

Professional Roles in News Content: Analyzing Journalistic Performance in the Chilean National Press

CLAUDIA MELLADO¹
University of Santiago, Chile

CLAUDIA LAGOS
University of Chile, Chile

This article examines the presence of six dimensions of professional roles in news—watchdog, disseminator-interventionist, civic, loyal-facilitator, service, and infotainment—by means of a quantitative content analysis of 1,988 news stories published by the national desk of five Chilean national newspapers in 2010. The study also analyzes differences between the quality press and the popular press, as well as between different news topics, providing empirical evidence about the ways in which media orientation and journalistic beats can shape journalistic performance. Our results indicate that, overall, the disseminator role is the most commonly used in Chilean news, followed by the entertainment and civic roles. The watchdog, service, and especially the loyal-facilitator roles were, in turn, almost absent. The data also show “that the presence of the analyzed dimensions of professional roles in news content depends on both the media orientation and the journalistic beat. While the infotainment and disseminator roles are more influenced by the orientation of the media—elite versus popular—the watchdog, service, civic and loyal-facilitator roles are more influenced by the main topic of the story.

Keywords: journalism, professional roles, journalistic role performance, news content, media orientation, journalistic beat

Introduction

The study of professional roles has have been the subject of great concern in journalism research for the last 50 years, providing valuable insight into journalistic professionalization as well as the analysis of the impact of journalism on political and democratic life (Donsbach, 2008; Norris & Odugbemi, 2008; Weaver & Willnat, 2012).

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Claudia Mellado: claudia.mellado@usach.cl

Claudia Lagos: cllagos@uchile.cl

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Professional roles have been mostly understood as dimensions of professional ideology (Cohen, 1963), professionalism (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996), and journalism culture (Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2012; Vos, 2005). Primarily through surveys of samples of individual journalists, scholars have analyzed the professional roles that are considered most important by journalists across the globe (Hanitzsch et al., 2011; Patterson & Donsbach, 1996; Weaver, Bean, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007; Weaver & Willnat, 2012).

However, significantly less attention has been devoted to the analysis of how different ideals of professional roles materialize in journalistic role performance—that is to say, the specific journalistic discourses and writing styles as the outcome of concrete newsrooms decisions (Mellado, 2014; Vos, 2002). The lack of dialogue between the study of professional roles and the study of news content has generated parallel discourses within the field of journalism studies, with no effective interaction between the two (Mellado & Van Dalen, 2013; Schudson, 2011; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996).

Given that professional roles legitimize journalism in a particular society, this study shifts the focus from role conception (e.g., what journalists/the media say they do) to role performance (e.g., what journalists/the media actually do). In order to better understand how journalism justifies its existence, this study tests general hypotheses on how professional roles manifest in content from different news beats as well as from media outlets with different audience orientations. Clearly, one cannot read a journalist's mind. Hence, journalism is evaluated based on its collective-relational performance. Based on the operationalization of six dimensions of journalistic role performance, we examine professional roles in news by means of a quantitative content analysis of the Chilean national press.

Since several of the Chilean media system characteristics also describe media systems in other Latin American countries, the study of the Chilean case can shed light on general patterns across the region. Like many other countries in the region, Chile has experienced economic growth and gradual political reform after the fall of the military dictatorship at the end of the 1980s (Leon-Dermota, 2003).

On the one hand, media systems in Latin America have been transforming from a rather strict model—characterized by the closing of critical media, preemptive censorship, political persecution of journalists, and the requirement of official authorization to found media—to a more liberal one, affected by growing commercialization and competition. In Chile, the consolidation of market economics has shaped the development of the media for the last two decades. Private models are the rule, advertising has become the main revenue source for the Chilean media, and audience ratings have become more important (Lagos et al., 2012). This phenomenon is present in every country in the region, with the exception of Cuba. On the other hand, media systems in the region tend to be characterized by a strong political parallelism in which media, political parties, and economic powers are extremely linked. In particular, Chile holds the highest concentration rate in media ownership in all of Latin America (Becerra & Mastrini 2009).

All of these factors have been strongly associated with low levels of pluralism in the news and the loss of power of journalists as independent professionals (Hughes, 2006; Otano & Sunkel, 2003; Waisbord, 2000). Some authors have discussed Latin American journalism's evolution from a critical and

combative stance to a depoliticized and condescending attitude toward political officials and the status quo (Hughes, 2006; Leon-Dermota, 2003). Others have emphasized the longer-term impact of commercialization in the shift from civic and watchdog journalism toward forms of entertainment journalism, as well as the search for economic profit over the sense of public service and the strengthening of democracy (Waisbord, 2000). In this study, we will test the presence of the watchdog, disseminator-interventionist, civic, loyal-facilitator, service, and infotainment dimensions of journalistic performance in the Chilean national press according to different news beats and media orientation.

Professional Roles in News Content

Although studies on professional role conceptions have strongly contributed to the analysis of normative and empirical models of journalism, it must be acknowledged that attitudes are materialized in practice through the process of selection, production, and creation of news content (Esser, 2008). Despite the belief that the way journalists understand their role shapes the material they produce (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), there is no conclusive evidence to support this idea (Mellado & Van Dalen, 2013; Patterson & Donsbach, 1996; Starck & Soloski, 1977; Tandoc, Hellmueller, & Vos, 2013; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996; Vos, 2002).

