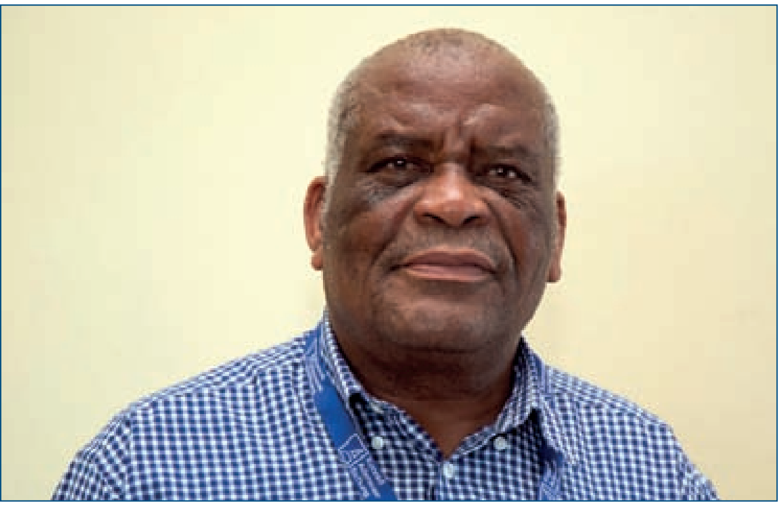
Times of despair, times of awakening

A historical overview of journalism and different media business models in the hyper-competitive global news market of the 21st Century

By Francis Mdlongwa



Francis Mdlongwa, Director of Rhodes University's Sol Plaatje Institute for Media Leadership in South Africa.

I would like to start by sincerely thanking the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) for kindly inviting me to be a speaker at this important conference, which seeks to look back and forward on how to strengthen Africa's journalism and its media firms at a time of rapid and unrelenting change in the media industry worldwide.

KAS's Africa Media Programme has a long and distinguished collaboration with my institute, the Sol Plaatje Institute (SPI) for Media Leadership at Rhodes University in South Africa. The SPI was set up in 2002 to specifically pioneer the education and training of high-level African media managers and leaders in media management through the provision of professional and certificated short courses and a postgraduate media management qualification – the only formal qualification in this field in Africa and the developing world.

For nearly 10 years, up to 2010, KAS financially supported the well-known Africa Media Leadership Conference series, which KAS and the SPI jointly staged annually in a different African country to discuss and map out the future of Africa's media trajectory.

We produced three books that captured nicely the key discussions of the last three of these conference series – books that have become valuable educational and information repositories and practical tools for the African media, its journalists and scholars on how to explore the transformation of Africa's journalism so that it continues to play a crucial and relevant role among our citizens and makes a meaningful contribution to democracy.

Let me, therefore, pay tribute to KAS for its principled, pivotal and continuing role in aiding the collaboration of African media and journalists to share and exchange critical lessons, knowledge and understandings on how to re-shape journalism and media in Africa to become more sustainable in a world which media scholar Alfred Hermida (2010) says is today marked by 'ambient journalism' – that is, journalism which primarily creates audiences' awareness about issues but fails to contextualise, or give background and meaning to unfolding key news events.

My presentation is divided into three parts. The first broadly looks at where we have come from over the past decade of the great "promises and perils" of digital and social media, as well as the then emerging business models for media. Secondly, I sketch out where we, as journalists and media, appear to be now; and conclude by looking into the place and role of African journalism and media in the increasingly uncertain, ambiguous and fluid era in which we now live.

A decade of promises

A decade ago, Africa – as did the rest of the world – feverishly stood on the cusp of what technology determinists promised was 'a golden new era of journalism' that would unfold on the back of the internet and its sibling Web 2.0, as well as digital and social media, that had just begun to take hold of much of the world at the time.

Several media analysts and commentators, including the 2003 authors of the now famed *We Media*, Shayne Bowman and Chris Willis; and Jay Rosen, who coined the phrase "The People Formerly Known as the Audience" (2006); and others saw the emerging technologies as heralding an unprecedented "democratisation" and renewal of journalism.

The internet and the web were seen as empowering many voices – mostly of the rural poor and of other neglected segments of our populations, like the views of women, who are the majority population in most parts of the world but remain conspicuous in the media by their absence – to be heard and their concerns forcefully brought into the public sphere.

