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**BETWEEN COSMOPOLITAN AND NATIONAL
OUTLOOK: THE BBC WORLD NEWS' COVERAGE OF
THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS**

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**KOZMOPOLİTAN VE ULUSAL BAKIŞ ARASINDA:
BBC WORLD NEWS'ÜN SURİYELİ MÜLTECİ KRİZİNİ
HABERLEŞTİRMESİ**

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NATIONALES: LA COUVERTURE MEDIATIQUE
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DES REFUGIES SYRIENS**

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Özet

Suriyeli mülteci krizi, on yılı aşkın bir süredir uluslararası haber medyasının gündeminde önemli bir yer tutuyor. Bu medya kuruluşlarının çoğu, küresel ve ulusötesi bağlamlarda kozmopolitan/ulusötesi bir izleyici kitlesine ulaşmayı hedefliyor. Ancak daha yakından irdelendiğinde, bunların sahiden kozmopolitan bir habercilikten ziyade daha ulusal/dar görüşlü bir habercilik yaptıkları anlaşılıyor. Yerel ve küresel arasındaki gerilimler, kozmopolitan bir bakış açısına sahip olduğunu iddia eden haber kuruluşlarının bu vizyonlarını tam olarak gerçekleştirmesini zorlaştırmış gibi görünüyor. Bu durum, bu gibi haber medyasının küresel krizler, izleyicilerin inşası, ötekileştirme ve iç ve dış grupların oluşumu üzerine söylemlerdeki rolü hakkında önemli soruları gündeme getiriyor.

Bugüne dek yapılan çalışmalara bakıldığında, kozmopolitlanlığı görsel-işitsel içerikte ve özellikle krizleri konu alan TV haber paketlerinde araştıran sadece az sayıda ampirik çalışma mevcut. Bu doktora tezi, haber çerçeveleme teorisini ana teorik ve metodolojik mercek olarak kullanarak bu araştırma boşluğunu ele alıyor ve haber çerçevelerini şekillendiren gazetecilik uygulamalarını araştırıyor. BBC World News'ün 2011 ve 2017 arasında yaptığı Suriyeli mülteci krizi haberleri bu tezde bir vaka analizi olarak ele alınmıştır. Amaç, BBC World News'in bu son derece politize edilmiş konuyu ne ölçüde kozmopolitan bir bakıştan ele alabildiğini ve nasıl bir izleyici kitlesini hedeflediğini değerlendirmek. Başka bir deyişle, bu çalışma BBC World News'ün Suriyeli mülteci krizini haberleştirirken kozmopolitan bir gazetecilik yapıp yapmadığını ve gazetecilerin küresel krizleri küresel izleyiciler için haberleştirirken kendi habercilik pratiklerini nasıl algıladıklarını eleştirel bir şekilde irdeliyor. Ampirik yaklaşım, içerik analizini yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlarla bir araya getirerek iki araştırma öznesiyle yola çıkmıştır: 1) BBC World News'ün yanı sıra BBC'nin web arşivlerinden alınan haber paketleri 2) Suriyeli mülteci krizini haberleştiren gazeteciler. Kozmopolitan bakış açısı (Beck, 2006), risk toplumu ve korku kültürü ve gazetecilik çalışmaları alanından birçok faydalı teorik kavram üzerine daha önce yapılan çalışmalar, ideal bir gazetecilik ve onun normatif isteklerinin derinlemesine anlaşılması ve kavramsallaştırılması konusunda teze katkı sağlamıştır.

Teze üç araştırma sorusu yön vermektedir: 1) BBC World News, video haber paketlerinde Suriyeli mülteci krizini nasıl çerçeveleyiyor? 2) BBC World News'ün Suriyeli mülteci krizine ilişkin paketleri ne ölçüde kozmopolitan bir vizyonu yansıtıyor? 3) BBC'de çalışan gazeteciler krizlerle ilgili kendi yaptıkları televizyon haberciliği pratiklerini nasıl algılıyor? Giriş bölümü tezi bağlamına oturturken, gazetecilikte kozmopolitan bir bakış açısının sınırlarını araştırıyor, tezin amaçlarını ve gazetecilik çalışmalarıyla ilişkisini açıklıyor. Genel olarak, bu kapsamlı bölüm konuyla ilgili tartışmayı başlatmayı ve araştırma boşluğuna dikkati çekmeyi hedefliyor. Son olarak bu bölüm, araştırma sorularını takiben tez bölümlerini kısaca anlatan bir özet ile son buluyor.

Girişin ardından kapsamlı bir literatür taraması yapılmıştır. Bu bölüm altı alt bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk alt bölüm, kozmopolitanlık ve haber medyası üzerine önceki araştırmaları taramış; daha sonra ikinci alt bölüm, temel medya etkileri teorilerinin tartışıldığı haber seçimi ve haber çerçeveleme konusundaki literatürü gözden geçirmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, görsel çerçeveleme, duygular, uzakta yaşanan insan acılarının medya aracılığıyla iletimi ve merhamet yorgunluğu gibi anahtar kavramlar açıklanmış ve ampirik kısımda özgün araştırmayla ilişkilendirilmiştir. Üçüncü alt bölüm, televizyon gazeteciliğini anlamak adına önemli olan bir konuyu; kriz haberciliğinde gazetecilik performansını tartışıyor. Bunu, risk toplumu, korku kültürü ve belirsizliklerin çerçeveleme üzerine hazırlanan dördüncü alt bölüm izlemektedir. Burada Beck, Furedi ve Altheide'in aralarında bulunduğu bilim insanlarının çalışmaları eleştirel bir şekilde gözden geçiriliyor. Beşinci alt bölüm, BBC World News'e bir kurum olarak yaklaşmakta ve küresel vizyonuna odaklanmaktadır. Bu alt bölümde, BBC'nin yayın ilkeleri yakından incelenmektedir. Son olarak, "TV haber paketlerinin ve gazetecilik performansının analizi" alt bölümü okuyucuyu araştırma yöntemleri bölümüne hazırlamaktadır.

Üçüncü bölüm olan "Araştırma Tasarımı ve Metodolojisi", ilk olarak karma yöntem araştırma tasarımını ve bu çalışmada neden ve nasıl kullanıldığını açıklamaktadır. Daha sonra bölüm iki ana alt bölüme ayrılmıştır; ilki karma yöntem içerik analizini, ikincisi ise yarı yapılandırılmış mülakat yöntemini açıklamaktadır. Her ikisi için de, analiz birimi, örnekleme stratejisi, veri toplama, veri analizi,

geçerlilik, güvenilirlik ve diğer yönteme özel bileşenleri içeren araştırma adımları analize geçmeden önce aşama aşama ve dikkatlice açıklanmıştır. İçerik analizi için 240 video haber paketi örneklenmiş, kod kitabı hazırlanmış, ardından veriler kodlanarak SPSS’de analiz edilmiştir. Nicel kodlamada kaçırılmış olabilecek daha gizil değişkenlerin ve örüntülerin kodlaması ve yorumlaması için ise Atlas.ti kullanıldı. Bu yazılım programı, araştırmacının, verilerin tamamında (hem metin hem de görseller) ortak motifleri bulmak için sistematik bir şekilde not almasına ve böylece verileri kümelemesine olanak sağladı. BBC’de çalışan, Suriyeli mülteci krizini haberleştiren ve haberleri bbc.com’da çevrimiçi olarak paylaşılan 14 gazeteci ile yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Verileri gruplayarak özetleyebilmek için, mülakat transkriptlerine tematik analiz uygulandı. Görüşmelerin kodlanması için de bir başka Atlas.ti projesi kullanıldı.

Giriş, Teorik Çerçeve, Araştırma Tasarımı ve Yöntemi’ni bulguların paylaşıldığı üç sonuç bölümü ve son olarak bir tartışma/son söz bölümü takip etmektedir. Aşağıda, bu sonuç bölümleri kısaca açıklanacaktır. Dördüncü bölüm olan “Suriyeli Mülteci Krizinin TV Haber Paketlerinde Çerçevenmesi” bu çalışmanın en kapsamlı sonuçlarını paylaşmaktadır. “Olay Odaklı Habercilik, Duygusal Yaklaşım, Genel ve Konuya Özgü Haber Çerçeveleri ve “İngiliz Perspektifi: Biz ve Ötekiler” olmak üzere dört alt bölüme ayrılmıştır. İçerik analizinden elde edilen birçok bulgu, hem literatürde hem de bu çalışma için yapılan görüşmelerde bulunan televizyon gazeteciliğinin kısıtlamalarını doğrulamaktadır. En çarpıcı bulgulardan biri, mültecileri haberlere dahil etmek ve seslerini duyurmak için bariz bir çaba olmasına rağmen nasıl edilgen özneler olarak çerçevelendiğiyle ilgili. Videoların niteliksel analiziyle ortaya çıkan bir başka ilginç sonuç da haberlerde belirgin bir İngiliz bakış açısının yaygınlığıdır. Bu kendini çeşitli şekillerde gösterdi; örneğin, haberde gazeteciler İngiltere’yi ana referans noktası veya bağlam olarak aldıklarında ya da İngiltere’yi ve İngiliz hükümetinin tutumunu ve eylemlerini uluslararası sahneye yerleştirdiğinde vb. Genel olarak, bu çalışma BBC World News”ün Suriyeli mülteci krizini haberleştirirken ulusal ve kozmopolitan bir bakış açısı arasına sıkıştığını (zaman zaman da çelişkiye düştüğünü) ortaya koyuyor. Bu da, BBC Global’in iki ana haber kaynağı olan BBC World News ve bbc.com’da gösterilen haber içeriğinin ne tam anlamıyla dar görüşlü/ulusal ne de kozmopolitan bir görünüm sergilediği anlamına geliyor.

Beşinci bölüm, BBC World News’ün Suriyeli mülteci krizini kozmopolitan ve ulusal yelpazedeki kapsamını daha derinlemesine incelemektedir. Ampirik analiz, BBC’nin dış haberleri nasıl düzenlediğine odaklanıyor ve gazetecilikteki sürekli değişim bağlamında dış haber muhabirlerinin kendi pratiklerini nasıl değerlendirdiklerine daha yakından bakıyor. Bu bölümde, Beck’in “küresel risklerin hayali kozmopolitan toplulukları” kavramsallaştırması eleştirel bir şekilde tartışılıyor ve geliştiriliyor; bulgulara dayanarak, literatüre yeni bir teorik kavram olarak “hayali global risk toplulukları” kavramı önerilmektedir. Son olarak, kozmopolitan bir gazeteciliğin mümkün olup olmadığı tartışılmaktadır.

Altıncı bölüm, uzun süredir devam eden krizleri haberleştirmenin zorluklarına odaklanmaktadır. Suriyeli mülteci krizi en az 10 yıldır devam ediyor ve karmaşıklığı, süresi ve insana etkisi nedeniyle haber gündeminde gazeteciler açısından zorlayıcı bir konu oldu. Gazeteciler, bir yandan insani bir krizi sahada ele almanın zorluklarıyla duygusal olarak mücadele ederken, diğer yandan bu uzun süredir devam eden krizi izleyicilerin dikkatini çekecek yaratıcı yollarla ele alabilmek için kendilerini sürekli baskı altında hissetmektedirler. Bu ikinci nokta ile bağlantılı olarak, gazetecilerin merhamet yorgunluğuna ilişkin değerlendirmeleri paylaşılmış ve tartışılmıştır. Son olarak, BBC’de gazeteciliğin şimdiki ve gelecekteki durumuna ve haber odasında artan medya yakınsaması üzerine de bir tartışmaya yer verilmiştir.

Araştırma, kozmopolitan bir gazetecilik olasılığına ilişkin akademik tartışmaya katkıda bulunuyor; şu anda böylesi bir gazeteciliğin var olup olmadığı veya sadece normatif bir istek olup olmadığı ve uluslararası haber medyasının kriz haberlerinde buna nasıl yaklaştığını tartışıyor. Bu tez, ulus devletlerin kalıcılığını ve bulgulara ortaya konduğu gibi medyanın ulusal bakış açısını kabul etmekle beraber kozmopolitan bir manifesto olarak da okunabilir. Çalışma gücünü, yalnızca kozmopolitan bir gazetecilik için normatif çağrısından değil, aynı zamanda metodolojik uygulamasından da almaktadır. Görsel-işitsel içeriği incelemek, karma yöntemleri uygulayan sistematik bir yaklaşım gerektirir. İçerik analizinin nicel aşamasının titizliği, çalışmanın güvenilirliğini sağlamıştır. İkinci bir kodlayıcı, araştırmacı ile anlaşmaya varıp varamayacaklarını görmek için verilerin %10’unu kodlayarak yardımcı olmuştur. Çoğu değişken için uygulanan kodlayıcılar arası güvenilirlik testi Krippendorff’un alfa puanlarına göre tatmin edici standartları

karşılamıştır. Bunun yanında, nitel yaklaşım, araştırmanın karmaşık teorik kavramı olan “kozmopolitanlığı” araştırılabilir hale getirmesi için gereken esnekliği tanımıştır.

Bu çalışma, medya ve iletişim çalışmalarına teorik ve metodolojik katkılar sunarken, gelecekteki çalışmalarda ele alınabilecek çeşitli kısıtlara sahiptir. İlk olarak, çalışma nispeten küçük bir örnekleme dayalı bireysel bir doktora projesidir ve bu da bulguların diğer uluslararası medya kuruluşlarına genellenebilirliğini açıkça sınırlamaktadır. Bu, vakaya (BBC World News) dikey ve derinlenmesine yaklaşımın dezavantajı olabilir. Gelecekteki araştırmalar, birkaç uluslararası haber medya kuruluşuyla örnekleme büyüterek ve kriz odaklı dış habercilik yapan daha büyük bir gazeteci grubuyla mülakatlar yaparak kozmopolitan gazeteciliğin olanaklarını araştırabilir.

İkinci kısıt, içerik analizi ile ilgilidir. Araştırmacının bilgisi dahilinde kodlama sürecini bilgisayar yardımıyla kolaylaştıracak bir araç olmadığı için kodlama manuel olarak yapılmıştır. Gelecekteki çalışmalar, araştırmacıların daha büyük hacimli haber içeriğini incelemesine olanak tanıyacak görsel-işitsel içerik için tasarlanan otomatik bir içerik analizi için metodolojiler geliştirebilir; böylece daha büyük bir veri seti ile, bulguların daha sağlam bir temelde genelleştirilmesine imkan tanınabilir. Ancak, gelecekte yapılacak büyük ölçekteki araştırmaların araştırma tasarımının bir aşamasında nitel ve/veya insan kodlaması, örneklemden daha küçük ama temsili verilerin derinlemesine analiziyle tamamlanması tavsiye edilir. Üçüncüsü, yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar, araştırmacının yakınlık kurmasına ve sorulara derinlemesine cevaplar almasına izin verdi. Bu araştırma için bu yöntem araştırma sorularına zengin cevaplar sağlamış ve doygunluk noktasına ulaşmayı sağlamış olsa da, çalışma birkaç haber kuruluşunu ve daha fazla gazeteciyi içerecek şekilde ölçeklendirilirse, gelecekteki çalışmalar içerik analizinin yanında anketler yapmayı da düşünebilir. Bunun pratik faydası zamandan ve finansal maliyetlerden tasarruf etmek olacaktır. Çevrimiçi anketlerin yürütülmesi nispeten daha düşük maliyetli olup analiz kısmı mülakatlara kıyasla çok daha hızlı yapılabilir.

Bu araştırma medya etiğine değiniyor, ancak bunu derinlemesine incelemiyor. Kaliteli gazetecilik - ve bu durumda kozmopolitan bir izleyici için kozmopolitan gazetecilik - belirli gazetecilik ideallerine ve normlarına bağlı kalmak üzere yola

çıktığından, bu çalışmada medya etiği kaçınılmaz olarak bir rol oynadı. Örneğin, BBC'nin yayın ilkeleri kılavuzu çalışmanın amaçları için doğrultusunda araştırılmıştır. Gelecekteki araştırmalar, kozmopolitan gazetecilik tartışmasını medya etiğine daha yakın bir yerden yaklaşabilir ve bunları birbiriyle ilişkilendirebilir.

Bununla birlikte, mevcut çalışma, görsel-işitsel içeriğe haber çerçevesi merceğinden bakarak kozmopolitanizm tartışmalarına yeni bir ışık tutuyor. Hem teorik hem de ampirik olarak, bu çalışma gazetecilik çalışmaları alanına, genel olarak medya ve iletişim çalışmalarına ve diğer disiplinler arası çalışmalara katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.



Résumé

La crise des réfugiés syriens est au centre des préoccupations des médias internationaux depuis plus d'une décennie. Beaucoup de ces médias prétendent atteindre un public cosmopolite/postnational dans des contextes mondiaux et transnationaux. Pourtant, un examen plus approfondi révèle que leurs reportages semblent avoir une portée plus nationale/paroissiale que véritablement cosmopolite. Les tensions entre le « local » et le « mondial » rendent difficile pour les médias autoproclamés cosmopolites la possibilité de répondre pleinement à leurs ambitions. Cette situation soulève d'importantes questions sur le rôle de ces médias d'information dans les discours sur les crises mondiales, la construction des publics, l'altérisation et la formation d'in- et d'exogroupes.

À ce jour, il existe peu d'études empiriques qui opérationnalisent le cosmopolitisme dans les contenus audiovisuels et plus particulièrement dans les journaux télévisés couvrant les crises. La présente thèse de doctorat comble cette lacune en utilisant la théorie du cadrage de l'actualité comme principal objectif théorique et méthodologique. Elle explore les pratiques journalistiques qui façonnent les cadrages de l'actualité. La couverture par BBC World News de la crise des réfugiés syriens de 2011 à 2017 sert d'étude de cas. L'objectif est d'une part d'évaluer dans quelle mesure la couverture par BBC World News de ce problème hautement politisé peut être considérée comme « cosmopolite » et d'autre part de déterminer quel(s) sont les public(s) ciblés. Ce faisant, l'étude examine de manière critique si la BBC World News pratique un journalisme cosmopolite dans la couverture de la crise des réfugiés syriens et comment les journalistes travaillant pour ce média perçoivent leur travail lorsqu'ils couvrent des crises mondiales pour un public mondial. L'approche empirique associe une analyse de contenu complémentaire à des entretiens semi-structurés ; les sujets de recherche sont 1) le contenu d'actualités récupéré via BBC World News ainsi que les archives Web de la BBC et 2) les journalistes qui ont couvert la crise des réfugiés syriens. La littérature antérieure sur les perspectives cosmopolites (Beck, 2006), la société du risque et la culture de la peur et de nombreux concepts théoriques utiles du domaine des études journalistiques et a fourni à la thèse une

compréhension et une conceptualisation approfondies d'un journalisme idéaliste et de ses aspirations normatives.

La thèse est guidée par trois questions de recherche : Comment la BBC World News présente-t-elle la crise des réfugiés syriens dans ses reportages vidéo ? Dans quelle mesure la réalisation des reportages de BBC World News sur la crise des réfugiés syriens reflète-t-elle une vision cosmopolite ? Comment les journalistes de la BBC perçoivent-ils leurs propres pratiques de reportage télévisé sur les crises ? Le chapitre introductif contextualise la thèse, examine les limites d'une perspective cosmopolite journalistique, partage les objectifs de la thèse et sa pertinence pour les études de journalisme. Ce chapitre introduit une discussion critique sur le sujet et identifie les lacunes de la recherche. Enfin, le lecteur se voit présenter les questions de recherche et un bref aperçu des chapitres suivants de la thèse.

L'introduction est suivie d'une revue de littérature approfondie. Ce chapitre se compose de six parties. La première partie explore les recherches antérieures sur le cosmopolitisme et les médias d'information ; puis la deuxième partie passe en revue la littérature sur la sélection et le cadrage des nouvelles dans laquelle les théories essentielles des effets médiatiques sont discutées. Des concepts clés tels que le cadrage visuel, les émotions, la souffrance à distance médiatisée et la fatigue de compassion sont expliqués et sont liés à la recherche originale dans la partie empirique. La troisième partie traite des performances journalistiques dans les reportages de crise, ce qui est important pour comprendre le fonctionnement du journalisme télévisé. La quatrième partie aborde sur la société du risque, la culture de la peur et le cadrage des incertitudes. Ici, les travaux de Beck, Furedi et Altheide - parmi d'autres chercheurs - sont passés en revue de manière critique. La cinquième partie se concentre sur BBC World News en tant qu'organisation et ses perspectives mondiales. Dans ce chapitre, les lignes éditoriales de la BBC sont analysées de près. Enfin, avant de passer au chapitre sur la conception et la méthodologie de la recherche, une transition est effectuée au travers d'une « Analyse des journaux télévisés et des performances journalistiques ».

Le troisième chapitre, « Conception et méthodologie de la recherche », explique d'abord la conception de la recherche à méthodes mixtes et la justification de

son utilisation dans cette étude. Ensuite, le chapitre est divisé en deux sous-chapitres principaux ; le premier explique l'analyse de contenu et le second la méthode d'entretien. Pour les deux, les étapes de recherche respectives sont décrites, qui incluent l'unité d'analyse, la stratégie d'échantillonnage, la collecte de données, l'analyse des données, la validité et la fiabilité parmi d'autres composants spécifiques à la méthode. Toutes ces étapes sont soigneusement expliquées et prises en compte avant de passer à la partie empirique de l'étude. Pour l'analyse du contenu, 240 reportages vidéo ont été échantillonnés, un livre de codes a été préparé, puis les données ont été codées et analysées dans SPSS. Afin de compléter le codage de variables et de modèles plus latents qui peuvent avoir été manqués dans le codage quantitatif, Atlas.ti a été utilisé pour les annotations qualitatives. Cela a permis à la chercheuse de prendre systématiquement des notes et de regrouper les données pour explorer les tendances et les modèles à travers les données (textes et visuels). Les entretiens semi-directifs ont été menés avec 14 journalistes qui travaillent pour la BBC et qui ont couvert la crise des réfugiés syriens et dont les résultats ont été partagés en ligne sur bbc.com. Pour cette méthode, une analyse thématique a été utilisée pour réduire les données et tracer les thèmes à travers les transcriptions des entretiens. Un autre projet Atlas.ti a servi à coder les entretiens.

L'introduction, le cadre théorique, la conception de la recherche et la méthodologie sont suivis de trois chapitres présentant nos résultats et d'un chapitre de conclusion. Le quatrième chapitre, Encadrer la crise des réfugiés syriens dans les journaux télévisés, partage les résultats de cette étude. Il est divisé en quatre sous-chapitres, à savoir le journalisme basé sur les événements, l'angle émotionnel, les cadres génériques et spécifiques à un problème et la perspective britannique : nous contre eux. Plusieurs résultats de l'analyse de contenu confirment les contraintes du journalisme télévisé trouvées dans la littérature, ainsi que dans les entretiens menés pour cette étude. L'une des découvertes les plus frappantes concerne la manière dont les réfugiés sont présentés comme des sujets passifs, bien qu'il semble y avoir un effort évident pour les inclure dans les nouvelles et leur donner une voix. Un autre résultat intéressant - révélé par l'analyse qualitative des vidéos - est la prévalence d'une perspective explicitement britannique dans l'actualité. Cela s'est manifesté de diverses manières ; par exemple, lorsque les journalistes prennent la Grande-Bretagne comme point de référence ou contexte principal, placent la position et les actions de la Grande-

Bretagne et du gouvernement britannique sur la scène internationale, etc. Dans l'ensemble, l'étude conclut que la BBC World News semble être prise dans une tension (et parfois une contradiction) entre une perspective nationale et une perspective cosmopolite dans sa couverture de la crise des réfugiés syriens. Cela se traduit par le fait que le contenu d'actualités diffusé sur les deux principaux organes d'information de BBC Global, BBC World News et bbc.com, n'affiche ni une perspective résolument paroissiale/nationale ni cosmopolite.

Le cinquième chapitre examine plus en détail la couverture par BBC World News de la crise des réfugiés syriens dans les spectres cosmopolite et national. L'analyse empirique se concentre sur la manière dont la BBC organise ses informations étrangères et examine de plus près la manière dont les correspondants étrangers réfléchissent à leurs propres pratiques dans le contexte d'un changement continu du journalisme. Dans ce chapitre, la conceptualisation de Beck des « communautés cosmopolites imaginées de risques mondiaux » est discutée et avancée de manière critique ; sur la base des résultats, un nouveau concept théorique de « communautés imaginées de risques locaux » est introduit dans la littérature. Enfin, l'(im)possibilité d'un journalisme cosmopolite est discutée.

Le sixième chapitre se concentre sur les défis de la couverture des crises de longue durée. La crise des réfugiés syriens a commencé il y a plus d'une décennie et a été un sujet particulièrement difficile dans les programmes d'information en raison de sa complexité, de sa durée et de son impact humain. Les journalistes luttent émotionnellement avec les difficultés de couvrir une crise humanitaire sur le terrain, mais ils sont également soumis à une pression constante pour couvrir cette crise de longue date de manière créative qui capte l'attention du public. En lien avec ce dernier, les propres témoignages des journalistes sur l'usure de compassion sont partagés et discutés. Enfin, un aperçu de l'état actuel et futur du journalisme à la BBC et de la convergence accrue des médias dans la salle de rédaction ont été jetés.

Cette recherche contribue au débat universitaire plus large sur la possibilité d'un journalisme cosmopolite ; s'il existe actuellement ou s'il s'agit simplement d'une aspiration normative et comment les médias internationaux l'abordent dans leur couverture des crises. Cette thèse peut également être lue comme un manifeste

cosmopolite tout en reconnaissant la persistance des États-nations et leurs perspectives nationales uniques, comme le révèlent les résultats. La force de l'étude réside non seulement dans son appel normatif à un journalisme cosmopolite, mais aussi dans son application méthodologique. L'étude des contenus audiovisuels requiert une approche systématique mettant en œuvre des méthodes mixtes. La rigueur de l'étape quantitative de l'analyse de contenu a assuré la fiabilité de l'étude. Un deuxième codeur a aidé le chercheur à coder 10 % des données pour voir s'ils pouvaient parvenir à un accord et si le test de fiabilité intercodeur pour la plupart des variables répondait à des normes satisfaisantes selon les scores alpha de Krippendorff. De son côté, l'approche qualitative donne la flexibilité nécessaire à la recherche afin d'opérationnaliser le concept théorique complexe de « cosmopolitisme ».

Bien que cette étude apporte des contributions théoriques et méthodologiques au domaine plus large des études sur les médias et les communications, elle présente plusieurs limites qui peuvent faire l'objet d'études futures. Premièrement, l'étude est un projet de doctorat individuel avec un ensemble de données relativement petit, ce qui limite clairement la généralisation des résultats à d'autres médias d'information internationaux. Il s'agit d'un inconvénient potentiel lié à une approche verticale approfondissant un cas (la BBC) tel qu'appliqué dans cette étude. Des recherches futures pourraient étudier les possibilités du journalisme cosmopolite en étudiant plusieurs médias d'information internationaux et en interviewant un échantillon plus large de journalistes couvrant l'actualité étrangère et notamment les crises.

La seconde limite concerne l'analyse de contenu. Le codage a été fait manuellement, car il n'y a pas de logiciel, connu de la chercheuse, permettant de faciliter le processus de collecte de données à l'aide d'un ordinateur. De futures études pourraient développer des méthodologies pour une analyse de contenu automatisée sur le contenu audiovisuel qui permettrait aux chercheurs d'étudier de plus grands volumes de contenu d'actualités ; un ensemble de données plus important permettrait de généraliser les résultats sur une base plus robuste. Cependant, un codage qualitatif et/ou humain à un certain stade de la conception de la recherche est conseillé pour les études futures afin de compléter l'analyse à grande échelle par une analyse approfondie de données réduites, mais représentatives de l'échantillon. Troisièmement, les entretiens ont permis au chercheur d'établir des relations et de recevoir des réponses

détaillées aux questions. Bien que les entretiens aient parfaitement été adaptés et que le point de saturation ait été atteint pour fournir des réponses riches aux questions de recherche, les études futures peuvent envisager de mener des enquêtes en complément de l'analyse de contenu si l'étude est étendue pour inclure plusieurs organes de presse et journalistes. L'avantage pratique de cela serait d'économiser du temps et des coûts financiers. Les sondages en ligne sont relativement peu coûteux à mener et permettent une analyse des données beaucoup plus rapide que les entretiens.

Cette recherche touche à l'éthique des médias, mais ne les a pas approfondies. Comme le journalisme de qualité - et dans ce cas le journalisme cosmopolite pour un public cosmopolite - est censé adhérer à certains idéaux et normes journalistiques, l'éthique des médias a inévitablement joué un rôle dans l'étude. Les directives éditoriales des instances ont dû être étudiées aux fins de l'étude. Des recherches futures peuvent relier cette discussion sur un journalisme cosmopolite plus proche de l'éthique des médias.

Cet étude apporte un nouvel éclairage sur les discussions autour du cosmopolitisme tout en l'examinant au travers d'un contenu audiovisuel. À la fois théoriquement et empiriquement, cette étude espère contribuer au domaine des études de journalisme, des études sur les médias et la communication en général, et potentiellement à d'autres études interdisciplinaires.

Abstract

The Syrian refugee crisis has been a staple in international news media agendas for over a decade. Many of these media outlets proclaim to reach a cosmopolitan/ post-national audience in global and transnational contexts. Yet closer scrutinization reveals that their reporting seems to be more national/parochial in scope than genuinely cosmopolitan. The tensions between the local and the global appear to make it difficult for self-proclaimed cosmopolitan news outlets to fully meet their ambitions. This raises important questions about the role of such news media in discourses on global crises, the construction of audiences, othering, and formation of in- and outgroups.

To date, there are few empirical studies that operationalize cosmopolitanism in audiovisual content and more specifically in TV news packages covering crises. The present doctoral thesis addresses this research gap by using news framing theory as the main theoretical and methodological lens and explores journalistic practices that shape the news frames. The BBC World News' coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis from 2011 to 2017 serves as a case study. The aim is to assess the extent to which the BBC World News's coverage of this highly politicized issue can be considered 'cosmopolitan' and to chart what audience(s) they try to reach. In other words, the study critically explores whether the BBC World News practices cosmopolitan journalism in the coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis and how journalists perceive their work when covering global crises for global audiences. The empirical approach connects a complementary content analysis with semi-structured interviews; the research subjects are 1) news content retrieved via the BBC World News' as well as BBC's web archives and 2) journalists who covered the Syrian refugee crisis. Previous literature on cosmopolitan outlook (Beck, 2006), risk society and culture of fear and many useful theoretical concepts from the field of journalism studies and provided the thesis with an in-depth understanding and conceptualization of an idealistic journalism and its normative aspirations.

The thesis is guided by three research questions: *RQ1: How does the BBC World News frame the Syrian refugee crisis in their video news packages?* *RQ2: To*

what extent do the BBC World News' packages on the Syrian refugee crisis reflect a cosmopolitan vision? RQ3: How do BBC journalists perceive their own practices in TV reporting about crises? The introductory chapter contextualizes the thesis, investigates the limits of a cosmopolitan outlook in journalism, shares the aims of the thesis, and its relevance for journalism studies. Overall, this comprehensive chapter initiates the critical discussion of the topic and identifies the research gap in focus. Finally, the reader is presented with the research questions and provided with a brief chapter outline for the following chapters of the thesis.

The introduction is followed by an extensive literature review. This chapter consists of six subchapters. The first sub chapter explores previous research on cosmopolitanism and the news media; then the second subchapter reviews the literature on news selection and news framing in which essential media effects theories are discussed. Next to this, key concepts such as visual framing, emotions, mediated distant suffering, and compassion fatigue are explained and are connected to the original research in the empirical part. The third subchapter discusses journalistic performance in crisis reporting, which is an important for understanding how TV journalism works. This is followed by the fourth subchapter on risk society, culture of fear, and the framing of uncertainties. Here the works of Beck, Furedi, and Altheide - among other scholars - are critically reviewed. The fifth subchapter focuses on the BBC World News' as an organization and its global outlook. In this chapter, the editorial guidelines of the BBC are closely analysed. Finally, before moving on with the research design and methodology chapter, a transition is made with the final sub chapter, namely: "Analyzing TV news packages and journalistic performance".

The third chapter, "Research Design and Methodology" first explains the mixed methods research design and the rationale behind its use in this study. Then the chapter is divided into two main subchapters; the first one explains content analysis and the second one the interview method. For both, the respective research steps are outlined, which include the unit of analysis, sampling strategy, data collection, data analysis, validity, and reliability among other method specific components. All of these steps are carefully explained and accounted for before moving on with the empirical part of the study. For the content analysis, 240 video news packages were sampled, a codebook was prepared, then the data were coded and analysed in SPSS.

To complete the coding of more latent variables and patterns that may have been missed in quantitative coding, Atlas.ti was used for qualitative annotations. This allowed the researcher to take notes systematically and to cluster the data to explore trends and patterns across the data (both text and visuals). The semi-structured interviews were conducted with 14 journalists who work for the BBC, covered the Syrian refugee crisis, and whose output was shared online on bbc.com. For this method, a thematic analysis was used to reduce the data and chart the themes across the interview transcripts. Another Atlas.ti project served for coding the interviews.

Introduction, Theoretical Framework, Research Design and Methodology are followed by three results chapters and a conclusion chapter. Next, these results chapters will be shortly explained. The fourth chapter, Framing the Syrian Refugee Crisis in TV News Packages shares the most comprehensive results of this study. It is divided into four sub chapters namely, Events-based Journalism, Emotional Angle, Generic & Issue-specific Frames and the British Perspective: Us vs. Them. Several findings from the content analysis confirm the constraints of TV journalism found in the literature, as well as in the interviews conducted for this study. One of the most striking findings concerns how refugees are framed as passive subjects although there seemed to be an obvious effort to include them in the news and give them a voice. Another interesting result -revealed through the qualitative analysis of the videos- is the prevalence of an explicitly British perspective in the news. This manifested itself in various ways; for instance, when journalists take Britain as the main point of reference or context, place Britain and the British government's position and actions on the international stage etc. Overall, the study concludes that the BBC World News seems to be caught in a tension (and at times contradiction) between a national and cosmopolitan outlook in its coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis. This means that the news content shown on the BBC Global's two main news outlets, the BBC World News and bbc.com, neither displays a decidedly parochial/national nor cosmopolitan outlook.

The fifth chapter further investigates the BBC World News' coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis along the cosmopolitan and national spectrums. The empirical analysis shifts focus on how the BBC organises its foreign news and takes a closer look at how foreign correspondents reflect on their own practices in the context of

continuous change in journalism. In this chapter, Beck's conceptualization of "imagined cosmopolitan communities of global risks" is critically discussed and advanced; based on the findings, a new theoretical concept of "imagined communities of glocal risks" is introduced to the literature. Finally, the (im)possibility of a cosmopolitan journalism is discussed.

The sixth chapter focuses on the challenges of covering long-running crises. The Syrian refugee crisis started over a decade ago and it has been a particularly challenging topic in news agendas due to its complexity, duration, and human impact. Journalists struggle emotionally with the difficulties of covering a humanitarian crisis on the ground, but they are also under constant pressure to cover this long-running crisis in creative ways that capture audiences' attention. In connection to the latter, journalists' own accounts on compassion fatigue are shared and discussed. Finally, a glimpse at the present and future state of journalism at the BBC and the increased media convergence in the newsroom have been taken.

The research contributes to the wider academic debate on the possibility of a cosmopolitan journalism; whether it currently exists or whether it is merely a normative aspiration and how international news media approach this in their crisis coverage. This thesis can also be read as a cosmopolitan manifesto while acknowledging the persistence of nation states and their unique national outlooks as revealed in the findings. The strength of the study not only lies in its normative call for a cosmopolitan journalism but also in its methodological application. Studying audiovisual content requires a systematic approach which implements mixed methods. The rigorousness of the quantitative step of the content analysis ensured reliability of the study. A second coder helped the researcher to code 10% of the data to see if they can reach agreement and the intercoder reliability test for most variables met satisfying standards according to Krippendorff's alpha scores. Next to this, the qualitative approach gave the flexibility needed for the research to operationalize the complex theoretical concept of "cosmopolitanism".

While this study offers theoretical and methodological contributions to the wider field of media and communications studies, it has several limitations that can be addressed in future studies. First, the study is an individual PhD project with a

relatively small dataset, which puts clear confinements on the generalisability of the findings to other international news media. This is a potential downside of the vertical approach that went in-depth on one case (the BBC) as applied in this study. Future research may investigate the possibilities of cosmopolitan journalism by sampling several international news media outlets and interviewing a larger group of journalists who cover foreign news with a focus on crises.

The second limitation concerns the content analysis. The coding was done manually as there is no tool known to the researcher that could facilitate the data collection process with computer aid. Future studies may develop methodologies for an automated content analysis on audio-visual content that would allow researchers to study larger volumes of news content; a larger dataset would allow for generalisations of findings on a more robust basis. However, a qualitative and/or human coding at some stage in the research design is advised for future studies to complement the analysis on a large scale with an in-depth analysis of small but representative data from the sample. Third, interviews allowed the researcher to build rapport and receive in-depth answers to the questions. Although for this research interviews were a great fit and the saturation point was reached to provide rich answers to the research questions, future studies can also consider conducting surveys next to content analysis if the study is scaled up to include several news outlets and journalists. The practical benefit of this would be saving time and financial costs. Online surveys are relatively cheap to conduct and allow for much quicker data analysis than interviews.

This research touches upon media ethics but did not investigate them in-depth. As quality journalism -and in this case cosmopolitan journalism for a cosmopolitan audience- is set out to adhere to certain journalistic ideals and norms, inevitably media ethics played a role in the study. The editorial guidelines for instances, had to be investigated for the purposes of the study. Future research can connect this discussion on a cosmopolitan journalism closer to media ethics.

That said, the current study sheds new light on the discussions around cosmopolitanism while looking at this through a news framing lens in audio-visual content. Both theoretically and empirically, this study hopes to contribute to the field

of journalism studies, media and communication studies in general, and potentially to other interdisciplinary studies.



1. Introduction

For years, we watched the misery of the far away refugees on our television screens. Now they and their plea for help are on our doorstep: On the beaches that we go on holiday, on our trains, our buses and our motorways. Families fleeing war and others seeking for a better life are pushing, fighting and risking death to get here.¹

This [Keleti Station in Budapest] could be King's Cross in London or Piccadilly station in Manchester and everywhere you look, the place is full of people from Syria, from Afghanistan. And more and more people are arriving every day.²

In 2021, the conflict in Syria has been raging on for ten years and displaced millions as refugees from their homes. With the country mostly in shambles after years of bitter fighting, many Syrians were forced to seek shelter across the region in e.g., Jordan, Turkey, Greece but also Italy and many other European countries. The Syrian conflict marked the most violent turn of the “Arab Spring”, a series of highly disruptive popular movements that started almost simultaneously in different Middle Eastern countries, loosely sharing the same goal of changing the political status quo under autocratic and despotic regimes. The war in Syria also triggered the biggest wave of forced migration from the region towards Europe and the global west. While the social and political aftermath of the Middle Eastern revolutions are ambiguous and complex, it connected especially in the Syrian case to one of the most massive migration movements in recent history.

¹ Katya Adler, EU agrees plan to relocate 120,000 migrants. *BBC News*, 22 September, 2015 <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-34329323/eu-agrees-plan-to-relocate-120000-migrants>

² Ed Thomas, Migrant crisis: Hungary station 'feels like a refugee camp'. *BBC News*, 24 August, 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-34038779/migrant-crisis-hungary-station-feels-like-a-refugee-camp>

International reaction to the unfolding humanitarian crisis was marked by a lack of coordination, indecisiveness, and swiftly changing popular opinion in the various receiving countries; calls for a moral duty to help were accompanied by increasingly hostile positions towards refugees and migration in general. Compassion fatigue is another factor to consider in how public views on the plight of Syrian refugees changed over time. Essential to how citizens in host countries learn about and also view the influx of forced migrants is media reporting. The Syrian conflict is one of the most intensely covered wars to date, with journalists reporting from its various, constantly shifting fronts throughout the years, often embedding themselves on the ground to provide “direct” access to its different layers and always drastic human impact. One could argue that scenes of the Syrian conflict and the entailed refugee crisis have become staples in hard news across international media outlets over the past ten years: protests, authoritarian violence, destroyed cities, raw combat footage, atrocities, chemical weapons, ISIS, and, maybe most memorably, pictures of refugees on boats, on the shore, on foot, at border checkpoints, in (makeshift) camps, on the streets, (barely) alive and dead.

These visuals and the journalistic narratives that they construct have an influence on public imageries about the fate of Syrian refugees; they can shape individual views and have an influence on collective action. Simply put, news media play an important role in the formation of public opinion in many migrant-receiving countries. Most people have little to no direct experiences with refugees but learn about their stories through the heavily visualised reports and narratives that journalists provide them with. Visual framing is essential to how audiences imagine and think about developments, issues, and conflicts that take place in a perceived distance from themselves. They have access to the world at large through the media who carry an important role in the construction of reality (Couldry & Hepp, 2017, p.27). Choices made by media organisations and journalists are key to the respective news framing processes: how they present issues in particular ways, select and emphasise certain aspects while excluding other information in their reporting (Castells, 2009, p.207).

In his seminal and still immensely influential article from 1993, Robert M. Entman postulates that news media reports focus on specific parts of (social-)reality

by defining a context-dependent problem, attribute causes, make moral judgements and suggest remedies (Entman, 1993). In this way, only a (seemingly) carefully curated aspect of a much larger and more complex reality is eventually presented to the audience, who receive, process, and potentially include the new information in their views on the “social world”. The dynamics behind news framing processes are manifold and complex; factors related to human cognition, language, and information processing play as much a role as historical contingencies, decidedly political motivations, economic pressures, and implicit as well as explicit social dispositions on part of communicators (i.e., journalists) and receivers (i.e., audiences). While individual reception and processing of news media content is a highly complex process that depends on various moderating factors such as demographics, education, personal experiences etc., it is hard to deny that media reporting still largely determines how and what issues make it into the public sphere and thus what media audiences know about these issues. This is connected to media effects research and the underlying assumption that knowledge about the world and opinion towards it are at least to some degree influenced by media content (e.g., Gerbner’s cultivation theory in the 1960s). Researching news media reporting can reveal how journalistic practices shape the narratives through which audiences learn about events and what potential impact it can have on opinions, views, and the trajectory that political debates may take. Research on media frames, framing practices, and framing-/media effects is multidimensional and requires different methods for empirical investigation at different moments. However, a lot can already be learned by focusing on a selection of these processes: understanding news media content and -production through answering the key questions “what is being communicated?” and “how is the message delivered?” allows the researcher to 1) discern the social, cultural, and political dynamics behind mediated public discourses, including power structures and the making of meaning as well as 2) how these processes are shaped by practical factors and professional choices that lead to concrete media texts ready for consumption by audiences. Insights into both allow for hypothesising how news reporting may influence discussions and individual views. The present study has exactly this goal: to critically analyse relevant news media reporting’s content through a framing lens and to explore journalistic practices that shape the resulting news frames. While it cannot consider the framing-/media effects side, the chosen focus still allows the study to assess how a highly polarising issue of

global relevance is being treated in TV news reporting that aims to cater to a cosmopolitan audience.

Journalism in the Early 21st Century: A Transforming Profession Under Pressure

Before investigating the editorial decisions, journalistic performance, and framing devices used in refugee stories, one needs to understand the overall system in which news organizations and journalists operate. Weischenberg's (1994) onion model ("Zwiebelmodell") of journalism illustrates the different social, economic, and political layers that shape journalistic practices and the production of media content from the macro- to the micro-level. It makes clear that complex interactions of different factors and actors drive the processes that eventually lead to a concrete piece of media content, may that be a news article, a TV news clip or any other (multi-)media format for presenting and sharing journalistic narratives. Shoemaker & Reese (2014) updated Weischenberg's original model by adding a fifth layer, the individual journalist, whose actions depend to a large degree on the organization and the broader social system that they are part of (Figure 1). If we want to understand how issues of societal relevance are being processed and portrayed by news media organisations, we need to take a critical-analytical view on the situatedness of journalistic practitioners and the means for meaning making through media content at their disposal.

The onion model illustrates that journalistic practices and roles are shaped by diverse social, economic, cultural, and political factors. News routines and journalistic decision-making have an impact on processes of news media production and content. That, in turn, plays an important role in the framing of societal development, events, and challenges in mediated public discourses. How exactly new routines and journalists' views as well as practices determine the framing of the Syrian refugee crisis in an allegedly global news content is the central research interest of the present study.

Figure 1.1 The onion model (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014; Weischenberg, 1994)



It is imperative to first critically discuss and define the most important concepts: news routines, news values, news framing, and cosmopolitanism. For all of these a rich body of literature is available that needs to be thoroughly revised to yield a conceptual framework for the present study. One important aspect that these concepts share is their fluid, dynamic character; they are prone to constant change that is driven by cultural, technological, economic, and political factors. Also, the situatedness of a news outlet, the personal backgrounds of journalists, and the targeted media audience further shape the exact determination of new values, agenda-setting, as well as the manifestation of frames and the scope along the local to global spectrum. What “journalism” is and what it means to be a journalist is subsequently not easy to define. There is an ongoing debate on the role and function of journalism in modern society as well as the responsibilities of journalists and the relevance of their work for the public. These issues are of heightened importance in the age of digital transformation, datafication, and automation. With a critical eye on technological trends fundamentally reshaping the relationships between new outlets, media audiences, and digital platforms, Deuze and Witschge (2016) argue that journalism is “becoming”, rather than “being” (p.119). The rise of massive online platforms and the ubiquity of internet-savvy, digital devices for fast information sharing and -consumption inevitably transformed the journalistic profession and news routines. However, while new media technologies and economic models exert pressure and force news media to adapt at a rapid pace, journalism remains a cornerstone of society not least due to its public mission in many countries around the world, where it serves for the “institutionalized

production of facts, information and reference points of common interest for public circulation” (Couldry, 2016, p.21). Traditionally, journalism has a direct connection to democracy in the global West, as freedom of speech, transparency, accountability, and access to information are considered as vital for a functioning public sphere that is based on an informed citizenry. At least this is what normative models (Habermas, 1989) prescribe on the assumption that in an open, democratic society “people have a right to know”. The relationship between politics and news media is more complicated than that. The high expectations and laudable goals of journalism as a fourth estate often stand in contrast to the realities of business needs and more or less openly voiced political affiliations of specific new media outlets. Not all journalists are paragons of democracy and there is no reason to expect them to be so in the first place. Moreover, there might not be just one single integrative public sphere, even though it appears as a powerful imagined social space that the political class and the media use as an orientation for their communicative actions (Habermas, 1989; Nguyen, 2017). Much rather, in modern democratic societies multiple public discourse of different sizes and social compositions emerge, collapse, vaporise and emerge again at the same time within a dynamic discursive network that is pluralistic and at times may even appear fragmented (Sunstein, 2017).

Nevertheless, many news media try to come close to these ideals and they are surely more often than not measured against these high standards by media audiences and political decision-makers (especially if it serves their agendas). Journalism is constantly in the critical gaze of the public, including academic research. In the case of the latter, a distinct field of research emerged in the form of journalism studies where some of the most important guiding questions still are “how do journalists work?” and “what are journalists’ routines?”. Simply put by Shoemaker and Reese (1996), routines in journalism are “those patterned, routinized, repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their jobs” (p. 100). It is exactly here where technological, political, cultural and economic influences trigger transformations that eventually have an impact on the framing of social reality through news media narratives (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2019). These transformations also make it rather difficult to clearly delineate journalism as a profession. In an age where virtually anyone can produce and share content with broader digital publics through online platforms, the traditional authority in public communication from a “third perspective”

is increasingly undermined. Even though journalists are still the legitimate actors in news discourses, their position is frequently challenged by the rise of “citizen journalists”, platformization and technological affordances that allow not only a plethora of (mis)information but also competing frames to circulate in digital environments. While many news topics have always been difficult to cover in an impartial and “fair” manner (e.g., migration, minorities, politics, election campaigns), online platforms and digital networks bring additional challenges in the form of instant audience feedback that can often be negative or even toxic. The “digital gaze” on journalists and journalism exerts constant pressure on (international) news media for several reasons: First, the instantaneity of news reporting is no longer exclusively held by the news media but via social media it expands to a virtually limitless number of communicators on the web. Second, this new networked communication environment creates a new type of competition in the attention economy where everyone tries to be the first with the largest exposure possible in the algorithm-driven digital public sphere (Pasquale, 2020). Third, the Internet and social media are a blessing and a curse for journalism: on the one hand, journalists can do extensive research, find new sources, and channels for their work, which can enrich the quality of their output. On the other hand, user-generated-content (UGC) is difficult to verify, moderate, and even poses as a potential competitor to legit news reporting. Journalists need to be very careful when using online sources and -contacts in news production, as false information can easily make its way online -especially around polarising societal developments, frictions, crises, conflicts such as the migration crisis of the 2010s. Finally, if a news media outlet has an international scope or aspires to reach a global audience, the vagueness of the (faceless) audience may make it difficult for journalists to give their output a concrete target, which in turn can hamper with implementing a global vision as nobody really feels “talked to”. Globalization is a reality, but it does not imply a worldwide homogenization of news interests. To the contrary, national, regional, and local affiliations remain strong throughout societies (vertically and horizontally), despite globalising trends in technology and media (Nguyen, 2017).

News Media and Global Migration Crises

One of the above-mentioned challenging topics for the news media is the Syrian refugee crisis stories. They have been running for almost a decade now and for many years

have become a “news routine” that is an occasional and expected item in the news agenda. At the peak of the crisis, audiences have consumed refugee or migrant stories and news packages on a daily basis. As Benedict Anderson (2006) puts it, this daily news consumption is a (mass) ceremony that is “replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others” (p.35). While this makes “them” as what an international news organization can think of a “cosmopolitan news audience”, the extent to which the perception reflects the truth is debatable. Especially for traditional legacy news media, audiences have often been conceptualized as “faceless masses”. Therefore, it is interesting to investigate how journalists and news organizations incorporate an understanding of the audience in their routines/ news work. Could it be that a news organization such as the BBC think of a cosmopolitan audience while gathering their news and distribute them on multiple platforms that are accessible to readers and viewers from all over the world? And if so, to what extent do journalists think that they perform a sort of “global journalism”? These are only some initial questions and will be further elaborated in the next pages.

Today, migration is highly politicized with increased border controls and oftentimes refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are seen as the “waste products of globalization” (Bauman, 2004, p. 66). The terms “refugee crisis” and “migration crisis” are two often interchangeably used key terms that were largely coined by political elites who try to control the influx of migrants through body politics (Wodak, 2021). International news media adopt this terminology from political discourse and contribute to their dissemination via the construction of new stories in which crisis-related language and imagery serve as framing devices (Vliegenhart & van Zoonen, 2011). A cursory glance at news headlines on refugees quickly revealed that news media often portray them as “illegals” and a problem that needs to be solved one way or the other. This happens through a “crisis” discourse that places emphasis on urgencies, challenges, pressures, plights, and uncertainties. Several general characteristics make crisis discourses distinct: First, talking about a crisis implies that society has reached a turning point (Bauman & Bordoni, 2014), which sets the expectation that a development may either go in a positive or negative direction. Surmising over the likelihood of events and attempts of predicting the future are inherent to crisis discourses, which are prone to “premediation” (Grusin, 2010): the virtual “play-through” of all imaginable scenarios. Seemingly endless expert rounds in which potential futures are discussed in considerable detail are exemplary for this. Since crisis moments are often connected to high social, economic, and political

stakes, it is rather unsurprising that the media address perceived uncertainty in this way. The so-called “migration crisis” or “refugee crisis” is no exception and indeed many news reports deal with questions of “what if?” Indeed, some of the BBC news packages’ headlines are as follows: “Can Turkey stop the migration flow?”, “What hope for Jordan's Syrian refugees?”.

Second, a crisis framing can fuel pre-existing anxieties and fears over the “unknown” in society. The early 21st century was marked by invasive security policies that were promoted as a reaction to the perceived threat of global terrorism, which also connected to a surge in racist sentiments and a general fear of the non-Western other in many European societies as well as North America. Current challenges posed by migration from the Middle East fall here into a continuum that started already before 9/11 with discourses about an alleged ‘clash of civilizations’ (Huntington, 1996). Othering and gazing at the non-European “other” have for decades centred on the foreign threat and perceived cultural incompatibility. Europeans are divided over how to deal with the arrival of strangers; governments and considerable parts of the public tend to disagree over questions of integration in different countries (for example in Germany in 2015).