Furthermore, although pioneering and inspirational, most of the available studies on professional roles by means of content analysis (e.g., Tandoc et al., 2013; Vos, 2002; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996) have important methodological and conceptual problems. First, the measurement used by studies on role conceptions in news content takes the form of several statements, which are very similar to the statements that journalists answered when surveyed, which prevent the measurement of more practical indicators in the news product. Second, these studies tend to focus on isolated indicators, rather than standardized scales of role performance.

One of the latest studies on this topic is the Journalistic Role Performance around the Globe project, in which 28 countries, including Chile, participate. With the objective of overcoming the shortcomings of previous research, the project conceptually connected characteristics of different professional role ideals that have been empirically validated by comparative research with specific journalistic discourses and reporting styles largely analyzed by the study of news content (Mellado, 2014; Mellado & Van Dalen, 2013). Specifically, Mellado (2014) suggested concrete operationalization of six dimensions of journalistic role performance that emerge from three different domains that have been discussed by previous literature: (a) the relationship journalism has with those in power, (b) the presence of the journalistic voice in a story, and (c) the way journalism approaches the audience (Donsbach, 2008; Eide & Knight, 1999; Hanitzsch, 2007; Marr, Wyss, Blum, & Bonfadelli, 2001; Norris & Odugbemi, 2008).

Each one of these six dimensions is characterized by different measures of professional practice (Mellado, 2014). The disseminator-interventionist dimension deals with the active-passive stance of the journalists in their reporting (Donsbach & Patterson, 2004; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996). The passive stance emphasizes neutrality and distance between the journalist and the facts. Its interventionist counterpart is more journalist-centered, where the news professionals have a voice in the story and sometimes advocate for different groups in society. According to the model, this way of reporting resonates with a

one-dimensional structure where the amount of participation by the journalist in the news story—through the use of judgment values, interpretations, proposals, adjectives and first person—is directly proportional to the level of intervention, and vice versa.

Two dimensions of role performance are identified regarding the domain of power relations: the watchdog and the loyal-facilitator. The first one seeks to hold the de facto power accountable, bringing attention to wrongdoings. This journalistic dimension is evident when news stories include questioning, criticism, or accusations against those in power; conflict between them and journalists; reference to and coverage of trials; and processes and presence of investigative reporting or extensive coverage of external research.

The loyal-facilitator dimension materializes in two facets. In its first variant, journalism cooperates with those in power and protects the status quo. Accordingly, the news stories support institutional activities carried out by the political or economic elite, promote national or regional policies, and give a positive image of the political and economic elite. In its second variant, this dimension shifts the focus from the de facto powers to the nation-state unit, encouraging the sense of belonging to one's country and strengthening national prestige.

Finally, based on different understandings of the audience, three independent dimensions of role performance are identified: the service, infotainment, and the civic-oriented. Service journalism approaches the public as a client, providing information, knowledge, and advice about goods and services that the audience can apply in their daily lives. Infotainment journalism addresses the public as spectators. When this dimension of performance is present, elements of personalization, private life, scandal, sensationalism, emotions, and morbid curiosity are used within the news story. Last, the civic dimension of journalism is concerned with educating the common citizen on complex and controversial topics, encouraging people to get involved in public debate and to participate in political events.

We base the selection and operationalization of the six dimensions of role performance on this analytical framework in order to analyze the presence of different journalistic models in the Chilean national press.

Given the lack of previous studies that analyze the presence of different professional roles in news content within Chilean journalism, we decided to pose a research question in order to examine the presence of different dimensions of journalistic role performance in the news product:

RQ1: Which dimensions of journalistic role performance are predominant in the Chilean national press?

Competing Models Between the Popular and the Quality Press

Undoubtedly, journalistic discourses and practices may differ among different venues. While the quality press has been historically related to news content closer to the public interest, the popular press favors journalistic styles more connected to a market-oriented model (Beam, 2003).

Empirical findings support that distinction. Although research worldwide has suggested a trend toward the homogenization of news media, studies around the world conducted during the past years still show important differences in values, discourses, and reporting styles of the news among media outlets that differ in the strength of their market orientation (Beam, 2003; Boczkowski, 2009; Sparks & Tulloch, 2000; Strömbäck, Karlsson, & Hopmann, 2012). Esser (1999), for example, found that the levels of newspaper competition could explain the homogenization or differences in news reporting styles: The presence of competition between quality and popular presses could be an explanation for similar styles while the lack of competition could explain different styles.

In the case of Chile, the press faces a duopoly structure consisting of El Mercurio S.A.P. and Consorcio Periodístico de Chile S.A. (Copesa), both strongly linked to the country's political right. Both companies produce national quality media as well as popular media, creating competition between the same types of newspapers from each conglomerate rather than competition between popular and quality press.

Since there are no previous studies testing the difference in the presence of these specific dimensions of professional roles in news according to media orientation, it is impossible to pose a directional hypothesis, but previous literature and evidence allow us to pose the following general hypothesis:

H1: The presence of professional roles in news varies significantly between the quality and popular presses

The Influence of Journalistic Beats

Journalistic beats are an important factor in the creation of ideological diversity in the news (Meyers, 1992). Journalistic beats are seen as "micro cultures" (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1989) or particular domains of practice (Reich, 2012). Several studies have indicated that journalists in different news beats differ in their professional attitudes and news selection (Mellado & Humanes, 2012; Reich, 2012; Weaver et al., 2007).

