 1984).

**Human Interest**

Bourdieu criticized heavily human interest stories as creating a "political vacuum" (Bourdieu, 1998a: 51), where world events are reduced to meaninglessness by being framed as scandal or anecdotic evidence. However, this remains the exception, as other scholars appear less judgmental. Bogart sees it touching universal humanity, as stories

> ...are dramatic and involving, either because they deal with universals of human experiences and passions or because of their bizarre and curious character. (Bogart, 1980: 216)

Defining news values, Lee et al. (2005) equally see human interest as the interest of viewers in subjects whose lives are different from their own, including celebrities or human dramas.

As a means of style and through its partially uplifting character, human interest also matters as a final element of news bulletins – after "numbering the global disasters harmony shall be re-established and transfer elegantly to the next advertisement block" (Wittwen, 1995b: 98).

### 4.4.3 Emotion in angle and presentation

The third kind of strategy is subtler but highly influential among emotionalization devices. Presentation devices create an atmosphere, and angles or frames set a distinctive emotive perspective. Whatever the topic – if a suitable emotionalizing frame is chosen, this is done with the intention to evoke emotional viewer interest. This can be done as scandal or sleaze, conflict or polarization, a common people narrative (or, again, human interest), and via emotional frames. Contrary to the other two emotive categories, emotive angles or frames involve a higher degree of cognition with viewers. For example, personalization with its emotional testimonies provokes emotional activation via identification, empathy or emotional contagion.

The next section starts with presenting two emotionalizing devices (narratives and anchoring), followed by two specific modes of performance closely linked to television as a medium: Authenticity and liveness. Both of these modes have the potential to appeal affectively to viewers, operating through the pretense of shared temporality and locality.

**Narratives and storytelling**

Television news is by nature fragmented and episodic. To create and sustain a high level of arousal and attention is difficult, as news narratives do not have much in common with fictional plays or movies. The most critical concept is the classic "inverted pyramid" hard news style which originally was developed for print media for two reasons: First, allowing news to appear as an objective scientific world

description, and second, to adjust to the technological development of the telegraph. But does it fit to television?

> Television news conventionally string together brief pellets of information in what is assumed to be their order of importance rather than in terms of their functional relationship... The human interest story defies summary; it must be permitted to run its natural course. (Bogart, 1980: 219-220)

Lewis criticized the conventional structure of television news, as they come across like “newspaper stories with moving pictures”, where one is “being told the punchline before the joke” (J. Lewis, 1994: 29-30)

Here, it has been suggested that a deployment of narrative devices such as human interest might benefit news. It not only could provide a competitive advantage in comparison with a strictly news-value oriented professional journalism (Eilders, 2008), but there is also evidence that the often problematic information retainment of news programs can be improved (Machill, Köhler, & Waldhauser, 2007).

It is ideally a combination of facts and narratives, which includes the understanding that emotionality and cognition as well as information and entertainment are a reciprocal crossover of stories (Köhler, 2009). Also, emotions are characterized by an inherently narrative nature, where different emotions elaborate separate story structures (Kleres, 2011).

As an example of a narrative device, scandalization marks a discursive formation which addresses a norm breach in the form of an event. It is accompanied by intense emotional dynamics consisting of both an initial emotional arousal as establishing interest and subsequent emotion management through primary and secondary emotional appraisal. Scandals mediated in television address viewers performatively as citizens, granting them the rare opportunity of symbolically partaking in public judgments and politics by sharing outrage and anger as legitimate emotions over a moral norm breach (Verbalytė, 2016, 2017).

**Anchoring and presentation**

From the formal style of reading news in the 1950s, today it is “reporters who are both telegenic and witty” which creates a cult of personality around journalists (Brighton & Foy, 2007: 60). Anchors should cover up their one-way communication by keeping up pretending to talk almost intimately to viewers. The performative

matters more than the informative, which is reflected also in frequent speculative two-ways (the exchange between studio and journalist in the field).

Anchors have to conform to an accepted repertoire of emotional display rules which shapes their performative expression on screen. This involves processes of emotional labor and emotion management.

**The myth of being authentic**

The promise of authenticity unfolds its power not only among philosophers and academics, but as well among journalists as protagonists of the performance of authenticity.

Television images promise to be authentic. Their technical mediation gives the impression of not following any of their own agency. A technical apparatus shows to be credible. Empathy and self-reflexivity (or in journalism: transparency) suggest to a viewer the authenticity of the producer (Wortmann, 2003). The orchestration of images can be understood either as a constructive process – or as contrasting the authentic as such. The authentic here is frequently equated with objectivity, naturalness, and spontaneity (see Knieper & Müller, 2003).

However, to consider authenticity simply the opposite of staged news content would miss out on a rather complex scenario. On the contrary, certain strategies of audio-visual content production show how deeply intertwined the staging of images and authenticity is. On the levels of images and speech we find a double performance of authenticity, which comprises both the constructedness of news texts and the emotional realm of performed speech acts by individuals.

Creating the "effect of authenticity" foremost relates to the audience and its trust[65], because the moment an audience perceives images as "all tinsel and glitter", then news programs have failed in the essence they claim to be and turn into purely ritualistic moments of reality. Authenticity does not have an own value in itself, and it is not an inherent feature of a text or person, but always remains subject to the judgment of others, where it becomes less a means but rather the end of a process of ascription. Especially with TV news, viewers are understood to accept news as 'real' and "direct first-hand sensory exposure to events" (Bogart, 1980: 210), building on

[65] Trust is a core resource of news television. Without a minimum of trust level among a considerable mass audience, neither public nor private television news channels can maintain authority and a legitimate financial base for long.

the doctrine of objectivity which was rooted in the idea of a 'true view' of events. Identifying 'truth' became now a responsibility (and burden) of newsmakers.

Only in this way can it be understood how some strategies of staging content can actually enhance the credibility (or positive judgment about authenticity) of images and texts. For example, simplification along with stark contrasts helped to generate a better understanding and credibility among audiences of the German television show *Aktenzeichen XY... ungelöst,* a show in which unsolved real crime cases are presented to the public as a staged manhunt (Pinseler, 2003).

In this work, authenticity in television news is understood as being a major performative aim created via the interplay of professional journalistic routines such as objectivity and the avoidance of bias, the disinclusion of a passionate human interest by transferring responsibility onto technological equipment, which allows the pretension of non-intentionality. Those elements together create the "promise of authenticity" (in the German original: Authentizitätsversprechen; Wortmann, 2003). Actual authenticity appears as utopia, as TV news reporting cannot be detached from the medium which translates and transmits it to a wider audience.

**The myth of liveness**

Reporting live is a very effective means of creating audience involvement. Prominent examples are the shooting of John F. Kennedy or CNN's live reporting from the Gulf War in 1991. It gives the promise to fulfil previous anticipation about news events of finding out more, and it also draws on authenticity, as its apparent co-presence and co-occurrence with real-time events hide news-typical mechanisms of reality distortion through taking a particular observation point and fitting it into a format shaped by technological and economic imperatives.

Among practitioners and scholars, criticism of live broadcasting has long focused on largely performative routines and rituals which cover up an underlying incident-poor news reality (Couldry, 2004):

> Most of the "events" reported with an air of breathless urgency do not happen at all in any spontaneous or natural sense... [but are] made to happen by journalists in order to satisfy the demand for sensational inside dope. (Wilensky, 1969: 149)

Liveness is ideological and performative. Used as ontology, liveness appears to prove television's immediacy and authenticity (Zettl, 1978). Its mechanics have helped to let "pseudo-events" emerge (Boorstin, 1992 [1962]), and it retains an

imbalance in topic selection, preferring unexpected accidents and scandals. Kumar (2015) demonstrates this excellently with the "unbearable liveness of Indian news television", where ever-present live-reporting but also "confrotainment" debates and confrontative anchoring are regular on-screen performances and rituals in order to engage "eyeballs". It resembles an entertaining battle of win or lose, a blame game which transcends the level of topicality in favor of the personal relation (Holly, 1993). The style of questioning is intentionally dominated by suggestive, insinuating, reinforcing or (in)directly provoking elements, and simplifications reduce complexity up to distortion. During the Gulf War in 1991, "TV utilized the codes of popular entertainment by personalizing the villain of the scenario and presenting the conflicts as that between good and evil" (Kellner, 1992: 113).

As with authenticity above, the question of obtaining an ontological 'truth' becomes difficult to resolve, as liveness gives TV viewers the "impression that he is seeing what actually happened" (Bogart, 1980: 243).

## 4.5 Emotions in the news: A literature overview

> ...not that the news *has become* emotional (indeed, it has always been); rather, the diversity of emotional styles, the acceptability of journalistic involvement, and attempts to involve the audience have become more explicit. (Peters, 2011: 297)

For long, serious news journalism has met emotions with reluctance. Be it in form of the profound tension they pose to the epistemological core paradigm of journalistic objectivity (see section 4.2.3), or be it through academic journalism research which considered investigating emotions in news production as a rather subordinate interest.[66]

### 4.5.1 An emotive turn in journalism

A process of rethinking emotions in journalism has been on its way for more than a decade (Beckett & Deuze, 2016; Fuller, 2010; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016). This goes back to social and technological developments leading to changes in society, media consumption practices, and different power relations in the journalistic field.

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[66] E.g., the comprehensive work of McQuail mentions emotions only under the media effects headline "entertainment". McQuail (2010: 499) understands emotional arousal solely as possible motivation in consuming entertainment.

Socially, emotions (re)appear in circles, mostly as counter-movement against too cognitivist-behavioral social models. An early example for this is the sentimental novel or German Romantik in 18th and 19th century literature.[67] In recent academic research, the unpopularity of emotions with regard to news journalism manifests, for example, prominently in Habermas (1990 [1962]) and his seminal conception of the public sphere. Habermas followed the Enlightenment distinction between emotio and ratio which translated into his largely normative concept of a rational public sphere, where a commitment to reason and rational argumentation is seen as far superior to emotions or passions.

Criticism on Habermas pointed to an increasing awareness of emotional elements in public life, replacing the dominant cognitive. The general turn to the "affective" (Clough & O'Malley Halley, 2007) is accompanied by a "rise of the Homo Sentimentalis" (Illouz, 2007) in the 21st century. It was through progresses in neuro-cognitive research which shaped a new understanding of affects and emotions as relevant activity which happens in brain areas responsible for attention, motivation or behavior (e.g., Damasio, 2000, 2005; Panksepp, 2004, 2012).

This, in turn, allowed emotions to gain momentum in other disciplines such as political science, sociology and cultural studies. For example, Barbelet's macrotheory of emotions roots individual emotions in (macro)structures (Barbalet, 2011; 1998).[68] Passion becomes acknowledged as an energetic social force in life (Wiemann & Eckstein, 2013). Broader social tendencies of increased reflexive self-monitoring support an awareness about expression and management of emotions (Beck, Giddens, & Lash, 1994). Linked to this are efforts to understand emotional labor in the creative industries (for an account of television see Grindstaff, 2002; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2013).

The "'emotionalisation' of contemporary culture" (Richards, 2009: 302) elevates the visibility of affects, emotions and intimacy. This is more visible in popular culture,

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[67] Remarkable examples among them *The sorrows of young Werther* by Goethe or *Wuthering Heights* by Emily Brontë. Part of these movements were a clear and outward emotional expression, a melancholy, and in real life, seeing depression as fashionable and early suicide as the ultimate manifestation of a dedicated sentimental lifestyle.

[68] Barbelet also reminded of pre-War sociologists like Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, or Gustave Le Bon, to name but a few, who had considered affects and affective action as a relevant category in sociology (e.g., Durkheim, 1994; M. Weber, 2010).

where television plays a crucial role in observing and exposing private emotions in public (Lunt & Pantti, 2007; Lunt & Stenner, 2005). This "Oprah Winfrey culture" (Geoghegan, 2005) opens up spaces for formats of intimacy such as confessional talk shows, being associated with a revival of deliberative engagement and radical democracy.

The blurring of boundaries between private and public connects to Furedi's concept of "therapeutic culture" (2004). He considers "self-disclosure television" as socially legitimated and encouraged "in order to heal, emotionally injured individuals need to let go of 'private wounds by sharing them with others'" (Furedi, 2003). Drawing on Furedi and cultural studies, we have seen how emotions have emerged in the last two decades as a positive-powerful force in public and society, in the popular and citizen realm.

Turning to the political sphere, emotions are "involved in the political life of a nation" (Richards, 2009: 301). In his concept of the "emotional public sphere" (Richards, 2007: 57-58), Richards suggests that emotions have a public function and contribute to many political topics such as public opinion and political participation. His main point about news journalism relates to the fact that the "emotional dimension of news is essential to understanding its political and cultural influence" and therefore its implications in the democratic process (Richards, 2009: 301). In this sense, Richards argues, an emotional public sphere is "always intertwined with the substance of debates about values, policies, procedures [...] which constitute the public sphere of a would-be rational discussion" (*ibid.*: 303). With Richards, we can understand the role of news media in a democratic realm as space of presenting and mediating emotive dimensions of socio-political issues to a wider public, in order to generate successful communication in society. This supports journalism's normative position in a democracy.

The rise of emotions in public can be also attributed to technological changes. Social media brought more subjective-emotional styles forward, with emotional eye-witness accounts, blogs, or Twitter. Twitter messages are limited to 140 characters which gives "rarely an opportunity to represent stories in a balanced and impartial way" – even for tweeting journalists (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016: 139).

These irreversible social and technological shifts clearly ask for a redefinition of journalism. As the role of journalism as detached objectivist practice (in Western

countries) has been more and more questioned, consequences emerge on the levels of the journalistic individual but also society.

I suggest three direct reasons why emotions should be more integrated into journalism: commercial-technologically, epistemological, and normalization. Commercially-technically, online journalism demonstrates that content relies more than ever on click- or "emo-bait" (Boland, 2017), where an understanding of audience perception, information processing and mechanisms of social sharing is indispensable. Secondly, emotions help in knowledge acquisition – as a different (and new) system of truth claims (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016). For journalists, this helps in understanding topics with an emotive core such as rape (R. Campbell, 2001) or the emotive dimensions of the Oklahoma bombing (Willis, 2003). Finally, emotions are disassociated with sensationalism and normalized. They (re)appear in journalistic guidelines for practitioners especially on the Indian side, with calls for emotional interview formats (Chaturvedi, 2015) or to "elicit an emotional reaction in viewers" (Sahoo, 2016: 108), favoring "stories that prompt the reader towards sympathy [or] anger" (Chaturvedi, 2015: 90). Further, countless self-reflective books serve as a valve of emotional release for journalists traumatized by emotionally challenging situations.

Rethinking journalism makes one wonder if news media should take a turn towards more social responsibility. Criticism of the detached "dry" Western journalism has addressed the lack of engagement, compassion and its moral implications. Professionals considering themselves as "dispassionate and disinterested scientists" and rather aiming for a share in power will not be able to include empathy or the struggle for justice into their work (Hedges, 2010).

With Bell and others, an exclusion of passion and emotion does not seem feasible anymore. Instead, social responsibility can be exercised towards both the news subjects and news topics (integrating distant suffering, compassion, or citizen journalism) and the needs and sensitivities (feeling reactions) of an audience. Journalists need to anticipate how their audience *feels* about something – in the UK, from fulfilling ethical guidelines, and in India, from unwillingly inciting group violence.

Moreover, a more socially responsible function of the press also concerns the epistemological realm. If journalism is about investigating truth and truth claims, then truth cannot be relegated to a rather Western understanding of it which relies

alone on truth being objective-factual and measureable, a science-based interpretation of facts. In a de-westernizing sense, varying cultural understandings might associate “truth” with different concepts. Vedic thinkers distinguished two kinds of knowledge: about matters of everyday interest and of empirical nature, and knowledge relating to the essence of things. It is the second approach to knowledge and hence truth, which might lead journalism to consider a different kind of truth – i.e., justice (Martinisi & Lugo-Ocando, 2015).[69]

In short, journalism experiences an influx of emotions through competing communication offers and technological changes (upsurge of social media), which together with resulting changing power dynamics and criticism on core professional values might lead to a more visible integration of emotive contents. The role of journalism in society remains important, but might be rethought from normative ideas of social responsibility and truth claims.

After having outlined the main reasons why journalism faces a turn to the affective-emotional, the next section will describe how this manifests so far in communicator and output-centered academic research. What do journalists think about emotions, and how might this be translated to media contents?

### 4.5.2 Emotions in journalistic news thinking, practices and contents

“Journalism based only on passion is reckless; a journalism based only on objectivity is accurate but lacks depth”, claims Ward (2009: 80). Only the combination of both could produce an engaging *and* objectively tested journalism. This summarizes the current situation of journalism in translation.

News and the (media) public sphere increasingly experience a focus on emotions (Döveling, 2005; Pantti, 2005; Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011: 119; Georg Ruhrmann, Woelke, Maier, & Diehlmann, 2003). Up to the year 2000, emotions in news coverage had been mostly researched from a rather infotainment-led approach with often negative undertones (e.g., Bente & Fromm, 1997; Brants & Neijens, 1998; Sparks, 2000; Wittwen, 1995b), or through integration in news value theory (Allern, 2002; Eilders, 1997; Njaastad, 2004). Another main focus was audience effect research, testing how audiences react to a variation of emotional stimuli in order to test the recall of news and the retroactive and proactive memory

[69] Justice remains a rather subjective value in Western journalist understandings.

of spectators (Brosius, 1993b; Bucy & Newhagen, 1999; Lang & Newhagen, 1996; Newhagen, 1992, 1998).

This was joined by mostly U.S.-led research about the representation of emotions in news, comprising the identification of dominant emotions such as despair in photos (Singletary & Lamb, 1984), the dominance of conflict plots in news (McCartney, 1987); the emotion-rationality binary (MacMillan & Edwards, 1999); or journalism as moral guide, suggesting adequate emotion rules like grief (Walter, Littlewood, & Pickering, 1995).

From 2000 onwards, there is a small but growing body about the representation of emotions in the news media (e.g., Döveling, 2005; Gerhards, et al., 2011; Machado & Santos, 2009; Nabi, 2003; Pantti, 2010; Richards, 2007; Thussu, 2007; Uribe & Gunter, 2007; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013). Case studies predominantly focus on negative exceptional events (disasters, murder, terror, crime). They are often singular and analyze Western print news coverage, while television content analysis studies are sparse. Their results show evidence supporting the trend of an increasing emotionalization of news coverage (e.g., Pantti, 2005; Wardle, 2006; Yell, 2010); emotional narratives, stereotypes and discourses (e.g., Cho et al., 2003; Kinnebrock & Bilandzic, 2008; Rodgers, Kenix, & Thorson, 2007; Wardle, 2006; Yell, 2010); visual indicators effective in meaning manipulation (Grabe, 2013; Kang & Heo, 2012); and, ultimately, media as stimulating social emotions and consequently enhancing group feelings (e.g., Altheide, 2006; Cho, et al., 2003; Döveling, 2005; Zelizer, 2010).

The research about television also remains on a case-base and focus often on strongly emotionally charged moments like murder, or on celebrities (Pantti, 2005; Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011; Pantti & Wieten, 2005). Emotional effects on society are emphasized, especially in disaster coverage and murder (Döveling, 2005; Kitch, 2000), but also through the "ordinary person" (Pantti & Husslage, 2009). From a distinctly cultural perspective, emotional appeal can be created through the use of symbolic and emotional codes, emotional rituals and norms (Gerhards, et al., 2011). The literature overview about the representation of emotions informs the empirical analysis in this study.

After outlining emotions in news output, I turn now to emotions in journalistic thinking and practices. Two main trends can be highlighted here: First, a 'silent'

adaption of practice with professional boundaries, and second, a challenge of established conventions.

First, on a professional level, Wahl-Jorgensen and Stenvall describe strategies of how journalists of 'quality' media adapt to covering emotional news stories. Stenvall (2008) understands emotions as material part of journalism, contrary to a rather 'mythical' objectivity and an 'elusive' factuality. As the ideal of objectivity classically does not permit the expression of authorial emotions, one strategy of journalists for emotional expression would be to directly quote other people's emotions in news reports. But this happens rarely; and journalists actually tend to end up interpreting the emotions of others themselves. Wahl-Jorgensen (2013), on the other hand, proposes that journalists do emotionalize news but rely on a "strategic ritual of emotionality". To appear passionless and detached themselves, they "outsource" emotions to characters authorized to express emotions in public, whose emotions journalists can describe without implicating themselves. This professional appearance goes along with Gaye Tuchman's original idea of the "strategic ritual of objectivity" (Tuchman, 1972). Wahl-Jorgensen's findings indicate that the relationship between emotionality and objectivity is highly complex.

Although 'serious' news journalism relies as before on the ideals of factuality, impartiality and objectivity as legitimizing key ideological constructs, it does not seem to be able to take itself out of the emotionalization trend. Journalists do have an emotional culture and follow emotional practices; they need emotional intelligence in order to create news reports (Richards, 2007). They have to manage their own emotions, while seeking attention and emotional engagement of their viewers (Kotišová, 2017). In order to achieve this, changes in the language of news and changes in audience incentives can be observed: News programs have been redesigned since the mid-1990s, when studio settings obtained a colorful look, combined with catchy music tunes and a more dynamic way of presenting the program (Gans, 2009; Khorrami, 2011).

From a producer's perspective in journalism, news events influence their personal emotions, and these in turn have an impact on their output in some way (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007: 19), in both routine and crisis situations. Research has only recently covered the aspect of journalists being required to perform emotional labor in their professional duty (Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Pantti, 2010; Richards & Rees, 2011). An extreme case here would be trauma (Brayne, 2004; Buchanan & Keats,

2011; Newman, Simpson, & Handschuh, 2003; R. Smith & Newman, 2009). On another level, journalists seldom verbalize that some judgments are made on an intuitive basis. This plays an important role in journalistic practice. The silence makes them doxic news elements – unspoken and taken for granted (Schultz, 2007: 195).

This 'silent' adaptation of journalism to more emotional acceptance is reflected also in journalists tweeting engaging messages or publishing subjective-reflective narratives about their crisis and war experiences (e.g., Keane, 1996; Rados, 2003). Other journalists openly "commit" to emotionality in their writing (Segreti, 2009), reflect on emotional challenges (Schiller, 2012) and how emotions help them in their professional work to understand stories better (Hallman Jr, 2009; Santos, 2009; Willis, 2003), or speak in favor of emotions in teaching material or guidelines (Frechette, 2012; Greenman, s.a.).

For the Indian context, there is less research in general available, and with a focus rather on sensationalism and infotainment, combined with a multiplicity of professional norm transgressions (e.g., Bhatia, 2012; U. Rao, 2013; Thussu, 2016b). Studies about newsroom practices or attitudes towards emotions as such are limited (Batabyal, 2012; Kumar, 2015).

After adaptation, I want to highlight the second and more social-political trend in journalism: the challenge of established (Western) professional conventions together with a demand for a revised journalism. Especially in crisis journalism, it is by now partially accepted that journalists can rarely be neutral observers, and that "humanist journalism [...] combines reason and emotion" (Ward, 2010). As "emotion is always present", they are believed to generate an "experience of involvement" (Peters, 2011: 303).

This generated calls from practitioners like Martin Bell (1998) with his "journalism of attachment" especially for war and crisis scenarios, or Arnab Goswami (2014) propagating "activist journalism"; or academics like Ward (2009: 80) who suggested a "pragmatic objectivity", which is "*full* of values and commitments", and, hence, does not see passion or emotion necessarily as contrast.

These challenges go further: Some consider journalists and journalism as an institution carrying social responsibility. Wahl-Jorgensen (2013: 4) emphasizes the potential of journalists to call "attention to larger social problems by eliciting

emotional reactions in the audience and thereby securing their involvement". Journalism in the service of society instead of capital is proposed by a variety of scholars (C. Christians, 2004; Middleton, 2011; Owens-Ibie, 1994; Singer, 2006). This becomes possible in the case of, e.g., 'distant suffering', where news media can exercise an "ethical sensibility that extends beyond our own 'neighbourhood'" (Chouliaraki, 2006: 1), or by mobilizing sympathies for human relief efforts (Cottle, 2009: 11).

Pantti and Jorgensen write of "emotional politics" as a "unique secular ritual that both builds communities and enforces accountability"; and they qualify different emotions with different potential effects on society: "While some emotions strengthen social bonds and belong in society, others heighten a sense of crisis and increase the chance of shaking up society's institutions" (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007: 20). This aspect is at times neglected by British journalists who often rather deny a larger responsibility for impacting social emotive climates with their news (Richards & Rees, 2011).

## 4.6 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the ambivalent role which emotions occupy in journalistic news practice and achieved three tasks. First, I showed that emotions are largely excluded (or silenced) in discourses about journalistic norms and tools. They neither appear in journalistic codes of conduct, nor are they easy to align with core principles of detachment and scientific observer objectivity. Despite this, emotions have never been absent. Mostly in Western journalism, they appear transformed as a "cool" stance, symbolizing performative distance and detachment as a display rule. And this, in turn, requires emotional labor – in order to bridge the gap between the normative expectation of the news organization and individual feelings. Emotional labor suddenly becomes here a productive resource underlying all professional norms. In addition, emotions appear as news value – either tacit in journalistic doxa, or directly embedded in news value theory.

I then turned to discourses about infotainment and sensationalism and outlined the error of confounding the deployment of emotionalizing practices with 'bad journalism'. I argue that emotions do not only facilitate news understanding, but can also stimulate and empower citizenship and political participation.

Subsequently, I mapped out the most important means of emotionalization – choosing emotional topics, angles and narratives, representation and style elements (visuals, human interest, and anchoring).

Finally, I drew on the input from existing studies of emotions in news coverage and as emotional practice, to combine it with discourses about the turn to emotions in news journalism. I established that research about emotions was scarce and focused on crises and exceptional news events. Also, most of it was related to Western countries, providing only little information about Indian newsrooms. The research about British journalists, however, found that though they do not seem to easily integrate emotions into norms of professional work, their actual practices of regulating personal emotions, strategies of handling emotive story elements, and their awareness of emotional labor indicate that “emotion is always present” (Peters, 2011: 303).

Whether and how these manifold conceptualizations of emotions manifest themselves in the narrations of journalists from two continents will be assessed through the empirical analysis of elite interviews, documents, and television news material in chapters 6-9. But before entering this investigation, I turn to the methodological approach used to explore and investigate the role that emotions have for British and Indian television newsworkers.

# 5 | RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this thesis is to better understand how television journalists in two different cultures deploy emotions in their professional work and to conceptualize the epistemological and deontological factors underpinning their perceptions and practices. The previous chapters anchored this research in sociological, cultural and journalism production approaches. Having established a theoretical framework, this chapter introduces the main methodological approach used in this research.

As outlined in the introduction, the main research questions guiding this study are:

(I) How do content producers – journalists, editors, reporters – reflect on emotions and their deployment in news coverage; and upon which premises is their reasoning based?

This question can be broken down into several key research questions:

1) What is the normative value and status of emotions for journalists in their professional work?

2) How do emotions inform and contribute to journalistic work practice, and do they require emotional labor?

3) How is the relationship between journalists and their audience shaped?

4) Do news-content producers use emotionalization strategies in news coverage?

(II) In what way do British and Indian journalism cultures share, or not, a common professional understanding of television news journalism, and what role do culturally varying emotion philosophies play in this?

To answer these questions, I describe the methodological approach in four subsections. I first introduce the rationale behind the selected methods for this research focus, and for selecting a comparative setting. Second, I turn to the empirical tools used in this analysis. The qualitative set up consists of a thematic analysis (henceforth TA), based on in-depth interviews and informed by news articles and audio-visual material, supported by a document analysis. This design is a mixed method one (Mertens, 2010); it relies on a methodological triangulation, although one method (in-depth interviews) dominates. This choice of methods stresses the production context of news texts as a way to a deeper understanding of

the formation of media discourses, and the power relations involved. I argue that TA constitutes an ideal framework to answer my research questions.

In the third section, I outline the process of selecting and approaching participants, gathering data, transcribing and translating interviews, analyzing data, and accounting for ethical issues. I end with some reflections about the value of the empirical part of this research and outline its limitations.

## 5.1 Rationale

In analyzing social reality, qualitative approaches emphasize the subjective perspective of individuals within a usually complex social reality. Qualitative research is generally understood as consisting

> ...of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 3).

For this work, quantitative aspects of journalistic personality features such as age or education are of less importance. Rather, the subject of this work is the journalistic professional discourse concerning the range of attitudes and strategies towards the role of emotions in news journalism. The empirical data resulting from this provides the base to subsequently "create theoretical ideas" (Davies & Hughes, 2014: 164).

Epistemologically, this research follows the conviction that objectivity in social sciences or in media discourses is an ideal. Indeed, it acknowledges the existence of "reality" in the form of intersubjective agreements, though not excluding individual meaning-construction. Hence, the underlying objective of this study about the role of emotions in journalism locates itself between the two approaches of pragmatism and social constructivism. These will be outlined now.

***Social constructivism*** acknowledges multiple local and specific constructed realities which can be at times conflicting. These realities are conceptions of the human intellect (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).[70] Individuals

[70] Pragmatism's stance on social constructivism is open-integrative with the focus on inquiry. Hence, it is treated as its own world of research with "different feelings about and different standards for the nature of inquiry" (Morgan, 2014: 1049).

> ...seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. Meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views, rather than to narrow the meanings into a few categories or ideas (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007: 20).

This is easily visible in competing journalistic discourses of two countries about preferable role identities to follow for journalists, and what social and normative implications their professional work has.

From this motivation, this study prefers a qualitative approach which involves a comparison of two cases in order to explore the range of ideas. In analyzing network newscasts, it seems more appropriate to achieve sophisticated value judgments which reflect the relationship of source statements to ideological views, where "cultural symbols are contextualized by journalists in the process of constructing meaning" (Ibrahim, 2010: 115).

This clearly implies that though journalists draw on an existing reality, a given context and media ecology, they tend to reflect *and* construct reality(ies) in their thinking – on both an individual and intersubjective level.

***Pragmatism,*** in turn, has often been related to mixed-methods research – or, "what works" pragmatically. However, it is philosophically highly influenced by Dewey's thinking about the role of human experience in research:

> Any process of inquiry is always social in nature. Even when an inquiry is based solely on our individual thoughts, those thoughts and the standards that we use to apply them have social origins. (Morgan, 2014: 1048).

The pragmatic stance on inquiry and outcome differs from earlier research-philosophical paradigms. Although it considers the classic triad of the ontological, epistemological and methodological as important under a "given set of circumstances" (p. 1051), new problems arise which require different approaches.[71]

The process emphasizes thoughtful reflection on knowledge generation, where "all our attempts to understand and act in the world are inherently contextual, emotional, and social" (p. 1050). Dewey integrates emotions into the inquiry process by referring to their role in identifying problems and decision-making

[71] Hall (2013: 19) speaks of pragmatism itself as "an alternative epistemological paradigm", though criticism asks about its ontological and epistemological dimensions. Pragmatism aims to break down the ontological dualism between realism and idealism, and between paradigms of post-positivism and social constructivism as it treats "those differences as social contexts for inquiry as a form of social action, rather than as abstract philosophical systems" (Morgan, 2014: 1049).

throughout the inquiry process. Feelings provide the link between beliefs and actions, resulting in choices which may be believed to be good or bad. This way, research becomes a “moral, political and value-laden enterprise” (Denzin, 2010: 424-425).

This section has shown how this research is informed by pragmatist and social constructivist approaches. Next, I will substantiate the choice of cases and medium.

## 5.2 Research design: Why a comparative approach?

This section outlines the rationale for choosing a comparative approach. It explains why the UK and India were selected as cases, and why the research focuses on television as a medium.

### 5.2.1 Why a comparative research setting?

Journalism as a set of occupational practices was never confined to national borders. For decades, a global dissemination of journalistic practices and belief systems has been observed (e.g. Golding & Elliott, 1979; Hanitzsch, 2007). However, journalistic knowledge production continues to take place within national media ecologies, as “nation-state logic still permeates national news media” (Olausson, 2011: 142). This research aims for a “transnational prism” (Cottle, 2009: 168), where national media might adopt global features.

As discussed in the previous sections, the present work aims to understand how journalists reflect emotions and emotionalization strategies in news production. This topic is underresearched with only sparse academic manifestations. Moreover, the focus on Western Europe dominates (Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Pantti, 2010; Richards & Rees, 2011). Here, cross-cultural research can contribute to “extend our own awareness of life and its possibilities” beyond one location (Benton & Craib, 2001: 99).

Moreover, as researching emotions is related to distinctive cultural-social settings I argue that this case makes it worth looking beyond Europe or Northern America. Including culturally *very* distinctive scenarios and regional hegemonies (Hafez, 2012: 176) helps not only to identify ethnocentric assumptions but also to contrast

them with alternative cultural practices (Osborn, 2004; Said, 1978). It can be assumed that reflections about emotions vary under different contexts.[72]

Third, comparative approaches to journalism integrate both Western and non-Western countries only in rare cases (e.g., Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2017). Apart from a self-interest in more "important" (Western) countries, this also reflects pragmatic research realities: different (and maybe less developed and therefore less accessible) infrastructures, but also language barriers and the obstacle of adequate concept translations impede research which is not only cross-national, but truly cross-cultural.

Therefore, this work first hopes to make a relevant contribution to a comparative study setting, exploring the range of possibilities in journalism by drawing from two culturally very distinct cases. Second, it seeks to add to the growing body of research on the Global South. Third, it aims to put this "Southern" case in perspective – on a par – with a "Western" one.[73]

### 5.2.2 Why India and the United Kingdom?

In order to explore varying cases comprehensively and in-depth, I decided to compare two contrasting countries: the United Kingdom and India. What are the premises and selection criteria?

The first aim of this research was to choose countries with fundamentally different emotion philosophies. As this is culturally influenced, it became clear that two Western countries (relying on the emotio-ratio divide) might not provide sufficient differences. Therefore, comparing a non-Western and a Western country was suitable.

Social systems generally contain universal elements which can be established by a comparative approach (Przeworski & Teune, 1970). Investigating reflections about emotions and their deployment in news coverage is characterized by complex multi-causal explanations. Additionally, the idea of contrast helps in pointing out the limits of existing theories such as emotion philosophies in different cultural

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[72] This also supports attempts of de-westernization (see Curran & Park, 2012; Shelton A. Gunaratne, 2010). The historically-rooted academic imbalance is reflected in journalism research, where India clearly falls behind the UK – despite India's size, population, and world-political significance.

[73] This may sound essentialist, but it serves the analytical outline of this research.

settings. The complex scenario justifies limiting this research to two contrasting cases.

In selecting the cases, attempts to ground the comparison in adequate broader media system classifications were unsuccessful, due to being either outdated (Siebert & Schramm, 1956) or limited in regional applicability. Hallin and Mancini's (2004, 2011) classification of media systems is based on the relations between media and politics but focused originally solely on Western countries.[74] Among them, the Polarized Pluralist Model developed into a catch-all category for media systems in the rest of the world. This, however, misses out the broad variation of constellations within non-Western media systems, their different historical developments, and their different conceptualizations of relevant institutions (Voltmer, 2011).

Therefore, the selection criteria for choosing the United Kingdom and India rely on empirical-historical elements with the focus on systematic similarities. Both countries (UK, India) as basic units for analysis show a similar political system (democracy with a certain guaranteed space for freedom of the press); a roughly similar media system (highly differentiated; dual system in broadcasting with a wide-reaching public service broadcasting which is relatively independent from the state though less powerful in the Indian case; the private sector is highly competitive); a similar professionalization level in broadcasting journalism including access to the profession (education); and finally, a guarantee of regional academic expertise in the field (Thussu, 2012).[75]

The two countries share strong historical ties. British colonialism deeply marked the development of India for more than 200 years, with the British Raj (= "Crown rule") in power from 1858 until independence in 1947. After independence, ties were maintained, as India shaped its own political system according to the British Westminster model. This is characterized by a multi-party system in which two parties exercise historically a clear domination (UK: Labor Party and Conservatives, India: Indian National Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party). Similarly, the Indian media system followed the British model with the introduction of European-style privately-run newspapers (19th century). As a consequence, the English-language press dominated from then until the 1980s, and India is still facing "the

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[74] They divide 18 selected states into North/Central or Democratic Corporatist Model, North Atlantic or Liberal Model, and the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model.

[75] The last point refers to the degree of institutionalization of reflective thought procedures about the media within a country, for example, the degree of institutionalization of communication studies.

consequences, good or bad, of its European, or American-mediated origins (Masterton, 2005: 42). Later, government-owned public service broadcasting was established with All India Radio and later Doordarshan (Dipankar Sinha, 2014).

Both countries share a vivid political public sphere. The United Kingdom has a strong tradition of public service broadcasting. The BBC, regulated by Ofcom, continues to defend its impactful stance in the British television media landscape despite deregulation and pressure from private competitors. A similar trend can be seen in India, where the once state-controlled channel Doordarshan gained some independence under an autonomous supervision (Prasar Bharati; see Schneider, 2007), though drowning in an ever-growing market of aggressively competing private channels.

Additionally, based on the interlinked history of the UK and India, mutual transcultural flows[76] have emerged between the two countries. The United Kingdom is still present in the Indian media daily life as the BBC online news portal enjoys a high reputation among its South Asian audience (Franks, 2012).

After summarizing similarities between the UK and India, I will now present some of the fundamental differences. The different geographical location and, subsequently, cultural and emotional concepts (Hofstede, 1980, 2001; Laungani, 2007) require an empirical set up which needs to be open to Western and non-Western concepts in theory and methodology, to assure the comparability and equivalence of a 'Western' with a 'South Asian' country comparison on the level of constructs, methods and items (see Hanitzsch, 2005, 2010; Vijver & Leung, 1997).

Here, it serves as an advantage that my background as an East German researcher and journalist provides reflective distance from the two countries which limits my personal research bias. Longer stays in India as well as doing a PhD in England have helped me to acquire knowledge and understanding about the research contexts, in accordance with suggestions for desirable qualities in researchers brought forward by scholars such as Golding and Elliot (1979) or Wyndham Goldie (1972). This includes language capabilities (in my case English, and Hindi) but also knowledge about television news production.

[76] For example, Cricket is a former British import and today the national sport in India; while Indian cuisine conquered British taste buds.

### 5.2.2 Why television?

This research chooses to focus specifically on television journalists. Though digital media and the internet are equally of increasing relevance in both countries for news consumption, they could not be the focus of this thesis as the timing of the fieldwork of this study fell into a period where at least in India digital media were less significant as means of information for broader audiences. Besides this, the interviews conducted revealed that for the majority of the participants online journalism played a minor role in everyday journalistic practice at the time of the interviews.

Television as a medium was selected from four main reasons: significance, style, state of research, and personal background of the researcher.

*Significance*: Television news is still the most consumed news offering both in the United Kingdom and in India. It is a medium in which broadcasters from the global South have become powerful enough to challenge dominant "Western" news narratives.[77] Television continues to attract big audiences despite otherwise flourishing press markets in India, and the internet having a relevant share in more developed countries. While in the UK the television market is highly regulated and makes further competition less likely, the Indian news market is still booming through the emergence of regional players. From an audience perspective, television news aims to reach largely undifferentiated mass audiences. Therefore, it can be assumed that information needs to be presented in a broadly appealing way, making thoughts about emotions obvious. This relates to the next point.

*Style*: As television as a genre tends to be structurally less reflexive and less deep in argumentation than the ('serious') press, cognitive elements alone cannot carry news programs. Instead, message framing involves emotionalization strategies as a matter of course. This is represented in varying degrees of simplification, personification, scandalization or elements of human interest which inevitably draw on human emotions (see Bourdieu, 1998a). Secondly, information processing of news bulletins relies heavily on the visual, which is processed more intuitively and faster than the accompanying text. Therefore, the visual-emotional is the advantage of television as a medium in connecting to audiences.

*State of research*: The previous point leads to my next argument. Most academic investigations of emotion logics in journalism are limited to the genre of print or

[77] For example, Qatari Al Jazeera, China's CCTV, or Brazil's Globo News (Sakr, 2004; Sonwalkar, 2004).

online, as researching television can be a methodologically challenging endeavor. However, television is "the most ubiquitous" of all media (A. A. Cohen, 2012: 533). I argue that the strongly audio-visual nature of TV makes it a genre which draws on different repertoires of emotionalization routines than print. Hence, it is of interest to explore its specifics.

*Personal background:* As a trained journalist, I previously worked as a radio and television news journalist for federal and also national public service broadcasting providers in Germany. This gives me prior knowledge of newsroom structures, production routines and operational procedures, and journalist logics. This background knowledge is immensely beneficial for this work. It has helped me not only to evaluate substance and quality of replies received in the interviews, but also has made me reflect on my previous German and international work experiences.

Now that the rationale for the selection of countries and television as a medium has been outlined, the next subchapter turns to the data generation process, involving the sample, recruitment, and data collection.

## 5.3 Method and data acquisition

Examining emotion regimes in Indian and British journalism requires a selection of specific locations, institutions and individuals. This section will outline the logic in selecting an appropriate method and the sample for this study. As my main method, I conducted in-depth interviews with media professionals, which were informed by a prior study of television news and secondary material. Moreover, a document analysis of professional ethical guidelines contributed to an understanding of formal and informal journalistic self-understandings. For the qualitative sample, more than 20 television journalists were selected for each, the United Kingdom and India.

### 5.3.1 In-depth interviews as method

To better understand how journalists value emotions within their professional work practice but also to examine their perception and motivation to shape news coverage using emotionalization strategies, this study relies on semi-structured interviews.

Semi-structured or in-depth interviews are chosen to investigate conflicting ideas, attitudes, values, and goals being negotiated within the realm of news journalism. This will allow a deeper understanding to explain the (emotionalization) behavior of news professionals.

Interviews are more exploratory in nature than other methods of social science data gathering. In interviews, interpretations are gathered by "selecting constitutive details of experience". It is "reflecting on them, giving them order, and thereby making sense of them that makes telling stories a meaning-making experience" (Seidman, 2013: 7).

Semi-structured interviews allow a flexible way of interaction with interviewees. But responses of participants cannot be taken as simple truth, as they might follow a "narrative agency" – an actively constructed subjectivity – and are less a "repository of information or wellspring of emotions" but "an animated, productive source of narrative knowledge" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2012: 33). In this study, this is likely to emerge especially in relation to the discursive treatment of emotions and professional values, principles and role identities, but also with regard to the personal (emotive) sphere.

### 5.3.2 Sample Selection and Recruitment

Selecting a sample for the in-depth interviews was done in a two-step process. First, relevant television news networks were identified. In a second step, a sample of interviewees was recruited from these pre-defined institutions. This method of criterion-based or strategic sampling aims "quite explicitly to select people, objects, situations or experiences" in order to develop and test theoretical ideas (Davies & Hughes, 2014: 172; Ritchie, Lewis, McNaughton Nicholls, & Ormston, 2014). Qualitative sampling does not claim to be statistically representative for a larger population segment. Instead, through a small sample it aims to examine individual narratives of feelings and experience which go beyond traditional quantifiable categories (Silverman, 2010: 191).

**Selection of television channels**

In order to select a sample of journalists, I established first for each country a sample consisting of news programs with a 'national' audience orientation, including both public service broadcasters and commercial channels.

In the British media market, this study focuses on the producers of the main daily newscasts and 24-hour news channels:

1) public service broadcaster: BBC1, BBC24
2) commercial – public service: ITV, Sky News[78]

The Indian sample was more difficult to put in place. It was operationalized by drawing from the idea of conceptual equivalence which takes into account the vastness of the Indian media market. The media system reflects the disintegration of an ideal "national" audience into rather "diverse state-level regional political arenas populated by multiple publics" (Chakravartty & Roy, 2013: 365). Here, I chose the subnational as a comparative unit of analysis, following a "context-driven methodology". Subnational media systems are open to federal influences and actors, but also develop relatively autonomous logics (Durazo Herrmann, 2017). In India, the subnational closest to "national" as concept can be found in English-language channels and Hindi broadcasters.[79] Both target an audience across several federal states. English-language channels reach an elite and middle class urban as well as Southern Indian audience, while Hindi-language news broadcasts are understood widely in northern and central India.[80] 24-hour news channels are common in India and were chosen in order to recruit participants. The channels selected to inform this research consist of:

1) public service broadcaster Doordarshan
2) commercial English-language channels: NDTV24x7, Times Now, CNN-IBN (TV18 Group), Headlines Today (India Today Group)
3) commercial Hindi channels: NDTV India, ABP News, NewsX, IBN7 (TV18 Group), Aaj Tak (India Today Group).[81]

**Interviewee selection and recruitment**

In this section, I detail the different paths that aided the selection of interview participants in India and the United Kingdom. Differences between the two

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[78] News programs on Channel 4 and Channel 5 were not considered in this analysis.
[79] English-language channels label themselves usually as 'national' channels. However, this optimism is countered by English being fluently spoken and understood by less than 5 % of the total Indian population (estimations).
[80] Hindi is considered as regional language. However, among the Indian regional languages it excels by size of speakers, being the most widely spoken and understood language in India.
[81] All channels have their main studios in the greater Delhi area, with the exception of Times Now (Mumbai).

countries emerged. As the aim of this study was to unpack deeper meanings, journalists are chosen as 'units of analysis'

> ... because they typify a circumstance or hold a characteristic that is expected or known to have salience to the subject matter under study. ... A unit is chosen to both "represent" and "symbolize" features of relevance to the investigation. (Ritchie, et al., 2014: 116)

In the United Kingdom, interview participants were identified through lists of relevant staff members on the websites of the selected television news channels, but also with the help of two gatekeepers associated with the University of Leeds who helped to establish contacts with news professionals.[82] Some of these news professionals did not want to talk themselves but referred me to further staff members with contact details. This "chain sampling" (Ritchie, et al., 2014: 129) was especially successful with Sky News. Email replies were sparse. Therefore, whenever I had a chance to conduct an interview in a newsroom environment, I asked the interviewee for further contacts or a personal introduction, or tried it on my own.