Third, a crisis framing contributes to the securitization of the ‘migration issue’ in public discourse based on the logic of “admission vs rejection of refugees and asylum seekers” (Bauman, 2016, p.43). This logic in news media coverage, while endorsing governments’ official discourses, triggers a “security panic” and avoids looking into the global roots of the problem (Bauman, 2016, p.44). While migration flows triggered by conflict pose ethical, social, cultural, economic, and political challenges, one wonders who, according to the news discourse, actually has to lose the most: migrants/refugees or residents in host countries? Fear, transmitted through the news, TV shows and movies have become ubiquitous in everyday life, and it spreads the feeling of uncertainty. As Furedi argues: “it is not necessary for our imagination of fear to correspond to our experience of life” (2006, ix). However, people in target countries for migration flows fear these “strangers behind the door” (Bauman, 2016), thinking that their way of life may be under threat. This fear plays an important role in the framing of refugees in receiving countries and politicians harness that fear to advance their own agendas while benefiting from an almost permanent presence in the media and therefore in the public mind. In a world that many perceive as risky and uncertain, people themselves are seen as the primary

threat to others. This can increase alienation (Furedi, 2006), desensitisation, and open the door for dehumanisation and the political instrumentalization of fellow human beings' destinies. Creating distance towards the "other" / the "unknown" is an important factor in this process. The present study sets out to show how legacy news media in the West played a key role in creating such distance through their news framing practices, which partially stand in contrast to their self-proclaimed ethical standards for journalistic practice. This includes one of the most trusted new media organisations in the world: the UK-based British Broadcasting Company (BBC). While primarily serving a national mission of public information, education, and entertainment, the BBC also maintains a globally oriented (online) news broadcasting service that aspires to reach viewers around the world. A 2020 data show that BBC.com is the world's most visited news site (BBC Media Centre). Dubbed BBC World News, the channel aims to transcend national boundaries and provide quality journalism on current global issues reaching 452 million homes around the world (BBC, 2021a). This includes the Syrian refugee crisis, which is by itself an inherently transnational-global development. However, the proposed cosmopolitan vision of the BBC World News raises questions about its practicality, both on the conceptual and empirical levels of critical inquiry.

1.1.Limits of Cosmopolitanism

In short, the concept of cosmopolitanism describes social interactions (including cultural, economic, and political) that somehow transcend local, regional, and national boundaries. This is not to be confused with "internationalism", where closed social units in the form of distinguishable nation-states interact with each other. Cosmopolitanism is closer to transnationalism and globalization: the formation of relationships that span across different localities and that condense into complex networks of communication. Examples for such cosmopolitan social formations are global political movements (e.g., against climate change), bodies for transnational governance (e.g., the European Union), or global business operations. The media sector provides further examples with numerous news outlets that have their roots in broadcasting but also print and aim for global audiences (BBC, Deutsche Welle, France24, Euronews, RT, just to name a few). The rise of the Internet and the ensuing digital transformation on a massive scale only further catalysed the dissolution of perceived borders across societal domains. While this development does by no means mark an end to the nation-state as a social entity, thinking

about social transformations in exclusively national dimensions has been criticised over the past decades.

Several authors postulated that the second half of the 20th century saw the emergence of a post-national, global, cosmopolitan world (Beck, 1992, 2006; Luhmann, 1997; Habermas, 2001, Delanty, 2009). One leading thinker is German sociologist Ulrich Beck, who wrote extensively about globalization, the world risk society, cosmopolitanism, and the limitation of what he calls “methodological nationalism” (Beck, 2006). According to Beck, “cosmopolitanism is much more than a political theory, a philosophical utopia (or dystopia for others), a governance programme, a personal lifestyle or a mental state-of-mind. *It is the reality of our times*” (Blank, 2014, p.66). Modern societies are entangled in flows of communication and material matters that transcend mostly illusionary national borders and form complex, highly dynamic, and erratic networks around the globe. A national focus in daily life may be a constructed reality to many but critical researchers need to take a broader view and question the assumptions of the national perspective. Especially the social sciences, including communication and media studies, should overcome the limitations of thinking in national contexts that are often portrayed as secluded, closed, and independent social containers, which they cannot be looking at the scope of transnational-global interaction in culture, politics, and especially the economy. Beck argues that much of Western sociology had been delimiting itself with a skewed outlook on the national context right in front of it rather than considering that external influences always penetrate and shape seemingly separate social formations. He describes this flawed approach to sociological inquiry as “methodological nationalism”: the uncritical acceptance of simplistic dichotomies that comes with the assumption that societies are somehow nationally closed containers, such as us vs. them, majority vs. minority, national vs. international (Blank, 2014). Beck suggests that to overcome these potentially false and simplistic categorisations and to approach more accurate descriptions of social reality -which is essential for successful critical analysis- it is important to acknowledge that despite national discourses, most societies are globally interconnected on various levels. For example, Europe can no longer be analysed in separate realms of *cosmos* (universe), *polis* (cities) and *polites* (citizens): legislations and regulations, social and cultural interaction, economic activity, in short: virtually all domains that make modern societies are exposed to and highly sensitive to stimuli from “outside” the national view. Most European societies are literally borderless, consisting of diverse demographic

groups of which especially those with migrant-roots maintain transnational social networks, and where cultural products from around the world circulate on a wide scale.

Nation-states may be “real fantasies” (Drake, 2010) of real consequences, but they are nevertheless part of a transnational-global reality and often have visibly cosmopolitan social formations. However, a cosmopolitan reality is not always a directly felt, immediate experience and cannot be seen as a normative view that individuals in a society automatically subscribe to. Beck himself points out that his proposition of cosmopolitanism should not be read as prescriptive but rather descriptive of contemporary social realities. His primary examples for the tensions and contradictions between the cosmopolitan and the national are the vast metropolises or global cities that display “the logic of this and that, of globalism and localism, of the transnational that cohabits with the national.” (Blank, 2014, p.68). Maybe what is already being experienced, in line with Beck’s arguments is *this and that*:

[W]e don’t have to think through the binary either/or but can instead see that things that seem opposite to each other can actually coexist: this is the logic of this and that. Cosmopolitanism, as mentioned above, is this and that: national and international, global and local. (Blank, 2014, p.68)

However, people may live in global times but can be either ignorant about it or actively reject it. This is strikingly obvious on political discourses across the world but especially in Europe where cosmopolitan aspirations and urges for national control and quasi-seclusion often clash. Suddenly, “the virtue of flexibility mutates into the vice of potentially criminal immigration” (Beck, 2000, p.93). Many European political leaders on the political right promote agendas that promise restoration and preservation of the “national cause”. Migration is an inherently global challenge that can trigger rapid social transformation and naturally becomes a primary target for political groups ranging from the centre-right to far right, though left-leaning parties also struggle with this highly controversial issue. People leaving their homes to find better fortunes is a logical consequence of geopolitics and economic globalization but is often portrayed as disaster befalling unsuspecting societies that are seemingly disconnected to the causes of migration. Any migration flow in recent history is a primary example for the interplay between local, regional, national, international, transnational, and global dimensions.

Both cosmopolitan formations and national experiences are equally essential parts of social reality. What does that mean for the news media, who are 1) a window to the world and 2) often play a key role in the construction and maintenance of nation-states as “imagined communities” (Anderson, 2006; Habermas, 1989)? And what are the motivations, goals, and the exact function of news broadcasters that aim for a global-cosmopolitan audience? This is the central research interest of this study, which aims to critically assess how normative proclamations about cosmopolitanism translate or fail to translate into journalistic practice in the highly volatile context of migration. The concept of cosmopolitanism will be approached from two perspectives: first from the audiences’ and second from the journalists’ perspective. Audiences are rather vague, often quite artificial social categorisation that nevertheless are essential for the development of concrete editorial policies that directly shape journalistic practices. Hence, the following section tries to shed some light on this very important yet ominous entity first, before the argumentation shifts focus to journalistic practitioners in the cosmopolitan context.

1.1.1. A Cosmopolitan Audience?

From a historical perspective, news media have always played a key role in the construction of the ‘imagined community’ of the modern nation-state (Anderson, 2006). The newspaper first connected political-economic elites and then later, with increasing literacy, larger populations within a shared discursive context that allowed for the formation of common political-cultural identities in a faster paced temporal dimension than in the rather asynchronous age before print. Radio broadcasting accelerated the speed further, approaching “real-time” discursivity and expanding reach to broad and diverse audiences. Television pushed the synchronisation of complex societies further and became a foundational element in the project of nation-state building (Anderson, 2006; Smith, 1991). Examples are plentiful, as virtually every nation on the planet has one or more TV broadcasting institutions that have the explicit “mandate” and mission to cater to a national audience; that is to inform and educate but also to serve as a pillar of national mainstream culture by creating and distributing cultural output. These media organisations are often perceived as anchors of society and culture and are in many countries, especially in Europe, closely associated with the public sector. Germany has the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (ARD), the UK the *British Broadcasting Corporation* BBC, France the *France Televisions*, and the

Netherlands the *Nederlandse Publieke Omroep* (NPO), just to name a few. Most of these are funded by taxpayers and are officially independent from the government.

For decades, public broadcasting organisations were considered a primary source for “objective” quality journalism on TV and ritualised news consumption throughout society: millions of families would sit together in their living rooms to watch the evening news shows. The news would inform the nuclear family, which is another core element of nation-state building, about current events of relevance to the assumed national audience in focus. Public broadcasters, like other mass media, would select relevant news stories based on news factors such as proximity (physical and psychological proximity as distinguished by Cohen et. al, 1990) and cultural relevance, agenda-setting policies, and establish a common catalogue of political, cultural, economic, and social references that is updated daily (Mcquail & Deuze, 2020, Mccombs & Shaw, 1972, Galtung & Ruge, 1965, Harcup & O’Neil 2017, Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). They maintained this reputation and function also throughout the rapid digital transformation that started in the late 1990s. (Martin, 2021).

News selection processes not only aim for providing orientation through the complexity of social reality and facilitate sense making of current developments for audiences but also contribute to the formation of communities through their prioritisation of regional and/or local developments. However, the news also connects audiences to the world outside of the perceived borders of the nation. The other, the foreign, the distant are not disconnected but firmly embedded in daily news agendas. To what extent foreign news matters and what the felt impact of foreign developments is depends on each specific issue but ranges from the profound (e.g., terrorist attacks) to the mundane (e.g., a panda being born in a zoo abroad). The perception of the relevance of foreign hard- and soft news is often shaped by considerations of proximity and relevance. For example, political developments in the USA have for many European news outlets a higher news value than those in Kazakhstan. A 1988 study on USA newspapers shows that proximity of events is a factor in selection of news sources; if the event is geographically closer, a variety of sources is used in the news, but if the event is distant, journalists rely on official sources only (Martin, 1988). This shows how in-depth the story is covered and how proximity plays an important role in assigning the news value and consequently how the story is covered. However, despite these differentiations in the ranking of relevance, news media

provide access to a heavily skewed yet undeniably global view of current events around the world. This is where news reporting reveals a link to Beck's take on cosmopolitanism: it can provide access to distant developments and highlight its local relevance -or at least allow viewers to determine such themselves. For example, a Polish farmer may be able to follow issues that unfold in China through the news for a variety of reasons, for example an interest in the economic ripple effects for global trade.

From a normative perspective, the news does not merely acknowledge the "other" but also creates a shared understanding of the globalised world with all its hypothetical as well as manifest risks and possibilities. Yet despite TV news media's function to bring the world closer to their audiences, their role in shaping and maintaining "national consciousness" (Anderson, 2006, p.37) set clear limits to the emergence of a genuinely cosmopolitan consciousness. This is especially visible in foreign news coverage. The geographical proximity does not only affect the news value assigned by the journalist (and editorial team) but also affects the script (e.g., "refugees are coming to Europe", "yet they keep coming"). While TV news invites its audiences to global events and updates, the journalist in the field takes on the role of a bridge between what is going on 'here' (distant location) and what it means for 'there' (own location/ country). This makes the domestic audiences feel connected to others; while practicing a daily ritual, they actually practice national consciousness (rather than cosmopolitan). Daniel Dayan (2005) suggests that the media play a crucial role in "inviting, shaping and managing the focusing of collective attention and hence, the construction of the collective fictions through which publics come into being, perform and, eventually, die." (p.12). Arguably, audiences come together to form these collective fictions only during certain (global) media events (Dayan & Katz, 1992; Couldry et al., 2009) such as natural disasters, terrorist attacks, wars, mass migration and so on. These collective fictions of "audiences" and/or "publics" cease to exist as soon as the happening or event is no longer in the media; in other words, when the media stop broadcasting stories related to that event on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis for a given time period. Media events are by nature temporary, and they eventually fade out.

The Western legacy news media with an international scope claim to address transnational audiences and aspire to report about events from around the world to contribute to a "cosmopolitan consciousness". However, their reporting oftentimes remains Eurocentric if not nationally-oriented, e.g., British, French or German, depending

on the outlet. French international news outlet France 24's CEO states that they offer a decidedly "French perspective" on global current affairs" to distinguish themselves from other broadcasters (France 24, n.d., p.5). German international news outlet Deutsche Welle (DW) combines global/international and regional/local elements with a focus on Germany. DW defines its programming along these lines and suggest that their offerings "convey Germany as a liberal democracy rooted in European culture, providing a forum for German (and other) points of view on important topics, with the aim of promoting understanding and the exchange of ideas among different cultures and peoples" (Deutsche Welle, n.d.). This mission statement clearly underlines the national perspective on international news. The BBC World News, a 24/7 international news outlet operated under the BBC Global News Ltd division of the BBC, is not much different from its fellow European counterparts. One of the BBC's five public purposes is stated in its Royal Charter as follows: "To reflect the United Kingdom, its culture and values to the world" (BBC, n.d.). BBC World News is one of the most renowned news brands that attracts viewers worldwide and strikingly exemplifies the contradictions of how a locally/nationally rooted new outlet makes attempts to take a global view in its conceptualisation of its audience.

1.1.2. A Cosmopolitan Journalism?

Audiences are often constructed from a rather local (or regional) outlook that news media organisations have internalised in their daily routines; their visions of who the community is and what the public relevant to them looks like are the determining factors. Most media organisations focus on the citizenry or demos that constitute the society that they are located in and help maintain through mass-communication. This process relies as much on fiction as it does on material factors (e.g., land, people, borders). Journalism creates a real fiction and establishes a shared discursive context for national contexts. As a profession and social system (Luhmann, 1995), journalism is essential for the "national project". However, what does the situation look like for a form of journalism that proclaims to be transnational or cosmopolitan in scope? Who is the audience, what unites them, and how can cosmopolitan journalism reach them with reporting about issues that matter to them? What does cosmopolitan journalism try to achieve -and does it even exist? Given the complexities and challenges that come with an ambiguous concept such as the "cosmopolitanism" and "audience", these questions are not easily answerable.

Discussions about transnational or cosmopolitan media have a relatively long tradition in the European context. More specifically, political scientists as well as media- and communication scholars have been asking the question of whether there is a transnational European public sphere for almost twenty years by now (Hepp et al., 2012; Nguyen, 2017; Risse, 2015). This type of research aims for better understanding whether the European Union (EU) as a catalyst for the transnationalisation of European politics and regulations among its member-states also has a European public sphere in which matters of European relevance are issues for public discourses that transcend national borders. National and decidedly “European” news outlets are the primary research subjects, as they are (quite normatively) considered as potential pillars of transnational public discursivity. Overall, theorisation and empirical findings come to two general findings: first, there is probably not one holistic, socially coherent European public sphere carried by European news media for a European demos; while there are a few transnational outlets that aspire to address a European audience (e.g., Euronews, Euractive, The Financial Times), these remain largely elite-oriented and do not attract mass audiences across the EU. The fully transnational, primarily European public sphere exists and is of political relevance given its centre of gravity around political elites but it is ultimately rather small in scope. Second, several studies show that there is a continuous “Europeanisation” of national media discourses: Europe as a political idea that is of direct local relevance and the increasing interconnectedness among EU member-states have become visible strains in political news reporting across different European countries. Nationally oriented news media are the connectors to the transnational stage and establish a common context of references but always from a local-regional angle.

What the research for the EU-context shows is that defining and operationalising transnational or cosmopolitan forms of the public sphere take a different form from the normative blueprints that have been put forward in theorisation of the nation-state due to obvious difference between the transnational and national dimensions: 1) transnational/cosmopolitan public discourses are more ephemeral due to the increased vagueness and ambiguities of who the transnational/cosmopolitan audience is; 2) transnational/cosmopolitan public discourses may be not as structurally permanent and potentially more temporary than national ones; 3) there is no transnational public sphere without national public spheres; 4) news media with national and transnational angles are constitutive factors for the emergence of a transnational public sphere; 5) transnational

public discourses need a centre of gravity, a focal point, or a “common cause”, which is EU politics for the European context. The last point is very important, as the transnational European public sphere might be somewhat fuzzy and diffuse but still has a distinct political-economic anchor that is not unsimilar to the national projects that it transcends. European citizens share a common political, economic, and cultural context which raises the question: what would be this anchor, this *raison d’être* for a cosmopolitan public sphere maintained by cosmopolitan journalism that centres on a cosmopolitan audience?

According to Calhoun (2002), “the most powerful postnational or cosmopolitan social imaginary is that of the market” (p.170). Global society is capitalist society, simply put. The exchange of goods and money happens through networks that have long transcended national borders, if they were ever bound to them. Within this framework, communicative flows may suffer from dysfunctions as economic developments are prioritised and may even “block-out social or political issues” (Nguyen, 2017, p.73). Trade, finance, and economic issues are often at the centre of global media discourses; especially when they are a cause of or affected by conflicts and crises, as seen in the recent US-China “trade war” or the global banking crisis. Agenda-setting processes in the media organizations are therefore closely connected to market forces, but also shaped by the social and cultural systems that they belong to (Nguyen, 2017; Shoemaker & Reese, 2014; Weischenberg, 1994). However, “wicked problems” such as the migration crisis with its transnational root causes and global effects quickly attain global media interest as well, not least due to its multidimensionality: it causes political, social, and economic frictions. Risks are manifold in the migration crisis for those that are forced to leave their homes but also in the perception of those who are residents in the target countries of migrants. One could argue that it is economic stakes and risks posed by global developments that give cosmopolitan journalism its purpose, though the question still remains what audience is supposed to make what decisions with the information that they would be provided with from a cosmopolitan news outlet. Furthermore, does a focus on economic issues and/or risks suffice to make a news outlet cosmopolitan in reach? The moments of global or transnational relevance might be even more fleeting than local or regional ones, which may make cosmopolitan journalism more episodic than the nationally-oriented already is (Peters, 2007).

Nevertheless, journalism is for many the primary access point to developments on the global stage, including its worst crises; journalists often witness human suffering caused by war, forced displacement, and the entailed refugee struggles. While covering these tragic events, journalists as individual actors add their own layers of meaning in the framing of the respective news stories. It is the journalist as a communicative agent with some autonomy that makes crucial decisions about what aspect of reality is presented in what way. Journalists are the connectors or “bridge-builders” between media audiences and the “others” who are suffering. Arguably, they need to understand both their audiences and the people who suffer from a misfortune that has news value. From a research perspective, it seems easier to describe and analyse the role and working routines of journalists than defining and researching media audiences, especially if they are supposed to be the recipients of a cosmopolitan angle on current issues. One is more manifest and concrete than the other. However, it raises the question of how journalists perceive and approach their notions of the cosmopolitan audience when producing news media content with a focus on “foreign” developments: what assumptions do they have about them? How do they decide what aspects of an event are relevant? Who is the audience for reporting that aspires to transcend national- and cultural borders? How do they calculate emotional impact for such an imagined social entity? It is difficult to imagine how journalists imagine a cosmopolitan audience, since it is such a diffuse concept.

As the present study will show, cosmopolitan journalism may only exist as a normative idea, a selection of vague values that may amount to a loose framework in which some journalists try to put a cosmopolitan view into practice but ultimately, the empirical evidence suggest that it does not exist beyond its partially vocal proclamation.

1.2.Contextualizing the Thesis - Why the BBC?

The BBC has been described as the largest public service media organisation in Europe and is one of the most recognisable, prominent media brands in the world. Conscious of its reach and reputation, the BBC proclaims on its website to be “the world’s leading public service broadcaster” (BBC, n.d.). It is a broadcasting agency with a national focus and public mission that has evolved into a multi-media organisation with a global reach, commercial activities, and diverse platforms. Its global operations are in the hands

of the BBC Global News Limited, which includes for example the BBC Studios, BBC World News and BBC News.com (BBC, n.d.a.) The organisation's commercial activities support the BBC's other (main) activities such as the BBC One, BBC Radio etc (McPhail & Phipps, 2020, p.199). For almost a century, the BBC has established itself as a reliable source of news and other media content but also as a role model abroad for how to build and operate a public broadcasting service. Its own reach is wide in scope, as "one in sixteen adults around the world are thought to use BBC's news services" (Mills, 2016, p.1). The BBC World News, the 24-hour international news channel, is accessible to audiences in over 200 countries (BBC, 2021) and bbc.com, the BBC's global commercial news website, attracts 139 million unique visitors per month (BBC News Global, n.d.). The BBC includes both domestic/national broadcast media (e.g., BBC1) and the international broadcast media (e.g., BBC World News). The main differences between the nationally oriented and the globally oriented outlets offered by the BBC are 1) the respective target audiences and 2) the underlying funding model. Concerning the first point, the BBC on the one hand speaks to a national audience in the UK, where it offers a national program for the whole country and localised coverage for major regions (e.g., North, South, London, Yorkshire); the BBC News broadcasts in English and the BBC News website (bbc.com) is the largest provider of online news in the UK and the most popular brand in terms of weekly reach (Reuters Digital News Report, 2020). On the other, it addresses a global audience which is less clearly defined but also has channels for regional audiences (e.g., in Arabic or Persian). While the BBC World News on TV is broadcasting in English, BBC World Service with its radio, TV and online branches provide content in more than 40 languages (BBC, n.d.c.). In respect to finances, the BBC's domestic operations are subject to licence fees paid by UK audiences, which is similar to other public broadcasting funding models in Europe and elsewhere. However, BBC Global News Limited is commercially funded (mainly through branded content, sponsorship solutions and advertising) and operates BBC World News and bbc.com (BBC Global News, n.d.; BBC, n.d.a.). Despite these structural differences, there are no separate editorial policies for producing journalistic content.

In addition, Britain once was an imperialist power, and the country still shows considerable interest in current developments across its former colonies and domains. Given the country's imperial past and continuous economic and cultural involvement with its commonwealth, it is not surprising that the BBC takes a global view that is most

concretely expressed in its BBC World Service. The coverage of world regions that used to be part of the British sphere of imperial-colonial interest feature prominently in the global broadcaster's agenda, such as Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. The BBC's international news coverage is directly connected to the country's history as an imperial power and appears to address a British and a global audience -also located in its former colonies- at the same time. It thus makes for an insightful case for critically exploring how an internationally renowned broadcasting agency attempts to position itself as a global-cosmopolitan news outlet that aspires to cater to a global-cosmopolitan audience -with all the contradictions and tensions that such an aspiration in an inherently profit-driven global media ecology entails. In recent years, the BBC faces a twofold challenge: first, there are critical issues on a domestic level concerning e.g., discussions about license fees, local- and regional reporting, and Brexit; second, there is the ongoing digital transformation of the media sector, which also affects the BBC's local and global standing as a news outlet. The mission of BBC Global News is stated as follows: "BBC Global News' mission is to be the best and most trusted international news provider in the world, whilst growing the BBC's international news audiences and operating as a commercially efficient business." (BBC, n.d.a.).

Though the BBC Global News' operations have a more commercial infrastructure and explicitly global outlook, they are still part of the broader BBC as a public service and thus share its public mission and purpose. This causes tensions or a "dilemma", as the goals of running a commercially efficient business can be at odds with the aspiration to serve the public. One obvious question is how to square market needs and customer centric operations with accomplishing a public mission of informing and educating. The BBC is surely not the only media organisation that faces this fundamental challenge, which has been an issue in the public media sector since the 1990s. Another problem is how to define this public mission in respect to what public. As mentioned earlier, perhaps the BBC's targeted public can be understood as the sum of all of its audiences; regional, national and international. Yet this raises a number of questions: if both national and cosmopolitan audiences make the "public", then how does the BBC approach each differently in terms of news reporting (agenda-setting and framing)? How do journalists approach their cosmopolitan audiences?

While there is a plethora of research on the BBC as a public service broadcaster, its history, coverage and challenges both domestically but also globally, few studies are available on the limits of its cosmopolitan outlook in respect to the coverage of distant suffering and journalists' practices while covering a humanitarian crisis; namely the Syrian 'refugee crisis'. The present study addresses this research gap and shows that the BBC World News appears to take a rather "glocal" approach to international news instead of a genuinely cosmopolitan one. Meaning: their allegedly cosmopolitan news carries a visibly British perspective and thus a fundamentally Western angle. The idea that "the driving forces behind media are often national, rather than global, in scope" (Hafez, 2011, as cited by Dencik, 2013, p. 124) is often mentioned by scholars in the field and also applies to the case of the BBC. Traces of "Eurocentric provincialism" (Anderson, 2006); "the conceit that everything important in the modern world originated in Europe" (p. xiii) is practically ingrained in many European-based international news media and especially in the coverage of distant others. Given its reach, reputation, and focus on global developments -including extensive coverage of the refugee crisis- the BBC World News is an exemplary case for illustrating how the tensions between a strong national anchoring and global aspirations lead to considerable ethical challenges and cause contradictions in journalistic practice when it comes to covering border-transcending crises.

1.3. Research Questions and Thesis Outline

The present dissertation aims at exploring 1) news frames used in the BBC's coverage of the 'Syrian refugee crisis', 2) the limits of cosmopolitanism in relevant news packages and 3) whether BBC journalism is performed as a 'global' practice. This exploratory research is guided by a content analysis of news packages and interviews with journalists at the BBC who covered the Syrian refugee crisis. The research questions are as follows:

RQ1: How does the BBC World News frame the Syrian refugee crisis in their video news packages?

RQ2: To what extent do the BBC World News' packages on the Syrian refugee crisis reflect a cosmopolitan vision?

RQ3: How do BBC journalists perceive their own practices in TV reporting about crises?

Each of these questions is further elaborated upon in the respective sections of the literature review and through answering these a critique is offered on the limitations of cosmopolitanism in news reporting: it might be more of a slogan and vague outlook than a concrete editorial policy. The contributions of the dissertation to the academic discourse are twofold: first, it expands on the theorisation of cosmopolitanism as a normative framework for journalistic practices and further outlines how the realities of global crises reveal that a cosmopolitan outlook is more a fiction than a fact. This raises some ethical questions connected to the portrayal of the foreign other, which does not have any more visibility or agency in global reporting than in nationally-oriented news. Second, it provides empirical insights into framing practices of a global crisis that has become a defining moment of the 2010s and early 2020s; this includes data from the audio-visual analysis as well as interviews with journalists who are the key actors in the news framing processes in the refugee crisis reporting.

The originality of this research lies in bridging the existing gap in literature between cosmopolitanism and framing specifically in the coverage of the refugee crisis. There is a plethora of studies analysing the migration and refugee news through the lens of critical discourse analysis and understanding the mediation of ‘distant suffering’ (Chouliaraki, 2006; 2013, Kyriakidou, 2009). This study expands on these studies using a visual and textual frame analysis on video news packages and combining these findings with journalists’ own accounts of their coverage. In the following chapter (Chapter 2), the literature review discusses the key theories and concepts relevant to this research including cosmopolitanism, news selection processes, framing theory, journalistic performance, risk society and culture of fear. The discussion also focuses on the BBC as a case study and its ‘global outlook’ and TV news packages more specifically and the particular challenges to analyze these before moving onto the research design and methodology (Chapter 3).

This research primarily relies on mixed methods content analysis of news packages and on semi-structured interviews. Chapter 3 first explains this specific mixed-methods research design and its use in this study. Then, each method is

explained in detail including research units, sampling strategy, data collection, operationalizations, data analysis tools and discuss validity, reliability issues and ethical considerations when applicable. The results of the content analysis and interviews are shared in three main chapters namely: Chapter 4: Framing the Syrian Refugee Crisis in TV news packages, Chapter 5: Cosmopolitanism vs National Outlook and Chapter 6. Challenges of Covering Long-running Crises. Several subsections under each chapter combine the results from two methods and eventually the final chapter (Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion) provides the reader with answers to the research questions, summary of the main findings, theoretical implications and contribution to the literature, a critical reflection on the strengths and limitations of this study and finally recommendations for future studies.

While this empirical study has limitations, the researcher hopes to contribute to the wider field of media and communication studies, more specifically journalism studies. The aim is to shed light on the BBC World News' coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis, reveal the extent to which these packages reflect a national/European or cosmopolitan perspective and finally explore how BBC journalists who covered the crisis reflect on their own practices.

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter offers a rich theoretical framework that shapes a solid foundation for the study. It consists of six sub chapters; first cosmopolitanism is defined and its connections to news media and audiences are explored. Second, important theories on news selection processes and framing are explained. These include gatekeeping, agenda-setting, priming, framing and framing effects theories. With a theoretical lens of media effects, the role of visuals and emotions are discussed. This is then connected to mediated distant suffering and how visuals are important in this, but at the same time how these images and words can increasingly create a compassion fatigue both on the audiences and journalists' side. Third, crisis reporting is explored while specifically focusing on journalistic performance by answering these questions: What is foreign news as a genre and journalistic profession? How to define "crisis" for crisis reporting? What are the constraints of TV news routines? Forth sub chapter dives deeper into framing with a risk society and culture of fear perspective. This part does not only define what risk society is but also discusses the culture of fear in the risk society. It attempts at understanding the context in which uncertainties such as refugee crisis stories are framed. The final sub chapter dives deep into the BBC World News and its "global outlook" by closely reading the BBC's Editorial Guidelines and revealing important connections to the study. It also discusses the BBC's public and market orientation by situating the BBC World News within the BBC as an organisation. Final section in this sub chapter reflects on practical challenges to analyse TV news packages and journalistic performance.

2.1. Research on Cosmopolitanism and the News Media

Conceptualising and critically discussing globalization, internationalization, transnationalization, and cosmopolitanism has somewhat of a tradition in modern sociology and inevitably influences discussions and research in the related media studies

and communications. The cosmopolitan perspective basically argues that the idea of societies as somehow culturally, socially, and politically closed containers that take the form of modern nation-states is not only inaccurate but misleading. Flows of communication and the exchange of material and immaterial goods, including worldviews and to some degree even values and ethics, are inherently global and defy geographical and political borders. The academic discussion on cosmopolitanism is therefore tied to crucial reflections on globalization, which greatly accelerated in the 1990s and 2000s. The following sections discuss research on cosmopolitanism and the news media in detail. First, cosmopolitanism needs to be defined by turning to its historical roots and the academic literature.

2.1.1. Defining Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism is not a new term as it has been part of Western philosophical thought since at least the 18th century and, rather unsurprisingly, there is no one single definition for it. Its central tenet is the idea of communicative relationships, perspectives, and attitudes that somehow transcend the borders of the modernist nation-state. Cosmopolitanism as a theoretical construct is therefore linked to discussions of nationalism, internationalism, transnationalism, globalization, and also ethics (van Hooft, 2009). While the present chapter does not aim for an in-depth theorisation of different post-national political orders and dimensions for social interaction, it is important to briefly define the most important concepts and to distinguish them from the notion of cosmopolitanism postulated for the study of journalistic practice in context of the Syrian refugee crisis. This is important since they are partly used interchangeably, though each one describes a different form or dimension of interaction.

Nationalism describes discursive formations and -practices that make nation-states as socio-political entities manifest (Calhoun, 2007). Internationalism usually describes interactions, transactions, and relationships between nation-states (Sluga, 2012) as seemingly closed socio-political entities, usually enacted through the respective governments. Transnationalism describes flows of communication through border-transcending networks of social ties that can have a regional centre of gravity such as the European Union or evolve around diasporas and migrant communities (Nguyen, 2017). Globalization describes meta-transformation in the economy, politics, and societies across the world. Finally, it is proposed to view cosmopolitanism as a critical perspective to

understand the social impacts of global transformations and most importantly global crises. Cosmopolitanism is a complex topic that asks for a transdisciplinary view, as it has been at the centre of attention across academic subjects, most importantly philosophy, sociology, political sciences, media- and communication studies, and cultural studies. Depending on the respective angle, cosmopolitanism can describe a normative worldview, an individual lifestyle, or a social formation among other things. In short, it is a fuzzy, multilayered concept that is quite open to interpretation, despite some consistent core assumptions about its non-national nature.

In Immanuel Kant's (1957) and later on Jürgen Habermas' (1997) understanding of cosmopolitanism is essentially normative: a way to view the world and interact within it with others, ideally towards a condition of beneficial coexistence that overcomes the tensions and conflicts that inevitably arise when different strong national allegiances clash. Cosmopolitanism for Kant means something active, a task, a conscious and voluntary choice (Beck, 2010, p.1348) which creates an ideal world where there is no such conception as "stranger". A stranger is somebody that people would naturally mistrust, so in a world where there are no strangers there would be less to worry about. Instead, cooperation beyond narrow local interests becomes possible and world citizens would be able to focus on advancing knowledge, creating wealth etc. instead of engaging in disputes and wars. Habermas makes a similar argument when he discusses a potential cosmopolitan political order that could allow democracies that build on the emancipated citizen to engage in deliberation-based decision making on a global scale. To put it in a simplified way, in this broader line of thought cosmopolitanism directly connects to ideas and principles of democracy, participation, and deliberation. These proposals for a cosmopolitan worldview are inherently Eurocentric and were deeply influential on ideas for a Pan-European democracy within the context of the European Union (Nguyen, 2017; Habermas, 2008; Beck & Grande, 2007).

Cosmopolitanism is also a key concept in Beck's (1999; 2006) expansive work on theorising the *world risk society*, in which he argues that "cosmopolitanism is no longer a dream but has become a social reality, however distorted" (2006, p.44). This is the result of globalization, which accelerated especially after World War II. According to Beck (2008), "the theme of globalization means that there are an increasing number of social processes that are indifferent to national boundaries." (p.80). Neither time nor space

mattered anymore, people could work across borders thanks to new communication technologies. Harvey (1989) coined the term “time-space compression” for this kind of understanding of globalization, which further influenced Featherstone’s (1990), Appadurai’s (1990) and Giddens’ (1991) work on globalization. New technology and the rise of global capitalism are the two intertwined motors of the manifold developments that gave rise to the cosmopolitan world that societies find themselves in. For Beck, cosmopolitanism is less of normative ideology but rather the dominant social formation in the late 20th century. He argues that “cosmopolitanism is an ideal and a reality of universalism that maintains a particularistic dimension, of globality that includes nationalism, and of trans-nationalism which does not exclude a plurality of ethnicities and of cultures.” (Blank, 2014, p.66). While societies exist in border-transcending networks of global reach, they also maintain a local focus in which different forms of nationalisms, national identities, national symbols (e.g. flags), and cultures continue to fulfill important functions for organising the lives of large groups of people. Globalized media bring the distant other a bit closer and there is a growing awareness across societies that developments in the world abroad are of direct relevance to the regional or local life worlds of people. Yet that does not trigger the dissolution of national contexts for social interaction and (collective) identity formation. Both the national and global sphere are linked and mutually influential (Beck & Levy, 2013).

In his analysis, Beck does not aim to glorify the emergence of a global society but rather critically points out how the cosmopolitan condition has become the norm for the globalised age. The current global system of complex economic and political interdependency is the outcome of a top-down steering process, as powerful countries and their elites greatly benefit from globalization. This makes Beck’s notion of cosmopolitanism markedly different from other propositions, as he places focus on analysing “what is” rather than “what should be” -with a particular interest in risks, threats, and crises as watershed moments on global developments. Crisis moments often collapse and transcend the boundaries between internal/national and external/international (Beck, 2006); they reveal how intrinsically linked societies are through the global networks that they build and that risks, and crises often cannot be viewed as isolated or contained to a specific geographical location. There are plenty of examples in the early 21st century, such as the global COVID-19 pandemic, the climate crisis, or the refugee crisis. To be able to deal with such problems, Beck proposes to take a cosmopolitan view, as strangers are

basically neighbours and global challenges concern all of us. This is an important component of his theory of the “world risk society”, in which the global transformations have unforeseeable effects, create a permanent sense of uncertainty, shrink distances, and trigger the formation of what could be to some extent described as a “global public sphere” (Volkmer, 1999; 2014).

However, Beck does not perceive this as a progression towards some sort of global fraternisation and democratisation: “The everyday experience of cosmopolitan interdependence is not a love affair of everyone with everyone. It arises in a climate of heightened global threats, which create an unavoidable pressure to cooperate” (2006, p.23). So, while arguing for a less local view in analysing, understanding, and approaching problems, Beck does not proclaim that cosmopolitanism leads to the formation of a world society that simply replaces the (idealised) notion of a national one. Cosmopolitanism in practice does not necessarily lead to a global convergence of individual and collective identities. And yet, since we are all trapped in a global network of influences that cannot be seen as locally isolated, Beck pleads for a broader, more inclusive view on current problems that can only be solved through cosmopolitan cooperation.

In his *Cosmopolitan Vision*, Beck (2006, p.7) suggests five principles of the cosmopolitan outlook: 1) the experience of crisis in world society, 2) recognition of cosmopolitan differences, 3) cosmopolitan empathy, 4) impossibility of world society without borders 5) the *mélange* principle. The first principle suggests that crises connect people and create a community of fate which abolishes the boundaries between them. The second principle is the result of a more open society where the “other” is being acknowledged. The third principle is closely connected to the second and concerns the ability of putting oneself into the other’s shoes and understanding that the situation in which the other finds herself can be virtually interchangeable. The fourth principle is concerned with the realization that a borderless world society is not possible. which results in redrawing of old boundaries. The world is globally interconnected but people build and rely on their local and regional life worlds that still constitute a distinguishable national context, however interdependent they might be with the perceived “outside world”. The last principle is about blending local, national, ethnic and religious cultures together and to benefit from diverse perspectives. In sum, these offer a perspective and framework for action that, according to Beck, meets the requirements of a complex cosmopolitan social

reality. The difference to previous propositions is that Beck (2006) outlines recommendations for how to pragmatically deal with challenges in a world that already is cosmopolitan rather than conceptualising an idealised notion of a world citizenry:

What, then, does the cosmopolitan outlook signify? It does not herald the first rays of universal brotherly love among peoples, or the dawn of the world republic, or a free-floating global outlook, or compulsory xenophilia. Nor is cosmopolitanism a kind of supplement that is supposed to replace nationalism and provincialism, for the very good reason that the ideas of human rights and democracy need a national base. Rather, the cosmopolitan outlook means that, in a world of global crises and danger produced by civilization, the old differentiations between internal and external, national and international, us and them, lose their validity and a new cosmopolitanism realism becomes essential to survival (p.13-14).

Does that mean that Beck's cosmopolitan vision is non-normative? Not necessarily so. Indeed, it is critical towards utopian visions of a borderless world and points to the continued relevance of national contexts. However, these are interwoven with other national contexts and global social formations that make it impossible to understand current challenges from an exclusively national point of view. In that sense, Beck is pragmatic: the world is complex and the national as well as cosmopolitan dimensions are intrinsically linked and mutually affective. After accepting the cosmopolitan state with all its apparent contradictions as an empirical fact or our shared social reality, he provides us with guidelines for action. This is where Beck makes his explicitly normative arguments: we need to embrace a cosmopolitan view to coordinate actions and approach challenges. Only the cosmopolitan view can register causes for and effects of global challenges, as it is sensitive towards "multiple spatial, temporal and practical both/and realities to which the national perspective remains blind" (Beck, 2006, p.33).

Global news media play an important role in Beck's *world risk society*, since they enable the emergence of a global awareness for the various profound challenges that are the result of expansive globalization in the economy, politics, and culture (Beck & Levy, 2013). While global markets have been a reality at least since the age of colonization and imperialism, the emergence of new media technologies in the second half of the 20th century triggered a synchronisation of attention towards events beyond the immediate

local-regional environment: “what is new is not forced mixing but awareness of it ... before a global public via the mass media” (Beck, 2006, p.21). Due to their propensity to cover events and issues that have a negative impact, news media put especially crises and conflicts on the top of their agendas. As a result, profound challenges such as the climate crisis, financial crisis, global COVID-19 pandemic, global terrorism, and the migration crisis are at the centre of global media attention. News media do not only report about them but the construction and distribution of “culturally manufactured actions, effects and insecurities” (Beck, 2006, p.23). In respect to the Syrian refugee crisis, the labelling of this flow of forced migration as a “crisis” thus already fuels insecurities and creates urgency for a cosmopolitan response. Beck calls this response or reflex “institutionalized cosmopolitanism” (2006, p.9): the formalised search to find cosmopolitan solutions to cosmopolitan crisis situations. Examples are diplomatic negotiations, meetings at international or transnational political organisations (e.g., the United Nations or European Union) etc. While institutional cosmopolitanism does not necessarily yield efficient solutions (or any solutions at all), it is often reactive to and thus to a considerable degree influenced by news media reporting (Robinson, 2015; Adler-Nissen et al., 2019).

To sum up, Beck offers a pragmatic-normative view on cosmopolitanism that emphasises the role of the media and is useful for 1) empirically investigating current global crises discourses through a cosmopolitan angle; his model for a ‘methodological cosmopolitanism’ in the social sciences as opposed to ‘methodological nationalism’ (Nguyen, 2017) is of particular relevance for the present study, as it proposes to analyse global challenges from a bird-eyes’ view that does not perceive nation-states as closed containers. This does not render countries as both contexts and agents (via national governments) void but situates them within the global-transnational networks of communication and social interaction that they are inescapably embedded in. The Syrian refugee crisis was triggered by geopolitical conflicts that involved political agencies (governments, movements, factions etc.) from around the world with interests in the Middle East and the resulting flow of forced migration ignored national borders. It is a cosmopolitan challenge par excellence in which people’s national affiliations, national forms of social organisation, and national interests are crucial factors that affect the refugee crisis’ spatial and temporal manifestations. 2) It further allows to analyse the role of news media reporting in co-constructing the refugee crisis as a discursive object and to assess how a self-proclaimed global news organisation such as the BBC World News

frame a global challenge in content that is in principle accessible to a cosmopolitan audience. Beck's cosmopolitan vision can be considered as a blueprint or gauge to explore the extent to which new media reporting in practice meets criteria of cosmopolitanism. Beck's dual notion of cosmopolitanism helps with describing global crisis discourses and normatively assessing them and is thus considered more suitable for the goals of the present study than discussions of cosmopolitanism as e.g., an ideal state of world governance.

While globalism describes flows of communication that cover the entire world and the resulting neoliberal economic growth, transnationalism has a more regional-focus and/or concerns several national contexts that intersect/collapse but not the entire world. Cosmopolitanism, in this research concerns both global and transnational contexts; it is explicitly concerned with communication in border-transcending contexts. However, while transnationalism and globalism describe structural social forms, cosmopolitanism also describes normative aspirations: taking a broader view to understand profound challenges. Journalism that wants to be cosmopolitan tries to implement a specific view on the world that wants to overcome the limitations of the nation-state and appeal to a post-national audience. It is therefore inherently normative. With this outlook in mind, the question to address is then: how does the BBC World News apply its version of a cosmopolitan outlook? To what extent can it truly overcome its national roots? Before these questions will be approached empirically, more needs to be said about what makes news potentially cosmopolitan in the first place.

2.1.2. Cosmopolitanism and the News

News channels with a global mission have a long history. One could argue that initiatives such as Radio Free Europe (later Radio Liberty) in fact had a cosmopolitan component to their operating logic, though firmly embedded in pro-Western, i.e., U.S., propaganda during the Cold War. Europe is a particularly interesting case when it comes to news outlets that take on a transnational-cosmopolitan perspective: partially stimulated and supported by the European Union, several news outlets address a decidedly "European" audience, such as EuroNews, Euro Observer and a number of online-based outlets (e.g., Euractive). However, there is no serious European counterpart to the (nationally oriented) public broadcasters such as the BBC, ARD, or France Télévisions. However, several, usually larger, countries maintain globally oriented news outlets as part

of their general cultural missions: for example, there are BBC World News from the UK - the case study of this research, Deutsche Welle from Germany, France 24 from France, CNN from the USA, and RT from Russia. While being a strong presence in the sector of international news broadcasting, European and/or Western channels saw various alternatives arise from other regions of the world. There is Al Jazeera based in Qatar, CCTV from China, TRT World from Turkey, Arirang from Korea, or NHK World from Japan. The list is expanding and most countries that have internationally oriented broadcasters maintain these primarily to increase their “soft power”. This points at an obvious tension in their role and function in cosmopolitan media discourses: on one hand, they make the attempt to reach audiences worldwide and thus to create a cosmopolitan context for media reporting but at the same time they serve for representing and sharing particular cultural-political views in more or less obvious manner. This raises the question of how cosmopolitan these ultimately nationally grounded organisations actually are.

Much has been written about cosmopolitanism in the context of (international) news media (Chouliaraki, 2006; 2008; Kyriakidou, 2009; 2015; Robertson, 2010; 2013). With the rise of TV broadcasting and then Internet-based communication, news media acquired unprecedented reach in a relatively short time of just a few decades. The research interest in news media and border-transcending discourses concerns broadly speaking the transforming journalistic practices, impact of technology, global media business models, cultural transformations, as well as identity- and community formation. While a number of journalism scholars called for a less parochial and more globally minded journalism (Reese, 2008; 2010; Ward, 2010) and a global outlook in news content (Berglez, 2008; Hafez, 2011; Van Leuven & Berglez, 2016), few studies focused on the limits of globalization in media, how journalists define their own work and imagine their audiences (Hafez, 2007; Lindell & Karlsson, 2016). As outlined before, traditional news media primarily focus on national audiences in a national context but international developments are intrinsically linked to these and journalism has always been alert to developments abroad that are considered newsworthy. While nation-states have real impacts and remain primary points of reference for social collectives to organise daily life on various intersecting dimensions that range from the very personal to a given country at large, it is easy to discern how interactions and dynamics on a transnational and global level exert great influence on regional and local contexts. Especially media technologies such as radio, TV, and more recently the rise of the Internet illustrate the apparent dissolution of

boundaries and borders quite strikingly. Mass media are usually characterized by their unidirectional way of communication, meaning that they “deliver an identical message to a potentially unlimited audience” (Küng, 2017, p.8). This model that is inherent to mass media assumes a one-way communication: “the receiver of the message cannot communicate with the sender of the message using the same media, and the representation or packaging of products is linear and fixed” (Küng, 2017, p.8). This linear, unidirectional or “one-way” communication model has been challenged with the advent of digital media technologies. They allow for a more circular communication model in which the receiver can also react to, or in other words “talk back to” the sender. The difficult relationship between social media and news media is exemplary for this reconfiguration of flows of public communication (Bruns, 2018; Helberger, 2020).

Forms of online communication are integral to contemporary news media organisations’ modes of operation and news consumption patterns by audiences who increasingly turn to online offerings (Kalogeropoulos, 2018). Most news organisations maintain websites, social media presences, and an increasing number also broadcast live over the Internet, either via their own digital channels or other online platforms (especially via YouTube). Many news organisations use websites to make their content accessible outside of broadcasting schedules, so audiences can watch news packages at a time and place that suits them. In this way, online communication technology empowers users in choosing when and how to consume news content but also to share it via social media and react to it via commenting (where possible). As a result, TV broadcasting agencies operate in two increasingly interwoven dimensions simultaneously. For example, the BBC’s broadcasting channels on “traditional” TV distribute content according to the “mass market delivery schedules” (Küng, 2017, p.37), while they also deliver content online so that (global) audiences can watch BBC programmes “anytime, anywhere and anyhow” (p.37). This online content does not only consist of digital news packages specifically prepared for online distribution but also recordings of the BBC’s domestic and/or global channels that were previously live broadcasted on TV and then simply transferred to the BBC websites (e.g., bbc.com/news/world). However, during this transfer, the TV news package content is often not further edited or adjusted (e.g., to appeal to a more global audience). This does not seem to be a strategic decision however, but rather a practical solution given limited resources for preparing and curating content for the BBC online presences. The technological possibilities are decisive for the global reach of a news outlet

but they do not per se determine who the intended target audience is and how it is catered to with what type of content.

There are two types of cosmopolitan news: news channels that explicitly aim for transnational-global audiences and “national” news outlets that incorporate a more cosmopolitan view in their news agendas. Both work with different notions of the audience, have different funding models, and different public missions. In the case of the BBC’s World News, the two distinct types meet within one broader media organisation. For the present study, the operational definition of cosmopolitanism in news media coverage is: cosmopolitan news media coverage is the extent to which reporting addresses current issues from a global-transnational perspective, i.e., frames them as 1) problems that transcend national contexts, i.e. they are not bound by any geographical or social borders, and 2) the reporting aims to address (appellate) a cosmopolitan audience that is not determined by national characteristics.

2.1.3. Cosmopolitanism, Global Media Ecologies, and Addressing the “Audience”

Research on cosmopolitanism and media inevitably raises questions about the very nature of journalistic work (newswork): for example, how do journalists define news value for a cosmopolitan audience - and who is this cosmopolitan audience in the first place? How do they reconcile/overcome their nationally oriented views and practices for cosmopolitan news reporting? To approach answers, it is important to critically scrutinise whether journalists working for international news organizations are simply workers of national imagination (Hänska, 2018) or whether they actually expand their audience's cosmopolitan imagination by connecting them to distant others (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006; Robertson, 2010; 2013). Before it is possible to assess journalistic efforts to cater to a cosmopolitan audience (and whether such a social category exists), it is necessary to critically discuss what a news media ‘audience’ is and how it differs from but also connects to notions of ‘community’ and the ‘public’. This in turn must include a reflection on how media technology is changing flows of communication in a globalised and deeply mediatised world (Couldry & Hepp, 2017).

The World News Ecology

Today's "world news ecology" (Cottle, 2010, p.475-484) is a complex, fluid network of communication that is shaped by diverse media technologies (traditional, alternative and digital) of which digital media triggered the most profound transformations over the past two decades. In an increasingly interconnected global sphere of media communication, the role of news media in the formation of power relations and representation of minorities such as migrants cannot be understated (Shaw, 1999). News media are critical for creating shared discursive contexts that span across multiple countries and they enable the emergence of a global public sphere, however fleeting or unstable such a social formation might be. By utilising diverse technological means (primarily online communication) for expanding their reach to audiences, news outlets are not only important sources of information about current issues and developments for their audiences but also co-shape and disseminate meaning and values.

This is particularly consequential for how different social groups view each other in crisis moments, where the political, economic, and social stakes are high. It has been well-established that the framing of specific social groups (e.g., ethnic-religious) in media discourses can contribute to the creation and perpetuation of harmful stereotypes (Bahaie & Malmir, 2017; Bleich & van der Veen, 2018; Kroon et al., 2020). Therefore, the "mediated relationship between the viewer and the seen, between us and the distant others demand sustained empirical research as much as theoretical speculation" (Beck, 2006, as cited in Cottle, 2009, p.145). News framing as a form of communicating about current events and developments to large audiences is not an abstract or ephemeral social phenomenon that has only philosophical, non-material meaning; to the contrary, framing in the news media can have tangible effects on discourses and thus on decision-making and behaviour, which in turn always have rather material, tangible consequences for the social groups involved and affected. The question is: how do news media make sense of a particular situation, portray stakeholders, assign responsibilities, determine relevance as well as impact for whom, and interpret consequences?

The forms of journalism that operate within a national frame of reference usually employ a language that favours "collective problematization" of forced migration and inscribe a "mediated ethics of care" that invites the audience/viewer to understand and

care about the plight of others (Cottle, 2009). When talking about foreign news coverage on migration, “generalised concern for the other”, “discourses of global compassion” and “distant suffering” (Boltanski, 1999; Höijer, 2004; Chouliaraki, 2006) are key concepts to address the issue. Both empirically and theoretically, studies often find that cosmopolitanism in media can be culturally thin, relatively infrequent and limited to some exceptional journalists' work (Cottle, 2013). In actuality, journalistic language more often than not establishes mutually exclusive categories of in-groups and out-groups, of “us” and “them”, in routine news packaging as daily newsroom/field practice. Similar to BBC World News, other international 24/7 news channels such as CNNI, Euronews, Deutsche Welle, Al Jazeera, NUK World, Press TV, France 24 and Russia Tonight are also racing to secure their share of the global news media market (Cushion, 2012, p.1). They all hold on to a constructed sense of globality with news featuring cultural differences and the lives of distant others. However, “these are routinely overshadowed by lead stories of conflict, crisis and catastrophe” (Cottle, 2009, p.1). Cottle (2013) suggests a deeper cosmopolitan departure from the “calculus of death” (p.4) in disaster coverage from distant places. It is a common practice in newsrooms to look at the number of deaths and the images coming from an affected area to decide whether it deserves a place in the news agenda and a few “minutes” in the evening news bulletin. However, sometimes news packaging goes beyond the calculus of death and comes closer to cosmopolitan ideals for journalism, where journalists focus on the human element of a news story. Pantti et al. (2012) argue that journalists' injunction to audiences to care is often an integral part of their professional attitude next to claims of impartiality.

