UNIVERSITY OF FORWARD THINKING WESTMINSTER#

"Cross-editing": Comparing News Output Through Journalists' Re-working of Their Rivals' Scripts

Marsh, V.

'Cross-editing': comparing news output through journalists' re-working of their rivals' scripts.

Vivien Marsh

University of Westminster, UK

==

==

Email v.marsh@westminster.ac.uk

ORCiD 0000-0002-8498-4283

Twitter @vivmarshuk

'Cross-editing': comparing news output through journalists' re-working of their rivals' scripts.

Abstract

Newsdesk journalists make thousands of editorial decisions every day without recourse to style guides. They can do this because they have internalised the aims and values of their news organisations: they know what counts as a 'good story' for their output. This paper describes a pioneering micro-level comparative method of studying journalistic values in which, unlike in other comparative studies, the journalists themselves perform the initial analysis. In essence, newsdesk editors from two news organisations swap scripts. They evaluate, edit and mark up their rivals' texts as if they were being asked to use them in their own output. What would they alter, insert or leave out? Would they reject a story completely? This 'cross-edit' and the editors' additional observations represent unmediated analysis from inside the news editing process, allowing researchers to draw comparative conclusions grounded principally in discourse analysis. To pilot the method, a number of journalists from the BBC and China's official English-language news provider, CCTV-News (now CGTN), cross-edited selected news scripts published by their rivals. The technique shed new light on news routines, lexical choices, omissions and unexpected consonances in news values. It was then refined to provide a framework for future, wider use.

Keywords

Introduction

If quantitative content analysis explains which news is transmitted, framing tells us how it is conveyed and interviews reveal why it turned out as it did, then cross-editing determines whether different news organisations play by different editorial rules. In cross-editing, small numbers of news editors trained by rival organisations re-edit the published news scripts of their opposite number as if readying them for transmission in their own output. What do they accept, change or leave out? Broadly speaking, cross-editing takes place at the junction between practice theory (specifically news rules and

routines) and a variant of citizen science in which the objects of study investigate one another. The journalists' reworkings of their rivals' texts can be interpreted by the researcher through various lenses – primarily discourse analysis and news values, along with international relations and political communication. The theoretical framework is not disclosed to the participants, who concentrate on performing the equivalent of their normal desk-jobs.

Cross-editing represents comparative analysis of the micro level of individual journalists who adjudicate on the news, mostly as the 'final pair of eyes' on a script. The focus is on the newsdesk, on the gatekeepers of news and checkers and shapers of other journalists' work, rather than on the newsgatherers out in the field. It deals with how news rules perform in the wild, focusing on the shifts of emphasis and lexical choices that an experienced news editor reacts to instinctively. Here, cross-editing is performed by experienced Anglophone newsdesk editors trained by the BBC and the Chinese state broadcaster's English-language channel, CCTV-News[1] , a pairing that arose from a broader comparative analysis of their news output. It could be applied to any two organisations covering the same news event. The results yield insights into how news cultures differ, and to journalists' varying understandings of 'values' in news. In most instances, cross-editing does not involve first-level gatekeeping, as it compares issues that both organisations have already deemed broadly newsworthy. White's 'Mr Gates' (1950:384), the eponymous emblem of the study of gatekeeping, has therefore ended his shift and taken away his pile of rejected stories: enter 'Ms and Mr Cross'.

The origins of cross-editing

In the pre-internet era, newsdesk editors were the most feared people in the newsroom. News copy that had been laboured over by an inexperienced writer would return from the editor's desk scarred by crossings-out and corrections. Nowadays desk editors are more pressed for time and corrections are electronic: the novice can only watch, wince and learn.

Out of this apparently Sisyphean endeavour the idea of cross-editing was born. No-one has internalised an organisation's embedded news values more thoroughly than

---

[1] CCTV-News was relaunched as CGTN at the end of 2016.

the desk editor who evaluates the scripts prepared for transmission. Institutional style-guides cannot keep pace with the stream of editorial decisions made on a news desk and the constant evolution of 'house style'. Scholars who investigate the composition of news through content analysis are doing so from outside the process and have access only to what is broadcast, not to what is queried, changed or left out.

The term 'cross-editing' comes from visualising media texts from two news cultures as two distinct piles of published news scripts: the researcher passes each pile across a figurative table for the rival news culture to re-edit, and observes the outcome. After piloting, a small number of volunteers drawn from the BBC's global newsroom and CCTV-News were given a selection of their rivals' news scripts from two separate events, transcribed as broadcast, and were asked to annotate them as they saw fit. The scripts could be accepted for putative broadcast in their own output, amended or rejected as unsuitable for transmission. The organisations themselves were not involved.

Cross-editing seeks to replicate the tasks of a news desk editor who is checking a story prepared for output by another journalist. Every editor looks for clarity, linguistic and factual accuracy, and a story of the requisite length. To these already subjective tasks are added still finer judgements. Does the item contain everything it should, considering where and for whom it is destined? Does it tell a story that will resonate with the audience? Is it written in a style consistent with the rest of the output? Underlying differences and commonalities are thus revealed. While style-guides provide ideal scenarios, cross-editing deals with material as broadcast or published, permitting journalistic insight into human interpretation of organisational guidelines from within and without.

Theoretical foundations

Today's broadcast desk-editors assume a dual function; like White's Mr Gates, they must decide which elements of rewritten agency copy, original staff journalism, press releases and social media quotes will feature in their output. Unlike Mr Gates, they are also the arbiters of the precise forms of words to be used; these have usually been written by other journalists and submitted to them for final editing. Taxonomies of news values (Galtung & Ruge 1965, Harcup & O'Neill 2001 & 2017) describe how

journalists choose their overall stories, but they do not explain the processes of selecting or correcting the words in a news script. Gans (1979:40) comes closer to the scrutiny afforded by cross-editing in his discussion of mostly intangible values in news that can be inferred from 'what actors and activities are reported or ignored, and in how they are described'. That alludes partly to gatekeeping; however, cross-editing does not conform with the original 'in or out' binary of gatekeeping in that it deals with topics that both news organisations have already chosen to cover. The focus of cross-editing is less on broad selection criteria, and more on the judgement and social culture that informs an editor's script alterations – in other words, news rules and the routines that surround them.

