WORKING PAPER

Delving into the Discourse: Approaches to News Values in Journalism Studies and Beyond

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In this report we provide a cross-disciplinary overview of the ways in which *news values* have been and can be studied. Divided into three sections, the report covers the Media/Journalism Studies literature (in Section 1), studies on news photography in Section 2, and Section 3 focuses on news language and the Linguistics literature.[1]

1. News values and Media/Journalism Studies

1.1 Overview

Within the Media/Journalism Studies literature, news values are widely perceived of as existing externally to the news story text, for instance as values existing in the minds of journalists (Palmer 2000: 45; Donsbach 2004; Harrison 2010: 248; Kepplinger & Ehmig 2006: 27; Schultz 2007: 190; Strömbäck et al. 2012: 719), or as 'routine and highly regulated procedures' (Golding & Elliot 1979: 114), as systems of criteria central to the decision making process as to what will or will not be selected as news (Westerståhl & Johansson 1994: 71; Palmer 2000: 45), and as ideological constructs (Hall 1973: 184; Herman & Chomsky 1994: 298; McChesney 1999; Curran & Seaton 2003: 336). Not only are news values 'used', 'applied' or 'adhered to' (Lavie & Lehman-Wilzig 2003) in the journalistic process, they have the ability to 'influence selection' (McQuail 2005: 310), 'drive' coverage, and 'dominate' practice (see O'Neill & Harcup 2008). For some, they are part of a 'tacit newsroom culture that newcomers quickly absorb and internalize' (Allern 2002: 139) and are even described as being 'in the woodwork' (Allern 2002: 139). Concerning prevalent approaches to researching news values, Harrison (2006: 136) summarizes news value analysis as 'a form of **content-based** research which makes judgements about the production process by attempting to identify the way in which a "property of an event...increases its chance of becoming "news"' [our bold]. Alongside content analysis – the prevalent method – journalism research into news values also sometimes employs ethnographic approaches, such as interviewing and newsroom observations.

1.2 The foundations of news values research

Walter Lippmann (1922) is widely acknowledged as the first person to suggest attributes or conventions for the selection of news items to be published (p. 223); however, the most cited work on news values has been that of Galtung & Ruge (1965; see Hjarvard 1995 for an account of how their approach has been (mis-)applied by researchers). Their work has been held up as the 'foundation study of news values' (Bell 1991: 155), the earliest attempt to provide a systematic definition of newsworthiness (Palmer 1998: 378), an innovative study (Allan 1999: 63), and as promising to become 'a classic social science answer to the question "what is news?"' (Tunstall 1970: 20). Most of the research since the 1960s, including that in Linguistics (see Section 3), has used Galtung & Ruge as the starting point. Since their approach has become the dominant conceptualization of news values in journalism research (also noted by Hoskins & O'Loughlin 2007: 31), we will devote space here to explaining their research before detailing how it has been taken up by subsequent researchers.

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[1] For alternative overviews, see O'Neill & Harcup (2008) or Brighton & Foy (2007: 8-14). Our survey does not take into consideration concepts such as frames, agenda setting, gatekeeping etc. which have been identified as overlapping to some extent with news values analysis (see for example Allan 1999, Johnson-Cartee 2005). It also does not consider other conceptualizations of 'values' as they apply to journalists' work ethics. For example, Johnson & Kelly (2003) conflate the terms 'journalistic values' with 'news values'. 'Values' for them include accuracy and balance (p. 116), and their study adopts the conceptualization of values proposed by Johnstone et al. (1976) in terms of the 'roles' journalists and editors play in carrying out their duties (such as 'participant' role, 'neutral' role, 'interpretive/investigative' role and 'disseminator' role). Fuller (1996) also focuses on standards and guidelines by which journalists work. These include: objectivity, accuracy, fairness, neutrality, intellectual honesty, degrees of proof. We will not include such conceptualizations of 'news values'; neither do we include approaches to how news organizations can create 'value' through strategies such as becoming a trusted advisor (see Picard 2010 on value creation). We also do not provide comprehensive coverage of all research that is focused primarily on the *application* of news values/factors analysis to various data sets, since this body of work is vast and does not always critically engage with methodology and the validity of such factors/values. We only include key studies of such research where relevant. Furthermore, textbooks and professional 'how to' books (for example Kobré 2008) are also excluded.

The approach to news values posited by Galtung & Ruge is firmly centred on how **events** become news. Quite simply, an event 'either possesses them [factors of newsworthiness or 'news factors'] or does not possess them' (Galtung & Ruge 1965: 71). Thus it appears that the events themselves are somehow *invested* or *infused* with newsworthiness. The list of 'news factors' that Galtung & Ruge propose are a set of selections based on 'common-sense perception psychology' (p. 66), created through analogy to radio wave signals. They suggest that 12 factors are at play any time any event is considered worthy of reporting as 'news'. These include: Frequency, Threshold (absolute intensity, intensity increase), Unambiguity, Meaningfulness (cultural proximity, relevance), Consonance (predictability, demand), Unexpectedness (unpredictability, scarcity), Continuity, Composition. These first eight factors are to be read as 'culture-free', solely based on perception, whereas the remaining four factors are culture-bound. These are: Reference to elite nations, Reference to elite people, Reference to persons, Reference to something negative. (A more detailed definition/explanation of each factor is offered in Table 1 in the appendix.)

In talking about these news factors, Galtung & Ruge (1965: 65) propose a 'chain of news communication' that involves processes of selection, distortion and replication. From this, they hypothesize that the more an event satisfies the criteria/news factors, the more likely that it will be registered as news (selection); once selected, what makes the event newsworthy according to the factors will be accentuated (distortion); and finally, that selection and distortion will be repeated at all steps in the chain from event to reader (replication). This means that the 'cumulative effects of the factors should be considerable and produce an image of the world different from "what really happened"' (Galtung & Ruge 1965: 71). This idea does seem to suggest that the image of the world in the news is one that has been selected, distorted and replicated through discursive construction and by many different voices, but Galtung & Ruge direct their focus onto how to relate the news factors to each other in quantifying the newsworthiness of the **event** per se. Thus, they present two further hypotheses: The first being the Additivity Hypothesis that 'The higher the total score of an event, the higher the probability that it will become news, and even make headlines' (Galtung & Ruge 1965: 71). They do not test this hypothesis since, as they claim, it is 'almost too simple to mention' (p. 71). The second is the Complementarity Hypothesis, wherein an event low on one dimension or news factor will have to be high on another 'complementary' dimension to make it into the news.

To test their assumptions, Galtung & Ruge carry out content analysis on press cuttings in the form of 'news story, editorial, article (reportage, interview) or letter to the editor' (p. 74). From their discussion of the data, it is clear that the analysis concerned not just the press clipping itself, but also the context in which it was produced (e.g. the political leanings of the newspaper, radical vs. conservative). The analysis of the text involved the coding of a unit (press clipping) according to the presence or absence of various items. These included the presence or absence of elites (nations and people), and whether the 'mode' was 'negative', 'positive' or 'neutral' (p. 74). The focus of the coding was on **things** and **contexts** – what was reported **on** and **where**? For example, they coded each cutting for 'whether it reports something "negative" (something is destroyed, disrupted, torn down) or something "positive" (something is built up, constructed, put together)' and for people 'whether they are seen in a context that is negative or positive' (Galtung & Ruge 1965: 77). From their analysis, Galtung & Ruge tentatively conclude that 'There is probably such a phenomenon as *complementarity of news factors*' (1965: 80, italics in original), although they feel that more research is needed.

1.3 The uptake of Galtung & Ruge

Since the publication of Galtung & Ruge's seminal work, many researchers have taken up similar, somewhat determinist perspectives: namely that there are a set of criteria that help to determine the likelihood of an event being reported as news. News factors (also subsequently called *news values*, with the two terms having become synonymous for most researchers, although some do distinguish between them[2]) are widely conceived of as *selection criteria* that are equally applied first to the 'event' that has taken place and whether it is to be selected for investigation by a journalist, and second to the 'story' as it competes with other stories to be selected for

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[2] For example, Kepplinger & Ehmig (2006: 28) propose a two-component theory of news selection comprising the basic elements of news **factors** and the news **value** of news factors. According to this approach, the relative impact of characteristics of news stories – the news factors – on the selection of news stories is called news value. News values are not qualities of news stories, but characteristics of journalists – their judgments about the relevance of news factors (p. 27), while news factors are by definition 'qualities of news stories' (p. 27), which 'might be the degree of damage reported, the status of people involved, the geographical distance between the event and the place where the recipients of the news stories live' (p. 27).

publication in the limited spaces of print newspapers and TV/radio bulletins. News values are also commonly regarded as *properties or qualities* of events.

Palmer (2000: 31), for example, takes the event as the departure point in assessing the 'universal' criteria of newsworthiness, but stresses the importance of context in assessing the relevance of these criteria to the structures of particular events. In other words, 'news value consists of **that aspect of an event** which is in accordance with the timeliness, interest, importance, etc., of the event's relationship to its context' (p. 33, our bold). For Conley & Lamble (2006: 42), news values exist in the 'chemistry of an event, comment or circumstance that combine to produce news'. They also posit a determinist view in that:

> News values will **determine** whether stories are to be pursued. They will **determine** whether, if pursued, they will then be published. They will **determine**, if published, where the stories will be placed in news presentation. Having been placed, new [sic] values will **determine** to what extent the public will read them. (Conley & Lamble 2006: 42, our bold)

At the same time, the work of Galtung & Ruge has been widely criticised and revised over the years. One criticism relates to its limited data (only assessing foreign news reporting in four Norwegian newspapers; indeed, the choice of Norway per se has been criticized) and more significantly, for focusing on the 'event', as if it were endowed with epistemological qualities that infuse it with newsworthiness (see Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 265 for a review of such criticism).