The present study does not only look at the degree to which these packages communicate cosmopolitanism and how they frame the refugee crisis, but also investigates the limited use of new media technologies' affordances in news making. In news media giants, such as the BBC, media convergence occurs naturally as one product that belongs to one medium (e.g., TV news packages) can easily be transferred to the Internet. Here the choice of medium does not necessarily have an impact on the content. Usually, TV packages online look virtually the same as they do when broadcasted with some obvious difference in respect to media consumption: news clips available through websites can be watched at any time and are also shareable via online networks (e.g., social media, email). Or, put differently: content and formats native to TV broadcasting are made digitally available. However, it appears that audience feedback or audience

responses are not considered as essential for creating and sharing news content. Especially for the BBC World News, the use of the technological affordances of digital media is mostly limited to one-directional communication that is close to the ‘broadcast model’ (Miller, 2020). This raises important questions about the exact definition of a cosmopolitan audience and how a cosmopolitan news agency does (or does not) engage with it through the various media technologies at its disposal. It might well be that despite the potential of digital media to form cosmopolitan networks of communication, most news outlets with a global aspiration merely shout into the world where their outputs are picked by diverse groups of people that have few socio-political and cultural commonalities. If a true cosmopolitanism is actively sought after, then one would expect an actual audience engagement to be present. For this to happen, “the representation or packaging of products” can no longer be conceived as “linear and fixed” (Küng, 2017, p.8) but may need to find ways to establish two-way streets of communication. However, who would be that audience is the most pertinent question to address.

In a 2005 review of the BBC's Royal Charter by the House of Lords, the target audience is defined as follows: “BBC World targets English-speaking cosmopolitan decision-makers and opinion-formers across the globe from the least developed to developed countries. These tend to be highly-educated individuals both men and women, who have an international attitude and enthusiasm for news.” (p.24).

Defining Media Audiences

Over the past decades, scholars have attempted to distinguish between audience(s), community and public(s) (Livingstone, 2005; Dayan, 2005; Livingstone & Das, 2013; Hänska, 2018). Media technology and media organisations are constitutive factors for these social formations, since they determine to some degree what flows of communication are possible and how they come into being. For example, Livingstone (2005) surmised already one and a half decades ago whether the digital transformation would not change the very idea of what an “audience” is and how technology may transform it into “something more complex” (p.25), especially in regard to engagement with ‘others’. She should be proven right as recent years have strikingly shown how digital media, online platforms, big data, and artificial intelligence changed news media

consumption, community formation, and the social dynamics of the public sphere (e.g., Pasquale 2020; Nguyen 2017).

Indeed, the concept of the audience for the digital age could be considered more complex in the sense that it can hardly be described as a homogenous, faceless, and passive social entity. Audiences are today often pluralistic, diverse, reactive and sometimes also proactive, and not seldom transnational. This does not change when considering that most audiences are still defined in a somewhat top-down manner from the viewpoint of news media audiences who define them and try to cater to their assumed interests with their content agendas as well as editorial policies (Dayan, 2005). Audiences are inherently ambiguous in this respect: they are real, since there are actual people who consume media content based on interests and availability of media offerings; at the same time, they are fictional, since they are constructed from the outlook of media organisations media creators, including journalists, who are guided by their own visions of who the audience is that they want to address. Hartley (2002) offers a definition that captures the ambiguities of media audiences:

The term audience is used to describe a large number of unidentifiable people, usually united by their participation in media use. Given the varying demographics of this group, not to mention variations between nations, the concept itself is a means by which such an unknowable group can be imagined. Naming an audience usually also involves homogenising it, ascribing to it certain characteristics, needs, desires and concerns. The audience is a construction motivated by the paradigm in which it is imagined. (p.11).

Dayan (2005) differentiates between audience and public in the sense that audiences are usually understood as aggregates, as units that can be measured quantitatively with “no sociability, no performing, no feeling of identity, no ritual where belonging is affirmed or reinforced” (p.46), whereas publics are more than mere numbers who are “characterized by shared sociability, shared identity and a sense of identity” (p.46). Dayan (2005) further points to the nuances that make publics conceptually distinct from communities. A public is a larger community that involves a shared imagined identity. A community is not a public per se, since it can have rather particular interest and may not always meet the ‘universality’ criterion:

The normative distinction of public and community [...] is an essential part of media justification when it comes to opening or closing the agenda; when it comes to letting-in or bouncing-off an issue or a public; when it comes to gate-keeping [...] As opposed to communities, publics are submitted to the normative requirements of the general public sphere. They must offer a discourse directed towards the common good, a discourse that is potentially universal.” (Dayan, 2005, p.50-52).

Following this proposed characterisation of the public, it would be rather difficult to conceptualise audiences for an international news media outlet as publics with a shared identity. Does watching the same news at the same time suffice for sharing a common identity? Most likely not. In the case of national audiences the situation looks different: TV news audiences share other cultural, social, and linguistic commonalities that connect as components of a collective identity. TV news are the gateways to various events and rituals that make a society a nationally-anchored collective experiences, such as the performances of national sports teams at international competitions (e.g., the Olympics), important political procedures such as elections, cultural events, but also disasters and crises that directly affect “the nation”.

There are moments, however, where the impact of certain events transcend the national frame. Arguably, 9/11 was a typical example for such a global media event which challenged the notions of imagined communities prevalent among many broadcasting stations as this terror attack fixated different audiences from around the globe in front of their TVs (Grusin, 2010; Zelizer & Allan, 2002). The attack on the Twin Towers marked a turning point also in the history of TV broadcasting and the globalization of shared, mediated experiences. Millions watched in real-time as the second plane crashed into the New York City landmark. However, this tragic event also coincided with the acceleration of the digital transformation of news consumption, with online media such as blogs serving as increasingly important news sources during that time. In the decade that followed 9/11, the digitalisation of news media reconfigured the technological and social dynamics that shape the experience of the ‘moment’ (Mcquail, 2013). Notions of time and distance have changed in the digital era: On the one hand, content is instantly available and shareable through diverse online platforms with multiple audiences. On the other,

content is stored on cloud servers, easily retrievable at any time. Watching the present and rewatching the past are relatively effortless activities on the web that can happen simultaneously. This upends the routines of the pre-Internet news broadcasting model that basically coordinated for large audiences when they were addressed through neatly packaged and carefully timed TV programs. News consumption patterns changed from virtually centrally orchestrated (by news media organisations) to heavily personalised with the rise of the Internet and smartphones. These changes in news creation, distribution, and consumption inevitably affect the notion of the modern media audience as a collective imagined community. News consumers are to some extent more independent in their choices of how and when they want to watch, listen to, or read the news content (Reuters Digital News Report, 2021).

On the Notion of a Cosmopolitan Public Sphere

Discussions of media audiences as imagined communities, the limits of cosmopolitanism, and the role of journalism connect to the idea of the public sphere: how mediated information and communication shape discourses in specific political-social contexts and where these discourses have some form of tangible impact on political, social, cultural, and/or economic processes. A key concept here is the Habermasian “public sphere”, a widely cited, criticized but nevertheless highly influential normative blueprint for how public discourses with a focus on reason-based deliberation should work in an idealised democratic discourse culture. Simply put, free information and free but civil exchange of arguments between free citizens is the driver of progress in this model. Opposition to ideas is desirable but discussion should end with the better argument winning. Naturally, free citizens engaged in such debates need to share a basic common interest in the well-being of their shared community -and a shared belief in democracy. The news are a pillar of this type of public sphere as they ideally provide objective, critical, and publicly accessible information for everyone to make up their minds and form an opinion.

Hepp et al. (2012) argue that transnational public spheres are media discourses on issues that attract attention across different discourse cultures; some developments - especially crises of global proportions- triggers communicative activity across countries and serve as a common focal point of attention. For example, the Eurozone crisis led to the formation of a European-wide media discourse (Nguyen, 2017). Taking a more

empirical and less normative approach, this model of the transnational public sphere assumes that mediated communication clusters around a common theme and/or set of topics, which eventually creates a shared discursive context. Analysing the content of relevant media communication can then reveal how issues for transnational/global relevance are being portrayed by different media outlets. Transnational discourses are networks of public communicators and the content they produce. However, these transnational discourses are very different from national public spheres: structurally, they are carried by elites that find a common language with each other; they are also less stable and more dynamic, as transnational-global discourses have a fleeting, episodic character.

Transnationalisation or cosmopolitanisation of news media discourses can take two directions: 1) a horizontal trajectory that connects different public communicators in a common discursive context (e.g., foreign politicians and/or foreign media find a stage in national media); 2) a vertical trajectory, in which global issues receive more attention and space in national news media.

Some of the tenets that Habermas proposed in his original conceptualisation of the public sphere have been critically scrutinised over the past decades, most notably its implied elitism, exclusion of minority groups, assumptions about democratic discourse as reason-based (Calhoun, 2002; Fraser, 1992; Nguyen, 2017). Scholars in media studies and communication sciences also point to the complex, often ambiguous function of media technology in the formation of public discourses that goes beyond being mere sources of information (Karatzogianni et al., 2016; Santos et al., 2019). The structural transformation of the public sphere entered a new stage with the rise of online platforms, recommender algorithms, and automated, personalised news feeds. Hänska (2018) argues that the digital public sphere has become a “marketplace for attention” (p.108) in which journalists are only one among many voices that try to gain visibility. The fast-paced, heavily personalisation-focused attention economy of the digital media environment and its data-driven, algorithmic infrastructure stands in contrast to ideas of reason-based public deliberation. Rather than the implementation of some idealized democratic mission, it is the competition for attention that determines journalistic approaches to their audiences:

Conceptualizing the public sphere as a marketplace for attention, public communication as the competition for audiences and the public as the de facto

audiences (Webster, 2014) may thus be useful to understand how journalists frame their practices and how they ‘imagine’ the public. (Hänska, 2018, p.108).

Journalists often imagine their audience as a nation (Hänska, 2018; Lindell & Karlsson, 2016) and/or a community of fellow spectators (Chouliaraki, 2008) rather than a global public. Studies show that a “global outlook” (Ward, 2010) remains to be a normative aspiration rather than reality (Lindell & Karlsson, 2016; Atad, 2017). In their research with Swedish journalists Lindell & Karlsson (2016) found that: 1) Journalists do not conceptualize their work as cosmopolitan journalism although they share its normative visions; 2) They define their main audience as domestic audiences. Robertson (2010), based on her empirical study across six European news channels including the BBC World News and Deutsche Welle, observed this: “Rather than painting a different picture from the newsrooms servicing domestic audiences, the global channels tended to reinforce national tendencies, at least in the cases where there was a domestic sibling.” (p.131). Atad’s (2017) content analysis on four international broadcasters namely CNNI, BBCW, F24 and AJE also generated interesting results. According to the study, these networks except AJE reported about other countries from a national perspective and none of them offered an alternative and critical viewpoint when compared to national networks.

In an environment where information technology is transforming the definition of journalism itself and creating uncertainty for the news media sector, the moral challenges and questions journalists face when covering world news is an important issue to address and think about. The following questions were asked by Ward (2005): “What exactly do journalists “owe” citizens in a distant land? How can global journalists integrate their partial and impartial perspectives? How can journalists support global values while remaining impartial communicators?” (p.17). These questions are central in critically assessing the BBC's coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis. What news media report about and how they report about it will be further explored in the next subsection.

2.2.News Selection and Framing

At the end of the day, partially rather abstract and complex concepts such as cosmopolitan journalism, cosmopolitan audiences, and cosmopolitan public sphere boil

down to very concrete communicative practices between social entities and the media technologies at their disposal. For the field of news media, this translates to journalistic practices for collecting, processing, and presenting information via media formats such as news articles, video clips, and audio content. The choices of topics, information to include, words, and images matter greatly for how journalistic news reporting provides windows to current events via news content. This content comes in form in narratives that usually follow certain stylistic standards to be considered as news. A rich body theory and research emerged over the past decade (McQuail & Deuze, 2020) in which media- and communication scholars explored and tried to explain how the news 1) play a societal function, especially in regard to public discursivity; 2) developed and apply specific procedures and heuristics to perform this function; 3) how news content conveys meaning through framing, often with emphasis place on representation of social groups and societal issues; 4) what potential effects news framing may have on audience perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2019).

Critically analysing these processes of news media communication can reveal to what extent journalism contributes to social formations that share a discursive context. Simply put, if a news outlet claims to cater to a cosmopolitan audience with a cosmopolitan outlook, then these aspirations should become manifest and therefore empirically observable in their activities: reporting about issues that can be considered cosmopolitan -based on clear definition and operationalization of the concept-, producing news content that evokes a cosmopolitan framework for interpretation, and addressing as well as connecting an audience that can be considered cosmopolitan in its social composition.

News selection and news framing go hand in hand: first, issues need to be considered newsworthy before anything will be written or said about them in news content. Agenda-setting and priming can be considered pre-filters in news framing processes that determine what angle an outlet takes on current events in the world; they basically set the window through which audiences are invited to see the world; the choice of words, images, sources etc. in news content then establish frameworks for interpretation for the issues that made through the news selection. Defining news and selecting issues that are relevant for a given news agenda are two processes that are determined by cultural factors and political considerations. However, they are also unavoidable, practical

solutions to a very practical problem: Everyday, journalists are bombarded with information flowing from agencies, reporters in the field, their own sources, and social media platforms. This constant stream of information is impossible to handle at once or in its entirety. It is therefore necessary for news organisations to set a certain focus on the various issues, events, and developments in the world that happen simultaneously. Even if a news outlet falls into the mainstream category and covers a wide range of domains (e.g., politics, economy, cultures, sports, technology etc.), it will usually set a certain cultural-geographical angle that shapes its agenda-setting decisions.

All news outlets need to select from plentiful, diverse, and fast-paced information streams. In practice, that means journalists are challenged to make constant decisions about what topics are newsworthy, how to curate them, and how rank them according to their relevance in a given day's agenda. This whole selection, filtration and curation process can be explained by four interconnected theories, which are gatekeeping, agenda-setting, priming and framing (McQuail & Deuze, 2020). These concepts allow media and communication scholars to describe empirically when something becomes news, how the organisational context matters, and in what ways news media outlets rank as well as emphasise certain issues in their reporting (e.g., size of the article in newspaper, airtime in TV and radio). The complex interplay between these different dimensions of journalistic practice concerns social, cultural, technological, and economic components, of which all raise political questions. The critical analysis not only reveals how the news works and how journalists construct narratives about the world but also open the way for normative criticism on ethical challenges. For example, national mainstream news media outlets have been criticized for playing a key role in maintaining the social and political status quo by giving voice to elites and majority groups but excluding cultural and demographic minorities.

Arguably gatekeeping, agenda-setting, priming and framing are different dimensions and factors that constitute one process of news making with twofold impacts: 1) How the news comes into being, how it is materialised; 2) How the audience perceive the snippet of reality that is being presented to them. In the following paragraphs, these three theories will be critically discussed and their connections to each other will be explained in further detail.

2.2.1. Gatekeeping Theory

Shoemaker and colleagues (2009) define gatekeeping as “the process of selecting, writing, editing, positioning, scheduling, repeating and otherwise massaging information to become news.” (p.73). Journalistic decision-making can be seen as a filtration process at various stages of news reporting; this puts journalists and their news organisations in potentially very consequential, powerful positions, since they can decide what is considered newsworthy and what is not (van der Meer et al., 2016). Ideally, from a normative point of view, journalistic gatekeeping serves purposes of public information so that citizens can make better informed decisions (Brown, 2018). They are thus not only gatekeeping an individual news outlet’s news agenda but also control to some extent what topics are of broader public concern through their role in constructing mediatised public spheres (Peters, 2007). Admittedly, digital platforms -especially social media- change the rules of gatekeeping considerably through algorithmic information curation (Bro & Wallberg, 2014); however, mainstream news media are still considered essential in determining what are current issues for societies to care about every day.

Gatekeeping takes place at different levels of the ‘onion model’ (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014; Weischenberg, 1994; Schwalbe et al., 2015): the individual, routine practices, media organizations, social institutions, and social systems. At the *individual level*, the journalist’s personal decisions (e.g, shaped by her/his/their educational and professional background) can play a role in the selection of an issue for a potential news item. While the exact extent differs between news organisations, journalists often have some operational freedom within the broader context of their organisation’s editorial policies. They can develop specialisations and unique reporting styles, which put gatekeeping into practice at the individual level. *Routine practices* in journalism develop over many years and are also subject to change that is often triggered by the introduction of new media technologies and/or emergence of novel modes for addressing media audiences. In short, routine practices describe daily work procedures that journalists follow to do their work, which is mostly selecting news issues and producing journalistic content for their target audiences. Journalistic practice is not static but constantly evolving within the field of tension between ‘change and tradition’ (Witschge, 2012). The format of a specific news outlet (e.g., TV, radio, print, online) can largely determine how news is presented in what way, which usually becomes a set of heuristics and rules for journalistic

work with a particular type of medium. Simply put, a TV journalist organises her work and output differently from a print journalist. Routine practices concern the selection of content from a practical, technology-oriented level. For example, TV news journalists need to decide what scenes to include, what camera angles to take etc. to produce the final news item (e.g., close-ups to emphasise the human aspect of a story or including a lead-in script such as “Our correspondent from Berlin will tell us more about this”). However, media affordances are an important factor but technology is anything but a sole factor since the ‘thematic beat and audience orientation’ (Mellado et al., 2021) are equally influential for the performance of journalistic roles. Journalistic culture is setting the context in which journalistic practice and eventually gatekeeping processes become manifest through concrete action (Vos, 2015). The *organisational level* concerns the formal social context in which journalists work; these are mostly shaped by editorial policies as well as the spoken and unspoken rules of the newsroom. Journalists “learn” their routine practice to a large extent through observing and adopting norms and behaviours from their peers at their workplaces. This comes in the form of formalised training and learning by doing/watching. For example, the BBC has formulated concrete editorial guidelines that include a number of rules and principles that journalists need to follow and it also offers frequent training sessions for its journalists (e.g., for how to report safely from conflict zones). *Social institutions and social systems* are the two final layers in the ‘onion model’ and define the larger socio-political context in which an organisation and its individual journalist operate. For example, the regulatory frameworks for public communication, freedom of speech, and censorship basically set the rules within which journalists select news issues and shape news content. Taken together, gatekeeping processes occur at virtually all layers of the onion model.

The word “gatekeeper” was coined by social psychologist Kurt Lewin in a 1947 article that defines a gatekeeper as “an individual or group who is “in power” of making decisions between “in” or “out”” (p.145). Early studies on gatekeeping (e.g., White, 1950; Buckalew, 1968) followed Lewin’s lead and approached the ‘gate’ as a decision point but these early applications of the theoretical construct did not yet take other influences (e.g., organization) into account. Gatekeepers were later re-defined specifically for the news-making context as “personnel, such as editors, who occupy strategic decision-making positions within news media organizations.” (O’Sullivan et al., 1994, p.126). In today’s highly complex digital media environments, gatekeepers are no longer just human editors

but can take various forms such as “professional codes of conduct, company policies, and computer algorithms.” (Shoemaker et al., 2009, p.74). Simply put: in the current media ecology, journalists are no longer the sole gatekeepers. Against this background, Schwalbe and her colleagues (2015) developed a new model of visual gatekeeping “where “gatecheckers” select, verify, and curate visuals but no longer solely control their distribution the way traditional gatekeepers did” (p.465). Theorisation and empirical research on gatekeeping studies progressed after the 1950s; the gatekeeping process was increasingly seen as much more complex and nuanced than what a mere binarity of in-vs-out or yes-vs-no implies. While “many still operationalize aspects of gatekeeping as mere selection” (Vos, 2019, p.95), its complexity involves “the way in which stories are shaped, timed, presented, and removed” (Vos, 2019, p.95). This links gatekeeping directly to news framing processes, which can be described as driven by information selections at various dimensions and stages of the news production process that lead to a final piece of news content.

2.2.2. Agenda-setting Theory

Media have the power and potential to shape public awareness by simply reporting about certain events and excluding others from their daily news menu. The hierarchy of news events in the media affects the way they are perceived in terms of relevance and impact, which in turn can influence the agenda of public discourses and media audiences awareness as well as views on high vs low priority issues of societal scope. Cohen (1963) offers a basic description of the agenda-setting effect: “the press may not be successful in telling us what to think but is stunningly successful in telling us what to think about” (p. 13). Agenda-setting concerns how news media function as windows to events in the world that audiences simply cannot be part of. This does not only include foreign events and developments but basically covers all issues that an individual cannot actively observe though physical presence. Humans learn most about the world through mediated communication, through media formats, or, to put it more fundamentally: most events in the world beyond the immediate life experience are only accessible to us because somebody is telling us about them. The selection of stories that are presented to us - regardless of how the main issues in these stories are presented to us- already have a considerable influence on our understanding of the world in the sense of what we consider as important and part of that world especially in respect to the shared social world. News

media play an important role here in enabling a shared context for identifying issues of societal relevance, making sense of them, and adjusting behaviour.

Almost a decade after Cohen, McCombs and Shaw's (1972) influential Chapel Hill study laid the ground for agenda-setting theory and ever since it is widely used in the field of media and communication studies. During the 1968 presidential campaign, they interviewed 100 voters from Chapel Hill and analyzed newspapers, magazines and TV content. The findings of the study showed that there was a "very strong relationship between the emphasis placed on different campaign issues by the media [...] and the judgements of the voters as to the salience and importance of various campaign topics" (p.181). In other words, they found evidence for the media's influence on what the audience perceive as relevant issues on the public agenda. The extent to which news media cover an issue (both the selection of and the emphasis on the issue) has an impact on what people think about, talk about and consequently how much importance they place on an issue.

However, agenda-setting is not a completely arbitrary process but it can be explained through specific factors that nudge journalistic decision-making into one direction or the other. Especially the concept of news values can reveal why certain issues make it into the news and why others do not. In short, news values are a list of criteria via which journalistic outlets use as an orientation to decide on how to filter issues for their news agenda. There are too many things happening in parallel at any given point in time in modern society, so naturally news outlets need certain heuristics to fill their limited space with content that speaks to their intended audiences. While checklists for what to cover in the news are not always formalised, a range of implicit and explicit criteria emerged in news reporting for selecting issues in a given days' news agenda. The idea behind news values is relatively simple: what is of relevance to the targeted audiences based on what considerations? Relevance is the key concept that is basically operationalised for journalistic practice into news values.

News values inform the processes of agenda-setting by shaping editorial decision-making and determining "what" is being selected and prioritized. Galtung & Ruge (1965) listed twelve news factors that seemed to determine how Norwegian news media selected foreign news. These factors included 1) frequency, 2) threshold, 3) unambiguity, 4)

meaningfulness, 5) consonance, 6) unexpectedness, 7) continuity, 8) composition, 9) reference to elite nations, 10) reference to elite people, 11) reference to persons, 12) reference to something negative (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001, p.262-263). These news factors were updated by Harcup O'Neill (2001) based on their UK sample and literature review as follows: 1) Power elite, 2) Celebrity, 3) Entertainment, 4) Surprise, 5) Bad news, 6) Good news, 7) Magnitude, 8) Relevance, 9) Follow-up, 10) Newspaper agenda (p.279). For example, news stories involving the e.g., U.S.A. have a higher probability to make it into most European news outlet than e.g., Burkina Faso. However, geographical-cultural distance also matters and a political development in a neighbouring country might be more important to cover than something that happens further away. The authors underline that news values are a tool to aid discussion and analysis, therefore this taxonomy is by no means a definite description of news values, especially considering the prevalence of other factors such as social media (Harcup O'Neill, 2001; 2017). While news values are admittedly fluid and context-dependent, they help to uncover and allow for critically examining how specific news outlets configure their outlook on world events, select, summarise, order, and eventually present issues to their audiences. By identifying and inventorying news values, it is possible to determine the outlook of a news outlet along ideological and cultural angles (e.g., is it more left- or right wing? What is the national-cultural angle?). Simply put, news outlets with a cosmopolitan outlook should also display a propensity to select news items that reflect such a non-national outlook.

Another important point of discussion is whether the news should provide audiences with what they want to know or whether journalists should decide what audiences should/need to know. In the age of digital platforms and algorithmic information curation via recommender systems, this has become an increasingly contentious and relevant issue. On the one hand news outlets need to remain economically viable and user data can help them to tune news content agendas towards audience interests down to the individual level. On the other hand, this catering to audiences may actually undermine the news' normative functions as an impartial and independent source of information as well as public educator about issues that are highly relevant but simply not entertaining for its audiences. The key question is: should news simply cater to audience needs as content producers and could such a *modus operandi* still be described as journalism in a classic sense, i.e., as befitting of an independent fourth estate in democracy? Citizen oriented journalism is expected to serve what the public needs to know, or in other words, what the

journalist deems important for the public agenda. However, in an increasingly competitive environment the rules of the attention economy puts extra pressure on journalists and arguably they are forced to cater to the needs of audiences. Studies have shown that audience clicks affect news selection (Welbers et al., 2016; Tien Vu, 2014). This market-oriented journalism, for the sake of more clicks, tends to serve the audience more of what they want rather than what they might need.

News agendas and news values do not exist in silos. The news media landscape is a network of mutually influential flows of communication. What makes the news in one outlet is likely to affect the agenda in another one. Inter-media agenda-setting, known as “the influence that mass media agendas have on each other” (Lopez-Escobar et al., 1998, p.225) is also a factor for international news media organizations in deciding what to cover (Golan, 2006). For instance, BBC World News would check what CNN International covers and vice versa. The (temporary) alignment of news agendas might then hint at moments of transnational, cosmopolitan, or global media discursivity. This influence can be easily observed if looked at newspapers' agenda's influence on evening TV programs (e.g., Golan, 2006), however in between TV broadcasts it might be difficult to analyze who influences the other.

2.2.3. Priming

Priming is a more specific aspect of agenda-setting (Weaver, 2007, p.145) and it “occurs when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments.” (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p.11). Putting an issue on top of the news agenda does not only indicate relevance, urgency, and importance; it can already imply an evaluation of the stakeholders involved. For example, a politician is involved in various potentially newsworthy issues and developments within a given time period (e.g., a day, a week etc.). Some of these stories may make the respective politician look capable or put him/her in a generally favourable light while others do the opposite. Which of these different stories are selected and put at the top of the news agenda can influence how the performance of that politician is perceived by the targeted audience. It is important to acknowledge that individual news audience members' personal backgrounds, experiences, and existing knowledge are moderating factors that play a role in how they form an opinion about the news that they are confronted with. However, priming can have an impact on how public

discourses emphasise specific aspects of an ongoing news story and the stakeholders involved. As the definition suggests, priming matters greatly in news discourses on politics and political communication. For instance, during political campaigns, a TV news program might “prime” one candidate over another, i.e. making a more prominent subject to evaluate against the background of a particular development (e.g., a scandal or achievement) than the other. This is a very sensitive issue for news media organisations that strive to remain impartial. For this reason, they pay special attention to their election coverage by trying to give equal airtime or space (depending on the outlet) to candidates.

The idea of priming goes back to Iyengar & Kinder (1987) who define it as “the changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations” (1987, p.3). They conducted experiments in which they observed that people often rely on heuristics when making judgements and make decisions based on the most accessible information in memory. The basic difference of priming when compared to agenda-setting is the ranking of issue importance in a way to influence e.g., voters in their decision making (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997). Again, putting an issue at the top of the agenda goes beyond indicating relevance but can directly influence the perception of the issue presented as particularly newsworthy.

While agenda-setting and priming are clearly distinguishable on a conceptual level, priming is rather difficult to spot in daily news practice as well as an effect on audiences (McQuail & Deuze, 2019). It may not always be the direct outcome of conscious, ideologically motivated journalistic decision-making and not clearly apparent on the audience’s side. What factors exactly shape individual views on current events and e.g., politicians’ performance is partially a black box. Researchers have tried to explain priming from a psychological perspective. Price and Tewksbury (1997) describe priming as a temporal process in which a construct in memory is activated through exposure to certain stimuli and that construct remains temporarily available; meaning that it has the potential to influence decision-making. Scheufele (2000) traces agenda-setting and priming back to cognitive psychology: “Both agenda-setting and priming are based on this assumption of attitude accessibility and, in particular, a memory-based model of information processing.” (p.300). Eventually, priming is an attempt to further theorise the exact impact of agenda-setting choices in respect to the evaluation of actors within a given context that is covered in the news.

2.2.4. Framing Theory

Gatekeeping, agenda-setting, news values, and priming can be described as structural processes that influence how news media determine their outlook on the world and select issues for their news menus. Decisions taken at these checkpoints already have framing effects: how the world is presented, perceived, and evaluated. Analysing the composition of a news outlet's agenda-setting can to some extent reveal what its outlook is along the national-global spectrum. However, while these steps are fundamentally impactful for the portrayal of selected aspects of the world, news framing obviously expands into the exact content that actually describes selected issues in word, images, and sound for the targeted audience. Framing is very much connected to agenda-setting and priming; however, it goes beyond these.

Both agenda-setting & priming are accessibility effects and are concerned about “what” is accessible to the audiences’ minds. They are based on models of information processing (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). Framing differs from these as it is about applicability effects. It refers to the outcome of a message in the audience's mind. In other words, framing is not only concerned about “what” is selected, covered and potentially primed in the news, but also “how” it is presented (media frame) and how it is perceived by audiences (how it establishes an audience frame). McCombs and colleagues (1997) described framing theory as second-level agenda-setting. Weaver (1997-1998) suggests that these two can actually be seen as an interconnected process: “focusing on framing does not necessarily mean discarding the findings of much agenda-setting research that is more concerned with which issues are emphasized (or what is covered) than how such issues are reported and discussed.” (p. 3). However, there are criticisms against McCombs et al.'s (1997) proposition in the sense that it is largely theoretical (e.g., Scheufele, 2000) and does not make framing research a distinct field of study. The critiques mainly suggest that framing research should follow Kahneman and Tversky’s (1979) prospect theory and focus on experiments and understand the “effects” by presenting same information in different ways (equivalence framing) rather than following Entman’s proposition of focusing on what is made more salient in a news text, which is described as emphasis framing. The latter, for some researchers (Cacciatore et al., 2016) makes framing too similar to agenda-setting theory.

Seeing it from an angle rooted in cognitive psychology, framing can be understood as a perfectly normal, natural process that is about how the human cognitive system works (Lakoff, 2004). People absorb a lot of information and think about it in words. Human brain assigns words to make sense of the information and structure it; they label it, so individuals can recognize it and connect it to other bits and pieces of information. Then networks of related concepts, issues, actors and so on are built in human memory. Some of these networks are very strong and this is explained by frequent exposure to a particular topic through education, personal interest and news among other sources. The theoretical background of framing lies in existing research in the fields of sociology (Goffman, 1974), economics (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979), psychology (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984), - as mentioned above - cognitive linguistics (Lakoff, 2004) and communication (Entman, 1991; Iyengar, 1991). In everyday life, frames are ubiquitous. Individuals constantly frame topics and those frames both shape what the target audience of the message think about and how they interpret the world that surrounds them (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). For most issues that are not part of the immediate daily experience of an individual, most of this information comes via media narratives that convey meaning via specific news frames. As a consequence, the words, images, and soundbits chosen to present an issue -and especially social entities involved- may influence audiences' understanding of this issue. For the case of refugees in TV news, their media portrayals may shift perceptions along the positive-negative spectrum of associations on the viewers' part.

There is a growing body of literature on frames/framing in communication research. Having its roots in sociology (Goffman, 1974), “the notion of frames was introduced in communication research by Tuchman (1978) and Gitlin (1980)” (Van Gorp, 2005, p.485). However, there is no single definition of *frames* or *framing*. Both have been referred to as concepts, approaches, a theory or a paradigm by different scholars. Nonetheless, there is a distinction to be made between frames and framing: While frames are about “‘content features’ of texts, framing is a ‘process or contextual features’ of content ‘making and receiving [...]’” (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011, p.102). Frames can also be conceptualized as “organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world” (Reese, 2001, p.5). Similar to Vliegenthart & van Zoonen (2011), Scheufele (1999) describes news framing as a “continuous process where outcomes of certain (sub) processes as

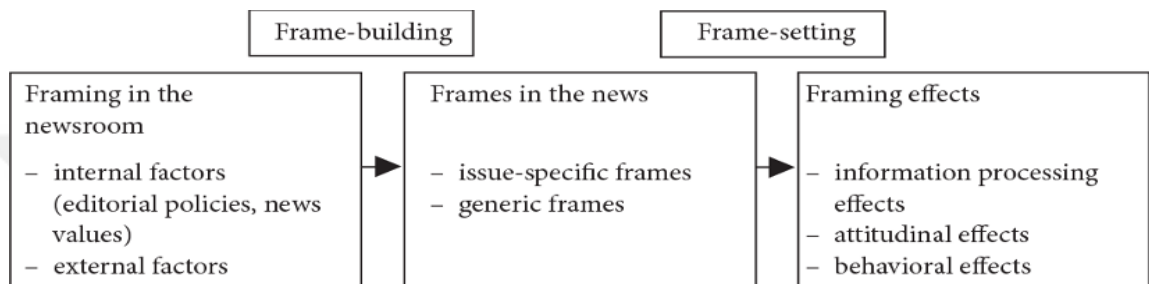
inputs for subsequent (sub) processes” (p.114-115). In his book *Frame Analysis*, Goffman (1974) laid the sociological foundations of framing, arguing that individuals interpret particular events using their already existing interpretive schemas that he calls “primary frameworks” (p.21). Using Goffman's notion of frame, Tuchman (1978) asserts that news media set the frame in which citizens discuss public events (p.ix) by turning unrecognizable happenings into a discernible event, a story (p.192). Gitlin (1980) focuses on the news frames which operate within the limits of hegemonic routine; “the news routines are skewed toward representing demands, institutions and frames which do not fundamentally contradict the dominant hegemonic principles” (p.270-71). According to Gamson and Modigliani (1987), a frame suggests what the controversy and the essence of the issue is about (p.140). Iyengar (1991), defines framing as “subtle alterations in the statement of presentation of judgement and choice problems” and framing effect as “changes in decision outcomes resulting from these alterations” (p.11). Neuman et al. (1992) treat news frames as “conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information” (p.60).

Entman's paper (1993) fueled discussion in communication research, in which he proposed framing as a ‘paradigm’. He concludes that to frame is “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” (1993, p.53) This is exactly what journalists do; they make choices every day and every minute with the responsibility of communicating information that is newsworthy; that interests the public. This selection of certain information among many does not necessarily mean that journalists try to spin a story and deceive their audiences (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p.12). Framing serves journalists in two ways; first, to reduce complexity of an issue and make it more accessible to the audiences, second, to fit the news to limited space or time given the constraints of their respective media (Gans, 1979 as cited in Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p.12).

Framing occurs at different levels of news production and it might be difficult to grasp how it works. De Vreese's (2005) framing model (Figure 2.1) helps with clarifying this complex process. Connected to the frames vs framing discussion above, de Vreese's model shows framing as a process and frames as ‘something’ that comes out of it; almost like a ‘tool’ to be found in the news. Those frames in the news can be generic frames (e.g.,

conflict) or issue-specific frames (e.g., ‘war on terror’). According to de Vreese ‘s (2002) definition, while issue-specific frames can only apply to specific topics or events; generic frames can apply to broader topics transcending both thematic, temporal and cultural limitations. Issue-specific frame is similar to Iyengar’s (1991) episodic news which is about specific events, and generic frame is similar to what Iyengar called as thematic news which provides a more general context.

Figure 2.1 An integrated process model of framing (de Vreese, 2005)



Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) identified five generic news frames that are most often used in news stories. According to the authors (1) Conflict frame “emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest”; (2) Human interest frame “brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem”; (3) Economic consequences frame “reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country”; (4) Morality frame “puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions”; 5- Responsibility frame “presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group” (p.95-96).

Eventually, framing practices and the resulting frames in news media output can be operationalised by dissecting them into linguistic-semantic, visual, and conceptual indicators. What words, images, metaphors, comparisons, descriptions etc. are being used to portray an issue in news content can have an impact on how that issue is being perceived at the very least it reveals how the communicator, that is the respective news outlet, intends to frame an issue and invites audiences to make sense of it within the interpretive

framework that is offered in news content. Frame- and framing analysis of news media thus often rely on forms of content analysis for empirical investigation.

2.2.5. Framing Effects

Framing operates in a very discrete and abstract way, which makes it difficult to analyse its effects on recipients of news content (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2019). It is relatively easy to uncover and describe framing practices through textual as well as visual analysis and to surmise what potential causes led to a particular framing; it is also -to some extent- possible to hypothesise about the potential perception and evaluation of an issue and/or social entities in centre of news framing. However, empirically researching how framing practices shape individual opinions, attitudes, behaviours, and worldviews through framing effects is often a considerable challenge. The audience's mind is a bit of a black box, and it often takes longitudinal experimental research designs to spot and measure effects, while the flaws of self-reported data from respondents often remain. Nevertheless, work on both conceptualising and observing framing effects progressed in recent years and showed that diverse individual and contextual factors are likely to play a role in how audiences process information from news texts (or any media content, for that matter) and integrate them into their pre-existing knowledge structures. Research into news framing effects links media- and communications studies to media psychology and social psychology.

That audience frames and news frames cannot be 100% congruent was an early observation in news framing research and Entman proposed in 1991 to distinguish between the two of them. If framing is a natural cognitive process hardwired in the human brain, then it cannot be confined to professionally produced media content but also happen on the audience's side; moreover, frame perception and processing will differ from individual to individual. Simply put, humans are not empty vessels into which the news just fill information that is taken over one-to-one. Each individual news audience member has her own experiences, perspectives, predispositions, and histories. Admittedly, these will be more complex for some issues than for others but a news story hardly ever encounters a completely "blank brain". However, when the presence and relevance of an issue overlap on the news media side and the audience side, then indicators for framing effects become observable.

It is important to consider that any analysis confined to the communicator's side (i.e., news media and the journalists that create news stories) can only make limited statements on how particular messages, portrayals, and thus news framings are received by the targeted audience. However, communicators, if they know their audience well, often consciously or unconsciously resort to using certain frames that the audience can easily recognize, so they make quick connections to things they already know. In his 2011 book *Thinking Fast and Slow* social psychologist Daniel Kahneman explains how this works: he describes two modes in which the human brain processes information received through its cognitive apparatus. System 1 serves fast thinking, with quick, automatic reactions strongly influenced by natural drives and emotions; this type of thinking allows for taking swift action based on new information, but it is also prone to errors in properly assessing the implications of that new information. Its counterpart is system 2, which describes slow thinking and careful internal deliberation. This type of thinking allows for thinking problems through and enables individuals to carefully consider different aspects and potential consequences of actions based on new information. It is the driver of logic and rational thinking.

System 1 and system 2 are not separated but rather closely intertwined and mutually affective. System 1 can quickly jump to conclusions if people do not train themselves to take a moment and use their System 2. This has interesting implications for news consumption: news media content is delivered at high-pace in easy-to-digest formats; issues of potentially grave consequence and enormous complexity are presented in summarised form. How much attention an individual audience member will pay to a given news item and how much time she will spend making her mind up about it will differ from person to person but is overall likely to be low. That is not to say that news framing does not leave an imprint on individual views on the world and understandings about current issues at all; to the contrary, since it is probable that a lot of news content is consumed and processed on the go and therefore via system 1, the packaging and presentation of news may have a considerable influence on the perception of many issues that are not immediately experienced by audience members. The same should apply to a global news media outlet such as the BBC World News.

2.2.6. Visuals and Emotions

There is a plethora of research focusing on words to explore, describe, and understand verbal or textual framing that is virtually ubiquitous in spoken and written language all around us. There is a long tradition in developing theory and research methods for this form of communication and framing processes therein. This draws from different disciplines such as linguistics, cognitive psychology, and social sciences. Lakoff (2004) shows how thinking, language, knowledge, and behaviour are embedded in a complex network of mutually affective relationships and how we ultimately make sense of the world around us through the use of words. These words are not merely abstract representations of things but have tangible emotional impacts, since we use them to build the social worlds that we inhabit. Since media communication always has and still does depend heavily on the spoken or typed/printed word, research has for a long time prioritised this form of human expression. However, Lakoff argues that a word by itself is not yet a frame and that many different pieces of information in different formats that are “readable” through our senses often contribute to a more complex whole; words are essential parts of frames but so are images, sounds, and, in daily life, even smells (e.g., the scent of a meal that evokes memories of a nice restaurant experience).

Indeed, news media make use of different media formats and often combine several ones in multimedia outputs. A modern news website offers new articles, videos, podcasts, visuals etc. all at once, often within the same news item. To analyse framing processes thus demands a more integrative view on how diverse media communication comes together in one narrative that frames an issue from a particular angle. Especially the power of visual framing needs to be acknowledged in research on news framing, as the vast majority of media content today has a visual component or is entirely (audio-)visual in the first place. While research on visual framing is still comparatively new compared to word-centred framing research (Coleman, 2010), most scholars would agree that texts cannot be looked at in isolation in contemporary media content. Visuals are easy to process and can have a strong emotional impact on audiences. Researchers have argued that images are powerful framing tools and can guide attention with less cognitive effort (e.g., Kosslyn, 1994; Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011). This potentially more powerful influence of visuals over text, but also the interplay of visuals with words, can be of considerable influence on the way people perceive reality. Referring to 9/11 as an

example, Coleman (2010) says: “The special qualities of visual images underscore the point that, in some cases, visual framing may actually matter more than verbal framing” (p.235).

With the rise of photo- and video journalism over the course of the 20th and early 21st century, a plethora of images have become iconic for specific historical events and even whole eras. As mentioned above, the example of the 9/11 attacks is a case in point: both still images and live footage encapsulate not only the tragic event as such but became framing devices representative for the entire public discourse on the “War on Terror”. The different global crises in subsequent years have their own symbolic visuals that came in the form of media narratives, ranging from the financial crisis to the Arab spring and the subsequent refugee crisis. For the past decade and more, news media agendas are filled with the imagery of the refugee crisis that mostly focuses on the human suffering on land, at sea, in camps, in the wilderness and so on and so forth (Radojevic et al., 2020). Dramatic shots of refugees during their journeys have become symbolic for this topic and form the canon of crisis imagery. The refugee crisis offers a seemingly never-ending stream of dramatic pictures, which makes them attractive for TV journalism due to their high news value (Harcup & O’Neill, 2001).

Images are ambiguous in the sense that they represent “reality” seemingly in greater accuracy or higher fidelity than words but they are obviously by no means any less selective and prone to manipulation, misrepresentation, and bias. Even allegedly “raw” and “on the ground” live footage is the outcome of conscious and subconscious choices on part of the video journalists (e.g., what angle to take, what people to show etc.). Nevertheless, they have a strong impact, especially emotionally, on media audiences. According to Glück (2018), actual and mediated emotions become not only part of the communication repertoire of social actors, but also form a means of both information and performance which journalists deploy in news production – hence, images and the emotions that they evoke become framing devices (p.105-106). Images serve multiple communication purposes at once: 1) they inform by showing that something is/was happening at a given point in time; 2) they lead attention towards a particular aspect of a given situation; 3) they can trigger emotions and can be used strategically by public communicators, including journalists, to aim for an intended effect; 4) they make media

content “richer” by adding an additional dimension for fast information sharing and retrieval, which also increases its appeal for audiences.

Emotionally charged media messages have the power to influence how audiences think, feel and act (Glück, 2018). Images can amplify the emotional impact of a news item. Simply put: reading about drowned refugees is less graphic in the most literal sense than seeing images of body bags through photo or video footage. To understand how the “other” is being portrayed, how the stakes and stakeholders in the refugee crisis are represented in the media, and to probe how cosmopolitan journalistic ideals are put into practice (or not), it is imperative to take a closer look at how the crises imagery is created in relevant news media content. Not least since the flood of images that mediate the distant suffering of foreign others for TV audiences do not necessarily evoke “empathy” or sympathy for those who are in focus of the countless photos and video scenes. Media content triggers diverse emotions along a broad spectrum of which many may not be associated with greater compassion for other human beings.

2.2.7. Mediated Distant Suffering and Compassion Fatigue

Unprecedented numbers of people are now on the move around the world at any point in time. These flows of people include tourists, travellers and emigrants as well as asylum seekers, refugees and economic migrants. In the affluent west, many of us only know the existence of asylum seekers and refugees through political calls for immigration controls or the alarmist fears voiced in the media about the threats 'they' are said to pose to 'us' and 'our' national way of life. (Cottle, 2009, p.7).

What Cottle describes here is the distance and wariness with which many Western media audiences watch global refugee and migration streams. People who are forced to be on the move are hardly ever portrayed and perceived as fellow humans; instead, they are viewed as a foreign threat. Only occasionally does this narrative break and alternative ways of looking at and interacting with refugees become possible. Cottle refers to one specific episode that is exemplary for this: in July 2006, tourists at Tenerife beach on the Canary Islands, Spain, helped thirsty and exhausted refugees coming off a boat. He considers this event exceptional in the sense that these two fundamentally different worlds -that of the immigrants and that of the tourists- collided. Rarely come the two together, as

the suffering of non-Western others was in the past usually confined to the very fringes of the Western world. The refugee crisis of the 2010s and early 2020s gained an unprecedented immediacy for many people in Europe that was amplified by the near-constant media attention that it received.

According to Beck (2006), news media cover human suffering through the use of captivating images and this would invite audiences to act (e.g., by donating to humanitarian causes). Suffering happens to others at a great distance but the news have the potential -at least in principle- to bridge these distances and bring foreign strangers' struggles closer to audiences at home (wherever that is from a news outlet's perspective). They mediate distant suffering by connecting the local dimension to the global dimension. Huiberts and Joye's (2018) audience research also deals with compassion and care and they also approach these two as feelings that ultimately lead the witness to help the sufferer. Crisis news can evoke empathy with victims among its audience but is there such a thing as a genuinely "cosmopolitan empathy" (Beck, 2006)? The way self-proclaimed cosmopolitan news covers the refugee crisis as a remote development that mainly affects "faceless masses" seems to put clear limitations to this emotional response of a vaguely defined audience. And even if a strong human impact frame is conveyed through a news story, one could ask what the impact of such a reporting actually is -especially in respect to attitudes, opinions, and behaviours of the individual viewer. Recently, the concept of empathy has been criticised, as it might be impossible for the viewer to feel exactly how the distant sufferer feels. Instead, creating sympathy or compassion as forms of feeling "for the other" might be a more likely effect.

This argument has been put forward by psychologist Paul Bloom in his 2018 book "Against Empathy", where he argues that empathy is biased and shortsighted and that rational compassion may be more beneficial to improve others' well-being. He mainly bases his argument on human's incapacity to empathize with millions of people at once and difficulty to empathize with an individual stranger through the TV screen. Bloom (2018) postulates that compassion can go beyond empathy, and therefore beyond mere pity for the people who suffer in the sense that compassion may actually lead to rational thinking and therefore action. Inviting the audience to empathy with excessive coverage and emotional angles may not necessarily mean that journalists can mobilize policy makers and volunteers. For example, it is not clear whether the news media's attention on

the Syrian refugee crisis actually translated into concrete policies by European governments. As mentioned earlier, TV news formats are prepared with a collective fiction, an imagined audience or (risk) community in mind. Therefore, cosmopolitan empathy might also be fiction rather than a reality.

Evidently, the suffering of others from distant lands does not necessarily evoke strong sympathetic and/or compassionate reactions. Audiences are no longer shocked or even impressed by drastic imagery in the media. The plight of refugees is neither novel nor unique and many have grown used to seeing hunger, fear, and death in their daily news menus. Repetitive news coverage can make audiences numb to human sufferings over time. Moeller (1999) argues that “much of journalism is repetitious - or at least seems that way” (p.13) when she refers to crisis coverage where the news stories appear to repeat themselves and are hardly distinguishable from one another, at least at face value. This perceived sameness of news media content that is presented in sensationalist and formulaic crisis coverage, so Moeller (1999) argues, may result in *compassion fatigue*:

Compassion Fatigue is the unacknowledged cause of much of the failure of international reporting today. It is at the base of many of the complaints about the public's short attention span, the media's peripatetic journalism, the public's boredom with international news, the media's preoccupation with crisis coverage (p.2).

The concept of compassion fatigue describes a twofold effect of constant crisis reporting in the news that can affect both audiences and journalists. First, it can become manifest in form of “audience fatigue”, i.e., a feeling of numbness, oversaturation, and even anger at repeated exposure to the same news showing human suffering in the same (drastic) manner. Viewers/readers may just tune out over time and/or switch channels/media outlets. It seems that only when an incident is presented as being in close vicinity to the audience's immediate life world that attention, interest, and personal affect can potentially be triggered. It also matters how the distant other is being presented, i.e., whether and how she/he is provided with an individual and recognisable identity. Perhaps, if the refugee is introduced as a medical doctor who studied in Europe in the past, chances for evoking compassion among the audience may increase; maybe simply carrying a “samsonite suitcase” (Robertson, 2010) can achieve that as well. However, if there are no

connecting points for the audience, then there appears limited potential for an emotional connection: “[p]roximity, membership in one’s in-group, and a sense of perceived similarity are significant in facilitating empathy toward mediated suffering” (Loewenstein & Small, 2007 as cited in Huiberts & Joye, 2018, p.336).

Second, compassion fatigue can also become a factor that affects decision-making within news organisations. A never-ending story inevitably loses news value, regardless of how much human suffering it involves. This can translate into changes in the editorial policy e.g., via re-assessment of relevance of events for the news agenda. However, it may further concern journalists themselves in their daily work, as they can feel increasingly disinterested in an ongoing development or simply view a story as no longer newsworthy since there is nothing new to add. Tom Kent, AP’s international editor, explained this in very clear and simple terms to Moeller: “Basically, in our coverage we cover things until there’s not much new to say”. (1999, p.11). Similar sentiments have been voiced by BBC journalists who covered the Syrian refugee crisis (see the results chapters in this thesis). The impact of continuous crisis situations on individual news practitioners that may perceive these exceptional developments as almost mundane routine at one point, due to extended exposure and involvement, further affects news selection processes and thus framing on a daily basis. This highlights the importance journalist’s self-perception as professionals and journalistic performance on an individual level as another influential dimension that needs to be critically explored for a more holistic understanding of news framing processes. The performative role of journalists is the focus of the next sub-chapter.

2.3.Journalistic Performance in Crisis Reporting

One could argue that reporting about crises is nothing exceptional but rather the norm in the news media business. One important reason for this is that most news outlets prioritise unusual, exceptional and negative developments and events in society. The more unexpected and unpredictable an issue of potentially strong negative impact is, the more likely it is to make it into the news. Another closely connected reason is the frequency in which profound socio-political and socio-economic challenges of global proportions emerged and intersected in the first two decades of the 21st century. It started with the

9/11 attacks and the global war on terror, continued with the global financial crisis which became a political crisis in Europe, which again connected to the global refugee crisis that was in large parts triggered by political upheavals and wars in the Middle East; this ongoing crisis has recently been superseded by the global COVID-19 pandemic. All the while there is a much larger ecological crisis in the form of the climate crisis intensifying over the years. In other words, there is so much crisis, so much unpredictability and uncertainty, that world events alone ensure that a state of crisis appears normal. As argued earlier, news discourses do not merely react to crises; yes, they do observe and describe them but also actively co-shape them as discursive objects in society through constant remediation and, maybe more importantly, premeditation (Grusin, 2010): the “playing through” and exploration of any thinkable course and outcome that a crisis situation can take in order to chart potential futures that result from current challenges and transformations (e.g., think of endless “expert rounds” in which different commentators discuss what could and should happen next). Journalists are concerned as much with the future as they are with the present.

Crises that linger for extended periods and have enormously complex causes and effects tend to stimulate equally complex media discourses that monitor and comment on a particular crisis from various connected yet distinguishable angles. The Syrian refugee crisis is a case in point: it started as a foreign humanitarian crisis, became shortly after a highly polarising issue of international politics, then preoccupied European politics, while it quickly caused contention and conflict in domestic politics across different countries that refugees entered. Next to questions of human impact, morality, and politics it soon raised economic and cultural issues. As a subject of news media coverage for over a decade, the refugee crisis became a highly complex, multidimensional news topic or rather network of different interrelated news topics under one label. Covering such a complex crisis has been a challenge for journalists as they are expected to serve news in an understandable, simple manner and in a way that is relevant to the audiences in question. So, despite the ubiquity and perceived permanence of crisis, crisis reporting can still be considered as a specific form of journalistic performance.

As Hartley (1996) suggests, journalism is the primary sense-making mechanism of modern society: it enables the construction of a shared reality based on mediated communication and the synchronisation of countless parallel events through the processes

of gatekeeping that are inherent to journalistic practices at the different levels outlined above. Furthermore, it provides interpretative frameworks for societies to observe, understand, and act on current developments. Journalism has thus been described as an integrative component in the form of a social system without which modern mass societies could hardly function (Luhmann, 1995). Without journalism and mass media, it would be very difficult if not impossible to maintain complex societal structures that are largely based on mediated communication and imagination. This more abstract yet fundamental function of journalism depends on specific actors, i.e., journalists, that put all of this into practice (both consciously and unconsciously). Whether it is print, TV, or online, journalists create the fact-based narratives that reach mass audiences and contribute considerably to the permanent performance of society through media discourses and take on the role of societal sense-makers (Robertson, 2010). While their authority and normative mission have been repeatedly challenged by the commercialisation of the media sector and the rise of digital platforms, this fundamental function of journalism enacted through journalists has not changed much. Daily news delivered across different media channels and platforms contribute to community building. Journalists' decision-making in news selection processes as well as news framing directly affects the self-understanding of social collectives and their view on other social groups. How journalists select issues as newsworthy and how they decide to portray social entities especially during crisis situations thus has considerable cultural-political implications. It can either contribute to the "othering" (Hall, 1997) of outside groups as well as stereotyping or potentially open the path for a more balanced perception and potentially interaction with "strangers". In any case, through shaping media discourses via very concrete professional decisions in the news making process, journalists give meaning to the world, invite others to interpret the world from specific angles, and assign responsibilities for developments and effects in this world based on communication and social relations.