The logic of acquiring interview participants in India differs considerably from the British case. Preplanning contacts via email is a relatively futile endeavor. What matters in the Indian journalistic professional sphere are personal networks and face-to-face encounters. I initially believed in a cooperative stance of NDTV and CNN-IBN, in both cases through previously established personal contacts to the managing editors. However, upon my arrival and request for help to contact staff members, I received a negative reply from NDTV, while the other person had moved on to another channel. This made it a challenge to conduct a minimum of 18 interviews in the four weeks remaining.

Here, with the extremely valuable help of a well-connected gatekeeper in Delhi, a journalist employed with a foreign broadcaster, I managed to access contact details of high-ranking journalists. In the Indian context, phone numbers matter most. Through repeated SMS and calls I was able to establish initial contacts, with interview opportunities usually arising spontaneously on a day to day basis, without fixing the length of the interview in advance. An invitation to the NDTV and Doordarshan newsrooms helped to establish many further contacts on different hierarchical levels, gender and age groups. For more junior contacts, a journalist friend helped me out (chain sampling). Finally, a good address for contacts and

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[82] I am very grateful to my colleagues at the School of Media and Communication for their support.

location for interviews were journalist association clubs.[83] All in all, establishing contacts with journalists and arranging interviews was relatively time-consuming and demanded a high degree of flexibility.

For the purpose of this study, 53 interviews were conducted altogether in the two countries, involving former and current journalists as well as media professionals and academics for additional information. Journalists were selected in accordance with the aim of representing a range of professional positions (from junior producer to senior CEO), and a relatively equal distribution of gender and age groups.

In India, 26 interviews with journalists and four background interviews with other media professionals were conducted, 25 of them in the period between December 2014 and January 2015, and one in January 2016 (see Table 3). In the United Kingdom, 22 interviews were undertaken between March and November 2015 (see Table 4). The interviews lasted between 8 minutes (phone call) and 3 hours. Several Indian interviews were done in two or three sessions. The interviewees were informed about the research and their rights as participants through an information sheet, and each participant was asked to sign a consent form.

**Table 3: Interviewees from the United Kingdom** (see Appendix III)

| No | TV Channel | Official Job Designation | Sex |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | BBC | Trainer Journalism | M |
| 2 | BBC | Senior: Director General | M |
| 3 | ITV | Senior: Head of News | F |
| 4 | BBC | Junior: Correspondent | M |
| 5 | ITN | Senior: Management/Editor | M |
| 6 | ITN | Junior: News Editor | M |
| 7 | BBC | Junior: News Editor/VJ | M |
| 8 | Sky News | Senior: Management | M |
| 9 | Sky News | Senior: Managing Editor | M |
| 10 | ITN | Senior: Management/Editor | M |
| 11 | Sky News | Senior: Anchor | M |
| 12 | Sky News | Junior: Producer | M |
| 13 | BBC | Senior: Foreign Correspondent | M |
| 14 | BBC News24 | Senior: Morning Editor – ret. | M |
| 15 | BBC | Senior: Editor – ret. | M |
| 16 | BBC | Senior: Presenter, anchor | F |
| 17 | Sky News | Junior: Producer | F |
| 18 | ITN | Senior: Correspondent | F |
| 19 | BBC, Sky News | Junior: Producer | F |
| 20 | ITN | Senior: Correspondent | F |
| 21 | BBC | Senior: Foreign Correspondent | F |
| 22 | BBC News24 | Senior: Anchor | F |

[83] Among them the Press Club of India and the Indian Women's Press Corps, both located in the center of New Delhi.

**Table 4: Interviewees from India** (detailed tables see Appendix III)

| No | TV Channel[84] | Job Status | Sex |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 | Aaj Tak, Live India | Senior: Editor | M |
| 02 | Doordarshan | Senior: Editor | M |
| 03 | Doordarshan | Senior: Anchor | M |
| 04 | Doordarshan | Junior: Editor | M |
| 05 | NewsX | Senior: Correspondent | F |
| 06 | CNN-IBN** | Senior: Editor, Presenter | M |
| 07 | ABP News | Senior: Correspondent | F |
| 08 | Headlines Today* | Senior: Editor, Correspondent | M |
| 09 | CNN-IBN** | Senior: Political Editor | F |
| 10 | Headlines Today* | Junior: Producer | F |
| 11 | Doordarshan News | Senior: Editor | F |
| 12 | CNN-IBN** | Senior: Anchor | M |
| 13 | CNN-IBN** | Senior: Management | F |
| 14 | NDTV India, NDTV 24x7 | Senior: management, anchor | M |
| 15 | Headlines Today*/Aaj Tak | Senior: Anchor, Editor | M |
| 16 | CNN-IBN** | Junior: Editor Politics | F |
| 17 | CNN-IBN** | Senior: Business Editor | M |
| 18 | NDTV India, NDTV 24x7 | Senior: Editorial Director | F |
| 19 | NDTV India | Senior: Editor | M |
| 20 | Headlines Today* | Junior: Editor | F |
| 21 | NDTV India | Senior: Editor | M |
| 22 | NDTV India | Senior: Anchor | M |
| 23 | ABP News | Senior: Editor | M |
| 30s | NDTV 24x7 | Junior: News Editor | F |
| 31s | NDTV 24x7 | Junior: Anchor | F |
| 40 | Foreign Channel, Office Delhi | Junior: Producer | M |
| | | | |
| E1 | Sevanti Ninan | Media critics | F |
| E2 | IIMC | Academic | M |
| E3 | ARD | Correspondent | M |
| E4 | NBA | Journalist | M |

*In May 2015 renamed as *India Today*. **In April 2016 renamed as *CNN News18*.

[84] At the time of the interview.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted at the workplace of interviewees where possible. These were newsrooms in London and Leeds, New Delhi and nearby Noida. When interviewees felt uncomfortable about this suggestion, alternative interview locations were agreed upon – in the United Kingdom, parks, and cafés, and in India shopping malls, restaurants, and professional clubs.

Skype was used for 8 interviews, as participants either were not present in the United Kingdom (foreign correspondents or one journalist in India), or proposed themselves talking over video chat. For this purpose, Skype offers a synchronous and largely intimate sphere for conversation (King & Horrocks, 2010: 84).

Though half of the Indian interviewees did not mind being mentioned by name, most of the British participants and the other half of the Indian journalists preferred to remain anonymous. Therefore, all participants were later anonymized.

The average age of the interviewees was 48 in the United Kingdom, with a clearly younger sample in India with on average 40 years. The male-female distribution was 15:11 among Indian journalists, and 14:8 with British interviewees.

### 5.3.3 Research instrument for the interviews

The development of the interview guide was strongly informed by a prior exploratory content analysis of news programs. This preparative step focused on presentation styles, narrative-discursive elements, and decisions about news story selection on British and Indian TV screens, past and present. Among the British broadcasts informing the analysis were BBC News at Six and at Ten, ITV Evening News, and ITV News at Ten as well as extracts from Sky News and BBC24. The British audio-visual material was accessed through Box of Broadcast. The reception of newscasts was an ongoing process. A close watching of British news formats and a comparison of topics selected for presentation was conducted in March 2013.

Among the many Indian news channels, most relevant for the interviews were the evening news programs and debate shows on Times Now, Aaj Tak, CNN-IBN, NDTV 24x7, and (since 2017) Republic TV. Recordings of the news programs were obtained through the invaluable help of CMS Medialab Delhi. This occurred mainly between January and March 2014 and in January 2015. Segments of news programs were also available on YouTube and through the Facebook presence of various channels.

The newscasts provided the foundation for the development of a general understanding for country specifics of news output. For each country, approximately 20 hours of newscasts were analyzed. I focused on the design of the news program and studio, the anchoring styles, and the way news topics were selected and presented. This included a focus on sensationalizing elements and professional principles followed. Three of the YouTube clips were used as input material for the method of reflective thinking; here journalists were asked to watch a newsclip and freely express their ideas on it. This exploratory study formed the backbone for generating adequately specific – and also challenging – questions for the interviews with newsmakers about their news routines, news practices, and ethical standards in role ideals and performance.

Journalists were asked a set of standard questions (see Appendix IV), which contained standard and potential follow-on questions (Berger, 2010). The questions were mostly open or semi-open. Core questions were about:

- perception of emotions in relation to normative journalistic principles such as objectivity and impartiality
- interviewees' own and competitors' emotionalization strategies in news programs
- newsroom organization and decision-making processes
- biographical details and work responsibilities
- what interviewees think about news production in the country of comparison

This final dimension was created in order to make differences clearer between the two countries. The procedure involved a laptop and the "method of thinking aloud".[85] Here, participants are asked to "think aloud while solving a problem" (Someren, Barnard, & Sandberg, 1994) – in this case interviewees were invited to

[85] Following the idea of Ericsson and Simon, participants are normally asked to work on a task and simultaneously verbalize their thoughts, opinions, decisions, likes and dislikes. This includes actions, thinking and feelings (Ericsson & Simon, 1993).

watch a short news video clip, produced by the country in comparison.[86] The participants were asked to comment on the production style of the other country from their perspective, considering the emotionality and appeal of the shown sequences. These cognitive answers were recorded together with the audio layers of the report, and their analysis was integrated into the empirical work (Schaap, 2001).

### 5.3.4 Fieldwork

Having myself worked in television news journalism, I aimed for a comfortable intimate atmosphere of "equality between colleagues" during the interview sessions. This also included ways of talking and vocabulary as well as own stances in order to stimulate discussions. The aim was to create a non-judgmental atmosphere of trust and of empowerment for journalists in order to allow them to voice potential concerns about professional norm conflicts or emotionally sensitive situations. Hence, I adopted a rather "conversational" interviewing style, considering the interviews as "speech activities" (Mishler, 1986).

The interviews were mainly conducted in English. On the Indian side, most journalists had a good command of English including the terminology of their profession, although some were struggling and used a parallel expression in Hindi as their safety net to put their thoughts across. Only one interview was entirely conducted in Hindi.[87]

Language is important in this matter – it shapes concepts and thinking. I realized at times that meanings differed between individuals. For example, an Indian journalist talking about "objectivity" might have different notions of this concept than a British colleague. Interestingly, British journalism education influenced the terminology of a third of the Indian sample.[88]

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[86] Indian interviewees watched a report about Nelson Mandela's death on BBC1's Ten o'clock news; while British interviewees saw Aaj Tak's report about Mandela's death and Arnab Goswami's (former) evening news program on Times Now or a CNN-IBN report about the Westgate Shopping Mall attack in Kenya 2013.

[87] More than other interviewees, I22 felt extremely uneasy about expressing his ideas in English. The Hindi-language anchor possesses an excellent command of Hindi, so he agreed for the interview if conducted in his mother tongue.

[88] A minimum of seven Indian journalists completed a higher education in the United Kingdom, most of them in a program for international journalists in Cardiff linked to the BBC.

Interestingly, the interviews frequently took a surprising turn right at the beginning. The open introduction question ("What do emotions in news coverage mean to you?") led to an unanticipated broad range of answers. Instead of referring to their subjective take on emotionalization strategies, half of the interviewees started to talk freely about the impact of their work on their own emotional regulation during news production which made me as interviewer increasingly focus on this dimension, as I realized that even micro-moments of trauma had a relevant impact on journalistic professional work and deserve scholarly attention within this research.[89] For some British journalists especially, this appeared to be a rare occasion to voice their professional emotional experiences openly, in a maybe even therapeutic function.

**Reflection**

*Situation:* The visits in Doordarshan and NDTV gave me also a chance to observe in a participatory manner journalistic news production routines and decision-making, including during the Charlie Hebdo events in 2015. On the British side, I had a chance to attend two editorial conferences where the daily news program was discussed. This, however, was under the request to treat the internal conversations confidentially, with no recordings allowed.

*Access:* Concerns about high-ranking journalists with little time available (Clausen, 2012: 486) did not materialize, as even former or present heads of channel gave me a minimum of 40 minutes of interview time. The way of choosing to approach them personally and through contacts was quite successful together with the choice of topic (A. A. Cohen, 2012: 541).

*Emotion as content:* The advantage of ensuring anonymity in the interviews played out here. Interviewees might take on multiple roles without realizing, be it optionally as an individual journalist, as a member of a profession following normative guidelines, or as a representative of a news organization. These inevitably might conflict. It can be assumed that the anonymity and intimacy of the interview situation creates a safe space to talk about emotions away from professional normativity. During fieldwork, however, neither British nor Indian journalists displayed manifest inhibitions to talking about emotions in news production. On

[89] The initial intention of the study was to NOT focus on the dimensions of individual emotion regulation and trauma.

the contrary, the anonymity of the interview scenario allowed them to voice criticism and their own standpoints openly, leaving notions of the stiff upper lip aside for a moment.

### 5.3.5 Supplementary methods: Document analysis and secondary material

The analysis of the discourse about emotions in news production was also informed by a body of written constitutive guidelines. In professional journalism, this translates predominantly into journalistic codes of conduct and ethical guidelines of licensing bodies such as Ofcom.

Five British and four Indian journalistic codes of conduct were identified through online research. The emphasis was on codes regulating norms of behavior in television journalism. However, due to the scarcity of codes available for television journalism in India, its press counterparts were also considered in the sample.

**Table 5: Analyzed journalistic codes of conduct in India and the UK**

| INDIA | UNITED KINGDOM |
|---|---|
| NBA News Broadcasters Association New Delhi (2008)<br>*TV, national* | Ofcom Broadcasting Code (2015)<br>*TV+Radio, national, private channels* |
| NBSA News Broadcasting Standards Authority (from 2008 onwards)<br>*TV, national* | BBC Editorial Guidelines (EG), Royal Charter (RC) and Agreement (A) (2016)<br>*TV+Radio, national, individual channel regulation* |
| Press Council of India (2010)<br>*Print only, national* | Independent Television Commission Programme Code (2002)<br>*TV, national, private channels, following Ofcom* |
| All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference (no date)<br>*Print only, national* | Sky News Editorial Guidelines (2014/15)<br>*TV, national, individual channel regulation, following Ofcom* |
| | National Union of Journalists: NUJ Code of Conduct (2013)<br>*National* |

The codes of conduct were analyzed according to terminology and context by identifying passages containing the words "objectivity" or the related "impartiality", and "emotion". The method used was a document analysis which aimed to identify relevant semantic segments. Its results have been incorporated in Chapter 4. For detailed text passages of all nine codes see appendix I.

A further source which informs the in-depth interviews was secondary literature about television news production. While in the United Kingdom a multitude of sources are available, the research about India benefitted strongly from media-critical outlets like Newslaundry and Caravan Magazine.

## 5.4 Data management and data analysis

This study follows a mixed methods approach comprising "a qualitative, constructivist-poststructuralist-critical view of the research process" (R. B. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007: 124). Mixed methods belong to the research tradition of pragmatism. It allows one to gain thicker and richer data, uncover contradictions and paradoxes, or confirm results (Jick, 1979; Rossman & Wilson, 1985).

In this study, for instance, differences between written journalistic codes of conduct and verbal statements in interviews might appear. Different data sources (news reports, guidelines, tweets of journalists and interviews) are combined using data triangulation (Denzin, 1978), and analyzed through a method triangulation (involving interviews including the method of thinking aloud, based on a preparative exploratory qualitative analysis of media material and tweets of journalists, supplemented by a document analysis) on the base of a theory triangulation (multiple theoretical perspectives).

The following sections describe the process of transcribing bilingual interviews, the role of language in research data presentation, and the data analysis using thematic and document analysis as methods.

### 5.4.1 Transcription and data presentation

All participants agreed to the interview recording. The recordings were transcribed verbatim, using the non-commercial program Express Scribe. The language of analysis and presentation was English. The interviews were anonymized through numbering them according to country of origin and order of interviewing. British interviewees were renamed B1, B2, ...B(x) and Indian ones I1, I2, ...I(x).

A simple transcript version was chosen where "paraverbal and non-verbal elements of communication are usually omitted", with a focus on "readability" (Dresing, Pehl, & Schmieder, 2015: 23), because this research centers on content, not linguistics.

Passages originally expressed in Hindi remained in Hindi during the transcription process but were noted down in a romanized simplified transliteration script instead of Devanagari.[90] This "Roman Hindi" transliteration style of writing Hindi in "English" letters follows the practice in Indian social media texts. An exception here is interview I22, which was entirely translated from Hindi to English with the help of a native Hindi speaker. This translation had to be conducted very carefully, as there is no one-to-one correspondence of certain relevant concepts in news journalism (for example, the professional values).

Despite my moderate Hindi language skills, I wanted to be sure that I was adequately representing participants' views. Overing (1987) raises concerns about imposing 'an "alien" framework of thought which is based upon an "alien" set of universal principles about the world' (p. 76). Hence, I adopted a translation style of 'conceptual equivalence' (Birbili, 2000; Hanitzsch, 2005; Temple, 1997) in those instances when the two languages 'did not offer direct lexical equivalence' (Birbili, 2000). Birbili considers language understanding and an "intimate" cultural knowledge as essential preconditions.

The collected official documents and media criticism articles were accessible in English. Hindi versions were checked alongside for discrepancies.

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[90] Limiting itself to a *phenomic* representation designed for English speakers, its pronunciation corresponds largely to the English alphabet and was considered sufficient for this work.

### 5.4.2 Data analysis

The analysis of the data was done in several steps. The initial exploratory content analysis of news material and media criticism served as input and guidance for the conduct of the interviews, but continued to exercise influence at the stage of data analysis. This exploratory analysis helped to identify topics, issues and discursive strategies about the value and integration of emotions in news production, and initial ideas about country-specific patterns and practices could be developed to be examined in more detail later. This preparatory phase also influenced the development of the initial coding scheme to analyze the interviews, aided by the theoretical research base.

All transcribed interviews together with several news articles and four video speeches were integrated into one project and analyzed using the software MAXQDA. All material was coded according to the coding scheme. However, it quickly became evident that some categories remained empty while others had to become more differentiated. Following Rouston (2014: 305), qualitative analyses should remain "open to what is in the data, rather than simply applying concepts imported from the literature". Hence, this study combined theory- and data-driven approaches. This concerned especially the sections about professional values and routines, audience impact, the role of emotions and ethical issues. These categories benefitted highly from an inductive approach through feedback-loops.

Coding was used as a means to categorize various aspects of meaning. A code is a textual unit that "assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldaña, 2013: 3). The codes given to the text material referred in a few cases to singular semantic phrases, but mostly to passages or paragraphs.

Analyzing the interviews generated several moments where contextual awareness was necessary. For example, interviewees speak in "several voices" – for their news organization, but also from their own mind as an individual. This was especially relevant in forming an understanding of normative professional stances (Silverman, 2010: 226).

The last stage of the analysis involved the integrated analysis of the interview and secondary material. This was performed using thematic analysis as a method,

supported by a “narrative cognitive” approach which focuses on the participants’ unique stories (e.g. see Esin et al., 2014).

Thematic analysis is “a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data”, allowing a rich data organization and description (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79). The researcher is seen as active in identifying themes and patterns, whereby themes can be understood as “*patterned* response” (Ibid: 82). I focused on not only looking at the semantic level of text but also on identifying latent underlying ideas, assumptions and even professional ideologies. For this purpose, I developed thematic maps for each issue – to represent initial understandings and as an aid to develop interpretations and abstractions (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013). The analysis also involved “a constant move back and forward between the entire data set” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 86), between generating codes, reviewing and naming themes, and writing up.

In order to develop the argument of the research, the outcomes of the analysis (propositions, assertions, data extracts) were integrated with relevant concepts of prior research and theory. The results have been structured in four empirical chapters to answer the main research questions – professional values, emotions as resource and impediment, audience engagement, and emotionalization strategies. The first empirical chapter looks at the tensions between normative concepts of professional values and practical challenges to this. The second chapter discusses the question in what way emotions can contribute practically to conducting journalistic research and report production. The third chapter in the empirical part examines journalistic imaginations about audience engagement. Finally, the last chapter focuses on emotionalization strategies.

## 5.5 Ethical issues

This research was presented to the Research Ethics Committee (Arts and PVAC) of the University of Leeds on November 26, 2013. It received ethical approval (“favorable ethical opinion”) under the ethics reference PVAR 14-037 on December 4, 2013. The application included the form for fieldwork with a medium risk to cover the case of India (urban areas), a sample for the participant consent form and the information sheet, and a call for further participants.

As stated under 5.4.1, all interview participants were granted anonymity, though half of the Indian interviewees were happy to appear by name. Anonymization was also relevant when it came to specific markers of identity such as professional positions or event-narrations. Together with real names (replaced by acronyms), these identity references were removed from the transcripts.

Each interviewee received via mail or personally an information sheet in advance of the interview, was informed about the possibility to withdraw at any given time, and was asked to sign the Consent Form (Appendices VII and VIII).

The ethical and privacy guidelines were also followed in storing all interview-related materials (audio recordings, transcriptions, translations). The recordings were transferred from the recording device to the laptop of the researcher (fieldwork in India) or immediately uploaded and stored safely in a personal folder on the server of the University of Leeds. The laptop was password protected and encrypted in order to provide safe data storage (Rouston, 2014). After the transfer of the Indian audio files to the university server, the laptop recordings were deleted. No other person had access to the material.

## 5.6 Concluding reflections on the research design and limitations

The research design originally developed for this study contained a two-fold approach which included besides interviews a qualitative content analyzes of news contents and their emotion discourse. The idea was to interlink different levels of analysis in order to better understand the phenomena of news production: Interview material as discourses of self-presentation was contrasted with actual news output. This also allows an additional possibility of validation for the results. Ideally, journalism as a process of social meaning construction should be researched by involving four levels – input, throughput, output, – and reception. In short: journalists producing news content in a social environment, for an audience (Philo, 2007). This requires a comprehensive approach realized only in a few studies (e.g. Albæk et al., 2014).

However, in the course of the PhD it was decided to conduct an exploratory material study instead of a more in-depth content analysis. This exploratory take on news output had the advantage of still being a valuable input for later conversations with

journalists. The reasons for changing the research approach were not only founded in time and resource constraints, but also in considerable difficulties in accessing a systematic sample of comparable material from British and Indian television news. This could not be solved satisfactorily and might be left for future endeavors.[91]

Originally, it was also decided to leave out asking journalists about sensitive personal issues or their own emotions. As talking about emotions might be understood in a wider sense as a psychological issue, media professionals would have been regarded as a vulnerable group, and strong ethical concerns might have been voiced. However, the hesitations I had were unfounded. A considerable proportion of the interviewees used their chance voluntarily to interweave emotional experiences with more abstract thoughts. This, in the end, formed a substantial and interlinked part of this study.

A second worry from the beginning relates to interviewer bias and blindness due to a personal closeness to the research subject. I worked as a journalist for part of my life. However, as this news work dates back to before 2009, it allowed a more reflective distanced approach which is marked by both an intuitive understanding of news production processes and its logics, and at the same time the space and capacity to reflect on it. As my own work experience largely related to Germany, the culturally different locations of the researched production contexts allowed me to discover "news-cultural differences" which ultimately helped to better map out the field. Therefore, fears of a researcher bias through professional closeness were not realized – in contrast, it helped to achieve a better understanding of where Indian and British journalism cultures locate themselves in the field.

[91] While the access to British television archive material was easy to realize through the university, Indian television archives containing material older than three months at the point of request could not be found. Asking broadcasters directly to share their news program archive with me was met with extreme hesitation and denial, and resulted in merely 2 DVDs of unedited raw material.

# 6 | EMOTIONS AND THE NORMATIVE REALM OF NEWS WORK

Serious news journalism follows a normative aspiration to provide objective and impartial coverage about world events. To achieve this, journalists are encouraged to practice their work following the norm of detachment. This is thought to guarantee distance and neutrality towards the topic. As journalists are normatively expected to be detached observers (at least in some parts of the world), emotions as well as emotive reactions and interactions do not seem to be appropriate in the newsmaking process. The result is emotions becoming invisible in the newsroom. This stands in stark contrast to the role of emotions in processes of decision-making, moral reasoning and judgement, as well as reporting.

This chapter aims to identify the underlying mechanisms of hidden emotive regimes and norms in the newsroom. It seeks to outline the tensions and contradictions between professional normativity and practice, between the ideal and the actual, in an age where the visual presence of emotions in news becomes difficult to ignore. Questions of central importance are: What is a good journalist, and what is a good news story in the view of those who are producing the news?

I start with outlining how television journalists in the United Kingdom and India ideally conceptualize objectivity and detachment (6.1). This is followed by a discussion of how they actually interweave it with the emotions present in their work. Three stances could be identified here, based on epistemologies with varying pragmatist degrees of how to link emotions with normative professional principles: journalists either reject their own emotive influences on their work – or admit their nature, with some integrating them comfortably. This includes a discussion about the perceived relationship between facts and emotions, and considering emotions as facts epistemologically. Journalists discursively use definitional devices of setting boundaries around what journalism is – and what it is not.

This chapter concludes with two examples where emotions become relevant tacitly within the norms of news practice. First, emotions form part of tacit news decision-making (via news values, section 6.2). Second, they have paradoxical value, as staging emotions contributes to an orchestration of truthiness as authenticity (6.3).

## 6.1 Can emotions be 'objective'? The tension between emotions and journalistic core professional values

This subsection investigates current discourses of journalists in the UK and India, locating moments of tension, change and preservation with regard to the concepts of objectivity and detachment and their functionality in interaction with emotions in present-day journalism. I will argue that despite a normative exclusion from 'classic' professional principles (such as objectivity and detachment), emotions are in varying ways epistemologically acknowledged and pragmatically appreciated in news production. As we will see, British interviewees seem to display a more normative stance than their Indian counterparts. This subchapter seeks to provide explanations for this difference between journalism cultures, using the theoretical frameworks of journalistic autonomy and boundary theory.

Three main dimensions are of interest: The first consists of objectivity as a normative concept and its relation to emotions, shedding light also on how journalists understand their role. The second aspect focuses on the dis-passionate in the form of detachment. Here, the implicit boundaries of (perceived) emotional journalists, and journalistic engagement such as journalism of care and campaigns will be discussed. The final aspect relates to the ideas that journalists have developed about understanding the relationship between factuality and emotions.

The next section starts with a brief analysis of what the interviewed journalists actually understand as objectivity in a cross-cultural comparison, and how this relates to the previously analysed codes of conduct (see chapter 4.1.3).

### 6.1.1 The value of objectivity

Comparing the notions of objectivity in the UK and India, we must take into account its embedding into different cultural contexts, despite the post-colonial ties that persist between the two countries. While the terminology might appear to be the same, meanings can differ. Hence, a comparison needs to be conducted carefully.

Previously, it was established that "objectivity" remains largely absent within journalistic codes of conduct (see chapter 4.1.3). In the interviews, however, this

turned out to be diametrically opposite. Journalists referred to "objectivity" more than four times as often as they referred to "impartiality".[92]

The interview material shows that British and Indian journalists seem to broadly agree about the importance of objectivity as a guiding principle in today's news journalism. This is exemplified in statements such as "you have to be objective" by BBC correspondent B21, echoed by "objectivity is a very dear value" from I23 of private broadcaster ABP News. I14, CEO of an Indian private broadcaster, recalls his journalism education received in England:

> [objectivity] is classical traditional simple straight-forward journalism. That's journalism; that is what we all are taught as journalists, that what we should be. (I14, CEO)

However, my interview data could not confirm the relatively clear stance of Pantti (2010) who identified a strong defence of the objectivity principle among journalists in Western Europe. British and Indian participants differentiate more. In my study, British journalists share a rather ambivalent attitude towards the value of objectivity, as do Indian journalists. The answers about what objectivity signifies are broad. It is seen as "multi-dimension[al], multi-faceted" (B14) or a "relative concept" with an "element of grey" (I4). The manifest sketchiness reaffirms the impression from the previous section that the meaning of objectivity rests in the eye of the beholder.

What clearly distinguishes journalists in both countries is two-fold: the style of discourse about objectivity showing transnationally flexible boundaries, and the use of different qualifiers to determine regional practices.

In Britain, journalists referred to a cluster of professional values which seem highly normative and at times idealized, closely in line with the journalistic codes of conduct and with common 'Western' journalism quality standards (Golding, 1977; Waisbord, 2013). The most frequently cited values were fairness, balance, and impartiality. This is constantly linked with the demand for fact-based coverage. B5, in charge of news at ITN, summarizes this:

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[92] While "impartiality" was mentioned 28 times, "objectivity" achieved 132 references during the interviews on both sides. Though strictly qualitative research commonly does not quantify results, it is worth pointing out this difference.

> First of all, our reporters must be impartial; they must be objective; they must report facts. And that is of primary importance. ... So we guard our independence jealously, and if we ever give side to someone or something, we risk losing that reputation...; [nothing should] jeopardize[s] your ability to be impartial, objective, accurate, truthful. (B5, senior news editor, ITN)

This confirms notions about a 'Western' role understanding in journalism outlined in chapter 3.1.3.

Contrasting this normativity, India's journalists appear to be pragmatic overall. Most emphasized delivering facts, "not speculation" (I5), with the appeal of "don't become judgemental" (I1), giving all sides of a story – within the limitations of Indian news journalism. The habit of linking objectivity to professional practice indicates how much harder it seems to be reachable in the Indian television context, where pragmatic adaptation dominates due to financial constraints and pressures of competition.

Regarding the functionality of objectivity, British and Indian journalists consider providing opportunities for informed choices by an audience as relevant. However, they differ in their evaluation of the potential to contain individual bias. British notions partially favour disseminating "truth" – while containing individual opinions:

> The routines of impartiality and objectivity [are] designed to get around the fact that individuals have personal opinions and biases but that journalism needs to get above those. … It was a professional discipline that they put themselves through because they realized they DID have opinions, and they needed to get beyond them. (B2, former Director General of a BBC channel)

However, B2's normative call for objectivity experiences a setback as later in the interview he recommends rethinking objectivity in a digital age. Similarly, B7 admits that "always, always – a bit of subjectivity creeps in".

The discussion among Indian journalists about fear of bias and subjectivity has a slightly different focus. They consider objectivity as a less powerful means to control bias. When interviewees are talking about the objectivity ideal, their disillusion comes through clearly. This is rooted in production realities in India, where bias constitutes a relevant issue. Bias might be enforced on the organizational level through a (paid) program agenda or externally "good" political contacts. Besides this, on the individual level objectivity might fail – as "subconscious impulses could

be hindering that objectivity", says I23. I19 outlines humorously the positive aspects of subjectivity: "if there is no subjectivity, no salt – it becomes tasteless".

However, organizational pressures and individual dispositions were not addressed by British journalists. It can be suggested that this matters less in a British news ecology – or it is not admitted even within anonymous interviews due to boundary control and paradigm repair (Ruggiero, 2004).

In summary, from the comparison above it can be seen that British and Indian journalistic discourses agree in emphasizing the value and leading position objectivity occupies in today's news journalism, but differ on epistemological and practical grounds. Whereas British journalists see objectivity more academically as a normative ideal, comprising several journalistic routines and as a principle to enforce a "truth"-approaching coverage while controlling personal bias, Indian journalists struggle to maintain a similar professionalization discourse. They regard subjectivity as a given element of news, and bias as externally institutionalized by unequal power relations in media economics or politics. To incorporate objectivity into news coverage appears as a more difficult endeavour in an Indian context, restrained by resources and hierarchies of editorial decision-making. Here, objectivity appears to be less related to "routines by which journalists work" or "unwitting bias", as other studies suggest (Chuma et al., 2017; Dalen, 2012: 34), but rather to the degree of autonomy of individual news organizations.

The statements reflect that Indian television news journalism is less autonomous. Boundaries are flexible, as among Indian interviewees a more structural approach dominates, seeing themselves with what Waisbord (2013: 100) describes as "firmly embedded in political and economic structures dominated by narrow interests". On the British side, however, we see individual agency emphasized, retaining objectivity as individual responsibility to be upheld within the contested field of journalism in order to distinguish journalism from other professions, to maintain distance from politics (see Waisbord, 2013: 124), and to establish boundaries of 'good journalism practice'.

### 6.1.2 The value of detachment: The terminology of the "dispassionate"

Detachment is a core professional principle of journalism. It conflicts most with stances emphasizing engagement and appears as outmoded in Ward's (2005) concept of "pragmatic objectivity". During the interviews, "being detached" was often used synonymously with the similar expressions of "being distant" and "being dispassionate". On rare occasions, it was used negatively as "not get involved" (B10), "not allow anything to touch you personally" (B16), or "not get carried away" (I15).

"Being detached" proved to be the most frequently used expression within this semantic cluster, by both British and Indian journalists. Additionally, the wording "being distant" was mainly preferred by Indian journalists, accompanied by the recommendation to "not be friends with the police. Not be drinking out with them at night. Not be great friends and start believing in the philosophy of a few NGOs" (I17) or political parties. Here, the understanding of detachment serves as emphasis on being physically and mentally located away from the centre of the news events in order to be empowered in independent journalistic decision-making and to act without external control. This separation again relates to journalistic autonomy. It also connects to values of neutrality or impartiality.

"Being dispassionate" on the contrary was deployed mainly by British journalists. They related it frequently to professional principles like fairness, objectivity, balance (B1, B6, but also I23) which reinforces the earlier impression that the discourse among British journalists is taking place on a more normative level. But despite "passion" being a prominent part of the word "dispassionate" itself, journalists refer to this connotation rarely. Here, we can find an indication to the "stiff upper lip" – the norm of retaining one's emotions within the professional sphere of British journalism.

Journalistic reflections about detachment are shaped pragmatically. Few statements relate directly to emotions, as will be analyzed below in more detail. Detachment easily becomes subjective in areas which, on the individual level, parallel news value theory, including evaluative judgements based on personal and geographical closeness to a topic. These evaluations as well as moral obligations turn the normative concept of detachment into a negotiation space with less clear borders.

The next section explores how the professional values of objectivity and emotional detachment are linked.

### 6.1.3 The discourse about objectivity, detachment and emotions

The previous sections demonstrated that the 'classic' journalistic principles of objectivity and detachment continue to remain fundamental for journalism, though in varying degrees within the two journalism cultures. Their nature of detached observation stands normatively in contrast to emotions. Objectivity understood as part of 19th century "scientific rationalism" is both an often criticized epistemological concept and a practice of professional defence. Overemphasizing rationality and detachment, allowing the individual merely the role of an observer, the ideal of objectivity does not seem to provide space for emotions.

The closely linked detachment shall guarantee a non-judgemental approach towards a multiplicity of perspectives in pluralistic societies as well as counteract bias of the journalistic individual. This normative demand affects the level of emotions in several ways. It ideally requires refraining from any emotive stance towards a news subject, going back to the ideas of enlightenment as well as positivist stances. Subjective relationships or personal identification with issues are seen as unprofessional. As a consequence, this will necessarily contrast synchronous feelings of sympathy or empathy as well as journalistic engagement.

As we have seen, most normative journalism theories reject emotions (e.g. McQuail, 2010; Schudson, 2001). However, it should not be forgotten that objectivity and detachment remain in their essence merely ideals for professional actions. Their guiding role gets modified by different media ecologies, organizational constraints, and journalistic cultures. Therefore, transgressions might be negotiable – but what kind of norm breach is still considered an acceptable boundary?

Under these circumstances, it is too simplistic to argue that emotions gain the status of a 'threat', ideologically and professionally. It needs to be kept in mind that journalists often entangle the notion of professionalism with normative assessments.

It can be assumed that emotions are rejected or excluded from newsrooms in order to define and defend professional boundaries (to propaganda, public relations, etc.). But what do Indian and British practitioners have to say? Of central importance is the question of whether and under what conditions journalists are allowed to display emotions, or even to incorporate their own emotions, within the realm of

professional news journalism. This discussion I will subsume under 'emotion regimes'.

The following subsections map out the field of linking emotions with professional news production principles. Three different kinds of stances can be deduced from the interview material. It should be kept in mind that they overlap, as study participants frequently contradict themselves within the interviews. However, analytically, the three demeanours can be separated from each other.

The first is deeply embedded within (imaginary) journalistic role conceptions. It comprises a non-negotiability of idealized professional norms, uses principles of paradigm repair and rejects emotions as a work-influencing element. The second stance can be described as realistic clash zone. Here, the influence is admitted and partially naturalized, but not modified or moderated. The third stance of demeanour finally allows space for negotiating emotions during news production.

#### 6.1.3.1 Rejected emotions: The normative-idealistic stance

This section discusses emotions as first, a disturbance of professional work principles, and second, as requiring emotional labor in order to fulfil the principle of detachment.

A first section of emotion discourse relates to a rather strict notion of professional norms. Here, organizational news structures and news cultures do not grant emotions a legitimate space within the professional realm. The involvement of personal emotions – or 'authorial' emotions – is relegated to be outside the professional canon. This type of discourse is especially present within the British journalist sample.

On first sight, Indian and British journalists couldn't agree more about a general absence of emotions in work practice. This means largely an immediate, almost intuitive rejection of a (potentially) 'emotional' journalist.

> You can't get emotional about a subject as a journalist in broadcast journalism. [...] Most importantly, we have to remain fair, balanced, objective, and impartial. And if not – then we are in danger of not doing our job. (B10, senior editor, ITN)

> When I see death and destruction around me, if I let my emotions override me and I break down, I cannot do my job. (I8, senior, HT)

> Why should you put in your emotions? Nobody is interested in your emotions, boss! (I10, junior reporter, HT)

As similar as the statements appear in denying individual agency in emotive expressions and a dominance of an organizational emotion regime, both countries differ subtly when it comes to context. While British journalists again stick to the normative realm, the two Indian statements rather evoke a notion of pragmatic functionality to ensure the smooth production of news.

Detachment enhances journalistic practice, as "you need to detach from the surrounding noise..., introspect, and filter out the noise from the news" (I8). To transgress detachment makes journalists open to emotive influences – judged as dangerous by British and Indian journalists alike, who both appear to see journalists semantically as becoming victims to a potential loss of emotion control. Again, differences are subtle.

British journalists interviewed for this research argue that emotions can impede editorial decision-making and judgment processes, as an emotional journalist is "no longer in the position to keep functioning and objectively assessing what's going on around" (B11), as overly emotional responses can "contaminate your ability to judge a situation properly" (B20). Moreover, emotions could inhibit a journalist to be "fully aware of the facts" and "cloud the real emotion of the situation" (B7). British interviewees seem to fear a loss in legitimacy as soon as emotions threaten to enter the professional realm with fixed rules of journalistic news decision-making. It is both the impact of emotions which cannot be predicted and the defensive stance towards journalism's public function. Here, emotions are not seen as a form of Bourdieu's capital.

Indian journalists, on the other hand, admit potential influences on processes of journalistic judgement. They emphasise the danger of manipulation and bias caused by external actors and their 'manufactured emotions', rather than the inner processes of losing control over one's work that British journalists mentioned.

Manipulation is seen to occur mainly on the level of news subjects. Staging emotions is directed towards the disinformation of journalists. The emotionality of news sources or news topics can influence journalistic judgement. The Indian Rothak incidence in 2014 became an example for how journalists became victims of a story's inherent sensationalism: Two girls travelling in a bus claimed to have been abused by men. They won over journalists supporting this version and its sensationalist twist. When the story turned viral, it was too late to incorporate witness comments of a potential misdemeanour from the side of the girls. In chasing for the girls' and story's emotions, journalists had failed to exercise due diligence (narrated by I9).

Several Indian interview participants brought up further incidents of emotionally manipulative news subjects, trying to subtly impose their own agenda on journalists – either by fake emotive displays or by consciously abusing journalistic empathy. More than once it was parents who "broke down; they started crying" (I9) about losing their child, when it turned out later that they were guilty of murdering them (I6, I9). But this applies not only to private citizens – people of public interest also draw on emotive-manipulative tactics:

> This Suresh Kalmadi – Commonwealth games. There were those corruption charges against him. He seemed to be not so stable, he started crying. He said: "you know, my enemies within the party are against me" – and many of us [journalists] felt bad! And it so turned out that his charges were true! So, he faked his own emotions. Now, I as a journalist should realize that some of his emotions [display] is fake, and some of it is true. (I9, senior, CNN-IBN)

As can be seen, staging emotions has become a powerful means of manipulation in journalistic-source power relations. To be manipulated and become a victim of "manufactured emotions" (I9), with the impact of inhibiting journalistic fact gathering and truth approximations, is a deeply rooted fear among Indian journalists, while this was not addressed by British interviewees at all. This work demonstrates that reading emotions correctly (and quickly recognizing fake emotions) can be a valuable asset for journalists in the sense of Bourdieu's emotional capital, as it helps them to distinguish between fake and true stories.

Interestingly, with Indian journalists an orientation towards the other emerges during their work, as they are exposed to interpreting other's intentions. British journalists, on the contrary, rather focus on the inner self – and norms of epistemological truthiness.

Here, a second relevant point emerges: The professional duty of a journalist to feel – or in this case not to feel – can be considered emotional labor. As we will see, emotional labor can appear in two main forms: first, as emotional regulation of the self, and second, as regulating others' emotions.

In news journalism, a dispassionate (or detached) approach appears to require emotional management in reporting and scripting, as a journalist ideally is expected to maintain strict self-control and reflective thinking. This makes it necessary to perform emotional labor, where with Hochschild (2003) employees adapt via surface or deep acting to the requirements imposed by the job (see chapter 4.1.3).

When emotions finally emerge intentionally or unintentionally, they breach self-imposed normative professional values, and a core conflict appears from these largely unspoken values. In both countries, we find moments of professional defence – a personal impact is admitted, but at the same time an imaginative idea of professionalism is maintained. Seven Indian journalists mentioned it, including I8 in the beginning of this subsection. Similarly, B14 (BBC) speaks about "years and years of just keeping personal emotions in check whilst in office", with the BBC identity protecting him as an "emotional suit of armour", though he cried softly twice during the 2-hour interview. Two colleagues add:

> Honestly, in ten years, when I have ever let my own emotions leak into what I am doing. Because – it would seem unprofessional to me to do that. It would never occur to me that my emotion would play a role in the story. (B7, correspondent, BBC)

> If at all you need NOT be emotional is the person who is going on air. That is an anchor. Or you are a reporter. These people have to secure at that time that they are left out of the emotion. (I21, senior editor, NDTV India).

It is not only the *intention* to control emotions which matters for emotional labor. It consists of emotion *regulation*. When emotions emerge as a disruptive force during journalistic work, then time and place of 'letting off steam', of emotion regulation, is delayed and it takes place– if needed – *off* air:

> Being exposed to all that [Mumbai attack 2008] – it was difficult not to cry. So you sat down in the corner, and you wept – when you were off air. And then you would come back stronger – I don't know if it is stronger, but you had to come back on air... It is easy to be angry. It is easy to shout at a group of people, the perpetrators – let's 'hang them' or 'kill them'... But you just cannot say that on air. (I17, anchor, CNN-IBN)

> On many days, you can put out a report, and our presenters, our reporters will off-camera say, what a terrible situation this is; isn't that awful, this is terrible etc. But it is NOT their job on screen to then repeat that. (B10, senior editor, ITN)

In these statements, we can easily again recognize the performative value of emotions. While on-stage emotive displays are a matter of strict regulative efforts in both countries, the backstage belongs to the private, and the individually felt ('real') emotion.

This process of detachment through self-conditioning involves experience and training, as I16 describes:

> I have conditioned myself enough to say that I am not emotional when cover political rallies, I am not emotional when I hear too much of surround sound, of the sort of 'zindabad'[93]. (I16, senior, CNN-IBN)

Human nature interferes with the principle of detachment at times, but again is subordinated to professional normative and functional requirements. I9 admits to be sad when covering floods, but "after some point of time I am not supposed to be affected". Her stance is that professional duties should ideally outweigh this personal effect in the long run.

However, detachment as emotion regulation is not only considered to be an individual responsibility – it is also secured through teamwork processes in the newsroom. Participants from both countries narrate moments of an institutionalized control over the emotive regimes of program presenters. B14 and I16 describe newsroom-internal scenarios:

[93] In English: "Long live (an idea or person)"

> My job during the past 15 years was talking to the presenters on their ear. And telling them to "cool it, ease off. Control yourself." That was my job! Sitting in the control room... It is usually when they are conducting an interview. And the interviewee is getting aggressive or difficult. And then the presenter is starting to engage, and starting to shout back. And they have got to kind of retain their moral high ground, they have got to stay calm, they have got to stay professional. And the interviewee could be shouting, accusing the BBC of bias... I don't care! We have got to stay above it. I would say "chill"! (B14, senior, BBC ret)

> [A reporter] was stopped by the editors that she would not be allowed to [do] live coverage anymore. So, more of us would be more pragmatic in our approach, not emotional at all... Initially she was allowed to cover it. And the coverage got emotional. So, the editors [in the newsroom] realized that she should be asked to stay on the side-lines... They keep on watching everybody, as to who is doing what, and how is reporting what, and what are the words being used by this person or by the other person... There is this multiple checks and balances in the system. So, she was asked to control it. And when she could not control it – she was asked to stay on the side lines... You call it "punishment", but as journalists we should understand that we have a great responsibility. (I16, senior, CNN-IBN)

More than B14, I16 describes that institutional emotion regulation serves as norm for her channel to guarantee a professional performance towards the audience. This includes negative sanctions against non-conforming individuals.