One of the first to comprehensively challenge Galtung & Ruge's study was Tunstall (1971). He points to 'serious limitations' in relation to the specificity of the topic of study while ignoring the day-to-day coverage of other issues; that the news items originated almost exclusively through news agencies; that fundamental aspects of news presentation, e.g. 'the *editionizing* phenomenon' (p. 21, italics in original) are ignored; and that the study ignores the visual aspect altogether. At the same time, Tunstall also signalled an 'unusual strength' of Galtung & Ruge's study: that their 'coherent set of hypotheses' had the potential for application in a wide range of news contexts, including television news (1971: 21-2). That this has turned out to be the case is evident in the vast body of research that has applied Galtung & Ruge since, although this is not the case for visual analysis (see Section 2 below). Similar to Tunstall and in relation to radio news, Niblock & Machin (2007: 201) identify a nexus of factors that are not fully explained by Galtung & Ruge. These include 'time, procedural requirements and targeting' (p. 201) in relation to selection and running order of radio stories aimed at different markets.

A further criticism relates to the culture-free/bound nature of Galtung & Ruge's list of news factors. In an attempt to understand news value at both a global and local level, Guo (2012) offers a Chinese perspective on news values and emphasizes an audience-oriented approach, suggesting that 'the value of news is materialised only when the news is read' (Guo 2012: 30). Masterton (2005) also contests the universality of journalistic values, and the special issue of the journal *Communications*, volume 31, reviews German research of news values with a similar focus on an audience-oriented approach. Related to this emphasis on culture is research that focuses on the ideological aspects of news values. Here, news values are conceptualized as a form of 'professional ideology' (Hall et al. 1978: 249). For Hall, in particular, 'news values appear as a set of neutral, routine practices: but we need, also, to see formal news values as an ideological structure – to examine these rules as the formalization and operationalization of *an ideology of news*' (Hall 1973: 182, italics in original). Ideological perspectives on news values also take into consideration organisational needs and political and economic structures. Media coverage is seen as a socially determined construction of reality in which the 'objectivity of news is based on a social consensus among journalists' (Staab 1990: 428, see also Price & Tewksbury 1997, Hartley 1982, Bignell 2002).

Finally, a number of researchers propose new conceptualisations and new lists of news values/factors, as alternative to those from Galtung & Ruge. Most researchers, however, do not fully justify why the need to do this has arisen, nor do they explain how the new lists are significantly different from the old ones. By way of a summary, Table 1 (in the appendix) collates the various lists of news values/factors that have been posited by a wide range of researchers since Galtung & Ruge's work was published in 1965 (see Eilders 2006: 8 for an alternative list cataloguing German research).[3] For the main part, authors point to the out-datedness or limited applicability – especially in the 21st century – of Galtung & Ruge's approach to news factor analysis and/or to

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[3] Our list also includes suggestions by linguists, marked with an 'L' in brackets after the researcher's name.

the need for a new list of news values. Interestingly though, as this table shows, there is a remarkable amount of overlap. Just to take one news value, Prominence, as an example, it can be seen that the explanations/definitions from eleven different sets of researchers are almost identical: that there is an element of eliteness in the news actors (persons, nations or organisations). The main differences occur in the naming/labelling of this news value with varieties of Eliteness, Celebrity, Status, Prominence, Worth, and Power used.

Another interesting element of this collation of news values is how the label 'news value' has been applied to a wide range of factors that do not necessarily make up a consistent entity. Some of the values concern apparent qualities of **the event** or the people involved in the events. These include Negativity, Impact, Timeliness, Proximity, and Prominence. Here the research seems to argue that there are qualities of an event that influence the likelihood that it will register as newsworthy and therefore result in its selection for consideration for publication. Other researchers take into consideration elements of journalistic **practice**, which have nothing to do with the event or news actors themselves. These include considerations of written and spoken style, the structure of the story, and the clarity of the construction of the information. Such values are glossed by many researchers as Unambiguity, Simplification, Brevity, and Clarity. Similarly, elements of **balance** between content – that a variety of stories are selected for publication in a programme or on a page – and stories/events that fit the current **news agenda** are also classified as 'news values'. Some researchers include factors relating to **business models/market/economic conditions**, which exist regardless of the unfolding of events in the wider world, although others quarantine these from consideration as 'news values' per se. For example, O'Neill & Harcup (2008: 171) point to other factors that may be at play in the news process and suggest that 'it is probably not possible to examine news values in a meaningful way without also paying attention to occupational routines, budgets, the market, and ideology, as well as wider global cultural, economic and political considerations' (see also Tunstall 1971: 23). However, Brighton & Foy (2007: 29) include 'External influences' as one of their 'new news values'.

We take two key points from this summary of news values and how the terms *news values/factors* have been applied:

1. There is much overlap between lists of news values.[4]
2. The term *news values/news factors* can mean very different things to researchers in the field.

Thus, we see the need for consolidation of a list of news values that takes into account this overlap and we see the need to distinguish more clearly between the different aspects of the news process that the term *news values* is applied to. One suggestion for the latter, which we have made in previous research (Bednarek & Caple 2012a,b) and are currently refining, is to distinguish between *news writing objectives* (general goals associated with news writing, such as clarity of expression, brevity, colour, accuracy, etc), *selection factors* (*any* factor or criterion impacting on whether or not a story becomes published, not necessarily values, for example commercial pressures, availability of reporters, deadlines, etc), and *news values* (to do with newsworthiness). *News values* themselves can be approached from at least three different perspectives: a focus on the potential newsworthiness of an event in its material reality (a 'material' perspective); a focus on news workers' beliefs or judgments about the newsworthiness of an event for their target audience (a 'cognitive' perspective); a focus on how news production texts (press release, interviews, published story...) construct the newsworthiness of an event through language, photography, etc (a 'discursive' perspective). There are of course, complex interrelations between these aspects: for example, news workers' beliefs about what is newsworthy for their target audience may well impact on whether or not a story becomes published. But we argue that it is still helpful to reserve the term *news values* for newsworthiness, as opposed to news selection factors in general.

1.4 Approaches to news values

After providing a 'snapshot' overview of news values research, we now provide further details on key approaches, categorising them according to whether or not news values are seen as properties of events or stories, as selection criteria, etc. It must be emphasised that researchers often combine more than one definition – for example they may talk about news values *both* as selection criteria *and* as properties of events or stories. The categorisation below disguises this fact to a certain extent.

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[4] This point is also made by Cotter (2010: 70) with respect to lists of news values that can be found in journalism textbooks.

1.4.1 Events and stories

From an event-centric perspective, news values are attributed to events or stories. For instance, Schulz (1982) takes the notion of 'news factors' as proposed by Østgaard (1965) and Galtung & Ruge (1965), and defines them as 'those features of an event that determine its newsworthiness' (1982: 145). He hypothesizes that 'events with a highly prominent coverage satisfy to a high degree the news factor criteria' (1982: 146) and measures the intensity of news factors using interval scales, placement and length of news stories. Similarly, Shoemaker et al. (1991) use dimensions such as deviance and social/political/cultural significance to measure the newsworthiness of an event (see also Chang et al. 1987 for earlier work in this area). They take the 'event' as their unit of analysis and test hypotheses such as 'the more deviant a world event is, the more prominently it will be covered by U.S. media' (p. 786), using a four-point scale to measure deviance. More recent studies investigating news values in sporting events (see Lee & Choi 2009) have also applied this method of assessing newsworthiness.

For Harcup & O'Neill (2001), news values '[inform] the ground rules that come into operation when journalists select stories' (p. 261); in other words news values are in 'daily application' (p. 279) or 'used by journalists' (p. 162). But they also talk about stories having or not having 'intrinsic newsworthiness' (p. 275) and the main part of their study concerns the application of content analysis to published news stories. Their aim is to examine the stories' content and hypothesise what might have led to their selection (p. 267). However, Harcup & O'Neill (2001) point out that this method 'would not necessarily explain why that story was selected above other potential stories containing similar elements' (p. 268) or which potential news stories remained unnoticed or rejected (p. 269). They also note that their analysis cannot tell us if news values are 'intrinsic to the subject matter' (p. 268) or have to do with how the newspapers write about the subject matter. Despite these and other problematic areas that they raise about their content analysis (p. 268-260), they suggest their own set of news values, arguing that 'news stories must generally satisfy one or more of the following requirements to be selected' (p. 278): the power elite, celebrity, entertainment, surprise, bad news, good news, magnitude, relevance, follow-up, and newspaper agenda (see Table 1/appendix for definitions).

More recently, Conley & Lamble (2006) differentiate between core and standard news values, taking the notion of core values from Masterton (e.g. 2005), who, in the 1980s, conducted interviews with senior journalists and journalism educators in 63 countries. Masterton was interested in discovering whether there was a difference between journalism values in the West and in Asia and where there was common ground in their conceptualizations. His interview results showed that 'journalists around the world accept that there is a three-element core of newsworthiness without which no information can become news' (Masterton 2005: 42). These three core values are Interest, Timeliness and Clarity. Masterton also suggests that there is a further set of internationally recognized criteria that are valid 'regardless of race, nationality, culture, politics or religion' (2005: 42). These are Consequence, Proximity, Conflict, Human Interest, Novelty and Prominence (see Table 1/appendix for definitions). Conley & Lamble (2006) identify eight of their own standard news-value criteria: *Impact, conflict, timeliness, proximity, prominence, currency, human interest* and *the unusual*. Fundamentally, though, Conley & Lamble also discuss news values in relation to events and stories (at time conflating the two). So when discussing a flood event and the news value *impact*, they see impact as being embedded in the flood event or story itself: 'The floods had a multi-faceted impact, which is the most common criterion for assessing a news story...the bigger the impact, the bigger the story. If a story has no presumed "impact", its newsworthiness might be limited' (Conley & Lamble 2006: 43). For them, news values are also 'fluid and can be altered by social, economic and cultural trends' (p. 56).

One approach to the conceptualization of news factors (news values) that appears to distinguish more clearly between events and stories is that proposed by Staab (1990) in his 'functional model'. Rather than approaching news factors as 'qualities' inherent in an event, Staab suggests that journalists may 'ascribe news factors to a news story' (p. 429). He explains that in writing news stories, the journalist can 'stress aspects of the actual event and therefore stress different news factors and, as a consequence give a different meaning and emphasis to the event and the corresponding news story' (1990: 429). In testing such a model, he advises a multi-method approach including content analysis, surveys among journalists and observation of journalistic practice in the news room.