Given these considerations, it is important to understand what factors influence the ways in which journalists cover a "foreign" crisis. This does not only concern what they select and how they emphasise it, but also how they work within a certain genre, which is in the present case TV broadcasting/audio-visual journalism. Before a conceptual understanding of crisis reporting as a distinct form of journalistic performance can be further developed, it is necessary to first define two key terms for the following discussion: these are "foreign news" and crisis".

2.3.1. Foreign News as a Genre and Journalistic Profession

Hannerz (2004) offers a clear and intuitive starting point for understanding what foreign news is about: “The simplest reading of ‘foreign’ in ‘foreign news’ is certainly that it refers to news from abroad, reported across national boundaries” (p.32). However, while putting it this way foreign news may appear to be a relatively straightforward concept, in reality the boundaries to domestic news are fuzzy. The interdependencies between local, regional, and global developments make it rather difficult to have news that offer an exclusively national perspective (Berglez, 2008; Cottle, 2009, Van Leuven & Berglez, 2016). Any such separation into domestic and foreign is often artificial and potentially insufficient to grasp the true dimensions of a given issue. For example, national elections, which are usually seen as primarily domestic issues, are often subject to global influences as political parties compete with each other over offering solutions to challenges that transcend national borders; to give a very concrete example, the global climate crisis and greener governmental policies have become more prominent issues in election campaigns in different countries. At the same time, the outcome of elections, i.e. what government will emerge as a result, often has international and global implications. Another example would be economic news involving globally operating companies that have a locally felt impact (e.g., moving factories abroad). Determining when these issues are domestic/national and stop being international or global is not always possible. Van Leuven & Berglez (2016) argue that “most news media fail to place both domestic and foreign realities in wider transnational contexts” (p.668). Without making clear how domestic news and foreign news fit into the backdrop of transnationalization and globalization, they risk misrepresenting the issues in focus.

The authors further suggest a differentiation between foreign news coverage and global journalism: “while foreign reporting does cover events in distant places, global journalism involves actively interconnecting the local with the global from ecological, economic, technological, etc.” (p.670). From this viewpoint, global journalism is much wider in its application and does not fit into the confinements of regular categories such as local, domestic, or foreign news desks. Does this mean that these categories are useless? Not necessarily. It is only logical and pragmatic that different news genres and journalists place different spatial emphases. It is of great practical value to specialise and form networks for journalists within a specific social domain (e.g., state politics, party politics,

foreign politics). Domestic vs. foreign news are less of separate boxes and rather different angles from which the impact of global transformations are being observed. One looks at current events from a perspective that prioritises the implications for local-regional politics, social relationships, culture, and economy; the other shifts focus to distant contexts that are not isolated or disconnected but still primarily concern different geographical-cultural spaces than the one where the primary news audience is located in. Each of the two general types of news reporting should consider how a given issue connects to the broader transnational and global issues that they are inevitably exposed to, as Van Leuven & Berglez (2016) suggest. It also needs to be acknowledged that they often overlap and the perception of close and distant, i.e. domestic and foreign is a matter of perspective. However, in practice most newsrooms traditionally separate news desks that focus on either domestic or foreign news - without any of them consciously applying a distinct notion of global journalism.

One important set of characteristics that makes foreign news distinguishable from other news reporting concerns the practical aspects of journalists' daily work. Most obviously, journalists working for foreign news desks usually travel greater distances to collect information and "witness" events that are unfolding abroad. They deal with different sources, need to work with "fixers" and translators, and are often also exposed to additional risks (especially in conflict zones). In his fieldwork with foreign correspondents, Hannerz (2004) observes that many journalists who frequently work abroad take pride in covering "hard news" and documenting history. This concerns especially conflicts, wars, and humanitarian crises which are complex issues to process in news content for broad audiences. However, economic factors determine where news outlets can send correspondents and what they can do abroad. It is costly to provide transport, accommodation, and security for foreign correspondents and many news agencies dependent on local support by journalists living and working in the countries where a newsworthy development is taking place.

2.3.2. Defining "Crisis" for Crisis Reporting

The original meaning of the word *crisis* in ancient Greek is "decision", "selection", or "turning point" in ancient Greek (Çınarlı, 2016, p.25; Bauman & Bordoni, 2014, p.1). As a medical term in the writings of Avicenna, Hippocrates and Galen, crisis described a

turning point where the course of a disease could take either a good or bad direction (Çınarlı, 2016, p.25). Etymologically speaking has a close association with potential change in the near future but was not necessarily per se negative and politically loaded. In contemporary public discourses, crisis as a term is firmly embedded into the political vocabulary and as a concept a quasi-permanent presence in the news media. It is usually used to describe moments of uncertainty and transformation connected to risks, potential losses, and harm. These situations often demand stakeholders to make decisions, weigh pros and cons, and to take responsibility (Bauman & Bordoni, 2014, p.7). Its meaning in public discourses is very close to how the word crisis is used in daily life: whenever stakes are high and things could go either way, a crisis might be at hand. Practically speaking, this is how journalists spot, describe, and contribute to the discursive construction of a crisis: what exact societal issues are in the centre of dynamic developments of uncertain outcome, what are the risks, harms, and costs involved, what are the potential changes that the crisis moments might bring, and who are the stakeholders affected? This is not always (rather rarely) the subject of cool and reason-based deliberation but often involves a certain level of emotionality, especially when the perceived human costs (in e.g. living quality or lives) are high.

Based on this general understanding of crisis, news media are quick to declare crises in their daily reporting about events that happen across the world. News organisations, including the BBC, coined the term ‘migration crisis’ early on to describe the flow of humans from crisis regions to the European and Northern American metropolises. At a closer look, the label ‘migration crisis’ subsumes different challenges and uncertainties, i.e. multiple crises, as well as types of stakeholders in a simplified way and one can actually discern different migration stories: 1) refugees who are still on their way from a conflict zone to destination in the global West, which is for most Europe; they face mortal danger along their journey and have to survive a whole chain of (individual and collective) crisis moments; 2) refugees and migrants that already arrived in safer countries but who are not necessarily fully welcome in the host society; their crises concern their personal futures in a new country, questions of integration, but also worries for their families and compatriots in their former home countries; 3) people who are residents in the countries that refugees pass through or seek to enter. They are mostly concerned with the socio-cultural and economic implications of new arrivals. Aside from these coarse social groups, there are different governmental institutions, NGOs, political movements, and

private organisations that are in the centre of diverse developments connected to the broader migration crisis.

While the ‘migration crisis’ affects a wide range of social groups, it is mostly referred to as something that wealthy receiving nations need to somehow manage (Moore, 2012, p.2-3). Refugees themselves have limited agency and are subject to policies that aim to control their movements in ways beneficial to the destination countries. Different means for monitoring and managing migration flows usually boil down to a rather simple, binary categorization system that only distinguishes between “good” vs. “bad” refugees. The perception that migration flows not only consists of people who flee wars but also includes so-called “economic refugees” contributed to a more hostile migration discourse in various European countries and was one influential factor that gave rise to a tighter and more exclusionary migration- and refugee policy. Taken together, the social complexity, bandwidth of challenges, and extremely dynamic mutual affectivity between local, regional, and global level of interaction make the migration crisis a challenging topic for news media. Crisis reporting thus means for journalists to find ways to reduce this complexity into accessible, fact-based, and balanced news items that fit the economy of contemporary news production; it concerns raising awareness, highlighting challenges and risks, providing stakeholders with a voice, enabling human connectivity through emotionality but also factual accounts that indicate the dimensions and gravity of the challenges associated with the migration crisis. At all times, journalistic practice is under influences from different social, political, and economic forces along the onion model (Weischenberg, 1994) as discussed above. Naturally, no single journalist would be able to master all of this for the entirety of societal domains and dimensions of social interactions in the “whole” migration crisis context. Specialisation on one of the manifold aspects is inevitable. However, whatever the angle is that they take given their professional profile, normatively speaking journalists covering the crisis carry a considerable responsibility when choosing how to present this complex topic from their particular positions.

2.3.3. Constraints of TV News Routines

As with any other type of journalistic work, the performance of crisis reporting is subject to different interconnected influences. McQuail (2013) takes the onion model as a basis and argues that the societal context, the news organization, and the individual journalist herself determine to varying degrees how journalism is being practiced. On the

society level, journalists are expected to fulfill their role to inform, provide a public platform for debate and exert pressure on institutions to be accountable. The current political climate and societal trends shape these expectations and possibilities for journalistic action. On the news organization level, ownership model, market forces and organizational requirements (e.g, ethical guidelines, work routines) play a role in how journalists gather, process and distribute news. The BBC as a network operates on a regional, national and international level and all journalists and editors benefit from one large pool of news. Although television news agendas differ locally, nationally and internationally (Curan & Park, 2000), the BBC World News may use BBC 1's content on their website. Practical editorial decisions as such in tight schedules therefore go beyond individual journalist's choices and may actually eradicate cosmopolitan aspirations of international news. When it comes to the individual level, McQuail (2013) lists other factors of which two are especially relevant for researching the performance of crisis reporting for a cosmopolitan audience: 1- "Relationship to the audience, real or imagined (close or distant, favourable or hostile, etc.)", 2- "Personal conception of the role" (p.8). Equally important is the genre and media format. A journalist working for a newspaper follows different routines than a TV journalist. TV journalism is obviously image-driven and relies on pictures/ moving images - so much so that they determine the form of reporting itself: If there is no access to the field to film, then there is no news. If access is possible, then the reporter and the camera person would work together to get the best pictures, interview people, film an announcement and so on. They would then work on their package, or in other words their story, which arguably not only has informational value, but also carries a certain professional conduct including performative and ritual values (Robertson, 2010).

Exceptional live media events (e.g., royal weddings, olympic games) bring audiences from around the world together and they are unique in the way that they are scripted and performed (Dayan & Katz, 1992). Similarly, traditional TV news packages have their own rhythm in which the journalist performs, with the aim to connect to the audiences through their narrative, sometimes accompanied by a short announcement. Journalists act as a "bridge" between the spectacle and spectators in front of the screen. This is where the individual level of influence comes into play. Their personal backgrounds, i.e., demographics, education etc., inevitably affect how journalists perceive themselves and shape how they perform their work. A certain lack of diversity in some

parts of the profession is still an issue (Douglas, 2021), as especially foreign correspondents reporting from conflict zones appear to be white male (von der Lippe & Ottosen, 2016). Besides media events that are pre-scheduled, there are breaking stories or developing stories which need immediate attention. To be the first on the ground is extremely important for TV news and journalists often chase one event after the other. The speed at which TV journalists operate allows them to report about current issues in quasi-real time but it also comes with certain limitations and disadvantages for the “depth” of reporting. For example, Cottle (2006) observed that “thin” updates with limited to no new information account for half of the terror news across an international sample of news including the USA, UK, Australia and India, among others. The study shows how TV journalism is event-driven and how generally TV as a medium makes use of a communicative architecture so focused on speed and spectacle that it delimits TV news’ potential impact on viewers/ policy makers and democracy. Similarly, Shaw (1999) argues that TV news’ crisis coverage is exclusionary and limited due to three main reasons. First, TV news can only show what is accessible to Western satellites and cameras. Second, TV news tends to represent people as victims rather than protagonists. Third, and closely related to the second point, TV represents people indirectly, as passive actors without much agency and voice in the discourse. Most of these limitations come with the format of TV news itself, where it is a convention that the news reporter is the main narrator in e.g., a news package. While interviews are often included to offer more information and engaging content, interviewees are not always portrayed as the central characters of a news story but appear secondary to the TV journalist who holds the narrative in her hands.

The format of TV news basically creates a constant demand for content. One characteristic feature of the medium are the perpetual flows of imagery that come with the application of the *rolling news* concept. Developed by 24/7 news channels that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, rolling news describes the broadcasting of news packages and/or live feeds that present updates in high frequency on a development (e.g., in the form of hourly bulletins). Journalists accept the need for speed as a fact of their jobs that may interfere with quality standards and even ethics (Cushion, 2012, p.64). Studies have shown that more contextual information about an issue can increase audience’s understanding and knowledge (Lewis, 2001; Philo and Berry, 2004 as cited in Cushion, 2012), yet rolling news and “breaking news” remain highly popular in the news business and form their own news genre. However, such quick and potentially superficial news items often do not

explain what is going on “behind the scenes of a story” (Cushion, 2012, p.71-72) and leave out important aspects about a given development. The “thirst to be first” (Lewis & Cushion, 2009), “the breaking news warfare” (Cushion, 2012) and ultimately these “fear-cultivating media practices” (Çınarlı & Nguyen, 2020) are one of the main challenges for ensuring quality journalism in 24/7 news channels:

Even public service broadcasters such as the BBC, as we have already witnessed, are subscribing to the view that breaking news first is, above all, a journalistic necessity in the age of 24-hour television [...] For in the pursuit of ‘immediate truth’ and the desire to out-manoeuvre a rival, levels of accuracy represent collateral damage in this breaking news warfare. (Cushion, 2012, p.84)

This event-based, fast-paced, and market-driven journalism often provides only very limited time to journalists in the field/ crisis zone. Furthermore, they may not be particularly knowledgeable about specific socio-cultural and/or political contexts and could rather be described as generalists. Sontag (2004) goes even further by calling foreign correspondents “specialized tourists known as journalists” (p.16) and Hannerz (2004) calls them “parachutists” (p.42) who quickly fly in, gather news, and produce stories on the go. The rapid deployment of journalists, the time limitations that they face, but also the sheer volume of events that are happening in parallel at any given moment, force them to use blanket terms in order to make it easier for the audience to process the news/ categorize the given information. This results in showing mere snapshots of reality rather than an in-depth analysis of what is going on. And even if journalists have specialist knowledge, the very constraints of TV news production that come with the format, business models, and routines that evolved around it, do simply not allow for more depth. By considering the different technological, organizational, and individual factors that shape and affect news routines, it becomes possible to explain why, for example, it is not uncommon that a Syrian refugee crisis story is presented with a rather generalistic headline such as “Migrant Crisis: Thousands flee their homes”.

For whom journalists report and how they do so directly links to questions of ethics in journalism; especially in crisis contexts where the portrayal of others may have a considerable impact on political actions as well as the dynamics of conflict situations in

host countries (e.g., when the sentiment turns strongly against refugees). Journalists as societal sense makers have responsibility towards society and are expected to follow basic journalistic ethics to begin with. According to the Ethical Journalism Network, there are five core principles of ethical journalism: 1- Truth and accuracy, 2- Independence, 3- Fairness and impartiality, 4- Humanity, 5- Accountability. Especially in liberal-democracies it is considered essential that a “free press” follows such ideals so that it can fulfill its function as a fourth estate in societies based on a division of power. While this is a strongly normative view on the role and function of journalism in society, it is at least in some form still part of many news media organisation’s self-understanding regardless of their economic model. Whether they are publicly or commercially funded, journalism and journalistic authority are under tremendous pressure to provide fact-based reports and accurate information, especially against the background of increased digitalisation and subsequent ease of information sharing. In the age of digital platforms, journalists compete with content creators and citizen journalists for audiences’ attention in automated news feeds across different social media networks (Bruns, 2018). Defending quality journalism in this day and age is becoming more and more difficult, since news media increasingly adapt their way of working and content output to the rules set by algorithmic, data-driven digital media. However, in countries such as the UK, there are several news broadcasters (e.g., BBC News, ITV News, Sky News) that work within certain journalistic standards and it is imperative for them to be independent, inform people and hold democratic institutions accountable for their actions.

Traditional journalists act as gatekeepers and tend to see their relationship with the audience as one-directional by providing the audience with the information they consider as valuable for the public (Singer, 2016). However, this is changing as journalism is “becoming” (Deuze & Witscghe, 2016). In other words, the profession is constantly changing in today’s digital age. Although TV news in some countries are still perceived as a trusted news source (Reuters Digital News Report, 2021), the trend is generally declining over the years and across media markets as audience attention has shifted to online news. For example, according to a Ofcom News Consumption Report (2021) younger populations in the UK are turning away from TV. The TV medium is losing its mass audience and no news media organisation can afford to operate only through a single channel as “today our mediated experiences have become fragmented and highly individualised.”(Cushion, 2012, p.26). Publishers are increasingly aware of this, and in fact

the BBC has already started to renew itself in order to attract a younger and also broader, more diverse audience. While audience needs are changing, newsrooms are transforming as well. As “content has migrated onto the web through the conventional media's branded websites” (Turner & Tay, 2009, p.2) and a mixed, multi-media newsrooms has emerged in recent years, it remains to be seen “what it means to be a journalist in a converged, multi-media newsroom” (Cushion, 2012, p.57). Another issue that needs further research about the “post-TV situation” that news media find themselves in is how they will define newsworthiness in the future: “the shape of the media in the 21st century is quite different from how it was [...] [and] values will vary from medium to medium and from each individual package to the next (Brighton & Foy, 2007, p.29).

Taken together, the shape of crisis reporting put into practice depends on a myriad of factors within and outside of news organisations. Against this backdrop, the cosmopolitan vision one would expect from contemporary journalism positions journalists as “workers of imagination” who address a cosmopolitan audience (Lindell & Karlsson, 2016). However, even for journalists working for international news media organizations, it is difficult to identify themselves as cosmopolitan journalists and imagine a cosmopolitan audience. Both the way they conceive their role and the relationships that they build with the audience may not necessarily be cosmopolitan in its normative sense. Studies conducted in the last decades confirm Gurevitch and colleagues’ (1991) point on how news is being domesticated; ‘brought home’ by making foreign news more appealing to domestic audiences (Clausen, 2004; Lindell & Karlsson, 2016; Baysha & Calabrese, 2014; Dencik, 2013). According to Hannerz (2007), this development is not surprising:

It is not entirely surprising if some of the reporting from distant places is in fact making a kind of return trip, catering to ideas, even stereotypes, which are in fact already well-established at home. Partly, this is because correspondents arrive in their postings carrying these ideas with them, and may not really have the time and opportunity to unlearn and relearn. No doubt it is also partly due to some very real, tangible constraints of newswork. If you have two print columns at your disposal, or three minutes on the air, there is little chance of starting educating your audience from scratch. It is tempting to appeal to something already inscribed into its minds. (p.307).

2.4.Risk Society, Culture of Fear and Framing Uncertainties

How the news media report about the world co-shapes how society perceives it and itself, including societal challenges and crises. News media are therefore an essential factor in the formation of a risk society (Beck, 2006) and a culture of fear (Furedi, 2018) through the framing of uncertainties.

2.4.1. Defining the Risk Society

Beck (2006) and also Luhmann (1993) describe world risk society as in a permanent state of crisis that concerns profound political, social, economic, and ecological transformations that have highly unpredictable outcomes. News media play an important role in the discursive construction of crises, especially in regards to associated risks, costs and potential future impacts. As mentioned in the previous chapter, journalists do not only report “what’s going on” in a plain and factual way but they also interpret the event/issue, contextualize it and try to predict “what might happen next?”. Prediction is at the core of the way in which journalists make sense of societal issues. Arguably, today “[a] diversity of media outlets, including a plethora of digital media, proliferate “hypothetical risks” that in turn generate future fears.” (Çınarlı & Nguyen, 2020, p.13). This subchapter will complete the discussion on cosmopolitanism and crisis coverage by providing a deeper understanding of the context in which we live in and consequently how this context guides journalistic practice. It is important to underline that the drive to generate “future fears” through “hypothetical risks” cannot be simply attributed to tabloid news media outlets or low quality journalistic practices alone. Sensationalist reporting and the constant need to offer news content uninterrupted (i.e., the rolling news concept) surely creates a discursive environment in which hypothesising over negative impacts takes centre stage due to the logic of news value allocation. However, the broader social and economic consequences of globalization are maybe the biggest driver of this urge to explore and predict what might happen next. Quite paradoxically, a fear of uncertainty drives the premediation of future courses that a given development can take but this very premediation often fuels further uncertainties.

As a result, the world risk society is not only connected through movement of people and goods but also in terms of shared risks that it creates in a mediated dialogue with itself. These shared risks are not of the same relevance and perceived impact around

the globe but are nevertheless presented as global in reach and are indeed borderless in their origins and manifestation. These shared “global” risks, such as climate change, terrorism or the mass movement of refugees just to name a few, have become a daily staple in news media’s agenda. They can be considered as “ongoing” news stories about which predictions are shared on a virtually daily basis.

Connected to the earlier discussion of the “impure” form of cosmopolitanism (chapter 2) and Bauman’s view on how governments handle the rapid influx of refugees (based on a logic of admission vs rejection), it can be argued that world society operates based on a division of inclusion and exclusion. Luhmann (1997) warned about this binary differentiation and its potential outcome in Europe already two decades ago:

The worst imaginable scenario might be that the society of the next century will have to accept the metacode of inclusion/exclusion. And this would mean that some human beings will be persons and others only individuals; that some are included into function systems for (successful or unsuccessful) careers and others are excluded from these systems, remaining bodies that try to survive the next day [...] it is not unrealistic to expect that demographic developments and migrations will feed this kind of differentiation, even in Europe. (p.76).

Here, Luhmann (1997) draws attention to physical spaces (e.g., favelas in large cities) where this differentiation can be directly observed. These models of sharing urban spaces might cause tension (due to the fear of “others”) and often result in the “need” of security. Gated communities emerged out of this “need” where only the “elite” can enjoy their leisure time. Different worlds of “sameness” are created to manage risks (which ironically cannot be calculated) in urban spaces and the lines between these two opposite worlds are quite visible:

But the differences inside, unlike the differences outside, are tamed, sanitized, guaranteed to come free of dangerous ingredients - and so be unthreatening. They can be enjoyed without fear: once the risk has been taken out of the adventure, what is left is pure, unalloyed and uncontaminated amusement. Shopping/consuming places offer what no 'real reality' outside may deliver: the near-perfect balance between freedom and security. (Bauman, 2000, p.99)

Solidarity seems to be receding in societies around the globe, but especially in the Western socio-cultural hemisphere, where there is increased emphasis on individualism, and almost an obsessive desire to control individual lives. Risk is therefore seen as an individual challenge that needs to be managed:

In contemporary Western societies, where control over one's life has become increasingly viewed as important, the concept of risk is now widely used to explain deviations from the norm, misfortune and frightening events. This concept assumes human responsibility and that 'something can be done' to prevent misfortune. (Lupton, [1997], 2013, p.3).

Thriving for control over destiny on both the individual and collective levels is a key feature for modern society, which inevitably involves constant scanning for and inventorying of issues that can be regarded as risks and introduced as such to mediated public discourses. According to Beck, "[r]isk is the modern approach to foresee and control the future consequences of human action, the various unintended consequences of radicalized modernization. It is an (institutionalized) attempt, a cognitive map, to colonize the future." (Beck, 1999, p.3). Risks are always hypothetical; they present a possibility but not a certainty or can be seen as a specific type of assumption based on deduction and remain a product of thought and discourse until they become manifest. Risks associated with current issues appear to multiply and their likelihood to become real increasingly incalculable. The meaning of risk was once conceived as "exposure to the probability of loss, harm or some kind of misfortune" but has shifted towards "*possibility* of such adversity" (Furedi, 2018, p.154). Against the backdrop of the endless possibilities and difficulties to assess risks coupled with societies' vulnerabilities beyond national borders, Beck in his *World Risk Society* (1999) postulates that

[...] the risk regime is a function of a new order: it is not national, but global. It is rather intimately connected with an administrative and technical decision-making process. Risks presuppose decision. These decisions were previously undertaken with fixed norms of calculability, connecting means and ends or causes and effects. These norms are precisely what 'world risk society' has rendered invalid. (p.3-4).

In one of his last interviews, Beck further explained: “[w]e live under conditions of uncertainty and not-knowing and in which we are threatened by catastrophe.” (Mythen, 2018, p.181). He then points out two typical mistakes in which politicians either underestimate risks or overestimate them in their calculations: “If they underestimate the threat they can easily lose public trust and with it the next election. If they overestimate the risk, they can still present themselves as saviours of the population” (p.181). In the year that led towards the US’ invasion of Iraq, Donald Rumsfeld, former US Secretary of Defense, held a news briefing where he was asked a question about the evidence that Saddam Hussein provided the weapons for the 9/11 attack. “[T]here are known knowns, there are things we know we know.” Rumsfeld said, and continued: “We also know there are known unknowns, that is to say there are some things that we know we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns; the ones we don’t know we don’t know” As perceptive as this answer might be on the acknowledgement of the “unknown unknowns”, the US government proceeded with their agenda which was interpreted as a historic mistake by the Bush government (Mythen, 2018).

Indeed, next to many things that are “known”, there are still a lot of uncertainties in today’s highly interconnected world society. The ‘global’ condition itself, or ‘liquid modernity’ (Bauman, 2000) that we live in constantly produces uncertainties. Svendsen (2008) sees this as the natural condition of life in a world with virtually infinite variables and says that “[w]e are born into a world we cannot control, and seem to be consigned to existential uncertainty throughout our lives.” (p. 20). However, according to Beck (1999), uncertainties are globally manufactured and not confined to our personal lives; they also concern world politics, which are getting ‘risky’ in this environment (p.5) and the risk regime, as a function of global order, creates ‘risk communities’ (Beck, 1999). One example of such a community is Europe where the political and public discourse around refugee crises takes the form of continuous risk calculations. These are mainly about perceived security threats, worries about losing local jobs/ worsening economy and the foreign “contamination” of local cultures and ways of life. Beck (2000) argues that perception and assessment of realities as risks are not fate, but secondary realities (p.96). Risk communities are gathered around these “realities” with the goal of finding the responsible and assessing the risk. Then, decisions can be taken on a local, national or global scale to avert these risks (Beck, 2000).

2.4.2. The Culture of Fear in the Risk Society

A term closely associated with uncertainty is “fear” (Svendsen, 2008, p.43). Bauman (2006) defines fear as “the name we give to our uncertainty; to our ignorance of the threat and of what is to be done—what can and what can’t be—to stop it in its tracks—or to fight it back if stopping it is beyond our power” (p. 2). The connection between risk, fear, and uncertainty can be described as follows: risks are a specific type of uncertainty that usually concern potentially harmful outcomes of events and developments. This uncertainty around the question “will the risk become manifest?” creates a feeling of fear. Presenting the world as risky in the news media thus can trigger fear as an emotional response. Crisis situations are by definition watershed moments with an uncertain outcome, which includes potential negative effects and thus bear risks. According to Altheide (2006), politics of fear gradually develop following a sudden outbreak of a crisis (p.17). He also argues that not all crises generate fear; the main condition for politics of fear to emerge is an existence of a crisis that threatens “political leadership, sovereignty, national identity, or ideology” (p.17). In the case of the Syrian refugee crisis, it could be argued that the politics of fear in Europe only gradually emerged as a response to the increasing scale of mass migration towards the continent. Many anti-immigrant feelings on the locals’ side can be tied to perceived threat to national identity and the abundant use of fear in everyday life/ mass media, as argued by Altheide (2006) has produced a discourse of fear and its politics thereof:

The politics of fear relies on a compliant mass media that will carry news reports and other popular-culture messages that promote fear. My argument is that the politics of fear works best when the messages and meanings are part of the broader culture and are recognized and taken for granted by a mass audience.” (Altheide, 2006, p.47)

Furedi (2018) argues that constant worrying over risks and the harms that they may bring contributes to the formation of a culture of fear that is prevailing in Western risk societies:

It is difficult to live in an uncertain world. Fear of the unknown has traditionally been restrained by a system of meaning that afforded people with guidance and

reassurance. Through their systems of meaning, communities develop customs, practices and attitudes towards engaging with the unknown. In the current era, it sometimes appears that in the absence of a robust system of meaning that offers a perspective for guiding fear, fear itself has become a stand-alone perspective. (p.111).

The perspective of fear, according to Furedi (2018), “encourages society not only to fear, but fear the worst” (p.158). Svendsen (2008) makes a similar observation and states that fear is “a culturally determined magnifying glass through which we consider the world” (p. 12). It appears that news media take the cultural perspective of fear as a baseline to make judgements. Especially in the period after 9/11, fear of the foreign other as a potential source of terror attacks became the norm among Western audiences as their societies turned more vigilant due to the assumption of many “unknowns”. Altheide (2006) refers to 9/11 attacks and the subsequent (over)use of the word “fear” in American and European lives: “This pervasive use of fear is part of the social construction of reality in the modern age” (p.ix). However, what is peculiar about contemporary fear culture is that most fears are not based on lived experiences but are evoked by narratives in the media (Altheide, 2006; Furedi, 2018; Svendsen, 2008). In other words, fears in today’s risk society “are learned through socialisation and the media distribute and contribute to the internalisation of fear” (Çınarlı & Nguyen, 2020, p.135). This places news media and their framing practices again in a central position, since they play an important part in the construction of fear culture and a risk society. Both Furedi and Altheide, who published extensively on fear, agree that audiences’ fears are informed by mass media rather than their own experiences.

The mass media are the most important source of information and social control because they have helped make fear a part of our life, our language, and our point of view [...] My basic thesis is that fear as entertainment informs the production of popular culture and news, generates profits, and enables political decision makers to control audiences through propaganda. This process is referred to as the politics of fear. (Altheide, 2006, p.1-2).

Graber (1990) asserts that “[t]he vast majority of emotional scenes shown on television appeal to negative feelings, such as horror, fear, and sadness.” (p.153).

Therefore, television screens may not only “teach” fear but also have the power to reinforce already existing knowledge by activating a “fear frame” linked to a certain event (e.g., 9/11) in the audiences’ minds. However, Furedi (2018) argues that the media are indeed important but it would be wrong to blame exclusively them for normalising feelings of fear, since “they are not an omnipotent force responsible for the construction of ‘culture of fear’” and that this “institution itself is underpinned by culture” (p.15). Furedi (2018) describes fear not as a mere response to global threats (e.g., pandemics, global warming) but as a “viewpoint”; something that is much more ingrained in our daily lives. From breastfeeding to avoidance of the sun, many “fear appeals” are constantly created, so much so that “fear itself has become a perspective” (Furedi, 2018, p.141). Svendsen (2008) adds to this: “we seem to see everything from a perspective of fear” (p.13). Bauman coined the term “liquid fear” to describe the constant state of living in fear surrounded by vulnerabilities and insecurities (Bauman, 2006, p.3) and the media contribute to this through news updates and repetitive images. These reinforce the interpretative “frame” in audiences' minds and this is especially the case in television news (Altheide, 2006, p.57).

To sum up, crisis reporting with a cosmopolitan outlook is deeply embedded in a culture of fear that is predominant in (Western) risk societies. It is by definition connected to news framing practices that emphasise uncertainties, risks, threats and real as well as imagined harmful impacts of current issues. It breaks down distances to crisis situations abroad but this does not necessarily contribute to feelings of closeness or the perception of greater commonalities between local and foreign social groups but rather evokes fear of the other and the unknown. This makes especially TV news reporting of global crises an insightful example to study, as the critical analysis can reveal how risks, uncertainties, and fears are created as part of the discursive construction of crises; this matters greatly from a normative and ethical point of view, as it may directly affect how audiences perceive the stakeholders evolved and form attitudes as well as opinions about them.

2.5. The BBC World News’ “Global Outlook”

Daya K. Thussu (2003) asserts that the CNN and BBC World have profoundly influenced global television journalism (p.120). However, since they have become operational, international news media have been criticised as “inadequate, as biased, as

over dramatizing events, as not providing enough history and context, as filled with bad news, as bombarding us with images and facts, but no interpretation.” (Sreberny & Paterson, 2004, p.4). Thus, the literature on global journalism focuses on the controversies of the current media landscape and journalistic practice in 24/7 TV news.

Stephen Ward (2008) argues there is a need for a global journalism “in a world where media bring together a plurality of religions and ethnic groups with varying values and agendas” (Ward, 2008, p.144). Peter Berglez (2008) stresses on the concept of global journalism from an epistemological point of view and shows how it transcends the traditional dichotomy between domestic and foreign news (p.845). He surmises that this not well-established journalistic practice is actually an everyday routine in which a journalist relates a local problem to a global process. Therefore, people around the world feel that they are interconnected. Berglez (2008) also challenges the “global outlook” claimed by CNN International, BBC World and news agencies such as Reuters in the sense that they do not necessarily deliver a global outlook other than their financial reporting (p.848).

The BBC is the leading public broadcaster in Britain and in the world, and it is taken as a reference point in terms of its journalistic standards, also known as BBC journalism. However, even in Britain where there is a strong tradition of public broadcasting, “serious” journalism has declined, and the trend of infotainment has become widespread (Thussu, 2010; 2007). Thussu draws attention to the deterioration of public service broadcasting and how “infotainment” - a mix of information and entertainment - have contributed to this (2010, p.362; 2007, p.11). The BBC has also been subject of criticism internally (Cushion, 2012, p.22). In 2002, Kate Adie, former chief news correspondent for BBC News suggested that the BBC News had become “increasingly tabloid”, and in 2010 John Ware, a current affairs journalist for BBC One’s Panorama claimed that the BBC One’s schedule should have “more depth and boldness” (Cushion, 2012, p.23). A former BBC television news editor, Ian Hargreaves, described the BBC’s impartiality: “BBC journalism is magnificent in its range, carefulness, and resources, but it does tend towards an establishment view of the world.” (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 27).

All of the above accounts can be explained by taking a critical look at the increasing pressures on the BBC in terms of licence fees. It has become increasingly difficult to justify

the license fee in today's attention economy where many platforms are available and competing for the audience's attention. As Küng (2017) puts it:

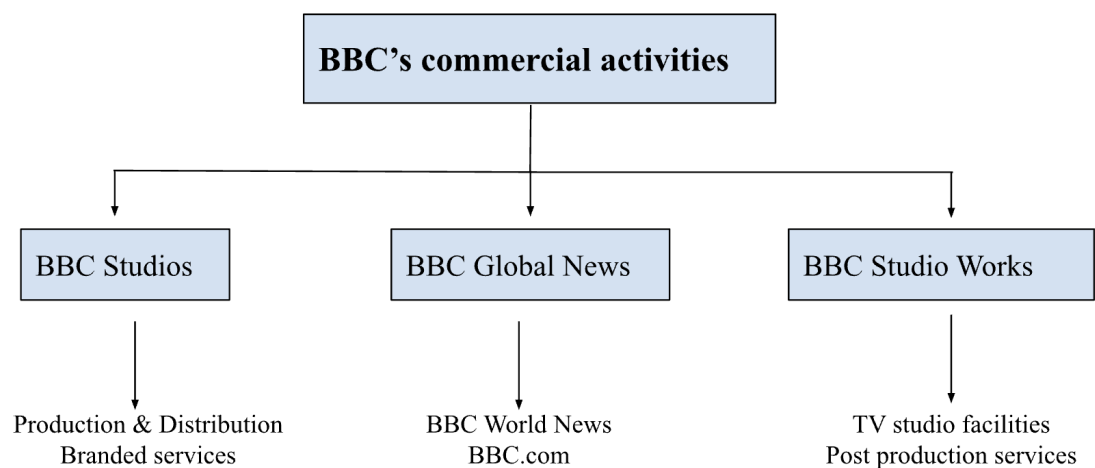
As the supply of competing audio-visual content increases, public service media content consumption is falling, reducing in turn willingness to pay license fees. This increases pressure on PSBs to offer exclusive and distinctive content that attracts large audiences and therefore justifies the license fee" (p.16).

The BBC has a complex organisational structure and recognizing its intricacies might help in grasping the discussions surrounding the license fee among other criticisms towards the organisation. First of all, the BBC organizes its services under three main areas: 1) UK public services, 2) Global news services, 3) Commercial services (BBC, n.d.a.). What is striking here is that BBC.com which is funded by BBC Global, the commercial arm of the BBC, also serves as the first and second service areas including both the national and global audiences. While being committed to its public service mission (to inform, educate and entertain), the question arises on how the BBC guarantees to abide by this commitment while public funds are not its only source of revenue. The BBC's early public service, the non-commercial radio network, was exported around the world as a "model" for public broadcasting to a number of British colonies (McPhail & Phipps, 2020, p.197). The institution gained international reputation during its World War II coverage and expanded its non-commercial programming until the 1980s with Thatcher's first attempts to seek advertising revenue for the BBC (McPhail & Phipps, 2020). These attempts only materialized with the launch of *BBC World News* in 1991 as the BBC's commercially funded international 24-hour English news channel. Today, the channel broadcasts in more than 200 countries and is funded by both subscription and advertising revenues as stated in the BBC's website as follows: "BBC World News is owned and operated by BBC Global News Ltd, a member of the BBC's commercial group of companies and is funded by subscription and advertising revenues." (BBC, 2021). BBC.com is also owned by BBC Global News and shares the same funding model as BBC World News. A third revenue source for both is "income from pay TV operators" which is mentioned in the BBC's 2020/21 annual report.

For this study, it is important to have a closer look at the BBC's commercial activities, as they include both BBC World News and BBC.com. As mentioned earlier, the

BBC's commercial activities support all other activities run by the organisation: "The BBC's commercial subsidiaries support the BBC public service mission and generate income for the BBC Group." (BBC, 2021c). The emphasis on "public service mission" in this quote from the Annual Report is remarkable, and it is arguably to avoid potential criticisms towards these "other" revenue sources next to public/ license fees. The below figure shows how the BBC organizes its commercial activities under three wholly owned commercial subsidiaries, namely the BBC Studios, BBC Global News and BBC Studio Works.

Figure 2.2 BBC's commercial activities



BBC Global News has set its mission "to be the best and most trusted international news provider in the world, whilst growing the BBC's international news audiences and operating as a commercially efficient business." (BBC, n.d.a.). This mission seems to have achieved considerable popularity around the world. The BBC's policy of "balance" secured more international credibility than any other broadcasting organization in the world (Thussu, 2000, p.35). According to a recent Reuters Digital News Report (2020), the BBC News was the most trusted news brand in the United States. The data included in the BBC's Annual Report (2021c) show that BBC World News channel has reached 453 million households globally in 2020/21 with 112 million people watching the channel every week. This means that over the past five years, the weekly audience increased by at least 10% (compared to 99.2 million in 2016/17). Similarly, bbc.com saw a continued growth in its audience reach, with a 19% increase compared to previous year and reached 180 million

monthly unique browsers in November 2020. A news brand that aims to reach a global audience with a vast reach is therefore interesting to research when it comes to its coverage of global crises. The BBC's global news outlets, both the TV and online, play a role of "sense-makers" for an audience beyond the UK and that comes with its challenges. "We're going to fight - publicly and globally - for news that people can trust and rely on. The sort of brilliant, curious, passionate journalism day in, day out" said Tony Hall, Director-General of the BBC at the launch of the Annual Plan on Wednesday 28 March 2018, referring to fake news and other types of misinformation. Dencik (2013) challenges the managerial discourse of "global outlook" and emphasizes the need to look into actual news work to see how the actual operation is guided by a national approach:

Although there is a commitment amongst management to a 'global outlook' at BBC World News, understanding issues to be of relevance in terms of their 'global interconnections' and covering those issues from a 'global perspective' (A Senior Manager), it is crucial to examine how actual practices ground this vision [...] Regardless of what the terminology may signify, global news networks do not operate 'above' or 'beyond' national contexts but are in many ways nationally rooted and respond to and consider the domestic political culture that prevails in the context in which they are based.

Arguably, during the Covid-19 pandemic from 2020 onwards, news became a crucial source of information for many to make sense of this global crisis and its impact on individual countries. Referring to the pandemic crisis in 2020, Sir David Clementi, the chairman of the BBC wrote these lines in the BBC's Annual Report 2019/20 in which the emphasis on the "nation" stands out:

These have been testing times, but this report once again highlights the central role of the BBC in British national life [...] It's a reminder that the BBC is without question one of Britain's strongest and best-known brands, synonymous with quality and accuracy worldwide. This Annual Report tells the story of a BBC that faces considerable challenges but remains of huge value for the UK, at home and abroad, and well placed to succeed in the future [...] We provide the public – in great numbers, locally, nationally and internationally – with trusted, impartial news and information they can rely on. We help bring the country together, to share, to understand and to commemorate" (BBC Annual Report 2019/20).

The BBC's journalism and programme-making are bound by its Editorial Policy and Guidelines. Freedom of expression, independence, truth, fairness, accuracy, impartiality, editorial integrity, protecting vulnerable groups, avoidance of potential offence and privacy are the themes emphasized in the introduction of the guidelines as the BBC's "editorial values". Although the focus in this research is not on journalistic ethics, it is still important to check the ethical guidelines in order to understand what the organizational commitments are in regards to news making. There are already some obvious hints in these guidelines about a national outlook: Some sensitivities only apply to the UK (e.g., national security, "watershed"). These and other aspects relevant to this study can be organized into four main themes: 1) Truth, accuracy, verification, 2) Impartiality, balance, fairness, 3) Graphic images, 4) National sensitivities.

Before diving into these themes, it should be noted that the BBC's editorial guidelines apply to both news and other programmes/content that aim to inform, educate or entertain. Especially for controversial issues such as graphic images in news, not much nuance can be observed in the guidelines as they speak to all content, not just news. When the news is about the image (e.g., Aylan Kurdi), then these guidelines may not be sufficient alone and what is occasionally mentioned as "editorial judgement" then decides whether to use these on a case-by-case approach. Also, what seems to be absent from these guidelines is some of the more controversial issues regarding journalistic practices. Practical ways of conceptualizing "global journalism" and its audiences on the one hand and emotions in journalism on the other, are not part of the discussion in the guidelines.

Truth, accuracy and verification seem to be important themes in the editorial guidelines. There is a strong emphasis on accuracy over speed and they can be observed in articles 3.3.1., 3.3.2 and 3.3.10. Facts alone are not sufficient in order to "get at the truth" according to the guidelines as article 3.3.1 states: "Accuracy is not simply a matter of getting facts right. Relevant opinions as well as facts may need to be considered. When necessary, all the relevant facts and information should be weighed to get at the truth." The acknowledgement of the high speed in journalism and an implicit call for "slowing down" can be observed in the guidelines in article 3.3.2: "In news and current affairs content, achieving due accuracy is more important than speed." However, slow(er) journalism practices might not actually be taking place and this will be discussed in the results with the interviewees' accounts. Finally, article 3.3.10 is concerned about user-generated

content (UGC) and draws attention to fact-checking processes that must be followed: “User-generated content raises particular challenges. We should not assume that the material is accurate and, depending on how we plan to use it, should take reasonable steps to seek verification.”

Clauses that have to do with impartiality, balance and fairness are very relevant to this study as a cosmopolitan outlook and potentially a cosmopolitan journalism can only be achieved by reflecting a diversity of sources, opinions and actors in the news that are relevant to a cosmopolitan audience. On paper, article 4.3.1 signals this: “Across our output as a whole, we must be inclusive, reflecting a breadth and diversity of opinion.” The BBC does not define impartiality in its editorial guidelines (article 4.3.2) as equal “airtime” to all views but rather seeks to achieve what is called “due weight”: “For example, minority views should not necessarily be given similar prominence or weight to those with more support or to the prevailing consensus.” What the BBC seemingly wants to avoid is to give unproportionate “airtime” to views that do not have widespread support or relevance in the society, in other words, the BBC avoids framing some minority views as equally important as majority views. This is open to individual editorial interpretation as some issues may not be black and white. Therefore, it can be difficult to decide whether a minority view deserves any voice at all. Here, one should not dismiss the fact that “majority” is probably meant in the societal context of the UK.

Balance and fairness are included in the editorial guidelines more in connection to privacy and consent issues. On “fairness to contributors and consent” subsection, article 6.3.18 says: “We should not put the health and safety of contributors or any other participants at any significant risk.” This clause is relevant in the Syrian refugee crisis stories, since many vulnerable people including regime defectors are being interviewed. When it comes to balance in terms of privacy, part of article 7.1 states the following: “We must balance the public interest in the full and accurate reporting of stories involving human suffering and distress with an individual’s privacy and respect for their human dignity.” An interesting point is made in the guidelines about live coverage. It seems that the BBC has decided to “only operate a live stream where it is editorially justified” (article 7.3.29). This is mainly to protect the identities of people who might be “on air” without their knowledge and consent. The interviewees in this study also mentioned that lives are no longer a priority and the editorial attention has shifted more towards packages/ news

gathering. Similar sensitivity also concerns the privacy of individuals in the reports of accidents, disasters and so on. Article 7.3.41 says: “We must always balance the public interest in full and accurate reporting with the need to be compassionate and to avoid unjustified infringement of privacy when we report accidents, disasters, disturbances, violence against individuals or war.”

This connects to the discussion of graphic images, which is another theme in the editorial guidelines and relevant especially to the reports on the Syrian war and the refugee crisis where there were human tragedies of many sorts. The article above (7.3.41) continues as follows: “We must consider the editorial justification for portraying graphic or intrusive material of human suffering and distress.” The inclusion of graphic images is a controversial issue and sometimes a source of disagreement with the editorial team in London, according to the interviewees. The “editorial justification” can take long discussions as was apparently the case in Aylan Kurdi when the story was about the image itself (interview with Mark Lowen). Article 7.3.42 expands on the previous article: “In the immediate aftermath of an event involving death, suffering or distress, the use of more graphic material is normally justified to provide a reasonable account of the full horror.”

Clauses under the subsection on “war, terror and emergencies” discusses similar concerns regarding the inclusion of graphic pictures in the coverage of human suffering. The BBC explicitly assumes responsibility towards their UK and international audiences in the article 11.1: “Some of our audience [UK and international] will have relatives or friends directly involved. We should avoid causing unnecessary offence whilst also ensuring that we continue to convey the reality of events and do not unduly sanitise our reporting.” The remainder of the article emphasizes the same argument as article 7.3.41 that very graphic images can only be shown if there is editorial justification for it. If the editorial team decides to publish graphic images, one of the first considerations is about when to broadcast it. These issues are addressed under the section of “harm and offense” in the editorial guidelines and they represent the use of graphic images together with other themes/articles tuned for national sensitivities.

Four articles stand out under the theme of “harm and offence”. Article 5.3.1 refers to the “watershed” - defined as after 9 pm when it is assumed that children go to bed and content more suitable for adult viewers can be shown - when making judgements about the

content: “We should judge the suitability of content for our audiences, including children, in relation to the expectations of the likely audience, taking account of the time and day on which it is available [...]”. This guideline is followed by some other considerations such as labelling the digital content in which graphic images are shown and that in TV the transition after 9 pm should not be too sudden. Only later on, in article 5.3.11 the international audiences and watershed policy is discussed and there seems to be no easy solution/ clear instructions for a similar sensitivity for the globally-oriented outlets:

The nature of news means that it is not always possible to avoid showing material before the watershed that might distress some of our audiences. Our international news channels do not normally operate a watershed policy because the news is shown live across different time zones around the world. Wherever appropriate, we should provide clear and timely content information to signpost difficult images, particularly those that may be distressing for children. (BBC Editorial Guidelines, 2019)

National sensitivities are not only manifested in the guidelines regarding the (non-) use of graphic images, but also in the matters of diversity and national security. In article 5.3.39 titled as Portrayal, diversity is explained from a rather UK-based view to world societies: “We aim to reflect the diverse communities of the United Kingdom in our services. Content may reflect the prejudices and disadvantages which exist in societies worldwide but we should not perpetuate them. [...]”. The BBC’s operations go beyond the domestic network, however the language used in the Editorial Guidelines tend to operate within a national framework. This is understandable as the BBC is a public broadcaster and part of its funding comes from license fees, and the overall operations, including the commercial, contribute to the domestic services. Again, all these services need to follow the same Royal Charter and Editorial Guidelines. These binding documents apply to too many outlets of the BBC; both public and commercial and given the public - here in this case the UK public - duties of the BBC, the language is skewed towards a more national/parochial tone.

Finally, another obvious manifestation of national sensitivities in the Editorial Guidelines can be observed in article 11.3.10: “Any proposal to broadcast material recorded at a staged event in the UK or overseas, where threats are made against UK

citizens, must be referred to Director Editorial Policy and Standards.” Here, the emphasis is on the security of UK citizens rather than all BBC audiences. This also shows how the broadcasters are still bound by the rules and regulations of the location from which they operate. Similarly, other articles that concern national security and counter-terrorism also show how the organisation is bound by the societal level factors (see Fig.1-1.‘onion model).

Besides these four main themes discussed above, “independence from external interests” seems to be another relevant subsection addressed in the editorial guidelines. This clause below (14.1) aims to bridge public and commercial services under one roof and emphasize the BBC’s values which “bring” them together:

The BBC’s reputation and the strength of its brand in the UK and around the world are based upon its fundamental values of editorial integrity, independence and impartiality. These values are central both to the BBC’s Public Services and our Commercial Services. Audiences everywhere must be able to trust the BBC. In order to achieve that, our impartiality, editorial integrity and independence must not be compromised by outside interests and arrangements. We must maintain independent editorial control over our content.

It is difficult for public service broadcasters to maintain complete independence from external interests as they are not exempt from an environment in which there is fierce competition among news publishers (commercial/private or public) and other content producers for audiences’ attention. The most obvious struggle for public broadcasters is to safeguard quality journalism and serve the public all the while without missing out on the “online” (e.g., search platforms, social media) and play by the rules of platforms - namely the big five (Google, Facebook, Amazon, Apple, Microsoft). While doing this, they risk doing “service journalism” where the “content” serves to the customers (e.g., readers, subscribers). More about this will be elaborated upon in the next subsection.

2.5.1. The BBC’s Public vs Market Orientation

The core competencies or distinctive capabilities of an organization usually arise from the circumstances in which the organization was founded (Küng, 2017, p.61). Looking at the BBC’s foundational circumstances, one can already state the most obvious

core competencies as a public service broadcaster: informing & educating (and entertaining) the public. However, the BBC has been challenged many times over its history, so did its core identity of being a public service broadcaster. It was only after the appointment of John Birt as Deputy Director General in 1987 that the BBC was exposed to “cost-based competition with private companies” (Mills, 2016, p.160). According to this reform, separate units would have their own budgets and producers were encouraged to play according to the free market rules; choose between BBC suppliers and the outside market (Mills, 2016; BBC, n.d.b). This trend which started in the late 1980s is now stretched to the digital age. Like many other companies in the news media industry, the BBC is no exception in terms of strategic adaptation as a response to technological advances. “During the recent Royal Charter renewal, it was already clear that BBC Online constituted ‘the third arm of the BBC’ rather than just a complementary service to broadcasting.” (Brevini, 2010, p. 359). Arguably, the BBC adopted an increasingly market-driven approach to journalism in order to stay relevant in today’s highly competitive information age.

The BBC published its renewed Royal Charter in 2016. The Royal Charter highlights many points that are relevant to this research. First, the BBC’s independence is defined within the framework of its mission and promotion of public purposes. This is important in order to understand the dynamics of editorial decisions and content creation. Second is the emphasis on the BBC’s mission that focuses on public interest and impartiality and delivers ‘distinctive output and services’ which inform, educate and entertain. Third is the five-fold public purpose which emphasizes the importance of providing high-quality content to both the UK and international audiences, engaging audiences with local, national and global news, reflecting the diversity of the UK and finally promoting British values; accuracy, impartiality and balance to international audiences. Furthermore, under the latter purpose these lines are interesting: “Its international services should put the United Kingdom in a world context, aiding understanding of the United Kingdom as a whole, including its nations and regions where appropriate.” (The BBC’s Royal Charter). Based on this, one would expect that news are selected, prepared/curated and distributed in a way that specifically contextualizes the UK and its former colonies and underlines the British position when interpreting world events and its position regarding world events. This for BBC World News’ and BBC.com’s

audiences might mean that they would follow news written from a British perspective rather than a cosmopolitan outlook that flattens differences and boundaries.

The charter also emphasizes that commercial activities (1) fit the mission and public purposes, (2) are not funded by licence fee revenue and (3) are undertaken with a view to generating profit. As discussed earlier when looking at the BBC Global's organizational chart, this indicates that part of their activities is defined as commercial even if it also promotes the public purposes. Here it is interesting however, the way in which the BBC manages to keep the journalism's public mission and generate profits. This is an ongoing discussion in journalism studies whether journalism is citizen-driven or market-driven in the digital age in which rapid transformations occur in journalism in order to stay relevant. For instance, the BBC continues to focus/invest on its audio-visual content with the support of their large UGC team and freelance journalists working in the field in order to meet the global appetite for videos (Küng, 2017, p.40-41).

It is not surprising that “[t]he institution, [the BBC] and the social responsibility/public-service broadcasting model it embodies, has become intimately associated with the very idea of Britain” (Bicket & Wall 2009, p.365 as cited in Ashley, 2014, p.17). Even though the BBC has to deal with a multiplicity of criticisms, it still stands as “the gold standard for public service broadcasting around the world” (Kung 2000; Born 2004, as cited in Ashley, 2014, p.17). As the BBC has historically set a model in the world as a public service broadcasting institution, however, it is also highly scrutinized.