As can be seen from this, professionalism in news reporting is upheld through rejecting individual-subjective emotion moments of journalists. Detachment is enforced as a professional principle mainly via mechanisms of a strictly internalized self-control of the journalistic individual. However, where the individual and his or her hidden emotional labor 'fails', organizational actors step in to coerce organization-specific feeling rules. Deviances from this are sanctioned by removing 'wrongly' emotive actors from the public realm.

#### 6.1.3.2 Naturalized emotions: The realistic-disruptive stance

The second discourse realm approached by the interviewees comprises the sobering experience of the ever-present existence of emotions. Normative ideals now become grounded in real journalistic performances. This in turn challenges journalistic identity. This section provides a more accommodating perspective on emotions from the position of practitioners. It maps out grounds where 'classic' professional values successfully run parallel with an emotive dimension in news coverage – with regard to audiences, contexts, and human biology. However, emotions rooted in personal identification processes risk disrupting professional boundaries, posing the biggest challenge.

To start with, some practitioners in both countries not only freely admit that emotions form a nearly naturalized part of their professional routine, but also talk openly about how subjectivity and personal bias are going along with that. B21, a correspondent reporting from crisis areas frequently, describes how deeply emotions are interwoven with her journalistic work:

> You can't separate emotions from reporting. You have your own feelings about a story when you go as journalist. Obviously you have to be accurate. And you have to be objective. But that doesn't mean that you can be completely dispassionate. And often, when you arrive particularly on some stories, there is a big emotional impact for you, depending on what you are seeing and what you are filming. (B21, Senior, BBC)

As the researcher, I encountered most interviewees in an informal setting, guaranteeing anonymity. This made it easier, presumably, for interviewees to reflect on their work as individual journalists, giving space for them to treat their emotions as emancipated.

> I think we have got to get away from a sense of "emotion is bad, objectivity good." I think there is obviously a place for emotion, as long as they don't become cheap emotions. (B15, Foreign Desk BBC ret.)

B15 implicitly sets up a distinction between "quality emotions" in contrast to the "cheap" emotions of sensationalism. The boundary here for emotions seems to have shifted – more inclusive, but still set through a mechanism of differentiation which declares 'tabloid emotions' as outside the normatively acceptable – in short, 'bad' journalism.

Negotiating the balance between personal sentiments and professional ethics remains challenging.

> Being able to balance the emotion you feel against telling the story objectively and dispassionately is one of the hardest things we do, one of the most important things to get right. (B6, Reporter, ITN)

B6 represents again the more norm-oriented "British perspective" which centres on an 'ideal' emotional regulation in the Victorian sense of discipline and 'stiff upper lip'. The strictness of the emotional labor required to retain emotions from being on screen is softened by B6's realism about an ever-present emotive challenge.

Most Indian journalists agree with their British counterparts on this point, but their discourse again appears to be rather shaped by pragmatic production realities oriented on audiences. ABP News' managing editor summarizes:

> I would never want a journalist to emotionally approach a story, but to approach it very objectively, very dispassionately. But it has to be told in a manner that it reaches the people it is intended to reach. So, there would have to be at the recipient level, it would definitely EVOKE an emotionality. (I23, Senior Editor, ABP News)

While I23 defends 'classic' professional values, he also considers the existence and relevance of emotions, which he relegates to the level of connecting to a television audience. A similar ambivalence is expressed by B14. He admires the scripting practice of BBC correspondent Fergal Keane who lets "a dispassionate almost unemotional script bring out the emotion in the viewer". The professional and seemingly unemotional can arouse emotions – in Bourdieu's sense another version of emotional capital which might give news actors in the field the advantage of accessing audiences. With new institutionalism, emotions are a means to lower transaction costs.

Emotions seem accepted not only when they increase ratings, but also more generally. Some of the Indian interviewees indicate that they understand emotions to be an inherent part of human nature. This comes through in both explicit and implicit contexts.

Explicit contexts might include developmental issues in India, or the school massacre in Peshawar (Pakistan), as I1 indicates. These specific contexts 'legitimate' emotive expressions along objectivity:

> You cannot afford to be VERY objective at times. The emotions will come and play a very significant role. (I1, editor in chief, Live India TV ret.)

But emotions do not always need to be expressed outwardly. Implicitly, they incessantly shape human perceptions. I19 describes how intertwined emotion and senses are:

> Detached means we should follow objectivity. How can we be detached?! We should not be detached! ... There are not only eyes, ears, mouth, hands – we are made by our emotions, our sentiments, our prejudices. Everything. (I19, Senior News Editor, NDTV India)

I19 relates not only physical-sensual but also cognitive-perceptive dispositions of the human body.[94] With this he defends and normalizes a certain subconscious bias as biological. I2 concurs with this view on a philosophical level, adding that from an epistemological perspective objectivity is impossible as "even choosing your words tells that you are not objective. The framing of sentences – all these things are guided by your emotions or your samwegatya pragya", where he relates to one of the major debates about objectivity (Waisbord, 2013).[95] Both I19 and I2 draw on theoretical concepts of emotion sociology about the interplay between cognition and emotion (e.g., von Scheve, 2009).[96]

After having identified points where emotions traverse the boundaries of journalistic professionalism – as externalized positive audience reactions and the acknowledgement of human nature – a final, more critical point of emotive interference on the profession needs to be addressed: personal identification.

When journalists identify on a personal level with news subjects through a shared geography, gender or attitudes, they choose a state of natural subjectivity. Any element of conscious or subconscious identification can potentially lessen the influence of journalistic objectivity and detachment. This, in turn, might result in bias.

I6, a critical self-reflexive top journalist, exemplifies how the whereabouts of his upbringing influences his otherwise detached decision-making in journalism:

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[94] Interestingly, a similar passage can be found with former BBC journalist Martin Bell in his journalism of attachment (1997: 8): "When I report from the war zones... I do so with... a scrupulous attention to the facts, but using my eyes and ears and mind and accumulated experience, which are surely the very essence of the subjective." This forms one of the tenets of his criticism on objectivity.

[95] "Samwegatya pragya" refers to emotional reasoning, where thought incorporates emotion.

[96] The emotion sociologist von Scheve integrates appraisal theory with neuro-cognitive and biological emotion study approaches. He argues that cognitive and emotional elements are closely intertwined and condition renewing processes of change, drawing from perception and memory manifest in pre-reflective processes. Von Scheve criticizes most purely cognitive or deterministic emotion theories as neglecting the full social dimension of emotions.

> Emotions in news coverage to me mean the ability to completely identify with the story. You know, I remember in my case whether it was the 1992/93 riots that took place in my city Mumbai, where I grew up, or 2002 riots in Gujarat, a state where I was, and Ahmedabad where I was born. I think you build a sudden empathy with the subject, with the story, and you get completely involved to the point where you are almost not able to maintain the necessary distance perhaps from that story. When you get so emotionally entangled in a story, you just put all your energies into the story. (I6, former editor in chief)

The geography of the news matters, not only as a news value. Emotions are motivational factors in the personal realm. "For an Indian journalist to be very dispassionate about Paris ... is very easy", says I15. Events which remain distant can easier be "administrated" (means journalistically processed) in a dispassionate manner.

The same applies to gender. In the example of rape, female B3 considered male colleagues insensitive, while I8 reported feeling quite affected while presenting the Nirbhaya rape case in 2013.

> Even anchoring this Nirbhaya stories wasn't easy for us as anchors. Because every time you would spell out the details of what that girl went through – somewhere, you are a human being. You would inevitably place yourself in her place and just think – what if that was me. But then, I think somewhere as I said – I don't like too much of the anchor/reporting becoming the story himself. (I8, senior, AT & HT)

Her male colleague I15 agrees:

> A male journalist ... is relatively more safe, is not as insecure or is not as worried about his own safety, and therefore probably he is able to be slightly more dispassionate than say a female journalist who is as concerned about her own. (I15, anchor and senior editor AT & HT)

The statements indicate that some women seem to be more sensitive to stories of violence against women. They might try to remain detached on the level of emotion display, but it can be assumed that their exposure to female vulnerability and its moral force can potentially soften the individual rigidity of professional practice. Here, gender emerges in a decisive role.

Finally, for some Indian journalists political attitudes are hardest to moderate in order to remain detached:

> I have seen [it] in the newsroom. Where this whole business of being dispassionate goes out of window is when it comes to say, a Kejriwal or a Modi. (I15)

The individual strong sentiments towards politics might collide with editorial policies of the newsroom, shaping a perhaps contrasting emotive climate. As detachment becomes difficult, journalists develop creativity in expressing their

preferences or resentments subtly. I19 from NDTV India narrates how individual anti-Modi sentiments translate into news coverage:

> Again: In the elections, where Modi came with 362 seats and that majority, we were divided by emotions only. We didn't want to come him to power. And others were driven by their emotions that he should have come to power – emotional laghai, emotional war ... I am very Anti-Modi. I can't accept him. But when he made some statement, when he appears in some public meeting, when he gets support we mention that. We are bound to mention that! We of course try to show the real gaps between his statement and the work done by him. We try to explore their contradictions. But still, we keep our emotions at bay. (I19, NDTV India)

The statement of I19 indicates how election coverage is influenced by redressing and retransforming emotions into a more 'legitimate' – rationalized – form. Rationalizing emotions materializes in the selection of facts. This applies also to the British case – the more recent example of reporting about Labour politician Jeremy Corbyn tells a rather non-detached story (CRC, 2017).

This potential subjectivity through personal identification can be mediated through five organizational factors: media genre, program format, style, editorial policy and newsroom intervention.

First, the immediacy of emotions is especially challenging in the genre of television:

> As a print journalist, it is easier to separate yourself a bit from the subject, because television – it is not just you, it is your camera, and the camera can be extremely intrusive. (I6, senior, CNN-IBN ret)

I6 explains how television differs from online and print journalism which have at least a few seconds more to reflect and analyse a situation cognitively. Unlike 24-hour channels, they do not face the pressure of immediacy and being live-on-air at all times.

A second mediator is the format which requires adaptive display rules for emotions – for instance, the BBC News at Ten defends its feature to be the most dispassionate news program in the British television landscape. Third, journalistic styles change. The ongoing informalization in the presentation of news compared to 30 years ago modifies principles of detachment, with journalists increasingly being in the centre of a story – as anchors, in a piece to camera or as guest experts, this involvement automatically entails a more relaxed and less dispassionate stance. Finally, editorial policy and intervention in news presentation through newsroom staff has been outlined earlier.

This subsection has shown points of welcomed and unwanted transgression of emotions in professional practice. All have in common that emotive reactions can be located in a sphere external to the journalism field, beyond the boundaries: in audience reactions, in human biology, and in emotion-evoking identification processes. The latter are met with reluctance as they most visibly interfere with classic professional values – processes of emotively-driven identification can lead to bias.

#### 6.1.3.3 Convenient Emotions: Pragmatic boundary-negotiating stance

After a normatively-funded rejection of emotion and an admission of their natural existence it is now time to focus upon a quite interesting dimension: the dynamic spaces which open up for emotions in journalistic role performance. As could be seen earlier, objectivity and detachment appear to remain leading professional values but never became institutionalized as dogma. Their absence in codes of conduct indicates a tacit value. This translates into flexibility in journalistic news production. Here emotions surface as being legitimate, as they lose their predominantly disruptive-negative connotation. Here, emotions become an accepted element of journalistic work practice on the levels of input, throughput and output. But how does 'good journalism' look?

As this section is especially well-stocked with discussions on the Indian side, it can be suggested that boundaries appear more flexible in the Indian realm, allowing a wider inclusion of emotions. This "boundary-negotiating stance" where emotions are partially accepted and consciously deployed can roughly be divided into 1) emotions as legitimate work resources, either in form of empathy or in means of style, and 2) emotions as moral impulse and performative display rules, either as humanitarian intervention or journalism of engagement, or in event-specific display rules.

However, it needs to be acknowledged that few Indian journalists explicitly consider themselves as active proponents of emotions. Engaged forms of journalism (partisanship, activist journalism) are supported by only a minority of the interviewees (see chapter 8.4).

1) ***Empathy***: Despite not being an emotion as such, empathy relies on cognitive and emotive capacities for perceiving the other. It may be the most ubiquitous of all emotion-related phenomena as it serves as a journalistic resource in both understanding a situation and connecting to news subjects. It allows journalists to "convey empathy" and "compassion" without having to take sides (B15). This aspect concerns mainly the input level. Empathy helps to establish a journalistic approximation of "truth" which serves professional principles (Glück, 2016). It allows journalists to emotionally connect to people in fear and to later mediate their concerns by bringing "that sense of empathy to the screen through my reportage" (I12).

But some journalists also warn of bias, when empathy exists in abundance or gets abused (I17, B4). This is constructed as professional boundary. This will be discussed further in chapter 7.

2) ***Means of style***: On the output level, emotions can become part of a news report from varying reasons, the main one being the engagement of audiences. However, British and Indian journalists differ in their focus when using emotions. While British journalists were rather ethically concerned about the impact of emotions on the audience and their resulting duty of care, they prefer to take a normative stance with journalists being responsible mediators of emotions. Indian interviewees saw audiences rather in terms of "eyeballs" – or ratings:

> Theoretically, when I was in journalism school, then yes, facts were compelling enough. But when I got out and I started working, then I realized that things change a bit. In practice, you have to find innovative ways of telling a story, which sometimes means playing on emotions. (I11, Senior Editor, Doordarshan)

But it is not only about the old saying "if it bleeds, it leads". I6, former chief editor of CNN-IBN, agrees that emotions allow the powerful narration of stories, as it would be "about dramatic content, right? ... And the business of attracting eyeballs via human tragedy" for Indian private broadcasters. This orientation on ratings contrasts concerns on the British side about a (positive or negative) impact by performed emotionality on an audience – such as inducing bias:

> The government wants to build an extra runway in Heathrow, or they want to tear down these people's houses to build a fast railway through it. There were always people who are very passionate on both sides. And our job is to not say to the viewer: that guy is totally right. It is to say them – look, this guy feels so strongly about this; here is another guy who feels exactly the same level of passion in the opposite direction. But you don't conclude your piece by saying: the one who we showed you first, was right! You have to leave it so that the person is able to come to their own verdict. (B19, Editor, Sky News)

The journalist here inevitably becomes a mediator of competing emotive perspectives on a story. The ethical responsibility which goes along with that is challenging, as an emotional impact can hardly be anticipated. Journalists like B19 or B4 remain conscious of appearing biased and breaching professional principles. Even a core value such as impartiality can be easily overruled by an emotive impact when contrasting a "blunt statement of facts from the NHS" with an individual's "emotional response" (B4). What becomes visible here is a loss of control for journalists.

3. ***(Humanitarian) Intervention in Crisis***: Interviewees raised and avidly discussed cases where emotions conflicted with professional values and forced journalists to make a tough decision between following classic professional ideals or acting on the basis of their perceived sympathy, compassion or moral obligations towards others. This occurs mostly when individuals in the surroundings of journalists require help – or in situations of social crisis. B10 narrates an example for the dilemma of a conflictive decision-making process which involved several staff members from ITN:

> One day we came across a family out of their home in the suburbs in Baghdad. And this young girl had been very badly burned during bomb attack in which she had been sleeping. An oil lamp had fallen over on the bedside; she had been really badly burned down much to half of her body. And she desperately needed medical attention which wasn't available there. And we highlighted this story, which got very strong viewer reaction. My editor at that time, back in London, felt it was a story that we should do more on! We definitely got very passionate about it. But we probably also got very emotional, too emotional, about it, to the point that, we almost thought it as our central role to get her the medical help that she needed, and get her medi-vacced out of the country ... Which we did! Now, on the one hand, a very powerful human story, in which a young girl eventually got the medical help through the exposure that we gave it. But at the same time, did that mean I was blind to some other things? Did I not take a step back and look at it as emotionless as maybe I should? (B10, Senior Editor, ITN)

Professional values do not – and should not – overrule necessarily humanistic moral standpoints, argues B10. The disciplined self-control required in order to

remain detached and objective might turn into moral reasoning about individual and collective responsibility if the situation demands it. And a second factor matters here: Moral decision-making capacities might actually be helpful in fulfilling the professional role. ITN colleague B5 states “reporters who understand emotion, [it is] perhaps ... better served to them fulfilling principles of objectivity and impartiality”, talking about how a correspondent helped out with water during the Haiti earthquake, as an “I am impartial, I just observe” stance risks “being so disconnected from the story that you risk a lack of humanity”. B5 shows a differentiated understanding of maintaining emotion and reason as inseparable, similarly to the moral sentimentalists of the Scottish Enlightenment. For Hume and others, deontological acting is emotion-motivated, reflecting an “innate sense of right and wrong”, as emotions are judgements of approbation and disapprobation (Jeffery, 2014: 193). In this sense, a journalist not enacting his internal morality, where emotions provide guidelines of judgements, becomes a morally questionable entity.

The principle of detachment is seen as (ethically) suspended in three special scenarios where the ‘human element’ meets journalistic work practice. The first concerns cases of journalists reporting from natural disasters or conflicts. They become nearly embedded in a news event, as “you are a part of the story. You cannot really disassociate yourself ... because you have seen people around you in trouble!” (I16 about covering floods in Bihar 2008).

Secondly, related to this are journalists in a position of close contact to news subjects in need and with a moral obligation of trying to help them within the possibilities of journalistic work on a case-by-case basis (such as I17 helping to find the relatives of a flood survivor or the above examples of B5 and B10).

Finally, some journalists reject detachment pre-emptively on categorical grounds, arguing for different forms of journalistic involvement. Concepts such as journalism of engagement or activist journalism will be discussed in a later chapter (8). Here, it suffices to refer to the ideas of the famous former BBC Bosnia correspondent Martin Bell. Criticizing a dispassionate stance as “bystander journalism”,[97] Bell argues for grounding journalistic action in a framework of moral responsibility, especially in

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[97] Bell defines this as being “concerned itself more with the circumstances of wars – military formations, tactics, strategies and weapons systems – than with the people who provoke them...” (Bell, 1997: 8).

conflicts, in order to tell the victims' plight. Like Marie Colvin, Bell sees war as a human story, not only a political one. As journalists are deeply embedded in a reporting scenario of conflict, his "journalism of attachment" includes notions of care and responsibility, a moral distinction between "good and evil", but not to "back one side or faction" (Bell, 1997: 8).[98]

These statements indicate that emotion-motivated humanistic help is suitable and even a moral obligation – unless the story becomes about the journalist, and the emotions of the story become invisible, which would transgress again professional boundaries (I18). A journalist showing disengaging behavior is under certain circumstances seen as slightly incomplete and morally problematic. Certainly, it is not easy to draw a line. Some extreme cases have caused a rejection of journalistic behavior. Among them, a camera man who shot images of a man setting himself on fire, or more prominently the South African photographer Kevin Carter who won the Pulitzer Prize for capturing the disturbing image of a vulture waiting for the death of an emaciated girl in Sudan. Despite his claims to have helped to save the child after taking the picture, his non-intervention during the photo shoot drew heavy criticism.[99]

4. ***Event-dependent legitimate personal emotions***: In some highly emotive events with strongly charged moments such as human tragedies (large-scale earthquakes; rape incidents; bomb attacks), a change of performative requirements takes place in television reporting and anchoring (see chapter 9.3.4 & 9.4). Special display and feeling rules take over the usually demanded routine of detachment, as journalists are expected to draw on a substituting emotion repertoire – the display of care.

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[98] Bell's open questioning of a dispassionate stance has aroused much criticism, among them emotionalism, partisanship, not acknowledging power differentials, or putting the reporter in the centre (O'Neill, 2012; von Oppen, 2009) – all threats to journalistic professionalism. However, many of them misread Bell's 1997 essay which addresses and largely refutes these comments.

[99] Carter is said to have committed suicide a few months after this incident, being described as "a man of tumultuous emotions" (Keller, 1994).

> Peshawar school tragedy – or any tragedy that involves young children or a gruesome murder – I wouldn't say that the reporter should be breaking down in the camera; you should report in a calm way. But … the viewer must see there is a caring and a feeling in the reporter, so it is a fine line! You should not be passionless, you should not be too detached, you should be involved, but your emotions shouldn't overtake the story. I mean the centrepiece has to be the story... You can maybe in a piece ... say: "I feel sad seeing this", that's fine. But you need to be careful that it doesn't become about you. (I18, NDTV)

This view was repeated by several BBC journalists who largely agreed on the need for an adequate display of emotions:

> The suffering that is being reported, the scene for which one has a spectral emotional reaction, it is not about MY suffering, it is about the people who are suffering and I am reporting... My job is not to be completely dispassionate and cold, but to be a bearer of good or bad emotional situation. And if you like to be a channel for these emotional situations, a professional channel rather than an obstacle for the audience, and I do not like reporters and weep while they are talking. (B13)

> The work she [Orla Guerin] was doing on the Tunisian killers – I think it was much more – you can be detached without being sterile and cold, and still demonstrate an element of reporter emotion, or reporter engagement, that would probably a better phrase than emotion. (B15)

Although in the first instance, the boundary line between dismissed and allowed emotive displays seems not to be clearly defined, a closer reading of the interview passages yields a unanimous endorsement of displaying sympathy for the victims and a human empathy as such. Sheer factual and accurate coverage is professional, but – in the words of B9 – "journalists getting too thick a skin could come across as not caring on air". Or as B22 outlines:

> There is one BBC colleague who reads the news like this...[unemotive tone in reading numbers of dead people]…You don't switch the television on to see me in tears...your language has to be very careful... if you are not careful, you can scapegoat an entire community, or an entire religion...you can create more of a panic...I hope I sound like I wasn't panicking. Because you don't want to present and feel panic. You want to feel comfortable...(B22, Anchor, BBC)

A journalist in a morally-charged crisis situation takes over the role of a human subject, or a carer, being close to the event instead of the viewer to connect with the audience and their human sentiments of sympathy and solidarity, to narrate the impact of events on individuals at the scene. This task can be seen as emotional labor in the performative sense. Here, journalists need to negotiate the interplay of showing and suppressing emotions.

However, in contrast to the unity displayed by the British interviewees, Indian journalists are divided here. While I16 and I13 reject (over)emotive displays and attribute to journalists a rather calming effect in emotionally charged situations such as protests, I18 takes a middle stance (see above), and I22 and I19 consider social justice or national education as legitimate reasons to take emotion-empowered "activist" stances in journalism (see chapter 7 regarding engaged journalism).

Finally, positive events such as Nelson Mandela taking over the presidency can allow even BBC journalists to display openly an engaged stance using another – situation-suitable – emotion repertoire, making the conveyance of joy an essential aim of reporting:

> And the day Nelson Mandela became president – you can't be cold about that. It was such a moment in human world history. You are gonna be caught up with that! It doesn't mean you are any less objective. I don't think. Very positive emotions, but also very negative emotions as well! Senseless killings, horrific things. (B15, BBC ret)

To sum up: In ethical guidelines for broadcasting, objectivity appears to remain a transcendent myth in both, India and the UK. This opens up a space for flexibility, adaptability and negotiability. In the interviews conducted, objectivity and detachment emerged as continuous core principles of journalistic normative orientation. In this, journalists in the UK show a tendency towards more normative debates, while journalists in India tend to display a rather pragmatic discourse rooted in given realities.

The moment where professional principles interact with emotional elements, a three-fold distinction was established. The categories are not strictly mutually exclusive but are empirically applicable on a case to case base:

**Table 6: Three stances of journalists on own emotions and professional principles**

| *Stance towards emotions* | *Explanation* |
|---|---|
| **1) Rejected:** normative-idealistic | Journalists are normatively expected to strictly reject any own emotive influence during their work, supported highly in UK and India |
| **2) Naturalized:** realistic-disruptive | Professional norms and emotional reality meet – emotions are admitted to be naturally existing and impacting journalistic work. Journalists follow an ongoing cycle of admitting and denying own emotions during work routines. |
| **3) Convenient:** negotiating boundaries | Emotions achieve a case-specific status of legitimacy – as a resource in the form of empathy in field work and style element to engage an audience, and as a situation-specific alternative emotion reservoir in cases of required intervention in crisis and specific events of moral challenge. They can be consciously enacted (as means of style) or contingently agree with the desired emotion regime of the news organization (in anchoring). |

The third stance provides moments where journalists can legitimately abandon principles of objectivity and detachment under specific circumstances. Detachment is substituted with a display of care in humanitarian crisis situations, and with active help from humanistic reasons where possible. Here, the boundary of the professional field of journalism provides flexibility for what goes on at first sight against the rules. With NI, it can be reasoned if displaying a human face lessens transaction costs. In a less impactful way, professional principles can become modified or weakened due to geographical origin, gender, taste and attitude of the individual journalist.

The previous sections treated emotions largely as related to the journalistic individual, with occasional detours to their effect on an audience. It mapped out where emotions found "legitimate" gaps and moments of invalidation of classic

(Western) professional values, and how journalists aimed for reconciliation between their normative guidelines and practical exigencies.

The next section, however, shifts the attention to the performative side of emotions. This becomes important in discussing journalists' notions of emotions and facts/facticity as versions of truth, as a classic journalistic stance emphasizes a down-to-earth approach to pursuing truth which translates into gathering reliable, accurate facts (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). Hence, as emotions had been associated with the subjective realm, not the factual-objective, classic (Western) journalism suggests a strict separation.

But what do practitioners think? Do journalists agree with keeping emotions and facts separate or are they considered to be reconcilable? Can emotions maybe attain a factual character? These epistemological and pragmatic questions about the stance of emotions in relation to facts will be addressed next.

### 6.1.4 The 'factual' value of emotions: An epistemological-pragmatic debate

This section offers an account of how journalists theorize the relationship between facts and emotions. In their understanding, emotions tend to co-occur with facts in a complimentary manner, being related to news coverage ontologically and through its impact.

When investigating emotional elements in news articles, Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) discovered that journalists use a trick in order to keep their own emotions and emotive stances outside of news coverage: Through a "strategic ritual of emotionality" journalists remove emotive expressions from the realm of journalistic agency and shift them onto news subjects. This 'outsourcing' of performed emotions demonstrates professional distance and objectivity. This procedure exemplifies how emotive representations take on a factual character – and become a subject to report on.

Initially, one might get the impression that British and Indian interviewees do not see much common ground between facts and emotions. They distinguish them as "totally different concepts" (B14), "like comparing apples and oranges" (I11). Journalists settle for tautological explanations such as "Fact is fact. Fact has nothing to do with emotion" (I22).

When further probed, this initial strictness vanishes. The majority of journalists (34 out of 43) agree that facts and emotions do not necessarily contradict each other. Almost half of the British and several Indian journalists claimed a complementary presence of both, reflected in expressions such as facts and emotions being "inextricably linked" (B9), or emotion "is present by its very nature" (B3).

Emotions become an established part of news reality. This ontological perspective is reflected in emotions seen as expressions with factual character, as emotive reactions of individuals or collectives (news sources or even journalists) on actualities of news events. In short: "You can feel strongly about a fact" (B6).

> You are reporting the death of this number of people, and then you have the emotion of a survivor, or the emotion of a relative of somebody who has died. They don't fight. One is telling you the facts of the story which should engage you; the other is bringing home the emotion, the impact of the story on an individual, which should engage you even further. (B14, senior, BBC ret.)

> My reports were showing my angriness … Angriness means facts. I wish to say again: What is journalism? It is people's lives, people's feelings. (I3, anchor, DD ret.)

In journalistic practice, emotions – despite their anchoring in the subjective individual – seem to adopt a factual character.

> If someone says – this is how I feel about something... – That is a fact! It is a fact and an emotion. Cause it is a statement of something that is factually accurate." (B7, correspondent, BBC)

This transformation creates subsequently an obligation on journalists to report about emotions as a fundamental part of the story (I7, B14, I13, B21). The private becomes public. Emotions are powerful as they provide a framework to describe social facts through attitudes, motivations, and evaluations. For example, the headline "Delhi let me down" in the Nirbhaya rape case described an evaluative judgement – "It is HER feeling, it is HER story" (I18). This feeling easily transcended the individual level and attained a wider audience:

> There was a massive outrage, and a massive sentiment in the country, that the law enforcement agencies, the government, the male-centric society – everybody has failed this girl. That was a SENTIMENT. Now, obviously as a journalist you have to report that sentiment. Without being sentimental yourself about it. (I23, senior, ABP News)

In the journalistic treatment of emotions, the outsourcing of emotive statements to news sources can be understood as performance of professional detachment and factuality. In addition to what has been stated so far, this allows the realization that

emotions are also technically treated like facts – being a subject to mechanisms of selection, prioritising, and editing. Indeed, the treatment of emotions appears to be a routinized part of the craft:

> "You would be quite a one-dimensional journalist if you weren't able to weave the two together." (B1)

> "News cannot be devoid of emotions. The delivery, the words that we use, and the way we deliver it, it is all emotions." (I16)

Let's conclude here for now that reporting about the emotions of news subjects is considered as perfectly acceptable and ubiquitous journalistic practice which goes along with Pantti (2010), Wahl-Jorgensen (2013), and also Stenvall's (2014) stance on non-authorial "(non-)attributed affects". Journalists interpret – verbalized emotion statements can be selected and presented 'as they are' (with Stenvall: "attributed experienced affect" in 1st (reporter) or 3rd person (journalist), p. 470), while nonverbal emotive states require a degree of interpretation by the journalist (with Stenvall: "non-attributed observed or interpreted affect"). It is about "how passionately and how emotionally they, the subject, feel about the story" (B10) which gains relevance for reporting.

Besides the ontological understanding of emotions in a "mirroring reality" approach, I want to point out that emotive expressions also seem to be quite welcome by journalists for their news coverage – as a beneficial addition to the fact-centered news coverage. Here, emotions appear complimentary and frequently co-occurring with facts, as facts alone "might be a bit boring" (B9):

> I think facts and emotion put together are very powerful, but I think you can't do a report if you don't have a combination of the two. (B20, senior, ITN)

> The basic sort of building blocks of any story are the facts of what has happened... You have to present the factual information, but I think you go beyond that by explaining to people its impact. [...] because what matters is how the facts impact the people. (B21)

In fact, journalists describe how deeply they rely on emotion elements when targeting an audience and wanting to engage it. Emotions are perceived to make news reality "interesting" for an audience (I3), a topic which will be addressed in detail in chapter 8.

What remains to be said is that the described ontological and pragmatic stance of journalists to consider emotions as an essential part of news coverage supports the

concept of the Indian philosopher Mukti Bhod. He considers emotion and reason working together in decision-making, negotiating arising conflicts between motivating emotions and cognitive processes, or in short: "emotive reasoning and cognitive or reasoned emotions". Ideal is a "refined... reason-based emotion" where "your consciousness also gets involved" (I2, DD).

This philosophy underlies some of the outlined ideas presented above. But, it is countered by the notion of some journalists who regard emotions more narrowly as emotive reaction to a cause (=fact, B9), in the sense that "facts have to be first" (I18), as "you should get emotionally only AFTER knowing the fact" (I7). This leaves out the chances for journalists to explore emotions as consequences of emotional contagion or public emotive climates which can indeed shape facts. The future-referential "floating" character of social emotions might, however, fail to create long-term effects:

> Kejriwal, Hazare, Arab Spring – it was like a fact. But … it was an emotional burst kind of thing... It [the emotion] did not have proper reasoning, proper structure. It didn't go a long way, did it.[100] (I2, senior, DD).

Social sentiments like anger during social protests can lose momentum, and protests might dissolve, shaping facts-to-become (I19).

To sum up so far, the statements presented indicate that journalists are committed to emotions as a central part of news stories in combination with facts. Their reflections opened up fields of reasoning about the nature of the relationship between facts and emotions, but also displayed fears of losing control when emotions enter the realm of reporting. For many British and some Indian journalists, emotions are interrelated or even complimentary, being both ontologically manifest as part of a news reality while equally adding "value" to a news story.

It can be suggested that emotions and emotive occurrences are largely rationalized in order to better fit with professional normative role conceptions. Journalists generally follow their professional duty and relegate any emotive expression in news

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[100] I2 refers here to the anti-corruption hunger-strike of social activist "Anna" Hazare and later demonstrations in 2011 which shook the political landscape but failed to create long-term impact structures. Similarly, Kejriwal's Aam Admi Party in 2015.

coverage to individual or collective news subjects. Hence, emotions are removed from the professional realm by becoming performative – only as facts they reappear within the professional ideology. Journalists legitimize emotions through adopting the status of "facts" or "factual appearance", often linked with a certain take on 'reality' with a broader implication, and making it a subject of journalistic routine practices. The pragmatic statements outlined above support Wahl-Jorgensen's (2013) concept of the strategic ritual of emotions and Stenvall's (2014) non-authorial stance.

But, at the same time it crystallizes that journalists depend on emotive expressions. They are highly appreciated in the interest of emotional audience impact.

Emotions have a more powerful implication than journalists are ready to admit. This concerns processes of power to determine through processes of selection who is publicly allowed to be the emoter (emotional news subject), how intensely (impact), and for how long. That emotions are usually considered as reactions to facts undermines their potential of shaping news reality, leaving out the impact of less 'newsworthy' event-preceding emotions, emerging within the frame of social movements, (deviant) public opinions, or political power.

## 6.2 News values, authenticity and emotions

While the previous sections about objectivity, detachment and facticity framed the normative guidelines for professional journalistic action, two further dimensions help us in understanding how journalistic practice is influenced by emotion-led tacit concept. First, emotion as (in)direct news value determines the "valid" selection of emotive stories, and second, the performance of truth (objective world reporting) through the claim for authenticity.

### 6.2.1 News Values in Journalism in British-Indian comparison

In this section, I investigate the role emotional arousal occupies within news value theory. Deviating from most of the earlier news value literature (see chapter 4.1.2), I noticed two trends: First, the largely affirmative stance towards emotions as selection criteria of news events, and second, linked to this is the previously mentioned strong audience orientation. Journalists of both countries show more agreement with their national colleagues than across borders.

Though emotions remain a largely tacit doxa in some areas, as their status is located outside of professional boundary marking, the interviews also showed many moments of transgression. As will be subsequently explained, their effect is manifest in interviewee semantics and prioritization attempts of reality, determining emotive channel profiles, topic selection and the rundown of news programs.

When journalists speak about emotions, semantics of theatre appear in immediate vicinity – "powerful" is common, but also "drama" (I4, I6, B5) or "show" (I13):

> It is a bit of cinema; it is a bit of drama. It is the nature of television news. It is most powerful when there is an element of drama around it ... Television is at its strongest when you have dramatic content, when you have a dramatic content which you can actually hit the viewer with. (I6, former head of channel)

> ...if there is something dramatic happening, there is emotion caught up in it... (B9, senior editor, Sky News ret)

The dramatic character of news was already acknowledged as early as 1980, when Bogart spoke of the "fragmented, episodic nature of the TV-newscast format" which can hardly sustain levels of audience attention unless using "the devices of fictional drama in order to attract and hold the viewers" (Bogart, 1980: 242). Audience research confirms this – especially Zillmann (1998), who emphasized the theatre metaphor.

Several Indian participants in this study verbalized that emotions serve as tacit element to judge news topics. I21 named emotions as "one of the factors", and anchor I22 who generally is known for a calm reasoned debating style admits to appreciate the emotive element in it: "If I see a story with a lot of emotions, dimensions to discuss the issue, then I feel it is a good story." As will be discussed in chapter 9 in more detail, topic selection experiences an emotion bias, culminating in selecting "only emotions"-topics like cricket or VIP gossip (I19).

British interviewees equally expressed their appreciation for emotions as news value (B7, B12, B14). Very explicit statements of this view were given by two journalists from ITN:

> Emotions are a necessary quality for absolutely everything we produce. (B6, junior, ITN)

> Let's be frank. We are making a television news programme. We want people to watch it. Emotions make good television. We are therefore minded to use material with emotion. (B5, senior, ITN)

As B9 expresses, "if it is a story that we think is gonna shock or surprise the viewer, we are more likely to cover it." Indian newsrooms top this – an explicit question like "Uski emotional appeal kitni hai?" (What is its emotional appeal?) is not uncommon (I19).

Statements like these confirm the trend which was marked in a study about news values by Ruhrmann and Göbbel (2007), who found an enormous increase in "visual representation of emotions" compared to an earlier study of German journalists conducted in 2001. Of interest is here the general understanding of the interviewees that news factors are not limited to the ascribed features of an event, but rather the orientation towards imagined audience needs (e.g., Eilders, 1997). Emotions and its relation to audience will be discussed in more detail in chapter 8.

When it comes to news programs, emotions have left the realm of being a tacit doxa in the newsroom (Schultz, 2007). Instead, they take the shape of an intra-organizational agreement, manifest in "emotive profiles" of news channels. Sky News centers on "human emotive stories", says B19 – "they are more about human beings, they are more passionate, they are more about accidents", while a BBC reporter rejects sensationalism but admits that "we all do try to draw emotion out of the things" (B4).

But emotions (or predicted emotional arousal) have a strong effect on the news agenda. They determine the position in news bulletins, "because [if] it is emotionally engaging, it will get a higher sort of slot in the running order" (B9), where even a "rubbish story" can be leading because of a convincing news subject (B16), while other stories turning out "a bit boring" (B19) might lose out. As British journalists across news channels indicate in their statements, infotainment has become a ubiquitous phenomenon also in the UK.

In conclusion, British and Indian journalists attribute an important role to emotions in news production, although their consideration is usually merged (or concealed) with notions of drama and human interest. Indeed, potential emotional arousal seems to have become accepted as a news factor or news value (confirming

Georg Ruhrmann & Göbbel, 2007). Hence, story selection appears based on emotional appeal, placing emotive topics higher in the program rundown, and being manifest in emotive channel profiles and a strong audience news value orientation. These developments confirm earlier research that infotainment elements represent a firm part of today's news programs across borders.

### 6.2.2 Authenticity and emotions

As television journalists count as mediators of world knowledge, their work can also be seen in the sense of staging or performing audio-visual texts. To claim legitimacy for this, journalists aim to make it appear "authentic" (see the discussion about authenticity in chapter 4.4.3), intentionally arranging images and sounds of the 'real world'. British journalists claim to be committed to the "business of the authentic" (B12), as when "everyone has access to everything", they are under pressure to be more "authentic" than ever (B15). Thus, providing "authenticity" becomes a predicament for journalists.

The interviews showed that this process is not unproblematic.[101] As a first observation, the reflective level about an "authentic impression management" a la Goffman (1959) appears to be underdeveloped in the interviews, as definitional approaches were "difficult" (B7) and limited, such as "true to what the story is" (B4).[102] Despite the absence of deeper reflection, the interviews first revealed what elements appeared to be considered as "authentic", followed by a reflection of a cross-cultural journalistic creation of "myths" (or common sense "rules of thumb") with many colorful similarities.

Journalistic authenticity is understood to consist of up to three elements: technological, temporal, and human. All elements are deeply related to the visual aspect.

The first 'authenticity' element identified comprises scenario and mode of a news story. Both Indian and a British journalist prefer unedited video material most of all, which in its 'pure' rawness is "actually capturing the moment" (B4):

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[101] In total, approximately half of the journalists (10 Indian and 9 British) expressed at least some idea related to authenticity.

[102] This was partially even more complicated with Hindi speakers: two associated it with verifying visual material (I7, I21).

> You can bring the same family to the studio – it will never have the same impact as when you go to the night shelter and show where they are living... The rawness that exists on the ground is far more important than a sanitized atmosphere of a studio... you can capture the rawness, the sheer – as I said – desperation which people have. (I6, senior, CNN-IBN ret)

This insistence on raw footage is often combined with the modus of live-ness, which is closely linked with timeliness. Today, organizationally enforced pressures for authenticity require journalists in both countries to be aware of authentic 'spontaneous' moments at any time and to combine raw instantaneous footage with as little time gap between the actual event and transmission as possible:

> Whenever we go out in the field, even if I am in Khan Market and something is going wrong, I am supposed to take my phone and film it, and send it to office. We are now expected to do this! (I9, senior, CNN-IBN)

It is about capturing the "authentic" moment. Here, technology, timing and emotive display of news subjects unite for the nearly 'perfect' impression of the authentic. This can be India's Prime Minister Modi at the Red Fort in New Delhi when he "saw the kids. And he broke his security barrier and shook hands with the kids!" (I1). The 'spontaneous' act of Modi claims to be authentic. Even more so did BBC journalist Ann Soy, when she was shown ducking down from fear of gunfire during the Westgate Shopping Mall attack in Kenya in 2013. However, when the scene was still repeated three days after, it had reached its 'best before date', having lost its 'authenticity' (B15).

Rawness of visuals, timing and liveness appear to mirror what journalists find is the closest approximation to 'truth'. Even more so do human emotions – of both news subjects and (affected) journalists. However, here the UK and India show clear differences.

To begin with, citizen journalism develops its full potential in India, with a special show on CNN-IBN that was broadcast until 2011. Lay journalists presented (and performed) "their" issues, and their lay knowledge combined with a transparent agency (and emotionality) of the citizen journalist permitted a high degree of 'the authentic' (I7, I9, I11). Seen from the perspective of a profession enacting boundary work, the relay of subjective-emotional positions towards citizen journalists is what again controls the boundary of the profession – manifest in the distinction between (external) carriers of lay knowledge and (internal) professionals (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2015).

Coming to professionals, authenticity can be enhanced through the genuine emotional involvement of a journalist on air. I6 justifies his tears of empathy on the occasion of interviewing parents who had lost their son, as he was reminded of his own role as a father. I13 agrees and states her limit:

> I think every reporter chooses emotions – if it is genuine, I mean if it is an act, if it is a staged performance, I think it is an enacted dishonesty. (I13, senior, CNN-IBN ret)

Retaking the words of I13 – who decides about what are real, and what are just "crocodile" tears, or in the case of anchor Goswami, "crocodile" anger? The notions of "staged" as performative are clearly separated from the notion of authenticity as "natural". Here, the clear visibility of humans (and their emotions) is decisive. However, there is a precondition: Two Indian journalists anchoring on TV point to the necessary "morality" of a feeling. Morality relates to feeling rules and emotion regimes predetermined by culture and society. It comprises, for instance, the "rightful" anger about "200 children gunned to death in a school" (I31). However, what is rejected is pretense of sympathy "for the sake of saying on TV" without feeling it (I17) – a disingenuous type of emotional labor.

On the British side, a different picture emerges. Journalists take on less agency and responsibility. They not only reject the active staging of emotions, but seem to prefer journalists being passive and distant:

> I think we have to let people have the feelings that they have. If we are going to interview somebody, we can't ask them to be more outraged, or less outraged ... I think my job is to make sure that we are balancing ... and sort of point it out that it is their opinion, and it is not fact. (B19, producer, Sky News)

Covering 'the emotions present' can be linked to the "mirroring reality" idea of journalism. ITN's B20 understands news more as a balancing construction process, as "the amount of emotion you put in a piece and the way you represent something is appropriate and fair". Manipulative efforts are rejected.

To summarize briefly: Factors which enhance the perceived (emotional) authenticity of news are an appropriate scenario including liveness, timing of emotive acts, emotion norms and the morality of feelings and citizen journalistic elements of "raw immediateness" and emotions. Although not admitted directly, this illustrates the extent to which authenticity is constructed.

Now, in the second section of this subchapter, I will address some journalistic myths about authenticity and emotions as well as criticism which came up in the interviews. Three main myths (or delusions) could be identified.

The first shared myth relates to the professional role identity of mirroring reality. This includes an understanding of the journalistic duty to report emotions "as they are" (B15, B19, B20). What this suggests is a rather simplified logic about the 'truthiness' of emotions, and a lack of reflection about the nature of emotions and epistemological processes. On one side, the constructedness of emotions as individual subjective feeling is not brought up. On the other side, processes of reconstructing reality by journalists themselves (and their selective perception) are left aside.

For the second myth, what unites journalists of both countries is their 'journalistic logic of emotive authenticity'. This comes up in statements such as "emotions cannot be fake" (I7, referring to interviewing situations) or "all emotions are authentic" (B12). It can be summarized as: Emotions are 'natural'; hence, they are an element of (or represent) universal truth and, in this, are "authentic". That emotions are 'true' is an at times naïve belief which is deeply anchored in a positivist worldview, and which sometimes gets combined with visuals, where tautologically "the video will speak for itself" (I10 about 26/11).

As stated before, journalists who equate the display of emotions with genuine reality do not possess emotive capital in the sense of acknowledging the extent to which (visual representations of) emotions can be constructed. Here, the narrations of Indian interviewees give a more reflective stance and awareness about staged – or 'fake' – emotions circulating among news subjects or TV anchors. For B5 who coordinates ITN News: "Television isn't always authentic".