The purpose of the method, therefore, is to establish the nature of news rules in comparative perspective, to observe how rules and routines perform in practice, and to find out if there is a universal understanding of what constitutes news. How do the news rules of different organisations cohere or differ, and how much latitude do journalists have? Breed's landmark study (1955) investigates how newsrooms 'socialise' their journalists into a uniform writing and thinking style, and finds that reporters are taught what to omit through editors' repeated correction of their work. By contrast, Ryfe (2006:211) suggests that 'regulative rules' exist only to back up a journalist's innate perception of acceptable news, and that it is the consolidation of journalistic practice that forms the rule – in other words, that the conception of news in an organisation is 'produced and reproduced precisely through dissent'. Cross-editing interrogates both of these contentions by looking beyond the style-guide to what newsdesk editors actually do when faced with a script under time-pressure, and why.

Although a micro-level journalistic method, cross-editing has implications at organisational and political levels, arising from the degree of malleability of news rules in a changing world. If latitude is occasionally afforded to good journalists in liberal organisations and democracies (Ryfe 2006:210) or, as Olsson (2009) points out, in devolved managerial hierarchies, are their equivalents in state media and authoritarian systems necessarily static or their editorial decisions politically predictable? Journalism's 'ontological bedrock varies' (Ryfe 2016:136); finding out what editors in different organisations consider to be a good journalistic product can ultimately reveal distinct views of public life and journalism's role in it.

5

Cross-editors should certainly highlight any concerns about basic journalistic tenets of accuracy and balance. Beyond that, words and images are a desk editor's currency, so multimodal discourse analysis is the primary tool. A broad theoretical framework is needed to analyse the linguistic and semiotic impact of cross-editors' amendments to the news scripts, because those amendments can include lexis, fact selection, valence, rhetoric and positioning, as well as the degree of extrapolation from a news event. For this analysis, the researcher drew on five different works, primarily Bednarek & Caple's linguistic indicators of news values (2017:79) and van Dijk's categories for the processing of discourses as news texts (1988:114), including the way that information is summarised, reformulated or omitted. Also valuable here is the work of Fairclough and Fowler on assumptions in texts that can indicate ideological positions or attitudes to power (Fairclough 2003:55, Fowler 1991:120). Finally, the work of de Vreese *et al.* (2017) permits the unpicking of more nebulous concepts such as personalisation and interpretive journalism. When analysing the results, it should be noted whether the cross-editor's interventions have added, strengthened, weakened or deleted the above values.

Comparison with other news cultures has the effect of challenging familiar structures through juxtaposition (Esser, 2013). This technique is built into cross-editing through its very nature. Cross-editing is influenced by several other qualitative methods focused on the practice of editorial decision-making.

 Firstly, comparative experimental textual analysis provides a similar multimodal framework to that of cross-editing, although it is predicated on reframing rather than comparisons of news organisations. It can be seen in Lynch's work (2007) on an academic course about peace journalism, in which he constructs, transcribes and story-boards two fictitious and differently-framed versions of a television news report about conflict. Lynch and McGoldrick (2010) take this research design further, envisaging playing two reconstructed versions of a news report – one as broadcast, the other reframed as 'peace journalism' – to a group of participants and evaluating their responses. In a similar reframing experiment, Raeymaeckers (2005) and her team sent letters to Flemish newspapers and recorded how those chosen for publication were often cut, altered and embellished to suit the newspaper concerned.

A second category of related methods covers news routines. Reconstruction interviews, like cross-editing, analyse editorial thought processes that are not readily articulated. Reich (2011) conducts face-to-face interviews with journalists to take them back through how they evaluate the sources they use in their work. While there is now a considerable body of work on this method, it rests on recollections rather than the instinctive exercising of editorial muscle. Much closer to newsroom 'action' is Perrin's progression analysis (2016:167-9), in which he tracks how and why journalists alter their scripts during the production process. The technique concentrates on an individual script and the journalist's writing process, thereby foregrounding the creation of a news script rather than its final stage of approval.

Although journalistic focus groups might appear to bear similarities to cross-editing, most editing at a news desk is carried out alone and not as a consequence of 'pack' judgement. The power of TV images in focus groups also makes this method unsuitable for close textual analysis of news scripts.

Methodological implications

In the above methods, it is researchers who track what journalists do. Cross-editing, by contrast, is performed by the linchpins of the news production process, allowing them to make the initial interpretation of their own actions. This closes a gap between academic understanding of a journalist's role and the job itself.

Cross-editing can therefore be regarded as a variant of citizen science. This is defined as the involvement of individuals, many of them non-scientists, in 'collecting, categorising, transcribing or analysing scientific data' (Bonney *et al.* 2014:1436). From the typologies of Wiggins & Crowston (2011:2), cross-editing could be described as 'collaborative' rather than simply 'contributory' research in that journalists are involved in both data collection and analysis, along with an option to annotate the data with their own commentaries. In the natural sciences, the advantage of citizen science often lies in the scale of data that can be assembled, whereas here the objects of study themselves – the journalists – are used to analyse the news values of their peers. Just as citizen science does not enjoy universal academic approval, cross-editing needs to be kept within bounds in order to preserve the integrity of its most valuable product – journalists' instinctive reactions to other writers' scripts. This means telling the cross-

editors as little as possible about the overall aims of the study while ensuring that they are clear about their practical task. If properly conducted and communicated, cross-editing can ultimately enhance journalists' understanding of their own decision-making, thereby also fulfilling an educational role.

Assembling and piloting the cross-edit

The cross-editor, in this exercise, is the person who sees the version of the story intended for broadcast and approves it before it goes to air. Despite the institutional differences between national and state broadcasters, newsroom routines at the BBC and CCTV-News had many points in common. Both broadcasters had programme teams in which one person was in charge of compiling the running-order, with more senior editorial figures maintaining an overview of programme content. In both organisations, managerial-level editorial personnel took part in regular meetings and determined the overall thrust of coverage. At CCTV-News, there was additional ideological oversight in the form of veteran Chinese political editors (*fanpin*, or retired and re-hired employees, referred to by staff as *laoshi*, the informal honorific for senior personnel) who inspected every script. They did not look at video footage. For this experiment CCTV-News cross-editors acted as their own political editors and replicated their expected decisions[2]. Chief editors at CCTV-News, while not seated with the production teams, were editorially involved in every programme, whereas at the BBC it was rarer for senior personnel to intervene in minute-by-minute journalistic decisions.

The research questions for this experimental method were as follows:

RQ1: What kinds of similarities and differences in editorial decision-making are revealed through the cross-editing process?

RQ2: What insights can be said to be specific to cross-editing or enhanced by this analytical technique?