Looking at research on PSM/PSB; they either focus on the funding and legitimacy of the BBC or on its future given the digital transformation and distribution strategies. The key areas of debate in PSB's continuing role in the digital age are listed by Burri (2020) as the following:

- (1) a pure public service addressing the remaining market failures in a digital space,
- (2) adopting a host of new tasks corresponding to the new age, and (3) an all-embracing public service that calls for the reinvention of PSB and introduces the broader notion of public service media (PSM). (p.65)

What happens to public service broadcasting (PBS) in the digital era? This question does not only raise academic interest, but it is a practical challenge faced by many public service broadcasters including the BBC. Similar to Web 2.0, Brevini (2008; 2010) suggests the term PSB 2.0 pointing out the need for PSM/PSB to update themselves to be able to best deal with the challenges brought by technological advances. Although this research did not aim to study technological challenges faced by journalists, some insights have been gathered based on the interviews with journalists. The next section introduces the general theoretical framework used in this study and provides an outline of the thesis.

2.6. Analysing TV News Packages and Journalistic Performance

Framing analyses are quite common in media- and communication research, especially on news media discourses. The proposition is relatively simple: through language, humans describe, make sense, and behave in the physical and social world. Frames are the result of associations of related concepts that accumulate to distinguishable schemes of interpretation and often also action (Lakoff, 2004). Their appeal for analysing media content is easy to explain: framing analyses allow the researcher to map the most salient issues in a media discourse and to examine how these are perceived and portrayed by relevant stakeholders that participate in the debate, i.e. by those who are represented in the respective news media coverage. It further includes investigating how relevant social groups are being portrayed, i.e., “talked about”, and whether they also have agency, i.e., a voice, in the discourse. The concept of representation (Hall, 2000) is thus often a necessary component of framing research. Framing analyses thus open the path for 1) describing the structure of a mediated debate by considering what issues are connected within a given context based on what network of respective communicators (e.g., individual actors such as politicians, commentators, experts but also organisations, such governments, political parties, or media outlets).

Various qualitative, quantitative, and mixed approaches exist that serve for exploring, identifying, and measuring the prevalence and visibility of news media frames. There are different definitions for frames that eventually determine their operationalisation for empirical analysis (Matthes, 2014) but most forms of data collection depend on some sort of content analytical procedure. Although there is an increased

attention towards visual framing in the last two decades (Dan, 2018), many previous studies focused on the textual rather than visual and audiovisual content for frame analysis due to the complexity in operationalising frames in images. However, frames are not only to be found in “printed and spoken news texts, but also via still and moving visuals” (Dan, 2018, p.191) through various frame devices. Thinking of images from 9/11, refugee crisis and more recently the COVID-19 pandemic, “visual framing may actually matter more than verbal framing” (Coleman, 2010, p.35) and it starts from the moment the journalist is assigned the news until the final editing. Schwalbe (2006) explains framing of still images as follows:

Visual framing is a continuous winnowing process. It begins with the choice of events to cover, followed by the selection of what pictures to take, how to take them (angle, perspective, assumptions and biases, cropping, and so forth), and which ones to submit (Perlmutter & Wagner, 2004). The process continues in the newsroom with decisions about which images to publish, what size to make them, and where to position them on the page. (p.269).

Generally, a similar procedure takes place when journalists prepare TV news packages, however the verbal framing that accompanies the visual is rather different. TV journalists may already have a vision on what to cover before they arrive in the field, however the final voice over/what can be said is heavily dependent on what is filmed. Also, given the format, arguably, not everything needs to be said/included in the news text/voice over, as some images are so powerful that they alone can tell the story. This poses a challenge for researchers as the text and the visual in news packages cannot be studied as isolated units. As put by Dan (2018), “people are exposed to words and visuals, and not to words or visuals” and therefore these “two integrated modalities cannot be fully understood when one of them is neglected” (p.191). Even though this study is not concerned about detecting potential mismatches between audio and visuals, it assumes that both are relevant in the analysis together and that visual interpretation should not be overlooked. The exact approach to the coding is explained in the following chapter: Research Design and Methodology.

“The news package is a pre-produced news item that comes after the lead-in.” (Dan, 2018, p.193) and typically lasts for two to three minutes. A news bulletin is

composed of several news packages and live broadcasts that are introduced by the news anchor's lead-in. Therefore, the genre of news package can neither provide the whole story nor the most up-to-date information. They can be seen as a snapshot of the event with the use of selected images, sources and interviewees. As TV addresses a mass audience, the language is carefully used in order to reduce the complexity of the issue in hand. This arguably leads to certain news routines which become TV news clichés. According to Graber (1990), "audiovisual television news language works largely through stereotypical verbal and visual discourse that is designed to be easily understood, because the story must quickly convey shared meanings to vast, diverse audiences." (p.136)

The TV journalist, as discussed earlier is a "sensemaker" and in that respect plays a role of facilitator and mediator between the event and the audience. As discussed earlier (in 2.3.), it is difficult for journalists to identify themselves as cosmopolitan journalists and imagine a cosmopolitan audience for their output. What they usually do, is to address an audience that they can imagine and speak to, even though they are aware that other viewers might be watching. The underlying motivation perhaps that led interviewees to put a strong emphasis on '10 o'clock news' could be maximizing "the amount of audience attention" and that may not be only about the imagination of audience X, but also the institutional benchmarks (e.g., ratings):

Journalists may be motivated to maximize the amount of audience attention they can garner, either because large audiences lend prestige to their work because audience attention can be monetized through advertising sales, or because audience numbers are key to murky efforts to sway public opinion. Conceptualizing the public sphere as a marketplace for attention, public communication as the competition for audiences and the public as the de facto audiences (Webster, 2014) may thus be useful to understand how journalists frame their practices and how they 'imagine' the public... (Hänska, 2018, p.108).

In the previous subchapter, the BBC's editorial values regarding impartiality and balance among others and their respective instructions for implementation in practice were explored. As understood from these guidelines, there were some hints of a cosmopolitan outlook in international outlets of the BBC, however they seemed rather vague and imprecise. This necessitates not only a systematic observation of cosmopolitanism in the

news packages and checking what sources, actors were given voice, whether refugees are framed as part of a global community, or simply as “other” - vs. us/ British people, but also interviews with practitioners, namely BBC journalists who covered the Syrian refugee crisis. While interviews were straightforward in terms of data collection and analysis, content analysis of videos included several methodological difficulties.

First of these was operationalizing cosmopolitanism in the videos; the codebook included many latent variables that needed to be checked for reliability. Second and connected to this as well, the researcher wanted to avoid a “lack of conceptual and methodological consistency” (Rodriguez & Dimitrova 2011, p.51) in visual frame analysis. Following a “gestalt approach”, verbal text, sound and visuals were analysed together (Matthes, 2014). More details regarding the coding process and other methodological aspects of the study are discussed in the following chapter.

3. Research Design and Methodology

The present section outlines the methodological approach of the BBC case study, which aims at exploring to what extent TV news packages on the Syrian refugee crisis implement the organization's normative aspirations of a cosmopolitan outlook in its reporting on profound humanitarian challenges. The methodological angle draws from sociological approaches to cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2006) as a social formation and dimension for mediatised discourse, especially in the area of digital news media. After critically summarising the previous proposition for conceptualising and operationalising cosmopolitanism for empirical research on relevant news media content, the discussion turns to a detailed description of the methods for data collection, which is a combination of (visual) content analysis (CA) of news packages and interviews with journalists. The research design is guided by a mixed methods approach to explore the relatively novel field of investigation and it combines 'different methods to gain a more complete picture' (O'Cathian et al., 2010). Mixed methods can be broadly defined as "research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods" (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007, p.4). The present section has three objectives: 1) to establish a working definition and operationalisation for cosmopolitanism that fits the context of TV reporting on the Syrian refugee crisis; 2) to outline the main research goals of the integrative content analysis of relevant TV news packages, which combines qualitative and quantitative steps; 3) to outline the main research goals of the semi-structured interviews with former and current BBC journalists that covered the Syrian refugee crisis.

In short, the main purpose of the content analysis is to chart framing practices in the news coverage of migration issues by the BBC and look for hints for how current practices implement or contradict claims about a cosmopolitan view on current events. A content analysis is a mixed/-complementary method in nature (Nguyen, 2017) and it allows the researcher to scan media texts for recurring themes and patterns of communication in a systematic manner (Krippendorff, 2019). The (limited) quantitative

analyses that are part of the content analysis, which in turn serves the framing analysis, have purely descriptive purposes to identify recurring framing practices in the sampled news packages. This is combined with a qualitative coding of notable characteristics (e.g., voice over, camera angles, imagery) that shape the media framing of migration issues.

The interviews with BBC journalists complement the findings by exploring their perception of the cosmopolitan view on their work and how their personal experiences, attitudes, and journalistic practices resonate in their work. Interviews are a useful method for exploring how journalists perceive and evaluate their own profession's practices (Varma, 2020; Chan, 2020; Kogen, 2017; Besley & McComas, 2007). This self-reported data can then be contrasted with the findings from the framing analysis to reconstruct and, at least tentatively, assess in how far the BBC offers a truly cosmopolitan perspective and where these claims collide with clearly nationally grounded norms. In sum, the study is primarily qualitative in nature and thus all findings need to be carefully interpreted in their limited context (especially in regard to sampling). Nevertheless, it allows the researcher to explore the manifestation of cosmopolitanism both in extent and shape through concrete empirical examples and first-hand accounts from relevant media practitioners at the BBC.

Table 3.1 Research questions and methods

RQ	Method
<i>RQ1: How does the BBC World news frame the Syrian Refugee Crisis in their video news packages?</i>	Content analysis
<i>RQ2: To what extent do the BBC World News' packages on the Syrian refugee crisis reflect a cosmopolitan vision?</i>	Content analysis
<i>RQ3: How do BBC journalists perceive their own practices in TV reporting about crises?</i>	Interviews

3.1. Mixed Methods Design

The present study applies a mixed-methods design to explore to what extent cosmopolitanism is a discernible characteristic of the BBC's news coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis. More specifically, the empirical part includes a complementary content analysis (CA) of relevant news packages and interviews with BBC journalists covering the issue. The main goal is to chart journalistic practices in framing the crisis for an international audience with the VCA and to probe practitioners' attitudes and opinions with the interviews. The mixed-methods design thus allows the researcher to investigate two important dimensions of the framing process: how journalistic narratives are constructed and presented in audio-visual news content and how journalists perceive and evaluate their own practices. The complementary approach combines two fitting methods to address the main research questions. Moreover, the VCA itself is a mixed method in its conceptualisation, as it combines inductive category generation with descriptive quantification.

Mixed-methods research designs have grown in number over the decade in the fields of communication-, media-, and journalism studies (Westlund & Ekström, 2021; Powers & Curry 2019; Plaut & Klein 2019; Bock et al., 2018; Melki & Mallat 2014). For example, Westlund & Ekström (2021) conducted an ethnographic multi-method study combining observation, interviews and document analysis to investigate the way journalists coordinate online live broadcasts. Powers and Curry (2019) combine textual analysis with a survey to investigate journalists' evaluations of solution journalism. Even though mixed-methods research is very common these days, Riffe et al. (2019) points out that methodological integration that brings agenda-setting and cultivation theory together (e.g., Gerbner's research) is still rare. This research aims to fill this methodological gap and combine the findings of content analysis with that of interviews.

3.2. Content Analysis: A mixed methods approach

The content analysis used in this study is guided by 1) mixed methods approach and, 2) a framing paradigm. There are several reasons for this choice: First, content analysis is a primary example for a mixed method (Krippendorff, 2019), since it combines different research steps traditionally associated with qualitative and quantitative methods

within one methodological framework (Nguyen, 2017). To conduct a successful content analysis, researchers need to shift between inductive and deductive steps, between close reading and distant reading so that insights won are valid and eventually generalisable. This is especially the case for framing analyses, as framing occurs in a discrete way and next to analyzing mostly manifest meaning in large amounts of data, it is imperative to have a closer look at latent meaning and combine the quantitative approach with a qualitative one to reveal these latent meanings that cannot be easily quantified. Second a content analysis detached from a framing paradigm may yield data that misrepresent media messages that most audience members are pick up (Entman, 1993, p.57). It provides a content-analytical approach with structure and direction. Content does not simply exist in isolation but media texts contain frame elements that cluster into discernible frameworks of interpretation or (media-)frames. A content analysis can help with Identifying these frames by breaking them down into frame devices and frame elements, which eventually opens the way for charting how media discourses invite audiences to interpret current issues of social, political, cultural, and economic interest. Furthermore, a critical framing analysis can reveal whether and when journalistic standards (e.g., impartiality, fairness) are potentially violated and where media manipulators try to impose their frames on the news.

Content Analysis is a widely used method in media and communications studies as well as across other disciplines such as “literature, history, journalism, political science, education, psychology and so on” (Neuman, 2011, p.361). Diverse forms of text are essential for constructing social reality and it is therefore unsurprising that with content analysis a systematic, structured method for textual analysis emerged. Broadly defined, content analysis is a critical examination of texts and images in order to interpret the dataset prepared by the researcher. According to Berelson (1952), content analysis is “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p.18). Neuman (2011) agrees with this basic description when he explains in relatively simple terms: “In a content analysis study, you gather and analyse the content of text” (p.361). The term content analysis only appeared in 1941, however the method is much older as it was first used to analyse religious texts in the 17th century (Krippendorff, 2019). As of the mid-20th century, the term started to be increasingly popular in numerous disciplines including media, communication and journalism (Krippendorff, 2019). While the foundations of content analysis lie in the

analysis of written text (e.g., religious texts, newspapers), “when other media became more prominent, researchers extended their approach [...] initially to radio (Albig, 1938), and later to movies and television” (Krippendorff, 2019, p.12). While popular in different academic disciplines, content analysis is particularly prominent in media and communications research. Lovejoy et al. (2014) shows that at least one out of five articles published in the three top communication journals use content analysis as part of their methodology. According to this study, of the 2,534 articles published in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, the *Journal of Communication*, and *Communication Monographs* between 1985 and 2010, 23% involved content analysis.

First examples of content analysis started with a quantitative approach; more specifically newspaper analysis and these were mostly focused on frequency of certain words and size of the news rather than making more complex analyses such as correlations, inferential statistics, co-occurrences and so on. Perhaps, as a response to that rather outdated and partially rather shallow approach, later research approaches were posited to be more *qualitative* (Krippendorff, 2019, p.21) by adding more layers to the analysis than the simple quantification of manifest signals in texts. Decidedly qualitative approaches actually move away from quantification and generalisation in favour of in-depth analysis: “Qualitative content analysis is a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative data” (Schreier, 2014, p.171). This method is built on a more constructivist epistemology. The researcher using the qualitative variation of the method would try to understand the deeper meanings of the text and how it is constructed or framed. For example, taking words as frame devices here, the researcher can use qualitative content analysis in combination with framing analysis. Here, in order to avoid researcher’s bias related to subjectivity, qualitative content analysis also needs to be conducted as systematically as its quantitative counterpart.

The advantage of qualitative content analysis is that it allows for retrieving both explicit and implicit meanings in text. Here in this study, journalistic performance was difficult to operationalize in a codebook and thus quantitative content analysis proved to be difficult to work with for this particular concept. Therefore, the researcher decided to use qualitative content analysis to analyse selected news packages in order to retrieve implicit meanings behind journalistic performance and try to understand this concept in-depth. A second - and connected to the previous - advantage of this method is that it allows

researchers to go beyond the manifest content and can deal with very abstract concepts. Manifest meaning of the data is literal and requires limited interpretation, whereas latent meaning refers to the deeper structure where the researcher analyses the underlying meaning of the content.

However, qualitative content analysis also has some limitations: 1- It works with a limited amount of data and therefore generalization of the results is difficult, 2- Reliability can be an issue as qualitative analysis does not follow a strict intercoder reliability test. To overcome these limitations, a qualitative approach is combined with a quantitative. Operationalising more complex constructs such as media representations, rhetorical strategies, social constellations etc. led to more nuanced, sophisticated and thus complex content analytical research designs. In recent years, it has become more widely acknowledged that content analysis actually bridges both qualitative and quantitative research steps. While the researcher worked with a large amount of data extensively, when some latent content needed to be further explored, she looked at smaller amounts of text intensively. This mixed-methods approach ensures that the analysis is more systematic, less subjective and provides the researcher with flexibility and thoroughness both during the stages of coding and analysis. “Ultimately, all reading of texts is qualitative, even when certain characteristics of a text are later converted into numbers” (Krippendorff, 2019, p.21). Following Krippendorff’s (2019) line of thinking, this research does not make a clear cut distinction between quantitative and qualitative approaches.

The steps taken for the research design are inspired by Neuman (2011) and Schreier (2014). Neuman’s (2011) steps for content analysis are quite straightforward and starts with a 1) Research question, followed by 2) Units of analysis, 3) Sampling plan, 4) Codebook, 5) Coding, and finally 6) Data collection and analysis. There are two possible approaches to analysing frames in the news: inductive and deductive (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p.95) and Neuman’s model alone would be useful if the study only had a quantitative and deductive (concept-driven) approach. However, the researcher wanted to keep an open mind during the research and combine the deductive with an inductive (data-driven) approach. In this research, a deductive approach is chosen at the initial stage, which is then combined with an inductive approach when new frames are explored. The sample of news; videos/news packages are analysed following a coding scheme defined by the researcher. The initial coding protocol was improved based on the trial coding

before all the data was coded from the beginning. Here, Schreier's (2014) steps were useful, especially the trial coding and interpretation steps: 1) Deciding on a RQ, 2) Selecting material, 3) Building a coding frame, 4) Segmentation, 5) Trial coding, 6) Evaluating and modifying the coding frame, 7) Main analysis and 8) Presenting and interpreting findings. Therefore, the researcher's own steps were: 1) Research questions, 2) Units of analysis and sampling, 3) Building a codebook, 4) Trial coding, 5) Improving the codebook, 6) Intercoder reliability test, 7) Coding and taking notes 8) Data Analysis and interpretation.

3.2.1. Unit of Analysis

The study of images in social sciences is nothing new. Previous research has shown how agenda-setting and framing play a key role in newspaper coverage (e.g., Gitlin, 1980). Prior research has also established that visuals work better than written or verbal text in grabbing audiences' attention (Garcia & Stark, 1991), facilitating information processes (Domke et al., 2002), improving information recall (Newhagen & Reeves, 1992) and evoking emotions (Iyer & Oldmeadow, 2006). There are also some valuable studies that give instructions on how to study images with computer-aided tools (Webb Williams et al., 2020), however for audiovisual content, using automated content analysis still seems to be in its infancy.

Audiovisual content, more specifically TV news packages are the focus in this content analysis. The unit of analysis chosen is the whole video package that lasts between 1,5 to 5 minutes. A TV news package is composed of many scenes and scenes are composed of multiple shots. A scene represents "the smallest unit that contains a meaningful narration, argument, or perspective of a news story" (Choi & Lee, 2006, p. 704). Dan (2018) advises using scenes or shots as a unit of analysis to analyze TV news while acknowledging that it is dependent on the specific research design and manageability on the researcher's side. Thus, the reason for not choosing shots/frames or scenes as a unit of analysis has both analytical and practical reasons. First, the coding book is designed in a way that the researcher can analyze the video as a whole, and understand for instance how the refugees are framed, what sources are used, how many interviews were conducted and so on. Second, it was less time consuming for the single researcher to code per package rather than per smaller units. Given these reasons, the researcher adopted a "gestalt coding approach" (Graber, 1986, 1987 as cited in Dan, 2018, p.203). This

approach comes with its limitations as there is a risk to limit the study to “identifying the most dominant frame in that story” (Entman, 1991; Reynolds & Barnett, 2003, as cited in Dan, 2018, p.203). However, that was overcome by adopting a qualitative approach as well and taking notes next to numerical coding.

Here, it is important to explain the difference between the traditional TV news packages and digital news packages. One of the interviewees explained the distinction as follows: “...If you watch the news programs now you will see the odd piece which is slightly more in keeping with a sort of digital format so it might be a start of an interview which to be honest you never do on a traditional package.” [Tom Burrige, BBC News Correspondent]. Traditional news packages usually start with a sunshine, or a bomb shell but not with a cut-out interview as found in the digital news packages. The primary aim of a traditional or edited news package is to give the whole narrative while applying journalistic values such as impartiality, balance and fairness. This logic does not always apply to digital news packages, as they may simply give voice to only one person: a refugee, an NGO representative or a government official. Therefore, the researcher decided to collect edited news packages that include either the narrator’s (journalist) voiceover and/or explainer text. This way, audiovisual content such as headshot interviews, refugees’ self-made videos are excluded from the sample.

3.2.2. Sampling Strategy and Data Collection

TV news packages are much more accessible to the audiences these days as they are often published online. This accessibility and replay function online also allow new opportunities for research. Instead of going to the archives and conducting the study in a limited/given time, now researchers can collect the audio-visual data online and code them, revisit them etc. This flexibility is an advantage of course, however data collection of TV news packages published online comes with an obvious limitation: The researcher cannot access all the news packages broadcasted within the set time and only relies on the content that is also shared online.

The right sample size for this research needed to be sufficient enough to reach saturation point but also large enough to generalize. Overall, 240 news packages were collected, therefore the data was made, but not found (Krippendorff, 2019, p. 86). The news packages have been collected on the BBC's website using 10 keywords: “Syrian

refugee crisis”, “Europe migrant crisis”, “Syrian refugees”, “Syrian exodus”, “migrant influx”, “refugee camp”, “Alan Kurdi”, “Syria crisis”, “Syria and fleeing” and “Syria and displaced”. After the first collection of videos, "next watch" function helped the researcher gather more data. Algorithms are thought to propose to the user similar topics around the dates of the video watched. Another way of finding news packages relevant to the study was to enter correspondents’ names on the search bar together with the keywords mentioned earlier. This generated further results in the search.

Data collection covered the period from June 2011 on, when the first news video packages of mass movements were found on the BBC’s website, until 2018. From late 2015 on, less and less reporters seem to have reported on the ground. Instead, there seemed to be an increased tendency to publish - at least online - a number of digital and desk-edited news packages. This might have several reasons; first, is the access issue to Syria due to the warzone and high risk which was also mentioned by interviewees. This was the primary issue that limited coverage of the internally displaced Syrian people. Second reason could be a potential loss of interest in the issue (compassion fatigue) both on the news managers, editors, correspondents and on the audience side. Connected to the lower ratings and clicks, a third reason could be fewer resources commissioned for the Syrian refugee crisis stories. Very few or no reporters seemed to be sent to the field as of 2017 and 2018. This is also an important observation which will be discussed later on.

Since the data are not collected through the BBC’s actual TV archives, the analysis does not include the presenter’s lead in (the part in which the audience is prepared for the next news package, interview, live or voiceover). This would have played a complementary role to framing analysis as the presenter plays an important role as an “entry point” to the short clip that follows which potentially shape the viewers’ expectations and understanding of the issue.

3.2.3. Operationalization

A *codebook* is designed by the researcher to analyse the collected data (see Appendix 3). With the guidance of this codebook, a multi-level content analysis is conducted. In the first level of analysis, variables regarding general information (e.g., title, summary, main topic, length) are measured. In the second level of analysis, variables regarding framing both visual (e.g., location) and verbal (generic frame, issue-specific

frames and Entman's model) are measured. The codebook is therefore divided into three sections: A. General information, B. Visual framing and C. Verbal framing. In the following paragraphs, the variables and how they are operationalized will be discussed. Overall, the coding protocol (or codebook) is designed in a way that the researcher can code both manifest and latent meanings with clear operationalization, definitions, instructions and examples. When very abstract concepts were not possible to strictly operationalize in a codebook, notes were taken for further analysis with a qualitative approach.

On the first level of analysis, 15 variables are measured including basic information about the package (e.g., link, title, duration), the reporter (e.g., gender, ethnicity), main topic and subtopics. While these are mostly manifest variables, some variables were somewhat latent, especially the ones concerning the topic. Sometimes it was difficult to differentiate between a topic and subtopic. Overall, this first level of analysis provided some useful descriptive statistics which will be discussed later on in results chapters (4, 5 and 6). The second level of analysis measures 40 variables and aims to understand what visuals are used, what locations are shown, how many interviewees have been interviewed, how many sources have been used, what are the backgrounds of these interviewees and sources etc. This level of analysis included mostly manifest content and was relatively easier to code compared to the final level of analysis. This entailed 18 variables and the main goal was to understand what generic frames and issue specific frames have been used in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis.

While all three levels of analysis allowed answering *RQ1: How does the BBC World News frame the Syrian refugee crisis in their video news packages?*, the third level of analysis provided the most interesting results. Not only which generic frames were found to be used most often, the data revealed some issue-specific frames as well. It was observed in the data that refugees are framed in certain ways and how often these are used and which co-occurrences were found will be shared in the results sections.

To answer *RQ2: To what extent do the BBC World News' packages on the Syrian refugee crisis reflect a cosmopolitan vision?*, it was important to clearly operationalize cosmopolitanism and how to observe this in the videos. Again, all three levels of analysis include variables that help in understanding whether the coverage is cosmopolitan or more parochial/national. For example, the first level of analysis asks the coder whether the main

topic has to do with national or international politics; the second level of analysis include the backgrounds of interviewees and sources; and the third level of analysis explore how the problem is defined in these news packages. If the problem is defined as “8=Tring to reach Europe/UK” (See Appendix 3: Vc15_journalist_problem_description) then the package is considered to have a European/British perspective rather than a cosmopolitan one.

3.2.4. Coding Procedure and Data Analysis

Although there are hands-on studies that provide useful information on automatized visual analysis through image recognition (Web Williams et al., 2020), automation in audio-visual content still seems to be in its infancy when it comes to usage for academic research. The existing research/software allows automated audio-visual analysis only by processing the audio/verbal text separately from the image. As mentioned earlier, the researcher approached the news package as a whole, as one research unit and separating audio and visual files would have disrupted this approach. In order to understand the complex framing processes that occurred in the news packages, a holistic view was taken and any computer-aided content analysis would have failed to do this task. Therefore the researcher decided to manually code the news packages in a coding sheet strictly following the instructions in the codebook. Manual coding also allowed the researcher to dive into the data which was useful to provide sufficient depth to the analysis.

The researcher first coded 10% of the data which equals 25 videos and asked a second coder to code the same data in an excel sheet using the same codebook. Once the intercoder reliability test results were satisfactory (this will be further discussed in the following section), the researcher continued with the rest of the coding with confidence in the coding protocol. Following the coding procedure, the data were analyzed in SPSS and some descriptive and inferential statistical analyses were conducted to interpret the data in hand.

For the more latent variables and additional observation while coding the data, a qualitative approach also needed systematic note taking and clustering. Atlas.ti, a software program for qualitative studies, was also used for this purpose. The systematic note taking from the videos both visual and text, formed the basis of this qualitative data. This was then coded in Atlas.ti and the data were clustered under 50 codes which informed the

results of the study from a more in-depth approach which complemented the quantitative approach with descriptive and inferential statistics.

3.2.5. Validity and Reliability

The use of a mixed methods approach to content analysis has been discussed in the above sections, and this can be further supported by Klaus Krippendorff's (2019) strong argument on this as follows: "I question the validity and usefulness of the distinction between quantitative and qualitative content analyses." (p.21). The author greatly contributed to the method and created what is today known as "Krippendorff's alpha" to measure the reliability of the variables included in a codebook. Krippendorff (2019) furthers his point above and adds that "[u]ltimately, all readings of texts is qualitative, even when certain characteristics of a text are later converted into numbers" (p.21). Similarly, Neuman (2011) defines coding system as "[a] set of instructions or rules used in content analysis to explain how a researcher systematically converted the symbolic content from text into quantitative data" (p.363). These numbers/ numeric values basically serve the researcher in the analysis but equally important is that they serve in the intercoder reliability test. Replicability is arguably the main feature of the method; if the coding protocol - either this would be used to convert qualitative text into numbers or not - is prepared in a systematic way, others can easily use replicate the study and still make valid inferences from texts (Krippendorff, 2019, p.24; Neuman, 2011).

While reliability in content analysis' research procedure can be explained in terms of replicability; whether "it responds to the same phenomena in the same way regardless of the circumstances of its implementation." (Krippendorff, 2019, p.277), validity can be ensured when "[a] measuring instrument [...] measures what its user claims it measures." (Krippendorff, 2019, p.361).

Keeping in mind that data processing should be free of biases, and as mentioned in the above section, a second coder was recruited to code 10% of the data to check intercoder reliability. In total there are 78 variables, some of these variables are manifest and some are latent in different degrees, which means that not for all manifest variables, an intercoder reliability test was needed. According to intercoder reliability test results, Krippendorff's alpha values ranged between 0.67 and 1.0. All results show that the results

are within the accepted range and some that are above 0.80 have achieved good reliability scores. Therefore, results can be considered as replicable, reliable, and valid.

3.2.6. Limitations and Strengths

While this study promises a rich mixed methods approach to content analysis, due to the “text” in hand among other factors, there were some methodological limitations which deserve some attention here. First, the text analyzed was audiovisual content, more specifically news packages. Analyzing audiovisual content opened many opportunities and provided the researcher with rich data and deeper understanding of framing both visual and textual, but *coding the text* was not as straightforward as it would be in written, visual, or verbal text. Some decisions needed to be taken early on in the study. Deciding on the unit of analysis was one major challenge: After several checks with the literature and videos, also with the research questions of this study, it was decided to focus on the single video as a whole as the unit of analysis. This choice was also justified in terms of a mixed methods approach, while videos allowed a reasonably large set of data to analyze quantitatively, the size of the data also allowed taking notes of latent meanings in the text and not miss the patterns across the data. Due to this choice of videos as a unit of analysis, the researcher decided *not to transcribe* the verbal/audio text from the videos. This limitation was overcome with a detailed codebook that allowed a detailed and systematic analysis. Transcription would have hindered the “gestalt approach”; in other words the holistic approach to data analysis. Therefore, the decision not to transcribe can also be interpreted as a strength in this research design.

Second, and connected to the above, collecting the data was conducted completely online through searching with keywords on the bbc.com and filtering further with the world news sections (excluding the UK specific extensions). Therefore, the researcher limited herself to the data available online due to practical reasons. If collecting the data in the BBC World News’ archives was a feasible option, more news packages could have been collected. Overall, the data represent videos from multiple news reporters and locations which gave the researcher the confidence to proceed with the sample.

Finally, the visual-verbal frame incongruence seemed to happen in the sample; however this is only a limited observation and was not systematically analyzed/ quantified per scene or shot. Viorela Dan (2018) drew attention to this and following Graber’s (1990)

argument called researchers to analyze both words and visuals in TV and added: “The proliferation of research into the possibility that words and visuals in TV news are mismatched—and thus, that both should be analyzed—owes much to the devotedness of a few scholars.” (Dan, 2018, p.195). Visuals, as Dan (2018) argues, might indeed go beyond the verbal storyline. They are powerful frame devices and even the voice over does not say it, the visuals are often there to complete the words. One limited observation as such in this study is the use of children’s pictures in the videos even though the storyline often did not even mention them.

Dan’s 2018 article on integrative framing analysis of TV news also discusses “the benefits and shortcomings connected to three aspects that are particularly relevant to framing studies of TV news [...]: (a) transcription, (b) the unit of analysis, and (c) the strategy used to determine verbal–visual frame congruence.” (Dan, 2018, p.201). All of these aspects have now been discussed and the (non)use justified within the scope of this study and the research design.

3.3. Interviews with BBC journalists

According to Hoxha and Hanitzsch (2018) “[r]esearch based on content analysis has generated little knowledge about how the news is produced, whereas interviews with journalists tend to treat the real practices of journalists and the content they produce as a ‘black box’.” (p.47). Similarly, this research aims to understand that ‘black box’, in other words, the meanings that are not manifest in the content but also production processes, decisions taken and overall understanding journalistic practices while covering the Syrian refugee crisis.

The researcher spent a visiting semester at Cardiff University during the Spring semester in 2018. During her visit, the researcher got in touch with BBC correspondents and conducted *semi-structured in-depth interviews*. These interviews served this research in understanding the context in which journalists work and produce news, without limiting their answers to a survey/questionnaire. The researcher probed for information that the informant presumably has but may not be conscious of or consider important (Berger, 2014, p.162). “In general, researchers use three basic types of interviews: structured, semi-

structured and unstructured open-ended conversation.” (Brennen, 2017, p. 28). All of them are purposeful conversations; however, they differ in their procedures. While structured interviews use a standardized procedure with predefined questions; unstructured interviews have no predefined questions and rather follow a natural conversation with open ended questions. Semi-structured interviews are more flexible; Although they rely on a set of questions, semi-structured interviews are more flexible than structured interviews (Brennen, 2017, p. 29) as they allow the researcher to ask probing and prompting questions depending on the interviewee’s answers. In-depth or unstructured interviews approach the data as co-production of meaning between the interviewer (researcher) and the interviewee. This is to some extent the case in semi-structured interviews as well, however the co-production of meaning is limited compared to in-depth interviews during which the researcher spends much longer time with the interviewee and extracts as much information as possible in a more conversational setting.

The interview is a conversation that has a structure and a purpose determined by the one party – the interviewer. It is a professional interaction, which goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views as in everyday conversation, and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge. The qualitative research interview is a construction site for knowledge. (Kvale, 2007a, p.8)

Kvale (2007a) defines interview for research purposes as such; in other words, a systematic production of knowledge and the semi-structured interview as “an interview with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena” (p.8).

3.3.1. Sampling Strategy and Procedure

Semi-structured in-depth interviews are conducted with 14 TV journalists working for the BBC who regularly cover or had at some point (2011 to 2018) covered the "Syrian refugee crisis" . Therefore, the researcher used purposive (non-random) sampling for this qualitative method. It was important that the journalists are/were TV correspondents at the time of filming/packaging the news on Syrian refugee crisis for the BBC’s outlets. The sample was limited since it excluded cameramen in the field; editors, producers (and anchors) in the newsroom, because it was more difficult to reach them since their names

usually do not appear in the news packages. This study does not exclude the impact of all the news workers involved in the making of news and their role in the frame building stages (de Vreese, 2005), however a choice had to be made due to the limitations of being one researcher. The voice is thus given to correspondents who take the lead role in the news packages and can therefore give a fairly accurate account of the overall process (e.g., field experience, selecting images, packaging the news, sending to the editorial team).

Interviews mainly took place in the UK (Near the BBC's headquarters in London; Richmond, London and The BBC Wales, Cardiff), but some other interviews were conducted online via Skype or WhatsApp (video) call. The online calls were planned for practical reasons: Foreign correspondents were located abroad either due to their duties at the moment (e.g., Philippines) or due to their time off work (e.g., holiday, medical leave), or just busy in the newsroom and rather preferred to have a phone call.

The researcher approached potential interviewees in three different (and sometimes connected) ways. First, Professor Richards Sambrook of Cardiff University who previously worked as the Director of the BBC kindly offered help to reach out to a number of journalists from the list of potential interviewees provided by the researcher. Second, the researcher approached journalists via their BBC emails and their Twitter account asking for their participation in the study. Third, a snowball sampling strategy was applied as well. At the end of each interview, the researcher asked interviewees for their recommendations on other potential interviewees who have covered the crisis (sometimes also mentioning specific names and ask help to reach out). In the end, it proved to be advantageous for the researcher to be a visiting PhD fellow in Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Culture (JOMEC). Without Professor Sambrook's extensive network and JOMEC's reputation in the country – also the fact that some interviewees have graduated from one of the school's programs – immensely helped the procedure.

The researcher identified 60 TV journalists in total who covered the Syrian refugee crisis from 2011 to 2018 looking at the news packages that were collected for the content analysis. The name of the correspondents would (always) be included in the summaries next to video clips on the BBC's website. Identifying the total population for the interviews relying on the data used for content analysis was straightforward. The researcher, due time and resources (being only one researcher) did not contact all the

journalists in the list. Only 34 journalists in the list were approached either via email or via Twitter, or both. While one journalist declined, many other potential interviewees were either non-responsive or it was simply not possible to agree on a time. Conducting interviews with senior journalists who sometimes also have managerial roles within the organisation proved to be very challenging. Eventually, the researcher managed to interview 14 journalists whose seniority in the BBC ranged from 4 years to 30 years at the time of the interview.

Even though the interviews make part of an explorative research, due to its semi-structured nature the researcher followed an interview guide (See Appendix) and intervened to "stage-manage" (Legard et al., 2003) the process to make sure the issues are properly discussed within a limited time. The interviews took 40 to 90 minutes; the shorter interview times were usually due to the busy schedule of working journalists who often had to catch up with their daily news routines. To use the time wisely, probing and prompting questions are asked to the interviewees to have a deeper understanding of the issue in hand. While probing questions were useful to explore further details regarding journalists' unique experiences in the field and self-reflection on the profession, prompting questions helped to get clearer and more precise answers to the questions asked. Repetitions have the potential to allow respondents to really dive deeper into the topic and add further details to their first answers. Some limitations of the online interviews (call or video call) are acknowledged. The researcher was not able to always read the respondents' body gestures which could be of added value to the research and sometimes there were minor wi-fi issues. However, for the analysis, only text – the transcripts are used, and the body language are excluded from the analysis to make sure that each unit of analysis is treated equally across the dataset.

Overall, the interview as a method and its procedures helped the researcher in understanding journalistic practices, their coverage of a specific issue (in this research the Syrian refugee crisis) and how they attribute meaning to their own profession. In the following paragraphs, this will be further elaborated and operationalization will be explained.

3.3.2. Operationalization

Interviews helped the researcher in understanding the background information on the production of news packages, foreign correspondence, journalists' own understanding of the 'global' nature of their work. More specifically, questions included in the interview guide were categorized under five themes: 1- Introduction: Foreign news correspondence & BBC Journalism, 2- Journalistic values & BBC's global (or glocal) outlook, 3- The coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis, 4- Visual storytelling, 5- Closing remarks.

The first set of questions were introductory in nature and aimed to give the floor to the journalists and hear about their experiences as a foreign correspondent (or broadcast journalist) working for the BBC. The second set of questions, connected to the previous questions, aimed to further explore journalists' understanding of BBC journalism and the values that are often attributed to this (and claimed by the BBC's editorial guidelines) such as internationality, impartiality and balance. These interview questions helped the researcher combine the findings from content analysis with the interviewee's answers and eventually find an answer to the RQ2. The third set of questions provided the researcher a better understanding of what journalists do in the field relying on their accounts, but also the opportunity to ask journalists to reflect on their coverage and whether they experienced "news fatigue" during the time they covered the story or not. Asking journalists how they cover the story complemented the findings of content analysis guided by frame analysis, and thus helped the researcher combine the findings and answer RQ1. The fourth set of questions were useful in again complementing the findings of the content analysis, but with interviews, the researcher had the opportunity to ask about the visuals and visual storytelling that are not easy to spot when watching. In other words, these questions allowed the researcher to understand the behind-the-curtains processes of field work, filming and news packaging (e.g., selecting and cutting the pictures). The questions asked helped the researcher formulate an answer to RQ1 in combination with the findings from the content analysis and thoroughly understand how journalists frame the Syrian refugee crisis. The final set of questions were mostly geared towards finalizing the interview and letting the interviewee further reflect on certain aspects mentioned or allowing the interviewee the opportunity to add on his/her own views and final remarks.

All of the questions asked in the interview revealed findings that help the researcher answer RQ3, since the question is about their attitudes and practices when covering the crisis. However, the more specific second half of RQ3 that has to do with understanding whether journalists consider their practice as “global journalism” was mostly covered with the second set of questions. During the interview, the researcher also had the chance to ask probing questions on the differentiation between domestic vs international audiences which further clarified how they perceive their audience and potentially (if at all) shape their coverage accordingly. The complete interview guide can be found in the appendix.

3.3.3. Data Analysis

This research took Kvale’s (2007a) stages of interview as a guide throughout the process: thematising, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, verifying and reporting. Following the stage of thematically designing the interview guide, data collection/interviewing and transcription, the interview data were transferred to Atlas.ti for open coding. This process of open coding was guided by thematic analysis. The researcher transcribed all the interviews within the weeks after the interviews and all the transcription work was completed by the end of Spring 2018. Then, thematic analysis is performed on the interview transcripts.

According to Braun & Clarke (2006), recognizing the patterns in interviewees’ answers is best done through a thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is not only useful to sort the data (Guest et al., 2012) but also the multiple stages of coding help with discerning patterns, cluster the data and allow the researcher with more comprehensive interpretations of the interview data (Boeije; 2010; Guest et al., 2012). These patterns provide the themes that are revealed during the analysis and they inform the findings. As Braun and Clarke (2006) stresses, “[a] theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (p.82). The practical value of reducing the data into clusters/themes is also about writing the results chapters in an organized and understandable manner. Thematic analysis used in this study, along the spectrum of deductive and inductive approaches, leaned towards an inductive approach. First, the research questions informed the preparation of the interview guide which included four to five general themes. When the transcripts were ready for the analysis, some themes

were already apparent as the order of the questions were more or less the same, however when the data were closely analysed, 100 codes emerged which were then grouped under 12 different subthemes/clusters. During the latter process, focused reading helped the researcher to see similar codes and cluster them accordingly. Therefore, “analytical claims [...] go beyond the ‘surface’ of the data” (Braun & Clarke, p.94), they go much deeper to map the meaningful linkages in the data. These themes are then explored in the results by selecting the most illustrative quotes and contextualizing them within and interpreting in light of the theory.

3.3.4. Validity and Reliability

Reliability is difficult to achieve in qualitative research, but also it is not the aim to do so. Reliability generally tends to be less important than validity in qualitative research designs (Guest et al., 2012). According to Guest et al. (2012), there are two interconnected reasons for this: 1- Replicability is usually not sought in qualitative studies, 2- Data collection process by nature does not allow for replicability. In this research, the interview guide helped to systematically follow the procedure and it allowed the researcher to receive answers to each theme relevant to the study. In that sense, internal consistency was ensured/ comparability across interviews was easy, however, the role of the researcher in semi structured interviews cannot be ignored and replicability is neither possible nor aimed for. In other words, if another researcher would conduct the exact same interview and would not end up with the same answers and transcripts. This is because the interviewer has an important role as moderator or simply initiator of the discussion, asking probing and prompting questions and stage managing/ steering the discussion towards the desired topic when needed. When it comes to analyzing the data with thematic analysis, reliability can be of great concern as it largely depends on the individual researcher’s interpretation which raises suspicions of the researcher's bias (Guest et al., 2012). That said, the open coding process was conducted in a systematic way using a software program (Atlas.ti) to make sure that close reading was accompanied by strict note taking and code assigning.

For qualitative research, Guest et al. (2012) stress the importance of two types of validity: face validity and external validity. According to the authors, face validity is about the researcher’s judgement on whether the information available, the findings are valid; in other words whether they are accurate and credible. Second is about

external validity, in other words “generalizability” (Guest et al., 2012) and it concerns whether the findings can be generalized to the total population of which the sample was drawn. This may be hard to achieve both for qualitative and quantitative research designs. It is important that the sample is representative of the total population defined in the study, without this it is difficult to achieve generalizability. In this study face validity is achieved by looking at the respondents’ answers and the patterns that arise from those seem to reflect the accuracy of their answers. Second and connected to this, external validity is also achieved because: 1- All the interviewees have covered the Syrian refugee crisis and have different levels of experience in the organization which represent the total population of all the reporters who have covered the crisis, 2- Their answers reached a saturation point after ten and more interviews. Saturation in this case can be interpreted as a sign for generalizability to the total population of correspondents who have covered the crisis. Probably, other potential interviewees would have shared similar experiences in terms of foreign news coverage, conceptualizing a global audience, covering the crisis and so on.

3.3.5. Ethical Considerations

Kvale (2007b) suggests that the “interview research is saturated with moral and ethical issues” (p.2) and that it goes much beyond an ethical considerations form or checklist. Moreover, ethical issues do not only concern the moment of interview but the whole process including multiple stages of the research namely “thematizing”, “designing”, “interview situation”, “transcription”, “analysis”, “verification and reporting” (Kvale, 2007b, p.3).

One of the most obvious step during the interview is to build rapport and trust with the interviewee. Interviews are essentially a process in which both the researcher and the interviewee co-produce and co-negotiate meaning. Unlike content analysis, interview is an obtrusive method, meaning that the researcher is involved in personally and also the researcher’s very own existence in the data collection can have an effect on the data. However, the researcher should be careful not to be biased during the process by for instance becoming personally involved with the interviewees and losing the researcher’s objectivity towards study subjects. This about the integrity of the researcher: “Interviewers may identify with their subjects so closely that they do not maintain a professional

distance, but instead report and interpret everything from their subjects' perspectives – in anthropological terms, ‘going native’.” (Kvale, 2007b, p.8).

“Informed consent entails informing the research subjects about the overall purpose of the investigation and the main features of the design” (Kvale, 2007b, p.6). In this study, it was done through verbal consent which was recorded and transcribed. 12 out of 14 journalists agreed that the researcher can include their name and position in this study. The verbal agreement concerned academic research and publication only, therefore the interview data cannot be used in a professional publication. For the interviewees who chose to remain anonymous, the researcher carefully used the data and paid attention to details that might reveal his/her identity. Therefore, confidentiality issues were handled in a very careful manner and in doubt not only the exact position was removed from the thesis appendices but also when the content indicated the reporter’s identity given the stories covered, these excerpts were not included when reporting illustrative quotes in the findings. Kvale (2007b) also indicates these: “Confidentiality in research implies that private data identifying the subjects will not be reported. If a study does publish information potentially recognizable to others, the subjects need to agree on the release of identifiable information.” (p.6)

During the process the interviewees were informed about the practical issues first (e.g., length of the interview) then the main purpose of the research and the role of interviews within the research design and lastly, after closing the tape, post interview procedure was explained (e.g., possible access to transcripts, sending the thesis). The researcher, even following all these post interview stages and more immediate follow ups, has the responsibility not to cause any potential harm to the interview participants (Kvale, 2007b, p.7).

4. Framing the Syrian Refugee Crisis in TV News Packages

Beginning with this chapter until the final concluding chapter, the results of this study are shared step by step. The reporting of the results reflects the mixed methods design of this research. This means that when applicable, connections are made between findings of content analysis and interviews and some discussion and interpretation have been offered. In order to give an overview of findings from the primary method of this study, namely content analysis, some descriptive results are shared first, before delving deeper into other themes and frames emerged from the analyses.

The average length of 240 video news packages analysed is 02:31 minutes with a standard deviation of 0:40 min.; the shortest video was 01:18 minutes and the longest was 04:49 minutes. Reporters are on stage in 69% of all videos (166 videos out of 240) which means that they filmed an announcement. These announcements are on average 26.33 seconds, ranging from 8 seconds to 145 seconds. The sample includes a variety of journalists who covered the crisis; a total of 96 individual journalists/correspondents were involved in the production of the video packages. One striking but also expected result based on potentially a regular viewer's casual observation, is the high percentage of white male correspondents covering the crisis in focus. 72.9% of these journalists are white-caucasian/European, for instance only 11.46% have a Middle Eastern background. The majority of journalists in the sample are male (62.5%). These findings are in line with previous literature on the lack of diversity in news media organisations particularly among news correspondents covering conflict and crisis news in the field (Douglas, 2021; von der Lippe & Ottosen, 2016).

Fergal Keane and Mark Lowen covered 19 stories each and this makes them the two journalists who have covered most stories in the sample and they are included in the interview sample. It is difficult and potentially not accurate to claim that they two have covered the crisis the most at the BBC overall, however it is noteworthy to mention that Mark Lowen, at the time was Turkey correspondent for the BBC and Turkey is among the top locations of coverage in the sample. Fergal Keane has extensive experiences in

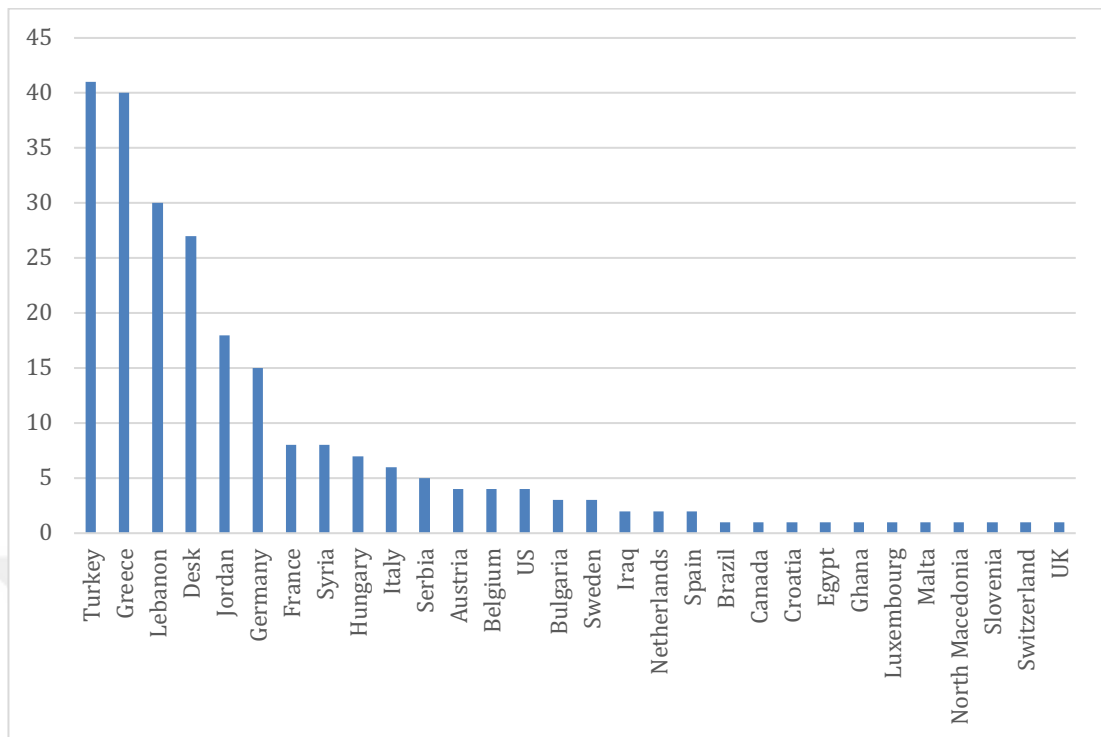
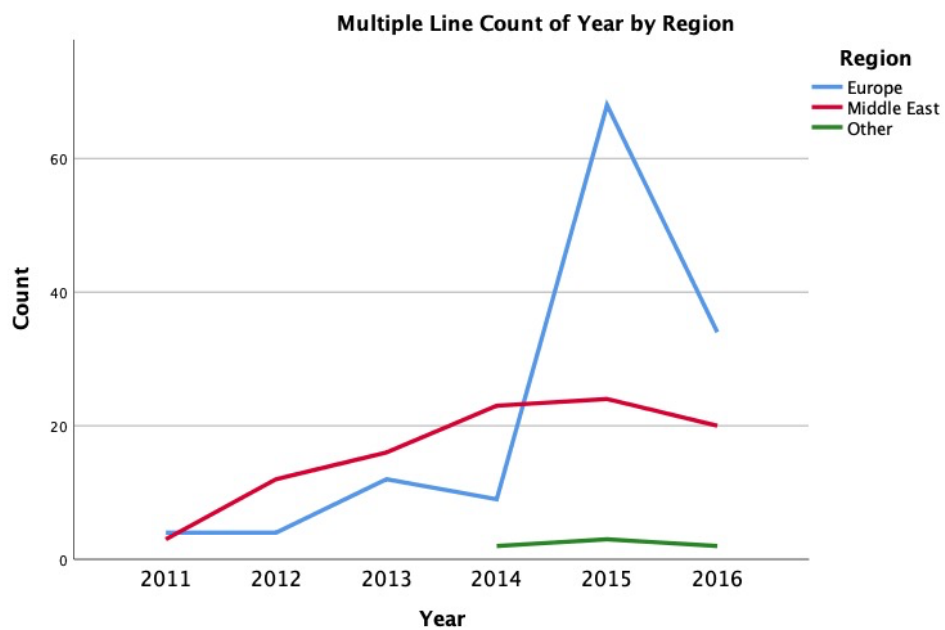
covering humanitarian crises around the world including the Middle East. Therefore, they are both experts among other interviewees; some of whom are senior correspondents, who shared their views on their coverage of the crisis.

The main topic in 72.92% of the videos was “humanitarian issue”, followed by “national politics” (12.92%), “international politics” (9.58%), “social and cultural issue” (2.5%) and economic issue (1.67%). “National politics” was the most dominant subtopic with (31.3%) followed by “international politics” (22.5%), humanitarian issue (19.6%), economic issue (9.2%), social and cultural issue (5.8%). The findings on the generic frames are shared later in the section dedicated to generic and issue-specific frames.

Some of the other notable findings concern the use of interviews in news packages: 90% of the sample include interviewees. It seems that this has been a common practice to interview people in the refugee crisis stories and majority of these are refugees with 64.8%. Similarly, the most referenced source in the news is also refugees or local residents/ internally displaced people in Syria and this makes 37.7% of the sources. All these findings and more are discussed in more detail when applicable to certain journalistic practices including the degree to which they reflect a cosmopolitan journalism and framing refugees, and combine these with interview data when possible.