The third and final self-delusion is the belief that fake emotions will be quasi-automatically recognized by audiences (I17, B6). This does not take into account the mediated character of emotions, where trust in non-fiction news programs might attribute a power to journalists to also select the (relevant and correct) emotive news material, hence pointing to the constructedness of emotions again. Though B16 believes that as an anchor "you can't pretend emotion", other journalists are not sure if audiences recognize fake, false or exaggerated emotive displays (I11, B15) – for example, a reporter aiming to be the focus of the story. I6, again, understands perfectly the performative function of authenticity in order to achieve a

corresponding impression, as “only when you really get involved in a story, the audience senses that this person is someone who cares deeply about the subject.”

To conclude this section, the concept of authenticity occupies the minds of Indian and British journalists, with rather intra-group than inter-group differences, as they take positions ranging from pragmatic realists to normatively operating idealists. Their awareness is similar about a cascading audience impact and ethical boundaries to guarantee “emotional truth” or authentic emotive displays. Indian and British journalists see the authentic manifest in news subjects, reporters, citizen journalists, enhanced or weakened by the scenario of a news story and with the right temporal momentum.

As an inter-country difference, British journalists clearly favor a passive authenticity stance comprising the mere mirroring of existing emotive expressions. However, largely absent were reflections about the social-constructed nature of emotions in general, but also about individual journalistic responsibility in constructing news.

## 6.3. Conclusion

This chapter mapped out how television journalists in the United Kingdom and India deal with a core conflict of their professionalism: the tension between the all-encompassing normativity of classic journalistic principles, influential across borders which had in the past implicitly and explicitly excluded emotions, and the threat of an increasingly social ease about the presence of emotions in all aspects of everyday news-life, and what this means for journalistic work practice.

The inter-country comparison resulted in many commonalities. But, it became also clear from the interviews that while emotions occupy a rather pragmatically defined space within the commercial pressures of Indian television journalism, they form a “there but not there” element in the highly normative discourse about professional principles on the British side. With Bourdieu, we can ground the position Indian interviewees took in the more heteronomous pole of Bourdieu, while British journalism demonstrated its greater institutionalization of formal (legal) and informal autonomy. This can easily be discovered in the discourses about objectivity, facts, journalistic detachment and humanistic intervention.

While human agency operates often on the basis of strong internalization of these professional principles, Indian journalists narrate a seemingly higher flexibility which includes more flexible, permeable boundaries with regard to emotions. It becomes clear that despite holding up classic (Western) professional principles their focus shifts to the emotional arousal of audiences. Hence, "eye-balls" prevail in the Indian television media ecology, giving emotive manifestations of news reality a legitimacy which cannot necessarily be found in the British context. This audience orientation and the role emotions play in it will be outlined in more detail in chapter 8.

Here, British journalists at times seem to struggle to resolve these inherent tensions. Locating themselves more towards an autonomous pole with Bourdieu, their need to secure symbolic capital and legitimacy in the British journalism field requires more careful boundary work and strategies of paradigm repair. The necessary space for this is provided through informal rules and formal legal frameworks. They semantically do not touch emotive dimensions in news journalism, while problematic core principles (such as objectivity) remain in the realm of an undefined myth. Examples for this are the British Ofcom legal framework for broadcasters, demanding impartiality, or journalistic codes of conduct across both countries where explanations about "objectivity" and "emotions" are largely absent.

These tensions appear, first, between the journalist as human (emotive) individual and normative dispassionate (public) professional. It is also manifest in the individual-organizational relationship, where a required normative denial, especially in the British case, allows emotions to enter through the backdoor and in the backstage area without necessarily providing a space to reflect on these processes.

Four spaces could be identified where emotions have become integrated within institutionalized journalistic work practice and which will be further developed in later chapters: on the individual level in journalistic empathy (work resource, see chapter 7) and acts of humanistic responsibility; on the organizational level as means of style (audience-focus, see chapter 8) and as congruence between felt emotion and organizationally desired feeling rules (see chapter 9). In these realms, emotions appear to occupy emotional-symbolic capital.

A blurred boundary avoids the discussion about where exactly the line should be drawn. This opens up an extremely helpful flexibility for journalistic practice, becoming evident in two phenomena which have been outlined in this chapter. First, emotions increasingly gain importance as a news factor. The emotive content, substance and style of news events are judged with a view towards audience arousal. This guides journalistic decision-making not only when selecting a news story out of news realities, but also influences the hierarchy of news stories.

Second, emotions are assumed to reflect a higher 'truthiness' compared to facts. They are perceived to be more 'authentic' than other elements of news coverage, especially in visuals, and this perception is reflected in the organizational pressures of immediacy and visual raw footage that are increasingly put on journalists.

# 7 | THE EMOTIONAL JOURNALIST: PROFESSIONAL RESOURCE OR TRAUMA?

Journalistic work is guided not only through professional principles, which dominate professional discourses of practitioners and define what emotions are permitted or not. Rather, there is a whole field of informal and more implicit mechanisms at work – at times secretive, below the level of the official-organizational. The routine tasks which journalists face demand skillful social interactions or a voluntary exposure to potentially overwhelming situations. In order to fulfil these aims, practitioners deploy emotional labor and emotional capital as resources.

This chapter will outline how journalists experience, handle and appropriate emotions for their journalistic work practice. It seeks not only to answer the question of how emotions inform and contribute to newswork, but also how they impact – or even threaten – practitioners. Not only the 'classic' war and crisis correspondents face risks of mental health disturbances or trauma, but – as violent images can reach any studio unfiltered – also affect newsroom staff. I will ask in this chapter how British and Indian journalists encounter these situations and how they cope with it.

But personal emotions can also show themselves very useful in news production. For example, in the deploying one's intuitive "nose for news", but also in what Berlant (2004: 5) called "humanizing emotions", referring to empathy and compassion. Both establish a direct relationship with news subjects.

The in this involved emotions and emotive dispositions form "emotion work", which takes place in the personal realm, on the "backstage" of journalistic news production, in Goffman's words. This by chance reaffirms the Enlightenment distinction between the public-rational (professional role) and the private-subjective/emotional.

Before I investigate how an emotion can be a productive or threating resource, I present a typology (Table 7) about the different kinds of emotional work arising during the multiple stages of news production, drawing on ideas of Hopper and

Huxford (2015), Knight (2016) and my own research. This comprises positive emotive resources or investments (+), but also various coping strategies, which either manage tensions (+/-) or overwhelming negative feelings (-). They reappear in the following analysis at different places.

**Table 7: Types of emotion work in news journalism**

| Type of Emotion | Manifestation |
|---|---|
| + | Emotional Investment (passion, gut feeling, empathy, compassion) |
| +/– | Emobalancing (professional values and emotions) |
| +/– | Own display regulation/ Other's display regulation |
| – | Emotion silencing/suppression |
| – | Emotion deferral |
| – | Emotion distancing (to story, to news subject) |
| – | Emotion substitution/transference |

In this chapter, I first engage with emotions as a professional resource by asking how the gut feeling, empathy, compassion or passion can positively contribute to daily newswork (7.1). The second part of this chapter engages with spaces and moments of emotional transgression – when news events overwhelm practitioners (7.2).

## 7.1 Emotions as a professional resource

Emotions or emotion-incorporating dispositions such as work passion, gut feeling, empathy and compassion can be understood as ubiquitous professional resources determining journalistic work processes. They remain in the realm of the invisible

and are hardly spoken about. Nevertheless, they constitute core elements of information gathering and social interactions in journalistic work.

This subchapter goes away from a normative-cognitive approach to journalistic work and decision-making. It also leaves the route to understand emotions solely as an interfering factor in work. Rather, I outline the often overlooked 'intuitive' elements which are so central in different aspects of news production. From theoretical considerations and interview material, I identified four central emotive work resources relevant for journalism, and each will be described in its ontological and functional value for television journalists. This again underlines the argument of an indispensable status of emotive-symbolic capital within the competition for news.

I start with what drives journalists to do 'a good job' – or what role passion plays in journalism. I continue then with the most 'intuitive' resource – the gut feeling. For the interviewed journalists, this was the hardest to verbalize; therefore some statements might appear fragmentary.[103] Finally, I highlight empathy and compassion as positive resources in journalistic news production.

### 7.1.1 "Passionate hona kitna zaruri hai!" – How passion drives news journalists

> Unless you are enthusiastic and emotive about your subject, then your news programmes can suffer the consequences. (B5, senior editor, ITN)

As we have seen in the previous empirical chapter, the "emotional journalist" remains a hotly contested and negotiated field. The seemingly closely related concept of passion, however, attracts much less suspicion. On the contrary, interviewees perceive passionate journalists to be enriching news production.[104] This corresponds with Royal's (2010) findings that the *New York Times* prefers to

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[103] The answers might appear British-centric. Half of the British journalists replied, but only few Indians. Questions about the gut feeling were not foreseen in the original question list but only emerged during the interviews with the Indian sample.

[104] One fifth of the sample indicated personal passion to be a main biographical factor for choosing journalism as profession, but not every journalist defines passion as central. Moreover, all 15 people asked for how they rate their degree of emotionality compared to other people considered themselves average emotional or above.

recruit candidates who are passionate about work, as also noted with other US newspaper journalists (Nieman Reports, 2007).

Across the two countries, passion matters, "passionate hona kitna zaruri hai" (being passionate is so important, I7, also I3, B5, B10 et al). Interviewees indicate passion in intellectual stimuli (I21, B10), language (I5, I8, B3, B21), or special subject knowledge (I6, I7, I13, I20, I21, B9, B10). These individual factors necessarily influence news coverage.

Only with Indian journalists, a fourth passion motive can be identified. Four male Indian journalists argued to envisage national development – "for the service of the nation … to strengthen my country India" (I3), "to change things" (I4) or simply for empowerment and autonomy, presenting "issues in my own way" (I1). This notion of public impact corresponds to Anderson's (1991) "imagined community".

British journalists attempted to once more rationalize passion as a way to provide legitimacy within the realm of the "rational". For them, passion has a positive audience effect by connecting viewers and raising public attention because "you truly believe that there is a wrong that you want to expose" (B10), or by being "so passionate" about a story to even risk one's life (B4). Passion is also assumed to translate to viewers via emotional contagion effect (B18).

Passion is majorly seen in both countries as a powerful, productive and permanent resource underlying news production. It is a clear case of emotional capital (see chapter 3) which can easily turn into symbolic capital so relevant for the journalistic field, and this means that, within normative limits, passionate news engagement can better evoke interest for a topic or news subject, hence attracting ratings and engaging audiences.

Passion is a drive for the rules of the journalistic game. While journalists in the United Kingdom appear obliged to carefully segregate this from their required habitus of appearing rational and *dis*-passionate, Indian interviewees included a habitus of care which seems to legitimize emotion more than its Western counterpart. This is another moment in which this study questions the global dominance of a Western professional ideal of detachment.

### 7.1.2 The 'nose for news' – towards a journalistic gut feeling

This section depicts differences between British and Indian notions about the gut feeling; and its tacit character, which fundamentally shapes decision-making processes in newsrooms – manifest even on a collective level. Apart from that, it also illustrates the role of the gut feeling in information gathering and as a safety measure.

#### Ontological dimension

Having a 'gut feeling' – or nose for news – was considered mostly, among the interviewed journalists, an individual personality trait or skill (I9, I22, B14, B20). Indian journalists seem to naturalize it as a category of perception, as they claim to be "born this way" (I22), with the gut feeling as a state of being "perceptive" (I9) or "sensitive" (I22), which "is taught nowhere. It just comes by" (I23). Despite the fact that Indian interviewees connect it to biology, they also implicitly include a cognitive involvement.

British interviewees, on the other hand, relate the gut feeling closely to one's "instincts" (B16, B9, B14) or "non-conscious" (B3). B10 describes "a funny pain in the bottom of your stomach". Here it becomes evident that the semantics used by British journalists differ from their Indian counterparts. Though they also refer to the body, their statements indicate an animalistic undertone where cognitive control appears to be absent. The gut feeling seems "hard to intellectualize" (B14), suggesting a maybe stricter separation of emotive elements from cognition with British practitioners.

After having located and described the gut feeling, what is behind it? B19 points to work experience as key – "immediately you know that is a good story":

> If you first come into a profession, it is harder to know it intuitively, and I think with a little bit of experiences ... you kind of tend seeing stories that have come around before... And with that experience does come confidence in your gut feeling. (B19, producer, Sky News)

Through B19 we can understand the role of the gut feeling in journalistic work as a process of accumulating experience, a constant observing, judging, learning and

incorporating.[105] B9 adds that apart from experience the gut feeling comprises "my judgement, my knowledge of our audience". What these journalists describe is "knowing-in-action" (Schön, 1983: 54), a tacit understanding of one's audiences and how to reach them (see chapter 8 for details).

Most journalists in the sample consider the gut feeling to be a subconscious state and "hugely important" (B5) for their work practice. But, there appears to be a general gap in journalists' understanding in what manner this subconscious input actually determines their decision-making in news production.

The reference to prior experience corresponds to what Klein (1998, 2008) described in his Recognition Primed Decision Making (RPD) model which sought to find out "how people were able to make tough decisions under difficult conditions such as limited time, uncertainty, high stakes, vague goals, and unstable conditions" (2008: 456). Although Klein focused empirically on firefighters or pilots, this can easily be applied to professional journalism. Decision-making under the pressures of immediacy can be explained with "how people use their experience in the form of a repertoire of patterns" (*ibid*: 457). This means that with the help of relevant cues, people try to match a situation with types of patterns they have previously learned. In journalism, this could be, for instance, the news value proximity. Choosing to report about a plane crash in Europe instead of Bhutan due to the 'automatized' proximity judgement pattern might result in a successful match, and the typical way of response and action of reporting is taken. This allows the fast decision-making required, especially in live television journalism, to take place.

It can be concluded that the gut feeling is closely intertwined with pattern recognition and prior experience. A second and related explanation is delivered by Kahneman (2012). He distinguishes between 'Thinking Systems 1 and 2', whereby "in the first phase, a tentative plan comes to mind by an automatic function of associative memory" (faster, unconscious and more emotive System 1), while System 2 (slow, cognitive-analytical) organizes a simulation "to check if it will work"

[105] Gut feeling can be understood in a wider sense comprising generally accumulated experience and fast intuitive decision-making, but also in a narrower sense of "nose for news" demeaning a highly developed gut feeling capacity for investigative purposes (scoops). This is what distinguishes the good (experienced) from the excellent (story-uncovering) journalist. In this study, the wider meaning is preferred.

(p. 237). This judgement based on pattern recognition and memory allows the journalist to decide intuitively, "without knowing how he knows" (*ibid.*).[106]

Journalistic experience or gut feeling can best be build up through socialization practices in a newsroom, by observing colleagues (B19, B20). Hereby, a semi-autonomous synchronized gut feeling can emerge transcending the individual level, demonstrating how strongly informal professional routines determine and harmonize news production:

> Yesterday the story of the 12-year-old girl, we first found out about it at around 2 o' clock in the afternoon. So, I was in charge for our coverage at 5, there is a guy who is in charge of our coverage at 7, and a guy who is in charge of our coverage at 9pm. And all of us saw the same wire drop. And we all walked over the foreign desk, because it [the story] was in France, and the woman on the foreign desk looked up, and I said – Oh, I am assuming that we are here all for the same [story] … literally the three of us all turned up at the same time! (B19, Sky News)

B19's example is a clear indicator of socialization processes occurring in newsrooms. Despite remaining tacit, at times individual judgement processes reach an above-average level of group agreement. Here, the professionalization of journalism occurs implicitly, creating invisible boundaries for actors external to the professional journalistic field.

From the varying notions of the gut feeling as both a category of perception (India) and animalistic gift (UK), from its role of being generally a facilitator in subconscious and quick decision-making during work routines, I turn now to how journalists consider some more specific functionalities.

### Professional functionality

Representing the "tacit rules of the craft", the gut feeling influences information gathering, uncovering stories, and fact investigation. As a mode of truth seeking, it becomes an 'intuitive' mode of checking facts:

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[106] The interviewee's struggle with verbalizing notions of the gut feeling can be grounded in Kahneman's proposal of a quick and rather 'automatic' reactive system (System 1).

> It is taught nowhere. It just comes by... A good journalist is meant to observe and understand far more than what people are willing to say on their face. So this is how you over a period of time, you try to understand and sometimes you do succeed, sometimes you don't! In understanding what the people want. (I23)

Indeed, a gut feeling helps in discovering core underlying story elements. "Politicians... say a lot of things, but they are meaning something else... You see through them", illustrates I9. She continues by explaining that when politicians meet,

> ...there is no such thing as a "'courtesy call'. You actually meet because you may have to discuss something. That's when you get a gut feeling that ... has got to be something very important if they are seeing each other. (I9, senior, CNN-IBN)

News stories can be disclosed by directing the investigative focus on small but quintessential details. A "suspicious" wording of a Manchester police press release (B5) might raise curiosity. These weak "feeling signals" guide journalistic attention, being:

> ...the reporter´s own feeling that there is something happening out there. Almost impossible to articulate in words... Not enough facts for a news story. (Uskali, 2005: 8)

Again, the statements confirm what has been previously stated - the gut feeling as a consequence of tacit learning. This distinguishes the professional from the lay journalist.[107]

The second functionality of the gut feeling is in editorial decision-making about news story selection, raised by many British and one Indian journalist. With an eye on the audience, it reduces reflexivity, linking to what Schultz (2007) found as doxic news values – silent and taken-for-granted internalized guidelines for selecting news stories. This creates "a seemingly self-evident and self-explaining sense of newsworthiness" (*ibid*: 190). Journalists "have to be judgemental", admits B5, and B9 adds: "What stories you cover, and how the scale of them – a lot of this is based on your intuition".

[107] On a side note: The U.S. Army, an established relatively rigid institution, incorporated the relevance of intuitive decision-making in their Army Doctrine Reference Publication on Command (2012: 2-8). However, it remains absent in journalism education. This can be understood through the lens of the sometimes doubted status of professionalism of the journalistic craft. The soldier, in comparison, was one of the first areas to be professionalized (Huntington, 1957).

Finally, gut feelings can assume a value in protecting oneself from harm in risky situations. This specific scenario was only brought up by Indian journalists. Rajdeep Sardesai (2014) reported how he was caught with his TV team in the midst of an aggressive Hindu mob during the Gujarat incidents in 2002. Intuition and sensitivity let Sardesai escape unharmed when the mob aimed to test if they were Muslims. Similarly, I1 narrated incidents where he had to "stand up against" criticizing individuals, considering himself "really lucky that I manage to handle this situation".

The gut feeling serves a purpose here that goes beyond a professional routine – it becomes a protective shield for the safety of journalists in a country which ranks 136th out of 180 countries in the latest Press Freedom Ranking of Reporters without Borders (2017) – with a falling trajectory.

The absence of British comments here suggests that they rarely face life-threatening incidents unless they are being sent to a conflict region. However, Indian journalists are embedded in a society with a higher level of danger and unforeseeable outbreaks of physical violence. Consequently, their professional autonomy appears to be lower than in the United Kingdom.[108] The absence of institutionalized resources for protection needs to be compensated for, it seems. Understanding situations fast and intuitively – 'through the gut' – becomes a sought-after skill for success – or another special form of emotional capital. This applies to *all* practitioners in India in the field – far beyond the 'usual suspects' (fixer and freelancer) in conflict zones (e.g. Creech, 2017).

To sum up this subsection, the gut feeling which journalists develop from the beginning of their career becomes relevant in the practicalities of news production (information gathering, story decision-making, self-protection) and as an 'invisible' means to differentiate between the professional insider and the lay outsider of the journalism field, as journalists have a "considerable body of knowledge that is difficult to verbalize" (Kronstad, 2014: 187).

While the gut feeling regulates a dimension of understanding on the subconscious level of 'instinct', two more emotive-cognitive ways of feeling are the center of the following subsections: empathy and compassion.

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[108] In turn, in a pacified society like the United Kingdom, pressure groups might choose more institutionalized ways of action.

### 7.1.3 Connecting with News Subjects I: Empathy

Despite not being mentioned in most journalistic handbooks, nor in professional guidelines[109], empathy was considered by all journalists as an essential element in their work, "it is actually a trait that you need, to be able to be a journalist" (I14, NDTV). The legitimacy of empathy as emotion-related object in journalistic practice was never challenged or questioned in any of the interviews, as "journalism and good storytelling – it is fundamentally about human stories" (B7, BBC).

From the interviews, it can be suggested that journalists ontologically understand empathy as a gift, a naturally given resource. Unlike the gut feeling, it cannot be developed or achieved. Though usually not talked about in a professional context, journalists in both countries do consider empathy as relevant for any great journalist career. Empathy is a

> ...central sort of human skill ... I have seen many reporters – you know they are not going to make it, because they just haven't got the human skills to ever get [there]. (B15, senior, BBC ret)

> You can be an ok journalist, and you can probably get a job as a journalist, but I don't think that you fing them among who are the stars – the stars will always be the ones who go a bit more, work beyond ... I think television is an emotional medium ... [empathy] is a layer you have to have. (I18, senior editor, NDTV)

What becomes apparent in the statements is that empathy counts as part of the emotional capital of a journalist, as it broadens his/her professional potential. But there are slight disagreements about the implicitly ascribed mundane nature of empathy. Several British journalists believe empathy is especially necessary in professional subfields which exhibit a higher degree of sensitivity and human impact on the audience, while others can limit themselves to schematic journalistic scripts:

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[109] E.g., the latest version of the BBC Editorial Guidelines.

> You can survive... and you can be a great journalist without empathy. At some point it will catch you, because you will misjudge a situation. (B5, senior, ITN)

> If you are doing a purely analytical role, then it is less important ... you could be a sort of financial markets journalist without being particularly empathic.[110] (B2, senior, BBC)

Indian journalists, on the contrary, consider empathy as applying to journalistic work in general, translating it as symbolic capital to engage audiences:

> You can't be seen as the same with your reporting on murder, a child's death, and the stock market. There has to be a level of emotional involvement which is different according to each news story. (I18, senior editor, NDTV)

Similarly to the gut feeling, empathy is required as a central practice of sensitive journalism, uniting the careful approach to a conflict-charged society and the competitiveness of the Indian television market. As part of emotion capital, it guides not only journalistic attention and understanding, but also helps to achieve symbolic capital in form of audience ratings. As a multidimensional work routine in journalism practice, this includes its functionality as a resource in social relationship building and in audience bonding. Theoretical approaches and qualitative interviews allowed me to identify four main fields of empathy: epistemological, strategic-instrumental, performative, and imaginary.

**Epistemological Dimension**: Professional norms in journalism such as objectivity and accuracy shall guarantee an adequate mediation of news events – above all, the search for 'truth'. To establish this intersubjective reality, "you need to be able to get into the shoes of who is there. Otherwise, why would we care about them", says B13 (BBC). The view of the interviewed journalists corresponds with Lipps' (1903) early notion of empathy being understood as "feeling into". Hereby, the sense of self remains, and identity and alterity go together:

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[110] Interestingly, this overlaps with areas of news output produced by algorithms (stock market, sports, etc.).

> If a person is trying to tell their story to the world, it is me, who should be able to understand what the person is going through, so that I can relate that story, I can give that story to the viewers. Unless I do that, I don't think a viewer can understand the emotions of what the person is going through. (I20, producer & anchor, HT)

The journalist first engages with news subjects, perceives cognitive and emotional effects of the subject's narration (Willis, 2003), and then steps back in order to develop a mental model and empathic emotion (see the Empathy Process Model by Altmann, 2013: 18-20). These feelings (or empathy) serve as subjective experiences which shape journalistic understanding, with different feelings providing different information (Schwarz, 2012). This process, much like the reflexive interaction between a therapist and patient (Jaenicke, 2006), helps journalists to establish a sense of judgement about news sources, resulting in an account of intersubjective reality. Here, empathy can be understood as a "source of information" (Schwarz, 2012: 298).

**Strategic-instrumental function:** News information gathering and aiming for journalistic accuracy makes co-operation with news sources essential. Building up a social relationship of trust with news subjects happens "against the deadline". Journalists are aware that "it sometimes takes a while to settle them down, to persuade them, to console them" (B3, ITV). Establishing a productive conversation in a period of short time requires skills and high sensitivity:

> If they don't believe that you CARE, you won't get the best interview... isn't just doing their job but actually cares. You get a better interview. Your reputation will be better; you have more chances of getting other stories in the future... Empathy really comes across. So, I think it is vital. (B19, producer, Sky)

The other expects to be recognized as a human subject and "equal" in a social relation (Edge, 2015). This act of demonstrated recognition democratizes the professional relationship between reporter and news source and, hence, supports the democratic function of journalism.

It is worth taking a look at the theoretical approach of social sharing of emotional episodes outlined in chapter 7.2.2. Rimé et al. (1992) found that people quite often tend to share emotional episodes. The sharer narrating his or her experience usually arouses emotions in the listener, which can lead to a reciprocal stimulation and enhanced empathy in the listener, to a point where the listener is willing to support the sharer (Rimé, 2007: 310). Journalists with an empathic predisposition will face

this type of emotional arousal while listening occasionally during their careers. Thus, processes of empathic listening and co-operative relationship building with news sources require a variety of emotional regulation mechanisms – hence, empathy pertains to emotional labor (see also Grindstaff, 2002).

**Performative dimension:** The performance of news subjects in journalistic interviews or reports determines how engaging a television piece can come across. As outlined in chapter 6, journalists aim for 'authentic' displays. Drawing on empathy's strategic function of social trust building, a useful outcome of this can be an 'object of authenticity' such as a strong soundbite or emotive display.

> To be savage: you don't get the same result. ... I have done hundreds of door knocks, where people have died... If you actually are sensitive and behave like a fellow human being instead of a robot who wants a picture, then you are more likely to get a picture... the best journalists are the ones who actually treat people with courtesy, with respect, and – listen as well. (B3, Senior editor, ITN)

Here, the emotion capital of a single journalist might lead in the long-term to a comparative advantage through its transformation in symbolic capital, which is crucial for the journalistic field. The performance of empathy is usually optimized for an audience – which requires a fourth kind of empathy.

**Imaginary empathy:** Audience reactions to television programs are still time-delayed and fragmentary, though Twitter and email provide faster personal feedback today. As journalists tend to rarely encounter a synchronous mode with the audience, imaginary audience constructs step in. This is what I call "imaginary empathy", where the audience remains nothing but immaterial and virtual in newsrooms. Batson (2009) described it as rather cognitive-reflexive but less affective ("re-enactive empathy" with Hollan, 2012). One strategy resorts to the personal sphere:

> I am thinking through what clips I would use, what pictures I would use – I have got my mom and another friend. And my other friends says, "Ah, sometimes I can't watch [your channel] because – they seem to make you want to just feel everything!" And I kind of use my friend and my mom as my barometers. (B19, senior reporter, ITN)

As a preliminary result, empathy is part of subjective dispositions allowing an emotive-intuitive understanding of individuals. Though, it relies on both cognitive and emotive capacities for perceiving the other. It allows journalists to "convey empathy" and "compassion" without becoming partial (B15), to establish a journalistic approximation of 'truth' (see Glück, 2016), but can also turn into emotional labor and be damaging or produce bias if exercised in abundance (I17, B4). With NI, empathy can be considered a means of lowering transaction costs and helping news programs to position themselves ahead of competitors – by establishing co-operative social relationships that are highly useful for information gathering and news performance.

## 7.1.4 Connecting with News Subjects II: Compassion

Compassion is understood as a feeling of perceiving another person's suffering with a motivation to relieve that.[111] This action motivation makes it different from empathy, though compassion equally involves being confronted with the cognitive-emotive world of another individual. For journalists, though, it appeared at times hard to differentiate between empathy and compassion, corresponding to what Richard and Rees (2011: 860) observed among British journalists.

The topic occupies a surprisingly prominent position – in each country, 10 journalists expressed their views of compassion. During the interviews, journalists on both sides rarely mention the ontology of compassion as such. Instead, goal-orientation and normative expectations towards journalists and the audience dominate – as do examples of engaged journalism in the Indian case, which will be addressed more in chapter 8.5.

Few Indian journalists expressed ideas about the nature of compassion – one referred to its "bedrock" position in Buddhism (I17), a second saw it as a central news value together with truth and empathy (I6). I22's understanding of compassion as "empathy along with respect and equality" points to Chouliaraki's (2011) suggestion of an "agonistic solidarity" where not regimes of pity but communicating human vulnerability takes a prominent position.

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[111] This section looks exclusively at the private dimension of compassion, meaning with regard to the emoter, and less towards a media audience.

In the theorized compassionate (mediated) relationship between a sufferer and a spectator, journalists are often neglected, together with the specific roles they occupy in this arrangement. On the personal level, interviewed journalists understood themselves to be moved spectators (I3, I9, B13, or B8 – describing his sadness about a ferry tragedy). British interviewees admit that prior experiences can selectively increase or reduce compassion (B16: having children, B19: similar accident, I10: victim numbering as blurring the human side of a story). They also emphasize more professional values here, with B13 wondering "how much of your personal reaction is useful to the audience".

After this outline of the way journalists consider themselves to be compassionate, a second dimension talked about is the normative realm of morality in the compassionate relationship. The quite strong moral imperatives put onto journalists (by journalists) become manifest in utterance as "[to have] empathy" (I22), to "be caring" as a reporter (I18, B15), accepting one's innate responsibility (I9), or "to help and do what you can in a very human way" (B20). In short: Journalists shall display a human face and act as a facilitator of setting up the compassionate relationship.

Here, this inevitably crosses a line to a more public dimension – arguing for a more intervening, engaging kind of journalism. This materializes with I1 – "others should also feel" the situation – or I3's "thinking on the point of view of [the] victims":

> We have a duty to report it. And we report it as competently in this world as when can, but also in an engaging manner as we can, so people can relate and empathise with the people we are bringing to the screen. (B15, BBC ret)

But compassion as moral concept to enact can become problematic. Deviating from the expectations of journalistic role morality, complaints were raised during the interviews about incidents of norm breaks, giving an indication of the boundary line of the unacceptable – what I call "defective compassion". Normatively rejected were cases of pity (B2), 'selective compassion' excluding the "common man" (I22), or journalists becoming insensitive (I23). Disillusion and cynicism sets in, as dramatically described by young reporter I10 after the Nirbhaya rape case in 2013:

> So, initially we [the newsroom] gave a damn to what was happening to the victim; and how gruesome was this for her. Our whole concern was – put the bloody damn story on air, and see the outrage it has created in the entire country! ... We gave a damn to what was happening to the victim till she actually died. So, for me personally, no emotions left. (I10, junior reporter, HT)

Another transgression was described by I17 who had helped to connect a flood survivor with a distant relative as the shocked old man had just lost his entire family. Then his editorial superiors urged for "more" – having in mind an "authentic drama":

> They wanted drama on air, which I was against. I said – my job is done, it is connected. They, my office, were ambitious and they said we will try to connect families together. The top-level had this idea. Managing editor, deputy editor – they all wanted it to go on air – live! I was saying ... I don't want to put him on air. And they said – no, it will be a great story on air; people will love it. So, I went on air with this old man ... who was not emotionally stable at that time. (I17, senior journalist, CNN-IBN).

These two examples of "defective compassion" illustrate the struggle that journalists face in the highly commercialized Indian news reality, again pointing to lesser autonomy for the (Indian) individual journalist, where individual moral values become difficult to put into practice, and where – as previously outlined with the gut feeling and empathy – greater pressures by commercialized news routines dominate.

To conclude: Journalists perceive themselves as fixed actors in a compassion relationship, specifically as compassion facilitators with strongly implied normative expectations. Indian journalists tended to report more disruptions of enacting compassion within news work, but also exhibited a greater degree of engagement.

The next and final subsection of this chapter comprises the negative effects of emotion management – from strains in everyday work to the exceptional effects of trauma.

## 7.2 Emotion management of distress: Mental well-being and coping with trauma

> I remember we also had to do an interview with the BBC. The BBC wants to make this film about working in unusual environments… And they came to us and said – you guys have probably seen more death than anyone else in the BBC … because you are literally going to dead bodies every day. (B4, junior reporter, BBC)

B4 started his career in local journalism, regularly accompanying paramedics in a helicopter on their missions. What he saw were accidents, burns, even deaths – on a daily basis.

At first, journalism might seem like other low-conflict jobs. But beneath its routine appearance, covert risks remain. While the ubiquitous bullet-proof vest protects correspondents in crisis areas from outside danger, the consequences of everyday processes of emotive coping remain hidden inside individuals.

While the first part of this chapter engaged with the more intuitive-positive capacities of passion and empathy, this section focuses on situations where journalists encounter themselves under serious emotional strains – despite performing routine tasks, despite sitting in a studio perhaps. In this section, I aim to outline the individual consequences of emotional labor performed in the interest of news organizations. In the following, I depict moments of journalistic work where average emotion regulation and coping might encounter limits. Starting on the individual level and integrating the organizational requirements, it soon becomes apparent that in some cases institutional provisions are needed. Finally, I will outline what this means for journalism cultures and news professionalism.

### 7.2.1 Coping with negative emotions during work routines

From time to time, journalists face situations which might appear extraordinary. These moments might be emotionally challenging or even dangerous, but up to a certain degree journalists display trust and confidence in themselves and their professional skills. Their work is a duty to fulfil, resulting in the belief of a pragmatic necessity to manage these situations. It remains in the realm of the expected and is not reflected upon. Only under certain conditions is it permissible to leave the realm of the unspoken.

When asked, almost half of the interviewed journalists across both countries explicitly mentioned situations which preoccupied their minds more than usual. Across both countries, the most impactful appeared to be intense scenes of horror (terror attacks/beheadings – 5 Indian, 2 British), events triggering personal memories (1 Indian, 3 British), and death (1 Indian, 2 British):

> Some tragedy happens – train accident, blast, 26/11. It was around the clock coverage... and it was really a pain. I was really hit by emotions. This nausea, why these things happen, and we make news... People are dying, and we are putting the bands... I was just in the desk, to write the stories. We will be carried away by those things. (I4, junior reporter, DD)

> Sometimes, when the story happens and you have a tiny connection to and you can identify something in the story, then it affects you more... With the Germanwings plane crash – it was flying between Düsseldorf where I have been to loads of times, and Barcelona where I have been too many times... I had flown with Germanwings many times. (B17, junior producer, Sky News)

> My grandparents passed away, but I hadn't attended the funeral or the cremation where the bodies are burned. So, I had never actually seen a [dead] body, till then. And there was somebody who had died. And I had to go and cover the cremation... I found it ... all very disturbing... I felt sick while I was there. (I5, senior reporter, NewsX)

The described experiences might appear shocking. However, their non-regularity produces only temporary, not permanent conditions of emotional strain. They cause temporary distress or a moment of shock, but do not produce a permanent condition.

How are journalists to protect themselves against those moments of 'emotional nausea' caused by news events? The statements reflect a common feeling of helplessness. Avoiding negative emotional arousal seems difficult, and only few journalists are as privileged as I6 who had a choice pre-reporting to generally refrain from meeting "a family who has lost someone in the plane crash" due to impactful personal memories.

Looking at coping strategies, an interesting finding is the clear argumentative difference between British and Indian respondents about acceptable coping strategies.

Starting with Britain, journalists referred to two main approaches: cognitive reflection and creating distance through symbolic artefacts. B21 finds security in remembering the privilege of a foreign passport – "easy exit" anytime, from virtually any crisis area. Five interviewees mention strategies of mental control.

They claim to “compartmentalize” (B19), “to switch off” (B7) or “shutting [emotions] off” (B16) in order to not become affected. Here, emotions are not dealt with directly, which might cause long-term consequences.

Besides creating a mental distance, seven journalists distance themselves through symbolic artefacts such as the camera lens (B7) or a BBC identity card (B14). This technique displays mindfulness and a visualization of their aspirations. Other strategies were mentioned infrequently and can be seen in Table 7 at the beginning of this chapter.

Indian interviewees raised slightly different strategies of successful coping. First, for them it seems easier to cope if victims remain abstract through distant location and abstract numbers.

> [Charlie Hebdo] was a shock, yes – but after that, it was – sorry to say – we journalist are hardly having any emotions. We are fighting for how many people dead, or how many suspected gunmen were there. We were least concerned about the cartoonist, or other people being killed or targeted. We were fighting over the numbers. (I20, junior, HT)

With an attack in Paris, “you’re not directly concerned” (I15), echoed by B17’s reference to the Middle East. However, numbering victims mechanically to numb oneself is a strategy which is rather morally doubtful, as distress tolerance is based on dehumanizing a situation and being detached from one’s own emotions.

What mattered most for Indian journalists was an attitude of the seemingly ‘inevitable fate’ of being a journalist:

> If you have chosen to be a journalist, you will be exposed to these traumatic images. There is nothing you can do about it. (I23, senior editor, ABP News)

This newsroom culture appears rather “masculine”, not allowing weaknesses, but focusing on professional responsibilities even in everyday coping work. It relies on “fulfilling one’s duty”, which recalls the Indian context of the law of dharma and karma. While dharma refers roughly to each living being’s individual ethical responsibility during a life cycle as duties to fulfil, karma results as a consequence of acting with an effect back on the actor him-/herself. Though a direct influence cannot be assumed, it is still worth raising the question of how much dharma-thinking is present in rather secular Indian journalists, or if work circumstances simply do not foresee an alternative to act differently.

Other journalists claim to "just go with the flow… After some point of time I am not supposed to be affected" (I9). This attitude can be picked up only "with the long-time experience… I began my journalism career in Kashmir. The first 3-4 years I was staying with terrorists, they used to come and knock at my door" (I14). I8 echoes that is "all learning on the job" in order to "get immune" (I15). British journalists prefer a less vocal attitude but strike similar chords: to "develop your shell" (B9) helps to "get used to it. You become hardened to it" (B7).

From the argumentation strategies it can be suggested that Indian journalists have few other methods than to adapt pragmatically over time. Emotional coping is a taken-for-granted professional skill, where you are either fit for the job by nature – or you quit. Survival on the job depends on "distancing themselves from both the guests [news subjects] and their stories, no matter how sad, disturbing, or depressing" (Grindstaff, 2002: 138 about recruting guests for emotion-driven talkshows). British interviewees show here more varied and reflective strategies, displaying a higher awareness of personal emotional coping.

The difference in argumentative strategies might be found in journalism cultures' varying risks of "normalized" danger, which require different coping strategies for emotional challenges. We have seen earlier how a well-developed gut feeling helped some Indian journalists to get out of problematic situations, which are more common in India. But it also relies on the cognitive. Mental control is essential in moments of danger. I1, a former correspondent, repeatedly resisted extreme groups. Caught between Muslim and Hindu groups in Gujarat in 2002, he successfully found a way to protect himself:

> You don't have to lose your temper, be very calm. OK, if you want to hit me, hit me. Bite me… How we manage it is an art; and you need to master that art to survive. You first bring yourself to their level. Make them feel that you are also part of them. Most of the time people will understand. (I1, editor in chief ret, Live India)

Displaying journalistic attitude, courage and fearlessness is also what helped I13 to survive angry mobs she found herself in, once almost getting kidnapped. She copes with this situation by being "very conscious of emotions" and "weigh your identity as a journalist very very strongly" – such as taking out a "notepad and pen, and to wear my identity card, so that everybody knows it is press":

> It is emotionally challenging. Because the thing is that you have to put up with a lot of hostility of people, you have to put with a lot of anger, rage. Because your work is all about people; and it is about dealing with people in situations... you have to work very hard at conquering fear. Because you are sometimes very scared. (I13, senior journalist, CNN-IBN ret)

Coping with the emotional strain which journalists experience in challenging situations is part of emotional labor (Hochschild, 1979, 1990). Editors in management positions push time and again little negotiable expectations on journalists to fulfil their predefined professional role in a functional way. The regulation of individual emotions then does not allow much space for creativity, when journalists "become actors whose roles are scripted by the exigencies of their work" (Grindstaff, 2002: 135). With Hochschild, adapting to a company line might result in feelings of estrangement from one's self, which emerged across countries in the emotionally drained words of junior reporters I10 and I20, but also with B5 or B22. Journalists have to find a balance between the human side of their job (such as being empathic), adhering to fixed display rules of professional journalism de-emphasizing emotionality (see anchor I31, B22), and self-protection.

This debate, in the long run, concerns the conflict about 'professional duty' and taking responsibility for one's actions. More obedient people might deny their own moral responsibility in their actions – and this means that the "usual feelings of guilt and shame that arise from hurting others are absent: the damage is someone else's fault" (Sutherland, 1992: 43). With journalists, there exists a pattern of shifting responsibility away from the self – either external circumstances or to requirements of their jobs (Dworznik, 2006: 544). Here, a too intense role identification (be it normatively grounded in the Western value of detachment or commercially justified as in the Indian case) might bring up the danger that the morality of the journalistic mind might be lost.

### 7.2.2 Coping with Trauma & Compassion Fatigue

Journalists have been only recently considered as first responders to tragedies (Hight & Smyth, 2003; M. Johnson, 1999), in a line with firefighters, paramedics, police or soldiers. Psychological studies indicate since around 2000 an increasing knowledge of journalists' long-term reactions when exposed to violence (e.g. Amend, Kay, & Reilly, 2012; Beam & Spratt, 2009; Dart Center for Journalism & Trauma, 2016; Dworznik, 2006; Jukes, 2015; Simpson, 2004; Underwood, 2011).

In this subchapter, I ask what happens when conventional coping mechanisms as described in the previous section fail – and how trauma is received within television newsroom ecologies.

## Locating trauma in journalism

Journalists in the interviews agreed across the two countries that their work can potentially have traumatizing effects. A small number of journalists interviewed (4 of 46 interviews) experience conflict and war on a regular basis (although in the Indian case the line is difficult to draw).

Two phenomena of traumatizing exposure can be made out: reporters in the field, and exposure in the studio to graphic material. Indian journalists working as reporters outside of the studio became vocal about what kind of situations they face inside India: “I ... saw the bodies of 50 or 60 Hindus, the charred bodies of Hindus ... I thought: Kya kiya! Who did it” (I1), to I13 finding herself in a “bloodthirsty mob” with a “wild-eyed guy”, while I17 described what can be understood as secondary traumatic stress symptoms while covering the flood in Uttarakhand and the accumulated emotional impact of stories of survivors.

British journalists summarize their work as “horrible stories” (B7) or stated a lesson learned, as B12 did: “Sometimes you witness horrible things – so if you allow empathy, it can be quite destructive”. However, some remembered their stories in detail, as did B4. The young BBC reporter outlined the “surreal” feeling he had when accompanying paramedics for the first time – encountering a woman completely burnt after a fire, having repeated dreams about an incident where he was “left on the hillside with a dead body for ... five hours”. It is undeniable that journalists anywhere are witnessing a full range of challenging news events, with Indian journalists even in the need to take care of their personal safety.

But is a television studio indeed a safer place? Accounts from the interviews provide clearly a different picture. Here, the horror seems to become easily mediated, entering with raw or live footage. More than ever, journalists function today as protective filters on duty for the audience. Their job is to filter emotionally arousing material, as visuals have a higher impact than words because they appeal to the faster affective information processing system in the body. With up to 16 screens to monitor (I21 & own observation), among them raw (unedited) feeds from Reuters

and APTN, plus social media or UGC, journalists face an immense risk exposure and responsibility. B19 describes how Sky News organizes this work routine:

> The people on the foreign desks bear the brunt of that. So there will be two people sitting on the foreign desk being in charge of all of our foreign news coverage. And then we have got a couple of very senior experienced foreign editors and correspondents. And if there is a story about ISIS, for example, they will watch the picture come in... There is some guy there with a camera, and then he films everything. No hold spot, he films everything. All of the footage might belong to ISIS. And they want it to be as shocking as possible. So there is no filter. And then they sell that to a news agency. And then it starts to come into our building. (B19, producer, Sky News)

A job like this requires not only professional experience, but a "thick skin". Although interviewees conveyed that with ITN and Sky News it is senior staff who usually decides the rota of journalists in charge to watch raw feeds, young journalists are regularly employed, with little experience, in both countries. B10 is conflicted about ITN employing "sometimes quite younger than experienced people, who get exposed to imagery that they shouldn't really at the age of which they are". In contrast, I23 reacts defensively – his newsroom bears little "possibility even of shielding somebody from it", and with most professionals being "trained journalists, people know that this is what is happening in the world".

B17 is one of the young journalists. She worked with Sky News Ingest. Her initial excitement was replaced by sobered experience:

> When I started, I really wanted to see everything, so when those horrible pictures coming in, ok, I am happy to watch this because I have to do my job. Whereas now, if something comes in like the Islamic state videos and stuff... Unless my manager tells me you have to do the report on the story, then I go out of my way to not watch. Cause I don't want to watch it. Maybe the change is that before I kind of found it fascinating to watch things, whereas now I know that it might affect me, so I try to NOT watch things if I don't have to. (B17, junior producer, Sky News)

Repeated exposure to violent images can be highly damaging, as I10 experienced:

> It just kept playing in my head. And I kept thinking what if such a thing happens to me. How would people react... it REALLY REALLY disturbed me... I personally thought about it for 2-3 days at a stretch... (I10, junior reporter, HT)

> A good friend ... had a nervous breakdown, [not] from seeing traumatic images in real life, but through processing the video in the newsroom. And he was looking sooo many times at blood and guts and body parts, and people crying, and so forth. (B14, senior, BBC ret)

However, today British newsrooms demonstrate awareness of this. With Sky News, only a "minimal amount of people" monitor the feeds. To avoid traumatizing other

staff members through upsetting material like IS beheadings, they are “going to the length of sending a note around to everybody saying: Don’t watch the feed coming in on feed 25. It is a beheading... We almost look after each other” (B19). Like Sky News, British newsrooms acknowledge the responsibility and dangers connected to unwanted exposure to graphic material.