The cross-editors were approached as individuals: some were former colleagues of the researcher, while others were contacted through the 'snowball effect' of chains of recommendations. They were all current or very recent employees of CCTV-News (English) and the BBC's global-facing news outlets who routinely performed editing and

---

[2] Several CCTV cross-editors remarked that a political editor's input would have made little difference because the reporters and news-writers would already have censored themselves.

sub-editing tasks on their respective news desks. They evaluated incoming material, including the work of other journalists, and determined its fitness for broadcast, changing wording or seeking clarification where appropriate. All are rendered anonymous here. The two news organisations themselves were not involved, and the results are personal to these cross-editors. The experiment is intended to represent a small-scale comparative snapshot of the wider journalism cultures in which they operate. Private email addresses were used in all communication about the cross-editing in order to separate it from the journalists' official work.

The cross-editors (Table 1) were mainly journalists from each broadcaster's 'home nation' with minority foreign participation[3]: this reflected the international character of their respective newsrooms. All non-native English speakers were of high linguistic proficiency. The BBC cross-editors were generally somewhat older than their CCTV counterparts: the BBC ages ranged from late 30s to early 50s, while CCTV's were from mid-20s to mid-40s. Again, this was broadly representative of their newsrooms at the time.

	Pilot cross-edit	Main cross-edit	
	BBC	BBC	CCTV
British male for BBC	4	4	-
British female for BBC	2	1	-
Chinese male for CCTV	-	-	1
Chinese female for CCTV	-	-	3
Foreign male	1	1	1
Foreign female	-	-	-

Table 1: numbers and nationalities of cross-editors

The cross-editors were each emailed a transcript of a news item from the rival broadcaster and were asked if it could hypothetically be put on air by their own organisation as it stood or with minor amendments. Were there problems with the item and should it be returned, equally hypothetically, to the writer with a request for more information or input? Should the item be ruled unfit for theoretical broadcast (on the opposing channel) altogether? The cross-editors were asked to annotate the script as they saw fit, either by changing the editorial content or by adding comments, and to

---

[3] 'Foreign' in this context means other than British for the BBC, and other than Chinese for CCTV.

email it back.[4] The cross-editors were aware of the provenance of their scripts: it would have been impractical, and for video impossible, to hide the identity of the channel from which the news came. This may have influenced their expectations of the content. However, all cross-editors approached their task with genuine professional interest in how 'the other side' put together its news.

To test the running of the method, a small number of BBC-trained desk editors agreed to cross-edit a news bulletin drawn at random from previously recorded CCTV-News output: the 30-minute *News Update* at 1500 GMT on 17 June 2014. Half of the stories in this bulletin covered China or Chinese interests: the other half represented non-China world news. The researcher transcribed the CCTV programme as broadcast, with spoken text on the right of the page and a summary of visual information on the left: each BBC editor received a transcript of either one or two news items. The cross-editors were asked to accept, reject, edit or ask for amendments to the scripts.

Some BBC cross-editors consulted CCTV's video archive or looked at what the BBC had done on that day: others edited from the transcript alone. This replicates the situation in a live newsroom, in which editors would mostly but not always be aware of available pictures and the output of rival broadcasters. The cross-editors were given free rein in the way they edited: some chose to rewrite the item completely, while others allowed as much of the original as possible to stand.

Four of the scripts were adjudged to lack context, while two more were labelled dull or bland. Nonetheless, six of the 10 scripts passed muster with the BBC editors after minor amendments. However, two CCTV news items about Vietnam and the South China Sea were considered hypothetically unbroadcastable on the BBC as they stood because of serious differences in perspective.

The CCTV account of the China-Vietnam meeting was completely rewritten by cross-editor BX6. The most fundamental change was in *a priori* source selection (van Dijk 1988:115). CCTV's assertion that 'Vietnam's provocative actions around a Chinese oil-rig triggered' the crisis was altered by the BBC cross-editor to read, 'China's deployment of an oilrig into waters claimed by Vietnam... provoked weeks of clashes.'

---

[4] For the purposes of illustration, cross-edits that did not display tracked changes are reconstructed here to show where the edits were made.

The order in which the Vietnamese officials were mentioned was reversed because of differing attitudes to the source of power (Fowler *ibid.*): in CCTV's news story, the Communist Party general secretary came first, whereas the BBC deemed the prime minister more important.

Another South China Sea item, a CCTV report about China's territorial claims, was also heavily cross-edited (Figure 1). The BBC cross-editor (BX6) believed its prominent positioning in the CCTV running-order was 'clearly propaganda', as was its representation of China's claims as fact. The first element can be ascribed to source selection (van Dijk *ibid.*) and the second to basic journalistic failings. However, the cross-editor's comments make it clear that China's retrieval of historical documents to bolster its claims was a significant news point, and that the report had under-sold it. In other words, CCTV-News had eschewed 'impact' as a news value (Bednarek & Caple 2017:60) because of the need to repeat state rhetoric.
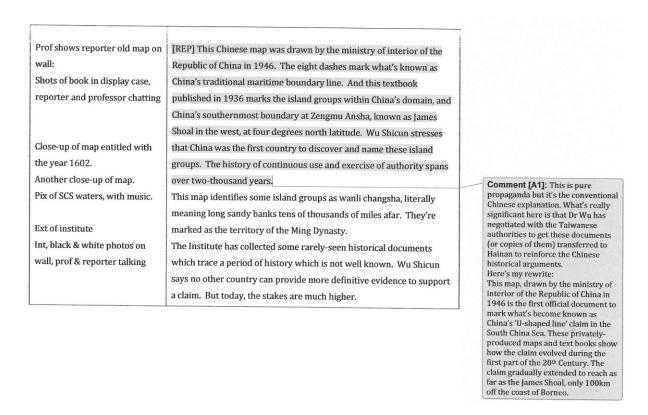

Figure 1: Extract from BBC cross-editor's markup of CCTV-News report by Han Bin, 17 June 2014

Apart from the South China Sea items, nothing in the CCTV-News agenda appeared to cause the BBC cross-editors great concern. Indeed, one of them (BX7) remarked on the similarity between a cross-edited CCTV item and a BBC report that had

run on another day. Hardly a word of the scripts produced by CCTV's native Anglophone reporters was changed.

Preparing the main cross-edit

It was established in the piloting that news items directly involving China or Chinese interests exercised London-based cross-editors the most. A clash of reporting standards or news values on broader world issues was less apparent. For the full study, two news events were therefore chosen that corresponded to those findings: the Hong Kong protests of late 2014, in which both Britain and China had a stake, and the Islamist attacks in Paris in January 2015, which had global relevance but in which neither country was directly involved.