A Complex Story

The first Syrian refugee crisis stories in the sample are from June 2011, a few months after the onset of the conflict in the country. Some of these are packaged from the desk and some from the field; mostly the Turkish-Syrian border, Northern Lebanon and Zaatari camp in Jordan. From 2013 onwards, the BBC’s coverage shifted more towards Europe, as an unprecedented number of refugees have been on the move to seek asylum in European countries. The figure below (4.1) shows that Turkey, Greece, and Lebanon are the top locations of coverage in the sample. Whereas Syria only follows immigrant receiving countries such as Germany and France. Due to difficulties of a warzone which will be discussed in the following paragraphs, many news organisations avoided to send their journalists to report from Syria.

Figure 4.1 News Locations**Figure 4.2** News locations by region and year

The top three locations/countries of coverage was followed by “desk” packages. This shows that the BBC (World News) journalists were not always on the ground and that many times, editors in London packaged the images and information flowing to them from news agencies, freelancers and user-generated content (UGC). The figure above (4.2) shows locations by region and year. The BBC World News’ attention to the Syrian refugee crisis peaked in 2015 and the story was covered mainly from Europe followed by the Middle East from a much lesser extent, and finally from elsewhere in the world (e.g., Brazil, Ghana, U.S.).

The ‘scale’ of the crisis was often mentioned in the interviews and all interviewees acknowledged that the Syrian refugee crisis is a complex story with many layers to it. According to the BBC’s Middle East correspondent Quentin Sommerville, it is difficult to look at this crisis in isolation:

It's difficult for me to separate the Syrian refugees crisis from our coverage of the Syrian war. And I would say that in terms of covering the Syrian war everything flows with it; the Islamic State, the refugee crisis, geopolitics of Russia, the United States, of Iran, Iraq all of those different things which have blossomed.

Similarly, another correspondent [Anonymous 1] acknowledged this complexity and the difficulty to dive into the story upon arrival in the field:

So, it is a really complicated story and to be honest when I got there I did spend a couple of days just to get my head around the factions that were fighting against the government, where did IS fit into this, what side were Kurds on, it wasn't easy to explain in a kind of 2 minute-live really, you have to simplify it massively.

Senior news correspondent Wylie Davies who covered the crisis mainly in the Middle East is also well-aware of the nature of the crisis and emphasized the importance of explaining this to the audience:

I still think that we have done a pretty good job in explaining who the Nusra front is, who the White helmets are, who is opposing Assad? And it's a very complicated story and I think sometimes we need to be explaining the stories.

Even though journalists wanted to explain the whole story of the refugee crisis rather than necessarily sufficing with a snapshot, they faced various limitations. The first and most obvious one was the difficulty on the ground (e.g., access to warzone), second is the limitation given the format (e.g., the airtime or minutes given per news story), third is the limitation given the budget (e.g., parachuting to a country and quickly gathering the news), lastly and partially connected to the last point is the pressure of making news attractive for the audiences. All these factors, but also other factors that may influence the BBC journalists' news routines (e.g., in connection to the 'onion model' by Weischenberg, 1994; Shoemaker & Reese, 2014) in the coverage of this crisis have been explored through the interviews and will be discussed in the following sub chapters while connecting them to the findings of the content analysis.

Difficulties to Get Access to the Warzone

In the early years of the crisis, BBC journalists mostly followed the stories of conflict, internally displaced people and shortage of aid. As the conflict became increasingly dangerous and as many Syrians started to flee from their wartorn country, the refugee stories shifted more towards neighboring countries, Europe and occasionally to other host countries (e.g., The United States, Brazil, Ghana). In the sample, it is observed that from the beginning of the crisis in 2011 to 2014 only some journalists, namely Jeremy Bowen, Lyse Doucet, Ian Pannell and Rami Ruhayem reported from inside Syria. As of 2015, no BBC journalist in the sample reported the refugee crisis from Syria. The lack of footage was evident in the packages prepared from the desk as journalists needed to rely on unverified pictures: "These pictures, impossible to verify, seem to show people on the streets of Jisr al-Shughour last night" [No.1]; "These unverified pictures [ghost town] from within Syria are in line with the accounts from refugees" [No.2]; "These unverified pictures appear to show Syrian helicopter gunships firing on their own people and troops on the streets" [No.4]. These scripts are not exemplary of warzone depiction but also of how risk, uncertainties and fears are created while framing an ongoing crisis.

Conflicts and mass movements of people are among events that journalists follow on a regular basis. However, witnessing and reporting from the field is important to provide a reliable account of what is actually going on. In TV journalism especially, moving images play an extremely important role; without the images, there cannot be a story. The difficulty to get access to some dangerous areas was acknowledged by senior journalist and news presenter Ben Brown:

[...] I would say we don't do nearly enough on the Syrian civil war and then we did when the migrants came to Europe that was something we could film easily. We could be live there with satellite, so we covered it a lot. So the amount of coverage is not always dependent on what we want to do; it is about what we can do and you show things when you can show them.

Another senior correspondent Jeremy Bowen also mentioned the dangerous state of Syria and explained how they relied on freelancers in Syria to get the pictures:

[...] you know the Eastern Ghouta story was going on and it's a big news and a lot of material coming out from Eastern Ghouta and we have people there who work for us like freelancers who are able to put the material they shoot onto YouTube and we download it from YouTube.

This was also confirmed by the then BBC's Turkey correspondent Mark Lowen:

We often actually have teams on the ground who are sending us pictures, so we have locally employed staff within Syria, within other war zones who we employ to feed, to film pictures for us. So that is more reliable.

Mainly as generalists if not “parachutists” in how Hannerz (2004) would call journalists covering humanitarian crises in distant lands for viewers back home, interviewees seemed to spend quite a lot of their energies in the field trying to get access to moving images from within Syria. These images are important so that they can immerse themselves in the story, interpret what is going on and act as a bridge builder and sense-maker which is expected of journalists (Robertson, 2010).

4.1. Events-based Journalism

Journalism, with the new technologies that enable fast spread of information and the increased sense of immediacy due to these, is arguably more events driven than ever. A senior correspondent who has covered the Middle East extensively, including the Syrian refugee crisis, explained how journalists make use of events:

I mean events are quite handy things for journalists to hand things on. There was one million refugees in Lebanon. That's a story when the situation changed the day before when it was 999.000. These events are quite useful things to highlight the general phenomenon. A single movement of people is a good TV picture, whereas a flood of refugees is a dramatic TV picture.[Anonymous 2]

As put by Glück (2018), mediated emotions are commonplace in news production, they are useful both in conveying the message and in completing the journalistic performance. Images of human suffering, refugees in a boat or in a camp are often used in news (Radojevic et al., 2020). They are dramatic and negative, therefore have high news value (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). The picture below is a refugee trail (Figure 4.1) filmed from a bird's eye view at the border between Syria and Iraq. The reporter describe the scale of the event as follows: "The border between Syria and Iraq, another exodus gets underway. Streaming into Iraqi Kurdistan, thousands more desperate Syrians; young and all, mostly poor, many of them families with large numbers of children." [No.33]

Senior news correspondent Chris Morris agrees with the idea that events are useful for journalism and need to be covered. However, he also emphasizes the need for more investigative stories:

In some ways that's [events] kind of the bread and butter of daily news so you have to do it. So, if it's Angela Merkel speaking or if it's EU Summit, so you've got to do that, but you also have to find the time to stand back and say what are the broad themes happening here?

Figure 4.3 Video title: Syrian refugees in “exodus” to Iraqi Kurdistan [No.33]



This is a viewpoint also shared by a senior journalist, foreign correspondent, the then BBC’s Africa editor Fergal Keane: “It [journalism] is very event based at the moment because of the speed of things.” Then, he explained how it works on the ground:

[...] I could be on the beach in Greece watching the refugees come in, could be day 3 and I’ve had pieces on the two previous days. Suddenly a bomb goes off in New York and I might have been doing a package and then they say look we’re having two pieces from America tonight so we’re gonna take a live from you. You know?

These accounts from journalists are in line with the agenda-setting theory (Cohen, 1963; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The editorial teams in London look at the events around the world and decide what stories are more important and how they rank in that given day’s news agenda. When a new event is considered to have high news value, an ongoing event that has been already covered for a while may go down in the ranking of the news agenda. This new event takes over until a new one comes up and the correspondent receives a call from London. Sometimes, the stories “die out” themselves or move to some other place as Mark Lowen explains:

We would stay until we feel we have told the story adequately from that place or until it kind of moves to another location, or indeed you’ve told the story for a week and there’s not much more that you can do.

Mark Lowen reported extensively on the Syrian refugee crisis from Turkey and Greece. Around the time when refugee boats were massively leaving from Turkey's Aegean coasts towards the Greek islands, he was there with his team to document one of these moments:

[T]here were times for example where we went down to Bodrum, and we would hope to find the boats that are little rubber dingies leaving from the beach but we wouldn't find them. We would stay there a few days to find, going out in the evenings to try to film it but you wouldn't find it. We were looking for the nighttime crossings, then we needed to approach from a different angle. Do we come to it from a different way? Or do we move? Has the story moved from Bodrum to İzmir? Do we go on to make something about the fake life jackets? Where are they made? Do we want to stay in Turkey? You have to adapt to it basically.

The stories move and journalists seem to feel the pressure to catch the story, be there first and/or simply make an original piece. However, sometimes they may arrive to the scene only after the event had already happened:

[...] For example, Aylan Kurdi. It happened, as soon as that photo came out, immediately there was a team deployed to Bodrum and we got there as second team, I think. So that, you can't avoid that. Because it's an element of the story where you need to get to. But if you can see that for example when the EU Turkey migration deal is going to be strike and you know the first refugees would be returning back from Greece to Turkey, we knew that we had to be in that spot for the day that the first ones were going to arrive. So that was kind of good planning. But yes, there were times through the whole story when we were far too late, not far too late but we were getting there afterwards and trying to tell the story. I mean look inevitably, that's kind of the news work. But ideally, we get to the place and plan the coverage and anticipate it really." [Mark Lowen]

Mark Lowen's accounts actually show how news media have become perhaps too fast to the point that quality might even be compromised. The questions on speed vs quality have been asked by many scholars in journalism studies (e.g., Cushion, 2012;

Cottle, 2006) and they still seem to be relevant: Many journalists want to be the first to cover a story (Lewis & Cushion, 2009). However, there are different views among interviewees. Chris Morris surmises that perhaps even better than being the first in the field is staying behind:

[...] sometimes I think we leave stories too early. It's quite often that you get your best stories the whole international media circle arrives, stays somewhere for a couple of weeks and then leaves. Sometimes in the third week is when you get the best stories. That's when most of the people are gone.

News selection practices are complex and individual journalists in the field more often than not are the first gatekeeper (Shoemaker & Reese, 2009). Sometimes, journalists work with professionals who share news tips with them. One of these professionals are freelancers and according to Wyre Davies not all stories are events-based and freelancers on the ground also give them ideas on what to cover:

So, you don't always go to an event and know what's gonna happen but I think it's good to have an idea and luckily we have very good fixers on the ground in all of these countries. As a foreign correspondent the most important people we ever worked together are the local fixers and producers whether I mean in Turkey or in Syria or in Lebanon. You know our local fixers can give me an idea of what they're gonna find.

Whether it is an event to chase or a special story to investigate, journalists often have limited time in the field. One positive development, however, seems to be about the shift from live broadcasts to news packages. It seems from the interviewees' account that the BBC World News and BBC's domestic channels ask far fewer live reports from journalists in the field which allow them to newsgather and do packages for the evening news bulletins rather than catering to the BBC World News' round-the-clock news bulletins. Yet, this still does not give journalists enough time to dig in the story. Fergal Keane emphasized this and said: “[...] I would make an appeal for more - this is across journalism - more long form, more time taken during investigations.”

This long form, slow journalism was a theme that emerged in the interviews. Many interviewees acknowledged the need for this kind of journalism as they often found themselves chasing one event after another. As Chris Morris simply puts: “one of the most important things you've got to have some time to think.” Quentin Sommerville adds that: “[...] you have to stop, you have to newsgather you have to gather material and you have to consider it and you have to put it together you have to edit it. And that's not an instantaneous process.” Wyre Davies referred to the BBC’s former editor and said that he “talked about slow news about the importance of background articles. I think we do this increasingly well on the BBC's website now with the current ongoing developments in Syria. There is always some context there [...]”.

Slow journalism can indeed provide more in-depth stories, although it seemed at the moment of interviews still an ideal, arguably far from reaching for the BBC’s outlets in general. As long as a 24/7, round-the-clock journalism exists, “thin” updates (Cottle, 2006) seem inevitable. Nevertheless, when journalists were asked what could be done to give more depth to the refugee crisis stories, the majority stressed the need for more follow up stories.

4.1.1. Follow up Stories

Foreign correspondent Orla Guerin uses the word “reactive” for these events-based coverage. These are stories that need immediate attention at that moment, that given day or few days. However, she emphasizes that these events become the reason why they go back:

I mean you know some stuff is reactive so for example you know God forbid a gun man starts shooting people on the beach in Tunisia as tragically happened in Sousse. And you know you're on a plane and as soon as you get on you're on that story for as long as there is a story to do. And you might as we did in that case end up going back to that country two or three times for follow up pieces.

Yet when it comes to the Syrian refugee crisis, according to Mark Lowen, many news media outlets including the BBC could do more follow ups as the story is still ongoing:

And I think that sometimes we are guilty, other media as well, doing enormous coverage of a story and then slightly lessen it to go. So, we should still be reporting, we should still be in Greece. We go to Lesbos from time to time, but we should still be there, we should still be in the camps elsewhere. We should be following up the migrants who have gone to Germany to integrate. You know, we don't do enough of that because of the news cycle.

In the sample, there are two noticeable human story follow ups focusing on one particular family. Fergal Keane followed the story of a 16 year-old Syrian refugee girl in Germany after she and her sister reunited with her brother. Wyre Davies visited a Syrian family nine months later in Northern Lebanon. Other follow up stories were from within Syria as correspondents such as Lyse Doucet and Jeremy Bowen went back to the country and followed the latest situation on the ground relying on their contacts:

[...] when the Aleppo war came to an end almost everyone kind of evacuated. We came in back, at least couple of times. Lyse Doucet and Jeremy Bowen have been back a couple of times and done really good pieces. and they've got great contacts out there. [Anonymous 1]

When it comes to the refugee crisis, one correspondent says that it's not a matter of images but a matter of keeping the audience's attention, and thus when to come back to the story:

I mean there is never a shortage of dramatic refugee stories. The problem is that you can't do that week in and week out. It's another miserable story next week and following week and following week it's always the question of when to come back to the stuff back and how to make it new you know people get their nose out after a while. [Anonymous 2]

Repetitive images and perceived sameness of media were suggested by Moeller (1999) as the reason why the international news media fail. One way to break the same cycle of following refugees on the roads, on the seas could be focusing on integration stories as suggested by Orla Guerin, the question of "what happens next?" after they arrived in Europe:

Personally, I would like and would still like to have seen more follow up of what happened later. I mean we have done follow up stories and we've done quite a few of them but I think there is a need to keep that coverage going. There is kind of a sense that oh you know people made it to Europe so that's where the problem ended. In fact, for many people a new set of problem began and not just for them but also for the host countries because it is a complex, difficult process of bringing people in. [Orla Guerin]

4.1.2. Limited Time

The content analysis revealed that among the 240 news packages on the Syrian refugee crisis, the average time for news packages is two and a half minutes (02:31) with the shortest package being 01:18 and the longest being 04:39 minutes. For practical reasons this study excluded packages that are above five minutes, however they were seldom and this was also mentioned by the interviewees.

When journalists were asked whether the time given for their coverage was enough, the answers were twofold; first, they mentioned the limitation given the format (either live or package) and second, given the day(s) allocated to the team on the ground. The latter is also connected to the limitations due budget and will be explored in the following section. All the interviewees agreed that the 2 to 3-minute packages are generally difficult to fit in the whole Syrian refugee crisis story given its complex background. Some of the BBC's foreign news correspondents who covered the crisis in the Middle East thought that they "parachute to a country" and can only provide a "snapshot" of what is going on. Their accounts confirm the term "parachutists" used by Hannerz (2004) and "specialized tourists known as journalists" proposed by Sontag (2004).

"I think it is very important to give the whole story if you can, sometimes it is hard. You can't just explain the war in Syria in one sentence" says Sophia Tran-Thomson, a journalist based in the BBC's London office. This difficulty is confirmed by correspondent Chris Morris as follows: "[...] you know be the best one in the world you can never get all the background you want into 2 or 3 minutes in television." This time limitation is arguably one of the core difficulties of TV journalism and often mentioned in the

interviews as an impediment to give the whole background of the story. Fergal Keane's packages in the sample were among the longest. He finds it difficult to fit in the limited time, while accepting the challenge:

[...] what's behind it what's beneath it and how do I explain that in 4 minutes? That's my challenge but I do it. [...] I accept that I need to work within those time framework. And I try to do my best without oversimplifying.

Interviewees often ask for more time from the editors in London. Mark Lowen and Orla Guerin's accounts are very similar in this regard:

I mean I would say that 80 % of the time we are calling the editor an hour before the program and say, "can we have another 15 seconds?" You're fighting for an extra 5 seconds sometimes. It is very rare that we would call them and say you've gotten us too much time. We always want to have a little bit more time. [Mark Lowen]

Look you always want more time and I mean you always want more time and it's kind of a running joke between me and some of the editors in London that I work with regularly. They know that they're getting the call and 'please give more time'. You know when we talk about more time we literally negotiate over seconds [...]. [Orla Guerin]

The interviews revealed that these negotiations between correspondents in the field and the editors of the news programmes in London can be quite tough as was illustrated by another correspondent:

[...] [W]e give you 2:30, I 'm sorry I need 3:30 I can't do any less you don't understand we've got some amazing stuff. Ok, we give you 2:35. I'm sorry I am not gonna send you less than 3 minutes and then you know...You usually compromise with whatever people in London say, if you don't you rather get cross-cut to it. So, It's always a negotiation on that. [Anonymous 2].

However, all these negotiations with London can go in vain for that news bulletin due to a quick change in the news agenda; a breaking news for instance:

So, you know it depends very much on the day and then you might start editing those and you say ok great we'll take it to 2 minutes. And you might start editing those 2 minutes and you might get a call from London: "Actually we have to drop your story because we've just had Theresa May in the House of Commons and may have some important announcement. [Orla Guerin]

Another challenge that journalists face is trying to send their package on time, ahead of the news bulletin, however doing this much in advance is not always possible, according to Ben Brown: "[...]often we send in the piece like two minutes before the news bulletin so it's very last minute." Time management is important in that sense and asking for more minutes can also be risky even if the pictures are great, says Orla Guerin: "Let's say you have enough to make a 3-minute piece and you think you can get it done in time, that's also a consideration."

Besides the limited duration of the package and time for editing, journalists also reported that they have very limited time for newsgathering in the field. Howard Johnson, the BBC's Philippines correspondent at the time of the interview, who covered refugee crisis stories prior to his new post, described the quick newsgathering and reporting as a "snapshot of life":

I would normally, when I worked for Middle East reports we would always be under really tight schedule. We barely got enough time, there wasn't a really considered study, it was always a snapshot of life in the camps. You know in the camps so when I was in Zaatari there for a full day and I filmed from basically from sunrise to sunset.

A correspondent who extensively covered the Middle East shared similar concerns with Johnson and he used the metaphor of "parachuting" for their arrival to a country where the story is and how things might actually be quite different than expected:

When it comes to foreign news if we're honest, we are generalists. We sort of parachute to a country, we try to simulate a story quickly and come to an interpretation of what happened on the day. I find that obviously with place like Syria you cover for years you've got a certain - you hope - expertise about things and that informs your coverage, but to be honest you often go ahead in the morning with an idea of a story and then you get there, and the story is something different to what you thought it would be. [Anonymous 2]

This kind of parachuting and being “ready-to-go” was also mentioned by Orla Guerin, if it is a breaking story, a terror attack like in Sousse, Tunisia, the moment the team lands on the ground, they need to be ready to film. How long is enough to cover the story in detail also depends on the story according to the interviewees. Wyre Davies says that less than a week is too little time to cover conflict or crisis, and longer than ten days is too hard to stay in due to difficult conditions on the ground. For Davies, the real problem in TV is the difficulty to provide the context within a limited time:

I think the real problem in television news you know, you're producing a piece that might last two, three, three and a half minutes and trying. [...] You want to explain the context. Especially in the early days of the Arab Spring it was really important to remind people of the context; why this was happening.

Five minutes and plus are rare as confirmed by Quentin Sommerville: “I learned well to be able to tell a very complicated war through experience in Syria with 3,5-minute package. Sometimes you get about 7 minutes but that's very rare.” That seems to depend very much on the story and its ranking on the news agenda. A correspondent said that the London team never cut their coverage short when it is about Syria:

I think with Syria it's slightly different. I was in a situation where there was a global story from the Middle East that I was given kind of more time than I would be given with any other story. So, any live I did for instance, in any outlet be it TV or radio, I could go on as long as I wanted to. For other stories I'd be told to wrap it up very quick. I don't think whenever I sent them a script a bit too long about Syria, I don't remember them saying me to cut it short. [Anonymous 1]

Another exception is Jeremy Bowen's account that time is not an issue for the stories he covers. "I'm happy when they give me five minutes plus or minus, I'm happy with that yeah. I rarely these days do the short two-minute, three-minute jobs cause that wouldn't be enough.", said Bowen.

Some interviewees had the impression that the digital platforms may be more flexible in terms of time when compared to short news bulletins. However, this flexibility for the online may not translate well into the idea of using the same package across multiple platforms/mediums at the BBC and adjusting a package is not always possible due to the news rush. This is due to both time and budget limitation; it seems that the BBC simply does not have the manpower to adjust the videos per outlet and the BBC World News specifically may not have the budget to send correspondents who mainly work for 10 o'clock news bulletin: "So, they [BBC domestic channels/ 10 o'clock news] want something, and I do it and tend to go in world. BBC World doesn't really have the budget to send me, sometimes." says Jeremy Bowen.

The way the BBC is organized and how the newsroom is more or less converged will be discussed in the next chapters. Below, the limitations in TV news making are further explored in terms of available budget per news item.

4.1.3. Limited Budget

Foreign news correspondents' time limitation as discussed in the previous section is partly dependent on the budget allocated for the team that is sent from London to various destinations to gather news. Orla Guerin explains the kind of rush many journalists find themselves in when they are sent abroad:

You know we don't have the luxury or the time or the money to go and spend five or six days on the ground getting ready to film. Generally, with us and I think for most news organizations now to be honest because budgets are very tight. You have to be producing when you arrive, and you may need two days to film parts of the piece, but you got to be doing it. You know you don't have the luxury I guess is what I'm trying to say doing research on the ground. You need to try and gather and be ready to kind of operational as soon as you hit the ground. [Orla Guerin]

Journalists, and more specifically correspondents are responsible for their own story and their team on the ground. That being said, they may not be completely aware of the exact budgets allocated for foreign news at the BBC: “[...] news has a sizeable budget and foreign news - I forget what our budget is - you know we spend money, we have a network of bureaus, a network of correspondents which no one else has.”[Quentin Sommerville]. As discussed earlier in the literature review, the BBC’s organizational structure is complex and global planning teams are no exception. As Mark Lowen explains, the structure is complex and involves bureaucratic hierarchies:

We have quite a big and active planning and commissioning. Each program in the BBC has its own commissioning team. Then we have kind of global planning teams and news gathering teams. It seems sometimes in the field that there are far too many of them. You know, when we sometimes get a story commissioned has to go through quite a lot of channels, of levels.

Howard Johnson shares similar accounts as well when it comes to the way commissioning teams work when journalists pitch a story idea: “[...] you know a bunch of different people and then they would commission it and say ok we want to pay for the story. So, you know they'd pay for my expenses to do the story.” Jeremy Bowen expressed his content with the idea that BBC can afford sending journalists abroad: “we have the budget to put people on a plane and send them or keep them in regions there as permanent correspondents. We still have the budget and it's very important that we could do that.” The way the budget is devised is a careful process and Mark Lowen, as the then Turkey correspondent for the BBC, explains the reasoning behind this as the necessity to use the pool of news in an efficient way:

[...] the BBC is acutely aware that it needs to use its resources as best as possible. Yes, we have something like 56 bureaus around the world, but we are deploying a lot and there is a central deployment budget, so you know if there is an outbreaking violence in Burundi, do you deploy someone in Nairobi, do we need to get that story on air? For example, if there is something big happening in Cyprus or even out of Istanbul, you know the Afrin outbreak for example. It is a decision whether I am deployed that is taken partly by us and partly by our regional boss and partly by the London commissioning team. [Mark Lowen]

The planning in terms of budget and assigning journalists to commissioned news items don't seem to apply the same way when there is breaking news. According to Howard Johnson's accounts among other interviewees' that indicated a pool of resources/teams across the globe, the BBC seems to use this pool of journalists. They are often asked to leave all other businesses if there is breaking news, says the BBC's Philippines correspondent Howard Johnson: "[...] breaking news just comes to me there is no question whether you're in news gathering when a story breaks you just need to do classic reporting." Referring to the teams based in London, Mark Lowen indicated that journalists are sent to places where the story is "spiking": "[T]hey kind of pick the places where we need to report from, it is spiking, it is increasing there so we need to have a team in Budapest, or Skopje and really kind of like hitting the story [...]" This strongly suggests that the BBC chases events and anticipates them even before they "break". Based on the interviewees' accounts, except when the news are planned ahead of time initiated by the editorial team or individual journalist's pitch, BBC journalism is seemingly events-driven.

4.1.4. Reducing the Complexity of the Story

I always try to boil it down, make it shorter, shorter, shorter, shorter, cut out of unnecessary words. I think you should be clear, I work very very hard to be clear, because I think it is quite easy particularly in the complicated story like Syria or anywhere else in the Middle East, it's quiet easy to use jargon and to assume knowledge but you actually get down to the fundamentals of what's happening and it is actually a bit more demanding I think, so that's what I try to do. [Jeremy Bowen]

These accounts from Jeremy Bowen are common practices among news program editors. However, reducing complexity is not simply about cutting words, but also as indicated by Jeremy Bowen above, it is also about editing the content, making it more accessible to the audiences. All these processes from editor's filters to frame devices used in the news are closely related to gatekeeping, agenda-setting and framing. Editors of the programmes are the ones in the end who make the choice, and this role and power of the editors in choosing which story to include in their news bulletins was acknowledged by several interviewees. Sophia Tran-Thomson explain this as a continuous process of deliberation in the newsroom: "We argue about what is important, what does people need

to know, what do we think our audiences want, what do we think that we should tell them, do we think they should know, what's valuable, what's important". Through this filtering and selection, they set the agenda for the day, try to fit in many complex stories in a relatively short world news bulletin, as indicated by Mark Lowen as follows: "You know when you open and watch a 26 minutes of world news bulletin or longer programs you are getting a fairly full international round up global affairs, so it is the choice of stories."

Framing occurs on textual and visual levels and the reduced complexity may manifest itself as potentially unintended framing practices in the news. One of the strategies mentioned by the interviewees to reduce complexity is the use of infographics. 12.1% of all videos include infographics and maps (29 out of 240).

Yes, they [infographics] can be [useful] but they really need to break things down that are probably too complicated. And they do help in Syria, where it is sometimes too difficult to explain allegiances, loyalties of the surrounding hovers, and yes infographics are useful. [Mark Lowen]

Infographics are seen as useful especially when communicating the complexity of a story, such as Syria. However, in the sample, not all infographics were explaining a complex story. Oftentimes, they were used to emphasize the large numbers of refugees (see Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3). Occasionally, there are some maps showing exactly where the conflict is, and even more often shared are the maps that show refugees' route towards Europe: "this is how they march towards Europe". A good example for this can be observed in the video no. 88 (see Figure 4.4) in which the voice of over says: "Their [people from Africa and the Middle East] target is Europe's closest shoreline, the continent's so-called 'soft underbelly' in the South, but few want to stay, journeying towards the richer countries like Germany, France and the UK" as the infographic moves from Northern Africa and Middle East towards Southern Europe and ultimately to Northern Europe. Here, news audiences are conceived as an imagined community (Anderson, 2006) who are residents in Britain or elsewhere in Europe and refugees on the move is framed in that map as a risky development which potentially trigger fear. As Furedi (2006) puts it, fears are learned through media and some BBC World News packages only seem to fuel uncertainties and generate more fear.

Figure 4.4 Voice over: “1000 people are spilling over their border a day” [No. 33]



Figure 4.5 Voice over: “48.000 mostly Syrians and Afghans have arrived in Greece” [No.97]

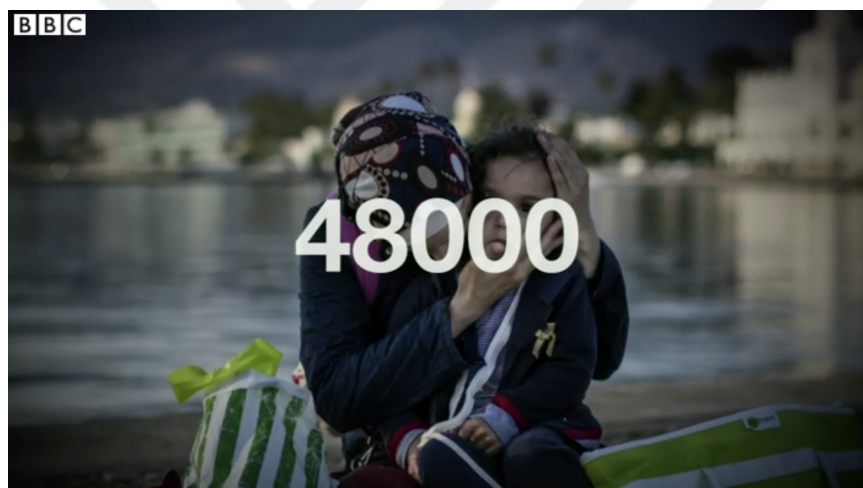


Figure 4.6 Video title: EU measures to combat people smuggling [No.88]



Sophia Tran Thomson, an editor based in London confirms accounts from other interviewees who said that infographics are usually added in the newsroom (but not in the field). Tran Thomson says that infographics are becoming increasingly popular: “[...] we are more and more using graphics actually to explain things quickly. So it is kind of using PowerPoint slide show. Some quick facts from screen, some big texts, some numbers maybe as a kind of introduction, refresher” [Sophia Tran-Thomson]. Some interviewees indicated that the use of infographics should in a sense be justified, used appropriately in order to simplify a complex story rather than making it simplistic. For instance, Mark Lowen said: “[...] we try to break things down to simplify, not to make it simplistic but to make it understandable. We would focus on three or four key points that we need to explain.” [Mark Lowen]. Mohamed Madi, a video journalist based in London confirmed this practice of breaking complex things into its more comprehensible components in an infographic:

For example, when you have the Geneva talks, the focus will be more on geopolitics, we'll be having more explainers or a correspondent there doing lives. We'll still think about distilling this very complex ways of alliances and interdependencies more understandable without being simplistic.

4.2. Emotional Angle

For television journalism moving images are indispensable and many studies show that images are more powerful to evoke emotions than words (e.g., Coleman, 2010; Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011). Chris Morris stressed the importance of good pictures in TV journalism:

“[...] you've got to have good pictures - number one! You can't make television without good pictures. I mean you can do that but if you're talking about packaging you've got to have pictures that capture people in the first seconds otherwise, they won't be watching the news and go make a cup of tea. You've got to grab them right at the beginning so that's the most important thing.”

Mark Lowen also shared his impressions regarding the use of the best/ the most “dramatic” pictures at the beginning of the package: “...there is always a feeling of using

the most dramatic pictures on top rather than [at the] end of the piece.” He also added: “[...] television is a picture led media and it's not gonna happen without pictures. You can't let the pictures simplify the story, but you don't have too many words in television that it may make words right for the pictures [...]”. As Lowen suggests, television heavily relies on (moving) images and in fact one can observe that the words are written on these images. In one package [No.61], Lyse Doucet reports from Damascus and at the time of her announcement, there was a bomb shelling from a distance and she referred to the sound while continuing her sentence:

No one had high expectations of these peace talks even as they went on, thousands of people were killed here in Syria. For Western governments it was the only strategy they had to try to end a brutal conflict around the negotiating table [bomb shelling sound], but there is no military solution, as you can hear, inside either.

This seems to be a spontaneous adjustment to a script most probably prepared in advance. Filming an announcement on the spot requires this kind of spontaneity to ensure a match between the words and the visual, and the background sound, as was referred to in this example. As Mark Lowen says, the pictures ideally don't simplify the story and that there needs to be a match - as much as possible - between the words and the images for an effective storytelling. There are much less words in TV as images complement the script and the video is organized into sequences of five to six seconds to ease the comprehension. In other words, journalists should also be economical in terms of choosing the images to fit in the limited time given per package. In the framing effects literature, studies show that images are powerful tools for framing and people absorb images much quicker than they do words and written text. The more dramatic the pictures are, the more chances that people will pay attention; at least this is what the news media hope for.

4.2.1. Images as Frame Devices

The sample includes hundreds of scenes and thousands of shots/camera frames which all make up one storyline unique to each individual video news package. Images as powerful frame devices tell a story that is ideally in line with the voice over and oftentimes complete the words. In videos, words are used sparingly which is very different from regular news article sentences. Excess words can be quite redundant in a video since images also play an important role in the narrative. This is exactly why in audiovisual

content, voice over alone is not sufficient for the analysis, the overall picture can only be understood by approaching this holistically.

The location(s) from which journalists cover the Syrian refugee crisis can tell a lot about news selection processes: Which stories are deemed more important? Where is it important to tell the story from? For the variable “location”, the coding results revealed that 47.92% of the videos in the sample included the images from the “host country”, this was followed by refugee camps (39.58%), fences (30.83%), shore/sea/boats (30%), refugees’ house/shelter (26.25%) and refugee trail (15.83%). These are the most frequent locations chosen to film. The results indicate that many refugee crisis stories are covered in a host country; Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon but also countries that do not have direct frontiers and that mainly concerns European countries. Also, camps, fences and the refugees’ journey in a crowded boat or a reporter’s announcement by the shore are some of the most frequently used frame devices. There were some notable instances where the camera would film the refugee camp and/or refugees from behind the fences (see Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6). Again, refugees here are framed as unwanted, risky and in Bauman’s (2004) terms as “waste products of modernity”.

Figure 4.7 Video title: More refugees as Arab leaders call for change in Syria [No. 17]



Figure 4.8 Video title: Torrential rain floods Greece migrant camp [No. 205]



Figure 4.9 Video title: How Syrian children learn to live inside a refugee camp [No. 20]



Children are frequently used as a powerful visual frame device in the Syrian refugee crisis stories; they are often portrayed as the victims of the war, of the fleeing, in dust, tired (see Figure 4.7) and sometimes scared at the moment of a shelling. In another news package, while the camera zooms in (see Figure 4.8), correspondent Shaimaa Khalil's voiceover says: "This may seem like a normal playday anywhere in the world, but look closer. The children's dusty and tired faces will tell a different story." [No.20] This has high news value as this is bad news and unusual. As it entails children, it also has the potential to make an emotional impact on the audiences. What is also noticeable here, in this voiceover is the interaction with the audience; the correspondent talks to the

audience and invites them to “look closer” and possibly feel empathy or at the very least some compassion. Similarly, in Ian Pannel’s package [No.27], the audience is invited to feel the Syrian girl’s fear as she hears bomb shelling in an Idlib province: “And in a conflict when the rockets are fired at will, they’re never really safe. If you want to know what that feels like, watch the girl’s reaction as the area is suddenly attacked [shelling noise]”. Talking to the audience was prevalent in the videos analyzed and will be further explored later on in this chapter.

Children, even if they are not at the centre of the story, would be used to exemplify snapshots of life; how families survive in the camps. In Zaatari camps for instance, an image of a toddler (see Figure 4.9) is used next to many others. Besides their life in the camps, children are also filmed, sometimes with close-ups, while their families cross the borders, or in a boat arriving at a shore or struggling in the sea. Children’s images were also occasionally used to convey a message of “hope” as part of the snapshot of life in refugee camps. The below screenshot (see Figure 4.10) is an example of this kind of positive imagery and it is used to support this kind of narrative: “there are difficulties, but still life goes, children go to school etc.”

Figure 4.10 Voice over: “...images of one day in the life of Zaatari refugee camp”
[No.25]



Figure 4.11 Voice over: "Children are grasping the opportunity with both hands"
[No.31]



4.2.2. Cinematographic Elements

As established earlier, images matter in TV journalism and many interviewees stressed the importance of having a good cameraman. Many seemed pleased to work with some of what they call the “best news cameramen in the world”:

[...] you sit down, and you see the images and you think wow and even though we've all been in the same place but a cameraman sees and what a cameraman films what he captures can be so different than what you've noticed you know particularly with these very very very good cameramen. [Orla Guerin]

You know, there are best cameramen many of the world's best cameramen in news are working news in the BBC, some of the world's best producers, we have an outstanding network of local producers, Western producers in different countries. [Ben Brown]

In the codebook, “cinematographic elements” were operationalized into three variables that seemed to occur often. These were “sunshine at the beginning or end”, “bomb/shelling at the beginning or end”, “fences at the beginning or end”. Using sunshine images occurred in 10% of the sample (24 out of 240) which makes this the most popular form of cinematographic element specifically used as an opening or closing picture. As shared earlier, BBC correspondent Mark Lowen said that the most dramatic pictures are

usually selected in the beginning of the package. This partially confirms the researcher's interest in looking for these images at specific sequences in the videos. Second most popular cinematographic element in the sample was “fences at the beginning or end” with 7.9% (19 out of 240) and this was followed by the use of “bomb/shelling at the beginning or end” with 5% (12 out of 240).

Fergal Keane's packages included some of the most illustrative cinematographic examples of “sunshine” used at the beginning or at the end (see Figure 4.10 and Figure 4.11). According to one interviewee [Anonymous 2], the pictures are sometimes too beautiful to convey the misery but needed to grab audiences' attention:

People don't care anymore it's hard to get everyone interested in this. I'm sure they are switching off when they see refugee stories. I had a very good cameraman who does very good pictures, but the problem is you make it look all those refugee camps too glamorous, kind of beautifully shot to convey the misery.” [Anonymous 2]

Video no. 14 below uses a shot from the same sunshine scene as a thumbnail image as well. The title of the video being “Christians flee Syria after attacks by Sunni extremists” poses a sharp contrast if sunshine here is used at the end of the package as a sign of hope or simply to include a beautiful shot. Fergal Keane's voice over indicates hope and struggle: “For this is now, not just a battle for the land of Syria but for its soul too”. The use of strong pictures and script seem to help the journalist build an emotional frame around Christian people who took refuge in Lebanon.

Another example from Fergal Keane's packages is from video no. 21 titled “Defector recounts Syria boat tragedy”. Keane reports from Turkey and the sunshine image below is found at the beginning of the video. The voiceover during the sequence including this image says: “Here at the very edge of Europe, the destitute and the scared are waiting in hope. This is where they count the days and the hours”. Here the sunshine is used as a frame device for “hope”. Even though “hope” is used, it indicates something to be achieved in the future. Here, the combination of visual and the verbal narrative seem to frame the refugees in despair, even with a prison-like metaphor: “count[ing] the days and the hours”.

I mean the most important decision for any TV correspondent is getting a good camera person you know have a good camera person, he gets the shots and I look after the editorial side where I use things that may look good [...] [Anonymous 2]

Figure 4.12 Voice over: “For this is now, not just a battle for the land of Syria but for its soul too” [No.14]



Sunshine as cinematographic elements are also used by other correspondents in the sample. Usually, the sun indicates hope and a kind of “looking ahead to the future” for refugees who are stuck in camps, at the borders or even at a host country where they try to integrate. As said earlier in Chapter 2, journalists are concerned with the future as much they are with the present. These kinds of projections illustrate the concept of “premediation” (Grusin, 2010): journalists want to forecast, say something about what may happen as much as what had happened. The integration narrative in form of premediation (what does the future hold for refugees in Sweden?) is illustrated in Graham Satchell’s news package titled “Migrant crisis: Inside Sweden immigration camp”. As the voice over can be seen on top of the figure below (Figure 4.13), the integration is the main narrative while accompanied by the cinematographic sunshine images with the journalist and interviewees in.

Figure 4.13 Voice over: “Here at the very edge of Europe, the destitute and the scared are waiting in hope. This is where they count the days and the hours” [No.21]



Figure 4.14 Voice over: “These migrants are learning Swedish, and they want to integrate. And Sweden now wants Britain and rest of Europe to find a more coordinated, a more civilized solution.” [No.116]



Similar to Fergal Keane’s video [No.21], sunshine accompanies the voice over “at the very edge of Europe” in video [No.123] where Chris Buckler reports from Lesbos shores. Turkey and Greek islands are framed as the “edge of Europe”, implying that refugees are almost there in the European mainland, but not quite there yet. Here again, sunshine is used to strengthen the frame of “hope” which actually portrays the refugees in despair and often as victims of war, of the journey, of the circumstances in which they find themselves in. This will be further explored when sharing the results of issue-specific frames in the following pages.

Figure 4.15 “At the edge of Europe, each new day offers the hope of a new beginning for people fleeing conflict and chasing opportunity” [No.123]



Figure 4.16 Voice over: “As Europe scrambles for unity, individual states closed their doors, but that still won’t kill the dreams of the desperate.” [No. 198]



This image above is from video no.198 (see Figure 4.15) titled “Migrant crisis: Europe's 'bottlenecks' growing”. Mark Lowen reports from Izmir, Turkey and the sunshine image with a refugee is used at the end of the package. The voiceover here too frames the refugee as “desperate”; has no other place to go and is extremely vulnerable. Here too, these “beautiful images convey the misery” of the refugees as mentioned by one of the interviewees [Anonymous 2] earlier.

The second most frequently used first or last image is that of “fences”. The image below (video no.11) is used at the beginning of the package and this is also used as the thumbnail image of the video. The usage of this particular image as a thumbnail image might be a decision taken by the teams in London to indicate a sort of label for the story. This label potentially helps the viewer to have a general idea of what the video is about. Coming back to the video, this image above is followed by another image where Turkish security/military personnel close the doors of the refugee camps. Both images’ voice-over as shared above narrates “waiting” and “processing” as main actions of the “plot”. Refugees being filmed behind the scenes employs yet another “prison-like” metaphor which amplifies the image of refugees in audiences’ minds as weak and desperate. This depiction of refugees proposes a strong frame for refugees as “other”, one that the middle-class British/ European viewer would never find themselves in and thus creates a “collective fiction” (Dayan, 2005) around the issue. Refugees and potential risks they pose to Europe are mediated with the use of the above-mentioned metaphors. Future fears are generated through hypothetical risks and inevitably these frames shape public agenda, in other words what people think about.

Figure 4.17 Voice over: “Waiting for news from the country they fled. This is Reyhanli where new arrivals from Syria are processed” [No.11]



Another video, number 22. titled 'Syria's growing refugee crisis also starts with fences and people behind them while James Reynolds' voice-over narrates the Syrian people crossing the border towards Turkey: “Early in the morning when no one is looking, the border is open”. Here this sentence implies that crossing the border like this is illegal, yet people do. The video 185 (see Figure 4.17), a refugee is filmed while he shows a paper

to security guards who do not allow him to cross the border from Greece into North Macedonia, while correspondent Damian Grammaticas' voice-over says: "At every border across Europe, welcome is cooling". This kind of discourse is present in many videos; for instance, in another news package [No.187] titled "Syrian refugees heading to Europe via the Spanish enclave in Morocco" the image of a long wall with fences along the road is shown and correspondent Chris Morris' voice over says: "If you're looking for fortress Europe, look no further". Here, the journalist speaks to the audience ("look no further") and portrays Europe as powerful and well protected. Finally, the video 217 titled "Migrants react to new Greek law: 'Deportation is a big mistake'" uses an image of fences with people behind as found in other packages (e.g., video 11), but this one is even more peculiar: It includes a group of people and it is dark. Ben Bland's voice over says: "This is not what they dreamed of when they were set out to reach Europe". Dreaming of Europe is a popular discourse used across the sample and this voiceover does not only reinforce the visual of fences but also communicate despair and idealization of Europe (e.g., "at the edge of Europe").

Figure 4.18 Video title: 'Welcome cooling' at borders across Europe [No.185]



Figure 4.19 Migrants react to new Greek law: 'Deportation is a big mistake' [No.217]



Finally, the images of bomb/shelling were also used in the sample often to show the violence from which refugees have been fleeing. In video 36 (see Figure 4.19) titled “Fear of government attacks in Northern Syria”, Ian Pannell reports from Northern Syria. “Syrians live in fear of many things” says the voice-over while a plane drops bombs on Taftanaz. Here, the audience can see in a series of shots how a bomb is being dropped and can destroy a whole area into dust. These are all cinematographic scenes including violent pictures of a war in real life. Similarly, in video no.77 (see Figure 4.20) titled “Syria crisis: Refugees stranded at the Turkish Syrian border”, Rami Ruhayem announces his name at the end of the package while showing a Turkish soldier, beautifully shot with the sun and the shelling sound in the background.

Quentin Sommerville’s voice-over in video no.167 (see Figure 4.21) is remarkable when he describes the scene in which a helicopter is shot: “Russian arsenal and mighty fire power have brought about the furious return of President Assad’s forces into Syria”. Finally, video no. 207 (see Figure 4.22) titled “Syria conflict: Is this a new kind of world war?” shows a post apocalyptic scene from Syria. Jeremy Bowen’s script on this image is: “This was Damascus in October last year. The current truce is a respite, not an end”. Again, we see some traces of premediation in this script as well, Bowen shares his projections on the near future.

Figure 4.20 Video title: Fear of government attacks in northern Syria [No.36]



Figure 4.21 Video title: “Syria crisis: Refugees stranded at the Turkish Syrian border” [No.77]



Figure 4.22 Video title: “Syria crisis: Thousands flee Aleppo after fighting increases” [No.167]



Figure 4.23 Video title: “Syria conflict: Is this a new kind of world war?” [No.207]



4.2.3. Graphic Images

TV journalists are usually aware of the fact that good pictures attract audiences. To this end, most dramatic images are used, sometimes even as first picture (as mentioned by Mark Lowen earlier). However, BBC journalists are not always allowed to use these dramatic pictures if they are found to be too graphic. This can become source of conflict between journalists in the field and London Office: Journalists want to use images that they believe show the reality, and the editors back home finds them too disturbing. Many interviewees expressed their concerns about over-sanitising graphic images:

If you say no you can't show dead bodies you can't show this and you're kind of sanitizing what's actually going on and you're saying to people that actually wars are like video games and not as bad it really is. I mean we do have this thing called watershed after 9 o'clock in the evening when it would be presumed to be as less children watching you can show slightly more graphic pictures but they're still... I think that's the thing I struggle most of the time arguing we've got these amazing pictures and while preserving the dignity of the people we're showing I think we should show more than editors are willing to. At the end it's up to the program's editor and they tend to a bit more cautious what to show in the program. [Chris Morris]

You know dead bodies; the BBC is very very sensitive about showing the dead bodies. I personally feel we sanitize things too much because ultimately in stories sometimes there are bodies that are key parts of that story. [Tom Burrridge]

There are similar accounts to both Chris Morris' and Tom Burrridge's on this. Wyre Davies furthers Morris's argument on watershed and talks about its limitations in the context of World news. When asked "How do you deal with graphic images coming from Syria?", Wyre Davies's answer is:

I think it's very important not to sanitize, again this is a big debate. In the UK we have this what we call a watershed after 9 o'clock at night. Legally, morally, and ethically we're allowed to show a certain language and show stronger images after 9 o'clock. The problem for world audience is that that goes out the window because 9 o'clock in the UK is 6 o'clock in Singapore, or you know 2 o'clock in the afternoon in New York or whatever. So those issues have taken an editorial level but I think it's really important that we don't over sanitize images [Wyre Davies]

Time sensitivity seems to be applied to UK audiences only, according to this account which was also confirmed when looked at the BBC's Editorial Guidelines (see Chapter 2). Some of these news packages are shown in BBC 1 at 10 o'clock news, but then they are used in other time slots in BBC World News round-the-clock news bulletins. Orla Guerin approaches this from a different angle and questions who the actual news audience is:

My own personal feeling is that news is not for children and that basically if you're sitting down and watching a news bulletin, then you know you have to be presented with the real story. I don't think we should be censoring. However, I think there is a very fine line because you don't want to present something so graphic then they simply switch off then you lost them and not hearing the story one way or another. And you certainly would not want to be overly using a material of that kind, if it is used it has to serve a very specific purpose [...]. [Orla Guerin].

“We don't film [the] moment of death. We don't film dead bodies usually” says Mark Lowen but added that Alan Kurdi was a big discussion:

Alan Kurdi was quite a big discussion, whether we should be showing the image. It was difficult because the image itself was so iconic and that was the story actually. But I think the decision was taken not to show it or to show I think we showed another part of the image where the child is carried by the official.

Quentin Sommerville thinks that people on the ground puts together what they think as the best representation of the situation and yet the editors in London might reject these images: “[S]ometimes it's very frustrating when you're around and horrible horrible things going on around you and done considerable efforts to get footage from very dangerous places and then the program says no we can't run that's too upsetting.” Sommerville adds: “Sometimes I don't think they [program editors] push the audience far enough. Because remember we have a responsibility to educate our audiences as well not just tell the stuff that they already know.” The idea of educating the audiences is indeed part of the BBC’s commitments as a public service broadcaster.

Overall, in the sample the BBC seemed to hold to its guidelines and not to show the moment of death or very gruesome images of the conflict in Syria. There were disclaimers/ warning signs online in case there were blood or other graphic images at the beginning of the videos (see the figure 4.23).

Figure 4.24 Graphic images warning

4.2.4. Words and Tone of Voiceover as Frame Devices

An emotional tone of voice is noticeable in some news packages; Will Grant describes the situation in which refugees find themselves as follows: “... they [refugees] carry what they can, a few meagre possessions and their children [pause] and their stories; vivid descriptions of the escalating violence in their towns and villages” [No.4]. In some other news packages, the choice of words and the tone becomes more emotional towards the very end of the video as can be seen in this package by Fergal Keane: “For this is now not just a battle for the land of Syria but for its soul too.” [No.14]. This video was also discussed in the section “cinematographic elements/sunshine”, therefore some videos proved to be rich in findings as several meanings co-exist.

Dramatic elements, which have become repetitive and arguably news clichés that are often used to describe refugees’ flight from their homes in Syria. For instance, “leaving everything behind” is used in many news packages’ scripts; similarly “now one bag contains everything they own” [No. 41], “all they have is one bag and their dreams” [No.45] all share a similar narrative. These words are frame devices in the emotional framing of refugees’ flight. A good example in a few sentences to this emotional framing is from video no. 95: “First lights under dark clouds, they sailed across the Aegean Sea. In their flimsy, dingy, bags packed with the remnants of the lives they left behind”.

The uncertainty is often communicated at the end of the packages with the sentences such as “Who knows what will happen next?”. This arguably fuels the feeling of anxiety and the abundant use of these open-ended questions indicating uncertainty in

terms of the refugee crisis might consequently make audiences feel uneasy and in a time of “liquid fear” in Bauman’s (2006) term. This is similar to the concept of “premediation” as well but maybe slightly different, as there is no guessing in this but rather the idea that “we do not know anything” is being communicated to the audiences. Discourse of this kind can create or fuel fear and panic on the audiences.

Next to this, another interesting finding is that digital news packages tend to be more emotional, and often also accompanied by background music which is never the case in traditional TV news packages. Voice-over is not common in these digital news packages, but it is rather replaced by music and the narrative is shared through images and texts written on the images. These are often packaged from the desk after careful editing and they potentially carry powerful emotional frames. However, not much detail on these can be shared as this study excluded this specific genre of digital news packages and only focused on traditional news packages for practical reasons (e.g., standard unit of analysis, operationalization).

4.3. Generic and Issue-specific Frames

In this sub chapter, the results from the quantitative coding will be shared and this will be complemented with some illustrative examples from the sample. Generic frames were relatively easy to code, as they fit very well especially in crisis news coverage. They are broad and a few can co-occur in one news, but they do give a good overview of general framing tendencies in the coverage. When it comes to issue-specific frames, here the researcher can explore the topic of coverage more in-depth and can either find similar results as found in the literature or reveal new frames specific to the data which is assumed to be representative of a larger total population.

4.3.1. Generic Frames

Semetko & Valkenburg’s (2000) five generic frames have been operationalized in the codebook as discussed in previous chapters. The findings reported below include both main/ dominant generic frame and secondary frames. For instance, the news package can have economic consequences as the dominant generic frame, but human interest as second

or even third ranked generic frame in the news. The decision was taken based on the general proposition of the news and the way problem is defined (Entman, 1991).

The results revealed that “human interest” was the most frequently occurred generic news frame with 86.7% (208 out of 240). Second most frequently used generic frame is “attribution of responsibility” with 73.8% (177 out of 240) occurrence in the sample. The third most frequent generic frame found across the data was “conflict” frame with 42.5% (102 out of 240). Fourth, “economic consequences” frame occurred in 18.8% (45 out of 240) of the data. Finally, “morality” frame was only found in 5% (12 out of 240) of the sample. How all these generic frames revealed themselves in the data are discussed below with rich examples through single and multiple occurrences in one video news package.