The functions and roles of journalism in society are diverse, and some news beats have been associated with the fulfillment of certain roles over others. Some authors have indicated that political journalism provides a top-down perspective, as intermediaries from the political elite to the citizens, while other journalistic beats like crime or social affairs tend to accomplish a bottom-up function, communicating from citizens to the political elite (Skovsgaard & van Dalen, 2013).

The Chilean news organizations tend to have a divisional structure, being strongly committed to the news beat system (Otano & Sunkel, 2003). Journalists are dedicated specially—and in some cases, exclusively—to covering information produced by sectors that tend to coincide with the country's political and institutional organization structure.

As in the analysis of journalistic performance according to media orientation, previous literature and empirical evidence allow us to pose the following general hypothesis regarding differences on role performance according to the journalistic beat:

H2: The presence of professional roles in news varies significantly among journalistic beats.

Method

Research Design and Sampling

The data reported in this article come from a quantitative news content analysis of the Chilean national written press of 2010. All five general-interest Chilean print media outlets with national circulation were content analyzed: *El Mercurio*, *La Tercera*, *Las Últimas Noticias*, *La Cuarta*, and *La Nación*.

El Mercurio and *La Tercera* are the two main quality newspapers within the country. *El Mercurio* is a conservative newspaper, traditionally associated with the Chilean elite while *La Tercera* has tried to set itself apart by being more liberal. *La Nación* was a quality newspaper primarily owned by the government, but with a smaller participation in the media market. It maintained a progovernment characteristic until its disappearance at the end of 2010. In contrast, *Las Últimas Noticias* (LUN) and *La Cuarta* (which belong to El Mercurio S.A.P and Copesa, respectively) are the popular newspapers, and both have a strong commercial model. The only privately owned newspapers that had permission to circulate during most of the military dictatorship period were the ones edited by *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*. This allowed them to gain a hegemonic status in the industry.

Through the constructed week method, a stratified-systematic sample of each newspaper was selected. Specifically, two constructed news weeks were sampled per newspaper. The unit of analysis was the news item. A news item was understood as the group of continuous verbal and visual elements that refer to the same topic. Within each selected sample, all news items published in sections associated with the national desk (politics, economy and business, police, crime and court, social affairs, general national news) were coded (N = 1,988). About 76% of the news items analyzed by this study come from the quality press and 24% from the popular press, which is explained by the fact that in the Chilean case, the popular press includes far fewer news articles per issue.

Coding Procedures

Four independent coders were trained in the application of a common codebook. Prior to the beginning of the coding process, different coder-trainer tests were performed to ensure that they had a similar understanding of the codebook. The coding was done manually between April and June 2012. Based on Krippendorff's alpha formula, overall intercoder reliability was .74. Reliability scores ranged from 0.69 (interpretation) to 0.94 (for emotions) (See inter-coder reliability of each item in the appendix).

Measures

To measure the extent to which the disseminator-interventionist, watchdog, loyal-facilitator, service, civic, and infotainment roles analyzed in this study were present in Chilean news stories, we used 43 indicators proposed by Mellado (2014) to measure journalistic role performance cross-nationally. Inspired by previous research and conceptual discussions, the indicators represent specific reporting styles and narrative schemes. Each indicator was coded on a presence-absence basis. For each of these indicators, we coded for manifest rather than latent meaning content. (See operationalization in the appendix.)

Preliminary Analysis

Although the analytical framework on which this article is based provided a strong conceptual basis for predicting the number of constructs we would find among the three domains in which we analyzed professional roles in Chilean news, there was no previous empirical study on role performance in the Chilean national press, so we did not have a solid foundation to predict the relationship of each construct to the specific indicators. Therefore, with the aim of exploring the structure of the underlying factors associated with role performance, the exploratory factor analysis (EFA) technique was used as a first step, so that the best fit for the Chilean context could be identified.

Specifically, three EFAs were conducted—one for each analyzed domain of role performance. EFAs were performed using Mplus 7.0. Considering the dichotomous scale on which our individual indicators were measured, the data was analyzed using WLSM as the estimation method. We also used the Geomin method as an oblique rotation method.

Taking accepted standards in structural equation modeling (SEM) (Schreiber, Nora, Stage, Barlow, & King, 2006) as a criteria, the fit indices for each EFA suggest that within the presence of the journalistic voice domain, a one-factor solution best described the data, that within the power distance domain, a two-factor solution best described the data, and that within the market orientation domain, a three-factor solution best described the data with satisfactory model fit (CFI and TLI greater than 0.95 and RMSEA less than 0.05). The fit indices of models that in each case include more or fewer dimensions show a worse adjustment when using these same criteria. Some of the indicators were excluded from the final analysis since they failed to meet a minimum criterion of having a primary factor loading of .4 or above (Kline, 1994).² That was the case for "conflict" and "investigative reporting" within the power distance domain, as well as for "scandal," "support of citizen movements," "citizen questions," and "educating on duties and rights" within market orientation.