The Hong Kong protests: From September to December 2014, thousands of people, sometimes many tens of thousands, demonstrated in and occupied key areas of Hong Kong, accusing China of imposing restrictions on promised electoral reform in the territory. The student-led action was in protest at the decision of the Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee in August 2014 that a nominating committee must be set up to screen prospective candidates for Hong Kong Chief Executive in the territory's first elections by universal suffrage. Student class boycotts and demonstrations merged with action by the pressure group, Occupy Central with Love and Peace, culminating in the police teargassing of protesters – then a rare occurrence. Demonstrators barricaded and occupied three areas of Hong Kong for two-and-a-half months.

The Charlie Hebdo attacks: Between 7 and 9 January 2015, 17 people including three police officers were killed in and around Paris in gun attacks and sieges by Islamist militants. The three assailants were also killed. The bloodiest attack was at the offices of the satirical magazine, *Charlie Hebdo*, which had published cartoons lampooning the Prophet Muhammad. The attacks precipitated what was then France's most severe security crisis in decades and prompted nationwide unity rallies.

Two separate news broadcasts per organisation were chosen at random from available recorded coverage of each of the events. For Hong Kong, output on 2 and 17 October 2014 was picked, and for the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks, the daily 0400 GMT CCTV *News Hour* on 9 and 14 January 2015 was paired with BBC output from the previous

12

afternoon. Each cross-editor was assigned a single day's scripts. This meant that most scripts were cross-edited by two people. The cross-editors were allowed to annotate the scripts however they liked, in order to explore options for later refinement of the method. Video files of the broadcasts were made available to the cross-editors.

Findings

Few interventions by cross-editors were straightforward matters of journalistic accuracy. The BBC cross-editors were alone in occasionally adding qualifiers or attributions to their opposite numbers' scripts in order to clarify the meaning, as in '*some* Hong Kong residents' expressing support for the government, or C Y Leung praising the police 'for showing *what he called* the utmost restraint'[5]. All other corrections by both groups of editors can be explained through the theoretical framework of fact selection, assumptions, lexical choice and the journalists' positions in society. Hong Kong was the bigger battleground by far, while the *Charlie Hebdo* cross-edit was distinctive for its degree of consensus.

The Hong Kong cross-edit

Cross-editors on both sides made numerous alterations to the Hong Kong scripts that were consistent with van Dijk's stylistic and rhetorical reformulations, which he perceives as markers of personal or institutional opinions and comparisons respectively (*op.cit.*:118*)*. These reformulations frequently dovetailed with Bednarek & Caple's categories of superlativeness and impact (*op.cit.*), which cross-editors variously intensified and subtracted from scripts. This malleability indicated editorial choice, rather than simple journalistic dislike of hyperbole.

Both groups of cross-editors removed or replaced wording that they considered emotive, but the BBC editors also inserted emotive words into the CCTV news scripts. The BBC cross-editors objected primarily to adjectives such as 'ominous' in 'an ominous drop in visitors'[6] but strengthened others, preferring 'negative' to 'serious': they also added impact to verbs governing reported speech, for example replacing 'said' with the much stronger 'accused'[7]. CCTV cross-editors toned down confrontational BBC nouns

---

[5] Presenter script, CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT 2 October 2014.
[6] Li Jiejun, CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT, 2 October 2014.
[7] Presenter script, CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT, 2 October 2014.

and verbs, turning 'fight' into 'persist' and 'front line' into 'standoff'[8]. They deleted 'occupation [site]' from the BBC transcript and replaced 'riot gear' with 'partial protective gear'[9].

[Reporter package] Masked protesters	[REP] Ready for anything. The holiday mood is over. All their demands rejected, the protesters are piling on the pressure, blocking the main gate of government headquarters.
Lines of police	Police warn there'll be serious consequences if they try to storm the building.
Teargas arriving	~~No attempt today to hide deliveries of teargas and rubber bullets.~~ (I think it's better to cross out this description and let the footage speak for itself.)
Effigy of CY Leung with fangs	The target of the protesters' rage: an effigy of Hong Kong's leader, CY Leung. ~~They call him 689, because that's how many people elected him – a bare majority even of the tiny election committee of 1200.~~ (CCTV News would have to cross out this. No exact votes should be mentioned. The same goes true for the NPC and CPPCC sessions in March every year. We show the NPC deputies and CPPCC members voting to elect new leaders or make new laws. But we never show the exact number of votes counted, either on live broadcasts or packages. Xinhua would never mention the number of votes in its writethroughs or authorized releases.)
CY Leung in person, proposing toast in front of China flag, inc with military	He continued National Day festivities ~~with Chinese dignitaries~~. (Hong Kong is part of China. The sentence sounds like Hong Kong is a separate sovereign territory.) The protesters say he's Beijing's man and has to go. (The protesters say they want a direct dialogue with him.)
Protesters sitting in streets.	[MAN WITH LOUDSPEAKER] We are doing a very peaceful demonstration here.
Man remonstrates with protesters	[REP] New pockets of protests in other parts of Hong Kong. Tempers fraying. (CCTV packages would spend more space describing how ordinary people's lives are being disrupted by the prolonged protests and how they are becoming increasingly intolerant towards the protesters. The angry old man's soundbite would surely be used.) The demonstrators try to appease this angry old man. But it's the fifth day on very little sleep, and there's anger on both sides.

Figure 2: Extract from CCTV cross-editor's markup of BBC News report by Carrie Gracie in Hong Kong, 2 October 2014

---

[8] Carrie Gracie, BBC *World News*, 2000 GMT, 2 October 2014.

[9] Juliana Liu, BBC Newsday, 0000 GMT, 17 October 2014.

Despite this, both groups of editors expressed distaste for speculation, editorialising or over-dramatising. Two BBC cross-editors (BX1, BX6) removed CCTV references to the likelihood of the protests affecting tourism or retail sales. One CCTV cross-editor (CX3) deleted a BBC reporter's description of the protesters' decision-making as 'democracy in action'[10]: Figure 2 gives more details of CX3's treatment of a BBC news report.

The two groups of cross-editors also differed in their attitudes to the degree of journalistic intervention in a news story. Chief among these was summarisation (van Dijk *op.cit.*), generally the means whereby the journalist decides whether to supply context or convey a bigger picture from a single event. Elements consistent with this were distaste or enthusiasm for interpretive journalism (de Vreese *et al.*, *op.cit.*) and personalisation of the narrative (de Vreese *et al.*, Bednarek & Caple *op.cit*). The BBC cross-editors added these qualities in almost all instances, whereas the CCTV-News editors generally removed them, thereby subtracting meaning from the BBC texts.