1.4.2 Focus on journalism's organisational criteria and standards, including journalists' perceptions and assessments

News values are often tied to organisational criteria or journalists' perceptions and assessments. An example of this is Schulz (1982: 146), who offers six dimensions of news selection which are measured by frequency, position, length and presentation. He examines the correlation between political reporting on television in a south-western German town and the 'image of politics' held by viewers and concludes that 'news factors' may be conceptualized as 'organizational criteria of collective perception which govern the media's as well as the individual's construction of reality' (Schulz 1982: 149). For an example of research applying Schulz' higher-order dimensions of news selection see Maier & Ruhrmann (2008). These include the dimensions (and associated news factors) of: status, valence, relevance, identification, consonance and dynamics (see Table 1/appendix).

Drawing on cognitive psychology, Eilders (2006: 6) tackles the 'status of news factors as either event or news characteristics' for both journalists and audiences. She regards news factors as 'efficient selection criteria in both media use and the retention of news items by the audience' (2006: 10). She explains her position on the epistemological status of 'reality' as 'always represent[ing] an individual's specific perception' and since journalists are 'the most important selective agents, their perception should be critical to the definition of news factors'. Thus, news factors may be regarded as 'journalistic hypotheses' or as 'perceived event characteristics' (Eilders 2006: 11). She suggests that news factors establish a 'relevance schema and thus guide selective attention and information processing in the audience' (p. 16).

Donsbach (2004: 136) takes as his departure point the idea that 'most of journalists' work is about perceptions, conclusions and judgements: to see reality; to infer from it to developments and relationships; and to evaluate reality' and attempts to explain journalists' decision making processes using psychological theories. He concludes that two main functions are at play in making decisions about news: a need for social validation of perceptions and a need to preserve one's existing predispositions. He goes on to argue that

> most communication scholars would agree that research so far has led to four main factors that seem to influence a journalist's decision whether to print or dump a story and how to present it: news factors, institutional objectives, the manipulative power of news sources and the subjective beliefs of journalists. (Donsbach 2004: 134)

For Donsbach, *news factors* are 'professional assessments of the characteristics that make a story worth reporting', while *institutional objectives* are those ideological and political goals of proprietors and other external players (e.g. advertisers) that may influence the content or form of a report (p. 134). Public relations, communication consultants and spin-doctors are also said to manipulate how certain issues are reported in the media, and the journalist's own subjective beliefs about an actor or issue may affect his or her news decisions (p. 135).

In general, approaches that tie news values to journalistic assumptions, assessments or criteria seem to implicitly or explicitly presume that news values are internalised by news workers, for example through daily practice or explicitly acquired via journalistic textbooks. We have elsewhere called this position a 'cognitive' perspective (Bednarek & Caple 2012a), since it ultimately suggest that news values are internalised (i.e. mental or cognitive). For instance, Harrison (2010: 248) regards news factors as being vocationally and organisationally derived and 'learned by a news journalist "doing the job"'. However, she also sees events as carrying intrinsic news factors in that 'events are deemed to be self evidently newsworthy because they have certain characteristics that make them recognisably news' (p. 248). This is one of several examples where news values are simultaneously regarded as characteristics of events and as 'cognitive' (internalised criteria).

1.4.3 Focus on selection process

Some researchers embed their discussion of news values into theories of the news selection process (including some of the above-mentioned researchers, which we will not mention here again.) For instance, Gans (2004: 39-40) describes values in the news as existing 'between the lines – in what actors and activities are reported or ignored, and in how they are described'. Values are 'preference statements' that speak to a 'picture of nation and society as it ought to be' (p. 39). His complex multi-layered approach to the news selection process

includes his original four theories of selection: journalistic judgement, organisational requirements (commercial pressures), the event/mirror theory and external determinism, followed by seven criteria for story suitability and a further set of external (more enduring) values that journalistic practice is said to uphold. These include ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy responsible capitalism, small town pastoralism, individualism, and moderatism.

1.4.4 Factors relating to business models/market/economic conditions

As noted above, some researchers suggest a connection between news values/news factors and political and socio-economic conditions (which we include under *selection factors* above). One of these is another Norwegian scholar, Einar Østgaard, reporting in the same volume of the *Journal of Peace Research* (1965, 2 (1)) as Galtung & Ruge, but largely ignored in most subsequent research on news values. He suggests that the 'free flow of news' is influenced by conditions that apply both within the news production process and by factors external to it, not least political and economic factors, such as news sources, cost of production, editorial policy and market orientation (p. 44), which have a hampering effect (p. 45) on the flow of news. Internal factors, which are explained by Østgaard (1965: 45-51) as necessary in making the news 'newsworthy', 'interesting' or 'palatable' to the public, include simplification, identification and the news barrier.

Following on from this perspective, Allern (2002) proposes that editorial priorities need to be viewed as 'efforts to combine journalistic norms and editorial ambitions, on the one hand, with commercial norms and market objectives, on the other' (p. 137). Allern (2002) contends that the commercial aspects of the news media should also be taken into consideration in any analysis of news selection and production. This includes consideration of 'the geographical area of coverage and type of audience, the competition between media and news enterprises, and the budget allotted news departments' (Allern 2002: 142). For Allern, it is still a matter of news values, norms and objectives guiding the 'selections, priorities and reporting of news desks' (2002: 140), and judgments of newsworthiness are embedded in 'both events and personalities' (p. 142). Like other approaches, his set of 'commercial news criteria' ultimately aims to assess the likelihood that an event will become news.

1.5 New approaches to news values

Notwithstanding the massive transformation that has taken place in the news media arena in recent decades, few have questioned whether news values have also transformed over this time. Hoskins & O'Loughlin (2007: 31) lament the failing of the media and communications discipline to 'think outside of [Galtung & Ruge's] framework or to comprehensively challenge it'. Their own challenge centres on the news factor of 'frequency' in relation to time in television and they argue for the 'mediatisation of time' (p. 34) through the massive transformations that have occurred in live and continuous television news coverage. For them, television news modulates between the compression and decompression of time, speeding up and slowing down the pace of events through its technological connectivity and its different modes of representation (p. 34). The pervasive culture across broadcast media today, they argue, is one of 'liveness', which accounts for the nature and impact of television news.

In an attempt to widen the scope of news values to be more inclusive of the 21st century news landscape (including new media platforms and an increasingly active audience), Brighton & Foy (2007: 25-29) propose a set of 'new news values'. They see their updated list as responding to the 'cultural shift' in the relation between providers and consumers of news (p. 6), as being 'flexible' (p. 5) and 'more appropriate for this digital age of converged media forms' (p. 5). Like many other approaches to news values in the media literature, Brighton & Foy align themselves with the idea that news values are selection criteria (a set of rules, p. 1) 'applied' to news stories as a means of prioritizing items (p. 3). They also view news values as 'pure' (p. 3), while the story is 'already corrupted' (p. 3) as it has been through a mediation process. Other corrupting influences include pressure from outside the industry (e.g. a proprietor, advertiser, politician). These are encapsulated in their new news value of 'External influences' (p. 29). Interestingly, for Brighton & Foy (2007: 15), the introduction of television and in particular the live television news broadcast is both evidence of the need to update Galtung & Ruge's list of news factors and an example of one of the purest forms of unmediated news. To justify this claim, they use the example of the September 11 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre in New York, stating that:

the reportage, in whatever form it took, was instinctive on the part of the reporters, who knew that this was an event which needed no time to transform into news – and those who watched or listened around the globe as events unfolded knew with equal instinctiveness that there was no need for any mediation; what they were seeing was pure, unfiltered news. (Brighton & Foy 2007: 15)

Brighton & Foy's (2007) list of new news values includes Relevance, Topicality, Composition, Expectation, Unusualness, Worth and External Factors. There is considerable overlap between the explanations for their new news values and for those that have come before them (see Table 1/appendix).

1.6 Summary

Common to the approaches to news values within the Media/Journalism Studies literature is that news values are largely conceptualised as existing externally to the final news story text and are the key drivers in the news selection process. One would expect such approaches to be based primarily in ethnographic research: observations of the processes of journalistic practice, interviews with editors/decision-makers in relation to their selection of this story over that etc., rather than by examining actual news stories. However, content analysis is still a prevalent method, and, as O'Neill & Harcup (2008: 171) point out, 'discussion of news sometimes blurs distinctions between news *selection* and news *treatment*' (italics in original, see also Hartley 1982: 79, Staab 1990).[5] Another commonality of this research lies in its neglect of *visual* content. Thus, only few researchers have considered newsworthiness and its relation to news photography. The next section provides an overview of this research.

2. News values and images[6]

Photographs have been an integral part of the news storytelling process since their inception. However, the body of research investigating press photography does not appear to match this longevity (see Caple 2013 for a review) and is severely lacking with respect to the relationship between news values and press photography. This has been noted by only a few researchers (see for example Rössler et al 2011), and Tunstall (1971: 21) is the only researcher to criticize Galtung & Ruge for ignoring the visual aspect of news presentation altogether.

For those who have dealt with news values and press photography, the focus remains on the selection process. Thus, the concept of visualization and the availability of images have been listed as selection criteria (see Rössler et al 2011: 417). An example of this can be seen in the theorizing of Harcup & O'Neill (2001). They have a sub-category of what they call the news value of 'entertainment' which is labelled 'picture opportunities' (p. 274). They comment that 'if a story provided a good picture opportunity then it was often included even when there was little obvious intrinsic newsworthiness' (Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 274). They further suggest that:

> Certain combinations of news values appear almost to guarantee coverage in the press. For example, a story with a good picture, or picture opportunity combined with any reference to an A-list celebrity, royalty, sex, TV, or a cuddly animal appears to make a heady brew that news editors find almost impossible to resist (Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 276).

Hall (1973: 179) talks of the professional ideology of news. For him, there are two levels of signification of news. In relation to images, this involves the formal news value of the photographic sign – i.e. the elaboration of the photograph and text in terms of the professional ideology of news, which is 'the common-sense

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[5] This survey focuses on conceptualizations of news values rather than methods used in their analysis, a topic that would deserve a critical review on its own. For instance, identifying news values in stories (through content analysis) to determine why these stories were chosen is highly problematic, as it tells us more about the *how* than the *why* of coverage (Hartley 1982: 79, Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 276).

[6] For reasons of scope, we focus primarily on news photography here, rather than broadcast news imagery. Some of the latter research conceptualizes 'value' in moving images in relation to production and economic values (see for example Cummins & Chambers 2011), which falls outside of the definition we are using here. But see Maier & Ruhrmann (2008) for an approach that builds on Schulz (1982).

understanding as to what constitutes the news in the newspaper discourse' (Hall 1973: 179). Formal news values as expressed in the press photograph would include the unexpected, dramatic, recent event concerning a person of high status. The second level of signification is the ideological level of connoted themes and interpretations.