We used Kuder-Richardson 20 method for dichotomous data to measure the internal consistencies of the six role performance dimensions, and the analysis showed acceptable internal

² We used the .4 cutoff to retain an indicator within a factor, which is usually accepted in social sciences, specially when the sample is big enough (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). In other words, as samples get larger, it is possible to retain smaller loadings for a factor to be considered significant (Stevens, 2002).

reliability in each case. The alpha values were .80 for the intervention, .78 for the loyal-facilitator, .75 for the watchdog, .70 for the service, .83 for infotainment, and .87 for civic oriented dimension.

For each role performance dimension, multi-item scales were formed by averaging the scores on the individual items in each factor. Thus, the values of each scale range from 0 (null presence of the dimension) to 1 (full presence of the dimension). In the case of the disseminator-interventionist dimension, the items were recoded so that higher values expressed more presence of the disseminator pole.

Table 1. Dimensions of Journalistic Role Performance in News Content (Factor Structure Solution).

	Presence of the Journalistic Voice	Power Distance		Market Orientation		
Role Performance Dimensions	<i>Disseminator-Interventionist</i>	<i>Watchdog</i>	<i>Loyal-Facilitator</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Infotainment</i>	<i>Civic</i>
Taking sides	0.689					
Interpretation	0.466					
Proposal/demand	0.609					
Adjectives	0.868					
First person	0.527					
Information on Judgments		0.589	-0.196			
Questioning de facto powers (the journalist)		0.678	0.148			
Questioning de facto powers (the source)		0.572	-0.171			
Critizes and judges de facto powers (the journalist)		0.518	0.238			
Critizes and judges de facto powers (the source)		0.469	-0.128			
Denouncing de facto powers (the journalist)		0.685	0.310			
Denouncing de facto powers (the source)		0.842	-0.011			
External investigation		0.619	0.062			

Supporting institutional activities		-0.233	0.599			
Supporting national policies		0.065	0.587			
Positive image of the political elite		0.071	0.425			
Positive image of economic elite		0.020	0.511			
Progress/success of the country		-0.172	0.686			
Comparison to the rest of the world		-0.120	0.691			
Nationals' triumphs		0.076	0.428			
Promotion of the country's image		-0.104	0.630			
Patriotism		0.203	0.467			
Impact on everyday life				0.578	-0.222	0.097
Tip and advices (grievances)				0.533	0.024	0.100
Tip and advices (risks)				0.487	-0.178	0.238
Consumer advice				0.590	0.033	0.249
Personalization					-0.118	0.776
Private life				0.243	0.664	0.143
Sensationalism				0.332	0.645	0.039
Emotion				0.233	0.475	-0.023
Morbid				0.007	0.577	0.320
Citizen perspective				0.381	0.020	0.695
Citizen demand				-0.011	-0.355	0.893
Credibility on citizens				0.320	-0.009	0.829
Local impact				0.083	0.228	0.428
Background information				0.379	0.194	0.685
Information on citizen activities				-0.090	-0.189	0.600

Each news story was also coded for newspaper type (quality or popular) and for 15 possible news topics that were then recodified in five major journalistic beats: politics, economy and business, police and court, social affairs, and general national news.

Although this study also measured the journalist's gender, more than the 60% of the articles where not signed. Considering only the signed news stories, we controlled the effect that gender could have on the results as a possible covariate, and no differences were found in the significance or direction of the findings for any of the analyzed dimensions on role performance.

Findings

Journalistic Role Performance in Chilean News Content

In order to answer RQ1, we compared the presence of different professional roles in the national written press.

Our findings clearly show that the passive stance largely prevails over the active stance within the disseminator-interventionist dimension ($M = .80$; $SD = .184$). Indeed, less than 10% of the news stories sampled by this study explicitly included the subjective opinions or judgments of the journalists; in only 3% did the journalist propose or demands change, and only 2.9% of the stories included the first-person voice within the narrative of the story.

Explaining causes, meanings, or consequences of events or facts is an aspect comparatively more present in Chilean journalism reporting styles, although only 3 out of 10 news stories include some elements of interpretation. The presence of qualifying adjectives, meanwhile, is the most common characteristic of the interventionist pole of this dimension, being present in 6 out of 10 news stories analyzed.

Regarding the way Chilean journalism approaches the audience, the data show that the predominant news reporting style and writing characteristics within news stories were those related to infotainment ($M = .09$; $SD = .164$) and, to a lesser degree, the civic-oriented dimension of professional roles in news ($M = .06$; $SD = .072$).

Within the infotainment dimension, the use of emotions (14.3 %), sensationalist elements (13%), and personalization (12%) prevail. In the case of the civic dimension, news items show special presence of background information (11.8%) followed by citizen perspective (6.5%), local impact (5.5%), and information on citizen activities (5.0%). Citizen demand (4.1%) and credibility of citizens (3.5%) are comparatively less present within this role-performance dimension.

In contrast, the almost incidental manifestation of the service dimension ($M = .03$; $SD = .095$) is noteworthy. In fact, this role performance dimension is mostly absent from the sample, and none of its characteristics are present in more than 5% of cases.