Emotional regulation is even more demanding live in front of a camera, when suddenly exposed to uncensored violent material. I14 (senior anchor, NDTV) recounts a particularly difficult moment during the Kargil War. Just after coming back from interviews, with “those faces in his mind ... another flash that 40 are dead ... I had spent time with them; I knew those guys!”. It was too close to him. Similarly overwhelmed was the experienced BBC24 studio anchor B22. After anchoring live for hours a terror attack in a European capital, she could barely sleep and still remembered all the next day:

> And then I had to get up as we were going to Cambridge for the day, overnight, for a friend’s birthday. And it all seems so ridiculous that I have been reporting this world-changing event. And I was going on a train and drink wine in Cambridge with friends! ... It felt futile. It felt there are so many more important things that I should be doing – back on air, back to telling the story. And it all seemed so pointless. And later I had a shower, and I think it was just this sense of relaxing in warm water, it just – burst out of me. And I just sobbed and sobbed and sobbed. I could hardly breath, I was so upset. (B22, anchor, BBC24)

B22 never left the studio during this evening. But her strong bodily reactions illustrate how easily emotional labor can become overwhelming, how close it leads to states of trauma. Can journalists like B22 find help with their news organizations? This is explored in the next subsection.

#### Trauma-Management: individual and institutional

Journalistic reactions to moments of trauma appeared in both countries in a similar fashion. Several journalists admitted reactions of shock in context with terrorism and IS beheadings (I10, I31, I23, B22). British journalists described that reactions do not always happen synchronously to the reporting process, but emerge in nightly dreams (B4) or due to an accumulation of events (B11, B21).

For a journalist, “to admit that your work affects you and that the facts you report keep you up at night can endanger your credibility as a journalist” (Angyal, 2015; in

the study of Beam & Spratt, 2009, 40 % of journalists agreed with this stance). For women, it is even harder, as they are more prone to being stereotyped.

One popular way of coping with emotive challenging situations during work is the classic "writing up" as an indirect form of social sharing, often as a non-journalistic subjective-reflective narrative about crisis or war events in order to cope with the trauma that remains in the minds of journalists long after (Beam & Spratt, 2009: 423).[112]

Alternatively, personal social sharing helps and is a way chosen by B21 and B17:

> I found over the years that kind of spontaneously you wind up talking with the people who were there with you. It is not like therapy, but if you all are in a terrible situation, you all wind up chatting about it, and that's the best thing you can do, to talk to other people who were there at that time. (B21, senior correspondent, BBC)

> Mostly I keep it to myself, but sometimes, if I go home, then I want to talk about it with my boyfriend. Just to talk about what you have seen, and also, how you might kind of feel about it. (B17, junior producer, Sky News)

Social sharing of emotional episodes and its positive function for empathy and information gathering in journalism was addressed above. But from what can be seen it also applies to inter-individual contact. Here, it can serve to create interpersonal empathy, enhance mutual trust and bonding, and could even take the shape of a collective ritual if it transcends the individual level (Rimé, 2007). Also, it can lead to emotional relief after highly impactful emotional experiences (B7, Howe, 2013). But this strategy does not work for everyone (B15, I17).

B17 mentioned that the outside normative image of a journalist makes people think "you are not let anything affect you". But that becomes sometimes an obstacle for sharing. B15 approaches family members only cautiously:

[112] A small selection across time: McCullin (1992) – Unreasonable Behaviour, Keane (1996) – Season of Blood: Rwandan Journey, Rados (2003) – Live from Baghdad, Junger (2011) – War, Addario (2015) – It's What I Do.

> You don't wanna burden other people with the horror. If you did burden them they wouldn't really understand the full depth of the horror, and so you just keep it within yourself... I didn't want to burden my family, dwelling on this stuff. (B15, senior correspondent ret., BBC)

B15 has seen some particularly bad moments in his long career as a journalist. On assignment in Rwanda, he gradually realized how his individual coping strategies failed against the pervasive suffering:

> I went back for Rwanda the sixth or seventh time. And I said to myself – I can't. Actually, I ran out of empathy... I said to myself, I just don't care about these people anymore. I interviewed them, I have been to their prisons, I have been to their villages – and also: genocide is you can't imagine, the enormity of it, and the intimacy of it! This was not up-lining people against firing squads, but this was like you and me with machete! It was intimate killing! It freaked me out! And I was there the sixth or seventh time, and I said to myself – I don't fucking care about these people. I don't want to ever come to this country again! It coincided with "Do you want to become a member of the senior management team?" It was time ... to hang up the boots... I remember a year after Rwanda breaking down in shakes, and having been put to bed by my wife. And it was over... It just hit me. Something hit me... There is an English expression – "If you are gonna sup with the devil, use a long spoon". (B15, senior correspondent and editor ret., BBC)

B15 reaches first compassion fatigue – then PTSD. Once a "tolerance level" is crossed (B9), a "breaking point" reached (B15) – a mental breakdown leaves now only few options such as counselling or changing the field of activity. It happens to both journalists in crisis areas and to studio workers. I10 and I20 are examples from India – illustrating a decreasing sensitivity, cynicism and emotional burnout even among junior staff members.

It is not the end of the 'macho culture', which discourages emotional expression as sign of weakness and career hindrance (Arana, 2015). But since the Balkan War in the 1990s, "news organizations started to take safety seriously", protecting journalists not only physically, but post-reporting also through counselling (B2). There is a "much bigger consciousness now, of the risk of PTSD ... that has changed radically in the last 10 years" (B21).

British newsrooms have begun to rethink journalistic work practices. The start was made by Reuters and the BBC in 2003 together with the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma in London and Washington. This was in dire need, as several BBC top correspondents had suffered from heavy symptoms.

> Finnley[113] who was off work for nearly two years, in the hospitals! Hallucinating of the horrors he had seen. And Adam couldn't sleep for 10 years after what he saw... James had a sense that something was gonna land on his head, even if he was in London! (B15, senior correspondent and manager ret., BBC)

Not only the BBC, but also ITN and Sky News provide counselling and mental health support if requested. This applies even to junior journalists facing the "daily flow of traumatic news footage on newsroom intake desks" (Jukes, 2015: 1). For Sky News, B19 spoke about a "very strong support network" for journalists with PTSD, and that "Sky is known; inside the company the reputation is very strong ... journalists have been extraordinarily well looked after".[114] None of the journalists interviewed mentioned having ever demanded counselling. From what can be seen, in the past decade awareness towards mental health has increased considerably among British TV news organizations, and a functional and comprehensive help network has been created to cater for their employees.

However, the opposite scenario emerged within Indian newsrooms. In counselling and mental health awareness, a drought prevails. Seven out of eight journalists agreed that "there is no training. They don't even train us, if we have go into disaster zones, covering – nothing" (I9). Counselling is here relegated to the status of a phantasm – "in India, in the industry – [not] anywhere you have this practice" (I23).

As institutionalized measures for the mental wellbeing of journalists are absent in India, the responsibility of coping with trauma falls back to the individual. The previously mentioned 'masculine newsroom culture' dominates here, which stands in stark contrast to an otherwise perceived higher emotionality in Indian news journalism. That journalists have to be "quiet tough" (I13) somehow resembles the English 'stiff upper lip'. Indian interviewees mentioned pragmatically "on-job training" (I1, I8, I14) as the only realistic way to cope. They legitimize their stance with a variety of strategies. Some referred to denial – for example, I23 uttered to "have not come across anybody who is traumatized" in India. More honest was I8, pointing to the lack of "individual investments" in Indian newsrooms, as they are "still low-cost operations".

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[113] Names replaced in this quotation

[114] The Sky News website offered "confidential counselling" to any staff member – however, it was related to drug and alcohol misuse (British Sky Broadcasting, 2016: 7).

Hence, working as a journalist incorporates notions of accepting the consequences voluntarily (B21), accepting the toughness of the job and its nature, and exposing journalists to "very disturbing information".

In conclusion, news workers in India express a higher individual responsibility and vulnerability when they cope with the emotional demands of their professional work. While British journalists working for television can benefit from well-institutionalized support, involving physical safety training, access to counselling, and staff-internal protection and rota, this is not the case in India. The lack of resources given to employer care in Indian television organizations is taken by journalists as "professional destiny". Fulfilling their duty-as-sacrifice appears as another indicator for the low general institutionalization and autonomy of Indian television news journalism.

## 7.3 Conclusion

This chapter responds to the second research question about how emotions inform, influence and contribute to journalistic work practice in the individual and informal realm of journalistic news production. It shows that this is possible in a variety of underlying ways which have not been addressed this comprehensively before. Therefore, the theoretical contribution of this chapter lies in the disclosure of how deeply emotions and emotive dispositions are integrated into journalistic work practice, and outlining how differences in journalism cultures can be explained with varying degrees of institutionalized autonomy of the journalistic field.

This manifests first on the productive level. Journalistic professional work is driven and enhanced by personal passion in many ways. Ethical concerns voiced remain scarce, and the overall suggestion is that a passionate commitment to one's job helps in access to topics, to overcome obstacles, and – in the British case – enhance audience attraction.

Three core emotive resources underlying journalistic work practice could be identified in the interviews: the gut feeling, empathy, and compassion. All inform the ways journalists perceive the world during information gathering and news production. It shapes their access to representing 'truth', as emotive truths are part of stories. Besides this, empathy and compassion are also ways of securing access

and social interaction with news subjects. Across the two countries, they are seen as underlying but essential routines in journalism.

Time and again, British journalists refer to limits for these emotive dispositions, keeping them in balance with the perceived demands of their 'Western' professional values. We see here that though emotive aspects are clearly acknowledged as valuable in both countries, they are discursively embedded in the respective journalism cultures and therefore legitimated to different degrees. The gut feeling, for example, is illustrated rather as an animalistic gift for humans (instinct) in Britain, while the Indian statements value its contribution more openly as part of human perception. British journalists use more rationalizing strategies when talking about their emotions, while their Indian counterparts tend to embrace emotive aspects more openly (for example, in engaging compassion), but find more obstacles on the practical level to implementing it (e.g. resources).

After examining the positive contributions of emotions, this chapter also gives an overview about the destructive realm of emotive exposure during news work. This relates to emancipating journalists as first responders to tragedies in the field but also at news desks, being at risk of a potentially vulnerable mental health through graphic experiences and material. Journalists in both countries do admit to being affected in multiple ways. They outline avoidance strategies which display at best simple distancing, and at worst cynicism – emotional labor again.

The big difference between British and Indian television journalism cultures lies in the individualization of risk in the Indian case, where neither staff members nor freelancers receive a special care provision in case of mental health issues. This is another example of how legislative efforts and reflective awareness can considerably influence the field of journalism in its autonomy and institutionalization. While British television channels today have recognized and addressed the need for safeguarding employees' mental health, this is not the case in India, where challenges of emotional nausea and uproar translate into being considered as "professional destiny".

# 8 | TACIT EMOTIONS? OF JOURNALISTIC AUDIENCE IMAGINATIONS

After having analyzed how emotions influence journalistic work practice from a normative and practical angle, this chapter changes direction and spotlights the audience. Audiences are addressees and recipients of news communication and indirectly determine the way a news product is shaped. This chapter investigates this relationship with a focus on emotions. It explores a topic which usually finds its most frequent expression in statistical representations of averaged audience groups, and rarely transcends into a deeper, more specific description. But numerical quantitative features tell us little about what viewers want in detail, and how they relate to news television.

This chapter explores how journalists theorize their audiences from an emotion perspective. First, it asks how the relationship between journalists and their audience is shaped from a journalistic point of view, and what role the imaginary plays in these mental representations ("inclusion expectation", see Heise et al., 2014: 414). Next, it focuses on how the emotive dimension is integrated. This includes the importance of emotional arousal.

The chapter starts with journalists describing various forms of audience feedback (8.1). It continues with unravelling the terminology in which journalists refer to their audiences – do they see them as public or viewers, as mass or nation (8.2)? What are the implications for the role of emotions in each case? This helps to understand what expectations journalists apply towards audiences, what multiple role concepts are circulating, and how the concepts of a 'public' and the 'intimate-individual' might unknowingly collapse, failing the journalistic imaginary in reality. After that, I will outline the functionality of emotions with regard to an audience (8.3) and consider two special cases of emotion-eliciting journalism: Journalism of Engagement (8.4), and the perceptions of 'compassion fatigue' (8.5).

## 8.1 Waiting for audience feedback

Journalists with the intention to understand their audience have different ways of gathering information. Along more 'classic' feedback modes via email or phone calls, new methods found their way in the form of Twitter, SMS or social media comments. But feedback doesn't need to be mediated in all cases – some journalists in both countries form their impressions on the basis of their personal immediate environment.

> Say, I am sitting at home – and this is an exercise I would do very often – I am sitting in a room which is full of my family members, and there is a single television. And assuming they are watching my channel – and then I pick the remote, and I try to change it. And I see how many people in the room try to stop me from changing it, and how many WANT me to change it. (I23, senior, ABP News)

> If I am thinking through what clips I would use, what pictures I would use – I always use my mom as my barometer, and I think – what would mom's reaction be to that, which she say – oh, in that moment, and when she said about this – I just thought "oooh", and I thought that was a piece or a clip that could be used. (B20, senior, ITN)

Observing and listening attentively to family members serves for gaining anecdotal evidence about one's program quality and limits, and it is a safe way of understanding audience needs.

As audience feedback has indeed become more direct; it "can get straight to you these days, and they can tell you what they think of you", says B4. However, while direct feedback over email or in person is more determined by cognitive features and social etiquette, much Twitter feedback is charged highly negatively and becomes quite abusive:

> I'll get texts saying "I didn't expect this from you", or they start abusing. So, it does get disturbing at times… That's why I deactivated notifications from that. (I22, Senior, NDTV India)

> On Twitter I would get about an average of 20-25 hate pieces a day. Email I get about 3-4 constructive emails per week… I would say after my shows, I would get one or two people who send in really positive feedback. But the overwhelming majority would be – oh, you are ugly, or you are fat, stuff like that. (I13, Senior, CNN-IBN ret)

Twitter feedback brings out comments of a highly antisocial nature instead of constructive informational feedback. It is not about one tweet, but the accumulation of atomized micro feedback. Through its shocking effect, it represents a rather

counterproductive – or even disruptive – force in news journalism. In consequence, the disposition of journalists to welcome and value audience feedback might be diminished, with some journalists preferring to shut off themselves entirely – just to keep their mental sanity (I22).

If this route of receiving constructive audience feedback is closed, what is left then? Typically, TV channels rely on quantitative audience measurements. Nearly each channel across borders has its own audience research department (Batabyal, 2012; Silvery, 2016). But journalists time and again remain reserved towards quantified means of audience evaluation, displaying a high degree of scepticism about whether audiences really can be understood in this manner (Gans, 1979). In the interviews of this study, only very few journalists on both sides were ready to mention a detailed positioning of their channel in certain audience segments. Some understand that the value of measurements could be limited.

> Human beings being highly complex creatures – one can never never completely predict what they like and what they dislike... It is not easy to get people to be very clear about what they wish. They would in multiple ways sometimes be very defensive. (I23, senior, ABP News)

The degree of institutionalization of audience research, reflecting in the relay of quantitative audience information to special audience research departments, indicates that audiences are believed to be known (about how interviewees specify their (quantified) audiences, see chapter 3.2.4).

After having outlined how journalists in the United Kingdom and India are becoming aware of audience feedback, I will now turn to an analysis of wording and meaning, when journalists speak about an audience – as viewers, public, or mass.

## 8.2 The audience addressed: “people”, “public”, “mass”, or “nation”?

What came immediately through in the interviews was how journalists oscillate between different conceptions of the audience and of emotive impact, with a frequent overlap, and where viewers can potentially take on multiple roles at the same time. This was more acknowledged among the Indian interviewees, reflecting the manifold functions journalism performs on the subcontinent.

Journalists referred to audience members most commonly with the term “people”, followed by “public”, “nation”/the collective, and “mass/crowd”. These concepts will be used analytically in this section. For each concept, I will give a brief introduction outlining how journalists discursively embed it, followed by an analysis highlighting its emotive dimension.

### 8.2.1 When “people” turn public

First, denominating audience members as “people” or “viewers” appears as a rather neutral way to speak about them. It locates the spectator comfortably in the middle of the passive-active continuum – “‘the audience’ as an intermediary concept” (Ahva & Heikkilä, 2017: 316). Though according to Livingstone (Livingstone, 2005c) this could be foremost understood as an entertainment orientation, this is not the case and it can be used with regard to more commercial entertainment aims as well as political and social awareness.

Journalists across both countries refer ubiquitously to “people” in many occasions. A closer look at the comments reveals that it is far from considering them as neutral, as a wide variety of journalists seem to relate to their audience “somehow” as public. Implicitly, this manifests in the terminology of “people” –implying the public in an Athenian sense. Speaking about NDTV India’s Ravish Kumar I15 wonders: “is he keeping the *public* interest, is he keeping the *viewer* interest”? Semantically I15 mixes both and makes the two concepts appear interchangeable.

But with Indian journalists, the collapse of viewers as individuals and a collective public emerges also elsewhere. Talking about natural disasters, I6 speaks parallel of a “*public* interest” and united “*people* in tragedy”, where “*people* can show compassion”. This illustrates well how I6, who worked for commercial CNN-IBN, unites commercial imperatives and “responsible citizen”-focus. This is rather unmasked by I2 who considers commercial channels “shout like they are doing *public*, but the real concern does not seem there”, as they do not necessarily connect to the “*common man* on the street” (I8).

With Indian journalists, quite frequently the social motivation of an audience is recognized and taken seriously. Their will to engage is addressed through an active definition of journalism. For example, I13 describes angry anchors “waking *people* up” and turning them into “angry *citizens*” or creating a “long line of *people* wanting

to do something". These links to an 'emotional citizen' or 'engaged people' are not uncommon and will be analysed more in detail later in this chapter (8.5).

Journalists on the British side express these concepts differently. They usually relate to distinct moments of death and political change as a framework for emotions. With Princess Diana's death, for instance, B10 spoke of "many *people*... very moved and very upset by it". B15 remembers a story with "*people* wandering – like Jesus arrived. Bizarre! But we reported it as a social phenomenon". Here, the shock, numbness and mourning of the population were externalized and reported about, as singular news event. The social-emotive climate of a population serves as source material to report on, i.e. with London's selection as host for the 2012 Olympics.

Despite the shared terminology across borders, a relevant difference emerges between India and the United Kingdom. Indian interviewees speak affirmatively of a generally emotive citizen and audience to involve, while British participants describe emotional crowds to report on – with distance, objectifying them. This translates also to the non-reflection about journalistic agency in shaping emotions or emotive climates within their audiences. Specifically, British journalists implicitly leave out thoughts about the impact of their work on audience emotive climates apart from an ethical duty of care. I suggest that this can be explained by the earlier described prevalent normative orientation among journalists in the UK. It would be wrong to assume British journalists do not have an idea about the emotional impact on an audience. But admitting a socially relevant emotive impact seems hard to come across the lips in a climate shaped by priorities on cognitive knowledge transfer through news (described by former BBC journalist Ric Bailey)[115] and journalism's central and institutionalized public role. I argue that in spite of this it is not entirely absent; rather it is an underlying – or tacit – assumption which from reasons of normative-professional role commitments cannot be expressed openly.

Hence, whereas in India, the emotional impact on individual viewers is admitted quite clearly, this is not the case with British journalists who solely describe media coverage as an effect of an already present social emotion, without giving examples

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[115] During a seminar at the University of Leeds, 15 February 2017.

of own emotive impacts on an audience – and leave media therefore in a professionally ‘correct’ distant – and passive – role.

This section outlined how addressing audiences as “people” crystallizes in a parallel understanding as public and commercial. Categorizing audiences in fixed boundaries remains difficult as they are addressed in multiple ways. After having outlined the ‘public’ connotation of audience as “people”, the next section centers on journalists explicitly speaking – and meaning – (their) publics.

### 8.2.2 The actual “public”

An emotive “public” emerges not as a monolithic entity, but instead it translates into different realms: engagements, ethics, relation to the government, and social emotions. The inter-country comparison will follow topical lines here.

Few Doordarshan journalists discuss what public means for their channel as PSB in emotive terms. I4 reminds that “we have to mend the grievances of the people, and the citizens of this country”. Taking viewers and their concerns nationwide seriously also reflects I2’s engaged attitude in “be[ing] *a public servant*” – but he also mentions the need to cater partially to the government. His former colleague I3, in comparison, equates the public entirely with the government.

The link between media and democracy is also shared and sustained by some private channels.

> The primary role of journalism is to work in the public interest... journalism has to raise issues of public concern in a country like India... [like] some public spirited campaigns on sanitation, on health issues. (I6, senior, CNN-IBN ret)

Here, a perceived public duty turns into emotive engagement along government lines, in order to advance the social progress in India, filling the space that the actual public service broadcaster leaves at times empty (I14). Journalists target a “*public outcry*” via stories that “involve *public emotion*... *public anger*... citizen concerns” (I13), or where the public gets “polarized” (I6).

On the British side, we find a more differentiated stance. When talking about “*public service duty*” (B14), the BBC relies “on the *public’s authority*” or support (B1). The “*public interest*” is the guiding line for selecting stories, and in vox-pops, journalists imagine “talking to the public” (B19, also B17). But unlike the Indian interviewees, here emotions are relegated solely to an informational-functional

approach, while issue engagement exercised through media goes by the board. Emotions can be there "because of the people we interview" (B3). The public as an emotional agent to report about is acceptable. The emotional reactions of a "British public" upon Nelson Mandela's or Princess Diana's death (B9), for example, with a "massive public showing of grief and emotion" (B14, B15) are considered legitimate topics of news reports. This is also reflected in India; for instance, as an element during a politician's notion of Janta ('public', I7).

The second dimension, referred to more by the British participants, is an ethical dimension of not 'wrongly' upsetting the audience emotionally, respecting the preferences and limits of the "public mood" (B2, I15) and not stirring up violence.[116] A discourse of the audience-as-vulnerable emerges – in India, for example, being "not ready for tough questions" (I8, for details see section 8.3.4).

Third, the public is considered mature in emotive judgement. They are called to help. "Members of the public" (shall) spot attentively fake or exaggerated emotions or empathy and give feedback (B18, B21, I16), and a "public consciousness" can potentially emerge in response to 'bad journalism practice' (B18).

What unites the stances of Indian and British journalists is considering the public as active citizens in the sense of Livingstone (2005a). The difference appears in emphasizing emotive aspects across the two countries. While British journalists consider themselves rather as informers, and as reporting about already existing social sentiments, Indian journalists seem to favor a more engaging approach towards audiences, encouraging them to actively participate in shaping issues in a democracy, and advancing actively the media-democracy link.

### 8.2.3 Mass

The focus of this section is to analyze whether journalists follow Gustave Le Bon's (2006 [1896]) perception of the audience as a "mass" or "crowd", a concept with negative affective connotations. Viewers are understood roughly as a brainless irrational-destructive mass, guided by basic emotional drives and atomistic in character.

[116] For example, in the decision-making about the display of graphic images.

Only two journalists describe the audience in terms of possessing an undirected dangerous emotionality and irrationality. Journalists may refer to emotions of the "crowd" (I19) when selecting stories, suggesting a populist take of emotion-led 'irrational' decision-making. B20 criticizes the "mass hysteria" which emerged with the death of Diana and Charlie Hebdo as objects of shared attention, and which resembles an 'emotional bandwagon', a "mass emotion" of high performative and temporary character, but with little authenticity.

Both journalists evaluate collective mass intelligence as clearly negative, thereby reaffirming the priority of the individual public citizen. An atomistic audience conception dominates (Ahva & Heikkilä, 2017). It can be suggested that the "mass" as a concept appears not only beyond Livingstone's typology but remains marginal for today's news journalism.

### 8.2.4 The Indian case of nationalism – an emotive collective?

More prevalent than references to a rather anonymous mass were explicit references to the nation being understood as a collective entity. This specific group approach needs to be highlighted, as it is a popular media narrative in India (Batabyal, 2012; B. Bhushan, 2013) and was prominent with Indian interviewees.[117]

Referring to the nation opens up a space where a specific set of social emotions can circulate freely – from the audience to the television station serving the "nation" and back. At the same time, "the nation" is connected to an emotionally charged frame, a frame which we can describe with Anderson (1991) as "imagined communities". The nation as a unifying device can be subsumed in Dewey's (Dewey & Rogers, 2012 [1927]) sense as issue public, as viewers can exercise a conscious choice of whether they prefer to consider themselves as part of this audience on the basis of emotive concerns –or not, in the case of rejecting a nationalist tone.

In the Indian example, 'standard' national sentiments consist of "national pride and patriotism" (I9), which belong to socio-culturally shaped second-order emotions, as they are based on an "acquired ... prism on the world which refracts their first-order emotions" (Archer, 2000: 243). Commitments such as "traditions and doctrines concerning the group [born into] become a part of the individual's mental make-up"

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[117] Indian journalists contributed eight out of ten statements.

or identity (Handman, 1921: 104), and therefore clearly modify or change (first-order) feelings.

India's shared history with neighboring Pakistan bears a rich potential for conflict. I9 explains that "people in India love this Pakistan bashing; that's where the emotion comes in". She refers to former *Times Now* anchor Arnab Goswami as one prime example for the Indian nationalist discourse. "Belligerence towards India's neighbors, often adopting a more hard-line position than the government" and jingoism are common (B. Bhushan, 2013: 38).

There are differences between channels. I19 mentions how the more reserved NDTV India handled the example of a Pakistani boat which had sunk in the Arabian Sea close to India:

> Indian defense claimed that they [the boat crew] themselves burnt it down. There was no evidence of doing that. No one tried to get to know the truth. Everyone went on the lines that 'Pakistani boat was trying to attack Indian citizens', and the coastguards saw them and they chased them, and they themselves downed themselves. It was a nationalistic line. Emotionalizing... The story became – a nationalist emotion, nationalist sentiment. (I19, Senior, NDTV India)

I19 works in a senior position within NDTV. His descriptions reveal that individual journalists might have difficulty refraining from a nationalist framing of events demanded by the news organization. Here, journalism shows itself as deeply embedded in its respective society, following hegemonic discourses. I13 even touches on the topic of censorship when she calls Indian Prime Minister Modi "very powerful" and able to exercise "a lot of thought control and propaganda... people are not willing to speak up that much". Her former colleague I12 adds that

> The change in Indian media today in terms of emotion... is it today if you ask questions, genuine questions, and indulge in valid criticism of the government; you are under risk of being dubbed as "antinational", or "anti-India"... You have got to look at how Mister Modi ended up wearing this whole mandate. It was plainly an entire society's emotion. (I12, anchor & senior, CNN-IBN)

In this highly emotionally charged hegemonic climate, it has become an increasingly difficult task to fulfil the journalistic "moral responsibility" of "raising questions, against the establishment; against the government..." (I12). A critical journalist has to face potentially angry attributions of "sedition" and "anti-nationalism" from both nationalist citizen and media spheres as they have become intertwined. With a public "not ready for tough questions being asked" and a resurgence of "Brand India" over the last few years, I8 considers this emotional

segment as a relevant group to inform news output in today's audience landscape. Anger changes here to a narrative of national pride.

> With the rise of the right-center nationalist government, there is this lot of sense of patriotism... and ultra-nationalism. People are not willing to be questioned about India's role in anything. We are the saints; we cannot go wrong in anywhere. THAT is dangerous to any society... If you really seek out audience approval all the time, you infer mess. (I8, senior, HT)

This scenario unravels the weak stance of Indian media vis-à-vis the government, having a limited autonomy in a highly emotionally charged atmosphere. It is another example of how emotions circulate within different spheres in the public realm: audience, government – and media trying to mediate sensitivities. National pride as a second-order emotion reinforces certain angles in audiences. This dynamic make them hard to engage, leading potentially to anger, rage, or disengagement with a news channel, if not handed carefully.

However, the audience-as-nation idea in India surfaces also in the unifying moments of national tragedies. An originally local scenario of heavy floods in Uttarakhand in 2014 was elevated to a national dimension, where "the power of the visual image has the capacity to actually unite people in tragedy". There, "people [were] traumatized, money was pouring in, politicians were reaching out there" (I6). The highly emotive capacity encourages measurable actions of donations, as it creates a possibility for viewers to (emotionally) identify with a story and show compassion, with a national coloring (I6) – a clear manifestation of an emotionally lived and socially constructed coherent group identity. This follows Anderson (1991) and his proposed imagined communities.

Reporting the state of the nation as "emotions of the collective" – or how "is a nation reacting to a piece of news" – is raised by I11, but criticized by I21 (NDTV India) who clearly distances news journalism from any "nation-building" attempts of the government.

British journalists, on the contrary, appear to prefer individualized viewer perceptions. In fact, it was only in the context of Lady Diana's death that B10 related to the countless number of moved and upset people as being in "collective grief ... [a] nation mourning with flowers outside Kensington Palace". There was no other interview moment where British journalists explicitly referred to a national audience or a collective sentiment. This reaffirms both the distant stance of British

TV journalism and lack of perceived personal responsibility for contributing to the creation of emotional states in audiences.

To sum up: Arousing nationalistic sentiments does matter in exciting an audience – but only in India, as it does not go along with the journalistic normativity of detachment, neutrality, and impartiality which are heavily emphasized by British journalists. The Indian interviewees explain that they navigate between "viewer connect" and not hurting public sentiments. In consequence, a stimulation of collective emotions of national pride, prejudice, outrage, and tragedy are mobilized and discursively legitimated.

After having outlined the preferred journalistic "audience speak" and the place emotions take in each of them, the next section will focus more systematically on the role journalists assign to emotions in audience reception.

## 8.3 Emotions and Dimensions of Audience Impact

Emotions are part and parcel of the interaction between news journalists and news audiences. This section looks at the motivations of journalists to integrate emotive elements within the relationship to their audiences. It will be easy to recognize that this transcends broadcasters of both commercial market and public service orientation, though it will also be demonstrated how this is connected to multiple role understandings (from being a neutral disseminator of information to taking a more active stance with regard to educating or motivating a public).

This analysis differentiates the perceived functionality of emotions in newsmaking, which is shaped by ideas about audience attention and engagement. Journalists also theorize how created emotional effects are perceived among audiences – and whether such effects can be considered productive or distressing.

From theory and interview material, I propose that journalists outline three main roles in which they deploy emotions: 1) to arouse attention, 2) to provide information material for deliberation, or 3) with a motivational purpose.

### 8.3.1 Generating attention

First, emotions are understood as an important stimulus for viewers to (re)direct the attention and tune into a news program, as "you want to connect emotionally

with the audience" (I6). More than any other media genre it is television which is considered a "feeling medium" (Glynn, 2000; Grindstaff, 2002), "emotional medium" (I22) and which deeply relies on its emotive potential (I6, I18, B19). Journalists in both countries have long understood the distinctive nature of television:

> Emotions make good television. (B5, senior, ITN)

> Emotion comes across very powerful on television. (I13, senior, CNN-IBN)

Information alone – or 'disseminating' knowledge (B14) – is not medium-adequate to achieve a desired impact with recipients:

> You find multiple ways of engaging people. And when you are in tension to engage people, then obviously you would use all possible ways to catch and hold attention. And that's only possible if you could invoke a sentiment in them towards the story you are doing. (I23, senior, ABP News)

> The attention will come through emotional connection and emotional impact. (B12, junior, Sky News)

Both interviewees translate attention more precisely into emotional arousal. They believe that evoking emotions is indispensable for connecting to an audience; and that it cannot be substituted by other means. Indian journalists generally display a more developed idea of how emotions work within news reception. Already mentioned was the philosophical approach of "samwegatya pragya" or emotional cognitions, where emotion and cognition are understood as being intrinsically linked (I2, senior, DD).

The visual dominance of TV supports an emotive connection to viewers, as "emotion connects very very quickly and very fast" (I13) due to a faster processing rate of the human brain for visual stimuli than verbal information. Hence, the media-democracy link has to be adapted for TV by components of entertainment, making emotive elements nearly obligatory:

> A boring person sitting at a desk talking in a boring way doesn't make great telly, but if there are some emotion or drama – it does! And a good interviewer, for instance... you want to ask questions that challenge them [interview guests]. (B9, senior, Sky News ret)

In India, the underlying entertainment orientation in journalistic practice is even more pronounced: Anchors being "hysterical" (I22) or "outraged... make for very good television" (I14) – so do overwhelmed reporters sobbing live into the camera (I21). Emotions serve the "thriving culture of emotional paranoia", writes

Chakraborty (2015). People and their stories "bring the things alive. It becomes heated, it becomes lively; it becomes more interesting" (B14).

This creation of interest is especially pursued by commercial channels with a clear market orientation (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997). The line with entertainment is difficult to draw – it oscillates between abandoning professional core principles (most prominently, Bell, 1998) and a stance that television "should be entertaining yet not provide entertainment" (quoted in Mowrer, 1960).

But – can television simply entertain without *being* entertainment? Can we draw a line? The following two sections illustrate in more detail the perceived purpose of emotions within the formation of audience understandings of news, drawing on analytical concepts of informing or motivating, reflecting distinct imaginaries of journalists.

### 8.3.2 Informing I: enabling 'rational' decision-making

As we have seen in earlier chapters, emotions are considered to have an information value within news journalism. Drawing on the discussion about emotions as facts (outlined in chapter 6.1.4) and on Feeling-as-Information theory (Schwarz, 2012, see chapter 7.1.2), an audience is assumed to understand a news story better if emotive contents and perspectives are included. They quasi complete the picture.

Reporting an emotive dimension can provide information about a news event in order to enrich deliberative discussions within a public sphere scenario. A minority of journalists represent this stance, and most of them are British. They understand emotions as a necessary device empowering the audience to make their own (informed) decisions. Hence, emotions are evaluated positively if they contain an informational value that is relevant for the news story. Emotive and factual news input together enable a process of rationalized decision-making. This view can be located within the wider tradition of public deliberation discourses (Habermas, 1990 [1962]).

In news practice, this translates to providing multiple (emotive) perspectives to viewers – without including one's own journalistic judgement (B2, B7, B14, B18, I18):

> There were always people who are very passionate on both sides. And our job is to not say to the viewer: that guy is totally right. It is to say them – look, this guy feels so strongly about this; here is another guy who feels exactly the same level passion in the opposite direction. But you don't conclude your piece by saying: the one who we showed your first was right! You have to leave it so that the person is able to come to their own verdict. (B19, junior, Sky News)

The British journalists here maintain their 'classic' professional boundaries not only by distancing themselves from emotive aspects of news coverage and putting it on a par with other types of information input, but also in relegating it to the sphere in which journalism doesn't acquire responsibility. To viewers, emotive perspectives are offered – but they "are perfectly capable of deciding for themselves, what they think or feel about something" (B2).

Deviating from this are the utterances of three British journalists who consider emotions as a distraction (B14) or inhibiting cognitive-rational processing of understanding (B11, B13):

> I try to limit the amount of emotion in news reporting as much as I can. The emotional factor is not a powerful factor in my reporting. It is important for my viewers... to understand the extent of any kind of crisis that may have befallen people, but that is not necessarily an emotional matter. (B11, anchor, Sky News)

The focus rests on an assumed cognitive rationality. Not only do these statements reflect the classic reservation towards emotions from a 'Western' point of view, with the superiority of the (public) mind; but they also relate closely to Habermas' (1990 [1962]) theory of a public sphere engaging in deliberative discourses about social and public life. News fits here well and is not seen with an independent agency but merely as a rather passive device to contribute to educating-informing 'rational' members of the public sphere, to whom the final decision-making is left.

### 8.3.3 Informing II: Emotion as agenda

This second way of informing an audience through emotions includes a motivational agenda of journalists. They discretely steer emotional audience involvement aiming for certain changes in attitudes, reactions and behaviors. These ideas about emotional engagement are reflected in role understandings of journalists where they perceive themselves as educators, advocates, developmental journalists or agents of change. Though visible in both countries, they excel in Indian journalism.

Here, journalism is seen as autonomous active part of society, with own agency, and interdependent with audiences. Audiences are understood as open to influence. The process of opinion formation is not left to idealized rational beings, having been provided with sufficient (news) input, but as a dynamic chain of events which subtly incorporates the emotive side of processes of stimulation and engagement, persuasion and conviction.

> Not everyone is just interested in listening to facts, because when you look at BBC... the kind of feature stories in the news… like the bomb blast, or for a rape story, and for a victim the kind of stories they do. They have very very emotional connect; something that makes you cry… That's really important. (I10, junior, AT/HT)

> That's the emotion that matters, what they are feeling, what they are telling you. And I think it is very important to try and capture that on screen. Because you want to make a connection with the audience. You want to make them care about these individuals… For example, at the moment of the coverage of the migrant stories… the most touching …coverage I have seen in a way is about very small details. (B21, senior, BBC)

News coverage becomes impactful if viewers identify with it. A viewer who cares (B21) or cries (I10) is more ready to translate this individual "private" feeling into a public action. Short-span overwhelming emotional shock effects are assumed to act as a "wake up" signal for viewers; "acts of barbarism should be shown to people" (I2), for example, the famous Vietnam War picture of a girl with burnt skin, "so people do realize that it is a bad thing" (I2). Depending upon the topic, it is a moral education approach which journalists implicitly follow here; and with the feeling-as-information theory (Schwarz, 2012), audience members are encouraged to reflect and rationalize their feelings about an issue (I22).

British journalists again draw a clear professional boundary in their discourse, trying to tell a story "as accurately as you can, but with the maximum emotional impact that people can take" (B20, ITN), as it is "the facts that people are upset about" (B9, Sky News). Journalists claim to follow their strict ritual of factual coverage. Emotive elements are not admitted to be employed here strategically, but relegated and left to an external audience.

Some journalists aim to educate audiences, using emotive measures to empower perceived marginalized groups against an assumed viewer bias. Their agenda is neither detached nor necessarily engaging. They aim to create sympathy for groups of people, often through stories about individual news subjects.

> As an aid to understand the world, it also shows that Africans have the same human emotions as everybody else! You know they have kids that they are worried about, they wanna protect, they are scared for, and I would hope the audiences are sufficiently open-minded that they can accept that as well... We want to show that this is a global community. (B15, senior, BBC ret)

Helping "the audience identify with what the person is living through" (B15) aims to simply "strike" or "touch a chord" (I13, I23, I8), without evoking pity. Others shall be shown as equal and empowered (B15). Emotional narratives are seen as the only way to bring 'unpopular' stories about AIDS or rape on the TV screen (I8). They function as emotive bridges, in order to sensitize audiences. This appears to be a valuable resource for news viewers to react affectively, infer and maybe identify with disadvantaged groups (see the emotion as social information model of Van Kleef, 2010, 2016).

As can be seen, emotion-eliciting news content is understood to be an active, independent and productive resource for viewer motivation. With van Zoonen (2004), it functions as emotional investment which links intrinsically to rationality, as it transcends the level of the affective-emotional by stimulating and encouraging reflective thinking. These processes of "affective intelligence" (*ibid.*), in turn, can transform into an active participation in the public sphere as audiences become informed citizens.

This journalistic stance of creating a responsible citizen-viewer based on emotive motivations can in its more intense form turn into what I call 'journalism of engagement'. Its central feature consists of journalists targeting viewers with a distinct emotive media message for an explicit action or behavior change. This will be the topic of the next subsection (8.5), before finally centering on unproductive emotional arousal in audiences (8.6).

## 8.4 Journalism of Engagement & Campaign Journalism

Journalism of engagement does not satisfy itself with informing an audience or encouraging them to form their own opinions. Rather, audience members are invited to participate and share a certain kind of evaluation, worldview or ideology. Newsmakers seek to enable viewers by all means to understand a story's impact, but at the same time, their aim is to create a motivational effect via deploying strong but

convincing and effective content elements. In journalism of engagement, these devices can be emotions, but usually work along other means.

What emerged in the interviews immediately was a stark difference between journalists from the United Kingdom and India in their attitude towards a journalism which clearly aims for an engagement of audiences. British journalists from BBC and ITV expressed generally a disdain for journalism which crosses professional boundaries. These boundaries appear strict for British TV journalism:

> But it isn't our job to get out...campaigning for that individual. Newspapers can do that because they are not regulated like we are. (B10, senior, ITN)

For Indian journalists, boundaries seem more flexible. Though they expressed repeatedly fears of creating bias through emotional engagement, this takes a back seat when it comes to certain topics supporting change. This change relates to structural problems in a society and justifies, in the case of Indian journalists, leaving objectivity aside in order to idealistically achieve a betterment of society:

> Journalism, in my personal view, has a progressive mission in India. I think journalists should fight against religious obscurantism, and against exploitation, and should fight for the underdog and against blind belief, and against attacks against women, and against child abuse, against gender discrimination. So, I think, journalism in India has a progressive reformist mission. Here, there has to be. (I13, senior, CNN-IBN ret)

The social-structural problems in India are perceived to be graver than in a Western country such as the UK. This justifies – or requires – other means of supporting change, explains I13.

Disclosing social-structural problems presupposes a mind-set which consists in present-day India of a collapse of development journalism and journalists understanding themselves as change agents.[118] This does not only serve to advance causes of the country, "for the service of the nation" (I3, also I2) in the sense of "civic advocacy" (Musa & Domatob, 2007: 324), but also to address failures of a government on the civic level:

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[118] This corresponds to what Waisbord (2010) distinguishes as two streams of development journalism: First, social communitarian reporting which is "primarily concerned with news about social circumstances, challenges, and interventions related to the lives of the non-elites, the vast number of dispossessed and impoverished people", leading journalism to pursuing a role as watchdog in the interest of (ordinary) citizens, and second, as nation-state-building instrument relying on "national integration, and internal cooperation" (Waisbord, 2010: 149).

> I belong from Eastern Uttar Pradesh... Since the last 30 years more than 50,000 children died! Literally died! Due to encephalitis disease. And our government is not doing something to stop this! ... It is because of [the] poverty of the common man. And after one week or two weeks, you die. And no health system in Eastern UP. Every year you have more than 1,000 children dying, and our government is not doing anything! So, it is big news; and I put my all emotions with affected families. (I3, anchor, DD ret)

> I think it is dangerous when journalists start to pick side. Theoretically a journalist's job is to report. But there are some things on which you will take a position; and I think it is almost immoral not to do this... There are cases of attacks in India, when the Delhi gang rape happened, a lot of us reporters were led with a lot of emotion. And that was I think fine. (I14, senior, NDTV)

This mind-set of change concerns a broad range of issues such as violence against women, situations where "equality ... or social justice is denied" (I19) or social taboo topics (I8). It is about showing the pains of the excluded and the victims to prevent similar happenings in the future.

Motivational engagement provides the grounds for an agency of journalism which relies on campaigns and activism. For this kind of engaged journalism the UK is a rather difficult territory, though campaigns find occasionally their way on the screen – as long as they do not interfere with the impartiality idea or other professional values:

> My job as a BBC journalist was to uncover wrong, but to allow the audience to make up its mind that this [an issue] was wrong. (B14, senior, BBC ret)

> I personally am not comfortable with journalists taking a position… if you are doing that you have to make it very very clear… I don't want to be a campaigner. I am a reporter. (B21, senior, BBC)

Examples for British screen campaigns are the BBC's "Make Poverty History" (2005), Channel 4's #nogobritain which offered a crowdsourced view on the state of public transportation in Britain (Marshall, 2013), individual journalists committing themselves explicitly to campaigns (Sue Lloyd-Roberts, see J. Jackson, 2015) or explicit subjective journalism (e.g., John Pilger, Robert Fiske). However, political implications are hotly contested, as the rejection of a humanitarian appeal for Palestinians in Gaza by the Disasters Emergency Committee demonstrated (Birks, 2010). And transgressions of 'classic' defined professional values are quickly punished, as was the case with BBC correspondent Barbara Plett who wrote that she received a complaint, accusing her of bias and violating the "due impartiality" rule

upon writing that she "'started to cry' as a dying Yasser Arafat left the West Bank in 2004" (BBC News, 2005; Plett, 2004).