Singletary and Lamb (1984: 108) measure the news value of award-winning press photography in the US using 'the yardstick of the traditional values' and find that the photos 'typically focused on a narrow range of those values'. These were timeliness, proximity and conflict in the case of *news* photos, and proximity and human interest in *feature* photos (p. 108).

Only a few researchers have attempted to compile a list of news values that specifically relate to press photography. Craig (1994: 198) has suggested that while press photographs can and do confirm the newsworthiness of the story they accompany, they may also perform specific functions, often in opposition to the functions of the news stories. In a study of the use of press photographs in two Australian publications, the *West Australian* (a Perth-based metropolitan broadsheet newspaper) and the *Australian* (a national broadsheet newspaper), Craig detects five news values at work in press photographs: reference to elite persons, composition, personalization, negativity and conflict/dramatization (see Table 2/appendix). In more recent times, another set of researchers have proposed a set of 'image-inherent news factors' (Rössler et al 2011: 417). Their catalogue of photo news factors includes *damage, violence/aggression, controversy, celebrities, unexpectedness, emotions, execution and technique,* and *sexuality/eroticism.* These photo news factors are defined as 'selection criteria' and are said to determine whether the images are 'worth publishing' (p. 417). Caple (2013) presents a more detailed discussion of the relationship between news values and press photography and demonstrates the usefulness of a discursive approach (see Section 3 below).

3. News values and Linguistics

3.1 Overview

Most linguistic research on news discourse does not appear to be interested in analysing or discussing news values in depth, perhaps because they are not seen as relevant for linguistic analysis, but as lying outside the text. Database results (Linguistics and Language Behaviour Abstracts; Modern Languages Association International Bibliography) show a dearth of articles in linguistic publications devoted to news values, with only a handful of results including the search term 'news values' (29 August 2013). Thus, much linguistic research does not mention news values at all or if it does, mentions them only in passing, because the focus is on other aspects. Where news values *are* mentioned, definitions from the Journalism Studies research are usually taken on without questioning them (but see Montgomery's 2007: 10-11 discussion of the epistemological status of news values and his own news values for broadcast news in Table 1/appendix). Articles often examine particular aspects of journalism, such as the relation between PR material and news story (Sissons 2012), advert and news story (Ungerer 2004), narrativization and human interest in war reporting (Piazza & Haarman 2011), or the construction of nature (Goatly 2002) rather than being devoted to a close examination of news values. Even where they do pay attention to news values in more detail, for example Ben-Aaron's (2003, 2005) examination of stories about national holidays or anniversaries, or Bednarek's (2006) comparison of British tabloids and broadsheets, they usually follow the relevant literature in Journalism and Linguistics, mostly citing key readings such as Galtung & Ruge (1965), van Dijk (1988) and Bell (1991). This is also the case for publications in Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Baker et al 2013). For example, Richardson (2007) sees news values as one of several professional practices 'that shape journalism as a discourse process and therefore help to account for the products of newspaper discourse' (p. 182). He explains news values as 'the criteria employed by journalist to measure and therefore to judge the "newsworthiness" of events' (p. 91); he talks about events (such as a war involving Britain) satisfying news values (p. 182), but also writes that 'news values are the (*imagined*) preferences of the expected audience' (p. 94, italics in original). The relationship between these different conceptualizations is not discussed at length, but if we interpret Richardson's remarks correctly, this means that in his view an event occurs, it satisfies particular news values, journalists measure and judge this newsworthiness based on what they imagine their audiences find newsworthy and use this judgment to 'select, order and prioritise the collection and production of news' (p. 91).

A handful of linguists *have* tried to come up with their own conceptualisation of news values, with three broad camps to be distinguished, which we call *practice-based*, *cognitive* and *discursive*.

3.2 Practice-based

The practice-based approach is represented by Allan Bell and Colleen Cotter, who both draw on their professional background as journalists.[7] Bell describes news values as 'the – often unconscious – criteria by which newsworkers make their professional judgements as they process stories' (Bell 1991: 155). Bell proposes that these values can be identified through analysis of journalistic textbooks or by 'deduction from what actually happens in the media' (Bell 1991: 155) and appears to favour the latter approach.

For Bell, news values 'drive the way news stories are gathered, structured and presented' (Bell 1991: 247). As far as the coverage of news actors or events is concerned (what is selected, what makes the news), Bell argues that this can be explained by considering how they meet news values criteria, for example, elite news actors get to be in the news by virtue of being elite, whereas non-elite news actors get to be in the news for instance if something negative or unexpected happens to them (Bell 1991: 194). This suggests that for Bell, news values are also a *quality* of news actors/events, at the same time as being *criteria* that journalists are trained to operate (Bell 1991: 246). This becomes more explicit when he talks about 'obscure witnesses or givers of information with **no news value in their own right**' (Bell 1991: 180, our bold) or says that 'the murder is more newsworthy than the police investigation, the verdict more than the trial' (Bell 1995a: 320) or explains that one class of news values relates to 'the content of the news, the **nature** of its events and actors' (p. 156, our bold).

Bell (1991) also appears to attribute a clear mono-causal, uni-directional relationship; one where news values exist and control news production, including news presentation. He talks about news values as *moulding* (Bell 1991: 168), *controlling* (Bell 1991: 180) or *driving* (Bell 1995b: 26-7) the news story (in particular, its structure), with news values *leading to* events being framed in a particular way (e.g. Bell 1991: 169). Thus, at times, it seems as if news values exist independently of journalists, either in the 'nature' of events/actors or as somewhat reified driving forces of news story production. At other times, Bell talks about '*perceived* news value' (Bell 1995a: 313, italics in original) and 'the values by which one "fact" is **judged** more newsworthy than another' (Bell 1995a: 320, our bold). The words 'perceive' and 'judge' here clearly imply a journalist as agent and such phrasing is more in line with his conceptualization of news values as criteria.

Bell further suggests that news values can also be 'enhanced' through language by journalists, as they edit input texts (such as interview notes, press releases, etc) to produce final copy (p. 65) as well as in copy-editing (e.g. Bell 1991: 229; Bell 1995b: 26). Indeed, Bell says: 'maximizing news value is the primary function' (Bell 1991: 76) of copy editing, and he gives several examples of this, when discussing individual news stories.

Bell's approach becomes more complex by including many phenomena under the term *news values.* Building on but also modifying Galtung & Ruge (1965), he categorizes them into three groups: The first group relates to news content and includes values such as Recency, Unexpectedness and Superlativeness. The second group concerns news gathering and processing and includes values such as Continuity, Competition, and Prefabrication. The third group concerns three values that have to do with 'the quality or style of the news text' (160) – Clarity, Brevity and Colour – and in fact Bell also talks about these as 'goals' or 'aims' of news writing and editing (Bell 1991: 160; 1995a: 306, 319). (A more detailed definition/explanation of each news value is offered in Table 1 in the appendix.) Bell has been very influential in Linguistics: Textbooks largely tend to follow his conceptualization when explaining news values (e.g. Durant & Lambrou 2009: 88) and it has also influenced other linguists in the field (e.g. Bednarek 2006).

In some ways, Cotter's approach to news values is similar to that of Bell. News values are seen as journalists' '*internalized assumptions* about what is important to transmit' (p.56, italics in original). They influence journalistic decisions by providing or functioning as guidelines or parameters and establishing selection criteria and a 'hierarchy of importance' (p. 73-74). In this sense, they 'are **used** to decide what is news' (Cotter 2010: 87, bold face in original). Where Bell talks about news values as criteria that journalists are trained to use, Cotter assumes that journalists are inculcated with news values through a socialization process (p. 53).

Like Bell, news values are also referred to as 'elements of content' (Cotter 2010: 94), qualities of news items or properties of stories, for example '**A story with impact**, like a tax hike or election result, gets "higher"

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[7] As far as linguistic sub-disciplines concerned, the two researchers differ in their approach to news discourse – Bell is a sociolinguist, whereas Cotter is an ethnographic researcher.

or more prominent coverage than a meeting notice or club event' (Cotter 2010: 95, our bold) or when Cotter explains that the news value of Prominence is about the standing of news actors (p. 69). Here it seems again as if news values exist independently of journalists, although Cotter also talks about them as 'group-agreed qualities ... that make an item newsworthy' (Cotter 2010: 87), where 'group-agreed' implies journalists as agents. Indeed, for the most part, Cotter clearly sees news values as something that inheres in journalists – assumptions or an ideology that they hold.[8]

Again like Bell, Cotter seems to attribute a clear mono-causal, uni-directional relationship, with news values *influencing* (p. 1) or *governing* (p. 73) news practice, *shaping* (p.67) or becoming *embedded* (p.67) in text. Indeed, she sees their influence as all-encompassing:

> News values are not only invoked to answer questions at the *conceptualization stage* about **what** to cover or what counts as news, but also to answer other relevant journalistic questions related to the story and *story construction*: **how** to cover it, **what** to emphasize or start off with (the "lede" [sic]), **who** to talk to, **when** to proceed or hold back. They are also relevant to the story's placement or *position* in the paper or on the broadcast: **where** to position it physically in time (radio and television) or space (print) and **how** to play it, incorporating non-textual demands pertaining to space and time on any one day. (Cotter 2010: 75, bold face and italics in original)

However, Cotter does not take as broad a view as Bell on news values and factors such as Bell's news value of Composition (to do with the mix of similar/different kinds of news) are seen as influencing factors but outside newsworthiness (e.g. Cotter 2010: 80). Further, she makes the point that what she calls 'in-group taxonomies' (textbook lists of news values, with the key news values of Timeliness, Proximity and Prominence) differ to those of outsiders (lists compiled by researchers) (Cotter 2010: 68). She further shows how news values are invoked explicitly in story meetings through what she calls 'news-value-instantiated proposition' (e.g. a statement by an editor that *It'll be a little old* [Recency], or *It's still pretty significant* [Importance]; see Cotter 2010: 95-97, 103, for other examples). Cotter also notes that news values are cited in discussions where news workers reflect on and evaluate their own news practice, for instance in newsroom meetings, memos, or trade publications (p. 76). News values are further implicitly credited in discussions of newsworthiness e.g. in columns and opinion pieces (p. 71-72), both to justify why something *was* and why it was *not* covered (e.g. a columnist describing someone as '*a woman nobody has ever heard of*' [Prominence]). Again, using words such as 'invoke', 'cite', or 'credit' appears to perhaps suggest that the news values exist independently of the discourse. However, Cotter does also state that such discourse *reinforces* news values (p. 94).