4.3.2. Issue-specific Frames

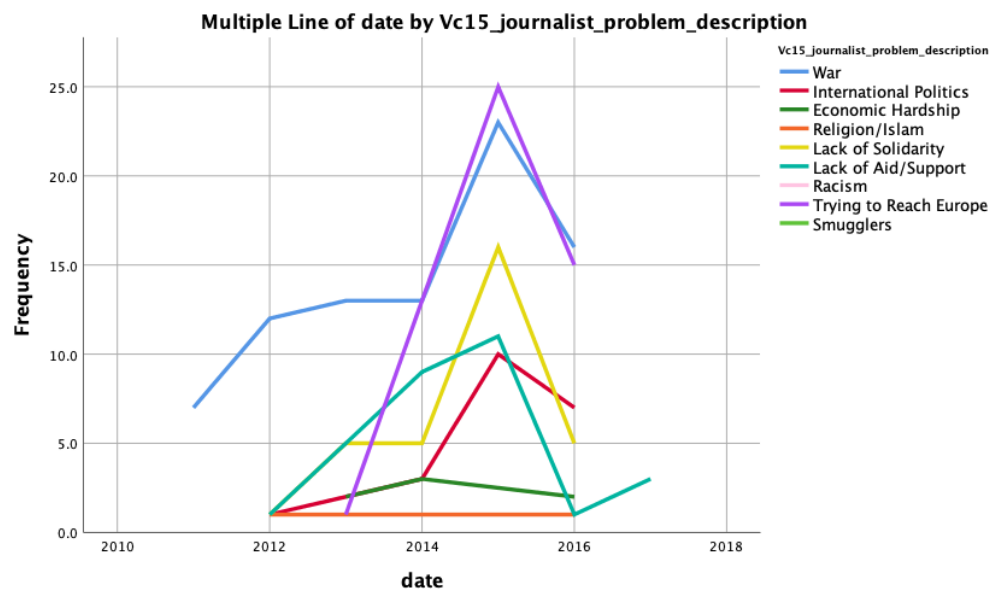
To reveal issue-specific frames, Entman’s (1993) four frame functions are used. As issue-specific frames can only apply to specific topics or events (de Vreese, 2002), it is important in this research to understand: 1- Problem description, 2- Causes, 3- Moral judgement and 4- Remedies/ treatment offered (Entman, 1993).

Entman’s Four Frame Functions

Before even starting the coding process, an inductive approach helped the researcher generate the categories that fit the refugee crisis stories, before moving on with the coding and analysis. The categories for the variable “Problem description” can be seen in the figure below (see Figure 4.24). The findings show that journalists used “war” the most to describe the problem; in other words, the reason why refugees flee or the main problem behind what they call refugee crisis. The problem definition as “war” occurred in 35% of the sample, which equals roughly one third (84 out of 240). The second most frequently used category was “trying to reach Europe/UK” (17.1%; 41 out of 240) and this is an important finding. Many news packages, and more specifically one out of six packages seem to define the problem as people trying to reach Europe or UK at all costs. These packages are particularly interesting as the factual reason of the crisis is not discussed at all, rather the focus is on the nuisance caused by the new arrivals on European soils. This is one of the findings that reveal a clear European or British perspective that

weighs heavy in some packages which goes far enough to overshadow the reason why people flee from their homelands. This can be partially explained by how the Syrian refugee crisis is entangled with other refugee crises and this includes economic migrants too. In the latter case, European politicians have been very sensitive and protective of their borders, and it was especially around 2014-2016 when there were increased boat tragedies in the Mediterranean. Therefore, the politicians seemed to take action, and changed their discourse which differentiated between different types of migrants. That might have caused the shift in framing from “war” towards “reaching Europe”, however journalists should still be on the “solutions” side and seek the “truth”. This can only be achieved by moving away from mediating alarmist fear of refugees (Cottle, 2009) and embracing a more cosmopolitan approach.

Figure 4.25 Journalist’s problem description over time



The third most common problem definition is “lack of solidarity”, and this applied when host countries or international community were referred to as lacking the willingness to show solidarity towards refugees. This occurred in 13.3% (32 out of 240) of the sample. Another problem definition which is very close to this but nuanced in meaning was “lack of aid/support” (12.5%; 30 out of 240) and this was the case in videos where the real problem lied in lack of material aid or support. Rather than lacking willingness, this category is about lacking capacity on the party or parties involved. The fifth most notable finding was about the category “foreign policy/ international politics” (9.6%; 23 out of

240). Roughly every one out of ten videos explained the problem of the refugee crisis in terms of foreign policy or international politics. This was the case mainly for videos that had “international politics” as the main topic or subtopic. Remaining categories occurred much less frequently, and these are “economic hardship” (2.9%; 7 out of 240), “religion/Islam” (0.8%; 2 out of 240), “smugglers” (0.8%; 2 out of 240) and “racism” (0.4%; 1 out of 240).

When these frequencies are visualized as in the figure 4.23 below, it is interesting to find out that especially around 2015, the way journalists define the problem has increasingly become more supportive of the political discourse. They seemed to frame the problem as refugees trying to reach Europe, mainly Northwestern Europe including Britain. This and the language used around this definition is problematic, as many journalists used words such “dream” which may arguably make the issue seem lighter than it is. Perhaps, a clearer distinction needed to be made in these videos between economic migrants and war refugees to avoid the use of blanket terms such as “dreaming to get Europe” and the framing thereof.

The second frame function as proposed by Entman (1991), is “causes” assigned to the problem defined. The findings revealed that causes were not always clear in the way journalist narrated the story. When the variable “causes” were present in the package, five categories related to causes could be coded. The category “lack of (international) cooperation” is found in 17.9% (43 out of 240) of the sample. The second most frequently occurred category is “tyranny/ power politics” with 12.1% (29 out 240). The remaining three categories did not occur significantly high across the data, and these are: “national interest” (4.6%; 11 out of 240), “disinterest in funding” (1.7%; 4 out of 240) and “cultural differences” (0.8%; 2 out of 240 videos). The third frame function is “moral judgement” and similar to the previous frame function, it was not found in every single news package. In fact, only around one out of every eight packages included a moral judgement (36 out of 240). If journalists’ narrative included a moral judgement in their storyline, it was mostly about “condemnation of the Syrian government” (6.3%; 15 out of 240). This was followed by “condemnation of the Syrian opposition/ radical Islamists” (2.5%; 6 out of 240), “condemnation of the EU (2.1%, 5 out of 240), “condemnation of host country” (1.3%; 3 out of 240). “Condemnation of the UN”, “condemnation of powerful states”, “praise for Sweden, Germany or other EU country” occurred each only in 2 videos out of

240 (0.8%) and finally “praise for the UN” only occurred in one video (0.4%) in the sample.

The fourth and final frame function is “remedy” which is an important one and arguably it is closely connected to “solutions” journalism. However, this frame function also did not occur as high as expected. Only 41 out of 240; in other words, out of every six news packages offer a remedy or treatment recommendation to the problem in hand. The most frequently offered remedy by the journalists is “global/European response” (7.1%; 17 out of 240) followed by “human interest/support” (5.4%; 13 out of 240 videos). “More funding for aid” was only found in 2.5% (6 out of 240) of the sample which is followed by “open door policy” (1.7%; 4 out of 240) and “military intervention” (0.4%; 1 out of 240).

To round up the discussion on Entman’s frame functions as found in the sample, it can be concluded that the analysed news packages are more descriptive than critical or solutions oriented. The reasons cannot be revealed with content analysis alone, however the interviewees’ accounts support these findings. As discussed in above sections, they have only limited time given the format and the news rush. Therefore, going beyond description is difficult as long as journalism are mainly events-based and fast-paced.

Framing the Refugees

73.8% of the news packages analysed give refugees a voice/apply humanisation (177 out of 240). This is a high percentage, and it is in line with the high number of refugees being interviewed in the refugee crisis stories. Journalists often gave voice to refugees in their coverage, although this humanisation was not necessarily empowering them in the overall portrayal. This is because, an equal amount of news packages (177 out of 240; 73.8%) also framed refugees as “victims” of the crisis/ of the circumstances they find themselves in. As “victims” they are also portrayed as passive subjects. Another variable that is closely connected to this is “despair” which occurred in half of the sample (52.5%; 126 out of 240). This again framed refugees as “desperate” and passive actors of the crisis. The “mortal danger” of the journey/crossing the sea was a common frame used by journalists who often called the boats as “flimsy dinghies”. This variable occurred in 45.4% (109 out of 240) of the sample and in that respect it is noteworthy. In 18.8% of the packages (45 out of 240), refugees are framed as “faceless masses”. In some notable

examples, journalists used some questionable wording such as “flow of migrants”, “human cargo” among others. This variable was also coded as “yes”/ present when there were infographics used to share numbers on people’s images (see Figure 4.3). Another very important result has to do with variable “threat/criminalization” and the findings revealed that in 10% of the sample (24 out of 240), journalists in one way or the other framed refugees as “illegal migrants” or as “potential terrorist/ criminal” in their narrative. In 11 news packages out of 240 (4.6%), a frame of “Muslims/Islam” was used to portray refugees and the context. In 9 out of 240 news packages (3.8.%) framed refugees as “poker chip” in the given (international) political context or negotiation. Only in 4 news packages out of 240 (1.7%) framed refugees as an “asset”. This also an indication of the lack of a positive and active refugee frame in the discourse.

In the media, the movement of people can be framed either as a regular act of changing one place to another due to the privilege of flexibility only granted to people who are included in the system, or it can be framed as criminal act of immigration due to perceived risks of the refugee crisis and refugees are then discursively excluded from the system (Beck 2000; Luhmann, 1997). As reported above, results show that refugees are far from being portrayed as active actors who own their fate and can manage their risks. This way, arguably these “waste products of modernity” (Bauman, 2004) are also automatically excluded from “risk communities” (Beck, 1999) which is a function of global order.

What was interesting to observe in the sample is the coexistence of two variables in one package: faceless masses and humanization. This was usually the case when the scale of migration would be shown through bird’s eye view camera angle or infographics or simply in the script, next to this, the journalist would speak to one family that is representative of the many. This phenomenon was explained by Boltanski (1999); how it is typical of the media showing examples among the many who suffer and inviting the audience to understand their suffering. This “need” to give a human face to the story was also confirmed by one of the interviewees as follows:

“[...] [N]obody understands three million people. They do understand some woman you just interviewed who is literally not being able to feed her children day

to day and the kids are starving you know going out to work aged 10 years old.”
[Anonymous 2]

Story is a narrative that guides the audience in making sense of the reality. Cultural frame of reference, “...to fit new situations into old definitions...” (Bird & Dardenne, 1988, p.345) to make it understandable, digestible by the audience. One example of framing refugees as “desperate” can be seen in one of Fergal Keane’s package as follows: “A year ago, most refugees I met had faith they’d go home soon. But 12 months of escalating violence have left people like Umat Ala without hope.” (Fergal Keane, 6 March 2013).

4.4. The British Perspective: ‘Us’ vs ‘Them’

The findings show that some of the BBC World News’ coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis is domesticated. It is not uncommon that international news media channels “‘domesticate’ international information for national audiences” (Clausen, 2004, p.42) and the BBC World News seem to be no exception. The findings from both content analysis and interviews confirm many studies following Gurevitch and colleagues 1991 European study of international news (e.g., Lindell & Karlsson): 1) The coverage does not reflect a cosmopolitan vision, 2) Journalists themselves do not necessarily identify themselves as cosmopolitan journalists. In this sub chapter, important results of the study regarding the British perspective present in the news are shared while linking them to relevant theoretical concepts.

4.4.1. News Domestication Practices

Journalists constantly compete for audiences’ attention and they make routine judgements about news value and their appeal for audiences (Cottle, 2013). While doing this, logistics and cultural proximity (Cottle, 2013) seem to be important elements. Chris Morris reflected on these in the context of disaster coverage:

I've always disliked the fact that the Earthquake in Turkey 1999, one of the first question is can you find a British victim? I thought it wasn't the point. I was surrounded by complete carnage and chaos. It doesn't really matter what the

nationality was. I kind of get the idea that there is an element if you can show on television that hey there is a British person who got caught up on this then an audience here would feel more connection to the story and say, 'oh it could have been me!'. So, I kind of get it, but sometimes we think about it wrong. [Chris Morris]

This is what Cottle (2013) would call as “calculus of death” which “conforms to a narrowly conceived, geo-politically informed, and essentially amoral and emotionally evacuated journalistic outlook on death and disasters around the world” (p.2). According to Cottle (2013), calculus of death is grounded in national outlook and inimical to cosmopolitan ideas. Therefore the author, following a number of interviews with journalists who acknowledge how their reporting is based on a calculus of death, calls a move beyond “calculus of death” for a more cosmopolitan and quality journalism.

The above accounts by Chris Morris have been confirmed with content analysis on several levels both through quantitative and qualitative analyses. The most notable among them was how frequently Britain was mentioned, or a British connection was made using sources (e.g., PM Theresa May, British think tank). As “British perspective” had several layers and was not easily quantifiable, the decision was made to code this with a qualitative approach. Every word, sentence or part of sentence that indicated a “British perspective” was highlighted and coded on Atlas.ti. To avoid potential misinterpretation of the results, this variable was only assigned to one news only once, even if there were more indicators of a “British perspective”. This way, the research unit was treated as the news package in this qualitative coding. According to this, in 45 out of 240 news packages, a British perspective was present. This seems to be a practice of news domestication which is ill placed in this case as these are news that aim to reach a global audience through bbc.com. The patterns mainly revolves around these four subcategories/ subthemes: 1- Britain is portrayed as the ultimate destination for refugees, 2- Britain's role is contextualized in the international scene, 3- The journalist estimates a direct impact or threat on everyday British life, 4- Britain as the given context: Mainly technical issues (e.g., lower third, currency) on the side of journalists or editorial teams.

Britain as Ultimate Destination

“19-year-old Eop has another European destination in mind: [Refugee:] I like going to England. [Correspondent:] You’d like to go to England? [Refugee] Yeah.” [No.87]. This interview shows how correspondent Tom Burridge probes the refugee upon the first answer trying to emphasise the refugee’s willingness to reach England. This package is not an exception: Fergal Keane’s reports from France [No.51] where he suggests that the UK is the desired destination among the refugees. Arriving to the UK is framed as “the beginning of their [refugees] salvation” and this frame is quite strong in these lines below:

Here in France, the Syrians have discovered that the tragedy they are escaping from is just one of many conflicts, sending people fleeing towards Britain as refugees. Among the Syrians we’ve spoken with, getting to Britain is seen as the beginning of their salvation. It’s that which makes them put their faith in the people traffickers.

Similarly, when Chris Buckler reports from Bodrum [No.112], Turkey frames Britain as the “ultimate destination” when compared to nice beaches in the Aegean Sea. Here the comparison is made to domesticate the news for a British audience for whom Bodrum is a destination for their beach vacations:

This part of Turkey close to Bodrum is a place where people go for holidays, but most of those seeking refuge see this as only a brief stop. They want to go to EU countries like Germany and the UK where they believe there is greater opportunity.

This above voiceover well illustrates news domestication; how newsworthiness is defined in respect to audiences back home. Gurevitch and colleagues (1991) based on their findings explain this as follows: “in order to be judged newsworthy, an event must be anchored in a narrative framework that is already familiar to and recognizable by newsmen as well as by audiences.” (p 207).

Britain's Role in the International Scene

The UK's pledge of aid in rebel held areas inside Syria comes as the United Nations pleads for more help for those who fled the country. Britain has pledged 139 million pounds, but the UN says that the world must give more urgently. [No. 28].

In this video [No.28], Fergal Keane reports from Zaatari camp in Jordan and refers to international aid to relieve the situation on the ground. While doing this, Keane explains Britain's share in all this mentioned aid scheme. Here, Britain's role in the international scene involving the UN has been emphasized, while other countries' contribution to the aid scheme is not included in the story.

Chris Morris follows an EU Commission meeting in Strasbourg [No.139] and gives voice to the UKIP Leader Nigel Farage as an opposing view to refugee quotas. Besides the President Jean-Claude Juncker's speech, Farage was the only member whose voice was heard in the meeting. This is again another way of domesticating the news; if a French politician was heard instead, or another voice opposing refugee quotas, the British viewers would not be able make a "perfect" connection to the news. This seems to be the assumption behind these news domestication practices.

Jenny Hill reports from a Berlin: "Many Germans agree [that more refugees should be taken in]. This is one of Angela Merkel's conservative MPs. I asked him whether David Cameron's pledge to take 20.000 refugees is enough." [No.144]. Here, David Cameron is simply mentioned without his title as "UK Prime Minister", but this is not the main issue in the package. The perspective is quite British-centred even if the tone overall is critical of the UK's (non)actions on the refugee crisis.

Anna Holligan reports from Kos, Greece [No.94] and explains the EU Commission's call for EU member states to take 40.000 asylum seekers from Syria and Eritrea. Holligan's next sentence follows as: "The UK government says it will not take part in the system." These kind of contextualizing the UK government's approach in the European context is not unique to this package. Another good example is Graham Satchell's report from Sweden where he compares the Swedish approach to the UK: "The

Swedish approach to immigration couldn't be more different to the UK. If Syrians can get here, they can stay.” [No. 16].

Finally, in another news package on the Syrian refugee crisis, an interview is conducted with a member of a British think tank in London [Video 92]. Chris Morris reports this news from Brussels, probably the interview with the think tank was added in the package back at the headquarters in London.

Impact on Everyday British Life

First, the introductory quotes used in this thesis will be further explored in this section. They are the most illustrative examples of how risks, uncertainties and fear are communicated to a British audience in the BBC's coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis. In video no.158 titled “EU agrees plan to relocate 120,000 migrants”, Katya Adler reports from Hungary. The package starts with her voice over and images of shores:

For years, we watched the misery of the far away refugees on our television screens. Now they and their plea for help are on our doorstep. On the beaches that we go on holiday, on our trains, our buses and our motorways. Families fleeing war and others seeking for a better life are pushing, fighting and risking death to get here.

The tone of voice sounds anti-immigrant as all these locations mentioned above are owned by the reporter as “our” (on behalf of a UK audience) and this in turn creates a discourse of “othering”. In video no. 119, titled “Migrant crisis: Hungary station ‘feels like a refugee camp’”, Ed Thomas reports from Keleti station in Budapest where the news is clearly tailored to a British sensitivity. the wording is different in this package but the discourse is similar to Katya Adler's:

Keleti station is now home to thousands of migrants. It feels like a refugee camp. This could be King's Cross in London or Piccadilly station in Manchester and everywhere you look, the place is full of people from Syria, from Afghanistan. And more and more people are arriving every day.

In video 84, Paul Wood describes the scale of the refugee crisis from Lebanon with direct comparison to the UK's population in proportion: "So many countries have fled to Lebanon that one person out of three is a refugee in this country, as if 20 million people came to Britain." A similar way of attracting audience's attention can be seen in this video as in the previous example. Their common points are "bringing the news back home" while using national stock of knowledge, and while doing this making the audiences realize the scale of the situation and how it would look like it was "back home". As discussed earlier, this kind of framing arguably makes it easier for a national audience to process the information, however, impedes an ideal form of cosmopolitan journalism that would be expected of an international news outlet.

Video no.88 is a rich example, as it reveals several themes at the same time. This quote was also used in infographics together with its corresponding visual: "Their [refugees] target is Europe's closest shorelines, the continent's so-called soft under belly in the south, but few want to stay journeying northwards to richer countries like Germany, France and the UK". (see Figure 4.5). Here, the UK is not only shown in a map but also through the voice over, as an ideal/ultimate destination but also as a "warning sign" to audiences and policy makers.

A typical British connection as mentioned by Chris Morris (finding a British survivor in a disaster) also applies in the video 99 and a few others in the sample where a British resident Erik Campson is interviewed regarding the arrivals of refugees to the island: "The island is idyllic, but the water around it is dangerous. Every morning, a British resident Erik Campson waits for the boats and tries to help. [Video 99]. Giving a British resident and volunteer a voice in the discourse is remarkable in the sense that he becomes the main narrator in the package. Content analysis cannot reveal whether finding a British person as a witness to human suffering was something planned and intentional or completely unexpected and unintentional. However, Chris Morris' accounts on how generally news media organizations approach foreign news in times of crises, might confirm that this might have been a more conscious choice to attract audiences' attention and make them feel some sort of compassion; make them say at the very least: "This resident could have been me and I can do something to help too". In this sense, perhaps this is a good journalistic practice, however the outlook is still leaning towards British and

a national leaning outlook does not seem to comply with the visions and missions of an international news outlet.

One final pattern under this subtheme “impact on British life” can be observed in packages with a final voice over, sometimes with an emotional touch. “But how many more will come and how many more lives will be lost?” [No.164] and “But how many more are heading this way to call Europe their home? [No.118] are just a few examples indicating that refugees will continue to “come here” or “this way”. This is another way of saying “our lives” as previously discussed in Katya Adler’s news. Although these packages do not directly establish a link between refugees and the British way of life, however, the deeper meaning behind this when looked together with similar videos, it is not difficult to notice a recurrent discursive practice: a discourse of othering discourse with a strong British/European perspective.

Britain as the Given Context

The examples that are discussed in this section also carry a strong British perspective, but they seem to be much less intentional looking in the way Britain or British connection is included in the news. For instance, Fergal Keane has two packages in which Britain is assumed to be the given context. In the first video Keane reports from Turkey and in an announcement he says: “We came on the Turkish ferry, safe, legal, the route of welcome. With our passports from countries that are free from war. No such peaceful transit for them” [No. 139]. This is a rather generic statement that may not be inclusive of everybody who is watching the news even for audiences in Turkey. People living in many parts of Turkey might be free of war, however their passports would not allow them to travel to Europe without a visa. Here again, there is assumption that the viewer is British or European/Western or from an advanced country.

In the second video, Keane films another announcement, coincidentally also from a boat where he says: “Having sold everything they own many of the refugees are paying up to 5.000 pounds; their entire life savings to try and escape to Europe.” [No. 21]. This includes a technical issue in terms currency. Refugees usually pay smugglers in Euro or US dollars based on their accounts in the sample. Therefore, this 5.000 pounds is probably used to make better sense of it for the journalist as well as for his viewers.

Similar to the above example, but perhaps visually more interesting is about a technical detail in video no. 202. No lower third is included here for David Cameron, whereas it was included for other “foreign” leaders. The difference can be seen in comparison below (see Figure 4.25).

Figure 4.26 Lower third



When these findings above are compared with those of the interviews, there is only partial confirmation of making an obvious connection to Britain in the news. Although several interviewees acknowledged this, some others did not think that they try to tailor their news for a British audience or try to make some sort of British connection. Below are Mark Lowen and Quentin Sommerville’s opposing views in this:

I mean that [local news] does sometimes get on but if it is interesting, if it is unusual, if it travels, if it is unique. but in order to get a story on from the rest of the world into the BBC, it needs to have some British connection, it needs to sometimes have something very unique to an audience whereas if you are reporting

in the UK, you are reporting much more on a day-to-day affairs in Britain, that British audience still wants to hear about. [Mark Lowen]

[W]e don't have parochial interests so we don't just report what's happening in Britain or we don't just report through why this is important to Britain - although that is often an important part of a story - but we also report on stories which has no British direct relation such as Venezuela or all other different stories. [Quentin Sommerville]

4.4.2. A Crisis Spilling over to Europe

The Syrian refugee crisis stories were mainly reported from around Syria at the beginning of the conflict in 2011 onwards. In a few years, the coverage has shifted towards Greece, mainly Greek islands, and Turkey's western coasts and finally towards Europe. One reason for this could be practical and due to the way news "travel", in Mark Lowen's words, and changes location. However, as discussed in earlier sections, access to Syria has been more and more difficult and making it too dangerous for journalists to get in. And another factor is compassion fatigue which was also mentioned by several interviewees. Nevertheless, interviewees seem to agree that the crisis was covered more when it started to spill over to Europe. Chris Morris expresses his criticism towards this as follows:

I guess one criticism, I guess we started to pay much more attention when it became a big story in Europe, we paid more attention when it's getting a bit closer to us. In effect, which I suppose it's inevitable, although if you're an international channel you might say you need to be looking with a different angle.

Mark Lowen seems to agree with Chris Morris on this and add some more to this from others' perspective who might be criticizing the BBC for not starting to cover the story much earlier:

The main coverage when it was the top international story was when refugees were fleeing to Europe. There would be criticisms I think that we didn't cover it enough before then. And we were responding to what was going on in Europe which was kind of a warning sign of the coverage. I think that is a fair criticism actually

because you know there was a regular refugee flow from the start of the war, but Turkish government always believes for example that we as the Western media didn't pay enough attention to the refugees coming in Turkey. We have reported on that, we have done pieces from Syrian refugee camps in Turkey but the real relevant, the resonance of the story includes hugely as they make their way in Europe.

When the interviews were conducted, it was 2018 spring and Jeremy Bowen referred to 2015 and 2016 summers which were the height of the BBC's coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis. Bowen criticizes the coverage to have become too "Eurocentric":

Couple of summers ago when, you know I think it became quite Eurocentric in so far it was a lot about when they started to turning up to Europe which made it more of a political story here in Europe and you know there are lots of about the way they were leaving, they are going through Turkey, through Greece, through Eastern Mediterranean getting into trouble in the water.

Ben Brown shared similar accounts as others and said that the conflict first felt "like remote conflict but suddenly it started to have an impact in Europe." Brown continued as follows: "[T]here were huge numbers of people suddenly spilling into Europe and yeah it provoked a huge debate within Europe about our borders, whether these people should be welcomed in or not welcomed in."

5. Cosmopolitanism vs. National Outlook

In this chapter, the BBC World News' coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis is further investigated along the cosmopolitan and national spectrums. The aim in this chapter is to shift focus to the way the BBC organizes its foreign news and foreign correspondents themselves reflect on their own practices. First, the coverage of this crisis in 2-3 minutes news packages cannot be understood in a vacuum; isolated from technological advancements that inevitably influences the news media sector and journalism's professional boundaries. Therefore, the context of continuous change in journalism is discussed. Second, Beck's theoretical concept namely imagined cosmopolitan communities of global risks is critically approached and advanced. A new theoretical concept has been proposed based on the findings which is introduced and discussed in the following pages.

5.1. The BBC's Organization and Foreign News

I guess, in terms of foreign news BBC have always had a big commitment and appetite for foreign news, partly because some competitors from global organizations but also, we have domestic services in the UK and by nature we are kind of global and we are one of the longest, the longest survived broadcast organization in the world. [Chris Morris]

So, BBC World TV, BBC World Service Radio and parts of bbc.com they are global, they are predominantly working for a global outlet. What mostly I do is to work for the BBC UK but sometimes my reports would be taken by BBC World or BBC World Service Radio and reported there but I'm not actually sort of working straight for them. [Tom Burridge]

The BBC is a complex, large organization and correspondents working for the BBC do not seem to work only for one program or channel. One big pool of news serves many journalists working for different services within the BBC. This could be explained

by this “this big appetite for foreign news” as mentioned by Chris Morris. As mentioned earlier, the UK’s history as a colonial power and continued interest in distant geographies due to shared culture, trade relations and so on, it may not be surprising that the BBC is interested in what is called as “foreign” news. There is a pool of news from which foreign news are used, shared, adapted and served to audiences. While all these happen, the BBC as an organization has been adopting itself to new technologies in order to remain relevant as one of the most prestigious public service broadcasters in the world.

5.1.1. “Journalism becomes”

Deuze and Witschge (2016) scrutinize the recent changes to the profession of journalism in their chapter “What Journalism Becomes?”. They resemble the continuous changes in “today’s post-industrial journalism” (p.115) to Bauman’s “liquid modernity” (2000). Even though BBC journalists that were interviewed in this research have been working for the institution for long time (on average 18 years), arguably their “lived experience... is much more precarious, fragmented and networked” (Deuze & Witschge, 2016, p.115). This is especially due to transmedia production which involves “the creation of a storyworld employing different media for different parts of the story, each with their own objectives” (Serrano Tellería & Prenger, 2019, p. 453). For instance, one of the interviewees Quentin Sommerville said: “...when we prepare TV packages, we also separately prepare radio packages, radio reports for those programs which are also aired on BBC World Service radio.” The discussions on transmedia production revolved around the theme of digitalisation and the way it transforms journalism; or in Deuze & Witschge’s (2016) words how “journalism becomes”. Orla Guerin refers generally to this phenomenon and reminded of the need for editorial guidelines to keep up with the change:

You know for example there is a new set of challenges for everybody in terms of dealing with digital media, user generated content, you know videos that come in from the outside all of these things are developing areas of journalism and the practice, and the policy guidelines have to develop with them.

Wyre Davies points out to a shift towards digital journalism at the BBC and this according to Davies is manifested in the choice for more packages rather than lives. He refers to early 2010s: “[S]ay you're in a refugee camp and throughout the day you do a whole series of lives on BBC World I don't think that is as commonplace now as it was”.

Although this may sound like slow journalism in practice, the reality seems to be different. Correspondents are now working for multiple platforms; maybe their days are no longer filled with lives, but they are busy with delivering content to multiple platforms across the BBC:

From time to time I get deployed; as I say when I get deployed it might be for network or it might be for Wales. It is a joint combination so we've got a lot to do. So you got a lot of packages to do. [Anonymous 1]

These packages may be a mix of traditional and digital videos and based on Tom Burridge's accounts it seems that, many media organizations including the BBC try to cater to people who would like to watch videos on their phones, tablets or online as opposed to TV reporting. Quentin Sommerville's reflections on how new technologies change journalism practice complement these accounts. Sommerville, among these changes, lists a few such as the use of drones, lighter/smaller equipment, mobile phones and so on, but warns about some of the potential dangers they carry in terms of quality journalism:

So, all of these things are changing the news making in media but at the same time you have to resist some of these pressures. If you really want to understand what's going on in Iraq, if you really want to understand what's going on in the refugee crisis if you really want to understand what's going on in Syria you need to spend time, you need to spend money, you need to spend effort, you need to take risks, you need to do all of those things rather than just constantly tweeting, constantly sending out information [...]

Individual journalists are under tremendous pressure as discussed earlier and limited time and budget are among the most important reasons. They need to gather news, put them together and sometimes even get involved in the distribution processes on social media, and all of these need to be done very quickly. Foreign news correspondents at the BBC often work together with freelancers for practical reasons, and this is a common organizational practice in the conflict zones. Besides the reasons (time & money) mentioned earlier, to get first-hand stories from inside Syria are quite dangerous. There, the BBC relies on freelancers in Syria. Jeremy Bowen's how they work with freelancers

was shared earlier in Chapter 4. Bowen also mentioned other journalistic practices covering foreign news which seems to be a rather structural-organizational issue which would arguably apply to other TV stations as well:

When we first arrived [in Damascus], they wanted us to get on. But we hadn't shot anything. You know we hadn't been out for field information, or get our accreditation, we hadn't put in the list that we wanted to do which we have to get permission for etc., all those procedures you've got to go through. But they wanted us to go on air, so I think I did live. Here we are, we've got a man in Damascus and he's gonna say something interesting hopefully. But we could not do a package we did not have the material.

Here the decision on whether the journalist should go live or do packages seems to be taken on spot and is heavily dependent on the availability of images and direct access to the story. Other potential ways to get access to images from where the story is developing is through user-generated content (UGC). There is a whole team at the BBC just working on UGC and feeding the editors with images and information. Sophia Tran-Thomson explains how they work:

[W]e have an entire team now called UGC. It's their job to find those pictures, to source them, to verify them, to speak to the people who you know filmed it to get that permission if we could use it. [...] the quality wouldn't be as good as one of our you know decades long trained cameramen with a beautiful news camera you know soft angles and depth. So, the quality is reduced but the immediacy is news you know that's what we need now.

“The immediacy is news” as mentioned by Tran-Thomson is quite striking but not surprising in 24/7 news channels considering how news is being treated in organizations where fast-paced journalism is the norm. In Lewis and Cushion’s (2009) words, this is about “the thirst to be the first” and relying on UGC for this, might also carry potential risks. Quentin Sommerville approaches UGC more carefully than some of his colleagues:

I think UGC is very important, but I think it's an add on, I don't think it should be the end product. And I think we should be very careful about encouraging people,

members of the public, encouraging journalists. And even encouraging journalists to go to dangerous [places]. I mean look at the freelancers, look at the number of freelancers who got killed going in newspapers using them broadcasters using them because it's cheap. They're going to places like Syria and Libya doing dangerous work and they're getting killed so we have to be careful.

Despite some of the potential risks and difficulties brought by UGC as mentioned above by Sommerville among others (e.g., challenges in verification), there are also many affordances of digitalisation. Wyre Davies emphasizes how interviews are usually limited to “twelve – fifteen” seconds in a traditional news package and sees the website as a space that allows longer interviews. “Especially real people, rather than politicians, victims of disasters, or victims of abuse you know let them tell their stories” adds Wyre Davies. Chris Morris supports Davies’ argument and sees online as an opportunity for getting more information: “[W]e should take more and more advantage of the fact that we can link to website or there ways now within the BBC News system that people who want more information can go find it, go get it.” And this information should be accessible, in principle by all the audiences of the BBC. In recent years, there is an increased and pronounced willingness to attract younger and female audiences. Mohamed Madi who has been working with website and video team underlines this willingness of the BBC:

Most of our visitors are male and old and that's been the case for years. It's one of the most popular news websites, lots of different people visiting it. They tend to be older males so we're trying to create content that would appeal to younger audiences and female audiences as well.

Tom Burrridge also points out to the need to cater to these audiences. He stresses the difficulty of preparing news that appeal to two distinct types of news (traditional and digital) that would appeal to different audiences:

[Y]ounger audiences are really not watching any TV and those audiences are the future so they count in, you really cannot ignore those audiences. So, what's happening now is more increasingly is when you're on the ground your resources and your time are very stretched as in how much time you've got to actually get stories onto the radio, onto the TV so the idea of doing a television package for the

6 o'clock news and a digital TV piece as well is normally impossible as in cause the digital is very different.

Some interviewees mentioned that they value the opportunities brought by digital journalism and the formats required for this. Wyre Davies mentions that longer form interview formats are allowed online:

[Y]ou know in an average package clip are maybe twelve seconds long, twelve - fifteen and rarely go beyond twenty seconds. But I think now what we're doing on the website we run on digital platforms more interviews. Especially real people, rather than politicians, victims of disasters, or victims of abuse you know let them tell their stories.

Thinking in terms of formats, platforms is typical of today's journalistic practice. Journalists constantly think about how to make their news more appealing to their audiences and in a way each journalist on the individual layer of the 'onion model' may feel pressured to think of their own brand value in an increasingly competitive sector.

5.1.2. "Entrepreneurial" Journalists

Furthermore, it is interesting to also notice that journalists whether they are freelancers or contracted, may have the "entrepreneurial" mindset (Singer, 2016). Journalists are becoming increasingly independent, and they build a "self-disciplining brand" around their names. Through interviews, this research revealed the ways in which journalists perceive their audiences and how this in turn help them position their "market"/ target audience or their own niche/ beat. In BBC 1, the BBC's most watched domestic channel, the evening 10 o'clock news is a popular news bulletin. This bulletin is particularly interesting as it has the most freedom to show less sensitized content as it is scheduled after the 9 o'clock "watershed" in the evening. Jeremy Bowen, a senior correspondent was one of the interviewees who emphasized the 10 o'clock news in connection to his self-positioning at the BBC: "It tends to be that, it basically is domestic BBC and my name, the market if you like the 10 o'clock news." Similarly, Wyre Davies mentioned: "My main customer if you like 10 o'clock news, Radio 4 news [...]". Quentin Sommerville's argument support these accounts but also goes beyond "own customers" as he referred to the domestic audience as the BBC's "primary customers":

Well, my primary customer is the UK's domestic audience, that's the most important audience for the BBC because they pay the license fee. So, it's mainly general viewers who turn the channel for the 10 o'clock news on BBC 1, and their audiences is somewhere between 5 million - 6 million a year. When you consider the population of the UK, I guess that is a sizeable audience.

These accounts confirm previous literature: Journalists imagine their audiences as national (Hänska, 2018; Lindell & Karlsson, 2016). Sommerville can even give an estimate number of this national audience, it is much easier to comprehend and cluster in mind. Whereas, cosmopolitan audiences are hard to define, fragmented and thus difficult to comprehend their common characteristics and imagine them. Thinking in terms of national audience also has some immediate commercial value; the UK audiences pay license fee and this revenue is much more stable than any other revenue streams of the BBC's commercial activities (e.g., advertising, sponsorships, studiosing).

Market-driven vs Citizen-driven Journalism

There is an inherent tension in journalism as to whether journalists should serve what the audience wants or what the audience needs. This tension heightened with developments such as Web 2.0, more direct exposure to audiences and prevalence of precarious contracts for journalists. These developments seem to be feeding market-oriented journalism and journalists providing audiences with what they want to know (Hanusch, 2017). Some interviewees reflected on this contradiction (or balance) between market-driven vs citizen-driven journalism and on their own responsibility as a journalist:

[D]o you provide the news you think it's important and you think people should know about and you want people know about, or do you give them news that they want. And also taking into account that the BBC World is commercially run. So, we actually do need people to watch. If people don't watch, companies don't pay for the TV ads, and we don't have a newsroom anymore. We don't have funding and we don't have newsroom. So, that's hard thing, do you give them what they need to know, or do you give them what they want. [Sophia Tran-Thomson]

Tran-Thomson then added that if journalists have better access to what is happening around the world, then they are responsible to share that and give people what they need. Quentin Sommerville expressed similar their responsibility as a journalist and stressed that they are the ones who have better access to world events and therefore they need to pass this on to the audiences. “[Y]ou want to take their interest in hearing or saying the things that they may not want to hear”, says Sommerville. He also expressed his strong criticism against sanitizing the news and said that journalists are responsible to educate their audiences.

The discussion around citizen orientation in journalism as an antidote to market orientation is not straightforward; and there are no clear answers. However, many journalists are known to be protective of their professional boundaries and their journalistic authority. The way journalists think about these matter is important, as in the end, the individual journalist has an important role in news production and framing processes.

Self-perception as Foreign News Correspondent

Journalism is an ever-changing profession, and the way journalists work and even make sense of their own work is also changing. According to Deuze & Witschge (2016), newsrooms are also subject to the agile development systems which transform businesses and “[t]hese new forms of news organization not only challenge the output, but also demand new routines to develop.” (p.125). Journalists’ role conceptions are arguably very much connected to their everyday news routines that accumulate over years and become their individual routines and expertise. Most of the interviewees were either foreign correspondents at the time of interview or have been one before/ deployed for foreign news coverage. Mohamed Madi is a video journalist mainly based in London and he stresses the importance for a journalist to be in the field: “It’s always good for the journalist to be out in the field and close to the stories that you cover from a professional satisfaction point of view.” Similarly, all the interviewees expressed this kind of professional satisfaction in their work as a (foreign) news correspondent. Ben Brown joined the BBC in 1988 and has been doing foreign news ever since:

Berlin Wall, Collapse of Communism, Gulf War, 1991 to 2003 Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya I did lots of those in 1990s. [...] I enjoyed being where sort of

the history is you know watching history, watching dramatic events. I was in Moscow when the communism ended, watching the red flag coming down over the Kremlin. So those kinds of moments that you feel very privileged to witness really. [Ben Brown]

Bearing witness is an important privilege for journalists (Cottle, 2013) as they are knowledge workers, and they gain expertise by “being there” and reporting from there. Orla Guerin is also one of the veterans who covered the collapse of the Soviet Union, and she remembers those times as follows: “I was travelling all the time in Eastern and the Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. So, I covered the collapse of the Soviet Union and indeed subsequently I followed rather the collapse of Yugoslavia.” Mark Lowen approaches to all these travels also positively: “It [foreign correspondence] has broadened my horizons, it made me more interested in stories with greater impact, not such as local stories that covered in home news.” Other interviewees’ accounts are along these lines, although some of the interviewees also reflected on the costs of foreign correspondence on their personal lives:

I've had a fantastic career and I continue to have a fantastic career you know, I'm good at what I do without being modest. I've had many applauses, professional congratulations, one every big journalistic prize - some of them more than once. But equally you know, I've spent a lot time away which means I hadn't seen my children as much as I should have when they were growing up. They're now teenagers. [Jeremy Bowen]

It's one of those jobs which dictates your life to a large extent. It dictates where you live, who you see, who your friends, your home. All of that stuff. I think I've always wanted to be a foreign correspondent, so in terms of my professional career I was very happy about that you know. Gradually, as a foreign correspondent I broadened my skills, and I focused on certain areas. I started covering conflict and war [...] [Quentin Sommerville]

Journalists take pride in covering “hard news” (Hannerz, 2004) as manifested in the above accounts. While reporting from “difficult” places, foreign correspondents have high levels of independence, they are out in the field and their expertise are respected back

in London by the editorial teams. In that sense, journalists who have been working in foreign news are quite familiar with “fragmented newsrooms” as they go out there and operate from there independently. In other words, physical distance to the newsroom is nothing new to them. What is new is that foreign news correspondents nowadays also acquire more skills such as getting in touch with freelancers in the field, report back to various desks in newsroom (not just one), shoot part of the video with a smart phone and so on. The latter then helps the “reporters in London who are putting things together, researching and writing, creating content”. [Sophia Tran-Thomson].

Even though the lines between different roles within may be increasingly blurred as correspondents do multiple tasks at once (shoot, edit and package), one can argue that journalists still highly identify themselves with their profession. Research shows that journalism is one of the professions in which knowledge workers (journalists) identify themselves with the profession more than the organization (e.g., Russo, 1998). Some interviewees showed this tendency when they acknowledged that colleagues in other TV newsrooms (e.g., Sky News) would also show similar behaviour and that some things are not just peculiar to the BBC. For instance one interviewee said: “I think it [editorial independence] is a traditional culture journalism in the BBC, it is not unique to the BBC, I am sure that journalists in Sky News in Britain are just as careful as our journalists [...]” [Anonymous 2].

5.1.3. The BBC World News

As put by Orla Guerin in straight forward words: “BBC World News takes commercial, but BBC in the UK does not. And the organisations have separate funding.” However, the BBC World News does not appear to be a very profitable business, which can pose a considerable constrain to the organisation’s operations. “The fact that the BBC World News is commercially funded doesn't mean that they make a great deal of money. They work on shoestring, not much money” says Jeremy Bowen, which may explain why the BBC World News would use content from the BBC’s domestic channels in its programme. Quentin Sommerville talks about how the domestic channels have a certain priority:

[T]he work that we do we show on our domestic news channel and on BBC World News - the international news channel. And often we do lives for 10 o'clock news

and very rare these days that I do live for World, in fact I haven't done live for World News Channel for years I think [...]

The interesting point here is to understand how the BBC World News broadcasts content that was originally prepared for a domestic audience; this economic decision inevitably influences the degree to which the BBC World News as an international broadcaster can or cannot develop a cosmopolitan news agenda. As discussed in the previous chapter, the results of the content analysis revealed that many news packages are not really tailored to a global audience and that rather a British perspective appears dominant in these. Here is a contrast with some of the interviewees' accounts:

[T]he reports I do are broadcast domestically on the BBC and internationally on the BBC World. To be honest, I don't really change my approach. [...] I don't tailor it to British sensibility, I try to explain things as I do for everybody. [Jeremy Bowen]

Well, we have different channels, we have our domestic news channel for British viewers and then we have the BBC World television a bit like CNN or Al Jazeera just an international channel and that is commercially funded and that doesn't really have a British angle on anything. So that's just purely international with no perspective. Whereas when I'm doing a story, I interview British people because it makes it more interesting to the British viewers. [Ben Brown]

Some of the interviewed journalists claim that they do not take any explicitly British perspective and that they try to reach 'everybody' or take a 'purely international' point of view. This obviously contradicts what many news stories look like. The accounts above reflect that journalists subscribe to the cosmopolitan aspirations of the BBC World News but that these also remain vague; what it means to reach a global audience and/or take a global angle is not fully clear. The lack of conciseness sets noticeable limitations to the cosmopolitan scope of journalistic content. Interestingly, some journalists such as Ben Brown seem to perceive a broader international angle in news reporting as having 'no perspective'. This further illustrates that conceptualising and reporting for a cosmopolitan audience is difficult and loaded with contradictions. While a cosmopolitan view by definition should not take any specific national angle, it does not

mean that it does not have any angle at all. Yet defining this cosmopolitan outlook and describing who ‘everybody’ remains an open question that journalists may not spend that much time on when doing their work.

5.2. The Limits of Cosmopolitanism in BBC World News: “Glocal” Risks and Prioritisation of Domestic Audiences

During the interviews, journalists’ different understandings of what journalistic performance means and how they perceive their professional role emerged. While, according to some interviewees, a more national/parochial approach guides their work, others claim that they see a more cosmopolitan approach as leading. As briefly discussed in Chapter 4, not all interviewees seem to agree that all foreign news has some sort of “British connection” and that they believe the BBC World News is successful in achieving its general goal of reaching a cosmopolitan audiences -including local, global, and transnational audiences. The BBC World News’s own metrics seem to support this, as they indicate that the channel successfully reaches these different audiences. The BBC and its brands are popular both at home and abroad. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, the BBC News is the most trusted news brand in the United States (Reuters Digital News Report, 2020). In the UK, 78% of adults say “the BBC is effective at informing, educating and entertaining people in the UK/them”. (BBC, 2021c, p.2). While, the BBC World News channel has 112 million weekly viewers in 2020/21, the BBC’s national and local news channels have reached 14.8 million viewers. However, it is a different question whether these claims and numbers allow for assuming that the offered news content indeed reflects a cosmopolitan outlook as discussed and defined in the previous chapters. To imagine a cosmopolitan audience and to shape content through adaptive journalistic practices is not a given and there seems to be no formal way to train for this or to provide guidelines beyond the (rather vague) editorial policies in place.

As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, when journalists decide on an event’s newsworthiness and select an event to create a news story, which eventually makes into the news agenda, they are directly involved in gatekeeping, agenda-setting and framing processes. News is prepared for some sort of audience and this basic rule equally applies to e.g., a small-town radio shows, large national public media or international

broadcasters. Deciding what the audience needs to know or wants to know, require a good understanding of that targeted audience. The content decision starts with gatekeeping and gradually influences agenda-setting and framing in the later stages of news gathering and news making. In the case of foreign news, journalists have potentially even greater influence at the different stages of the decision-making and selection process. Most importantly, foreign correspondents usually have considerable autonomy in selecting what they see as newsworthy events and developments in the field. They often know the country or region that they are based in or “parachuted to” for a short period of time, and they have a say in terms of editorial discretion:

I mean editorially the BBC gives us a lot of editorial discretion to the team and the field it depends on your relations you and your producer but occasionally we may have a debate with London about the strength of images but the structure of the piece how you report what you've seen what is the story we only discuss this with people in London but it's very very rare that they interfere. [Wyre Davies]

However, journalists’ suggestions from the field may not always be in line with the editorial team’s agenda, who have the final say over broadcasting schedules. Put differently, what foreign correspondents may think has a high news value might be assessed differently by the program editors in London who eventually decide what bulletins are to be prioritised:

Sure, there are times when you think that you should be the leading story, because you think you have got some really good stuff. And sometimes you just need to step back, Mrs Smith watching the 10 o'clock news in Manchester is she gonna care more about a PM resigning or a refugee story. [Mark Lowen]

This further shows how the aspirations to broadcast for a cosmopolitan audience are often just that: an aspiration. Eventually, the news agenda is mostly designed to cater to a British audience first, which is conceptually and normatively at odds with the international outlook. Even if journalists themselves adopt a postnational viewpoint and have great freedom to create content they deem newsworthy, it is the broader organisational context that determines how and to what extent a broadcasting agency “speaks to” audiences on the local to global scale. Interviewee Mark Lowen also explains

that foreign news have a higher threshold than local or national news and adds: “If you're reporting on foreign news, it needs to travel, it needs to be interesting for an audience back in the UK or around the world.” This connects to another profound challenge of cosmopolitan journalism: agenda-setting based on news values that cater to a cosmopolitan audience. How to decide when one news story has a higher priority than another is inevitably influenced by considerations of relevance tied to localities of some sort. What an individual journalist defines as highly newsworthy within the country or region that she is located inevitably competes with other news stories from around the world and eventually an editorial decision needs to be made on how to select and arrange all of these news items.

Next to this, one might expect that when the news is set to “travel”/ reach to diverse audiences, the coverage may be more impartial, less emotional. However, Alasuutari et al. (2013) observed the opposite to be true. In their study, Arab Spring’s coverage was more emotional in Britain and Finland than in Pakistan which is geographically closer to Egypt. The political cultures of which news broadcasters are part of are likely to play an important role here (in the example of the Arab Spring coverage e.g., pro-democratic vs more authoritarian countries) as do the goals for impact that are the result of organisational cultures and their editorial policies. The duration of a development and frequency of news coverage are influential factors as well. For instance, Mark Lowen’s account points to the importance of emotions in (his) crisis reporting but also to the difficult negotiations with editors:

Usually, the discussion [with London] is what do you start with or the order of the pictures. You may feel that you need to have, in too many pieces that started with the night-time boat or too many pieces that started with a very emotional refugee and that you actually want to start with something else. And that's when it comes down to negotiation. How do we make copies different? Sometimes you have rough discussions, sometimes you disagree and ultimately you are serving a program as well. [Mark Lowen]

So, at least on the agenda-setting level, news editors dictate the extent and shape of the global scope of the BBC’s news reporting on foreign issues and the prioritisation of domestic audience’s interest is somewhat leading.

This also emerges on the “content level” of the news. The BBC World News does not necessarily tell news stories differently from BBC 1. It seems that many if not most foreign news items that are selected for the 10 o'clock news show on BBC 1 are re-used for the BBC World News, often only with small or no adjustments. If any minor change is performed, it is on the script rather than the content, for instance; Theresa May would be scripted into UK PM Theresa May for international audiences. At least that is what cross-checking the results from the interviews and content analysis reveals to some extent for the sampled data, though a more thorough comparison between both channels is needed. However, it stands out that BBC World News’ content is not always scripted for a global or cosmopolitan audience.

When asked about the BBC’s global outlook and the extent to which journalists think of their audience as domestic or international, the majority of interviewees (10 out of 14) generally stated that their approach and *values* such as impartiality and fairness would remain the same for both. Only minor changes would apply to e.g., the scripting but most journalists in the sample did not mention any larger differences in their work for the two types of audiences. Yet what it exactly means to implement the “same values” appears to depend on each journalist’s individual views and is anything but uniform.

Four interviewees (Fergal Keane, Jeremy Bowen, Howard Johnson and Anonymous 2) argued that values are the same and the packages do not change across news channels/audiences. They believe in a universal model which is based on said fairness and impartiality. For example, Jeremy Bowen strongly believes that he does not change his approach per outlet within the BBC. In a similar vein, Fergal Keane thinks that especially some issues are universal in scope, including migration: “[...]people from all over the world and in different ways understand issues of refugees and mass migration. It is phenomenal and not just experienced in Europe. It's not just experienced personal.” Interviewee Anonymous 2 summarizes this approach concisely: “[...] it's quite important that the BBC speaks with a single voice and doesn't try to cater to one audience or another.”

The other six interviewees (M. Madi, S. Tran-Thompson, O. Guerin, Q. Sommerville, T. Burridge and Anonymous 1) who also reported to believe in a “values remain the same” approach have a slightly different and more flexible understanding of

the same. Noticeably, they do acknowledge that there are some minor changes in the packages across different platforms. On the one hand, Mohammed Madi, Sophia Tran-Thompson, Tom Burridge, and Anonymous 1 agree that “it comes down to scripting” and that there are only minor changes when it comes to the content. On the other hand, Orla Guerin and Quentin Sommerville emphasize that most often the news packages go on air also on BBC World (TV and Radio) without much change. For Orla Guerin, the challenge is then to make news packages that fits all and for Quentin Sommerville the priority is the domestic channels and whatever is prepared for the UK is also shared with the BBC’s international channels. One limitation of the BBC’s global news operations could be the budget issue that was pointed out by Jeremy Bowen: “BBC World doesn't really have the budget to send me, sometimes”. From Sommerville’s viewpoint, foreign news works as a common pool in the BBC with shared editorial understanding of the content:

I mean we never like for example when you do a big piece from Mosul or Libya something like that we don't do it with a ration you know for BBC World. We don't change the 10 o'clock news ration for BBC World. I mean we used to change things like pounds and dollars sometimes we still do that, but we don't do, we don't change our editorial changes or anything like that.

Three out of ten interviewees (Mark Lowen, Ben Brown and Chris Morris) pointed to the “*British connection*” when it comes to the question on whether their audience is domestic/national or international. They critically approach the logics behind foreign news coverage and argue that it is always connected to Britain; more specifically, journalists need to think of the relevance of the news for the home country. Chris Morris talked about his discomfort on this as shared earlier, whenever there is an earthquake or another disaster such as a plane crash, the editorial reflex would be to check if there are any British victims. This is typical for news domestication practices: bringing foreign events “home” and making local audiences feel connected to geographically distant news.