New types of journalisms such as citizen journalism, user-generated content, blogs and a myriad of web-based discussion forums became the bywords of this new and exciting world order. In this new, revitalised world of journalism, we were told that ordinary citizens, aided by the new technologies, would take part in the creation, dissemination and consumption of news which they had co-produced, marking a radical paradigm shift from centuries-old practices which had largely given media freedom only to those who owned the press (Bowman and Willis, 2003).

The new journalisms would unleash what some called "the wisdom of the crowds" (see, for example, Lorenz, J. et al., 2011). To some extent, these technology determinists who prophesied the morphing of a more transparent and open journalism were not so wrong. We began to see the mushrooming of newspaper websites and their digital editions in some instances; we saw many radio and television stations establishing multi-platform news organisations; and we began to see the emergence of so-called web-first news business models developing, along with the increased use of media applications (apps) and Twitter.

My summary only looks at a broad array of trends that we have seen in the past decade. We have to be mindful of the fact that Africa is a vast continent of 54 different countries, which are not homogenous but have different and specific economic, social, political and technological conditions. My analysis merely focuses on the broad trends that we have witnessed in most parts of Africa.

Media executives and senior journalists discuss evolving business models and share experiences, Accra, Ghana.

A cardinal sin that was committed by the owners of most journalistic enterprises, not only in Africa but throughout the world, at this period was an historic failure to properly strategise on who would pay for the extra effort and money needed to produce more and increasingly "free news" that was being beamed across to audiences using several platforms.

Let it be said that the lack of strategic foresight by media leaders on how to operate in an increasingly "chaotic" and, many analysts now say, "disorder" of the rampant information overload inadvertently caused an existential crisis for media and high-quality journalism, which costs money, a crisis which persists and appears to have deepened today.

An example to illustrate just one of the many negative impacts of providing free news to audiences by the media was the immediate haemorrhaging of hundreds of thousands of media jobs across the globe as media owners suddenly understood fully that there was simply no such thing as a free lunch!

Simultaneously, media revenues from circulation, audience ratings and advertising – the latter being the lifeblood of media for most of the last century – fell dramatically, portending the current financial and economic crisis in media and journalism.

In this "moment of despair", African media broadly fared somewhat better than the developed world primarily because the use of the internet and digital and social media on the continent were still in their infancy.

Africa's underdevelopment, such as the sheer lack of an enabling technology infrastructure, endemic poverty, digital illiteracy, among several other challenges, also, ironically, shielded the continent – especially its legacy newspapers – from the digital winds of change sweeping the world.

On the jobs' front, in the United States of America, 16,200 media jobs were lost between 2003 and 2012, according to the Pew Research Centre's 2014 report. Between 2007 and 2015, a total of 22,100 jobs were shed from US newsrooms, according to analyst Dale Maharidge (2016).

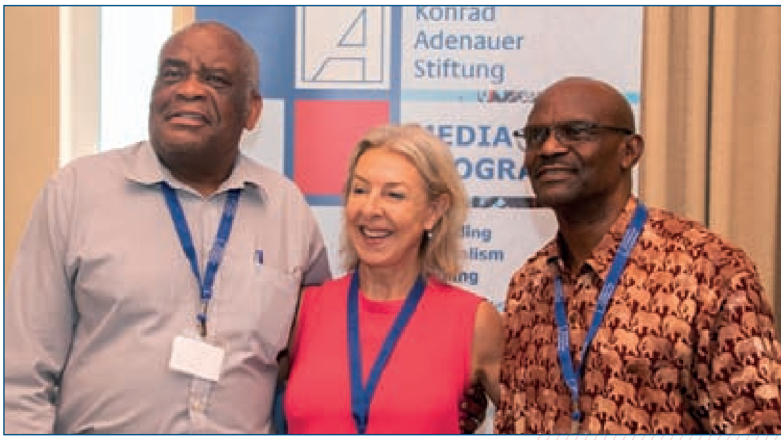
In the United Kingdom, more than 5,000 media jobs disappeared in the decade up to 2014 (Harding's Future of the News, 2015, page 6).

Even in South Africa, the leading *Business Day* daily newspaper ended its tradition of publishing two editions a day in April 2009; *The Weekender*, another South African newspaper, shut down and retrenched an unknown number of media staff in November 2009, and other local media firms laid off scores of staff as the toll of "free news" shook the market.