Finally, within the power relation perspective, the data indicates that neither the loyal-facilitator dimension ($M = .02$; $SD = .051$) nor the watchdog dimension ($M = .03$; $SD = .072$) have a significant presence in the Chilean national press. In the case of the watchdog dimension, less than 2% of the sampled news stories included the voice of the journalist questioning the de facto powers, and in less than 1% did the journalist appear criticizing or denouncing those in power. Also, less than 2% of the stories included coverage of external investigations on wrongdoings. However, information of judgments (4.9%), as well as questioning (4.2%), criticism (7.4%), or denouncements (2.4%) made by sources are comparatively more present.

The loyal-facilitator dimension of performance shows the least occurrence among the six roles analyzed. None of its indicators were included in more than 3.6% of the stories. In this sense, there seems to be a lack of the watchdog role more than a presence of the loyal-facilitator role.

Assuming that different dimensions of role performance are not mutually exclusive, and that a news item may present attributes of different dimensions simultaneously, we also ran different bivariate correlation analyses. Although the size of the effect tends to be small, the data shows a significant correlation ($p = .001$ level) between the disseminator-interventionist and the service ($r = -.218$), the infotainment ($r = -.297$) and the loyal-facilitator ($r = .257$) dimensions. The more disseminator the journalist appears while covering a news item, the less present these three dimensions of role performance are in the news content and vice versa. Likewise, the data indicates a positive relationship between the presence of the civic and the watchdog roles ($r = .194$), and a negative relationship between the service and the watchdog journalism roles ($r = -.165$). In turn, the loyal-facilitator and the watchdog, as well as the service and the infotainment, the service and the civic, and the infotainment and the civic roles in news were not significantly correlated.

Journalistic Role Performance Between the Quality and the Popular Presses

Hypothesis 1 predicted that the presence of different journalistic roles in news would vary significantly according to media orientation. The results provided strong support for our expectations. Several independent sample t-tests indicated differences between popular and quality newspapers in five out of the six dimensions analyzed. With the exception of the loyal-facilitator role ($t = 1.376$, $df = 1052.9$, $p = n.s$), the data shows significant differences according to media orientation in the presence of the disseminator ($t = 11.387$, $df = 737.447$, $p < .001$), infotainment ($t = -15.693$, $df = 555.077$, $p < .001$), civic ($t = -2.220$, $df = 831.248$, $p < .05$), watchdog ($t = 4.405$, $df = 1110.327$, $p < .001$), and service roles ($t = 3.732$, $df = 607.860$, $p < .001$).

Table 2 shows that while the quality press gives more importance to the disseminator and watchdog, the popular press privileges the infotainment, civic, and service roles in their reporting styles and journalistic discourses.

The size of the effect was important for the infotainment role ($\eta^2 = .182$), of moderate size for the disseminator role ($\eta^2 = .065$), small for the service role ($\eta^2 = .010$), and rather nonsubstantial for the civic ($\eta^2 = .002$) and watchdog ($\eta^2 = .007$) role.

Table 2. Presence of Journalistic Role Performance Dimensions According to Media Orientation.

	Disseminator	Loyal-Facilitator	Watchdog	Service	Civic	Infotainment
Quality newspapers	.82 (.175)	.02 (.054)	.04 (.076)	.03 (.084)	.05 (.130)	.05 (.119)
Popular newspapers	.71 (.186)	.01 (.040)	.02 (.053)	.05 (.122)	.07 (.120)	.22 (.010)

Note: The table reports mean scores, with standard deviation in parentheses. Values of each dimension range from 0 (null presence) to 1 (full presence).

Role Performance Among Journalistic Beats

Hypothesis 2 predicted that professional roles in news would vary among journalistic beats. The results provided full support for our expectations, indicating highly significant differences according to news beat in the importance that news stories give to the disseminator ($F = 15.690$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$), loyal-facilitator ($F = 10.985$, $df = 4$, $p < .05$), service ($F = 21.215$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$), infotainment ($F = 48.780$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$), civic ($F = 17.850$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$), and watchdog ($F = 30.145$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$) roles.

The mean scores reported in Table 3 show the presence of each role according to journalistic beat: The infotainment role was more important within news stories belonging to the police and court ($M = .13$; $SD = .198$), general national news ($M = .16$; $SD = .21$), and also politics ($M = .08$; $SD = .139$) than within news stories belonging to social affairs ($M = .05$; $SD = .134$) and economy and business ($M = .02$; $SD = .071$). The service role was found to be more present within social affairs ($M = .06$; $SD = .121$), general national news ($M = .05$; $SD = .126$), and economy and business ($M = .04$; $SD = .102$) than within politics ($M = .02$; $SD = .060$) and police and court ($M = .01$; $SD = .041$). The civic role has greater relevance in topics related to social affairs ($M = .09$; $SD = .158$) and general news ($M = .08$; $SD = .166$) than topics related to economy and business ($M = .02$; $SD = .062$), police and court ($M = .05$; $SD = .111$), and politics ($M = .06$; $SD = .113$).

The disseminator role has more presence in news stories coming from the police and court ($M = .84$; $SD = .151$) and economy and business ($M = .83$; $SD = .177$) than in stories coming from politics ($M = .78$; $SD = .184$), social affairs ($M = .79$; $SD = .195$), and general news ($M = .74$; $SD = .192$). At the same time, news stories belonging to the police and court as well as political news stories have more presence of the watchdog role than news coming from social affairs ($M = .26$; $SD = .70$), general national news ($M = .014$; $SD = .052$), and especially economy and business ($M = .01$; $SD = .037$). Finally, news stories belonging to economy and business ($M = .04$; $SD = .064$), politics ($M = .02$; $SD = .053$), general

national news ($M = .02$; $SD = .052$), and social affairs ($M = .02$; $SD = .050$) show much more presence of the loyal-facilitator role than the police and court news beat ($M = .00$; $SD = .015$).