Vocabulary from Tiananmen Square a generation earlier manifested itself in the changes made by the cross-editors to how the Hong Kong demonstrators were described. BBC editors added the adjectives 'democracy' and 'pro-democracy' to CCTV scripts: BX6, for example, twice inserted 'pro-democracy' into CCTV's references to 'Occupy Central'[11]. Conversely, 'pro-democracy' was deleted from BBC scripts by all of the CCTV cross-editors who encountered it, along with references to 'democracy activists' (CX2) and Hong Kong as a source of 'dissension and separatism' (CX3). 'Protesters' was the preferred CCTV description: CX3 remarked that Beijing would regard them simply as troublemakers. 'Students' appeared in a CCTV script in early October[12] when the young instigators of the demonstrations were indeed the focus of the coverage: however, the CCTV editors cut 'students' out of BBC scripts wherever they occurred, removing any implicit parallels between Hong Kong 2014 and Beijing 1989[13].

---

[10] Carrie Gracie, BBC *World News*, 2000 GMT, 2 October 2014.

[11] CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT 2 October 2014.

[12] CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT 2 October 2014.

[13] For example, CX4 on BBC *Newsday*, 0000 GMT 17 October 2014.

The CCTV cross-editors added detail to the BBC's broader-brush scripts, such as the composition of the Hong Kong government team that was to meet student leaders[14]. The BBC cross-editors complained about a lack of background in the CCTV scripts. 'There is no mention about what the protesters want,' observed BX7; 'that it is a conflict with China ultimately, of Chinese approval of candidates for Hong Kong's election… One gets the impression that for no reason at all people block roads in Hong Kong… endanger lives in doing so – and that 'no society can tolerate these illegal activities'… We don't get a clue what these protests are about.'

One CCTV cross-editor (CX4) removed a BBC reporter's conjecture that Hong Kong's chief executive, C Y Leung, had refused to answer a question because 'clearly… there were plans for Mongkok to be cleared'[15]. CX4 observed that some CCTV employees would view this as subjective and biased. Two CCTV cross-editors (CX2, CX3) deleted separate references in BBC scripts to the police taking delivery of rubber bullets. CCTV editors also reacted more conservatively to video footage, recommending that protesters' tents not be shown and that close-ups be avoided.

The act of selection (van Dijk, *op.cit.*) – which elements of a news story should be included or discarded, often in the interests of balance – divided the cross-editors. *A priori* choices based on credibility of a source can reveal assumptions (Fairclough, *op.cit*) and attitudes to power and agency (Fowler, *op.cit.*), including a structural bias towards those with political power (de Vreese *et al., op.cit.*). In the Hong Kong cross-edit, both sides challenged rivals' choices and requested changes.

Overall editorial balance was a frequent battleground. Three BBC cross-editors (BX1, BX4, BX6) argued for the inclusion of sound-bites of Western politicians in CCTV reports to match those of Chinese government officials. In two of these three instances it was not clear that such sound-bites existed, and it appeared that the BBC editors were requesting that they be found as a nod towards inclusion of what they considered to be credible sources rather than for any individual merit or importance. In similar vein, BX6 remarked that a CCTV report on Hong Kong retailers[16] needed 'comment from… pro-democracy shop owners'. On the CCTV side, cross-editor CX3 requested the insertion of

---

[14] BBC *World News*, 2000 GMT 2 October 2014.
[15] Juliana Liu, BBC Newsday, 0000 GMT, 17 October 2014.
[16] Li Jiejun, CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT, 2 October 2014.

a sound-bite from an old man who had rounded angrily on protesters in a BBC report[17]. Another CCTV editor (CX2) argued for the inclusion of a comment from C Y Leung and information about scuffles between students and police, which were absent from BBC coverage[18].

Two cross-editors engaged in a literal interpretation of their craft by crossing out entire news items, deeming them unsuitable for broadcast. On the BBC side, BX6 deleted a 72-second newsreader script on CCTV that reproduced the Hong Kong authorities' denunciation of the protests[19], while for CCTV CX4 completely obliterated a BBC news feature about the transformation of the umbrella into a street art motif[20]. The CCTV cross-editor remarked that the topic would be 'off limits' on the Chinese channel even though CCTV-News had broadcast material about street art during the Egyptian revolution: 'Of course, it is different when it is happening in your own country.'

On the BBC side, two cross-editors (BX4, BX7) queried the relevance of a CCTV account of a fire near one of the Hong Kong protest sites and the reported difficulties experienced by fire crews in accessing and tackling it[21]. BX7 argued that the fire was 'not news' and that its only purpose was to show that protests endangered lives. Both editors were scathing about a professor featured in the report who argued that safety was more important than democracy. Cross-editor BX4 remarked, 'The tone and content of the reporting is objective, but there is only one voice in favour of protest in this sequence and it is challenged. The majority of voices in this piece are anti-protest, and they are not challenged.'

Another contested attribute was negativity (Bednarek & Caple, *op.cit.*, de Vreese *et al.*, *op.cit*), including representation of an event through conflict and binary opposition. On Hong Kong, BBC cross-editors intervened to add stylistic negativity while their CCTV opposite numbers removed it. CCTV editors showed particular distaste for the conflict frame, deleting a BBC description of C Y Leung as 'the man [the protesters] want to resign'[22]. However, they availed themselves of it when it showed the

---

[17] Carrie Gracie, BBC *World News*, 2000 GMT, 2 October 2014.

[18] Presenter script, BBC *World News*, 2000 GMT 2 October 2014.

[19] CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT 2 October 2014.

[20] John Sudworth, BBC *Newsday*, 0000 GMT 17 October 2014.

[21] Han Peng, CCTV *News Update*, 0600 GMT 17 October 2014.

[22] Presenter script, BBC *World News*, 2000 GMT 2 October 2014.

authorities' strength: the observation in the same BBC programme that C Y Leung had 'failed to bow' to protesters' demands was changed by CX3 to show that he had 'refused to yield'. The CCTV editor described as a 'bad question' a BBC interviewer's comparison of 'traditional, autocratic, hard-line China and… the image of modernity and economic flow' that Hong Kong wanted to show the world[23], saying it would be better to ask how Beijing and Hong Kong could work together on political reform.

As a flip-side of conflict-centred negativity, the BBC cross-editors were observed to dislike the foregrounding of harmony and co-operation in the CCTV reports, which did not go as far as representing 'positivity' in the theoretical framework. One BBC editor (BX1) completely rewrote the script for foreign minister Wang Yi's Hong Kong-related visit to the US, halving it in length, deleting talk of a 'major-country relationship' and moving references to co-operation and trust from the beginning to near the end. Another editor (BX6) deleted the CCTV sentence, '[Wang Yi] highlighted the many fields with co-operation potential between the two sides'[24].