3.3 Cognitive

The cognitive approach is represented by Teun van Dijk and Roger Fowler, who both apply Critical Discourse Analysis. While they do not discuss news values to the extent that Bell and Cotter do, they do offer their own conceptualizations, rather than simply drawing on Journalism research. Van Dijk (1988) distinguishes different types of news values: those having to do with the economic conditions of news production (including constraints such as budgets, sales/subscriptions); those associated with the newsgathering production process (deadlines, sections, accessibility of sources), and a range of 'more specific cognitive constraints that define news values' (Novelty, Recency, Presupposition, Consonance, Relevance, Deviance and Negativity, Proximity; see Table 1 in the Appendix). He interprets news values as constraints that 'have a cognitive representation' (p. 121). These constraints are said to underlie the production of news, including selection and formulation: 'the interpretation of events as potential news events is determined by the potential news discourse such an interpretation (model) may be used for, and conversely. News production seems circular: Events and text mutually influence each other.' (p. 113).[9] Similarly, Fowler (1991) starts off by explaining Galtung and Ruge's (1965) original news values, but comes up with his own cognitive conceptualisation. In this definition, news

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[8] This means that Cotter's approach could also be subsumed under the 'cognitive' approach. However, her conceptualization is only implicitly cognitive and her ethnographic research clearly focuses on newsroom *practice*.

[9] A similar point seems to be made by semiotician Jonathan Bignell: 'An event attains news value not simply because of what it is, but also because it can be narrated in the terms of an existing narrative code. […] So selecting events for the news cannot […] be prior to the representation of the event in a narrative code. The activity of selection already involves an awareness of the narrative codes in news discourse.' (Bignell 2002: 87).

values are seen as socially constructed 'intersubjective mental categories' (p. 17), although Fowler also argues that they are 'qualities of (potential) reports' and 'features of representation' (p. 19). In other words, both Fowler and van Dijk conceptualise news values as cognitive, but also recognize their social and discursive dimensions.

3.4 Discursive

A final approach within Linguistics is our own 'discursive' approach (Bednarek & Caple 2012a, b, 2013, in press), which we are currently refining. This approach is interested in examining systematically the role that language, image and other semiotic resources play in the construction of newsworthiness. Before we address the way this role is theorized in our own research, it is useful to provide a snapshot of how the relationship between language and news values has been addressed in other linguistic research.[10]

If this relationship is addressed at all, it is variously described as linguistic representations/features *contributing to* (Ledin 1996: 56), *increasing* (Ben-Aaron 2005: 715), *conforming to* (Goatly 2002: 18), *stressing* (Goatly 2002: 18) or being linguistic *manifestations of* particular news values (Ledin 1996: 56). As suggested above, for Bell, the language of news stories 'reflects and expresses' (Bell 1991: 2) news values, and journalists can enhance news value through language. In Cotter's (2010) approach, news values become 'embedded' in text but they are also frequently 'cited' or 'invoked' in discussions during or on news practice. For Montgomery (2007: 93), a linguistic feature like the present tense is 'driven by' the news value of Recency. Bednarek (2006) uses news values to explain why particular evaluations occur in news stories, noting how linguistic devices *contribute to* (p. 71), *express* (p. 76), *enhance* (p.149) or are 'related to' (p. 75) particular news values. For instance, the use of words such as *reveal*, *revelation* and *disclose* enhances the news value of Unexpectedness (Novelty) by implying that there is new information that has been uncovered and evaluations of importance can make the Eliteness of a source explicit (e.g. **top** *psychologist Dr Peter Kindermann*). Similarly, Stenvall (2008) shows that anonymous sources can be '*construed* as "elite"', credible and newsworthy through evaluations (Stenvall 2008: 230, our italics), and Ledin (1996) proposes that anaphoric expressions may be 'central in *creating* [the news value of] personalization' (Ledin 1996: 56, our italics). However, none of these studies have systematically categorised the different resources that can be used to construct news values, although some have made a start in that direction: Bell (1991) identifies certain linguistic devices that 'enhance' news value through the discussion of specific examples; Cotter (2010) identifies certain linguistic devices that 'cite' or 'invoke' news values; and Bednarek (2006: 231-233) systematically catalogues the discourse function of evaluations, including with respect to news values.

Our discursive perspective is indebted to this previous research but takes it further in making a two-fold contribution to the study of news values: first, we take an *explicitly discursive* approach to news values:

> In this view, news values can be seen as discursively constructed, and newsworthiness becomes a quality of *texts*. News values are thus defined as the 'newsworthy' aspects of actors, happenings and issues **as existing in and constructed through** discourse. (Bednarek & Caple in press, bold/italics in original)

Secondly, we go *beyond* language and aim to systematically categorise a wide range of semiotic devices that are used to construct newsworthiness in the press, including news photos/footage, layout and typography. Our ultimate aim is to establish a framework that can be used to analyse how specific events, issues or news actors are constructed as newsworthy, for example through foregrounding particular news values. While we have focussed in our own research on published news stories, the discursive approach can be applied to any 'text' that plays a role in the news process, such as verbal and visual input material, newsroom discussions, interviews, press releases, and so on. In essence, then, our approach concerns itself with *how* events are

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[10] Journalism Studies research usually does not discuss the relationship between language and news values. An exception is Martin Conboy, who is interested in critical linguistic approaches to Journalism Studies. Conboy (2006) notes that tabloid news values are 'expressed' (p. 15) in language, and that particular linguistic strategies are 'an essential part of' (p. 15) or 'suit' (p. 16) their news values. A particular word such as *Brits/Britons* can also be regarded as 'a strong indicator of newsworthiness' (Conboy 2006: 49) or 'act as a distillation of the news value of the actor to the newspaper in question' (Conboy 2007: 15). Language in the news 'fits into these existing frameworks [news values]' (Conboy 2007: 30), but also functions to 'emphasize and give value' (Conboy 2007: 35) to news stories; words can 'highlight' (Conboy 2007: 37) news value. This means that analyzing the language choices of newspapers (e.g. tabloids) can tell us about their news values.

discursively constructed as newsworthy in various phases of the news process. We should stress that our discursive approach is to be regarded as *complementary* to practice-based or cognitive approaches, and does not see the discursive as the only perspective on newsworthiness. For instance, we do assume that journalists have beliefs or 'instincts' about newsworthiness, so news values also have cognitive dimensions. And such beliefs do in turn impact on news practice. Further, the semiotic devices that construct newsworthiness are conventionalised and the result of journalistic practice over decades. We do not claim that they are always consciously/strategically used by newsworkers, although this may at times be the case – only ethnographic research can tell us about this; the discourse analytical approach cannot and does not claim to do so. However, the discursive approach can provide insights into what kinds of news values are emphasized on different platforms (print, online, radio, TV) and in different types of news discourse (such as hard news, soft news, business, sports, etc) and *how* they are constructed.

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Appendix

Table 1: Definitions and explanations of news values (general)

Explanatory note: In this table, the news value labels/names and definitions/explanations are cited from the relevant research, but the categorization into different thematic groups is ours. We have tried to group similar news values together, as far as this was possible. Although some news values could reasonably have been included into more than one group, we have given preference to one category per suggested news value. It is advisable to read the definitions carefully and to consult the cited studies themselves for further detail. News values relating to visual elements are listed in Table 2. The order of sources is chronological.

Name of News Value	Definition/Explanation	Source
News values measured by the level of **SIZE, SCALE OR SCOPE** of the event		
Threshold	'the bigger... more violent [the event is] the bigger the headlines it will make' Or put in a more dichotomous form: 'there is a threshold the event will have to pass before it will be recorded at all'	Galtung & Ruge 1965: 66
Size	'The more people involved in a disaster, or the presence of 'big names' at a formal occasion, enhance the initial visibility of such events and hence their consequent news value.'	Golding & Elliott 1979: 119
Superlativeness	'the biggest building, the most violent crime, the most destructive fire gets covered (Galtung and Ruge's term is THRESHOLD'	Bell 1991 (L): 157
Magnitude	'stories that are perceived as sufficiently significant either in the numbers of people involved or in potential impact'	Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 279
Size	'Size is the quantification or the "largeness", "weightiness", or "frequency" of an occurrence or the quantification or estimation of the number of people, animals, places, or things affected by the size of the occurrence.'	Johnson-Cartee 2005: 128
N/A	'occur on a grand scale'	Harrison 2006: 137
Scale/Scope	'Events need to be of a scale large enough to warrant attention.'	Montgomery 2007 (L): 6
Intensity/Discontinuity	'The sharper and more temporally bounded the event the easier it is to integrate it into the temporal rhythms of news. [...] Thus, coastal erosion, agricultural failure, climate change or the business cycle lack newsworthiness until they 'go critical' and a slow process can be condensed to a narrow event such as economic slump, famine or the melting of an ice-cap. Events in a series of stable, steady-state occurrences are less newsworthy than an event which represents a sudden deviation from the norm.' [also related to news cycle and to Novelty; cf. below]	Montgomery 2007 (L): 6
News values measured by the level of **CONFLICT** and **NEGATIVITY** in the event/happening		
Negativity	'*negative* news will be preferred to positive news' because it: 'satisfies the *frequency* criterion better'; 'will more easily be *consensual and unambiguous*'; is 'more c*onsonant*'; is 'more *unexpected*'.	Galtung & Ruge 1965: 69-70