The effect sizes were smaller in the case of the infotainment ($\eta^2 = .090$) and disseminator roles ($\eta^2 = .031$) as compared to that of media orientation, but larger for the watchdog ($\eta^2 = .057$), service ($\eta^2 = .041$), civic ($\eta^2 = .035$), and loyal-facilitator ($\eta^2 = .022$) roles.

Consequent analyses show an important interaction between media type and news beat on the presence of three of the six dimensions of role performance analyzed. In the case of the infotainment role, the interaction indicates that the effect of media orientation is not seen in news items belonging to the economy and business journalistic beat where the presence of this role in news remains stable in both types of press ($F = .6.236$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$). Within the service dimension, the effect of media orientation is not present in the case of stories linked to politics and to police and courts, where the presence of this role is very low in both the quality and the popular presses ($F = .13.015$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$). Finally, the analysis indicates that in the case of the watchdog role ($F = .4.374$, $df = 4$, $p < .05$), the effect of media orientation is not observed in news items concerning politics. It is much stronger within the police and court journalistic beat, where the elite press shows higher presence of this role in news ($M = .07$, $SD = .106$ for quality newspapers; $M = 0.3$; $SD = .072$ for popular newspapers), even greater than in the case of political news.

Table 3. Presence of Journalistic Role Performance Dimensions According to Thematic Beat.

	Disseminator	Loyal-Facilitator	Watchdog	Service	Civic	Infotainment
Politics	.79 (.184)	.02 (.053)	.04 (.077)	.02 (.061)	.06 (.113)	.07 (.139)
Police and Court	.84 (.151)	.01 (.015)	.05 (.10)	.01 (.04)	.05 (.111)	.13 (.198)
Economy and Business	.83 (.177)	.04 (.064)	.01 (.037)	.04 (.101)	.02 (.062)	.02 (.071)
Social affairs	.79 (.195)	.02 (.05)	.03 (.070)	.06 (.121)	.09 (.157)	.06 (.134)
General national news	.74 (.192)	.02 (.052)	.01 (.051)	.05 (.125)	.08 (.166)	.16 (.207)

Note: The table reports mean scores, with standard deviation in parentheses. Values of each dimension range from 0 (null presence) to 1 (full presence).

Discussion

This article provides empirical evidence on the materialization of professional roles in news, offering new insights to the study of journalistic role performance. In particular it offers perspectives in

order to analyze news media in countries like Chile that have not yet been examined from this perspective.

The findings show that the disseminator role is the most common in Chilean news associated to the national desk. The silencing and threatening effect of the dictatorship on the expression and circulation of opinions might be connected to this result. Before the coup d'état of 1973, the Chilean press was "trench" or ideological (Dooner, 1989), where every newspaper took a political stance in the context of a rough ideological battle. However, the trauma that "trench journalism" endured during the Pinochet regime may have caused the press not to want to repeat the scenario of violence and radical confrontation experienced at the time.

In terms of the way journalism approaches the audience, our data indicate that the Chilean press has incorporated several elements of the infotainment role of journalism and to some extent those of the civic role. In a growing neoliberal environment, it is not surprising that journalism may increase its orientation toward the public as both spectators and citizens, particularly in a society in which reading is decreasing and big economic groups are gaining ownership of the press. The relevance that the coverage of show business has acquired since the beginning of the 21st century as well as the centrality of the consumption of television by the audience may have changed the news media content and narratives toward forms of entertainment journalism in order to capture a bigger audience. At the same time, Chilean journalism has started to incorporate citizens and civic organizations into news coverage. The press has had to pay attention, adapting its messages to the demands of the people during the process of change.

In turn, as a reflection of the consolidated capitalist model, the absence of the service role in the news may be explained by the fact that the notion of the consumer as a client is relatively recent in the context of the Chilean society. Another possible explanation has to do with the media outlet and news section analyzed by this study. It might be possible that the materialization of this role in news is more present in supplements, magazines, or miscellaneous sections of the press than in the national desk.

Regarding the relationship that journalism has with those in power, our results show that both the watchdog and the loyal-facilitator journalistic roles are not incorporated explicitly in the Chilean news coverage. Although one would expect a more watchdog style of journalism once democracy was restored, there are several factors that explain the weakness of the appearance of this dimension. One of these is that the origins of newspapers in Chile as well as in other Latin American countries are associated to specific political movements leaning more toward opinion than to a watchdog press. In the Chilean press, watchdog journalism began in the 1970s and 1980s, by means of newspapers and magazines opposing the military dictatorship. Given their political role and their links to opposing parties and movements, their funding was not exclusively commercial. At the beginning of the transition period and after all funding was withdrawn, these media outlets did not manage to secure a space in the new press market. Additionally, different case studies show that in Chile, newspapers have not traditionally been a medium for investigative journalism, which has become more typical of media such as television and books (Lagos, 2009).