The Charlie Hebdo cross-edit

The salient feature of the *Charlie Hebdo* cross-edit was how often the editors left their rivals' scripts unchanged. Interventions for stylistic or rhetorical reformulation were rarer, and focused on whether 'terror' and 'terrorist' should be used. BBC cross-editors allowed CCTV's references to 'terror' and 'murder' to stand, along with the description of *Charlie Hebdo*'s decision to publish again the following week as a 'demonstration of defiance'[25]. Cross-editor BX2 amended a CCTV report on the integration of France's Muslim citizens to change a single word – 'terrorist' – to 'militant'.

However, 'terrorist' was handled unevenly in the cross-edit. The BBC style guide of the time said 'terrorist' was not banned, but should be used consistently across outlets if at all: it recommended the use of more specific words for perpetrators such as bomber, attacker, insurgent or militant (BBC Academy, 2016). 'Terrorist' did not feature in the overall CCTV-News style guide (CCTV-News, 2011) but appeared in a CCTV-News Washington handbook (CCTV-News, 2012:7), which stated: 'Except where quoting a

---

[23] BBC *World News*, 2000 GMT 2 October 2014.
[24] Newsroom reporter, CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT 2 October 2014.
[25] Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 0400 GMT 14 January 2015.

news source the word 'terrorist' should be avoided' and recommended more descriptive terms such as 'suicide bomber'.

In practice, however, 'terrorist' appeared to be a malleable concept. Two instances of 'terrorist' in BBC reports on 8 January 2015 were not removed by a CCTV cross-editor, and a BBC cross-editor also passed a CCTV script that spoke of condolences from President Xi Jinping for 'Wednesday's terrorist attack in Paris'[26]. However, another BBC cross-editor (BX2) removed instances of 'terror' and 'terrorist' wherever they were found, replacing them with 'attack' and 'militant'. BBC cross-editors removed several other words that they saw as emotive, such as 'brutal' and 'murders': one editor (BX3) thought there were 'too many adjectives' in the CCTV scripts.

CCTV cross-editors did not alter the BBC *Charlie Hebdo* scripts for reasons of summarisation or other facets of individual journalistic intervention. BBC cross-editors, however, spotted a lack of context in the CCTV-News scripts. They complained that the 'kosher supermarket attack' was mentioned without further elaboration, and that no-one had explained what *Charlie Hebdo* had published that was offensive enough to result in the killing of 12 journalists. One BBC cross-editor (BX3) asked why CCTV did not say the gunmen were Muslim and of Algerian descent, wondering if viewers were expected to infer this from their names alone.

There were few indications of diverging opinions on selection of relevant facts in the *Charlie Hebdo* cross-edit. CCTV editors had few queries about the BBC news scripts, commenting that they could not see that their own channel would treat much of the coverage very differently. The exceptions to this were references to freedom of speech in the BBC output, although these were treated inconsistently. One CCTV cross-editor (CX5) pointed out that a sound-bite from a lobbyist on counter-extremism, terming freedom of speech 'one of the most fundamental pillars that allows democracy to tick' would not be included on CCTV-News, commenting, '[CCTV] may focus more on the impact of Islam[ic] extremism and foreign immigration on France'. The cross-editor also suggested deleting archive footage of the editor of *Charlie Hebdo* declaring, 'Without

---

[26] Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour,* 0400 GMT 9 January 2015.

freedom of speech we are dead', but allowed two other references to freedom of speech in the same report to stand.

One aspect of coverage picked out by a CCTV cross-editor that indicated a distinctive view of the journalist's place in society was that of the media's social responsibility. Editor CX5 remarked that a sound-bite of the French prime minister in a BBC package, appealing to journalists not to jeopardise the investigation through their reporting, 'could also be rolled as a newsbar item at the bottom of the program, as an alert to other press'.

There was also an unexpected example of consonance – a value that normally applies to 'the ideological consensus in a given society or culture' (van Dijk, *op.cit.*:121-2). Despite general distaste for the BBC's use of interpretive journalism, CCTV cross-editors appeared not to think that the BBC treatment of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack had been overplayed. CX5 wrote approvingly of an 'excellent arrangement' at the end of a BBC programme in which a montage of the photographs and names of those killed was overlaid with mournful classical music[27].

Discussion of findings

As expected, cross-editors intervened far more often in rival scripts on Hong Kong than on *Charlie Hebdo*; cross-editing provided empirical evidence of the dividing line between journalism and political or cultural influences. Overall, while the BBC cross-editors' interventions were fairly consistent across both stories, the news values and news rules applied by CCTV cross-editors varied depending on (geo)political context. However, the many consonances and lack of change in categories such as eliteness and timeliness suggested that CCTV-News employees were working from more or less the same journalistic rule-book as their BBC counterparts when they knew they could safely do so. In other words: scratch a Chinese cross-editor, peel off the layer of political imperative, and there was frequently an Anglo-American-style journalist rather than a Communist Party-influenced 'media worker' underneath.

The consensus on how to tell the story of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack was visible mainly through the absence of stylistic and rhetorical reformulations: the 'othering' by

---

[27] End montage, BBC *Impact,* 1300 GMT 8 January 2015.

the BBC and CCTV of perpetrators who posed a threat to the established order was accepted on both sides. CCTV cross-editors had little overall difficulty with the BBC line, and BBC editors accepted much of the CCTV output, because their toolkits of news values were the same, and their story one of solidarity, vigils, terror and exclusion. The broadcasters viewed political Islam and its results as something that, essentially, had come from 'outside' rather than representing a facet of their own societies. When Dencik unpicked journalistic practices at BBC World News and concluded that they were derived from 'an understanding of news that adheres to a social order as dictated by the most dominant institutions of power' (2013:132), she could equally have been talking in this instance about CCTV-News. The dearth of edits on *Charlie Hebdo* also implicitly confirmed the absence in CCTV-News of a distinctively Chinese position on the killings, in contrast with other official Chinese news outlets[28]. The Chinese channel concurred with the emotive language that characterised Western reporting of the attacks, sacrificing its declared aims of providing an alternative viewpoint on world affairs.