		Thus more likely to satisfy more of the criteria for news selection.	
	Negativity	'Bad news is good news... News is about disruptions in the normal current of events' (p. 120). Such news provides drama and shock value which attracts audiences.	Golding & Elliott 1979: 120
	Valence: Aggression	'Act of violence, manifest conflict with injured or dead persons, hostages war [sic] or warlike incident, murder or second-degree murder'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Valence: Controversy	'Vehement political dispute, clashing debate, protest, demonstration, strike'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Valence: Values	'Reference to or threatening of basic human values or civil rights'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Conflict	'Stories about violent crimes, murder, battles and wars, conflicts between nations and political parties, staged conflict in sports arenas and even competition between sexes attract readers to newspapers and hold their attention'	Hough 1984: 9 (cited in Conley & Lamble 2006: 43)
	Deviance and Negativity	'generally, much news discourse is about negative events such as problems, scandals, conflict, crime, war, or disasters'	Van Dijk 1988a (L): 123
	Negativity	'Involved in negativity are a number of concepts such as damage, injury or death, which make disasters and accidents newsworthy'. Also includes: conflict, war reporting, deviance	Bell 1991: 156
	Drama	'Dramatic structure is often achieved by the presentation of conflict, most commonly by the matching of opposed viewpoints drawn from spokesmen of "both sides of the question".'	Golding & Elliott 1979: 115
	Bad news	'stories with particularly negative overtones, such as conflict or tragedy'	Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 279
	Conflict	'Any form of conflict, not just the physical violence that goes with war. This means any difference of opinion between individuals or groups, including physical (war, sport), legal (court case crime), intellectual or psychological (protest groups or individuals expressing disagreement over any subject).'	Masterton 2005: 47
	Conflict, Negativity and Drama	'central to dramatization - if it bleeds it leads'	Johnson-Cartee 2005: 126
	N/A	'negative or contain violence, crime, confrontation or catastrophe'	Harrison 2006: 137
	Conflict	'Conflict between opposing parties is newsworthy. […] Strong oppositions serve not only to dramatise individual events but also provide overarching frames for organizing diverse material.'	Montgomery 2007 (L): 7
	Negativity	'Bad news makes good news. War reporting is one of the earliest historical examples of news; but crime, fatal accident, famine, earthquake, execution, epidemic and disaster are staple elements of the news.'	Montgomery 2007 (L): 8
News value measured by level of **POSITIVITY** in the event/happening			
	Valence: Success	'Positive change or satisfactory completion, restoration or a positive state'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Good news	'stories with particularly positive overtones such as rescues and cures'	Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 279
News values measured by the **IMPACT**, **SIGNIFICANCE OR RELEVANCE** (potential or real) of the event on audiences			
	Importance	'Usually taken to mean that the reported event has considerable significance for large numbers of people in the audience, but it also explains the inclusion of items that might be omitted on the criteria of other audience-based news values'	Golding & Elliott 1979: 117
	Relevance: Consequence	'Occurrence of general significance affecting all members of a society, the nation as a whole or several nations'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Relevance: Concern	'Occurrence with relation to personal experiences, living conditions or need of many people'	Schulz 1982: 152

	Relevance	'information is preferred about events or actions that are relevant for the reader. […] Interest for large groups of readers, thus, is both a cognitive and a social constraint on news selection. […] relevance criteria show how events and decisions may affect our lives.'	Van Dijk 1988a (L): 122
	Social significance [dimension]	'The social significance dimension consists of importance/impact/consequence and interest, both of which are often positively correlated with deviance.'	Shoemaker et al. 1991: 783
	Relevance	'the effect on the audience's own lives or closeness to their experience'	Bell 1991 (L): 157
	Relevance	'stories about issues, groups and nations perceived to be relevant to the audience'	Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 279
	Importance	'impact, past or future significance'	Gans 2004: 78-9
	Social Impact, Importance, Consequence, or Significance	'As audience members, people assign **importance** or **consequence** to those things that are likely to affect their lives and their loved ones' lives either positively or negatively. And those things that are judged important are considered to be **significant**. Often such stories are personalized in order that people may relate to the specific people who have experienced, in this example, tragedies.' (bold in original)	Johnson-Cartee 2005: 127
	Consequence	'A measure of the importance of the information to those who receive it; how does it affect their finances, their way of life, their education, their future; in any way at all?'	Masterton 2005: 47
	Impact	'For many journalists impact is synonymous with newsworthiness: the bigger the impact, the bigger the story. ...impact reflects the sum total of all of a story's parts. It represents its weight and importance. It reflects the wider significance of a decision or event.'	Conley & Lamble 2006: 43
	Interest	'to have appeal'	Conley & Lamble 2006: 42
	N/A	'have relevance/meaning to the audience'	Harrison 2006: 137
	Relevance	'The significance of an item to the viewer, listener or reader' Broadly aligned with G&R's 'somewhat clumsy term Consonance', will vary considerably, instinctively deployed by professional news-gatherers, who will often claim to know the audience.	Brighton & Foy 2007: 25
News values relating to relevance of event/happening in relation to **TIME** (recent, current)			
	Recency	'The requirement that news be up to date and refer to events as close to transmission time as possible. It derives from two factors: traditional journalistic competition puts a premium on the supply of "earliest intelligences" ahead of rivals. This aim produces the "scoop", and exclusive capture of a news event ahead of all competition. Second, the periodicity of news production itself sets the frame within which events in the world will be perceived. Thus daily production sets a daily frame, and news events must have occurred in the twenty-four hours between bulletins to merit inclusion.'	Golding & Elliott 1979: 121
	Recency	'a further requirement is that the events described be new themselves, that is recent, within a margin of between one and several days.'	Van Dijk 1988a (L): 121
	Recency	'the best news is something which has only just happened.'; related to Galtung & Ruge's frequency: 'how well a story conforms with news work cycles'	Bell 1991 (L): 156
	Timeliness	Defined as a 'contingent condition' – is the event timely?	Shoemaker et al. 1991: 783
	Timeliness	'based on the recency of the action.'	Johnson-Cartee

	Timeliness	'be news'	Conley & Lamble
		'relates to the importance of the 'when' element, as well as to the companion news value of 'currency''	2006: 42 & 46
		'some stories have a specific use-by date'	
		'can also be integral to anniversary stories and seasonal stories'	
	Currency	'frequently relates to controversy and trends'	Conley & Lamble
		'can relate to lifestyles, to a new council by-law, or to technology.'	2006: 51-2
		'in determining news value through currency, the media must determine the strength and relevance of any new comment or circumstance and assess what, if anything, it adds to the debate'	
	Topicality	'Is it new, current, immediately relevant?'	Brighton & Foy 2007: 26
	Recency/Timeliness	'News […] deals by definition with "the new"[…]. News has particular temporal rhythms […]. "Yesterday's news" ceases quickly to be news at all.'	Montgomery 2007 (L): 5-6
News values relating to the geographical, cultural and sometimes psychological NEARNESS/**PROXIMITY** of the event/happening			
	Identification	'the news messages should be presented so that they catch the attention or interest of the readers, listeners or viewers.' 'It has been stated that 'proximity – in a geographical sense – is a key element in reader interest'... but also cultural proximity and proximity in time are such key elements'	Østgaard 1965: 46
	Meaningfulness	'interpretable within the cultural framework of the listener or reader'	Galtung & Ruge
		'some measure of *ethnocentrism* will be operative: there has to be *cultural proximity*'	1965: 66-7
		'*relevance*: an event may happen in a culturally distant place but still be loaded with meaning in terms of what it may imply for the reader or listener. Thus the culturally remote country may be brought in via a pattern of conflict with one's own group'	
	Proximity	'Like size, the criterion of proximity derives partly from considerations of the audience, partly from problems of accessibility. Proximity has two senses, cultural and geographical.	Golding & Elliott 1979: 119
		The first depends on what is familiar and within the experience of journalists and their audience, while the second may depend on where correspondent are based. As a rule of thumb, nearby events take precedence over similar events at a distance'	
	Identification: Proximity	'The event theatre is geographically near the reporting medium (in an adjacent region or country); there are close political or cultural ties between Germany and the country reported from'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Identification: Ethnocentrism	'A report from abroad involves Germany or German actors (applied only to international news)'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Proximity	'local and ideological proximity of news events'	Van Dijk 1988a (L): 124
	Proximity	'geographical closeness can enhance news value'; related to Galtung & Ruge's 'meaningfulness', i.e. cultural familiarity/similarity	Bell 1991 (L): 157
	Proximity	Defined as a 'contingent condition' – is the event proximate?	Shoemaker et al. 1991: 783
	Proximity	'A measure of where the information comes from. An item which originates locally is usually of more	Masterton 2005: 47

		newsworthiness than one from a distance. People want to know about their own community first. But there are also historical, social, financial and cultural proximities which have little relationship to geographical distances.'	
	Proximity	'the "closeness" of an occurrence to the location of the news outlet.'	Johnson-Cartee 2005: 128
	Proximity	'is concerned with the 'where' element' 'The farther away something is, the more significance, drama, or human appeal it must display if it is to make a local news list' 'can reflect ethnic and cultural bias within the media and the community at large' 'can convert a national story into a local one...with local angles'.	Conley & Lamble 2006: 48-9
	Proximity/Cultural relevance	'The further removed an event from the news centre the less relevance it has for the news outlet.' Includes both geographical and cultural distance	Montgomery 2007 (L): 8-9
News values relating to the expectedness or **CONSONANCE** of an event			
	Consonance	'Corresponding to what we **expect** (predictability) will happen and what we **want** (demand) to happen'	Galtung & Ruge 1965: 67
	Consonance: Stereotype	'Occurrence shaped as one of the most common event types like e.g. statement, interview, press conference, negotiation, state visit, parliamentary debate'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Consonance	'News should be consonant with socially-shared norms, values, and attitudes.'	Van Dijk 1988a (L): 121
	Consonance	The compatibility of a story 'with preconceptions about the social group or nation from which the news actors come'; how events fit mental script, eg environmental issues, demonstrations or superpower summits.	Bell 1991 (L): 157
	N/A	'Expected'	Harrison 2006: 137
	Expectation	'does the consumer expect to be told about this?'	Brighton & Foy 2007: 27
	Consonance	'there are certain classes of event that trigger a 'news script' that strongly determines the shape of coverage. […] Even the unexpected event can in its coverage assume familiar contours.'	Montgomery 2007 (L): 8
News values relating to the **NOVELTY**, newness or unexpectedness of an event/happening [NB: Newness also has temporal aspects and could be grouped with values relating to Time above; the word *novelty* itself is ambiguous, indicating 'newness' or 'unusuality'.]			
	Unexpectedness	'it is the unexpected (or *rare) within the meaningful and the consonant* that is brought to one's attention'	Galtung & Ruge 1965: 67
	Dynamics: Unexpectedness	'The actual course of the event deviates from previous expectations; an event considered as unlikely or surprising'	Schulz 1982: 153
	Novelty	'The requirement that news should in principle be about new events is fundamental. Readers should not get any information they already know'	Van Dijk 1988a (L): 121
	Unexpectedness	'the unpredictable or the rare is more newsworthy than the routine. Closely related is NOVELTY.'	Bell 1991 (L): 157
	Deviance [a 'dimension']	'the deviance dimension is composed of novelty/oddity/unusual (statistical deviance), prominence (normative deviance), sensationalism (normative or pathological deviance) and conflict or controversy (normative deviance).' 'Statistical deviance: is defined as the extent to which the event is unusual, given the context of how common such events are in the world.'	Shoemaker et al. 1991: 783