Another factor is the structure of Chilean media property, where there are only two major holdings that concentrate the majority of newspapers in Chile, both having commercial and political interests in different areas (Lagos, Cabalin, Checa, & Peña y Lillo, 2012). A third factor is associated with the commercial orientation of newspapers, where advertising is fundamental for their survival. Finally, censorship, self-censorship, and fear inherited by the press following the Chilean political transition (Leon-Dermota, 2003) could also explain the materialization of the journalistic professional culture.

Second, although it is not possible to identify the loyal-facilitator role in the explicit content of Chilean journalism, this does not mean that the Chilean written press does not have traces of it. Quite the contrary; it points to the possibility that this role is not directly reflected through the voice of the reporter, but rather by means of other, more implicit or indirect forms, such as giving more space to official sources (Lagos et al., 2012). Considering all of the news stories analyzed, 68% of them include officials associated with the institutionalized political economic power as sources, a figure that goes up to 90%, 61%, and 73%, in the case of political, economic, and social affairs news items, respectively.

Apart from describing the importance that Chilean journalism gives to different journalism models, the study tested the influence that media orientation and journalistic beats have on the presence of these professional roles in news. On the one hand, the analysis has shown some important differences in the way newspapers with a strong or weak market orientation assume different news reporting styles and journalistic discourses. Overall, both the quality and the popular presses are more closely linked to professional roles than what they have traditionally been associated with: The quality press tends to be closer to the watchdog and disseminator roles, and the popular press is closer to the infotainment and service roles. However, the civic role tends to appear closer to the popular rather than the quality press, challenging the idea that quality news is good for democracy while popular news is not. Considering the changing societal role of citizens and consumers, in which "modern consumerism presupposes citizenship as its basis" (Eide & Knight, 1999, p. 537), the Chilean popular press seems to understand that in order to keep their audience, they need to explore multiple ways to approach the public, and news with a service-infotainment approach can also serve an important democratic function.

Of course, this does not mean that they incorporate characteristics of these models exclusively. While there is a tendency to emphasize some dimensions of role performance over others, the difference is one of degree rather than kind. In that sense, Chilean news media outlets may be expanding their vision on what constitutes relevant information for the public in general. These findings strongly support other international research coming from Western and non-Western countries (Beam, 2003; Boczkowski, 2009).

On the other hand, the results support the top-down versus bottom-up distinctions made by some authors regarding the roles that the press accomplishes from different journalistic beats (Skovsgaard & Van Dalen, 2013). The data show that although the press has taken into consideration the input from the citizens in the journalistic discourse, the civic-oriented role does not fit in the structure of the "hard" sections of the Chilean press. The loyal-facilitator role does not appear to have a place in news related to police and courts, and the service role is not associated with politics or police and courts. It

also shows that the watchdog role does not appear to have a place outside the classic news beats such as politics and police and courts.

Our findings show that not all dimensions of role performance are equally affected in magnitude by both media orientation and journalistic beat. The results indicate that while the infotainment and disseminator dimensions of role performance position themselves with greater strength according to the orientation of each media outlet, the other four dimensions do not depend as much on media orientation, but rather on specific journalistic beats. Moreover, the data show significant interaction effects, where the journalistic beat determines the strength of the effect of the media orientation in three of the six analyzed roles.

Although this study did not measure the role conceptions of the journalists who wrote the sampled news, we can look at the results of recent studies on Chilean journalism that analyzed professional role conceptions and performances among professional reporters (Mellado & Van Dalen, 2013; Mellado, 2012). In line with the results of these studies, it is also possible to suggest a significant gap between both role conception and role performance in Chilean journalism. Contrary to the disseminator role (more performed than supported), the watchdog, loyal-facilitator, civic, infotainment, and service roles are performed less than the importance that the journalists give to them. Also, the gap between rhetoric and journalistic practices is consistently larger for the watchdog and the civic roles, with journalistic autonomy leading a bigger gap (Mellado & Van Dalen, 2013, p. 14).

Certainly, the findings of this study are relevant to the conceptual discussion on professional roles within journalism, not only in the Latin American context but also in other parts of the world. The analysis of the influence that media orientation and journalistic beat have on journalistic role performance allows us to shed new light on the ways in which both factors can shape the news product.

Nevertheless, further studies are necessary in order to get a more fine-grained picture of how journalism and media work, as well as the possibilities that the public has for being informed, understanding reality, and making decisions. Additionally, further studies should be carried out, taking into consideration the way different media types (e.g., TV, Internet, and radio) manifest these professional roles in news content, and considering whether the growing convergence will blur the differences between various types of media outlets or not. Likewise, future research could incorporate news sections and beats that were not considered in this study. Finally, cross-national research needs to be done to incorporate the macro level of influences in the study of role performance and to test if these results can be extended to other political, economic, and cultural contexts.