Stylistic and rhetorical reformulations were much more in evidence in the Hong Kong cross-edit. 'Students', 'democracy' and 'pro-democracy' were unswervingly excised by CCTV editors from the BBC scripts and added by BBC editors to the CCTV stories. The BBC's explanation of the initial stages of the demonstrations had employed the terminology of Tiananmen Square in 1989. This drew on the stability of narrative forms (Gurevitch *et al.*, 1991:207) and the concept of collective memory (Berkowitz & Liu, 2016:74) in its attempt to make sense of an event by parallels with what had gone before. Writing just after the Hong Kong action began, the former BBC Beijing correspondent Tim Luard (2014) pinpointed 'haunting similarities' with Tiananmen 1989 and underlined the significance of the involvement of students, which tapped into a history of youth protest in China going back to the early 20th century (Ash 2014). The cross-edit makes clear how the language used by the BBC had unacceptable resonance for Chinese state media. The unanimity in the CCTV cross-editors' actions may derive from the youth of many CCTV-News employees and their complete deference to the

---

[28] A Xinhua news agency commentary in English on 12 January 2015 condemned the killings but observed, 'It is important to show respect for the differences of other peoples' religious beliefs and cultures for the sake of peaceful coexistence in the world, rather than exercising unlimited, unprincipled satire, insult and press freedom without considering other peoples' feelings.'

veteran editors who oversee their work. Conventional textual analysis would have uncovered the BBC's use of terminology sensitive in China, but its absence from the CCTV reports would have been much more difficult to spot.

CCTV editors' stylistic reformulations in the Hong Kong cross-edit indicated a leaning towards harmony and consonance as a news frame rather than conflict when reporting the actions of the authorities. This fell outside the Western-influenced theoretical framework of news values but is consistent with the Chinese Communist Party requirement that the media transmit and support its agenda. BBC cross-editors considered such manifestations dull and excised them. The presence of 'harmony' as a news frame did not deter CCTV editors from employing conflict-based negativity wherever an enemy of the state was involved.

A constant factor across the two news stories in the cross-edit was the BBC editors' predilection for summarisation and context. Conversely CCTV cross-editors were observed to subtract information, both textual and visual, from sensitive stories. A separate conflict concerned the point at which explanation stopped being 'context' and tipped into interpretive journalism, from which the Chinese editors universally recoiled.

Providing context in a fast-moving news environment demands keen editorial judgement. Two CCTV items that might have been considered tricky in this respect – on Muslims in France and funerals in Jerusalem – satisfied the BBC editors: both reports were by experienced native Anglophone journalists. Much more of a problem for the BBC editors was the lack of context in CCTV's Chinese stories, presented mainly by Chinese journalists. This may indicate that CCTV-News feared alienating an overseas audience through politicised background, or simply that it had a bureaucratic editorial process in which no-one wished to be held accountable for formulating a definitive point of view on sensitive topics.

Of particular interest to a BBC cross-editor was CCTV's failure to explain that the *Charlie Hebdo* attackers were Muslim and of Algerian descent, as if the channel expected viewers to infer this from their names. There are parallels here with Chinese media's general aversion to mentioning the ethnicity of its own citizens in news stories, especially the Muslim Uighur minority: the listing of their names, which look very different from those of the Han majority, is deemed to suffice. It could be argued that

this denotes a wish not to inflame tensions by highlighting ethnic divisions. Paradoxically, such editorial omissions reinforce those same divisions by projecting a homogeneous national view that is inevitably that of the majority group.

The identification with authority displayed by CCTV-News brought with it a notion of social responsibility missing from the BBC reports. This was shown most clearly in a CCTV cross-editor's suggestion that a French government warning against irresponsible reporting of the Paris attacks be publicised more widely. As this was present in the cross-editor's mind rather than in the script, it would not have been uncovered through conventional textual analysis.

The cross-edits performed by the CCTV editors indicated that they saw a distinction between editorialising, which they considered unprofessional, and acting as state media, which they deemed unavoidable. The changes made by BBC cross-editors, however, were all performed – in their view – in the name of journalistic standards. Each saw bias in the other's news, but the CCTV editors' comments on the BBC scripts were about the subjectivity of individual reporters whereas the BBC editors saw ideology dictating the entire content of some CCTV scripts.

Occasionally the BBC comments on the CCTV news scripts revealed what they considered to be accidental journalistic potential: for example, the report on the fire near the Hong Kong barricades contained a rare CCTV interview with a protester. Conversely, a BBC cross-editor's questioning of the absence of 'pro-democracy shop-owners' in CCTV's coverage of the Hong Kong protests revealed a BBC tendency to bend over backwards to be balanced, which is as tricky as it sounds and raises questions about what true balance in reporting is. Such questions re-surfaced with venom in the Brexit coverage debate: there, researchers found that UK television news journalists were 'balancing' partisan binaries in the run-up to the 2016 EU referendum rather than aiming for evidence-driven impartiality by gauging the truthfulness of competing claims (Cushion & Lewis 2017:208).

The confidence of judgement displayed by CCTV cross-editors on Hong Kong appeared to derive from self-policing reminiscent of Link's 'anaconda in the chandelier' (2002), in which the Chinese authorities are likened to a giant coiled snake whose very presence causes everyone to moderate their behaviour. None of the amendments made

by CCTV cross-editors to the BBC's Hong Kong scripts featured in the CCTV-News style-books: any guidance at an institutional level was undocumented. CCTV cross-editor CX4 commented that editing would 'vary depending on which *laoshi* [was] on and what the prevailing mood [was].' In the *Charlie Hebdo* cross-edit, the Chinese cross-editors had to edit without an anaconda *in situ*, and appeared to shy away from taking a distinctive editorial line. That Chinese state media strictures have been shown empirically to be so partial and manipulable may be the single most important result of the cross-editing experiment.

Recommended framework for future use

This initial run of the method indicated that cross-editing could indeed be applied to other news organisations. Similar or very different outlets could be compared, depending on the research question. For example, pitting RT in English against CNN on the 2020 assassination of Qasem Soleimani in Iraq would potentially raise issues of ideology and conditioning in news broadcasts as well as journalistic standards. Conversely, domestic political reporting in Britain could be tested for homogeneity and interpretations of 'balance', perhaps involving the BBC and Sky News. The process can also be applied beyond broadcasting, such as in online multimodal digital news. With funding, it would be possible to introduce structure, enforce procedural norms and increase cross-editor numbers, bolstering reliability. Suggestions for a future framework include the following:

1. Cross-editors should be paid for their time.

2. They should ideally appear in person to cross-edit, with access to a computer and audiovisual material.

3. Annotation should be unified, with tracked changes and comment balloons.

4. Participants should be encouraged to edit the document at normal working pace, as if to a deadline and leaving little time for deliberation.

5. After the cross-edit they should justify their changes in writing, and explain why they decided to accept, revise, rework or reject the text.