		'"Pathological deviance" [...] is defined as the extent to which the event threatens the status quo in the country in which the event occurs.' '"Normative deviance" is defined as the extent to which the event, if it had occurred in the United States, would have broken U.S. norms.	
	Surprise	'stories that have an element of surprise and/or contrast'	Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 279
	Novelty/Rarity/Oddity	'Which means people like to know about things which are unusual or different. This is the old man-bites-dog syndrome which needs little more explanation.'	Masterton 2005: 47
	Novelty	'out of the ordinary, least expected, or not predicted. For example, the opening of the first civic centre will be considered novel.'	Johnson-Cartee 2005: 128
	N/A	'novelty value/ unexpected'	Harrison 2006: 137
	The unusual	'can relate to an incident, point of view, lifestyle, or medical condition – even the weather. Its common denominator is that the story is out of the ordinary, often surprisingly so. ...it is the exception. It conflicts with prevailing wisdom or practice. It contradicts current trends' 'can stretch credulity'	Conley & Lamble 2006: 53-4
	Unusualness	'what sets it apart from other events which are not reported?' Anything which is out of the ordinary, which is unexpected – or is something ordinary done by somebody who would not be expected to do it.	Brighton & Foy 2007: 28
	Unexpectedness	'Routine events are difficult to assimilate to the news, which favours the novel, the atypical and the unusual.'	Montgomery 2007 (L): 8
News values relating to the **PROMINENCE** or elite status of persons, nations, organisations			
	Elite-centred (nations and people)	'the actions of the elite are, at least usually and in short-term perspective, more consequential than the activities of others' 'elite people are available to serve as objects of general identification, not only because of their intrinsic importance'	Galtung & Ruge 1965: 68
	Elites	'Big names are better news than nobodies, major personalities of more interest than ordinary folk. There is an obvious circularity in this in that well-known personalities become so by their exposure in news media.'	Golding & Elliott 1979: 122
	Status: Elite nation	'Permanent member of the UN security council; the most industrialized countries of the world; the most important countries in world trade (applied only to international news)'	Schulz 1982: 151
	Status: Elite institution	'UN and its bodies, NATO, Warsaw Pact, the Holy See, top national executive, legislative and judicial bodies, parties represented in parliament, parent organizations of labor unions and employers'	Schulz 1982: 151
	Status: Elite person	'Persons in leadership or top management positions, celebrities'	Schulz 1982: 151
	Eliteness	'of the news actors', including elite persons (film stars, politicians) and elite 'first World' nations	Bell 1991 (L): 158
	Attribution	'the eliteness of a story's sources'	Bell 1991 (L): 158
	The power elite	'Stories concerning powerful individuals, organisations or institutions'	Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 279
	Celebrity	'stories concerning people who are already famous'	Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 279
	Prominence	'Means that whether a statement or an action is news or not depends on who said it or did it. What the	Masterton 2005: 47

		president/prime minister/acknowledged expert says or does makes new; what an unknown citizen says or does does not, unless it enters the categories of Conflict or Human Interest.'	
	Action:	'action on the part of leaders.'	Johnson-Cartee 2005: 129
	N/A	'contain elite people/nations'	Harrison 2006: 137
	Prominence	'relates to a person who is highly recognisable on a local, state, national or international basis' 'there is public interest in the private lives of public figures' 'can be more closely associated with credibility than with position'	Conley & Lamble 2006: 51-1
	Worth	'does it justify its appearance in the news?' Encompasses all of G&R's elite theory elements... most news is centred on either elite people or on organisations, a catch-all term that covers everything from businesses to nations.	Brighton & Foy 2007: 28-9
	Power	'The salience of news material is enhanced if it involves people with power – however this may be defined. The actions of presidents, princesses, prime ministers and popes attract more notice than those of plumbers, porters, part-keepers and pensioners. […] also powerful organizations, powerful nations and power blocs of various kinds.'	Montgomery 2007 (L): 7-8
News values relating to the **PERSONALIZATION** of an event/happening – showing the human face of issues and happenings			
	Personification	Offer a number of factors that potentially reinforce each other in producing personification: 'an outcome of *cultural idealism* – where man is the master of his own destiny and events can be seen as the outcome of an act of free will'; Stems from 'the need for meaning and consequently for *identification* – through a combination of projection and empathy'; As an outcome of the '*frequency-factor*: persons can act during a time-span that fits the frequency of the news media'; As a 'direct consequence of the *elite-concentration* but as distinct from it'; Because they fit with modern techniques of news gathering and news presentation: people are easier to photograph than structures.	Galtung & Ruge 1965: 68-9
	Personalities	'News is about people, and mostly about individuals. This news value emphasizes the need to make stories comprehensible by reducing complex processes and institutions to the actions of individuals.'	Golding & Elliott 1979: 122
	Identification: Personalization	'People are at the center of the event, the report is about the activities or experiences of people'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Personalisation	'something which can be pictured in personal terms is more newsworthy than a concept, a process, the generalized or the mass.'	Bell 1991 (L): 158
	Familiarity	'Fundamentally, people identify with other people, and they are more able to understand and remember stories that are concretized by such examples than those that are not.'	Johnson-Cartee 2005: 129
	Personalisation	'People have news value in a way that processes do not. They are concrete, they provide points of identification, and they help to dramatise conflict.'	Montgomery 2007 (L): 7
News value relating to **HUMAN INTEREST** factors in events/happenings, including entertainment and emotional aspects (closely related to Personalization above)			
	Entertainment	'News programmes seek, and usually find, large audiences. To do so, they must take account of entertainment values in the literal sense of providing captivating, humorous, titillating, amusing or generally diverting material. The	Golding & Elliott 1979: 117

		"human interest" story was invented for just this purpose.'	
	Identification: Emotions	'An event with emotional, touching aspects or components, pleasant or unpleasant'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Entertainment	'Stories concerning sex, showbusiness, human interest, animals, an unfolding drama, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, entertaining photographs or witty headlines';	Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 279
	Interest	'people, human interest, the expose, the hero, gee-whiz stories' [hinting at Novelty, too, here]	Gans 2004: 78-9
	Human Interest	'Means people want to know about other people, even if they are not important people. In some countries this includes items about animals and children – almost anything which stirs human emotion in any way. It can almost be considered a category which includes those items published because of emotion, not serious effect.'	Masterton 2005: 47
	N/A	'personal or human interest framing'	Harrison 2006: 137
	Human interest	'most commonly associated with feature or 'soft' stories, although many news stories have some degree of human interest' 'an almost inexplicable quality that can only be verbalised as human interest' 'linked more to unusualness... and more to entertainment' 'broadly based, ranging from humorous to tragic incidents and circumstances. It can inspire empathy, spark curiosity, or arouse community concern' 'give a 'human face' to the issue and therefore trade on the human interest news value' 'tugs at the heartstrings' 'tied to basic needs, such as food and shelter, as well as to emerging social issues. As a news value, it can be a uniting force in reminding people of their shared humanity and transmitting the universal reminder that "we're all in this together"'	Conley & Lamble 2006: 52-3
Factors relating to **SENSATIONALISM**			
	Sensationalism	'implies that the communication will affect the mind of someone'... 'and many definitions discuss the 'emotion arousing' aspects of sensationalism'	Østgaard 1965: 48
	N/A	'short, dramatic occurrences which can be sensationalized'	Harrison 2006: 137
Factors relating to **NEWS WRITING OBJECTIVES** (general goals associated with news writing, such as clarity of expression, brevity, colour, accuracy, etc)			
	Unambiguity	'clarity in this connection must refer to some kind of one-dimensionality, that there is only one or a limited number of meanings in what is received' 'the less ambiguity the more the event will be noticed.' 'an event with a clear interpretation, free from ambiguities in its meaning, is preferred to the highly ambiguous event from which many and inconsistent implications can and will be made'	Galtung & Ruge 1965: 66
	Simplification	'the news should be presented in such a manner that it is understood by the readers, listeners, viewers... here we are concerned with the tendency to simplify the content of the news so as to make the reports more easily understandable.'	Østgaard 1965: 45
	Brevity	'A story which is closely packed with facts and little padding is preferred (particularly important for broadcast news)'	Golding & Elliott 1979: 120
	Presupposition	'Journalists must assume that readers may not have read, or may have forgotten, previous information. Hence, presupposed information of a particular kind, that is, previous models, may need partial expression or summarization as background or context for actual events.'	Van Dijk 1988a (L): 121