Campaigns in India are, however, more common and more cooperative, ideally full of emotions. NDTV started the "Save the Tiger" campaign (Singh 2016):

> We do try to bring in the element of compassion in our shows in order to be a responsible journal. Say, if NDTV is doing an initiative for Save the Tiger, our channels will talk about being responsible and creating awareness ... we must be good responsible citizens and we should question the way society works ... we add flaming rage to the screen and we ask questions like "Can't India save its tiger"? (I22, senior journalist, NDTV India)

Another Indian example is the Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao (BBBP) Scheme (literal translation: Save girl child, educate girl child) which addressed the flawed ratio between girls and boys in some areas of India and was introduced in 2014 (Mohan, 2015).[119] NDTV supported this says I14 – combining commercial with campaign reasons:

> We are now doing a lot these campaigns that actually can also be pretty emotional, because you are dealing with a lot of social cases now… we do all these special campaigns now which is our way of getting after the TRP, so: Girl child, Saving the Tiger.. There are some pretty ghastly case studies out there… that can be emotional again. (I14, senior, NDTV)

This shows that Indian media show little concern over supporting government-initiated campaigns in the sense of development journalism. Ready to be a civic advocate and achieve a change in the behavior of viewers, they understand that "learning is more than the transmission of facts" (Ruddock, 2007: 39). For some, the commercial and critical public sphere seem to go together:

> Often we would take up campaigns. We did take up some very public spirited campaigns on sanitation, on health issues… [Swatch Abhyan – Clean India Campaign] – To his [Modi's] credit – that at least forces us to look at sanitation. Because now you commercialize it. It is a marketing exercise. Sanitation is now no longer just an issue about toilets… he has forced journalists to look at an issue which they otherwise would not look at. (I6, senior, CNN-IBN ret)

Campaigns on news television have the advantage of redirecting public attention to otherwise journalistically neglected (non-quota) but urgent topics such as health, welfare or global warming (I6). Raising social issues relies on "audience connect" –

119 A related campaign though happening only after the interview period ran under the hashtag #SelfieWithDaughter. It was started by a citizen and supported by India's Prime Minister Modi, encouraging fathers to post snaps with their daughters via social media (Sanyal, 2015).

only then campaigns will develop an impact (I8). However, campaigns are not universally embraced: With I8 seeing "a thin line between activism and journalism", I17 admitted to have problems with journalists who "get carried away too much by these emotions" and becoming "activist themselves".

Apart from social-structural issues, journalism of engagement covers a second dimension: profoundly disruptive moments for society, means crises and conflicts involving sometimes a great number of traumatized or dead victims.

Indian journalists speak about natural disasters. Here, it counts to build up empathy, journalistic care and devotion:

> You realize that it is only when you really get involved in a story, that the audience sensors that this person is someone who cares deeply about the subject. (I6, senior, CNN-IBN ret)

> We shouldn't pity them. There should be a feeling of empathy along with respect and quality. Because it is only when we empathize that we want to devote our lives to go towards their issues and raise these issues. (I22, senior, NDTV India)

It is empathy which I22 translates into public journalistic action. Indian journalists favor individual direct activities such as blanket donations or intervene personally to reconnect family members (I17). They refuse to remain neutral in disasters – on the contrary, for them it is a responsibility to help (I16, I9).

It is here with the individual dimension that British journalists see a way to engage. Engagement means that "it is possible to interact, and to help and do what you can in a very human way" (B20). Intervention is therefore legitimate – but B10 sees limits which he outlines comprehensively after having narrated the example of an ITN journalist who saved several Yazidis persecuted by ISIS from a conflicted area by helicopter:

> It ISN'T our job to personally intervene; it ISN'T our job to personally rescue those people. However, it is our job to expose what is going on, to highlight that to our viewers and to opinion formers... and allow others to make decisions based on that information...

> [If] life could be saved, and you felt you had the skills or the knowledge to make a difference... of COURSE you were going to intervene... without putting yourself or your own team at risk. (both statements B10, senior, ITN)

B10 describes he does not mind helping as a personal attitude and agency – but for him, it has to be subordinated to the professional role and its limits, under the

condition that the situation or skills allow, and without taking unnecessary risk. To him and other British journalists, their job is to report and to mediate knowledge to third parties – unless fundamental social principles and values are threatened, where partisanship becomes a legitimate boundary extension (B9, B11). This stance is closely linked to a fundamental ethical concern. British journalists are bound to fulfil the principle of "due impartiality". B9 worries that strong emotions emerging in conflictive events might blur conflict lines and parties, as "one of them has a more dramatic story; they have the majority of the airtime" (B9).[120]

For Indian journalists, emotional arousal appears fundamental to engage viewers. I3 wants to make viewers "feel the pain of the victims" of a health crisis in Uttar Pradesh, to avoid similar future problems. I6 argues for outrage and compassion at the same time, while I13 targets viewers willing to donate. On the more narrative side, strategies of polarization or villain-creation are mentioned:

> Polarization helps... for example, when a woman is gang-raped – there should be no grey area there. It should be straight clear demand for women's safety... Polarize the public... It must have rage on it. It must be angry about. (I6, senior, CNN-IBN)

To conclude, journalism of engagement is a form of journalism aiming for emotional arousal in order to generate a sense of communal public citizenship regarding a specific set of social issues. It aims for enabling viewers by all means to understand a story's impact, but at the same time strives for a motivational effect. To achieve this, strong but convincing and effective content elements are deployed.

This type of emotive journalism is of importance in both the United Kingdom and India. However, a major difference appears in the location of it. While in the UK, it is rather enacted by prominent individuals, but not encouraged on an organizational level or in professional routines, Indian television journalism shows a rather supportive approach. It is the media organization which decides whether to set up or follow campaigns, reinforced by the convictions of journalistic practitioners and a journalism practice which embraces journalistic role understandings deviating from their British counterparts, e.g., the normative role understanding as agents of change – Waisbord's (2010) "communitarian approach". Different forms can be observed: from broadcaster-own campaign journalism to

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[120] Regarding the effect of emotive perspectives, B14 described Martin Bell as having "used a very dispassionate language, but conveyed emotion very very strongly, without becoming emotional himself".

supporting campaigns of the ruling government up to leaving impartiality behind and taking a stance in public, and finally the modulated anger and outrage performed by anchors such as Arnab Goswami.

The reasons for these crass inter-country differences can be found in what I call, following Musa and Domatob (2007), the "contextual interpretation and application" of a tensed competition between journalistic "integrity and social responsibility", which characterize many post-colonial societies such as India. Here, the higher level of violence shows in a sense a lack of control and power (or motivation to exercise power in a certain sense) by security forces. The field of news journalism competes for meaning creation and legitimizes itself to take over this role, supported by external forces. Actors are characterized by more dynamic relations; and journalism by less autonomy which gives opportunities to act creatively.

Making social-structural issues or singular disruptive news[121] events a motivational public issue aimed at arousing emotions builds up a potential of force for security forces or government officials to act, and on the other hand raises attention and awareness in a broader public. Using social-structural moments of opportunity could in the end enhance social change.

The rather isolated incidents of engaging journalism or angry anchors in Britain can be understood as shaped by, first, strongly rooted professional values as well as a high autonomy of the field which does not need to readapt. Second, it is influenced by regulation and the media system.

After having outlined a diversity of positive effects which emotions can contribute to or stimulate during news viewing, I come now to the opposite dimension – the distressing or even destructive side effects of emotive contents in news reception, which we can also observe in the discourse of journalists.

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[121] This comprises conflict, war or disaster.

## 8.5 Crossing emotive lines: Negative effects of journalism

The previous example of journalism targeting a positive motivation might turn into its opposite when it exaggerates emotional stimulation. This can lead to a feeling of being overwhelmed among viewers, with the consequence of them potentially disengaging, disconnecting or falling into the state known as "compassion fatigue" (Moeller, 1999). This section will briefly outline the concerns journalists reflect about the negative consequences of emotional arousal.

The strategy of some journalists to use emotionally arousing material in news coverage has been discussed above. British journalists justify it as mere facts which deserve to be shown, be it atrocities of war, the impact on society, a sudden flood or self-referential horrors of the everyday in close proximity, such as a shopping mall attack. Indian journalists rather refer to a stimulating effect on viewers' opinions. With both groups, journalists show awareness that audiences have limits:

> You have to find a very fine line, which is you have to tell a story you know will hit home hard a lot of people, they will stop, they will listen, and they will think. But if you make it too advert, it actually is too uncomfortable for people to watch and listen. And they will switch off... You don't make people actually so uncomfortable at the emotion in a piece, that they are going – "Oh my god, I just can't watch this anymore. That is just all a little bit too much". (B20, senior, ITN)

> I have got friends who are not journalists, who just say I don't wanna watch the news because everything is too depressing, and the things that you can see they can just make you so upset, so sad, that actually to not watch it. (B17, junior, Sky News)

B17 and B20 describe the danger of a visual overkill. If newsmakers deploy an overly strong emotional arousal or display the world "as unrelentingly grim, then people switch off" (B7). B2 and B14 also describe the dangers of substituting facts with emotions, reducing the capacity of a news report to inform:

> If a report is only trying to produce emotion and prompt emotional response from the viewer, and does nothing else, then the viewer is not left very well informed. They are maybe left upset, but they are not actually [informed]. (B2, senior, BBC ret)

> There is a point of which the audience can become so emotional involved that the intellectual part of the brain is clouded, and shut down... So if you over-stimulate the emotional side, you could then go back and say – you just watch that report – how many people died? [crying voice] I don't know, but did you see the baby crying? (B14, senior, BBC ret)

Overemphasizing the "feeling side" of a story aims for a less reflected understanding of a news story, which might provoke an "emotion bias". This, in the long run, could

lead to an erosion of trust from viewers, at least in the impartiality-bound British case:

> We have to be factual in what we say, as soon as you are not, then you have lost that connection with the audience, and therefore, if you allow emotions to get in the way of your reporting, then the viewer will no longer listen to what you are saying; they will instead say you are being biased one way or the other. (B10, senior, ITN)

In India, on the contrary, bias has become more institutionalized in the television landscape. Systematic bias has even become a trademark of broadcasters, such as an aggressive variety of patriotism with *Times Now* or *Zee News*.

It can be seen that emotions appear as a double-edged sword. They can enhance news coverage – "so long as they not disturb" (I14). But different groups of audiences react to different elements. What to some is a striking interview is to others potentially traumatizing, and audiences are split, as B21 realized producing a report about the struggle of Syrian refugees.

Compassion fatigue denounces a rather long-term disengagement. It befalls not only journalists (as outlined in the previous chapter as Secondary Traumatic Stress Syndrome), but also viewers.

While journalism of engagement was clearly more popular among Indian journalists, worries about compassion fatigue were expressed by more than half of the British journalists.[122] I8 considers a certain "fatigue among viewers" caused by too many "short-lived events" in India, where people simply "vented out their anger, and it's gone". B12 comes from a similar direction, saying that "sometimes news can be too emotional", arguing that this can lead to an "emotional fatigue" caused by emotions sold to viewers. None of the journalists, however, addressed scenarios of distant suffering with helplessness or emerging states of fear (Sontag, 2003).

Compassion fatigue is counterproductive for both the deliberative public sphere approach and the commercial view, as in both cases it ends with a loss of viewers. Hence, journalists show a high interest in diminishing the risk for it. The two main counter-strategies mentioned in the interviews were the careful consideration of the news (bulletin) agenda (six journalists), as well as emphasizing a specific angle.

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[122] An explicit question about compassion fatigue was put only to two of all journalists.

To avoid viewer boredom or overwhelm, television news journalists first of all try to arrange stimulating program sequences, "a varied mix of stories" within the 24-hour channel desire or obsession for constant "new stories" (B9). A ubiquitous feature with news bulletins (e.g. ITV) is the bouncer at the end of the program, a usually light and humorous news story to ease the mood of viewers after a rich diet of hard news. During the program, the priority and sequence of reports are not always determined by news values, but also considerations of emotive audience effects.

> It is about building a balanced bulletin; it is about making sure that when you do tell these stories, it is not just unrelenting misery and explosion, but you find the human side of the stories innate, that tales of bravery, of individuals doing something... (B7, senior, BBC)

> Something like Nepal will bring the money in! It was a non-political story; it was very much a human interest story. And for some reason it connected absolutely with British audiences! And I don't know why! ...Sometimes, stories like Syria, Libya, civil war, terrible conflict confuses people to a certain extent, and then there is a degree... of "I don't really understand that, I don't really know who that guy is." And then people switch off. (B20, senior, ITN)

Stories face their "cut-off point" when no "new lines" can be found (B3), in order to avoid making viewers "fed up" (B2, B3) or topics becoming "too familiar" (B6) or "too boring" (B9). This sensitivity regarding the topic selection refers to what Moeller understands as

> ...formulaic coverage of similar types of crises makes us feel that we really have seen this story before. We've seen the same pictures, heard about the same victims, heroes and villains, read the same morality play. (Moeller, 1999: 13)

Although especially Moeller's concept was criticized as too "unfocused" and broad in meaning (D. Campbell, 2014: 11), it is evident that compassion fatigue counteracts the idealistic notion of an "emotionally attached, involved and compassionate" audience (Huiberts & Joye, 2015: 3, see also Chouliaraki, 2006; Höijer, 2004; Tester 2001 ) in the sense of Livingstone's active (and moral) public. An audience being or becoming skeptical or even indifferent (Moeller 1999) cannot act as engaged citizens – and merely even as a consumer audience. This is why compassion fatigue as a (perceived) audience effect is a major impediment to journalism.

The second point is the choice of story angle – manifest, for example, in the choice of an engaging anchor (I13) or differentiated storytelling:

> Compassion fatigue was built around a set of assumptions... – the common wisdom of Africa is that it is a bunch of refugee camps, starvation, famine, and disease, all those horrible things. We used to call them "Africa's aberrations"... So, what we would try to do is not to ignore those stories, but actually provide a rich diet. Young Africans doing very interesting things, and we would show the dynamics and energy in Africa which are there for all to see! ... It is the interest of the charities to keep... the Africans helpless, because they need to raise funds to run their charity projects. (B15, senior, BBC ret)

However, despite all reflections, the risk of compassion fatigue is usually seen as little to control, which leads other news producers to orient their decision-making along principles of professional news values and a visual-driven media environment:

> These kinds of issues are not really in your mind... In your mind is your deadline, first and foremost. Can you get the material on air on time... What I am thinking about is just trying to make each story as good as it can be. (B21, senior, BBC)

> You often see a lot of very powerful imagery beamed into people's homes, and there is a danger that therefore people just become immune to it. (B16, anchor, BBC)

To conclude, compassion fatigue is a type of audience disengagement with news products based on an inadequate or exaggerated usage of emotions. While this is barely of concern for Indian newsmakers, their British colleagues show a strong awareness here. If not addressed, claims of unprofessionalism might arise, combined with ethical transgressions, bias or an over-emphasis of the emotional side resembling entertainment instead of informing news. Strategies to address this are based on professional routines which aim for a balanced sequence of news reports and appropriate story angles.

## 8.6 Conclusion

As could be seen in this chapter, in the journalist-audience relation, emotions achieve a threefold effect. In the interviews, journalists in both countries considered them as first, generating attention with viewers, and second, informing them as they carry informational value within news reports. This latter function again can be differentiated according to the position an audience receives here. Either, emotions complete the picture to enable rational decision-making and deliberate discourses within the sense of the classic public sphere ideal. Alternatively, they become a device and aim of journalistic storytelling, where an audience is motivated to feel a certain way. Enacting feelings on an audience – in the form of sympathy, empathy,

compassion, or anger and wrath – is at the same time establishing and reconfirming socio-culturally fixed feeling rules. Here, emotions transcend the ascribed purely entertainment-oriented function. Instead – and even going beyond van Zoonen's affective intelligence– television news becomes an emotive agent within the interplay of different fields.

On the other hand, we can understand this phenomenon critically as a commercializing imperative on emotions as public consciousness. This relates to Indian channels using campaigns or social awareness in an exaggerated – and therefore exploitative – manner. Instead of appealing to human sentiments of equality, of compassion, they rather create emotions through bias. This is reflected, for example, in openly patriotic discourses, where audiences are communalized by television stations as "imaginary communities" – an imaginary (Hindu) nation.

This chapter also confirmed Livingstone's criticism of some journalists, who automatically collapse audiences into a normative idea of an active public. Audiences can but do not have to become a public during news watching. Sometimes, they become a pseudo-public – a commercialized emotive public as outlined previously. This includes the "nation" in the Indian case as a commercially relevant public-collective identity category – here, a strict separation of publics and commercial or identity audiences seems impossible.

Indian journalists appear to think more holistically about how to capture a multidimensional audience, in addressing their viewers as consumers and publics parallel, and are more aware of the emotive impact. This follows what Mellado (2016) described as infotainment, service and civic approach to audiences – where roles can spatially and temporally overlap. Nevertheless, both countries prefer to locate viewers often neutrally in the middle of the spectrum with the opposite poles of public and consumption, with the limitation that British journalists imply a public character despite verbalizing them as "viewers". As the public remains implicit here on the British side, they do not directly acknowledge the effect of news journalism on audiences. Indian journalists, on the contrary, show a much more open stance and consider themselves in certain instances clearly as agents of change with a motivational notion, even on an organizational level. This journalism of engagement remains isolated with few individuals in the British case, as it contradicts professional values such as detachment and objectivity too strongly. However, contrary to Indian colleagues, British news makers express concern about

compassion fatigue among viewers and struggle to maintain interest without using emotions openly as an attractor.

The strongly engaging case of campaign journalism manifests in both countries. While campaigns in the UK are rare on the institutional level and often carried out within an individual frame, Indian journalists tend to consider supporting not only their own but also governmental campaigns in private channels. This reflects in some way a more 'Eastern' approach to journalism – where cooperation with another field of power at times seems acceptable instead of a news paradigm constantly emphasizing competition and conflict (Shelton A Gunaratne, Pearson, & Senarath, 2015).

# 9 | EMOTIONALIZING NEWS COVERAGE

The previous chapters focused on journalists on the levels of the formal and the informal: their construction of general professional principles, norms and boundaries; their relation to their own emotionality; and their relationship and idea of their audience. The last chapter made us understand that one of the fundamental means to connect to viewers is to elicit an affective response in them. It also became clear that journalists have varying understandings of audience roles. Subsequently, what means do journalists deploy in order to emotionally engage audiences?

My chapter develops from the basic assumption that emotions represent a functional component of news television in the interplay between news product (output) and the audience. It can enhance the telling of news or even indicate prototypes of social norms (Averill, 2012). I will demonstrate that from a wider range of elements which together form a television grammar (e.g., Chandler, 2017; Hickethier, 1996; Scheuer, 1999), four of them carry the major impact in emotive news television.

The chapter starts with a reflection among practitioners about the nature of television, why it requires a higher degree of emotions than print, and what key moments gradually overrode the “rhetoric of factuality” (Walter, et al., 1995), opening TV space and stages to emotions (9.1). This is followed by a localization of emotions within news topics (9.2).

After that, I aim to examine the emotive realm in devices of news journalism. Multiple elements come up in the interview material, and on this basis I argue that journalists in both countries largely agree to communicate emotionally foremost via visuals and human emotions, supported by storytelling and anchoring. This is what I call ‘productive’ or pragmatic ‘functional emotionalization’ (9.3). Functional, as emotions can serve a twofold purpose: to stimulate the product consumer or recipient to display interest and attention as news consumer, but also to get a better understanding of news events, which in turn can lead to a certain level of emotional-motivational engagement.

However, there is also a 'dark side' of emotions, often linked to criticism about quality in journalism. I identified two country-specific dysfunctional moments of emotionalization: Under-emotionalization with British broadcasters such as the BBC, and over-emotionalization closely linked to "sensationalism" and prominent with Indian broadcasters (9.4). The first one can potentially lead to boredom, while the latter becomes dysfunctional through potentially over-arousing viewers on a sensorial level, impairing the cognitive and emotional processing of television news.

This chapter closes the line of empirical analysis by considering the nearly taken-for-granted conditional nature of emotions as indispensable elements in the performance of newscasts, an element sometimes forgotten in the theory about infotainment news (e.g. see Arbaoui, Swert, & Brug, 2016). This, in turn, might stimulate a necessary and more differentiated reconsideration of sensationalism.

## 9.1 Was there an "emotional turn" in British and Indian TV news?

Despite clearly voiced concerns about an increasing infotainization of news since the 1990s, especially in Western academic literature, the interviews showed that this phenomenon cannot be reduced to a simple formula of increasing emotion-driven infotainment or sensationalism. Though most journalists agreed about a general trend of a higher level of emotion-loaded news in the present compared to 30 years ago (the time of television market liberalization and opening up to private broadcasters), some interview participants disagreed about a growth in emotionalization.[123]

If emotionalization in news coverage can be understood as an adaptation mechanism to changing markets, journalists believe that this mainly traces back to the growing competition among broadcasters which made former oligopolies in broadcasting lose their privileges and exclusivity – among them, the BBC in the UK, and NDTV and Zee TV in India (N. B. Rao, 2016). "When there is a monopoly, you don't need to sensationalize" says I9, and "you could be guaranteed a large audience" (B2).

[123] A longitudinal analysis of news programs can provide more clarity here.

With currently 391 licensed Indian commercial news channels (Government of India, 2017) competing for attention in the "TRP race" (I13), Indian TV journalism was especially under pressure to adapt to new market mechanisms. Through emotions as device, journalists are "trying to find viewer connect" (I11) for quota. Facts alone can be utterly boring, says B12: "A boring piece of television news is something that is very factual" such as a summit or Greece leaving the Euro. Public service channels are not exempted. In order to politically justify their existence, representatives of both Doordarshan and BBC stated that being sympathetic to connect to audiences is the minimum today (I11, B2).

Despite commonalities between the UK and India in an adaptation to changes in the news ecology, an important difference between the two countries emerges here. The British tradition of emotionalization appears to be comparatively more recent than in India. British television journalism experienced even a relatively precise moment of an "emotional turn": The death of Lady Diana in 1997 posed a rupture to the stoic stiff upper lip (Walter, et al., 1995). It relaxed the upper class-shaped norm of repressed feelings display. In consequence, the expression of emotions such as grief became more legitimate and shifted slowly from the private to the public TV realm (B14, B15, B18, B19):

> It was such a shock, and she was such a tragic figure... that was the first time that there was a massive public showing of grief and emotion. You saw the flowers... That kind of opened the floodgates. That kind of said – it is ok to SHOW emotion. I think that was a seminal time in the kind of British psycho to change things... The BBC was like an upper-class father. And very very straight. I think it loosened. The femininity appeared, Diana's death – emotion is allowed to come to the forefront. (B14, senior, BBC ret)

Still, emotive expressions on the screen remained rather conservative. The young commercial Indian news television, in contrast, showed a powerful 'untamed' potential early on:

> Television is just 20 years old, in the truer sense of the word. It is like you caged a beast in the cage; you kept a beast in the cage for so long, and suddenly you opened it up. So, therefore you see a lot of rawness in the way we express ourselves. (I6, Senior, CNN-IBN ret).

India faced extremes of emotionality just a decade back, when topics of rather experimental character such as "a village which is haunted" (I18), astrology and witchcraft shows on India TV or snake charmers became prominent (I1, I7, I9, I20). Cricket, crime, and cinema dominated the news screens (Batabyal, 2012). News had

been understood as “a commodity” (I11), commodifying audiences. Today, different moments of emotional intensity are visible. Indian market competition centers on “who shows the most sensational footage, who talks bouncers, who shows drama” (I9). News are even made out of television soap operas (Batabyal, 2012). Generally, there is “more human interest and emotions out on the television screens” (I18, B6).

> Personal matters were not covered before in Indian journalism – affairs, relationships, stories of personal scandal. (13, Senior, CNN-IBN ret)

The increasingly emotive coverage manifests in human interest stories, personal scandals/affairs or intrusive coverage such as the phone hacking scandal in the UK (I13, B6). Among the latest trends are an elevation of visual aesthetics as news value (I18; Bednarek & Caple, 2017), realized through technical developments (drones, phones, social media).

Finally, the deployment of emotions is not only linked to being a means of distinguishing news programs and drawing attention within heavy market competition scenarios. It is also rooted in the speeding up of news production routines. Here, emotions are easily accessible, fast to record, and they satisfy the instant nature of today’s news quicker than gathering a factual background. But going for emotions first might be the wrong thing to do, warns B15:

> Everyone can be live from everywhere. There is no thinking time... Allan Little, he was in Baghdad [during the Gulf War] when a bunker bomb went off, which killed over a hundred people. And he was driven out to see the aftermath of it. And he said if it had happen now – he would have been expected on air straight away. But he was too in bits, too emotionally angry of what he was seeing! If he had gone on air... You see a hundred dead bodies!... What Allan always says – if he hadn’t have that hour and a half – or two hours even – to actually just center himself and think to what does this really lead – his report would have been really ‘American bastards’ murder and all this stuff, which wouldn’t have helped anybody. I think that is the price we pay – the instant nature of news means that reporter don’t have that ability to really think anymore, to analyze. (B15, senior, BBC ret)

Hence, television’s immediacy favors emotion-style television, allowing bias and making pre-emptive judgments easier to happen.

Having outlined how emotional representations in news developed on television screens, the next section asks whether some topics are considered as inherently emotional – or not.

## 9.2 Can news topics be "emotional" or "boring" as such?

In news value theory, topics with certain inherent emotive traits qualify quickly for being selected as news events to report on. This can relate to emotional arousal as affective body reaction or understood as news stories which recur to larger discursive formations with emotions as discursive subject positions, emotion frames, or emotion thematization.

It would be difficult to categorize news topics (or news beats) into more or less "emotive topics", or even trying to line them up along an emotionality scale. Emotive expressions and representations are just pretext to an emotive value which emerges only in the interplay of news production and meaning-making processes of audience reception.

When asked about the emotive value of news topics, interviewees in their statements often mix story style with an assumed audience impact. This suggests that journalists think about emotions foremost as a reception category. Audience perception is both cognitive and emotive, and news topics are judged on both levels.

Considering whether topics would possess an inherent emotive nature in general (which would justify a news value such as "emotion"), answers vary widely. For example, I20 is convinced that "90 % [of news topics] are not emotional at all", while B10 sees in all topics "a degree of emotions in them. Certainly a degree of passion. Some by their very nature". These expressions are not absolute, but rather indicate a functional value within the system of perceived emotional arousal.

Like I20 and B10, a variety of journalists imagine the emotive potential as news-topic dependent (I1, I3, I4, I22, B3). While some inherently emotive stories containing an "intrigue plot" appear as a "gift" to journalists, most require the art of transformation via a "narrator plot" (Köhler, 2009: 48):

> Do you think we should try and put emotion into everything we do, is that it? (B4, senior, BBC, see also B6, B7)

> I don't think that every topic is emotional but any topics can be made emotional or translated into emotional. Our television makes any topic emotional and I have noticed that many topics that are emotional aren't discussed. They have an expertise in emotionalizing stories and they have a "pick and choose" policy now. (I22, senior, NDTV India)

The use of emotive spins described by I22 and emotive topics is seen across the two countries in the major newsbeats of hard news: politics (including war & conflict and catastrophes & disasters), finance and business, society and sports. Also, more "soft" stories of human destiny/human interest figure popularly in both countries. On the Indian side, religion and celebrities can be added.

To exemplify how the logic of topic emotionalization works, I turn to the business and technology beat which appears, on first glance, facts- and figures-oriented and, hence, with little emotional content (7 British interviewees). It is strongly insider-oriented and engaging only "for a limited number of people" (I2). However, despite all this, journalists imagine the target audience facing a high – emotionally arousing – impact, for example, at the stock market: "Their fortunes might be wiped out, or their fortunes could be made!" (I23). The spin of a story increases its emotive potential, and journalists need to work for this:

> Even if it is something that you don't particularly care about, you have to find something to identify with. (I18, senior, NDTV)

This could be "the small and middle class families who invested" before a recession took place (I4, also B18), rising interest rates (B15), the wind farm that "takes jobs away from a coal fire power station" (B3), or the emotion of awe "when you see the most amazing new car being launched by Mercedes... These Germans are crazy! They have done it again" (I17).

Here, journalists deploy an emotive framing or story angle of care to create a viewer interest over an emotive identification surface. Starting with a diffuse arousal, viewers equilibrate it with their life interests and develop an emotional appraisal of topics which affect them in their public and private capacity.

Hence, it becomes clear that journalism needs to build bridges of emotive identification – otherwise, news topics might pass unnoticed. "Individuals only then become interested in facts, when the specific emotion for this fact has been

awakened in him", summarizes German TV coach Heussen (Schauen, 2007: 16). B3 narrates an illuminating example of a junior colleague who did not find the right balance in the emotive spinning of stories:

> He is a great reporter, but sometimes he gets a bit bogged down. He did a story once which was about – and it is quite amusing really – it was about 'Swing Bridge being repaired'. And this swing bridge was meant that people in either side of this river had to get to work. It was a rail bridge. And it meant that their journey was something like two hours longer each day. And so it was a nightmare for people to get to work... He came up with this item with the mechanics, of what was being repaired, how many screws were going into the swing bridge, and – we had to say to him: There isn't a single rail passenger in that item... People will watch this and think – that's for a start is very dull. But secondly what is the story about? The story is about the people who were affected by... And that's a good example of how sometimes it is too dry. It excited him, because I think he is a sort of frustrated engineer! (B3, senior, ITV News)

For B3, the emotive treatment of a story is crucial. In news journalism, overflowing technical details can barely arouse viewer interest, nor can a "dry" FIFA scandal (B9). Here, journalism needs to select and represent a part of reality where an affective component becomes central, allowing viewers to engage with narratives that are not a summary of events but rather contain human story parts.

But what, then, are non-emotional topics – "boring" topics for the TV screen? The literature mentions health, education, children, environment – topics which are "egalitarian" and challenge "passivity and narcissistic emotions" (Scheuer, 1999: 191). Sevanti Ninan from the Hoot agrees largely and specifies for the Indian context that issues of public concern are absent such as employment, welfare, sanitation.[124] I6 adds education and environment – "there is no robust debate in this country on global warming", while Thussu (2016a) points to poverty and developmental news. Malnutrition or deaths of newborns among poor are just few unreported examples (Singh, 2016). These topics are not unemotional per se – but why is emotionalization rarely applied in a state like India which is directly affected (I7, I8)? A look at the type of audience addressed might give a hint – the targeted middle class audiences are assumed to have little interest in issues of public concern of lower classes. The "common man" (I22) does not have an agenda on commercial Indian channels and, hence, becomes side-lined.

As stated above, what matters most in the emotionality of a topic is its capacity to provide a media surface of emotional identification. This element can be topic-

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[124] In a personal interview, 22 December 2014, New Delhi.

inherent or needs to be created through an emotionalizing style which often relies on a human element (see 9.4.2). If this is missing, topics miss audiences. On the other hand, in the Indian context some topics of "public concern" might require a thought-through emotionalization to push them on the agenda of commercial channels addressing middle class audiences.

After having raised the issue of how topics become "emotional", it is now time to focus on devices of style – or: How do journalists emotionalize a story professionally? In the next two sections, I will counter notions of plain sensationalism (e.g. see Arbaoui, et al., 2016), suggesting a more differentiated approach.

## 9.3 'Productive' emotionalizing devices in news output

> You have to add to that some sense of the emotional dimension of the story, whatever that is. Otherwise no people will remember it, everybody will switch off, and nobody will remember the facts of the story. (B12, junior, Sky News)

Asking journalists about devices of emotionality appeals to their knowledge as craftsmen of journalism. Their knowledge appears reflective on the base of corporate and editorial strategies – journalists are not "unconscious subject[s]" (Batabyal, 2012: 162; DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997).

Television journalism favors elements of personalization, drama and conflict, the immediate and visible – and through it, the emotional (Scheuer, 1999). Six British journalists consider a multimodal deployment of emotionalizing elements necessary to create audience arousal. B21 narrates her mix for BBC news viewers:

> We are looking for the strongest picture, you are looking for good natural sound, you are looking for a good sound bite. You are looking for a good sequence. (B21, senior, BBC)

Emotionally arousing multimodality was a common stance among senior journalists, for instance, Sky News senior B8 locates emotions "in the script, it is in the pictures, and it is in the audio".

Elements follow a hierarchical importance. Television "is more about pictures than words" (B13, BBC) – journalists consider visuals as most impactful, followed closely

by human case studies as narrative device.[125] Further main productive emotionalization devices are storytelling and presentation. These four elements will be outlined in the next sections. It is impossible to neatly separate these elements from each other, nevertheless this work prefers an analytical distinction as also expressed by the interviewees.

### 9.3.1 Visuals

> A picture paints a thousand words. (B14, senior, BBC ret)

> If it is TV, it is visuals; nothing can beat a good visual. (I8, senior, HT)

Scheuer (1999: 164) reminds us that "visual images carry special emotional force", as the primary mode to attract and guide viewer attention. This section aims to highlight four dimensions of visuals which considerably influence their position within television news journalism. These are television's dependency on visuals, the emotive content of visuals, the embeddedness within reception modalities, and how it is intertwined with authenticity and witnessing.

To start with, news channels depend indisputably on video footage. Visuals have become part of pragmatic work routines, as "TV is all about pictures" (B16).

> You have become a 24-hour news channel; you have to run anything on air. (I2, senior, DD).

Stories of affective arousal count, like the fight about a cell phone between an adult coach and a teenage girl, where "it is actually the pictures telling the story in this case" (I18). Anchor Karan Thapar (2006) pointed to an inherent problem of television. As "you only get what the lens can fit in", news bulletins "occasionally ignore what they cannot film". This primacy of the visible (Bourdieu, 1998b) meets tight resources in India (Singh, 2016), where "brilliant ideas are not converted into a story, because you don't have visuals" (I2). The dependency on visuals turns easily sour, translating into doubtful visual material. Among them, dramatic footage from old terror attacks (B7), or endless loops of the ever-same images (I11, I18) and

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[125] Visuals and human case studies comprise approximately 200 statements each, followed by storytelling (100), anchoring (80), and sound bites (50). This is no effort of quantification but reflects a broad tendency of aspects addressed in the interviews.

morphed dead bodies (I11). Additionally, local stringers send frequently quite brutal videos to Indian newsrooms:

> Gruesome incidences of someone beating someone else up, terrible videos... I must confess they were used! They were voyeuristic. (I6, senior, CNN-IBN ret)

Secondly, these visuals are closely linked to the emotive realm. I18 sees TV's nature as a "visual-emotional medium", with I2, B5, and B10 preferring visuals containing emotions or an "emotional imagery".[126] Being able to access visuals has become a decisive news factor (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016), as journalists have "got to find pictures that tell the story" (B19):

> It is a visual medium, and if the pictures aren't strong enough and if the pictures don't tell the story then something is wrong. If the pictures aren't good enough – no matter what you do with the script, it is not going to be as powerful as it should be. So, first and foremost it is... always the pictures. (B21, senior, BBC)

"Powerful" has become the term in journalese to describe visual material with a high emotive appeal. Indian journalists have a less optimistic stance. They link visuals and emotions frequently in a rather critical way, as "at the end of the day that visual impact is what influences minds" (I6). The Caravan magazine points to Indian television being about "captivating visuals over explanation and analysis" (Bhatia, 2012), suggesting a dangerous dimension of "powerful" emotive visuals.

The third point raises the context for visuals. News reception modalities in Indian households make the (emotive) visual primordial, say two Indian journalists. "Most of people are having dinner, then switch the audio off, and then watch news" (I1), so they "need to SEE what is happening out there" (I10). In contrast, none of the journalists from Sky News and BBC24 explicitly referred to news consumption modalities.

Fourth, visuals suggest a performance of "authentic witnessing". Journalists in both countries believe that eye-witness and other raw material contains a high emotionalizing value through its inherent performance of authenticity (see chapter 4.4.3). Shock as the intended emotional reaction of instantaneous numbing and passivity carries both positive and negative characteristics. While police footage about a rape might overwhelm viewers (B3), shock can also lead to action

[126] B7 gives an example for visuals in production routines: He first pulls out useful clips of existing video material, then "scripting in between the clips".

motivation in stimulating compassion (or pity), demonstrated by a news story about homeless people in Mumbai:

> One of my colleagues... went, spent a day with them, sort of brought out just the sheer desperation of their lives. And powerfully with visuals, with bites... And just the rawness of the footage hits you... You can bring the same family to the studio – and it will never have the same impact as when you go to the night shelter and show where they are living. That rawness that exists on the ground is far more important than a sanitized atmosphere of a studio. (I6, senior, CNN-IBN)

The authenticity of visually displayed emotions claims a trust value to images. It is perceived as real, instant synchronous witnessing by viewers. In contrast, material without immediate human involvement was considered less suitable. It is frequently deployed in the categories of terror and accidents, council politics, or as drone aesthetics.[127] Non-human visuals use up quickly – they become "boring" in a journalist's eye:

> I don't know if I would be moved to see visuals of whole neighbourhood being bombed, and I just see explosions going here and there... Visuals of water everywhere, homes, and helicopter shots, and water, and homes – does nothing to me. (I17, senior, CNN-IBN)

It is here that it becomes clear how closely visuals are interwoven with the human element. Good visuals are inextricably linked to human news subjects. This will be the topic of the following section.

## 9.3.2 The human element: case studies

> Emotions are the raw material of human activities. You are looking for those, and you point to those. (B13, senior, BBC)

> There is no better way to tell a story than through human beings. The persons who have been affected. (B19, junior, Sky)

This section focuses on the importance of the human face in news, its dominant modes of representation, the type of emotion preferred, and some ethical aspects.

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[127] Examples for accidents and terror: terror boat blast in India, I7; airplane crash in Ukraine (I8); towers of 9/11 coming down, B14. Journalists judged as "boring": destroyed buildings and gaming visuals during the 1st Iraq War (B14), a heat wave (B5), or council topics with buildings and obligatory humans going in and out (B20).

Journalists in both countries seem to agree that news needs a human face. The human angle, human interest or "face story" (I6) determines news television like no other element. It is the human face which draws attention, which symbolizes human (inter)action and sociality, and which turns viewers into spectator-observers, leaving it up to them to decide how to relate emotionally to news subjects or news events. The centrality of the human element is stated explicitly by the majority of the British sample and four Indian interviewees. News subjects do not only "add the feeling to it" (B17), but also how "they, the subject, feel about the story ... is part of a narrative" (B10).

> We are broadcasting to human beings. So the story is about human beings; and the impact on human beings. And if you are not then showing the impact on human beings, which is emotive, and consists of emotion, we are not doing our job properly. (B5, senior, ITN)

Referring to the earthquake in Nepal, B5 exemplifies that if journalists

> ...ignore the fact there is all these people howling with anguish, living in tents; people on stretches – you are NOT telling the story, if you are not showing that emotion! (Ibid.)

B5 argues to consider emotions as essential part of the story – and as a fact in illustrating the human impact, "someone's loss, someone's gain" (I11). In fact, it can be said that emotions tell stories, as their nature appears inherently narrative (Kleres, 2011).[128] Here, the close link between human emotions and narrativity is established. Their absence in a news story is professionally not satisfying, an unspoken taboo, as seen previously in the example of B3 of a journalist focusing overtly on technical details during a bridge repair. With a human face missing, identification opportunities are not sufficiently established, and a story's impact on viewers might remain low and disconnected.

As we have seen, the emotions expressed by a human face can be an essential part of a story. But what is the framework it operates in? From the material, we can understand that human emotion expressions fulfil mainly two functions: An informative and a commercialized one, as part of an affective economy.

The first one is most established with public service broadcasters who are not obliged to directly participate in commercial competition. They can afford to

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[128] Emotions are focused on objects and use appraisal to evaluate them, allowing emotive reactions to emerge (Nussbaum, 2001; Ortony, et al., 1988)).

consider human emotions as informative argument in a news piece. B11 (BBC) argues for a story-led approach, where emotive expressions are relegated to an aiding role, in order to "understand how someone is affected". They are not the central element of a story, but figure as "illustrations of the extent what has happened".

An example for this is the coverage of Princess Diana's funeral. Here, the selection of visuals showing affected humans was unusual for the British news market at that time, but journalists consider that this story cannot be told without:

> The BBC was showing from the top of the cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the shot down on the coffin with the black and white checked floor, while Elton John is playing "Candle in the Wind"... And ITV is in Hyde Park, and there is a middle-aged woman – floods of tears. Which shot was better – ITV's. So, the power of an individual shot cannot be underestimated! (B14, senior, BBC ret)

The impact which is created in showing an emotional individual (not a mass of people!) relates to research which identifies spectators reacting most emotive-compassionately upon the display of singular individuals (e.g., Slovic, 2007). ITV understood this. By using a single woman crying, representing an anonymous crowd and audience, it offers viewers a participation surface which is both public and private, based on individual (private) emotions expressed as and in public. This merger of the public and the private also allows to a newscast setting social norms and social emotions – feelings rules of grief, appropriate to be performed in public during the funeral of a princess.

In India, however, journalists have a different idea about the extent of emotional representation. They are drawing less on informational values, but rather embed emotive expressions in an affective economics (Andrejevic, 2011; Jenkins, 2006). While on the Indian side I9 justifies a commercial-sensationalist approach ("you need to get the tears flowing"), I1 reports of policing younger employees if too much of "rona-gana" (tears and whining) had filled the screen. From these and other statements, from Indian cases where senior staff asked field reporters to explicitly make a news subject cry in the interest of competition (I17, I5, I9), it can be clearly understood that in the Indian market-led approach news subject emotions serve merely as a utilitaristic means in the fight for eyeballs of individual consumers. Using emotions as performative, emotions become a commodified device.

The human face acts as a carrier of sympathy, but it also can reveal emotional truths in the form of evaluative judgments: "This man is lying... or I feel sorry for this person, or how can this person be such a bastard" (B7).

Focusing on the journalistic craft, the selection of human emotions for newscasts is determined by three qualities: intensity, hierarchy and visual/voice.

First, the more intense news subject will be selected. Among parents grieving the loss of a child, it will rather be used "the one that was most emotional" (B9). The second – hierarchy – denounces what kind of emotive representation is considered most effective. B7 exemplifies this drawing on a car crash causing the death of a child:

> Best scenario to telling that story is mother of child says "terrible" – expresses too personally their emotion. Second-best option: ... you would see the grief on their face. And that expresses it... The worst option is – you just have to say "it is clearly a terrible time for the family... And if you have to say in script, then I failed. (B7, senior, BBC)

Multimodality of visual and audio is seen as best option, while embedding emotions in the script as least elegant – and least impactful.

The third quality denounces the voice as alternative to the visual. B10 received material of a court case where a man had shot his wife and daughter. He used the powerful voice of a phone call:

> Here was somebody, someone, who was murdered. Who we were hearing probably her last words! You know, she was distressed, she was pleading for help. That alone is a very distressing and powerful situation. And you have to think carefully about whether you use – there is an emotion, about whether you use the emotion that that person is going through to help to tell the story. And the temptation is always to say – oh, that's awful, that's amazing, you know. (B10, senior, ITN)

To summarize briefly, human emotions of news subjects are considered to be a core element of news coverage. Their performative value is played on by commercial broadcasters, which reassures emotion as a commodity of affective economy, while PSB emphasize the informative value. However, limits differ, with British in favor of restricting emotive representations to the story-relevant necessary, and Indian journalists limiting overtly excess. Across channels, news subjects with a high emotional value are ranking high.

Next, I ask what kind of emotive representations dominate the TV screen. A distinction needs to be made between journalistic perception and practice. Of interest is what emotion journalists individually perceive to be most dominant on

the news screen. I contrast this with production practices. This analysis remains exploratory-qualitative.

From 26 journalists reflecting about the type of emotions most dominant on the screen, 20 identified anger, 16 grief and tragedy, and 8 named joy. According to them, television is mostly and especially in India about anger, while British news treated foremost sadness and episodes of joy or positive surprise (often at the end of news bulletins). Some interesting second-order emotions were also mentioned.[129] Some journalists perceive the emotion spectrum generally as simplified (B7, B15), with a negative-positive dichotomy.

Now linking these results to the examples journalists gave during the interviews, tragic sadness emerges as most prominent emotion group.[130] It is a negative emotion with low arousal. This reflects in faces conveying "the horror and the despair" of losing friends in a plane crash (B14), individuals breaking down and crying after being asked questions, such as a member of a family having lost their home in Kashmir or a person with motor neuron disease knowing he is going to die (I6, B4). "We can't stop them to be emotional on the television", says B8 with reference to politicians grieving publicly the death of a former party leader.

Anger comprises here only the second-largest group of examples given. In India, this often manifests in anchors and upset masses, while it remains little specified in Britain. One journalist sees anger as "live" emotion.

> Anger is probably the most prevalent emotion that you see on rolling news; and distress is probably the prevalent emotion in recorded bulletins. (B14, senior, BBC ret)

B14 explains the anger in live situations with "interviewees becoming emotional and getting angry, and trying to get their point across, and getting vehement", while distress lies more in the "nature of stories we cover". This distinction appears to explain well the contextual circumstances of news.

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[129] Such as patriotism (I1), nostalgia (for a liberation struggle, I6), resilience/bravery/defiance (B13, B18), bewilderment (as not knowing something, B9), and achieving sympathy and compassion (B10, B16).

[130] The display of humans is understood involving a broad range of emotions. Human emotions are represented often in the negative spectrum, for instance, claustrophobia during a rescue operation (B1), grief of survivors (I5), shock during a rape incident (B3), and fear with the Westgate shopping mall attack (B15) or the Alton Towers accident (B19). On the positive spectrum we can find human resilience (B15) and joy.

Third and fourth are distress and joy, represented mainly by British journalists. Joy as positive emotion of high emotional arousal mattered when troops came home (B1, B19), with Nelson Mandela's presidency (B15), or a woman receiving hundreds of greeting cards for her 100th birthday (B7).

In the comparison between believed perception and practical examples, negative emotions dominate, though anger is believed to be more dominant, while it is in fact sadness reflecting mostly in journalists' accounts. The emotion spectrum is wider with British journalists – Including also distress and joy.