Limitations

As a qualitative method, cross-editing is not universally applicable. It judges one set of news values and journalistic standards hypothetically and in terms of another, rather than through normative comparison. However, this is the dilemma with which news consumers are faced as they are digitally bombarded with 'fact' and opinion on all sides. Cross-editing raises questions about representativeness in that it solicits the views of only a small number of editors, but researchers can ensure that these editors are experienced in their current jobs. Knowledge of the identity of the target channel may not prevent prejudice, but any prejudice would be laid bare through the requested comments on the reasons for changes made to the text. Finally, cross-editing is unable to distinguish between edits prompted by individual thought and by social conditioning. Even the overtly 'socially responsible' suggestion by the CCTV cross-editor on the *Charlie Hebdo* coverage could have been prompted by years of instructions from the Chinese state propaganda department not to 'hype' certain news developments. However, this still provides insight into what specific cultures regard as 'news'.

Conclusion

Cross-editing is, by definition, carried out in a comparative context, but it does far more than flag up similarities and differences at the point of decision-making. It shows what is rejected or amended, and highlights omissions and absences from a script along with salient points to which cross-editors unexpectedly do *not* object. Some of the conclusions reached by cross-editors may be similar to those arrived at by independent researchers who conduct other forms of textual analysis. However, cross-editing reveals the view from inside rather than outside the editorial process, and therefore helps triangulate results from more conventional evaluation of content. The technique is, furthermore, useful in revealing whether basic journalistic standards of factual accuracy are at variance, or whether the conflict principally concerns ideologically or emotionally loaded discourse.

Media companies are increasingly international in both audience reach and staffing. With communication almost fully digitised, the raw materials of newsgathering are available to more people than ever before. It is therefore of fundamental importance to establish, not just which news items are covered, but *how* they are covered around the globe. In a welter of individually curated content, media literacy is key but news

consumers are not news professionals. Cross-editing provides a way of employing journalists' own experience and linguistic or political sensitivity to pull apart and analyse news rules and values for the benefit of all.

References

Ash, A. (2014). Legacy of youth protest in China continues in Hong Kong. *BBC News website*, 1 October. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-29440986.

BBC Academy (2016). *BBC News style guide*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/academy/journalism/news-style-guide.

Bednarek, M. & Caple, H. (2017). *The discourse of news values: how news organisations create 'newsworthiness'*. Oxford University Press.

Berkowitz, D. & Liu, Z. (2016). Studying News Production: From Process to Meanings. In C. Paterson, D. Lee, A. Saha & A. Zoellner (eds), *Advancing Media Production Research: Shifting Sites, Methods, and Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 68-78.

Bonney, R., Shirk, J., Phillips, T., Wiggins, A., Ballard, H., Miller-Rushing, A., Parrish, J. (2014). Next steps for citizen science. *Science* 343(6178), 1436-37. DOI: 10.1126/science.1251554

Breed, W. (1955). Social Control in the Newsroom: a functional analysis. *Social Forces* 33(4), 326-335.

CCTV-News (2011). *Style Guide Part One*. Revised December 2010, dated 8 February 2011. CCTV-News.

CCTV-News (2012). *CCTV News style guide, Washington Broadcast Center Handbook*. 20 July. CCTV International/Media Links.

Cushion, S. & Lewis, J. (2017). Impartiality, statistical tit-for-tats and the construction of balance: UK television news reporting of the 2016 EU referendum campaign. *European Journal of Communication* 32(3), 208-223. DOI: 10.1177/0267323117695736

Dencik, L. (2013). What global citizens and whose global moral order? Defining the global at BBC World News. *Global Media and Communication*, 9(2), 119-134.

van Dijk, T. (1988) *News as discourse*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Esser, F. (2013). The emerging paradigm of comparative communication enquiry: advancing cross-national research in times of globalisation. *International Journal of Communication* (7), 113-128.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: textual analysis for social research.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news: discourse and ideology in the press*. London: Routledge.

Galtung, J. & Ruge, M. (1965). The Structure of Foreign News. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2(1), 64-91.

Gans, H. (1979). *Deciding What's News: A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time.* Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Gurevitch, M., Levy, M. & Roeh, I. (1991). The global newsroom: convergences and diversities in the globalization of television news. In P. Dahlgren & C. Sparks (eds), *Communication and Citizenship*. London & New York: Routledge, 195–215.

Harcup, T. & O'Neill, D. (2001). What is News? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism Studies* 2(2), 261-280.

Harcup, T. & O'Neill, D. (2017). What is News? News values revisited (again). *Journalism Studies* 18(12), 1470-1488.

Link, P. (2002). *China: The Anaconda in the Chandelier.* 11 April. The New York Review of Books.

Luard, T. (2014). Hong Kong protests: Echoes of Tiananmen. *BBC News website*, 2 October. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-29454326

Lynch, J. (2007). A course in Peace Journalism. *Conflict & Communication Online*, 6(1), 1-20.

Lynch, J. & McGoldrick, A. (2010). A global standard for reporting conflict and peace. In R. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollmann (eds): *Peace Journalism, War and Conflict Resolution*. New York: Peter Lang, 87-103.

Olsson, E.-K. (2009). Rule regimes in news organisation decision making: explaining diversity in the actions of news organisations during extraordinary events. *Journalism* 10(6), 758-776. DOI: 10.1177/1464884909344477

Perrin, D. (2016). Investigating the Backstage of Newswriting with Process Analysis. In C. Paterson, D. Lee, A. Saha & A. Zoellner (eds), *Advancing Media Production Research: Shifting Sites, Methods, and Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 161-177.

Raeymaeckers, K. (2005). Letters to the editor: a feedback opportunity turned into a marketing tool. *European Journal of Communication* 20(2), 199-221. DOI: 10.1177/0267323105052298

Reich, Z. (2011). Source credibility as a journalistic work tool. In B. Franklin & M. Carlson (eds*): Journalists, Sources, and Credibility: New Perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge, 19-36.

Ryfe, D. (2006). The nature of news rules. *Political Communication* 23(2), 203-214. DOI: 10.1080/10584600600629810

Ryfe, D. (2016). News Routines, Role Performance, and Change in Journalism. In C. Mellado, L. Hellmueller, W. Donsbach (eds.), *Journalistic Role Performance: Concepts, Contexts, and Methods*, 127-139. Abingdon: Routledge.

de Vreese, C., Esser, F. & Hopmann, D. (eds), (2017). *Comparing Political Journalism.* London: Routledge.

White, D. (1950). 'The Gate Keeper': a case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly* 27, 383-390.

Wiggins, A. & Crowston, K. (2011). From conservation to crowdsourcing: a typology of citizen science. *Proceedings of the 44th Hawaii international conference on system sciences*, 1-10.