According to some interviewees, the BBC’s interest in former colonies was also one of the reasons behind the decision to cover some places and topics more than others. Interviewee Ben Brown argued that British interests guide decision-making about selecting foreign news and spending resources on it, which further illustrates the weight

of a nationally oriented reasoning behind the allegedly cosmopolitan outlook of the BBC. He refers to a specific episode from November 2017 when he was sent to Zimbabwe:

...You know I was in Zimbabwe, and there is a British interest in Zimbabwe because it was a British colony. So maybe you emphasize that a little bit, you always try to make it as interesting as possible for your audience. So, if it is a British audience that you are trying to stress, if it is a foreign news story why is it of interest to the British public. But there are some stories you know like I remember covering war zone in Yugoslavia, people here were saying why we should be interested you know it is part of Europe, Britain is part of Europe I think anyone who is part of Europe should be interested in a war on European soil. And often it ends up with British soldiers being send there so there is always a reason why Britain should be interested.

Interviewee Orla Guerin showed an acknowledgement of multiple audiences when reflecting on her daily news routines. However, according to her, the news is not always tailored to these multiple audiences, but rather a “one fits all” approach is followed mainly due to limited availability of time:

I convey to people and I suppose in terms of local audience vs national and international you know we have a great opportunity, but we also have a great challenge because we are broadcasting far more than in any other organization to a range of audiences. You know we don't have an audience; we have a multiplicity of audiences that you know I might be filing a piece that would run on 10 o'clock news in the UK on the BBC 1 well 9 times out of 10 the same piece would also appear in BBC World TV. You know, sometimes you have time to do tweaks and changes and to do a bespoke version and sometimes you don't. So, you have to try and write things in a way and structure things in a way that is accessible to an audience in the UK that might know nothing about the latest developments in you know for example Libya, I know also an international audience that may be more familiar or may be not because we're broadcasting to people all over the world... And you're just trying to make sure that one-piece fits all. [Orla Guerin].

This leads back to critical questions about how news outlets define global newsworthiness, how they select news, and how they curate these news. In their study on news content from CNN International, BBC World News, France 24 and Al Jazeera, Atad (2017) show that each of these outlets take a clearly identifiable national angle in addressing these questions. Atad (2017) describes this as “reversed domestication”:

While in domestication, the process occurs from the outside in, [...] in reversed domestication, the news is broadcast to audiences around the world and is edited so that it presents the story from a clear national angle. In this way, reversed domestication is a process that occurs from the inside out. (p.763)

The findings from the interviews with BBC journalists seem to confirm this observation. At the end of the day, the BBC World News is headquartered in a specific country, has a mission that normatively feeds from British political culture, and is bound to a broader public broadcasting agency that is supposed to serve nationally oriented interests.

Based on these observations, it becomes necessary to review and expand Beck’s (2011) proposition of “imagined cosmopolitan communities of global risks” with a new theoretical concept: “imagined communities of glocal risks”. The BBC World News’ coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis as discussed so far illustrate this new concept: 1) The Syrian refugee crisis is framed as a risk for Europe/ Britain; 2) the coverage peaked when refugees started to move towards Europe; 3) related to the other points, the audience of the BBC World News that is supposed to be cosmopolitan is in fact largely reduced to a “European” one, which becomes clear when taking close critical look at the news discourse. There are inevitably clear limitations to how broad and open an audience can be for news outlets that are themselves firmly embedded in local or at least regional cultural spheres. How they frame global developments is shaped by their social, cultural, and political situatedness. News thus view and translate the global through local lenses. This process can be described as the imagining of audience (with local or regional roots) of glocal risks: crises that are transcending the national frame of individual countries and are global in scale but are experienced and described from local positions. By imagining communities of glocal risks, journalists provide audiences with a sense of belonging to a region - in the present case that is Europe - surrounded by both global and local risks.

Living in Europe “unites” here audiences from news media’s perspectives around an imagined community with shared beliefs in similar perceived risks. These risks are framed in the media which in turn can influences audience frames, attitudes, opinions, and behaviours.



6. The Challenges of Covering Long-running Crises

Addressing a cosmopolitan audience within the different political, cultural, and economic constraints of a nationally anchored news organisation is not the only challenge riddled with contradictions that journalists face on a virtually daily basis. The very subject of news coverage itself often comes with different problems of practical and ethical nature: crisis. Especially continuous crises that stretch over years can become difficult to cover for journalists while they also bear risks for individual mental well-being. This chapter discusses the pressures and pitfalls that journalists see in covering a long-running crisis such as the one concerning Syrian refugees and how it shapes their practices.

6.1. The Emotional Toll on Journalists

Look there is a price to be paid. I covered genocide, civil war. We keep it professional in the field but when you come back what do you do you live with it.
[Fergal Keane]

Interviewees who spent long years as a foreign news correspondent found the experience as rewarding and considered it to be a privilege. However, they also acknowledge the emotional toll of covering all the suffering in many different crises. Some indeed went through posttraumatic stress syndrome (PTSD) which occasionally becomes a news topic itself (e.g., BBC 2020b). Several interviewees acknowledged that one would need to be inhuman not to feel anything, but that at the same time they also needed to put up a professional barrier to protect editorial integrity and their personal well-being. Wyre Davies reflect on this as follows:

I mean to a degree it's very difficult not to be involved as a human being. But I don't think... we are all affected, sometimes positively you see a very uplifting stories about refugee crisis and how people are you know coping but overwhelmingly these are very difficult stories to cover so there are two kinds of emotions, there is an effect on you we all suffer from PTSD or from stress and it gets too personal.

Then, Davies adds that it is important not to let emotions interfere with a journalist's editorial judgement. Similarly, another interviewee stressed the importance of editorial quality and the impartial position as a journalist covering a humanitarian crisis:

[Y]ou need some empathy with people you're talking to, and you need to convey that. But that can't and this is the editorial point of view, become an advocacy and passion on behalf of the person you've just spoken to. You always need to maintain your critical factors and intelligent examiner and not just an emotional examiner.
[Anonymous 2]

As shown earlier in the discussion of the findings of the content analysis, some events-based journalistic practices tended to have an emotional angle (See Chapter 4). According to Chris Morris, the involvement of journalists in the story and framing it as “the BBC lives the story” was a common practice in the BBC:

[T]here was this thing couple of years ago that was a big “BBC living the story” so I always thought a bit it's quite fake because you are only leaving in a few days and most of the people you're talking to are living there years and years. You go back to your hotel or whatever so living the story up to a point. Then again, I can understand that it makes emotional or motif television, - someone I won't give the name but works for a rival broadcast - I've seen do things I would not do.

The balancing between human-centred and journalistic distance, between emotionality and dry factuality adds another layer to the complex challenge of reporting for an allegedly cosmopolitan audience and while some vague guidelines exist, journalists seem to develop their own approaches to operate within.

Both foreign correspondents themselves and the newsroom back in London became much more aware of the emotional toll that the coverage of conflict zones have on journalists. Many interviewees said that there is an increased recognition of post-traumatic stress disorder at the BBC these days when compared to the past. Orla Guerin reflects on this and reports her observations regarding the organisational approach that has changed at the BBC over the years:

I have seen over time you know the impact on friends and colleagues and I'm sure they've seen it on me. And I think in our industry as a whole we have become far more conscious of the risks of post traumatic distress, far more conscious of the need for offering people emotional support after difficult stories you know that stuff would have never been talked about 20 years ago when I started. And frankly people would have been afraid to talk about those kinds of issues. Because they would have been worried, they would have been seen as kind of not taught enough etc. I think that has entirely changed and I'm very glad that it has. [Orla Guerin]

Covering difficult stories is not at all limited to distant locations. Mark Lowen explains that editors in London are also affected by the raw footage that they see. Sophie Tran-Thomson is one of these:

It's every day that we see traumatic pictures and hear devastating stories. So, I think that you can to some level report on a story and obviously there is always an emotional kind of association with every story that you write and produce. But as part of my personality as a journalist, it's not something that you can let that affect you too deeply. [Sophia Tran-Thomson].

The interviewed journalists point to different ways for coping with these emotional tolls, on both the personal-individual level and at the organisational level. Personal strategies vary between journalists. Some talk to colleagues, and some take a break from going to conflict zones:

I've done interviews with people crying. How do you deal with it? You basically talk about it openly with your team, you come back and decompress over dinner or drink when you finish the edit. [Mark Lowen]

So, I think it's not just seeing horrible things but telling people over and over again having lost their family member or they were raped so horrible things happened. I think it's psychologically very bad that's why I'm taking a break from conflicts coverage, and I think I'm probably not going back to it. [Anonymous 2]

Generally, what interviewees seemed to appreciate is the recognition of psychological impact of their coverage on an organisational and industry level:

I have seen over time you know the impact on friends and colleagues and I'm sure they've seen it on me. And I think in our industry as a whole we have become far more conscious of the risks of post traumatic distress, far more conscious of the need for offering people emotional support after difficult stories you know that stuff would have never been talked about 20 years ago when I started. And frankly people would have been afraid to talk about those kinds of issues. Because they would have been worried, they would have been seen as kind of not taught enough etc. I think that has entirely changed and I'm very glad that it has. [Orla Guerin]

Interviewees also said that journalists do not stay in conflict zones and difficult situations for too long and that the BBC tend to rotate the teams so that everyone has some time off:

[I]t is more of a culture now here for which people recognizes the stress and trauma of any sort of type of reporting that has an impact on people. That I think is inevitable there might be some cases but ultimately people would be given the time off. Even now they don't let anyone spend too long on a very very traumatic story they'll always sort of review that and ultimately put new reporters in, new teams on a fairly regular basis so that people don't spend two weeks working ridiculous hours on a very sort of horrific situation. [Tom Burrridge]

6.2. Compassion/News Fatigue

A common phenomenon in news media coverage and news consumption is compassion/news fatigue. This concept describes how especially audiences may grow somewhat numb to crisis reporting if it is happening in high frequency and over prolonged time. Potentially effects are a loss of compassion with people affected by a crisis and/or a loss of interest in a crisis due to it seemingly permanent state. When asked about compassion/news fatigue, the interviewed journalists response was twofold: they addressed the issue on the journalists' side and the other on the audiences' side separately. While some interviewees acknowledged that journalists also get news fatigue, others

approached this from a more professional normative angle and asserted that journalists should not get news fatigue. On the whole, several interviewees agreed that both journalists and audiences can display compassion fatigue. The following accounts are exemplary:

I think journalists get news fatigued as well. I don't think it's just the audience. Sometimes we go in, and the same story is still the same top story, same things are happening, same things are breaking for the 10th. or 12th. day in a row. Then you just think, oh can't something else happen, can't we have something else? Essentially nothing has changed but we still need to keep reporting on this. So, I think journalists get news fatigued as well and get tired of the same old stories. [Sophia Tran-Thomson]

Oh, editors too, absolutely I totally agree. I think there is fatigue. I think both, the audience got caught up oh not again. [Jeremy Bowen]

You know we're also get fatigued; audiences are fatigued. It is a very relentless task I suppose. But you know when you're a journalist and you get your teeth into the story you generally want to see it through the end. Sometimes it's not possible the story goes on for so long. [Quentin Sommerville]

While the above illustrates that many journalists perceive compassion fatigue in their profession as a fact, some are more hesitant about simply accepting this. For instance, Ben Brown says: “[O]n the whole, we know it is important and so we keep covering it and even though maybe yeah in the audience there is fatigue and maybe there is fatigue in our newsroom.” Wyre Davies has a firmer stance on claims that there is no fatigue in the newsroom: “I think most of our editors in London especially on BBC World but even on the domestic they don't really get news fatigued. They might ask me what's different about this time you know. What has this story developed?” Orla Guerin’s account on this stands out here, as it clearly illustrates the professional normative view:

[I]f you feel fatigued about covering these places then you shouldn't go anymore. [...] if it gets to the stage where it's like oh just another story, just another place, just another refugee camp, you have no place doing it anymore because you're

asking people to share their lives with you and to share their suffering with you and you know that can be very difficult for them and I think the least that they deserve is that they have somebody you know behind the camera and a team that is totally engaged and to tell their story in the best way possible. [...] I mean if it's just another day then go home don't do it.

The interviewed journalists more frequently referred to news fatigue rather than compassion fatigue but the findings show that all interviewees take these effects seriously, even if they may differ on whether they are simply a fact or a challenge to be solved for their own profession. Agreement is greater though in respect to news fatigue among audiences and how this exerts additional pressure on journalists to become more creative in their reporting to maintain interest in an ongoing crisis development. Interviewees stated that this is not unique to the Syrian refugee crisis but actually a broader longterm development that possibly stretches over decades, as mediated human suffering has a long history in TV news broadcasting: "Syria came at a time when compassion fatigue was frequent. And this is after decades for refugee crisis whether it is Bosnia whether it is Africa" [Fergal Keane]. Next to the longer history of frequent migration/refugee crises in the news, the Syrian episode itself is a long-running crisis that at the time of the interviews had reached its 7th year; according to the interviewees, fatigue among the audience had by then already long set in. For instance, Mark Lowen says:

We have discussions about this on Syria quite a lot, that you know people switched off when they see more and more picture of children in distress from Syria. There is news fatigue I think especially on Syria, when the war goes into its seventh year.

Over the years, audiences have seen similar images, and this may well be due to news routines that became clichés in the news coverage of humanitarian crises. Journalists acknowledge this and although they didn't use the word "cliché", they said they often reflect on how they can still make the news more interesting to audiences after so many years into the conflict. There is a constant pressure on the journalists to maintain their audiences, make news interesting so they don't switch off. This is a particularly challenging aspect of journalistic practice as it raises again several important questions about how journalists perceive and construct their audiences; for a cosmopolitan audience not to be affected (too quickly) by compassion/news fatigue, what are the gauges to

measure their interest? And how do journalists decide when news content is creative for such an audience? While not explicitly stated, it seems that assumptions about domestic audiences serve as an orientation for journalists when they try to find answers to these questions that can greatly affect their news reporting.

6.3. Journalistic Creativity, New Ways of Covering Crises, and the Role of Digital Technology

I think it's our responsibility and it's our challenge to try to present stories strong enough to kind of punch through and to reach the audience. [...] you have to just try and tell the story in the best way that you can and trying to put the pieces in a compelling way because you are competing for people's attention with many other things. [Orla Guerin]

Regardless of who the audience eventually is (imagined and real), all news outlets compete for the attention of reader, listeners, and viewers. That makes all news outlets who operate in the same markets competitors but the spectrum of players in the global news media landscape has grown more complex over the years. Especially digital platforms have re-configured modes of public mass communication by virtually dictating to a large extent how “users” as media audiences find and consume news content. Their own commercially motivated goals to maximise traffic to and screentime on their platform drives these transformations. At the end, news media outlets find themselves in a difficult relationship of dependency and competition with websites, search engines, and social media. It is in this extremely dynamic hypercommunication environment in which news about long-running crises need to find and maintain audience interest. The pressures to be creative and produce captivating stories are twofold for journalists: they need to navigate and successfully exploit the communication possibilities of an increasingly algorithmic, digital public sphere while they also need to find ways to overcome audiences’ news fatigue.

“As a news organisation we have to be a lot more creative and have a new approach; new ways of telling it” says Mohamed Madi. Overall, journalists are conscious of their competition, both from other news channels or platforms, and they think it is their

journalistic responsibility to grab audiences' attention. For example, Jeremy Bowen reflect on what a TV reporter tries to do to attract audiences' attention:

What in fact you need to try and do as a TV reporter is to get a very accessible story maybe a human story maybe a very micro story and find things in that which connect up to those bigger issues. Then you can hopefully try and grab people's attention with a human story and then carry it on from there.

Next to human stories, Mark Lowen suggests that key moments can be a creative way to approach this long running crisis:

I think that the way to make sure that the audience still pays attention is to cover the key moments, anniversaries sometimes, interventions the Turkish intervention in Afrin, Eastern Ghouta, a refugee deal or an EU summit or whatever. That is when you can kind of get people more interested in it again. [Mark Lowen]

At the time of interviews, the war has been raging on for seven years and for some younger viewers, refreshers might help according to Mohamed Madi. He says that explainers to remind about "who is fighting who in Syria?" might be useful: "[W]e did that in 2015 - 2016, and that was a completely graphic based that explained for a few minutes long showing the connections, who is funding who." Madi continues to share examples on the creative ways to keep young audiences' attention and sometimes a celebrity with a Middle Eastern background come to the rescue:

That was the first time snapchat on the BBC News was used. Popstar Mika was there as well, we kind of followed him around, him to tweet out the stories and in that way, we reached to a whole different audience: younger and female. So that was one kind of novel way of covering the story. He is half Lebanese; he is refugee actually himself when he was younger. We did a Facebook live with him in a refugee camp in Beirut. So that was a good way of reaching an audience which might not have paid attention otherwise.

Many interviewees accept this challenge and try to find new ways of covering crises. "Good" storytelling and digitalization are some of the answers that several

interviewees put forward as general tools for succeeding with this. It is very important to understand audiences more from a user-perspective and how individuals consume media content today; this also means to acknowledge that what public service media want to communicate may not be as important as how they do so through e.g., different means of digital storytelling and content delivery:

[T]hey watch a piece of TV news on that phone they click on it within 3 seconds or 4 seconds if they don't really find it interesting and then they click straight off it. So that does obviously raise questions on how do you actually keep an audience watching a video and obviously if you then take away the public interest, public service, public broadcasting sort of argument then actually in that climate what we have provide more context and then people are actually gonna keep watching.
[Tom Burrridge]

Journalism is constantly adjusting itself to new technologies. This requires journalists to develop new ways of reporting and to learn how to use novel means for creating and sharing news content. They need to acquire skills in digital storytelling techniques and need to find ways to stay on top creatively; this is another form of pressure in an already highly demanding, fast-paced, and emotionally tolling profession.

For example, interviewee Mark Lowen thinks that storytelling is not only about creating a three-minute piece that fits the traditional 10 o'clock news but how the same content can be used on Facebook as well. He calls this "adapted storytelling" and his accounts illustrates how journalists spend a considerable amount of time on mastering different platforms and the affordances that they offer. One important question for many is how news can be delivered differently across diverse digital media? This is not necessarily perceived as laborious or as an additional challenge per se, since some interviewees also appreciate the possibilities of digitalisation. Interviewee Tom Burrridge seems to appreciate the flexibility of digital videos: "[W]hat is good about digital videos, the way you can tell a story is much much more flexible, you can be much more creative, you can be slightly more bold in terms of the treatments of the story." Mohamed Madi also states flexibility as an advantage: "Sometimes you might really get a good piece and you may want to work on it more, take your time and deliver the following day."

It seems that digital technology is regarded as an important element to keep audiences engaged with an issue and that especially continuous stories may benefit from new ways of bringing a story closer to the audience. According to K  ng (2017), new technologies do not replace old ones but rather slowly undermine them (p.79). This co-existence of old and new media is often referred to as media convergence. Although the term itself has multiple definitions and no firm agreement has been so far reached among media and communication scholars, the interviewees' accounts indicate that journalists indeed tap into different channels to share the a news story. The intended effect is to eventually reach as many viewers as possible. For example, new packages on bbc.com are potentially consumed through different media (e.g., smartphones, tablets, laptops); most media organisations try to optimise their output for these different formats to ensure smooth content delivery. These technological transformations also seem to influence what content is being produced to meet viewers' interests:

I think now what we're doing on the website we run on digital platforms more interviews. Especially real people, rather than politicians; victims of disasters, or victims of abuse you know let them tell their stories. [Wyre Davis]

Moreover, adoption of technology can trigger organisational changes that can be described as "newsroom convergence", which "involves the merging of traditional and internet-based content creation activities" (K  ng, 2017, p.81). K  ng argues that broadcasters "have seen [their] radio, television and web journalism activities combined" (p.81). The interviewees seem to confirm this development, since they do not see the 10 o'clock news as the sole outlet for sharing news stories and try to create content that fits different forms of online distribution as well. The 10 o'clock news may still be regarded as highly prestigious, since it generates most ratings and can boost the popularity of a journalist; but journalists proactively engage with the media convergences triggered by the rise of digital technology. This may reflect how the BBC had to adjust its organisational strategy over the years to stay relevant in for audiences in a digital age dominated by online platforms.

Prior to these technological changes, the BBC's newsroom was already a "networked" if not a "converged" newsroom. There are multiple language services that collaborate often with the main English news service. They all feed the main service, but

also use/translate the news from English into their own languages. This type of collaboration is not new to the BBC, however the direct influence on the BBC correspondents' daily workload was probably very limited. What is now happening on a strategic level is to train journalists to acquire "digital" skills such as coding. The new hires are no longer just trained journalists but also others who know how to create "digital content" (maybe not necessarily news). At the time of writing, the BBC's open vacancies (November 4, 2020) included diverse roles such as "software engineer", "social media manager", "digital account executive", "audience research executive" besides the more traditional (and sometimes blended) roles such as "senior journalist", "field producer", "correspondent", "journalist, YouTube (BBC Mundo)", "junior camera operator" etc. The core of the business, meaning the very definition of news itself/ the content is no longer the ultimate goal, but the shape it takes, the formats, the distribution, and the distribution strategies involved have become essential points on the agendas of editors and news workers.

What does the digital transformation and more creative approaches to news reporting mean for quality journalism on global crises and their allegedly cosmopolitan audiences? The impact of digital media and heightened competition is in sum probably ambiguous. On the one hand, one could criticise how journalism has become even more of a commercial business with all the ethical pitfalls and downsides for news media with a public mission. Creating content that catches eyeballs and/or clicks may influence the very definition of what news is and there is a real risk that topics with stronger resonance on digital platforms maybe prioritised over others. In extreme cases, this may lead to soft content to trump hard content and reporting on the Syrian refugee crisis would fall into the latter category. Additionally, more sensationalist or easier to digest storytelling may shape news framing practices, which comes with its own ethical questions to address. It is in this respect also important to consider the highly influential role of algorithmic, commercial online platforms that compile personalised news feeds for millions of users.

On the otherside, digital distribution channels and formats that viewers find more engaging may expand the reach of news outlets and contribute to their global scope. Internet-based communication is not barrier-free but can widen access for distant audiences both spatially and temporally. In this sense, digitalisation can become a tool for reaching a more open and international audience.

7. Discussion & Conclusion

TV news coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis shaped global audiences' perception and collective imagery about this extremely complex episode in recent political history and human suffering. Due to its dynamic development that saw it traverse across borders and regions, it maintained a high news value: first as a foreign conflict and humanitarian drama in the Middle East and then later as a logistical, political, and cultural challenge that moved ever closer to Europe. So-called quality journalism that aspires to deliver facts about events, developments, and issues that are of societal relevance had to be there right from the start. In an age in which fast-paced news coverage with a heavy focus on visual content dominates the media landscape, it was especially TV journalism and its convergent digital forms that observed as well as commented on the crisis in quasi-realtime. Without TV journalists on the ground, it would be much more difficult to inform audiences about what this crisis actually concerns in terms of social, political, and plain human stakes; they reduce distance and bring the foreign closer to their viewers. From a normative angle, this does not only inform audiences about facts but may also create compassion and stimulate humanitarian action of some sort. The news are windows to the world and they are essential for creating awareness. As the results of this study show, journalists themselves take this part of their job very serious; it may even be the main motivating factor that steers much of their professional practice.

However, the entire process of crisis covering for TV news comes with its own challenges and contradictions. These seem to grow in number once a news outlet aspires to a global audience and to take a cosmopolitan outlook. Reporting about crises is a complex task that comes with diverse risks: how to report factually rather than sensationalist; how to balance perspectives fairly; how to find the right balance between professional distance and showing human impact etc. etc. Journalists need to negotiate approaches to such questions from moment to moment and under high pressure to perform in super-competitive global news media landscape. There are various ethical pitfalls that are sometimes difficult to avoid. For example, news coverage can -intended and unintended- contribute to stereotyping, othering, the cultivation of fear but also

compassion fatigue. On top of that linger bigger questions about who the cosmopolitan audience is and what truly cosmopolitan journalism should look in practice. It is easier to claim to speak to everybody everywhere from an international angle than implementing these goals in daily operations. How can journalism be post-national and globally inclusive when especially crises appear to often create binary group formations of us vs them? How can journalism overcome its attachment to culturally anchored social groups if they want to cater to a more diverse spectrum of audiences?

The present study set out to find answers by critically exploring self-proclaimed cosmopolitan journalism centred on the (global) Syrian refugee crisis. The BBC World News served as a case study for the empirical investigation. The extensive literature review critically discussed several key concepts: globalisation, cosmopolitanism, news framing, risk societies, fear culture, media audiences, and media convergences. It has been argued that while modern societies live in a global world in which societal challenges transcend national borders, they are always viewed from specific locally anchored viewpoints. Journalism plays an important role in this globalisation of global issues, especially of those that are perceived as risks (tied to potential social, economic, cultural, and political losses/costs). Cosmopolitanism as globalisation is an empirical reality structurally speaking; hardly any social context exists in isolation from trends and ripple effects that come from other parts of the world. However, as a social identity and “ideology” it appears more normative-aspirational than fully practiceable. The empirical part of the study then explored allegedly cosmopolitan news coverage by the BBC through two methods within a mixed-methods design: 1) a qualitative-quantitative content analysis of relevant news packages on the Syrian refugee crisis and 2) semi-structured interviews with BBC journalists who covered the issue. The main goal was to gauge the extent to which their news packages reflected a cosmopolitan vision and BBC journalists’ perception of their own practices while covering crises.

To answer the first research question *RQ1: How does the BBC World News frame the Syrian refugee crisis in their video news packages?* A content analysis was conducted on 240 videos published on bbc.com from 2011 to 2017. Descriptive analyses of the quantitative coding revealed that the most often used generic news frames in the Syrian refugee crisis stories were “human interest” 86.7%, followed by “attribution of responsibility” with 73.8%, and “conflict” frame with 42.5% (102 out of 240). This was

an application of Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) generic news frames. The quantitative-qualitative analysis also revealed several issue-specific frames. For this, first Entman's (1993) four frame functions (problem definition, causal interpretation, moral judgement, treatment recommendation) were checked, whether they existed in each news and if so, how they were used to frame the refugee crisis in the news. BBC journalists mostly pointed to "war" (35%) as the main problem, followed by "trying to reach Europe/UK" (17.1%). Both findings are not per se surprising but indicate how the general narrative was mostly presented to audiences: first, there was a conflict that caused refugees to leave their homes. The particularly brutal nature of the civil war was mostly referred to as the main reason for the unfolding refugee crisis. However, refugees' journey to Europe gradually became the main focus of most stories and many neglected contextualisation in respect to the war that caused people to leave their country in the first place. The refugee crisis became a story of its own and the longer the crisis and the conflict continued, the less emphasis was put on their intrinsic connection. Eventually, this also affected how refugees were perceived and portrayed. Roughly one in every six packages explained the main problem in terms of refugees who try to reach Europe without mentioning or implying the root cause of their flight. This implies a lack of contextualizing the problem in its complexity and may indicate how journalists are "parachutists" who quickly gather and put together news without much time to really dive deeper into a story to provide proper background.

The content analysis also revealed several issue-specific frames. Refugees were often given a human voice in the discourse (73.8%) e.g., through interviews; however, they were also shown as passive actors, victimised (73.8%) and desperate (52.5%). Refugees were also framed as vulnerable in terms of the "mortal danger" (45.4%) that they face when taking the journey via the sea route towards Europe. In 18.8% of the packages, refugees are framed as "faceless masses", and in 10% of the sample, refugees are framed as a "threat" or they are criminalized.

The visual-level analysis yielded insights into the emotional angle applied in the sampled news packages. The quantitative analysis shows that families appear in 76.3% of the videos and qualitative analysis revealed that images of children were often used in the news even if they did not necessarily fit the narrative/ voice over. Cinematographic elements were frequently used either in form of "sunshine", "bombing/shelling" or "fences/borders" as first or last shots in the news packages. The quantitative analysis

revealed that sunshine (10%) was the most frequently used among other cinematographic elements, followed by “fences/borders” (7.9%) and finally by “bombing/shelling” (5%). Once these were examined with a more qualitative approach, it was found that images of sunshine mostly served as a sign of (future) hope for refugees in despair. Usage of fences and borders indicate a discourse that is more security-oriented and that portrays Europe as powerful and “difficult to get in” for refugees. Only 12 videos included bombing/shelling in the beginning and/or end of the news packages in the sample. This can be considered as relatively small; however, it indicates that some refugee crisis stories were intertwined with the coverage of the conflict, the actual root cause of the migration crisis. In some cases, a conflict-driven framing was noticeable. Graphic images were not used too often and once used, they were often accompanied by a warning sign placed at the beginning of the video (for online users).

To answer the second research question RQ2: *To what extent do the BBC World News' packages on the Syrian refugee crisis reflect a cosmopolitan vision?*, the discussion draws from the findings of the content analysis and the interviews. What stands out is that an explicitly British perspective was dominant in one out of six videos (45 out of 240) in the sample. While the BBC World News and its journalists aspire to take a global view and implement a cosmopolitan journalism, the actual reporting often reverts back to a more nationally oriented perspective for different practical and ideological reasons. One major reason for why it is difficult for the BBC World News to develop and maintain a fully cosmopolitan agenda is its relationship to the larger BBC as a political-cultural institution and the economical approach to (re-)using news packages. First, the BBC is at the end of the day a British organisation anchored in British political culture. While its international operations may aspire to talk to a broad audience, British interests and definitions of relevance still steer its agenda-setting. If it practices cosmopolitanism, then it is a British-European interpretation of the concept. The same goes for individual journalists who are mostly white males with a Western education. It is from this situatedness that they determine what it means to be cosmopolitan and also what limitations are set to this. Another reason for why BBC's cosmopolitanism may be less global than one might expect is economical in nature: content is often circulating between domestic and international channels. There are too little time and too few resources for specifically designed content that speaks to different audiences. Overall, this implies that the BBC World News fall short of delivering cosmopolitan journalism for a cosmopolitan

audience. Admittedly, this may be an unrealistic ambition in the first place due to the conceptual and practical problems of media communication for vaguely defined and open audiences. However, digital distribution channels may enhance the BBC World News' reach to wider international audiences; content may still be coloured British/European but in theory it might find its way to more viewers across the world thanks to the Internet.

The third and final research question, *RQ3: How do BBC journalists perceive their own practices in TV reporting about crises?* was answered through interviews. The interview data revealed many journalistic constraints in TV reporting and also specifically on foreign news and coverage of crises around the world. The main answer to this question is that the journalists do not seem to strictly practice cosmopolitan journalism. Instead, there seems to be a contradiction among journalists self-perception in this respect while some claim to be able to switch between different audiences and their needs, others are rather outspoken that a British perspective is dominant in their work. Moreover, crisis coverage comes with various individual and organisational challenges that make it a difficult task regardless of what audience the news outlet aims for. Most journalists have the goal of providing factual reports that show viewers what is happening but they also indicate that diminishing distances and showing human impact is essential for what they consider successful crisis reporting. Given the extent of human suffering, this work can take an emotional toll for which journalists develop individual coping strategies but also rely on organisational support. The interviews also showed that practical considerations preoccupy journalists' minds: how to select events, create news stories, and share them with audiences given the limited time they have in the field and how to fit a complex story in a 2-3 minutes long news package. Also, a central challenge of covering long-running crises is to find new angles and to tackle compassion as well as news fatigue that may affect both journalists and audiences. Expertise in digital storytelling and online distribution of content is considered as highly important, as novel technologies may enable them produce news in more creative ways. This is considered essential for keeping audiences engaged. The cosmopolitan outlook is something of a "meta" or background issue that deals with aspirations that seem straight forward but are eventually vague and abstract; it is seems difficult to make them concrete and concise without contradictions. Hence, most journalists do not spend too much time critically reflecting on their practices in terms of their cosmopolitan extent but rather prioritise the journalistic quality standards

that guide their daily practices. That is not to say that they are ignorant of the challenges of practising cosmopolitan journalism and are critical about its vision and realities.

7.1. Implications of the Study

This thesis contributed to the academic discourse in two ways: 1) Cosmopolitanism as a theoretical background is expanded and a new concept of “imagined communities of glocal risks” has been introduced to illustrate international news channels’ regional bias when interpreting global trends, issues, and risks, 2) the empirical analysis which combines content analysis with interviews, gives insights into framing practices of the Syrian refugee crisis which became a staple in the international news agendas. Through this, the limits of a cosmopolitan journalism have been explored.

It could be asserted that the normative expectations of a cosmopolitan outlook in international news media is rather unrealistic. According to the onion model (Weischenberg, 1994; Shoemaker & Reese 2014), any news media organisation is bound by the society in which it operates, in other words, it is influenced by this kind of structure. Of course, it is possible to contest this model in the digital age where there are multiple exposures and inevitable impact of these, however one cannot exclude the fact that many international news media outlets operate within a more national framework than a cosmopolitan one. One very practical reason for this, as discussed earlier, could be that it is very difficult to imagine who that cosmopolitan audience is (audience metrics and other quantitative approaches would hardly help in this), and how to operationalize the very idea of cosmopolitanism in the coverage of distant human suffering/ humanitarian crises in the news making practices (and the final output).

Even though this research did not specifically investigate media ethics, the possibility of a cosmopolitan journalism is inevitably an ethical question. Therefore, the short but tailored analysis of the Editorial Guidelines helped confirm what the BBC considers as acceptable practice, what journalists think of them and how they implement these.

The study confirmed that news domestication is a common practice even for journalists whose output is also used in international outlets of the same media company, in this case this is the connection between BBC World News and the BBC/ BBC 1 and

other domestic networks. Another important contribution is that, the audiovisual content despite all its difficulties in coding, contributes to a deeper understanding of journalistic framing practices. For instance, one of the most valuable findings include that of the visual framing (e.g., refugees behind fences).

Besides the above mentioned theoretical implications, the study has societal implications as it is about refugees' framing in the international news media. Even though, the study is not a framing effects study and did not involve the audience perspective, it is believed that (digital) media have strong effects on the way people inform themselves about social, political, economic issues among others. Syrian refugees have been fleeing due to the precarious situation they found themselves in, in their own country. Their precarious situation on the ways have been reported in the international news media for ten years now. The tone in the news and framing of refugees potentially play a direct role in their integration process in host countries. It is of vital importance to reveal some patterns in how refugees are framed, how the discourse around the refugee crisis is shaped in order to be critical about the journalistic output and its potential circumstances in daily lives (e.g., hatred, fear towards refugees).

This thesis also has practical relevance as it can serve BBC journalists and other journalists who work for international media outlets to reflect on their coverage of sensitive issues such as the refugee crises. Many of the findings can inform news managers and editorial teams to reflect on their editorial guidelines and the actual practice. Some of these that may require some attention are: 1) Limited time that journalists have to cover a particular news, 2) How to make journalists (or 'parachutists') feel more confident about the area where they have no experience with? 3) Connected to the previous points, how to start thinking about more investigative slow types of journalism not just to "get to the truth" or "breaking the news first" but really dive deeper into complex crises, and other complex news topics. Also, listening to journalists and the potential emotional toll on them might prove to be very useful. Recognition of PTSD for instance, according to the interviewees', have been there at the BBC in recent years, which was not the case some twenty years ago. That could also be an inspiration for other organizational cultures in newsrooms across the world.

7.2 Limitations & Future Research

This research approached cosmopolitanism vertically, meaning by analysing one case only, namely the BBC rather than an horizontal/comparative approaches that would have included other media outlets. The latter approach would expand the cases and look at several European media outlets aiming to reach global audiences and therefore including for instance F24, Euronews, Deutsche Welle and so on next to BBC World News and bbc.com. Although this vertical approach has its limitations, it gave the researcher the opportunity to dive deeper into a news brand that is reputable both for domestic and international audiences.

Future studies could incorporate counter-hegemonic media such as Al-Jazeera and compare this to the BBC or other Western / European media. The gaze directed at the 'other' in BBC would be different from the one in Al Jazeera or an Asian, African or American media. The possibility of a 'cosmopolitan media ethics' - whether and how it can be applied in everyday practices of journalists - could be further investigated and perhaps researchers can extend analyses of Editorial Guidelines from several international news outlets and bring the discussion on cosmopolitan journalism closer to media ethics.

Framing of the news in question might be different depending on the channel. Due to practical limitations, in this research differences in terms of content across channels are not taken into account. However, future studies can adopt a comparative approach and try to reveal if there are any substantial differences between BBC's global vs domestic services. Framing effects studies would also complete this study in the future.

At the time of writing this conclusion, the Syrian refugee crisis is still ongoing. In fact, it has become only one of several refugee crises that come from different directions across the Middle East and Global South -all with "the West" as the final destination. The most recent wave comes from a country that was ravaged by civil war and a failed Western intervention that ended after two long decades: Afghanistan. With the de facto victory of the Taliban and a rather chaotic withdrawal of U.S. lead coalition forces, Europeans and Northern Americans contributed directly to yet another refugee crisis that comes with high costs in human suffering. Unsurprisingly, this does not mean that Western public discourses on Afghan refugees are necessarily supportive of those that need to leave their homes behind for fear of oppression and, in some cases, even death. The politics of

inclusion and exclusion (Luhmann, 1997) do not look too different from previous crises, despite the complicated history of Western intervention in Afghanistan and the moral obligations of Western countries who participated in the “War on Terror” and alleged “nation-building” since 2001. News media, national and international, play their part in these discourses where “othering” of Eastern refugees is a predictable theme. This latest episode indicates why it is important to critically analyse these discourses, to assess practices from a normative perspective, and point to imbalances as well as potential for improvement. This thesis has contributed to the wider field of media and communications studies on this highly relevant topic and future studies can complement this study with new empirical cases and theoretical approaches.



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Appendices

Appendix 1. Interviewees' List and Information

Journalist Name	Position	Years at The BBC	Interview Month/Year
Mohamed Madi	Senior Broadcast Journalist	7	February 2018
Anonymous 1	Network News Reporter	5	February 2018
Mark Lowen	Turkey Correspondent	12	March 2018
Sophia Tran-Thomson	Freelance Journalist	4	March 2018
Jeremy Bowen	Middle East Editor	33	March 2018
Fergal Keane	Africa Editor	25	March 2018
Ben Brown	News Presenter	30	March 2018
Orla Guerin	Foreign Correspondent	22	March 2018
Quentin Sommerville	Middle East Correspondent	20 +	March 2018
Howard Johnson	Video Journalist	9	April 2018
Chris Morris	Reality Check Correspondent	25	May 2018
Anonymous 2	Middle East Correspondent	26	May 2018
Tom BurrIDGE	News Correspondent	14	May 2018
Wyre Davies	News Correspondent	24	May 2018

Appendix 2. Interview Guide

I. Foreign News Correspondence & BBC Journalism

1- For how long did you cover foreign news and in which countries? How did this experience reflect on your professional development?

2- For many years, BBC News has been a reference point in journalism. As a BBC journalist, how would you evaluate the well-known "BBC journalism"?

II. Journalistic Values & BBC's Global Outlook

3- We can say that values such as *internationality*, *impartiality* and *balance* are expected in BBC World News' stories. In what ways, you as a BBC journalist work to meet these values? In practice, how do you treat a news story so that it appeals to an international audience?

4- How would you evaluate the BBC's aspirations in general and specifically the BBC World News' "global outlook" based on your own experiences?

III. The Coverage Syrian Refugee Crisis

5- As a (foreign) correspondent/reporter you covered the Syrian Refugee Crisis. From your perspective, what made this story unique?

6- From your perspective: to what extent did the BBC cover the Syrian Refugee Crisis? If you would rank its priority, where would you place it?

7- What is known among journalists as “news fatigue” – when people get fed up with seeing many versions of the same story published over and over again... Do you think this might be a factor to limit the coverage?

8- What factors and actors do you think were most influential in determining the type of coverage? Did you have a lot of freedom?

9- How do you prepare yourself for a refugee story? How long do you stay in the field?

IV. Visual Storytelling

10- How much do you have a say in the production of the visuals? First in the field and then in the newsroom during the final edit? The editing process and final package - how is it negotiated?

11- Do you approach the production with a clear vision right from the start, or do you keep it flexible? What elements are most important for you?

12- Do you think you have enough time for your coverage, for each news item that you are responsible for?

Appendix 3. Codebook

1. Coding Instructions for Videos

This codebook aims to explore the ways in which the Syrian refugee crisis is framed and ultimately find out the extent to which a cosmopolitan outlook is present in the BBC World News' news video packages. The research unit that should be followed throughout the coding is news video package that is around 2:31 minutes on average. The codebook consists of three levels of analysis: A. General Information, B. Visual Analysis, C. Verbal Analysis. For each variable under each level of analysis, definitions and/or instructions are provided with respective categories/answer options for the coders. The video must be watched as a whole at least once before the coding can start, later during the coding process the video can be stopped to make sure every variable can be accurately analysed and coded in the excel sheet.

A. Level of Analysis: General Information

Va00_URL: Copy paste the link.

String.

Va01_date_publication: Enter exact date of publication

String.

Va02_length: Enter the exact length of the video (mm: ss).

String.

Va03_title: Enter title of the video.

String.

Va04_reporter: Enter reporter's name(s) if applicable.

String.

Va05_reporter_onstage: Check if the video includes the reporter's announcement/lines read in front of the camera.

1= Yes

2= No

Va06_announcement_seconds: Check for how long the reporter's announcement from the field takes in seconds (could be fully or partially on screen during the given time, the important thing is for how long the audience is given the message that "we are on the field reporting!").

String.

Va07_reporter_ethnicity: Select ethnicity of the reporter if known.

1= White

2= Asian

3= Black

4= Middle Eastern

5= Indian or Pakistani

6= Other

7= Not known

Va08_reporter_gender: Select gender of the reporter if known.

1= Female

2= Male

3= Other

Va09_reporter2_ethnicity

Repeat Va07

Va10_reporter2_gender

Repeat Va08

Va11_reporter3_ethnicity

Repeat Va07

Va12_reporter3_gender

Repeat Va08

Va13_main_topic: Select the main topic of the video. If there is more than one topic covered in the video, the main topic is the one issue which the video focuses on for 25% of the running time or more. Any other topic is considered to be subtopic.

- 1= National Politics
- 2= International Politics
- 3= Humanitarian Issue
- 4= Economic Issue
- 5= Social & Cultural Issue

Va14_sub_topic: Select the subtopic of the video.

- 1= National Politics
- 2= International Politics
- 3= Humanitarian Issue
- 4= Economic Issue
- 5= Social & Cultural Issue

Va15_sub_topic_2: Select the second subtopic of the video if applicable.

- 1= National Politics
- 2= International Politics
- 3= Humanitarian Issue
- 4= Economic Issue
- 5= Social & Cultural Issue

B. Level of Analysis: Visual framing

Vb01_location_A: Enter the location seen in the video.

- 1= Shore/sea/boats
- 2= Border/fences
- 3= Refugees' workplace (legal/illegal)
- 4= Refugee trail
- 5= Refugee Camp

- 6= Refugee's house / shelter
- 7= NGO's office (e.g. Red Cross)
- 8= Expert's office
- 9= National Parliament / Government / Office (Assad's office, UK Parliament etc)
- 10= European Institution
- 11= Studio (or hotel room / closed space prepared for the recording/interview)
- 12= Streets in Syria (with people)
- 13= Ghost town (bombed, shattered etc & no people around)
- 14= International Organization (UN, IMO etc. including their camp offices)
- 15= Hospital / infirmary
- 16= Muslim religious site / icons / mosque
- 17= Non-muslim religious site / church / synagogue etc.
- 18= International political figure's office (e.g., Iranian FM, Turkish PM)
- 19= Host country (e.g. streets, classroom etc)
- 20= Regional organizations (e.g. Arab League)
- 21= Train station, railways or inside the train
- 22= Bus or bus station
- 23= Highway or main road
- 24= Aid / caregiving / reception / processing center
- 25= Detention center
- 26= Protests
- 27= Funeral / cemetery
- 28= Paris attacks
- 29- Other

Vb02_location_B: Enter another location seen in the news package. (Categories are the same as Vb01).

Vb03_location_C: Enter another location seen in the news package. (Categories are the same as Vb01).

Vb04_location_D: Enter another location seen in the news package. (Categories are the same as Vb01).

Vb05_location_E: Enter another location seen in the news package. (Categories are the same as Vb01).

Vb06_unverified_content: Unverified images as stated by the journalist in the voice over.

1=YES

2=NO

Vb07_infograph/map: Check whether any infographic or map is used in the video.

1=YES

2=NO

Vb08_family: Does the video show a family with kids? Family here could be a man and/or a woman with their child(ren).

1=YES

2=NO

Vb09_dead_bodies: Does the video show dead bodies?

1=YES

2=NO

Vb10_graphic_content: Does the video display graphic content?

Graphic content usually includes blood, mutilated bodies, violent scenes and like.

Objects must be clearly visible in close shots or medium shots.

1=YES

2=NO

Vb11_combatants: Does the video show combatants? (also tanks in action)

Combatants are defined as armed personnel e.g., soldier, rebel fighters etc.

1=YES

2=NO

Vb12_war_scenes: Does the video show war scenes?

War scenes usually include explosions, smoke, damaged buildings, military aircraft, fighting, armed people in action etc. Also applies when there are sounds of shelling, clashes between riot police and refugees in Europe with tear gas and/or stun grenades.

1=YES

2=NO

Vb13_interviewee: Is a person being interviewed in the video?

1=YES

2=NO

Vb14_children: Is there any child(ren) being interviewed in the video?

1=YES

2=NO

Vb15_interviewee_amount: Enter how many people have been interviewed in the video.

Numeric value.

Vb16_privacy: Enter how many times an interviewee's/source's identity is protected by not showing the face. Either just the voice is used via phone call, or the shot is from behind, or face is blurred.

String.

Vb17_interviewee_1_background to Vb_31_interviewee_8_background:

Specify the interviewee's background

(use the variable only for one interviewee at a time).

1= Refugee

2= Expert

3= British Politician / local authority

4= European Politician / local authority

5= Other Politician / local authority

6= Syrian officials

- 7= Syrian opposition
- 8= NGO or non-profit
- 9= IO Representative
- 10= EU Representative
- 11= Aid worker / volunteer
- 12= Military
- 13= Journalist
- 14= Academic
- 15= Residents of host countries
- 16= Other

***Intergovernmental Organizations** include OSCE, COE, ILO, UN, UNCHR, UNDP, other UN related organizations.

Vb18_interviewee_1_gender to V32 interviewee_8_gender:

- 1=FEMALE
- 2=MALE

Vb33_sources: Enter the number of sources used in the package. The source is not an interviewee that the journalist directly ask question but could be part of press conference statement or just an institution's report, stats etc.

String

Vb34_sources_1_background (to Vb37_sources_4_background):

- 1= Syrian government or officials
- 2= Syrian opposition (either military or political wing)
- 3= International Organizations (IO)
- 4= Global NGO
- 5= Local NGO
- 6= EU Institutions
- 7= European country officials (e.g. French FM), also includes non-EU countries
- 8= Neighbouring country officials (e.g. Turkey, Jordan, Arab League countries)
- 9= Refugees or local residents in Syria
- 10= The White House / American officials

11= Undefined (example: “Reports have emerged that...”)

12= Syrian human rights groups

13= Residents of host countries

14= Aid workers / volunteers

15= Other

Vb38_sunshine beginning or end

Sunshine is included in the first shots (first scene) or the last.

1=YES

2=NO

Vb39_bomb_beginning or end:

Bomb, artillery, shelling or smoke is included in the first shots (first scene) or the last. Also stun grenades.

1=YES

2=NO

Vb40_fences_beginning or end:

Fences, border and the like is included in the first shots (first scene) or the last.

1=YES

2=NO

C. Level of Analysis: Verbal framing

Vc01_generic frame: Choose one of the generic frames of the refugee crisis.

1= Conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries)

2= Human impact/interest frame brings a human face, an individual's story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem.

3= Responsibility frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group.

4= Economic consequences frame finally, presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country.

5= Morality frame interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. (e.g. it is not right that the kids go under tremendous shock)

Vc02_generic frame

Repeat Vc01

Vc03_generic frame:

Repeat Vc01

Vc04_generic frame:

Repeat Vc01

From Vc05 to Vc14: Check how the journalist frame the refugees in the given news package.

Vc05_despair: .

Journalist's statement evokes 'hopeless' situation; examples are metaphors that portray refugees as being trapped or having no way out of their situation.

Example:

'It will happen again as more and more desperate people flee Syria to find safety in Europe.'

'For the desperate, Europe must seem so close.'

'There are no jobs, there are no prospects of having a life in these areas.'

1=YES

2=NO

Vc06_victimisation:

Refugees are portrayed as passive subjects exposed to developments beyond their control and/or suffering under their current conditions. It can also include the exploitation of refugees by criminal forces and/or refugees being targeted by racism.

Example:

'People are drowning in the sea in the hands of smugglers.'

1=YES

2=NO

Vc07_mortaldanger:

The statement that points to life threatening situations in which refugees find themselves.

1=YES

2=NO

Vc08_threat_criminalisation:

The statement that portrays the refugees as a potential threat (social, cultural, economic) to host country population.

Example:

'they want to get to Greece by illegal means'.

'Refugees may have been brutalised by war. They maybe murderers, they maybe rapists.'

1=YES

2=NO

Vc09_challenge_burden:

Economic/social pressure, funds and manpower needed to deal with the issue.

Example:

'It's a challenge for the local government and they can only do so much.'

1=YES

2=NO

Vc10_muslim:

Applies when refugees are primarily portrayed as Muslims (oversimplification).

1=YES

2=NO

Vc11_faceless refugees

Applies if refugees are not portrayed as active agents but faceless collective/numbers. This applies when the discourse goes beyond just reporting the numbers/hard facts. The discourse implies “masses” or uses inhumane metaphors.

Examples:

'There are several reasons for this huge wave of migration.'

“influx of refugees”

“human cargo”

“flow of refugees/migrants”

Infographic with numbers written over a refugee picture

“flood of applicants [refugees]”

“Everywhere you look, you see migrants”

“People streaming towards us” - no.148

“Sheer force of numbers”

“Human tide”

Vc12_humanisation (voice)

Applies when refugees have a "voice in the discourse"/are portrayed as active agents. Also applies when refugees are portrayed in a positive light (fellow human beings).

Vc13_asset

Applies when refugees are considered as an economic, social, cultural benefit to the host country.

Vc14_pokerchip

"Poker Chip"/Bargain: Applies when refugees/refugee crisis are referred to as a political argument and/or political tool.

Vc15_journalist_problem_description

1= War: Applies when the main problem focuses on military conflict in the refugee crisis context.

Example:

'There are many people in Syria who just do not believe there would be a political solution to this crisis, this war, this civil war, that is raging for so long.'

2= Foreign Policy/ International Politics: Applies when the main problem relates to (agreement or) disagreement in foreign policy/international politics among relevant nation states and/or governmental institutions.

3= Economic hardship: Applies when poverty and the lack of economic prospect are referred to as the main the problem in the refugee crisis context.

4= Religion/Islam: Applies when religion/Islam is considered to be the main problem in the refugee crisis context.

5= Lack of solidarity: Applies when receding empathy and/or lack of solidarity on an international stage but also in host countries are referred to as the main issue.

6= Lack of aid/support: Applies when a concrete lack of material aid and support is the problem.

7= Racism: Applies when racism, especially in host countries is referred to as the main issue.

8= Trying to reach Europe/UK: “Refugees do everything they can trying to reach Europe”

9 = Smugglers: Applies when smugglers is referred to as the main issue.

Vc16_journalist_causes

1= National interests: Applies when specific nation states/governments’ actions and interests are referred to as the main cause of the problem.

2= Cultural differences: Applies when cultural differences between migrants/host country populations are the main cause of the problems.

3= Disinterest in funding: Applies when interest in providing funding/financial help for refugee programs seems to be receding.

4= Lack of (international) cooperation: Applies when the main cause is attributed to the unwillingness or the inability of relevant nation states/governments/organizations to cooperate.

5= Tyranny/Power politics: Applies when the main cause of the problem is identified in autocratic governments in the countries of origin.

Vc17_journalist_moral_judgement

Condemnation applies in cases where any of the listed actors are accused of either causing harm to refugees or being negligent towards their situation. Condemnation also applies when any of these actors are referred to as originators of human, material and ethical harm.

1= Condemnation of the UN

2= Condemnation of powerful states

3= Condemnation of Syrian government

4= Condemnation of Syrian opposition / radical Islamists

5= Condemnation of the EU

6= Condemnation of host country

7= Praise for the UN (e.g. showing what UNICEF does for kids)

8= Praise for Sweden, Germany or other EU country

Vc18_journalist_remedies

1= "Global/European response": Applies when the proposed remedy lies in international coordination.

2= Military intervention: Applies when the proposed remedy lies in military action, active or passive (supporting local groups).

3= More funding for aid: Applies when the proposed remedy lies in increasing spending on aid programs.

4= Open door policy: Applies when the proposed remedy lies in accepting of large numbers of refugees with little or no conditions.

5= Closed door policy: Applies when the proposed remedy lies in refusing entrance for refugees in most cases.

6= More border controls: Applies when the proposed remedy is increased spending and more manpower for securing national borders.

7= Controlled migration: Applies when the proposed remedy is to accept refugees based on certain conditions.

8= Human interest/support: Applies when the proposed remedy lies in enabling understanding between refugees and the host country population. It can also apply when refugees want to go back home, they would like to be secure, respected etc.