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APPENDIX:**Summarized coding instrument of indicators to measure professional roles in news.**

PROFESSIONAL ROLES IN NEWS	INDICATORS
DISSEMINATOR-INTERVENTIONIST	Taking sides: The news item shows the opinion or judgment of the journalist, who takes a stand on the story (Ka = 0.74).
	Interpretation: The journalist explains the causes and meaning and/or suggests possible consequences of certain facts/actions (Ka = 0.69).
	Proposal/demand: The journalist manifests the need for change in relation to any event or issue (Ka = 0.79).
	Adjectives: Use of qualifying adjectives by the journalist within the news story (Ka = 0.90)
	First person: Use of first person (I, we, me, my, our) by the journalist within the news story (Ka = 0.91).
WATCHDOG	Information on judgments: The news story includes information on judicial or administrative processes against individuals or groups of power (Ka = 0.82).
	Questioning de facto powers (the journalist): By means of statements and/or opinions, the journalist questions the validity or truthfulness of what individuals or groups in power say or do (Ka = 0.77).
	Questioning de facto powers (the source): Questioning of individuals or groups of power through quotes, statements, and/or opinions given by someone other than the journalist (Ka = 0.83).
	Criticizing and judging de facto powers (the journalist): The journalist makes an assertion or reference in which he/she negatively judges or condemns what the individuals or groups in power say or do (Ka = 0.74).
	Criticizing and judging de facto powers (the source): Criticism is given of individuals or groups of power in the form of quotes, statements, and/or negative opinions given by someone other than the journalist (Ka = 0.75).
	Denouncing de facto powers (the journalist): The journalist makes an assertion or reference in which he/she accuses or makes evident something hidden, not only illegal, but also irregular or inconvenient concerning individuals or groups of power (Ka = 0.86).
	Denouncing de facto powers (the source): Quotes and/or testimonies are provided from people other than the journalist, that account for, accuse or evidence something hidden, not only illegal, but also irregular or inconvenient, concerning individuals or groups of power (Ka = 0.82).
	External investigation: The news story includes investigations that were not carried out by the journalist—such as judicial, administrative, specialized/academic research, among others—but that he/she covers extensively (Ka = 0.70).

LOYAL-FACILITATOR	Supporting institutional activities: The journalist praises, promotes, and/or defends specific official activities carried out by the political or economic powers (Ka = 0.76).
	Supporting national policies: The journalist praises, promotes, and/or defends national or regional government policies in general or any one in particular (Ka = 0.73).
	Positive image of the political elite: The journalist favorably stresses and highlights leadership or management skills, as well as personal characteristics of political leaders (Ka = 0.86).
	Positive image of the economic elite: The journalist favorably stresses and highlights leadership or management skills, as well as personal characteristics of economic leaders (Ka = 0.89).
	Progress/success of the country: The journalist emphasizes that his/her own country is progressing and doing better than before in any relevant dimension (Ka = 0.78).
	Comparison to the rest of the world: The journalist emphasizes the country's advances and triumphs in comparison to other countries in the world (Ka = 0.81).
	Nationals' triumphs: Individuals or groups who have triumphed in the country or abroad are highlighted within the news story (Ka = 0.70).
	Promotion of the country's image: The news story refers to activities organized with the objective of promoting the country's image (Ka = 0.79).
	Patriotism: The news story includes statements made by the journalist that positively value being from a specific nation (Ka = 0.82).
SERVICE	Impact on everyday life: The news story focuses on the consequences or meaning that certain facts or events have for people's everyday personal lives (Ka = 0.75).
	Tips and advice (grievances): The news story gives tips or practical advice to manage everyday problems that audiences have with their environment (i.e. how to face noisy neighbors, how to handle wrongful charges) (Ka = 0.73).
	Tips and advice (individual risks): The news story provides <i>tips</i> or practical advice to solve personal problems that the audience could potentially face (i.e. how to be a smart buyer and save money, how to invest or ensure savings and a safe retirement) (Ka = 0.70).
	Consumer advice: The news story informs about the latest trends in products and services in the market, or helps them distinguish between products of different qualities (Ka = 0.80).
	Personalization: The news item centers on one or more persons and their different intellectual, physical, mental or social characteristics or personal background (Ka = 0.80).
	Private life: The news story focuses on aspects of a person's life that do not correspond to areas of public and/or collective interest, and that people

INFOTAINMENT	normally prefer to maintain in their personal sphere (Ka = 0.74).
	Sensationalism: Use of style elements or descriptions in the story (exaggeration, emphasis of the incredible, the use of dramatic superlative adjectives and metaphors) that highlight the <i>unusual, spectacular or unexpected</i> (Ka = 0.92).
	Emotion: Explicit references to feelings or descriptions of the different emotions within the news story (Ka = 0.95).
	Morbid: Exacerbation of the reader's attention through the text, describing acts of violence, crime, or sex scenes/scandal within the news story in concrete detail (Ka = 0.79).
CIVIC	Citizen perspective: The news story includes the vision of regular or organized citizens, showing how they perceive or are affected by different political decisions (Ka = 0.88).
	Citizen demand: The news story includes regular or organized citizens' demands or proposals on how different political measures/decisions should be handled (Ka = 0.81).
	Credibility on citizens: The journalist gives credibility to what the citizens perceive, denounce, or demand within the news story (Ka = 0.73).
	Local impact: The news story mentions the impact of certain political decisions on specific communities (Ka = 0.78).
	Background information: The news story provides the citizens with background information in order to make political decisions (i.e., electoral processes, protests, citizen groups, and participation/support of political parties) (Ka = 0.72).
	Information on citizen activities: The new story gives information about citizen acts such as campaigns, collective actions, protests, commemorations, demonstrations, and protests (Ka = 0.80).