	Clarity	'clarify the confused and to ensure that the story contains enough background and explicit reference to be understood on its own'	Bell 1991 (L): 78
	Colour	N/A	Bell 1991 (L): 160
	Unambiguity	'the more clearcut a story is, the more it is favoured. If's, but's and maybe's are minimal. The "facts" are clear, the sources impeccable.'	Bell 1991 (L): 157
	Brevity	Abbreviate, cut, make sure the story is not 'longer than its content warrants' '"brevity" – of time or space – is one of the chief goals or conditions of news writing. Broadcasting budgets its news to fit within the time allotted, and the press to fit within the physical space of its pages.'	Bell 1991 (L): 79 Bell 1995a: 306
	Story quality	'action, pace, completeness, clarity quickly obtainable, aesthetic/technical features'	Gans 2004: 78-9
	Satisfaction	'The opposite of Suspense. It means that the item satisfies all the audience needs for information and leaves no unanswered questions about what is next to happen or become known.'	Masterton 2005: 47
	Brevity:	'stories that are easily told – simple and direct.'	Johnson-Cartee 2005: 129
	N/A	'open to simple reporting'	Harrison 2006: 137
	Clarity	'be capable of being understood'	Conley & Lamble 2006: 42
	Meaningfulness/ Unambiguity	'news has a predilection for material whose meaning can be presented as if clear-cut and unambiguous rather than cloudy and complex.'	Montgomery 2007 (L): 9
Factors relating to **BALANCE** in content provision			
	Composition	'the desire to present a 'balanced' whole' – offering a range of events	Galtung & Ruge 1965: 67
	Composition	'editors want both a mixture of different kinds of news and some common threads'; packaging of news	Bell 1991 (L): 159
	Co-option	'a story which is only tangentially related can be interpreted and presented in terms of a high-profile continuing story'	Bell 1991 (L): 159
	Novelty	'internal novelty – the news peg, the repetition taboo, fresh vs stale, the avoidance of excessive freshness'	Gans 2004: 78-9
	Story balance	'story mixture, by subject, geography, demography, political'	Gans 2004: 78-9
	N/A	'provide a balanced programme'	Harrison 2006: 137
	Composition	'how a news item fits with the other items that surround it' ...a natural order of content, a spread of items with minimized duplication	Brighton & Foy 2007: 26
	Composition/Fit	'In any bulletin particular slots carry particular values. It is common, for instance, for some broadcasters to finish their bulletin with a relatively quirky, 'upbeat', human-interest story. […] There may also be considerations of balance within a bulletin as a whole between, for example, domestic news and international news, political news and sporting news.'	Montgomery 2007 (L): 9
Factors relating to the **NEWS AGENDA** and **NEWS CYCLE**			
	Frequency	'the time-span needed for the event to unfold itself and acquire meaning' 'the more similar the frequency of the event is to the frequency of the news medium, the more probable that it will be recorded as news by that news medium'	Galtung & Ruge 1965: 66
	Continuity	'once something has hit the headlines and been defined as 'news', then it will *continue* to be defined as news for	Galtung & Ruge

		some time'	1965: 67
	The news barrier	' If a report is of a 'certain simplicity, and/or that it must give the receiver some possibility of identifying himself with the news, and/or that it must be sufficiently exciting to pass through the news channel' then it will have passed through the news barrier. Also, other reports **concerning the same matter** will more easily follow.' [our bold; this combines several issues, including news writing objectives (simplicity), personalisation or proximity (identification), superlativeness (sufficiently exciting)]	Østgaard 1965: 51
	Consonance: Theme	'Occurrence in the context of one of current political themes like e.g. inflation, energy crisis, terrorism, East-West conflict, Near East crisis'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Consonance: Predictability	'The event was expected in advance, its occurrence was known before'	Schulz 1982: 152
	Continuity	'once something is in the news, it tends to stay there'	Bell 1991 (L): 15
	Predictability	'If an event can be prescheduled for journalist it is more likely to be covered than if it turns up unheralded'	Bell 1991 (L): 159
	Prefabrication	'The existence of ready-made text which journalists can take over or process rapidly into a story greatly enhances the likelihood of something appearing in the news.' [included here because this may be caused by the pressure of the news cycle, deadlines etc]	Bell 1991 (L): 160
	Follow-up	'stories about subjects already in the news'	Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 279
	News agenda	'stories that set or fit the news organisation's own agenda'	Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 279
	N/A	'similar events are already in the news'	Harrison 2006: 137
EXTERNAL FACTORS relating to business models/market/economic conditions			
	Competition	'Every news outlet wants an exclusive' 'Stories are also in competition with each other for coverage'	Bell 1991 (L): 159
	Organisational requirements	'Commercial pressures (circulation/readership, organisational structure effects on story choice)'	Gans 2004: 78-9
	Competition	'within the same industry'	Gans 2004: 78-9
	External influences	'Is the content of a news item pure, or has it been corrupted by pressure from outside, such as a proprietor, and advertiser or politician?'	Brighton & Foy 2007: 29
OTHER (Factors that fall outside of the classificational categories above)			
	Dynamics: Uncertainty	'Event with reference to the future of which consequences, course or termination are unclear and unpredictable' [somewhat related to temporal aspects]	Schulz 1982: 153
	Dynamics: Timeliness	'Event of an episodic character with beginning and end within one day, or at least with clear demarcations within one day'[related to temporal aspects, but not about recency]	Schulz 1982: 153
	Facticity	'the degree to which a story contains the kinds of facts and figures on which hard news thrives: locations, names, sums of money, numbers of all kinds.'	Bell 1991 (L): 158
	Factors of the product	' the medium, the format'	Gans 2004: 78-9
	Suspense	'People like a mystery, so any item which leaves the audience wondering what will happen next? what more is to be known? How will it end? is newsworthy.' [somewhat related to Novelty or temporal aspects]	Masterton 2005: 47
	Secrecy	'Applies when one person or group wants kept secret some information the general public will find important or interesting. Such information is almost always newsworthy. This applies to government as well as companies, groups	Masterton 2005: 47

	or individuals.' [somewhat related to Novelty/'newness']	

Table 2: Definitions and explanations of news values (visuals: photography, film)

	Name of News Value	Definition/Explanation	Source
News value in the **VISUAL ATTRACTIVENESS** of the imagery			
	Visual attractiveness	'A story may be included simply because film is available or because of the dramatic qualities of the film' (p. 116)	Golding & Elliott 1979: 115-6
	Picture opportunity	'if a story provided a good picture opportunity then it was often included even when there was little obvious intrinsic newsworthiness'	Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 274
	Visual attractiveness:	'TV news reporters and print photojournalists seek opportunities to capture objects, people, places, and so on that are visually attractive'	Johnson-Cartee 2005: 130
	N/A	'availability of original pictures or film (for TV)'	Harrison 2006: 137
Factors relating to **PHOTOGRAPHIC TECHNIQUE**			
	execution and technique	'includes aspects such as color, contrast, light, unexpected perspectives and dramatic effort [and] refers to the photographic quality of images'	Rössler et al 2011: 418
News values measured by the **IMPACT**, **SIGNIFICANCE OR RELEVANCE** (potential or real) of the event on audiences			
	Significance-Consequence	'both news and feature award-winning photos nearly always involved local spot news of only immediate (short-term) interest.'	Singletary and Lamb 1984: 108
News values measured by the level of **CONFLICT** and **NEGATIVITY** in the event/happening			
	Conflict	'we have previously described news photos as embodying tension; that quality should be defined to include conflict, and it is clear that news photos involved a great deal of conflict while feature photos did not.'	Singletary and Lamb 1984: 108
	Conflict/dramatization	'While press photos which capture drama and conflict are eminently newsworthy the reality is that the bulk of press photos do not represent drama or conflict. Often they show the after-effects of a disaster, or show the injuries suffered by someone.'	Craig 1994: 197
	Damage, violence/aggression, controversy	Not defined, because the factors they recognise have been 'previously taken into account by classical factor catalogues' [i.e. those we mention in Table 1 above]	Rössler et al 2011: 418
News value measured by the level of **POSITIVITY** in the event/happening			
	N/A	'It may be the case that positive news stories are more likely to be represented visually with press photos. On the one hand, press photos function to present accurate pictures of the world, they guarantee realism and help underwrite the objectivity of the press, but alternatively they can also function to divert and entertain readers from 'hard' news stories, presenting them with images of people like themselves.'	Craig 1994: 197
News values relating to the relevance of the event/happening in relation to **TIME**			
	Timeliness	'For news photos, timeliness seemed extremely important; for feature photos, timeliness seemed extremely unimportant. This was evident in the fact that most of the situations in feature photos would likely linger (handicap,	Singletary and Lamb 1984: 108

		retardation, etc.), while most of the situations leading to news photos would be quickly past (for example, flood, shooting, robbery, etc.).'	
News values relating to the geographical, cultural and sometimes psychological NEARNESS/**PROXIMITY** of the event/happening			
	Proximity	'the great preponderance of news and feature photos involved topics of only local interest'	Singletary and Lamb 1984: 108
News values relating to the **PROMINENCE** or elite status of persons, nations, organisation			
	Reference to elite persons	'The elite serve a representative function – objects of general identification (therefore less likely to be photographed)'	Craig 1994: 188
	Celebrities	Not defined, because the factors they recognise have been 'previously taken into account by classical factor catalogues' [i.e. those we mention in Table 1 above]	Rössler et al 2011: 418
News values relating to the **PERSONALIZATION** of an event/happening – showing the human face of issues and happenings			
	N/A	'the preponderance of persons in both news and feature photos were of the working and middle classes, not the celebrated or wealthy.'	Singletary and Lamb 1984: 108
	Personalization	'So, press photos are one of the primary sources for producing a perspective of personalization in the news, and they work to position individuals into particular relationships with other individuals, groupings and institutions.'	Craig 1994: 193-6
	Emotions	'The particular nature of pictures to represent emotions and transmit them visually was considered by including the factor *emotions* into the catalogue of photo news factors.'	Rössler et al 2011: 418
News value relating to **HUMAN INTEREST** factors in events/happenings			
	Human interest	'this aspect of news values represented a definitional challenge, but if human interest is defined as "information which is powerful more for its compelling qualities than for its hard news values," then our analysis indicates news photos sometimes include human interest, while for feature photos it is more clearly the raison d'être.'	Singletary and Lamb 1984: 108
	Human interest	'Human interest photos would often counterbalance the lead story which dealt with elite people... the effect of this kind of structuring is to establish a bifurcation of the world into those ordinary people who suffer and sometimes conquer the exigencies of everyday life and elite people such as politicians, celebrities and professional people such as scientists and lawyers'	Craig 1994: 190
News values relating to the **NOVELTY**, newness or unexpectedness of an event/happening			
	Unexpectedness	Not defined, because the factors they recognise have been 'previously taken into account by classical factor catalogues' [i.e. those we mention in Table 1 above]	Rössler et al 2011: 418
Factors relating to **BALANCE** in content provision			
	Composition	'The newsworthiness of one item is partly determined by its relationship to other selected news stories. News editors strive to establish a balance between different types of stories.'	Craig 1994: 191
OTHER (Factors that fall outside of the classificational categories above)			
	Sexuality/eroticism	N/A	Rössler et al 2011: 418