Here, we can see how closely the identified emotion groups are linked to journalistic news values.[131] The prominence emotions gain in selection mechanisms for stories reflects in current approaches to news value theory (Georg Ruhrmann & Göbbel, 2007; Ruß-Mohl, 2003). But it also links to 'classic' news factors: *anger* reflects in the news values of valence (S) and negativity (GR, RM), fight or conflict (Sh, W). *Sadness/tragedy* as well as concern or shock is clearly dramatic in character, making news resemble a non-fictional theatre (Zillmann, et al., 1998). It appears in news values of valence – danger (S, L), negativity (GR, RM), catastrophes (RM), tragedies (W), conflicts (Sh), or uncertainty (W). *Surprise* (or oddity) is at times a news value as such (L, GR, S, Sh, W), with also considering it dynamic (S, RM). In the examples, it is understood as positively combining novelty and entertainment. Finally, *happiness* as positive news value serves regularly as a physiologic means in order to compensate for the dominance of negativity in newscasts – "towards the end you would have joy and laughter" (B7), what Köhler (2009: 78) describes as "contextual infotainment".

Finally, from an ethical perspective issues about emotive pretension and fake emotions arose. Manufactured emotions are an issue especially for Indian journalists, either through journalists as causal agents (polarizing talks or making people cry, I6, I10, I14, I5, I9) or by news subjects themselves:

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[131] Three perceived main emotions on screen (anger, sadness, joy) and five in journalistic practice (sadness, anger, concern/fear, joy and positive surprise). The news value theories used for the comparison stem from Lippmann 1922 – L, Galtung/Ruge 1965 – GR, Schultz 1976 – S, Shoemaker et al. 1987- Sh, Weischenberg 2001 – W; Ruß-Mohl 2003 – R-M, Ruhrmann/Göbbel 2007 – RG.

> 15, 20 women wailing at the same time, saying what injustice have been done to them. And the moment you move out of that village, they are laughing at you, "what a fool we have made of that idiot". (I17, anchor, CNN-IBN).

Journalists easily fall victim to the emotion game, taking pretense as true. Another incidence was parents who initially "broke down; they started crying", just to turn out to be guilty for the murder of their child (I9). But this is not limited to private citizens – journalists encounter emotion games also from politicians. Scandals rely on TV "because visuals creates much stronger perception, as well as emotional hype" (Srivastava, 2016: 184). Suresh Kalmadi smartly manipulated corruption charges during the Commonwealth Games in his favor:

> He seemed not so stable, he started crying. He said: "My enemies within the party are against me" – and many of us felt bad! And it so turned out that his charges were true" So, he faked his own emotions. (I9, senior, CNN-IBN)

British journalists, on the other hand, report emotive exaggerations crossing ethical limits: avoiding milking emotions (B4), visuals of devastated people (B17) or the "ranting and raving, holding the machete, Lee Rigby's blood all over him" criminal (B19). Manufactured emotions were not mentioned.

### 9.3.3 Narrativity and Storytelling

After having looked at visuals and the performance of human emotions, it is now time to focus on the third dimension of analysis raised by the participants: narrativitiy and storytelling.

Narration as the overarching frame of storytelling brings together all elements in news production and helps viewers to "make sense of reports of experience" by connecting fragmentary observations to "the logic of human motive" (McQuail, 2010: 383). It steps into the breach in situations when "visuals cannot have that kind of an emotional effect" (I9), or when "masters of television journalism... sum up in an expression what the mood is of the people or the agony or anxiety" (B3).

Some journalists see non-fictive news stories as closely related to the essential role stories occupy in human life. B12 highlights the historical link:

> A Stone Age man was trying to warn his children not to go near to a tiger, so he would tell a story about a man eaten by a tiger. They used to tell stories to each other. That's what television is... As a species, we tell stories to each other; the "homo narrans". (B12, junior, Sky News)

Similarly, Rao (2016) points out the Indian "entertainment education approach", a tradition of "communicating 'what is in the interest of the people' through folk tales, epics, and all kinds of vocal culture..." (p. 36). And it is only through "somebody's story" that news is told. To some of the interviewees it is apparent that – as mentioned before – viewers identify with humans:

> You don't connect to news, you connect people, you connect to emotions; this is why you tell a story through people... News is as much about telling the story as it is about the facts. (I11, senior, DD)

Facts matter – but so do their sequences and packaging. I11 hints that storytelling has become "more emotional" through the multiplication of private broadcasters in India. The best device to use emotions in news consists of case studies:

> You got to try and find a case study, somebody to humanize it, somebody willing to speak out. Someone on camera. Someone to say the opposite things. You got to find pictures to tell the story... It is not entertaining; but it is informing in an entertaining way. (B19, junior, Sky News)

Case studies constitute the core of storytelling and often involve the element of personalization, transforming abstract issues into the level of human relationship conflicts and private emotions (Köhler, 2009: 87).[132]

> Suppose you want to do a story on Mayawati – a Dalit leader [the first female Dalit Chief Minister in India]: You would start with her life, what she went through, the bad things about her... but if you want to make the viewer interested in Mayawati, you would also bring in her life story, and you would bring in the emotions you go through when you actually show a Dalit woman who is the most probably disenfranchised woman in India. I mean, you are untouchable, and you are a woman, becoming Chief Minister... you want the viewer to experience that high. (I13, senior, CNN-IBN ret)

This narrativization addresses viewers emotionally and allows them to attach empathically.

This section demonstrated the value of storytelling in news production. For journalists from both countries, news narratives gain liveliness through relying

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[132] A famous Indian case study was about a boy who had fallen into a well in Haryana in 2006. The area was easy to reach for Delhi broadcasters, guaranteeing them a 72-hour weekend-long coverage on cheap budget (I19). In the British case, news media followed for many years the search for the missing Madeleine McCann.

heavily on case studies. However, what also matters are cultural traditions: Indian reporters admit to subconsciously draw from movies or Bollywood scripts (I19, I22), actualizing what Thussu (2016a: 43) described as infotainment's "tendency to make news entertaining... drawing on Bollywood or Bollywoodised content".

### 9.3.4 Presenting and anchoring

The final dimension journalists consider important concerns the performative value of emotions in anchoring. This differs from the literature – Arbaoui et al. (2016) seemed to not consider this dimension at all in his recent conceptualization of sensationalism, though other authors refer to "news shows" (Wittwen, 1995a). Of interest here is which emotions dominate during anchoring and under what circumstances.

I draw on a framework of "authentic" versus "performative" emotions. Under "authentic" emotions I understand rather spontaneously erupting and genuine affective-emotive responses. The "performative" part takes emotions as part of functional role performances in the Goffmanian sense (Goffman, 1959).

Authentic emotions comprise a smaller share and are exclusively related to experiences in subcontinental narrations. It denounces the involuntary, by professional routines unmediated expression of emotions as reactions to news events by anchors or field reporters. A much-cited example was the on-air breakdowns of journalists after the Peshawar school massacre (I7), with live chats of sobbing anchors lasting up to 40 minutes (I8) - see Figure 7.

An uncontrolled emotional outburst might not serve professional logics at first sight. But in media logic it gains functionality twofold: First, anchors show emotive expressions of the moment to either display an authentic honesty of care which might lead to an empathic reaction in viewers (I18, I30). Cultural emotion scripts do not disallow this kind of exaggerated flow of emotions – it remains within the boundary, reaffirming the social sharing of grief and terror. Indian news presenters are first observers and mediate the cross-border suffering of Pakistani colleagues, making viewers as secondary observers almost to witnesses – on par and identifying with the Indian and Pakistani anchors' emotions. The latter become "anchors in 'oceans' of complexity" and bustle of everyday life, reducing complicated realities and setting feeling norms for audiences (Köhler, 2009: 59).

**Figure 7: "Today the whole of Pakistan cries..."** Headline of Zee News after Peshawar School massacre, anchor Sanam Baloch breaks down, 17 December 2014

The second functionality targets the economic realm. Broken down anchors are intentionally left live on air by senior staff (I21), exploiting the intensity and unmediated immediacy of their emotive display. As dubious as it appears ethically – after all, it fills airtime and replaces facts and analysis. Here, the viewer parallel turns into a spectator of a spectacle.

Sometimes a spontaneous initial authentic emotion can transform to becoming performative. With Goffman (1959), the initial unwanted exposure of the backstage transforms into the front stage. This is the case, for example, during anchoring a terror attack. When emotions of an initial visible shock disappear, anchors can retain the emotive display as expression of concern (B22) – unrecognized by viewers.

> I think if there is truly heart-wrenching news, I would look affected on air; I don't try to sort of be kind of cool and detached or anything. Cause if it is an upsetting story, your viewer needs to be able to empathize about what's going on. And they can empathize with you, if you are authentic and showing your emotions because it is so drastic? Yes, yes!... If I am feeling upset about the fact that 200 children were gunned to death in a school, I am going to let that show. (I30, anchor, NDTV India)

B19 agrees that with care empathy comes across. The displayed emotion achieves here a normative validity, reacting to a perceived norm breach. The feeling rules

presented become social emotions and of public legitimacy, reassuring the individuals of the shared norms of their society. But it also serves the self-interest of the anchor, who might aim to come across "as warm and trusted", while holding "people to account" (B16). Journalists become primary definers of social feelings and public emotions.

Apart from aiming for prosocial viewer effects, anchors performing emotionally can also appear very functional in other dimensions. The comparatively high and manifold level of violence in India leaves journalists no choice but to take a moral stance. Here, anchors can set a normative emotion frame which assigns meaning to an event as an "interpretive community" (Zelizer, 1993), e.g., in the cases of the Delhi gang rape or terror attacks. Here also anchors provide collective emotive reassurance (I14) or stimulate public condemnation. Anger emerged as the most powerful emotion in the latter case:

> Particular in the ambit of gender justice and attacks on women and crimes against women, I would also look to communicate an anger, which was deliberate. I want people to get angry. And I was myself angry. And I wanted people to get more angry. Because I think that anger is important, if you want to generate awareness, or if there is gonna be a public outcry against what is going on. (I13, senior, CNN-IBN)

I13 understands anger as issue-specific functional within an environment of "masala entertainment… rather than the news depicting country's actual reality" (Garg, 2016: 138). Anger becomes here like a negotiated allowed display rule, though not on a constant basis. There is also a higher expectation of Indian viewers towards emotive contents – "there is a lot of theatre, there is a lot of performance, you do have that emotional language" (I13). NDTV's Singh criticises that "a whole new breed of 'Shouting Indians' ... dominate the airwaves" (Singh, 2016: 143). The medium of television flourishes with emotions, which at the same time appears as a hindrance for analytical reflection. I16 agrees here:

> It's facts, but delivery is emotions. And delivery makes a journalist. You are backed by information… that comes from various sources, but when it comes to presentation, it is emotions… So you create first an emotional frame or atmosphere for the story, and then you still bring facts to back it up. (I16, anchor, CNN-IBN)

I16 continues to give an example of floods and relief camps, where the focus was on children, with considering "how many schools need to be rebuild, how many of them were suffering from post-flood diseases", and "bring[ing] in emotions". It is here maybe I12 who encapsulates the clear commitment of anchoring emotions and

display rules: "What really works in Indian television is if you can just give a sense of not going crazy with anger, but being assertive; you should be in control".

Emotive styles of anchoring can vary considerably, with a broader emotive spectrum in India. They range from the calm-thoughtful style of Ravish Kumar (NDTV India) and the reserved-controlled Huw Edwards (BBC News at 10, BBC24) over Karan Thapar's "adversarial and prosecutorial tone" (India TV, Views on News, 2017) up to Arnab Goswami's institutionalized outrage (Times Now, Republic TV).

The emotive performance of anchors might at times appear strictly regulated in several ways. This was mentioned by Indian interviewees, while it can be suggested that British journalism practice upholds a lower permission level of emotive display. Criticism can arise if anchors are not able to express an "appropriate" emotion, even if "in the midst of the palls and corpses and dead bodies" (I1), or if the displayed emotion to the public transgresses socially accepted display norms on TV:

> Calls dropping in at the assignment desk: "This anchor is smiling, there is an earthquake, she is smiling, this cannot be, tell her not to smile!" (I1)

Finally, gender pre-expectations apply to display rules, with female Indian journalists facing a stricter set of permissible emotions in patriarchal India:

> Barkha Dutt [NDTV] is the only aggressive female anchor on television. If ever I try to be aggressive, I would get so much hate mail – why are you questioning aggressively, and who do you think you are, and you should learn your place, and you should not speak so loudly… (I13, anchor, CNN-IBN ret)

The next section turns to television scenarios in which devices of emotionalization become dysfunctional.

## 9.4 Dysfunctional emotionalization practices

Under "dysfunctional emotionalization" I understand two extremes of deploying emotions in news coverage. The first is under-emotionalization which comprises cases where emotive elements are intentionally reduced or neglected, usually with an overemphasis on the informational-cognitive side. The second refers to over-emotionalization where emotionalizing means of representation are highlighted in lieu of more "sober" factual-informational elements. This can sometimes cross into sensationalism. These two cases and some ethical implications will be discussed in the following.

The strategy of consciously under-emotionalizing news was shone through in statements of British journalists, though not expressed explicitly. Their stance can be summarized with a focus on reporting the facts, and understanding emotionalization as legitimate only as human impact. This appears sufficient in a news-market where both deeply anchored public service elements and a normative market regulation provide little incentives for an emotionalizing style:

> I think the main difference between UK and India as a comparison is that UK broadcasting is regulated to be impartial, and therefore that will affect the tone and the style of its coverage to a large extent. It doesn't mean to say it doesn't reflect the emotional – it does for various reasons and in various ways, but I think it is also – because it is regulated – has to think about public taste, the trail of children and victims and things like that. And it is forced to think about that that is harder than an unregulated environment would be. (B2, senior, BBC ret)

Market regulations by Ofcom are considered "quite conservative" by ITN's B5, where "people expect balance". In other countries such as the US broadcasting "can be very opinionated, can take a side, can take a view. We can't." (B10). Even the case of graphic news footage is clearly regulated: British news programs are obliged by law to provide trigger warnings beforehand to the audience (B3, B10). This additionally limits visual sensationalist tendencies. These elements confirm the results of Arbaoui et al. who concluded after examining 14 television systems that "commercial television stations are relatively more prone to using sensationalism in order to gain a competitive advantage" (Arbaoui, et al., 2016: 16).

Another issue within British television journalism is the traditional and culturally anchored understatement in expressing emotions. "I don't think our audiences would like an interviewer who makes it all about them", says B5, who does not see space for anchors driven by their egos. Finally, especially British journalists would find it undermining their cultural and professional values when journalists go "into the office in the morning, saying 'right, we are gonna make people cry tonight!'" (B20).

**Figure 8: Huw Edwards anchoring BBC News at Ten**, 20 June 2017

**Figure 9: ITV News LIVE Special – Manchester Terror Attacks**, 23 May 2017

**Figure 10: Sky News Live Interview with guest who breaks down** while talking about custody of his kids, 3 February 2010

However, Indian journalists judged British news reporting in some instances as "dry" (I1, I18), such as with the BBC World coverage about the attack on Charlie Hebdo in 2015:

> I did find it a bit very detached. I had no sense of the lives lost. You know? I had no sense of who they were, did they have children, what is their story. I knew there were seven cartoonists, one was an editor and I saw that pictures... I did not get a sense of the human aspect of the story. I did get the story, just because of this dramatic footage, of the terrorist shooting; you had the Paris shutdown, the security... But I got no sense of the people who died. (I18, senior, NDTV)

It may be defensively said that journalists who emphasize the informational side of news and perpetuate a one-sided rational-objectivist world perception aim for nothing less than to safeguard journalistic quality in news reporting and ensure a succeeding communication in society. However, as outlined in chapter 4.3, an adequate amount of emotion-arousing elements can influence attention and information processing positively (Bas & Grabe, 2015; Früh & Wirth, 1997; Lang & Newhagen, 1996). In this sense, some British journalists consider emotionalization practices as legitimate – if they do not cross a certain line. B20 is concerned that over-emoting or over-arousal disengages an audience:

> What you cannot do is to make things so emotional, that the viewer actually feels uncomfortable. You can't make somebody understand or accept or question a situation by actually just forcing them into – [dramatically] "This is the worst thing in the world! Look at it! Let me show you this terrible picture of this body that is all over the floor! Just look at it, just look at it!" actually turns people off. We need to find a way to do that whereby people are able to watch and listen, and their brain doesn't go into shutdown at the same point. Or, alternatively, you don't make people actually so uncomfortable at the emotion in a piece, that they are going – "Oh my god, I just can't watch this anymore. That is just all a little bit too much."... (B20, senior, ITN)

Indian journalists agree here. If style overtakes content (Singh, 2016), viewer might receive an "emotional overdose" (I8), and especially older people (and former newspaper readers) appear "unsettled by the sound, and ... the so-called dramatic elements of television news" (I23). Overtly emotion-driven stories may also facilitate a reduced or biased cognitive information processing (I6, I11). However, on a more optimistic note, emotive elements are adequate when they are "helpful in conveying the right prospect of a story. Above and over that is sheer nonsense" (I2, senior, DD).

Despite being obliged to follow a stricter legal framework, pushing British broadcasters to be impartial and balanced, sensationalism appears on the horizon: B9 of Sky News refers to wanting "the most dramatic story... in the most dramatic fashion". Giving the example of court cases, the one selected would be where "the family of the victim came out, broke down in tears, screaming, shouting" (B9). This

even applies to the BBC, where B16 admits "we are becoming a bit more sensational":

> Across the BBC they push the boundaries a lot more now than they used to. For example, with the Ebola crises [2014], there were images that they used of people dying laying in their own faeces which would have never been used. We would have censored it before. (B16, anchor, BBC)

Where British journalists virtually use velvet gloves in dealing with emotionally arousing elements, Indian journalists rather wear boxing gloves when it comes to sensationalism. The highly competitive Indian news market lacks state regulation on news channels and only recently attempted self-regulation, providing a fertile ground for sensationalism (Arbaoui, et al., 2016; B. Bhushan, 2013). Ethical guidance and limits are given informally – I9 was "asked to be not too sensationalist".

Market competition and chasing TRP (ratings) is the major feature of the Indian TV scene (I9, I10, I13, I14, I40). With NDTV and Doordarshan, only few channels disapprove this practice directly, though they are caught in the system.

> Sometimes they just run a story for the hack of it, to be number 1… it is a rat race who present it first. (I10, junior, HT)

> Either you bribe people or… you get ratings by being hysterical, sensational, tabloid – and really hysterical… you shouldn't be watching the average news channel if you have epilepsy; those flashing lights… one thing flashing, everything flashing… their boxes and things flashing all over the screen. Apparently that gets you ratings. (I14, senior, NDTV)

Sensationalism is theorized to occur on several levels: in 1) topicality, 2) audio-visual, and 3) storytelling (Arbaoui, et al., 2016). While this classification draws on existing literature which distinguishes between sensationalist and non-sensationalist topics (or hard and soft news, etc.), the interviews conducted suggest again to add 4) anchoring. Sensationalizing anchoring forms a distinct Indian category of emotional witnessing and engagement by studio anchors and field reporters.

First, in chapter 4.4 and section 9.3, I argued that topicality is not "by default" 'emotional', or 'sensational'. Rather, the spin of a topic decides. This can materialize either as an addition to a topic within the classic sensationalist canon (sex, blood and crime triad) or in pushing specific sensationalist angles with any topic. An example for reinforcing an inherent topic sensationalism provides the death case of

Sunanda Pushkar. The wife of a famous Indian politician, Shashi Tharoor, had died in January 2014 under mysterious circumstances, which made some news outlets blaming Tharoor immediately, with intrusion into his private sphere and violating established ethical guidelines by broadcasting visuals of the dead body in a sensationalist manner (I13, I18, I19, see Figure 11 from a more recent edition of Headlines Today).[133]

**Figure 11: Follow-up of Sunanda Pushkar's mysterious death case**
Revealing visuals of a dead body; Scenes from Headlines Today, 14 May 2016

Here, the treatment of the topic – a clearly scandalizing angle and media trial (Garg, 2016) – turned this story into sensationalism.

Two further forms of sensational topicality are the promotion of illogical statements and the prominence of a sensationalist angle – especially in hard news. That this can indeed blur the boundaries between hard and soft news is further demonstrated

133 It can be assumed that this is related to the election efforts around Narendra Modi and the BJP, where broadcasters started to take a pro-Modi stance. With Tharoor being a member of the Congress party, he became an immediate political target. Subsequently, his private matter was scandalized for political ends (I40).

by the following examples. Disasters offer the chance to show in detail how victims break down. During the Tsunami 2004, an old man started crying when a reporter asked him about his lost wife – it turned out to be their 25th wedding anniversary (I9). Intentional dramatization also occurred when I17's spontaneous humanistic act of kindness to unite an old man with distant family members got quickly usurped by the logic of his news organization, and milked for emotions.

Apart from sensationalizing topicality we, secondly, find sensationalism in audio-visual features – or news style. Returning to the murder case of Sunanda Pushkar, a variety of sensationalist visual features were deployed. Stills of her dead body and wounds (see previous page) were exposed to a large Indian audience. The images appear crude, some of them even in close-up. This violates clearly what television journalists have agreed on as ethical limits – not to show dead bodies or blood.

Similarly, the case of a tiger killing a man who got lost in a zoo was only shown by channels who aimed for sensationalism. NDTV, however, refused:

> We did not show a single picture of that heating moment... When it came on our system, we all were very curious about the tiger – bhag aadmiko kha gaya [a man has been torn into pieces]. Some were even joking. But the moment we saw that he put the claws and blood was coming out of his body, it was not like showing. It was crude. It is not adding anything in news, but the fact that this man has been killed by a tiger... It is shocking, yes! But, to say that someone is killed by a tiger, it is enough. Because this pictures doesn't add anything, except sensationalism. (I19, senior, NDTV India)

Gory visuals do not add here, says I19. Aaj Tak's reporting about the Westgate Shopping Mall attack in Kenya was heavily criticized by British journalists as the channel recycled footage of panic still days later. Is panic maybe the more screen-appropriate emotion?

> Four days into a siege they are starting with dramatic pictures from the first day four days ago. Hang on a second – we have seen that... Start with something which explains to people what is going on... the opening shot of that piece should be a Kenyan military sniper in perimeter locked down, four days on, the Kenyan military are still based outside. You wanna see the over-the-shoulder-shot of a bloke with a sniper rifle, strewing side... Four days on, the emotion isn't terror; it is tension. And what they are doing there is trying to force upon the viewer – PANIC; PANIC, look at the shaky footage!... It MISLEADS the viewer. (B7, senior, BBC)

For Indian channels the heavy use of visual loops or of pictorial and graphic elements is not unusual (Chan & Lee 2013, Hestetten, Wilke), as can be seen below with Times Now's 2017 edition of nightly News Hour or Goswami anchoring on Republic TV. The density of graphics and faces – together with constantly changing

micro-video feeds in some of the central segmented screen windows – might at first resemble a revived Greek agora. But at the same time, it might lead to visual overstimulation.

**Figure 12: News coverage of Times Now, 2017, and Republic TV**
(22 August 2017)

Music is frequently deployed in Indian television newscasts. It serves the introduction of news bulletins through an anchor; as continuous sound-bed to news actualizing off-screen, or to indicate the oddity and ominousness of news subjects shown if found guilty of a norm-breach (I18, I21).

The third dimension of sensationalism is via storytelling. Here, drama and emotionally charged moments might be least visible immediately but most relevant to uncover as they can be highly impactful.

Indian journalists mentioned a broad variety of means to sensationalize a news story. Scandals are an important ingredient here. For a third time, the death of

Sunanda Pushkar scandal against Shashi Tharoor provides a point in case. First, it involves politics and crime without actually exposing political issues by foregrounding the crime aspect. Second, television anchors of Republic TV or Headlines Today spin and blame, creating a continuous media trial against Tharoor. Superficially, their actions could be understood as upholding journalism's active watchdog role, defending the public interest (Schudson, 2005b): They discursively establish a performance of a (justified) severe norm violation, closely linked with evaluative judgments and the public staging of moral outrage (Verbalytė, 2016). However, the scandal remains discursively enacted. By putting a public stigma on a prominent person, television news channels canalize resentments against a Congress politician and stabilize the system instead of challenging it (Verbalytė, 2017). Moreover, journalistic agency as scandalizer is performed in order to (re-)establish the profession as a powerful and capable actor of political-social life. By commercializing scandals, Indian television news demonstrate how all-encompassing the commercial logic has become.

The former Times Now anchor Arnab Goswami used another recurrent narrative means in his popular primetime live debate show Newshour: the "villain of the day".

> It is entertainment; it is like watching a soap opera... You are watching the channel; you are entertained. There is a typical story which he [AG] has worked out, that is he must identify the villain, so that villain is usually the smallest of the crux that you are gonna identify... you can't really go after the real big fish. (I12, senior, CNN-IBN)

This follows a story template with a high narrative value, where roles are clearly distributed – simplified and polarized between 'good' and 'bad', resulting in a high emotionality through sympathy and antipathy for the main protagonists (Köhler, 2009: 72). I6 applied it in the highly normative topic of a gangrape, where he polarized the debate. This need for a controversy by any means (B9) can be taken to its extremes, as some channels "will only show issues where there is a fight... where it is kind of crisp" (I7), "reducing the entire discourse to an either-or question, either you are the show's definition of a patriot, or you are anti-national. Either you condemn sloganeering or concede your disdain for the troops" (Samar, 2016). The simplification to a conflict frame relates to Bourdieu's (1998b: 22) criticism of TV journalists of "making people wear 'glasses' that force them to see the world divided up".

Another means of storytelling comprises hyperbole and exaggerations – positively with Modi during the 2014 election, or through negative emotional climates of anger, panic and nationalism:

> These channels started to portray him (Narendra Modi) in larger-than-life image, of what Modi can do for India – the great thing. Trying to contain the earlier narrative that he is a murderer of 2002, and that he has blood at his hands. Trying to give Modi a very nice and gentle image, a progressive man... Modi portraying as a good Samaritarian. (I40, senior, foreign news channel)

> "With panic-mongering, there is never a break from fear..." wrote Dr Boaz... The [Indian] audience is being made to mortally fear everything from students to teachers to beef-eaters to anti-nationals to Naxalites to alleged eve-teasers to Pakistanis; all in a dreadful burst of hyperactivity. (Samar, 2016)

Excessively negative emotions such as terror or panic are popular because "it is the fastest way to bypass the rational brain" (Samar, 2016). This relates to research about how memory and understanding become impeded when sudden high emotional arousal happens. Kahneman (2012) describes it with the more automatic, fast-reacting Thinking System 1. The more rational, cognitive, slow Thinking System 2 has little chance here. The interpretation frame of the news event is emotion-dominated, or as B14 puts it ironically with sob stories and melodrama: "How many people died? – I don't know, but did you see the baby crying?" Emotions run high especially when the national self-image of India is (imagined to be) under threat:

> When I talk about emotion, I talk about hyperbole. Increasingly in the last 1 ½ year – when it comes to border issues with China or Pakistan, their emotions run high all the time with news channels, high to the extent that they become jingoistic. So, then emotions essentially convert itself into jingoism. Because jingoism is a higher state of emotions. So, this is what you get to see, when they just go "War, War, War!" with China, with Pakistan – every country they must go to war with. Which is applicable even to English channels, not just for Hindi channels. There is this sense for orgasmic pleasure; people get high, going to war with some country [laughs]! (I8, senior, HT)

Evoking scenarios of crisis allows a specifically strong audience connect. First, it allows for a more unfolding dramatic structure which reinforces an overarching and nearly mythical story about "the nation" (Mihelj, Bajt, & Pankov, 2009). Second, it gives a chance to unite both journalists and audiences to an imaginary community with assumed shared values and identity (B. Anderson, 1991). This idea has been relevant since the 1980s when (re)questing 'Indian identity' surged with the arrival of a global free market and the emergence of a middle class (Chakravarty & Gooptu, 2000). Not Doordarshan's imagined pan-Indian identity dominates

today, but the 'nation' is selective; "articulated ... by the middle class for the middle class" (Batabyal, 2012: 5).

The jingoism of the national fantasy strongly links to the fourth and final manifestation of sensationalism – anchoring. Arnab Goswami is most prominent – and considered by his colleagues "an extreme case" (I20). He shows how to exaggerate through an emotionally charged anchoring style, turning his profession into a performative act where sensationalism gets virtually embodied:

> Then you shout; you scream; you try and follow a different style which can at least grab eyeballs. (I8, senior, HT)

> Television anchors are peddling a certain emotion, if you see the emotion of Arnab Goswami that is outrage and anger, every night! He has got anger, outrage, anger, outrage. (I13, senior, CNN-IBN ret)

> He distorts stories. He is Fox News. He will decide what the angle is, regardless whether that's a correct angle or not, based on his worldview... We don't believe that's journalism at all, we believe that's propaganda... You can't spin the reality. (I15, senior, AT/HT)

**Figure 13: 'Heated' anchor Arnab Goswami (Republic TV)**

The comparison of Goswami with Fox News is obvious from an audience perspective. Consumer audiences are free to choose a news outlet which reinforces their worldviews by using "an impassioned reaction to the day's events" (Andrejevic, 2011: 605), where outrage shapes an emotional news agenda. Like Fox News, a number of Indian channels resemble "aggressively partisan news outlet[s]" (Ibid).

The anger and importance Goswami credits to himself serves to establish a pseudo-authority of journalism, between public media trial, accusations and watchdog. This can be subsumed with as self-referentiality of the media system (Oevermann, 1996), as its "self-staging" in order to create a meaning for itself instead of displaying a true dedication for an issue.

Emotions also run high with news organizations pressurizing employees to "bash the government", despite evidence suggesting otherwise. Here, individual journalists are expected to show an engaged, sensationalist agency. From this to differentiate is when emotions run high in newsrooms – unlike in Britain, emotive climates can flow freely as Figure 14 shows, where an anchor throws out a guest after a heated debate without newsroom intervention. This – in turn, becomes news for the self-promotion of the channel, supporting commercialization ideas and filling airtime.

**Figure 14, 15: Anchor Rahul Kanwal debating with defiant guest**
(India Today Group, 13 April 2017), and subsequent news coverage

## 9.5 Conclusion

Emotions are generally seen as a useful device in actual news production. The potential of emotions to cater to the emotive side of an audience appears to be largely positively valued by journalists in both the United Kingdom and India. The way in which they described their usage of emotions reflects a routinized normalization today.

However, differences emerge between the two countries which reflect the influence of the media system and make varying ethical standards manifest in determining the limits of the deployment of emotions.

A first feature marking a difference consists of Indian journalists admitting to influence (or manipulate) their audience's feelings. British journalists rather expressed a rejection of taking responsibility for their viewer's feelings – with the exception of providing trigger warnings for graphic material or considerations about the watershed. But this is rather determined also by legal reasoning, while in the Indian case, a positive and negative effect of emotive elements on viewers is discussed.

A crass second difference shows in the huge gap in the level of sensationalism between the two countries. In India, a wide variety of sensationalist devices have been explored which are deployed to heighten the dramatic-emotive potential of a news story, crossing limits of established ethical standards from self-regulative bodies such as the National Broadcasting Association. Arbaoui et al. argue that this is usually seen as being required in order to conform to a highly competitive market with a weak (because of rather limited credibility and independence) public service broadcaster.

For journalists in both countries it is evident that emotionalizing elements deployed in news entail positive and negative effects. Positive emotive elements (in the sense of enhancing news understanding) are most manifest and effective in the realms of visuals, human protagonists, emotional display of news subjects, and anchoring. Music is of less relevance in news programs, but is used in Indian news programs.

However, from the interviews and practical examples it became clear to what extent the presence of emotionalizing elements converts into dysfunctionality. News reception becomes either a potentially overwhelming or a boring experience. The structure of media systems are a relevant factor in explaining differences. An under-

whelming handling of emotive elements can rather be found in the United Kingdom, where the television news market is determined by strict regulations prioritizing professional values such as impartiality and balance as well as ethical values.

On the other side, a high or over-whelming arousal of emotions which inhibits cognitive information processing can be found on the levels of topics, story-telling and within audio-visual elements. This can turn into sensationalism. Here, it is important to mention that practitioners question the usual (academic) notion of hard versus soft news, or of "inherently" sensational topics. Rather, sensational spins dominate in Indian journalism, and apart from infrequent crossings of ethical limits in visuals manifest strongly in the domain of storytelling. This situation is favored by the rather weak regulative approach in the Indian news market, combined with ever-present competitive pressures.

# 10 | CONCLUSION

When this research started five years ago, the main objective was to inquire into the way in which emotions shape current news journalism – in the specific context of two countries: India and the United Kingdom. The motivation for this study came from the wish to investigate how quality news can be engaging; a topic rarely touched upon without being blinkered by normative prejudices. During my previous work as a journalist in German public service broadcasting I encountered a solid professional ideology providing practical guidelines for news production and evaluation, but rarely making an "experience of involvement" (Peters, 2011) – or the engaging-emotive aspects of newscasts – a topic of discussion. Recently, we have seen how the topic of emotions in media content has considerably gained in prominence among both practitioners and academics, and how old simplified attributed dichotomies between 'quality' and 'tabloid', 'populist/sensational' and 'elitist/factual' (Graber, 1994), or 'emotional' and 'rational' have become more flexible; with a recognition that even 'objective-detached' journalism is not 'emotionless', but rather represents a 'cool' stance (Stearns, 1994).

This thesis has set out to address two fundamental matters with regard to British and Indian television media so as to, first, understand notions of journalistic professionalism in an era of change, and second, outline the underlying influence and manifestation of different emotion cultures in corresponding journalism cultures. Both matters have been dealt with in this study.

By exploring journalistic discourses about emotions, this research has presented an investigation of how key concepts in journalism have become challenged, what transformations they currently undergo, and how journalistic identity is, at the same time, stable and shifting, always trying to maintain the boundaries of journalistic fields in two culturally distinct contexts.

This conclusion offers a cross-cultural discussion of my empirical key findings and arguments, thematically structured according to the four research questions presented below. Then I outline the core contributions of this thesis at the empirical and theoretical level. Finally, I suggest how impactful journalism might take on a different role in democracy.

## 10.1 Answering the research questions

### RQ1: Emotions as "agent provocateur": Conflicting the norm

*What is the normative value and status of emotions for journalists? How do emotions in news output and newswork relate to notions about journalistic professional principles, role understandings, and the professional "self"?*

Starting with the question of what a 'good journalist' actually is, the cross-national comparison of normative concepts in journalistic work practice accounted for both similar, and contrasting results in British and Indian TV news cultures. This finding encompasses how emotions are related to a professional concept of news coverage, and how this shapes journalistic role understandings from a field and new institutionalism perspective. Bourdieu (1993, 1998b, 2005) understands journalism as a field in which journalists and media outlets follow implicit 'rules of the game", competing for the best field position through their habitus and by deploying different forms of capital – economic, symbolic – and also emotional. Bourdieu sees journalism as located between the two poles of autonomy and heteronomy. These concepts will influence the subsequent discussion. Also, North's (1990, 1991, 1994) new institutionalism considers that journalists establish and follow rules as institutions. Drawing on formal and informal rules such as journalistic norms or codes of conduct helps to reduce uncertainties in human interactions.

First, objectivity as a leading principle, which quality journalism zealously defends, nearly disappears in written British and Indian television codes of conduct. But it reappears in the articulations of practitioners in both countries. What "objectivity" actually means remains largely unwritten. It is replaced by "impartiality" or "neutrality" in the UK, and "facticity" or "nishpakshata" (निष्पक्षता, unbiasedness, impartiality) in Hindi-language codes (e.g. NBSA). Hence, leaving objectivity undefined gives the space to journalists to choose convenient interpretations for their journalistic practice. Though they talk about objectivity, it remains a 'mythical' guiding norm.

The study shows that understandings of objectivity only partially correspond to a shared global journalism culture, contrary to suggestions of a global convergence by more quantitative-oriented studies (e.g., Hanitzsch, et al., 2011). Findings from the two countries indicate that, firstly, using the word "objectivity" evokes across the

two interview groups slightly different associations, visible in Hindi-language codes of conduct. Secondly, the style of discourse varies. British journalists discuss objectivity and other professional principles from a rather idealized academic normative perspective, while their Indian colleagues try to deal with pragmatic news production realities on-site. Indian professionals also question objective epistemologies more, while rather normalizing subjective factors and situational bias.

This accounts for British journalists following more of a “mirroring” reality understanding of their profession, with strict rules for their journalistic field which – in TV – they see located more on the autonomous pole of Bourdieu’s spectrum, where cultural producers possess a high symbolic capital, as reputation of quality journalism. This manifests in efforts to uphold ‘classic’ professional principles, reject boundary crossings, and relegate emotive elements to an external agency, as factual reporting about news sources or publics (confirming Stenvall, 2008; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013), or as audiences to connect to. British TV journalists are subject to a strict display rule of ‘detached-rational coolness’, with the exception of news events which require a certain emotive display in order to appear authentic.

Indian journalists, on the other hand, appear to be deeply embedded in Bourdieu’s heteronomous pole, as they face strong competitive and commercial pressures from all sides. This restrains their resources and autonomous decision-making opportunities, and exercising boundary work to protect the professional field seems to have become dysfunctional or even obsolete. Priorities are different; as Indian TV news journalism is a rather young phenomenon with little tradition, low institutionalization, and young employees. My research could not confirm cases of young journalists considering news production purely as industry brand sales (Batabyal, 2012), as even novice journalists of the Indian sample proved to be well acquainted with classic ‘Western’ journalistic traditions. However, they can do little to perform in a detached and impartial manner, as their news reality has been deeply imbued with entertainment features in order to engage viewers (Thussu, 2007). Hence, emotive expressions are tolerated and reflected in a way which transgresses British notions. This is reflected in highly emotional media trials or reporters shedding tears on screen.

Furthermore, clear differences between the two journalism cultures also emerge in prevalent role understandings. Highly normative approaches to journalism like in

the "media-democracy link" (Chuma, et al., 2017) rely on idealized journalistic role models, such as informer or watchdog, forming the professional core of late 20th century Western news journalism. While this still shapes the British TV news sphere, in the Indian context the gravity of socio-structural problems (gender, caste & religious discrimination, a higher physical violence level, high inequality etc.) require role understandings of journalists which go beyond the mirroring 'reality' approach. This results in a positive stance towards interventionism, where journalistic agency and interference in social-political issues seems legitimate on occasion. Going beyond classic global South ideas of development journalism, the Indian context comprises role notions of advocacy, agent of change, social reformer and campaign journalism. I summarize these more interventionist approaches as "journalism(s) of engagement".

Now, what actually shapes emotionality in news cultures? Firstly, culturally specific emotion traditions are only partially influential, contrary to the original assumption with which this study started. Western news values can certainly trace their roots back to the Enlightenment period with a relegation of emotions to the private, feminine, and subjective sphere, while the public got associated with rationality in judgment and decision-making and detachment in observation. This dichotomy of rationality vs emotionality shaped European scientific modernity and later diffused into global journalism routines. On the Indian side, the Vedic traditions of achieving moksha (liberation from the cycle of rebirth) by overcoming both material emotions and thoughts, and the highly emotive Bhakti devotional traditions shape, together with classic Indian drama and modern movie culture, a ground in which exaggerated emotions are no rarity. Although India also looks back on a long tradition of reasoning, for instance, under the Mughal emperor Akbar in the 16th century (Sen, 2005b), today's television news draws on these cultural traditions, e.g. from Bollywood (Thussu, 2010).

Secondly, emotionality is shaped by formal constraints on the extra-organizational level. The legislative arrangements of media markets have proved to be most important. In the UK, Ofcom prescribes a strict impartiality and duty of care stance, and the BBC is a strong public service provider of good reputation. This, however, is missing in India, where PSB Doordarshan cannot get rid of its old image as a government-controlled protocol news broadcaster, and where regulations are liberal, and self-regulation was only put in place after major TV debacles such as after the sensationalized news coverage about the terror attacks in Mumbai in 2008

(Mehta, 2015b). Regulations can also guarantee journalistic autonomy. While British TV employees operate in a highly autonomous field, Indian TV newsworkers have never had a chance to establish their own profound professional tradition, unlike print media. They initially copied from print traditions, which were unable to fulfil TV's desire for "eyeballs" in an impulse-overloaded world.

In short, British TV journalists acknowledge emotions. But they relegate them to below the threshold of the argumentative realm and externalize them, as a "there but not there" phenomenon. Indian news journalism, in contrast, is clearly shaped by emotive features and role understandings of journalism as an active agent in society. Remaining detached and passively observing hardly ever works in an Indian environment.

Besides this, two fields emerge where emotions are ever-present as tacit doxa even in the stricter British newswork. My study demonstrated that, first, emotions serve as a decisive, though silent, news factor in selecting stories and assembling a news rundown by judging the emotive potential and appeal of stories. This confirms the notion of Schultz that unspoken doxic elements essentially shape journalism (2007). Second, the journalistic claim to be 'authentic' requires the extensive enacting of rituals of news coverage (Tuchman, 1972) which rely on premises of emotive-visual 'truthiness', as "trustworthiness in the networked journalism age is … increasingly determined by its emotional authenticity" (Beckett & Deuze, 2016: 4). 'Truthiness', a word introduced in U.S.-produced The Colbert Report in 2005, describes a statement to be true based on intuition or perception without evidence. Rhetorical devices misleadingly used in this context are emotional appeals and the "gut feeling" (Rabin, 2006).

## RQ2: Emotions as a productive resource in the context of news production

*How do emotions inform, influence and contribute to journalistic work practice? And in what way do journalists engage in emotional labor during news production?*

This study found that emotions and emotion-related dispositions can indeed appear as valuable resources in various tasks of news production. Emotions serve as a means of approaching 'truth' in news gathering and interviewing. Hereby, gut feeling as well as empathy are of primary relevance. They not only open up more

'intuitive' subconscious spaces of information processing, but also emphasize that social bonding helps in news gathering. Besides, this emotional capital (following Bourdieu) provides the space to collect symbolic capital – in the form of emotive representations – simple (emotionally) catchy sound bites or even scoops.

I identified four types of emotion work – passion, gut feeling, empathy, and compassion – that contribute positively to journalistic newswork. Each of them involves a different degree of intuitiveness or cognitive reflection; each of them relates to the individual journalist on an informal level – with his/her human perception, feelings, reflections, and motivations. Also, each one requires emotional labor as an everyday routine task (Hochschild, 1979, 2003). For example, empathy helps to adjust sensitively to interview subjects and news sources, to elicit trust, and to socially bond with them in a respectful manner, in order to receive story-relevant information (see also Hopper & Huxford, 2015). On the other hand, 'social empathy' mediates the perspective of others, so that news consumers "come to appreciate the viewpoints and lives of other people, especially those less advantaged than themselves" (Vehkoo, 2010: 20). Besides this, being passionate about one's job is a highly valued characteristic in journalism. The gut feeling serves as "nose for news" in guiding investigations and verification on a highly intuitive level, and helps to handle potentially risky situations, especially in India. Finally, for journalists appreciating interventionist journalism practices, both passion and compassion help to translate subjective-individual motivations to a larger audience.

Emotional labor becomes part of professional identity. It equally reflects in correspondents and anchors managing their emotive expression according to television display rules. In this study, journalists in both countries explained how they follow normative expectations of the professional self, balanced with organizationally upheld requirements. This partially contradicts Hopper and Huxford (2015) who (in a British context) see emotional labor as solely related to the self.

However, emotions can also be seen as a risk factor for the mental wellbeing (and thus, an obstacle for the professional functionality of newsworkers). As journalists are, by today's standards, considered "first responders" to tragedies, their mental health is increasingly taken seriously. British news organizations have started to recognize issues of mental wellbeing inside and outside the newsroom, and have institutionalized support. Indian journalists, however, cannot count on

organizational measures for protection – instead, they need to draw on a self-built repertoire of emotional coping strategies via "training on the job". Mental health remains an individual responsibility in a more risky society than the UK, making employees more vulnerable. This also demonstrates the lesser degree of autonomy Indian television journalists can rely on.

## RQ3: Emotions as audience intermediator

*How is the relationship between journalists and their audience shaped? In what way does this integrate an emotive dimension, and what role does the creation of emotional arousal play?*

The emotional connection and bonding with an audience has gained greatly in importance in journalistic decision-making. To understand this relationship better, this study investigated the "expected expectations" (S. J. Schmidt, 2008: 67) – or assumptions of journalists about what an audience journalistically expects and 'needs'. Research about journalistic audience perceptions is rather sparse (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997; Heise, et al., 2014); hence, this study offers a significant contribution to the field.

The "operative fictions" of journalists (Zurstiege, 2006: 72) show that it is no longer the classic "rational public" which determines journalistic action (though it still does in the UK), but journalists collapse audiences' identities increasingly to a group of 'citizen viewers', in Sonia Livingstone's (2005a) terms, at the intersection of what is public and what is personal or intimate within the lifeworld. This finds a clear expression when journalists refer to "viewers", but actually mean "publics" in the sense of a more classic notion of public opinion. However, this connotation leaves other news viewing motivations aside.

Livingstone (2005a) suggested several intersections in her model, marked by the axis of public/private and system/lifeworld. My research highlights one further intersection not covered by Livingstone: how economic imperatives determine the public sphere, and how this blurs audience identity even more. This becomes obvious in the frequent commercialization of Indian discourses about public or political issues. Most visibly, it manifests in narratives of the nation as "imagined community" (B. Anderson, 1991) in the face of Pakistan or internal 'antinational threats'. These discourses are not led with the aim of creating an informed and reasoned political debate – addressing audiences as publics – but actually address

various audience identities synchronously. Though a citizen orientation operates on the surface, viewers are seen primarily as consumers and served through tamāsha (spectacle). Hence, while the news appeals to the "affective intelligence" of viewers, which, according to van Zoonen (2004), keeps "political involvement and activity going", this does not necessarily translate into a motivated public. Instead, with discourses about the nation, Arnab Goswami's (2014) self-proclaimed "activist journalism" is not necessarily an exception, but shapes part of Indian Hindi and English-language newscasts targeting middle class senses of spectatorship and right-wing 'citizen outrage' – sentiments of anger, unfulfilled entitlement, and national pride (I40, Mishra, 2017). However, in its core it is nothing more than an apolitical spectacle relying on irrationality and emotionalized expressiveness.

This study supports how notions of audiences mutually constitute journalistic role identities (Mellado & van Dalen, 2016), with a frequent manifestation of the emotionalizing infotainment approach together with the more participatory-emphasizing civic stance.

This study also shows that television journalists across the two countries are indeed aware of how important emotions are for news coverage, despite adhering to normative professional ideals. Journalists in both countries consider using emotive dispositions and emotionalizing devices to be indispensable in generating attention for a news report – or audience connect. In the uncertainty established by highly competitive TV markets, these emotive strategies help to lower transaction costs by focusing on the expectations of a specific audience segment, with TV news programs becoming a 'credible brand' themselves (Andrejevic, 2016).

Finally, British journalists regard emotions as an element of information; mediating different emotive perspectives to an audience allows them to understand a story better. This reflects how British journalists distance themselves from emotionalizing effects, clearly in order to maintain their professional identity boundaries. Moreover, they are less ready to feel responsibility for how audiences emotively perceive their information (apart from a duty of care). Indian journalists, driven by pragmatic competitive forces, have fewer inhibitions to understanding emotions as an equal – or even more – engaging force than facts. The aim to create an emotive engagement in viewers appeals to roles of citizenship and patriotism, even among hedonists. It addresses socio-structural problems in India such as

gender and environment, and seeks to create communal feelings of concern about victims of natural disasters.

## RQ4: Emotions as means of competition

*Do news content producers follow an intention or strategy in deploying emotive elements in news coverage, and which intentions or emotionalization strategies can be identified? Can this be related to distinct issues?*

From the interviews it became clear that British and Indian journalists follow different rationales and strategies in deploying emotionalization devices in television news coverage. This emotionalization is influenced by different frameworks.

With television being a medium that relies on emotional-entertaining storytelling, based on moving images (Köhler, 2009), narrative structures of storytelling move into the foreground. These structures contain highly emotional scripts of scandal and conflict, media trials, and even media campaigns. Across the two countries, journalists agree on the main emotionalizing devices: visuals, human faces, narrativity, and, in the Indian case of partial sensationalism, the presentation of angry studio anchors, sobbing field reporters, and shouting studio guests.

A main difference appears to be rooted in the framework which determines the limits of emotionalization. The British legislative framework for public service broadcasting narrows down professional options, as normative principles have been institutionalized which guide and demand routines of impartiality, balance, or from an ethical perspective, a duty of care towards news subjects and viewers. This should guarantee a journalism which meets the assumed needs of a society. The Indian example contrasts here. Emotionalization practices orient themselves in a nexus between commercial competition and informal regulation. Ethical regulations about permissible limits of the visible are voluntarily agreed upon. For instance, during the 26/11 Mumbai terror attack, the sensationalist drive of some broadcasters to report live on the anti-terror actions of security forces on the ground led to rather weak self-regulative attempts subsequently (Mehta, 2015b).

Moreover, journalists displayed an understanding of the benefits which an emotively charged coverage can have for the quality of news reception. If quality journalism proclaims to enable successful societal follow-up communication, then

an aim worth struggling for is the widest possible understanding of news. This can be supported by "positive" emotionalization which accommodates the genre of television and in this case, has to deviate from the news-telling strategies of other media genres. This is because television incorporates a visual dimension with emotional components which can easily override the interpretation of parallel verbal messages, as these are processed sequentially and much more slowly in comparison to images (Boomgaarden, Boukes, & Iorgoveanu, 2016).

In particular, the last dimension – the highly performative anchoring – has been constantly underestimated in theories about sensationalism, where the focus usually lies on topicality, audio-visual style elements, and storytelling (Arbaoui, et al., 2016). However, it is through anchoring that Indian 24-hour television channels establish large parts of their viewer connect. Personalities and emotive pre-dispositions in audiences create performative debates which do not necessarily enhance the value of public information but provide a spectator-consumer-audience with the superficial impression of an active, independent and engaging critical media sphere. Most prominent is the "emotional nationalism" of anchor Goswami's (TRT World, 2017). On British television channels, anchoring remains more detached and conditions less emotive expressiveness, e.g. with Huw Edwards on the BBC News at 10.

While British journalists are carefully trying to avoid emotional excess, this is not the case among Indian broadcasters. In consequence, individual viewers might feel overwhelmed by the emotive effects. This weakens journalism's duty to the public to promote impartiality, fairness and balance. Viewers are asked to not only identify with individuals – they are encouraged to become a member of group identities such as the nation. This benefits the legitimization of Indian broadcasters who combine information with the spectacle, turning the act of informing into a performative routine.

## 10.2 Key contributions

The research has made a variety of substantial contributions in terms of both empirical analysis and theory.

### 10.2.1 Empirical contributions

Firstly, this study has contributed to filling important gaps in the literature. I provided an analysis of 1) Indian journalists and 2) a cross-cultural comparative approach including a Western and non-Western country about 3) various emotive dimensions in 4) quality TV news. This configuration has not been explored before, though moments of it echo in more overarching cross-national studies (e.g. Cottle & Rai, 2008; WJS, 2017d). In comparison to large-N survey-based studies, which can point out more general patterns, my qualitative in-depth research can provide a more detailed understanding of the reasoning and dilemmas of journalists.

Overall, the practices of journalists regarding a deployment of feeling rules in presenting and of emotionally arousing elements in television news topics, style and narration differ in some aspects. Among them are aspects like the relation to core professional principles, how news audiences are addressed, or to aim for scoops. Other professional areas, however, show cross-national similarities such as in emotions as a professional resource.

Through the comparison of a Western and non-Western country, journalistic role imaginations and practice understandings could be refined in a de-Westernizing manner. Especially relevant here is how the 'classic' but deeply Western objectivity principle receives changes in India. Here, objectivity becomes a rather distant memory, as Indian TV journalism culture is clearly characterized by interventionism. This manifests in different degrees of journalism of engagement, from normative appeals to campaigns, media trials or an "emotional nationalism" (TRT World, 2017). The empirical investigation also showed that actual Indian TV journalism practice is determined by quite a liberal legislation, a lack of television history, a weak public service broadcaster, and strong political-corporate influences, as well as commercial market pressures (Mehta, 2008, 2015a; Thussu, 2013).

What also emerged through this study is the difference of television as a "medium of feeling". The special importance emotions occupy in this deserves a different focus of research than other media genres, respecting and incorporating TV's own logics and routines. Here, narrative and performative elements become most relevant.

### 10.2.2 Theoretical contributions

On a theoretical level, this study helps, first, to understand the overwhelming importance of the contexts in which journalism cultures are embedded, which shape journalistic practice profoundly. Across countries, the negotiation of 'classic' professional values corresponds with the need to engage audiences. The comparative approach, which contrasts a 'Western' with a 'non-Western' culture, reflects that the outcome of this tension cannot be put down to emotion-cultural traditions only. Rather, what seems to be cultural is often driven by structural constraints.

What emerged as the most determining factors in this study were both national legislative TV regulations and the resulting autonomy and independence of journalism as a professional field. With regard to the politics-media axis, British journalists are not only more confident about their professional status than Indian professionals, but also participate in highly institutionalized relations, where mutual expectations are quite clearly defined. Indian journalism, in contrast, has more informal and flexible ways of coping.

Hence, how emotional labor and emotionalizing strategies are performed in news journalism depends to a large extent on institutional frameworks setting varying regulative boundaries (such as impartiality and detachment), the degree of journalistic freedom to make autonomous decisions (also determined considerably by ownership), and the position of news organizations in the commercial field. To a lesser extent, it depends on journalistic and emotion-cultural traditions. Hence, while British journalism has inherited notions of the Victorian "stiff upper lip", Indian journalism relies on a repertoire of Bollywood emotionalizing devices and an affective tradition, where emotions can be more freely expressed in certain public contexts, though this is mediated by caste and gender influences.

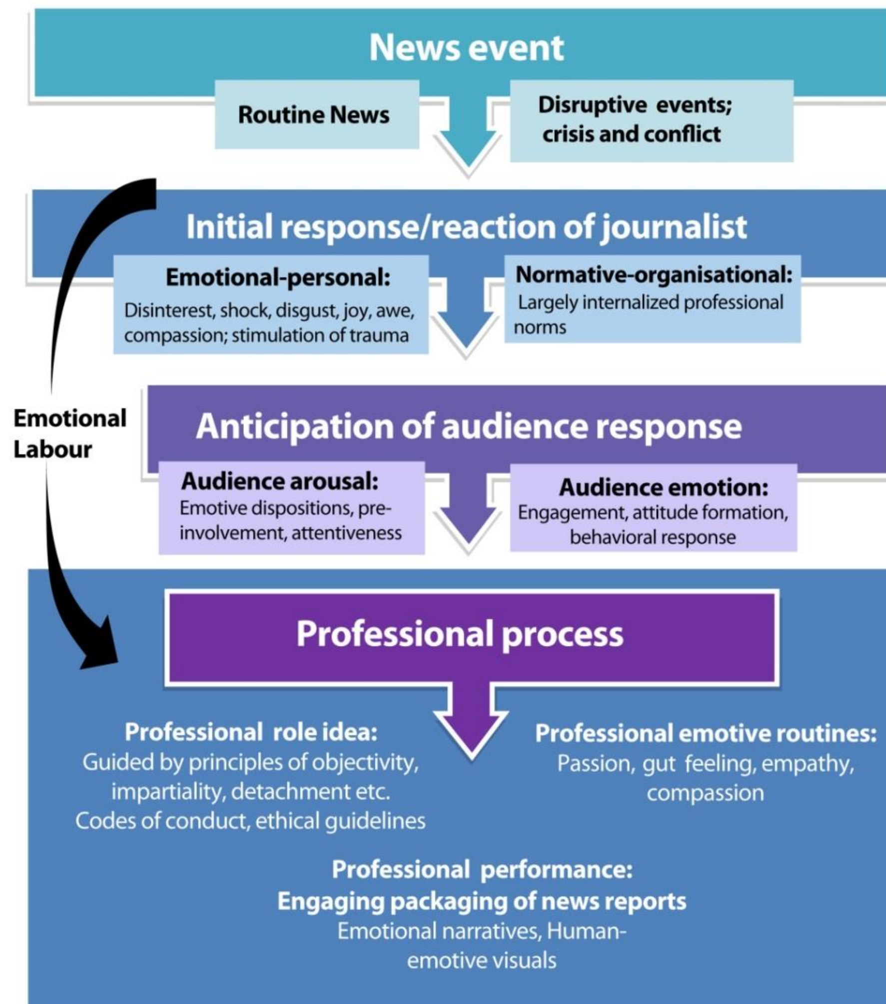
Second (and closely linked to the first point), claims of a *global* professional validity of core journalistic principles could be confirmed only partially. While understandings about accuracy seem cross-culturally highly relevant, notions about both objectivity and detachment differ in varying degrees. They remain subject to journalism-cultural interpretations. The journalism cultures under investigation are deeply embedded in social-economic systems, which shape their ways to respond. Though the professional value of accuracy is popular across countries, objectivity and detachment lose their validity in contexts where a) they are not supported by

solid regulative measures, b) journalism aims to take on its own agency in the face of grave imminent and structural deficits in society, and, more tentatively c) they did not organically emerge as a consequence of the European Enlightenment, but rather can be understood as colonial import. This adaptation to contextual factors also echoes in Western criticisms of the "Anglo-American imaginary", with its increasingly dysfunctional principles of impartiality and intentional value-freedom in an age of new populisms (Zelizer, 2017). This point supports a de-Westernized approach to journalism research in this study.

Third, this research also renews our interest in the role of audiences from a journalistic point of view. As this study shows, a simplistic distinction between hedonistic consumer and rational citizen does not represent current realities – neither in the United Kingdom nor in India. With recent social changes, British journalists gradually abandon the Victorian stiff upper lip, especially since a cultural shift dated back to Princess Diana's death in 1997. And India's classic "argumentative Indian" (Sen, 2005b) finds new company in middle-class viewers as, what I call, "hedonistic citizen-spectators".

Fourth, I have summarized my findings in a scheme developed to propose an integrative overview about how, and in what instances, emotions impact news production (Figure 16).

**Figure 16: Emotive influences in journalistic perception and news practice**




Finally, in the next section of this study I will put forward an approach to news journalism which aims to map out the whole spectrum of the emotive realm, understanding emotions hereby not only as inhibitions to professional work, but as a) a professional resource in newswork, b) a required and emancipated means of storytelling, and c) a civic value for a democratic citizenship.

## 10.3 What impacts? Towards an a/effective quality news culture

Tying the results from the previous sections together, my focus now turns to linking this research with an explorative discussion about how television news coverage

might contribute to the needs of a democratic citizenship, and what role an affective-emotional component could take in this.

Twentieth century liberal journalism cultures preferred a professional understanding strongly shaped by the exercise of control – control over formal, informal, and tacit tasks and routines in journalism, which included a rather strict control over emotions in the British case. From an emotion-philosophical perspective, this could be related to the disjoint model of agency which considers "active control over one's environment" as a way to personal satisfaction (Mesquita & Markus, 2004: 352). By comparison, the trend in India is characterized by less contradiction between emotions and cognitions; and a more pronounced affectivity appears legitimate in certain public contexts. Generally speaking, we can recognize a contrast between securing control on the normative-official level (UK) versus a loss of control (India), opening more spaces to affective realms. This is mirrored in news journalism.

The following discussion is influenced by the recent call for a re-evaluation and reconsideration of emotions in news journalism. After a decade of worrying "infotainment" prognoses up to the early-2000s, with Graber (1994: 505) being the most optimistic in calling it "a blessing in disguise", it was, in journalism, Peters (2009) who embarked on the more positive route of "news of feeling". Beyond simplistic dichotomies, academics and news practitioners alike reflect more openly about the contemporary role of affectivity in journalism (Beckett, 2015; Beckett & Deuze, 2016; Dean, 2017; Møller, 2016; Peters, 2011; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016).

This rapid change is driven by a digital economy which counts in "emotion-baits" instead of clickbaits (Boland, 2017). Shirky's "we feel faster than we think" has become the main modus operandi in societies relying on speedily mediated visuals (C. Anderson, 2009), and identity and self-definition have also become a highly emotive issue in increasingly polarized societies. In short, emotions are everywhere.

These underlying technological and social developments in markets of scarce attention transform journalism's core task into creating emotional bonds with their audiences. An emotional "connect" raises the attention audiences devote to news, and it can create an "experience of involvement" (Peters, 2011). Furthermore, as journalists say throughout the interviews, emotional connect creates a feeling of being authentic – and, hence, appearing credible and trusted.

This more affectivity-oriented journalism explicitly relies on the rhetoric of emotion. This goes parallel with a self-understanding of adhering to journalism's democratic role. In order to guarantee successful social communication and to fulfil its public information function, qualitative television news coverage that still relies on a detached and factual print style might shift towards more television-style emotionally engaging formats, to inform *and* stimulate audience interest. Through story schemata, for instance, both emotional as well as rational (semantic-cognitive) aspects are addressed in news consumers if information and entertainment interlock (Köhler, 2009: 30). This more holistic model of TV news neither relies on (purely) under-stimulating information dissemination nor overstimulating sensationalism only. TV is not understood as necessarily eroding civic life (Putnam, 1995). Instead, as more 'enlightened' or reflective infotainment, various forms of "journalisms of engagement" might stimulate affective intelligence, and, subsequently, emotional-cognitive citizenship (van Zoonen, 2004). I argue that emotions indeed can have a civic value – but how to establish them for journalism serving a democratic society?

This research understands that emotions become most impactful through three kinds of mediations: drama, conflict, and human interest. It also agrees with Boomgaard (2016: 2534) that visual information triggers emotional templates which push our "attitudes, ideas, and actions ... in particular directions", explaining bias and other forms of emotive manipulation.

Starting with individual journalists, I argue that when journalists make decisions they rely on evaluative processes shaped through cognitions and emotions. Taking emotions officially out of this process means fewer opportunities to reflect about emotions and emotive elements during journalistic work, positively or negatively. A more holistic grounding in emotions gets lost. Neglecting emotions also misses to understand them as a means of information, for example, in reading the emotions of others during social interactions in order to judge the credibility of utterances, infer different perspectives, or adapt one's own behavior (Van Kleef, 2010). In other words:

> We need feeling in order to reflect on the external or 'objective' world. Taking feelings into account as clues and then correcting for them may be our best shot at objectivity... Feeling provides a useful set of clues in figuring out what is real. (Hochschild, 2003: 31)

Thus, if emotions are left out, their potential as essential means of truth approximation and verification is lost.

However, a misconception becomes visible here. In this work, I argue that the rational-emotional dichotomy is chosen inadequately. It appeared with Lippmann's (1922) sense of objectivity, which he propagated widely after having seen, during World War I, a press full of jingoism. This notion of objectivity directed journalism towards a culture of performing observing detachment. Today, this binary understanding resurfaces in notions about 'affective facts' which 'generate' their own truths and lead to a breakdown of empirical facts and logical reasoning (Massumi, 2010) or in warnings of the commercialization of nationalism (Andrejevic, 2016). This dichotomy is the main reason for the largely negative evaluation of emotive aspects. However, I suggest that this evaluation results from a confusion of what is emotional with what is irrational. Hence, the adequate dichotomy would be rationality/irrationality.

Irrationality reflects in thinking mechanisms like confirmation bias (embracing information that supports our own beliefs) or first impression formation, which are thought to have had social evolutionary-adaptive functionalities in the past (Sutherland, 1992). Today, viewers watch what "reinforces their own sets of attachments", not minding the partisan view which Fox News or Republic TV takes of notions of 'fairness' and 'balance' (Andrejevic, 2016: 167). This is exploited by pragmatic owners of commercial channels such as Rajeev Chandrasekhar with Republic TV. For Chandrasekhar, it is "building brands that are credible", and "credible is important from the size of the audience" (Venkataramakrishnan, 2017).

Countering these democratically worrying trends of "emotional nationalism", jingoism, or populism in general, I argue that delinking emotions from irrationality opens up new ways of thinking about how journalism can develop new strategies in an age of "post-truth politics", dominated by the exploitation of "felt truths" and emotional climates among audiences. These strategies could be a defense against news sources that rely on irrational strategies (such as populism) and emotional-appealing tactics of "perception is reality". Though irrationality and emotions often appear together, they do not coincide. On the contrary, for regaining authority as a

trusted institution ‘enlightening’ publics, journalism needs to develop a new vocabulary, to become an engaging storyteller; a rationalizing investigator of emotional motivations and perspectives; and an actor appealing, transparently, to the emotive sides of news recipients without patronizing them emotionally.

This might lead the way to a future style of television journalism which, using its whole audiovisual potential, holistically appeals to rational and emotive sides, hence making a mature moral judgment possible (Jeffery, 2014). This journalism would take on social responsibility in democracies. It would not leave aside the value of emotion, but would rather translate its civic value into engaging and involving citizens in democratic life.

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# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AT | Aaj Tak (India) |
| HT | Headlines Today (India) |
| ITN | Independent News Television (UK) |
| NI | New Institutionalism |
| NBA | News Broadcasters Association (India) |
| NBSA | News Broadcasting Standards Authority (India) |
| Ofcom | *British regulative authority for broadcasting* |
| PSB | Public Service Broadcasting |

# APPENDIX I

## "OBJECTIVITY" AND "IMPARTIALITY" IN BRITISH AND INDIAN JOURNALISTIC CODES OF CONDUCT

**Table 8: Impartiality, objectivity and basic normative professional values in journalistic codes of conduct in the United Kingdom and India**

An "x" with the column „O" (objectivity) or „I" (impartiality) indicates a definitional context of the term, while „/" stands for being mentioned in the text without further explanation.

| Code and Country | O | I | Wording |
|---|---|---|---|
| **INDIA** | | | |
| NBA News Broadcasters Association New Delhi (2008)<br>*TV, national* | / | x | "it is the responsibility of TV news channels to keep accuracy, and balance, as precedence over speed" (§1)<br>"provide for **neutrality** by offering equality for all affected parties, players and actors in any dispute or conflict to present their point of view", though equal space is not required (§2)<br>"All news channels will keeping with the principle of **due** accuracy and **impartiality**, ensure that significant mistakes made in the course of any broadcast is acknowledged and corrected on air immediately." (§10) |
| NBSA News Broadcasting Standards Authority (from 2008 onwards)<br>*TV, national* | / | / | "The media has the responsibility to disseminate information which is **factually accurate and objective**." (§2, Guidelines for telecast of news affecting Public Order)<br>"Broadcasters must always be conscious of the power and impact of the audio-visual medium and the phenomenal reach of their news channels, which can cause incalculable harm if not **accurate and objective**." (§1, Guidelines on Broadcast of Potentially Defamatory Content)<br>"News broadcasters should endeavour to inform the public in an **objective** manner, about relevant electoral matters, political parties" (§1, Guidelines for Election Broadcasting), in Hindi:<br>न्यूज़ ब्रॉडकास्टर्स को चुनाव से जुड़े प्रासंगिक मामलों, राजनीतिक दलों, उम्मीदवारों, चुनाव-प्रचार के मुद्दों और मतदान प्रक्रियाओं के बारे में जनता को निष्पक्ष और तथ्यपरक तरीक़े से जानकारी देने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए और ऐसा करते समय जनप्रतिनिधित्व |
| Press Council of India (2010)<br>*Print only, national* | / | - | "matters of public interest in a fair, accurate, unbiased and decent manner and language" (Preface)<br>"use of restrained and socially acceptable language for ensuring **objectivity** and fairness in reporting" (Preface)<br>"accuracy and fairness", "All sides of the core issue or subject should be reported" (§1)<br>HIV/AIDS and the Media (§40): "Be **objective**, factual and sensitive", no distortion of facts, accuracy |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | "**Objective** manner, without exaggerating or distorting…" (§45) |
| All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference (no date)<br>*Print only, national* | - | - | "to ensure that information disseminated is factually accurate" (§1) |
| **United Kingdom** | | | |
| Ofcom Broadcasting Code (2015)<br>*TV+Radio, national, private channels* | / | x | „to ensure that news, in whatever form, is reported with due accuracy and presented with **due impartiality**" (Section 5)<br>*Explanation of the meaning*: "**Impartiality** itself means not favouring one side over another. 'Due' means adequate or appropriate to the subject and nature of the programme. So 'due impartiality' does not mean an equal division of time has to be given to every view. […] Context […] is important." |
| BBC Editorial Guidelines (EG), Royal Charter (RC) and Agreement (A) (2016)<br>*TV+Radio, national, individual channel regulation* | - | x | "**Impartiality** lies at the heart of public service and is the core of the BBC's commitment to its audiences" (EG, Section 4, Introduction)<br>"The BBC must do all it can to ensure that controversial subjects are treated with due accuracy and **impartiality** in all relevant output." (A, § 44.1, „relevant output" = news)<br>Apart from "Truth and Accuracy" (EG § 1.2.2) as well as „Fairness" (§ 1.2.7), **impartiality** is seen as one of three core elements which can create trust.<br>"We will apply **due impartiality** to all our subject matter and will reflect a breadth and diversity of opinion across our output as a whole, over an appropriate period, so that no significant strand of thought is knowingly unreflected or under-represented" (§ 1.2.3)<br>"The term **'due'** means that the impartiality must be adequate and appropriate to the output, taking account of the subject and nature of the content, the likely audience expectation and any signposting that may influence that expectation.<br>**Due impartiality** is often more than a simple matter of 'balance' between opposing viewpoints. Equally, it does not require absolute neutrality on every issue or detachment from fundamental democratic principles." (EG, Section 4, Introduction) |
| Independent Television Commission: Programme Code (2002)<br>*TV, national, private channels, following Ofcom* | - | x | *Broadcasting Act 1990/96: prohibited are news which "is not impartial and accurate"(S. 5)*<br>"**Due Impartiality**" (Section 3): to ensure that broadcasters present information accurately; the requirement of neutrality does not mean that every single program must be strictly neutral but rather that the overall programming of a given broadcaster reflects a fair balance of opinion. |
| Sky News Editorial Guidelines (2014/15)<br>*TV, national, individual channel regulation, following Ofcom* | - | x | Fairness, impartiality and balance especially during elections (§12)<br>"**Duly impartial** and duly accurate", "to solicit a broad range of views and voice on our stories and never to show favour to – or be influenced by – any side of a story", with special requirements in cases of political and industrial controversy (§11) |
| National Union of Journalists (2013)<br>*National* | - | - | "to ensure that information disseminated is honestly conveyed, accurate and fair" (§2)<br>"differentiates between fact and opinion" (§4) |

# Appendix II

## Media Systems in Comparison: United Kingdom and India

**Table 9: British and Indian media systems in comparison**

| | UK | India |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| **Political System** | Democratic:<br>Among the oldest parliamentary democracies of the world, consisting of House of Lords and House of Commons; head of government is the Prime Minister (currently Theresa May); symbolic head of state is the Queen (constitutional monarchy); unitary state (England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland) | Democratic:<br>World's largest democracy, marked by roughness of communal, caste and regional tensions;<br>established in its current form in 1947 (with independence with Westminster System as role model); federal system of government; Lok Sabha (lower house) modelled according to British House of Commons, while Rajya Sabha (upper house) consists of nominees; head of government is the Prime Minister (currently Narendra Modi); symbolic-representative head of state is the President (modelled according to the British monarch) |
| **Political Culture** | Polarized:<br>Multi-party system with 2 strong political parties (Labour and Conservative) | Polarized:<br>Multi-party system with 2 strong political parties (Indian National Congress and BJP) |
| **Economic System** | Market-based system, advanced capitalist economy with a long tradition of classic liberalism, 9th-largest economy in the world (PPP, Purchasing Power Parity) | Market-based system with economic liberalization (since 1991), developing economy, 3th-largest economy in the world (PPP) |
| | | |
| **Media System** | Public Service Model (with public service media and orientation of actors on journalistic and social values) | Liberal model in a capitalist democracy with little regulation and a strongly commercial character |
| **(TV) Media Orientation** | Public service | Commercial |
| **State Control** | Weak:<br>independence of public service broadcasting secured through regulative approach | Middle:<br>indirect governmental influence on public service broadcasting Doordarshan |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Regulation** | Market regulation through OFCOM, public service broadcasting model for all major news providers (BBC, ITV, Sky News, Channel 4) – regulation of journalism ethics in various areas such as encouragement towards values of neutrality, impartiality, fairness etc. | Decisions of Supreme Court and self-regulative approaches through NBSA News Broadcasting Standards Authority or Press Council of India; Regulation of TV market through Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) |
| **Media Freedom** | Freedom of the press, with independence of public service broadcasting secured through regulative approach, Ranking in 2017 World Press Freedom Index: 40 (best = 0); Ranking in 2017 Freedom House Media Index: 95 (best = 100) | Freedom of the press; but indirect governmental influence on public service broadcasting Doordarshan as well as economic factors; Ranking in 2017 World Press Freedom Index: 136 (best = 0); Ranking in 2017 Freedom House Media Index: 77 (best = 100) |
| **Media Ownership and Financing** | Mixed ownership:<br><br>***BBC*** and ***Channel 4*** publicly owned, financed majorly through the licence fee.<br><br>Commercial channels ***ITV*** and ***Sky News***: Sky privately owned (39.1 %) by Rupert Murdoch's 21st Century Fox (UK/USA), ***Channel 5*** owned by Viacom International (USA); ITV owned by ITV plc, STV Group and UTV Media | Mixed ownership, but majorly media-industrial (corporate) or by politicians<br>***Doordarshan***: (largely) autonomous PSB founded by the government of India, owned by the Broadcasting Ministry of India<br>Major commercial news channels:<br>***NDTV***: major shareholders Radhika Roy, Prannoy Roy and RRPR holding private lim.)<br>***Network 18***: effectively controlled by Reliance (corporate)<br>***India Today Group***: Aditya Birla Group (corporate, over Living Media India lim.)<br>***Times Now***: Times Group (family-owned, India's largest media conglomerate)<br>***Republic TV***: owned by R Chandrasekhar (entrepreneur and independent politician) and A Goswami |
| **No of 24-hour News Channels** | 2 | 392 (31 May 2017) |
| **Broadcasting Industry Size** | 13.8 billion £ | 6.95 billion £ |
| **Viewership Share of News Channels** | 10,1 % average share of audience 2008-2016 (news and weather) | 8-10 % viewership share in 2016 (especially regional news) |
| **Professiona-lization Level** | Similar today, however:<br>Early professionalization – such as founding of NUJ founded in 1907, of National Association of Journalists 1884 | Similar<br>Later professionalization – Indian Federation of Working Journalists (IFWJ) founded in 1950, Indian Journalists Union (IJU) in 1990 |
| **Media Culture** | Investigative | Ambivalent |

# Appendix III
## Interview Participants: Detailed Tables

### India

| No | Date | TV Channel[134] | Language[135] | Official Job Designation and Status | Sex | Length[136] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2014 | | | | | |
| 01 | 23 Dec | Aaj Tak, Live India | Hindi/Eng | Senior: Editor and correspondent | M | 1:46 |
| 02 | 27 Dec | Doordarshan | Hindi/Eng | Senior: Deputy Editor | M | 2:02 |
| 03 | 28 Dec | Doordarshan | Hindi | Senior: Anchor, Reporter | M | 1:22 |
| 04 | 30 Dec | Doordarshan | Hindi/Eng | Junior: (contracted) News Editor | M | 1:08 |
| | 2015 | | | | | |
| 05 | 1 Jan 2015 | NewsX | Eng | Senior: Correspondent | F | 1:02 |
| 06 | 2 Jan | CNN-IBN** – until July 2014 | Eng | Senior: Editor | M | 0:56 |
| 07 | 2 Jan | ABP News | Hindi | Senior: Correspondent | F | 0:45 |
| 08 | 4 Jan | Headlines Today* | Eng | Senior: Deputy Editor, Correspondent Foreign Affairs | M | 0:50 |
| 09 | 5 Jan | CNN-IBN** | Eng | Senior: Political Editor | F | 1:09 |
| 10 | 6 Jan | Headlines Today* | Eng | Junior: Assistant Producer | F | 1:04 |
| 11 | 6 Jan | Doordarshan News | Eng | Senior: Output Editor | F | 0:37 |
| 12 | 6 Jan | CNN-IBN** | Eng | Senior: Consultant, News Anchor | M | 1:21 |
| 13 | 7 Jan | CNN-IBN** – until July 2014 | Eng | Senior Management; Now: Consulting Editor Times of India | F | 1:18 |
| 14 | 8 Jan | NDTV India, NDTV 24x7 | Hindi/Eng | Senior: Editor, Talk show host | M | 0:52 |
| 15 | 9 Jan | Headlines Today*/Aaj Tak | Hindi/Eng | Senior: Anchor, Managing Editor | M | 0:32 |
| 16 | 13 Jan | CNN-IBN** | Eng | Junior: Associate Editor Politics, Anchor | F | 0:41 |
| 17 | 13 Jan | CNN-IBN** | Eng | Senior: Business Editor | M | 1:14 |
| 18 | 14 Jan | NDTV India, NDTV 24x7 | Hindi/Eng | Senior: Editorial Director | F | 0:50 |
| 19 | 15 Jan | NDTV India | Hindi | Senior: News Editor – deputy editor | M | 1:07 |
| 20 | 20 Jan | Headlines Today* | Eng | Junior: News Editor | F | 0:55 |
| 21 | 20 Jan | NDTV India | Hindi | Senior: Executive Editor | M | 1:03 |
| 22 | 22 Jan | NDTV India | Hindi | Senior: Anchor, Talk show host | M | 0:41 |
| 23 | 22 Dec | ABP News | Hindi | Senior: Group Editor | M | 1:33 |
| 30s | 8 Jan | NDTV 24x7 | Eng | Junior: (Short Interview) News Editor | F | 0:15 |

[134] At the time of the interview.

[135] This indicates the language of the news channel.

[136] Documented recording time in hour:minute. Interviews often started before recording and kept going on afterwards.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31s | 8 Jan | NDTV 24x7 | Eng | Junior: (Short Interview) Anchor | F | 0:10 |
| 40 | 8 Feb | Foreign Channel, Office Delhi | - | Junior: Producer | M | 1:30 |
| | | | | | | |
| Additional Interviews | | | | | | |
| | 2014 | | | | | |
| E1 | 22 Dec 14 | Sevanti Ninan | - | Media critics, "The Hoot" | F | No rec |
| | 2015 | | | | | |
| E2 | Jan | IIMC (Indian Institute of Mass Communication) | - | Professor Media Studies | M | 1:57 |
| E3 | 23 Jan | ARD (German Television) | - | Journalist, Foreign Correspondent | M | 0:49 |
| E4 | 22 Jan | NBA – Broadcasting Editors Association | - | Journalist, Head of BEA | M | 1:49 |

## United Kingdom

| No | Date | TV Channel | Official Job Designation | Sex | Length |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2015 | | | | |
| 1 | 1 Apr | BBC | Trainer journalism international | M | 1:12 |
| 2 | 1 Apr | BBC | Senior: Director General – ret | M | 0:44 |
| 3 | 21 May | ITV | Senior: Head of News (regional) | F | 1:04 |
| 4 | 26 May | BBC Yorkshire | Junior: Correspondent | M | 1:50 |
| 5 | 28 May | ITN | Senior: Management/Editor | M | 0:58 |
| 6 | 28 May | ITN | Junior: News Editor | M | 0:20 |
| 7 | 1 Jun | BBC Yorkshire | Junior: News Editor + VJ | M | 1:42 |
| 8 | 2 Jun | Sky News | Senior: Management | M | 0:09 |
| 9 | 4 Jun | Sky News | Senior: Managing Editor – ret | M | 1:10 |
| 10 | 8 Jun | ITN | Senior: Management/Editor | M | 1:23 |
| 11 | 18 Jun | Sky News | Senior: Anchor/presenter | M | 0:21 |
| 12 | 18 Jun | Sky News | Junior: Producer | M | 0:46 |
| 13 | 26 Jun | BBC | Senior: Foreign Correspondent | M | 0:33 |
| 14 | 6 Jul | BBC News24 | Senior: Morning Editor – ret. | M | 2:03 |
| 15 | 6 Jul | BBC – World Affairs | Senior: Editor – ret. | M | 2:52 |
| 16 | 8 Jul | BBC Yorkshire | Senior: Presenter, anchor | F | 0:36 |
| 17 | 10 Jul | Sky News | Junior: Producer | F | 0:49 |
| 18 | 10 Jul | ITN | Senior: Correspondent | F | 0:56 |
| 19 | 23 Jul | BBC, Sky News | Junior: Producer | F | 1:30 |
| 20 | 17 Aug | ITN | Senior: Correspondent | F | 1:02 |
| 21 | 31 Aug | BBC | Senior: Foreign Correspondent | F | 0:57 |
| 22 | 17 Nov | BBC News24 | Senior: Anchor | F | 1:14 |

# APPENDIX IV

## INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE AND GUIDELINES (SUMMARY)

### Interview Guidelines:

**„Journalistic deployment of emotionality. A cross-country comparison“**

Draft: 28 November, 2014

*(This is an extract from the original interview questionnaire, including the core questions and guidelines)*

**_General points**

The following interview guide contains 12 core interview questions which address the key dimensions of the topic. Each core question contains a range of optional questions, supplemented with a set of notes and bullet-points in order to provide the interview with an indication of what kind of information to expect from the interviewee, and how to achieve further in-depth information by using probing and prompts during the course of the interview.

The guiding points reflect 6 categories of analysis, derived from literature, a first explorative previous stay in the field, and practical experience.

The interview questions are divided across the following subject areas:

- Term “emotions”
- Working practices
- Working conditions
- Role perceptions and the audience
- Ethical Orientation
    - Term: Objectivity/Subjectivity
- Experiment

Complimentary to this interview, the information sheet and consent information is distributed to the interviewee BEFORE the interview, and also a brief questionnaire which the interviewee is asked to

***– I Working practices –***

1. Could you please describe briefly why you became a journalist? And since when have you been working with [Channel], and where had you been working before? What beat or subject are you in, and what are your main tasks?

2. What do generally emotions on news coverage mean for you?

3. In your belief, what role do emotions serve in the news coverage?

4. Reconstruction: I would like to present you now a story which the BBC / Aaj Tak / Times Now has covered in the past. This story appears quite (un)emotional. I would like to know from you how in your view this story would work for your television station, and what would need to be changed in order to make it fitting into your programme.

5. Can you imagine a news report without emotions? Are there topics which are maybe "less emotional" than others?

6. Some people say that there is a contradiction between facts and emotions. Would you agree?

7. When you were working as a journalist, did you think actively how you use emotions in your coverage, or was it more a "gut feeling"?

*– II Working Conditions –*

8. If you consider news as a team work product – at what stage of the production do emotions come into play? Who in your news organization determines how emotional or unemotional a news package or anchoring should be?

9. As a journalist, can you tell me about a colleague in the sense of good or bad news – when the emotions were right, and when they were wrong. Were there moments in which you agreed or disagreed with a colleague?

10. How did citizen journalism affect television news coverage in the recent years?

11. With your news organization, what influences or who is deciding about the emotional aspects of news coverage (internal and external pressures)?

12. Could you please describe your newsroom's supervision mechanisms, and how you experienced these? (Meetings, interference etc.)

*– III Role perceptions and the audience –*

13. From your experience, what do you understand to be your role as a journalist? When you report about everyday politics/about Mandela's death/terrorism who do you believe is your target audience?

### – *IV Normative and ethical orientation* –

14. Could you please say your journalistic standards and values that were most fundamental to your work as a journalist? For example, accuracy, or objectivity?

15. If you reported on politics, death and other sensitive issues, what were some of the ethical issues with regard to presenting emotions which came up? And how did you deal with this?

Thank you very much for your valuable time!

**Personal data question:**

- Did the person attend a formal journalistic apprenticeship or internship?
- What is the highest degree of education completed?
- How many years altogether in journalism (if not yet answered)
- Are you a member of a journalistic association?
- Do you consider yourself as affiliated with any particular religion or religious denomination?

# APPENDIX V
## SOLICITATION EMAIL

Researcher from Germany // Talk about journalism in India and the UK

Dear XX,

Apologies for writing out of the blue, but YY was so nice to give me your address after a talk. I am a German researcher and would like to interview you to understand about the particularies of Indian television news journalism, and how news broadcasting in India works. For my PhD which is based in the UK, I compare British and Indian news journalism.

With whomever I talked so far about Indian television news journalism, your name was mentioned so frequently. I know you as a versatile journalist with a broad outlook, and I had the pleasure to meet you in January via my friend ZZ. I liked that time what you said, but it did not allow us to go deeper into this topic of objectivity, role of journalists, or dramatized news coverage.

I would be very happy if you could contribute to this in-depth PhD, which explores in particular concepts of objectivity, subjectivity, and emotions, but also touches a wider ground of your role understanding of journalism, ethics etc. I think it to be very important to present a slightly different stance to the mainstream US or UK broadcasting, although certain journalistic standards are followed all over the world.
Being a journalist myself for the German Public Service Broadcasting ARD, I reported also from India and am aware of some particularities in this country!

if you would agree I would like to have a discussion with you about this topic during one of the next coming 2 weeks. It will be treated confidentially, as research work in the UK requires strong ethical stances; therefore, an anonymization would be required, except if you would like your name to be mentioned.
Also, you can give your answers hindi me, yadi aap aapni matri bhasha me ziada comfortable feel karte. I will be able to understand, as I have some command of hindi.

I would very much appreciate your valuable time, I truly believe that your input will be quintessential to this work. I am honoured to meet you as a journalist and genuinely pleased to know you in person.

Thank you very much in advance for your help and support, and I am looking forward to hearing from you!

Sincerely,

Antje Glück

P.S. Attached you will find a letter of my university.

********************************************************************************

Antje Glück, M.A.
School of Media and Communication
The University of Leeds
Leeds
LS2 9JT

# APPENDIX VI

## APPENDIX TO SOLICITATION EMAIL – LETTER OF UNIVERSITY

Institute of Communications Studies

The University of Leeds
Leeds LS2 9JT

Telex 556473 UNILDS G
Fax +44 (0)113 343 5808
Tel +44 (0)113 343 5800
Direct Line +44 (0)113 343 5829
Email k.voltmer@leeds.ac.uk

3rd January 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir / Madam,

I would like to kindly ask you for your support of Ms Antje Glück, who is a Ph.D. candidate at the Institute of Communication Studies at the University of Leeds since 2012 and who is currently writing her doctoral thesis under my supervision. In her thesis Ms Glück investigates the role of emotions in the news coverage in the UK and India. The research includes an analysis of newscast material from Indian and British television channels as well as interviews with journalists in both countries.

I would be grateful if you could allow Ms Glück access to any resources that might be helpful to accomplish this important piece of research, be it access to library resources, archive material, support in finding appropriate accommodation or providing contact to relevant personalities in the news media or academia.

I can confirm that Ms Glück is a reliable, honest and polite person. She is a hard-working student and will make responsible use of any material and resources she is given access to.

Many thanks for your help. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions.

Sincerely,

K. Voltmer

Dr Katrin Voltmer
Senior Lecturer in Political Communication

Institute of Communications Studies

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Dr Katrin Voltmer
*Senior Lecturer in Political Communications*

# APPENDIX VII

## INFORMATION SHEET (UK)

**INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS**

*REC Reference Number: PVAR 14-03*

**YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET**

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Its title is "The deployment of emotions in news journalism in the United Kingdom and India".

Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

**<u>What is the purpose of the study?</u>**

In my study I will investigate in what way journalists use emotions in the news coverage of the evening news programmes of 2013 and 2014 in India and in the UK. This is part of a research about the quality of news journalism. The project will last 4 years.

**<u>Why have I been invited to take part?</u>**

You have been invited because of your role and professional position as a journalist in a British television news programme. Participants from different professional backgrounds have been asked to participate in this study.

**<u>Do I have to take part?</u>**

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form) and you can still withdraw at any time without it affecting any benefits that you are entitled to in any way. You do not have to give a reason.

**<u>What do I have to do?</u>**

For this research, you will be asked some questions about your daily routines with emotions in news journalism, your ideas about objectivity and subjectivity in news journalism, and your concept of a journalist role and the news audience with regard to the topic. Also, in some cases, a brief news report will be presented to you, and you will be asked to comment on this news report which will be from an Indian news programme, with regard to the emotions displayed in this news programme.

The questions will be open; and the interview will take approximately 30 min to 1 hour maximum.

**<u>What are the possible risks of taking part?</u>**

If you feel uncomfortable with the interview questions, you can freely withdraw any time.

**Will my taking part be kept confidential?**

All the information that we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications. Dependent upon your permission, restricted access to information will be sought for.

**Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?**

The audio recordings of your activities made during this research will be used only for the analysis to answer the research question. The recorded sessions will be kept confidential and will e distributed to any third person. The interviews recorded will be stored safely.

**How is the project being funded?**

The University of Leeds is funding this research.

**What will happen to the results of the study?**

You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications. Dependent upon your permission, restricted access to information might be given. The work will be published as a monograph or in form of academic articles in academic journals.

**Who should I contact for further information?**

If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please contact me using the following contact details:

Antje Glück: csag@leeds.ac.uk

School of Media and Communication, The University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT

Contact phone in the UK: +44 7810457493

Supervisor: Dr Katrin Voltmer
School of Media and Communication, The University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT
Phone: 0113 343 5829 Email: k.voltmer@leeds.ac.uk

**What if I have further questions, or if something goes wrong?**

If this study has harmed you in any way or if you wish to make a complaint about the conduct of the study you can contact the University of Leeds using the details below for further advice and information:

Antje Glück
School of Media and Communication, The University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT
Ph.D. Research under the supervision of Dr Katrin Voltmer and Dr Katy Parry
ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk

**Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering taking part in this research. Please keep your copy of this information sheet.**

# APPENDIX VIII
## PARTICIPATION CONSENT FORM

**Consent to take part in**

**'The deployment of emotions in news journalism in the United Kingdom and India'**

| | Add your initials next to the statements you agree with |
|---|---|
| I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 05/12/2014 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. | |
| I agree for the data collected from me to be used in relevant future research in an anonymised form. | |
| I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the lead researcher should my contact details change. | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Name of participant | |
| Participant's signature | |
| Date | |
| Name of lead researcher | Antje Glück |
| Signature | |
| Date* | |

*To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant.

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/ pre-written script/ information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be kept with the project's main documents which must be kept in a secure location.

# APPENDIX IX

## INTERVIEW FORM

**Interview No ____**

**Date______________________** **Starting Time____________________**

**Ending Time______________________**

**Name of interviewee__________________________________________**

**Company:** _______________________________________

**Position/Level:** _______________________________________

_______________________________________

**In company since when:_____________________________________**

**Where worked before:_______________________________________**

**Member in a journalist association:**