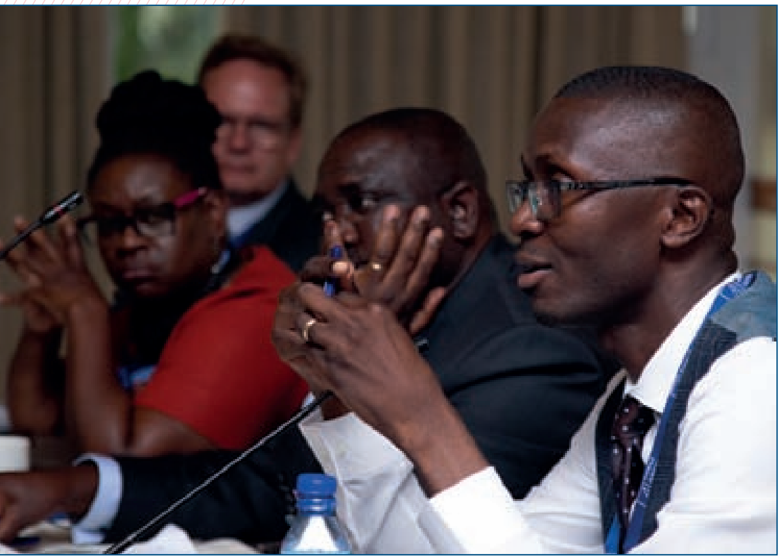
In terms of advertising and circulation revenues, the United Kingdom, for example, saw this income plunge by more than half over the past decade, from nearly £7-billion to just over £3-billion now, according to the *Press Gazette*, quoting a government report which was released in June 2018, ahead of the Cairncross Review. The review, led by Dame Frances Cairncross, is examining the sustainability of high-quality journalism in the UK. In comparative terms, print newspaper advertising in the US was nearly $45 billion in 2003 (Pavlik 2013). By 2010, this income had dropped to $23 billion (Ibid). It has to be emphasised that while print advertising was falling precipitously in developed nations, advertising from digital was only slowly climbing in most of these nations but its value was not enough to offset the huge revenue lost from traditional print.

Accurate figures on the performance of the media in Africa are not easily available, but there is anecdotal evidence that, while the newsroom bloodletting was taking place in much of the world, parts of Africa were experiencing a significant growth in the number of media outlets that were being established in the same period.

Thus, for example in Kenya, where because of deregulation and the opening up of the airwaves by the once one-party state which had had only one state-owned broadcaster, we began to witness the establishment of many commercial and community radio and television stations, which



L-R: Francis Mdlongwa (Sol Plaatje, Rhodes), Gwen Lister (Namibian Media Trust, Windhoek), and Mike Daka (Breeze FM, Chipata, Eastern Zambia)



Citi FM director of news programming Bernard Avle (right) reviews Ghana's rapidly evolving digital media landscape.

lifted employment of media jobs there.

It must be noted that advertising and circulation revenues in most African countries generally remained steady at this stage.

Indeed, this has been the broad picture of developments of the media in much of Africa and in other developing regions such as in Asia and Latin America, where, for example, the circulations of some legacy newspapers have, in fact, expanded, and not shrunk – then and now.

As well as the failure by the global media to foresee the upheavals that their business models would face following the advent of the net and digital and social media, the media industry across the world was ill-prepared to deal with what media scholars Tamara Witschge and Gunnar Nygren (2009) said was both the "deprofessionalisation" and "professionalisation" of the media by the new technologies.

On one hand, digital and social media "deprofessionalised" journalism by abolishing entry barriers to be a journalist while simultaneously "professionalising" journalism by making ordinary citizens become the Fifth Estate – that is, by holding the traditional media or the Fourth Estate to account by checking on the veracity of its journalism and exposing shoddy or inaccurate reporting (Ibid).

This phenomenon was to later have a huge and largely negative impact on the credibility and/or trust of legacy media's business models by undermining its most crucial and single currency and the most critical reason why audiences have supported journalism in the past six centuries.

I will return to this theme later in my address. I cannot conclude this part of my presentation without touching on the new – some might call desperate – measures by the media to reverse the negative economic decline of their organisations in the "always-on, always-connected" digital age.

Most print media houses – clearly the hardest-hit by the advances of digital and social media – took to establishing the much-hyped "paywalls", both hard and soft; a range of other different models of subscriptions; and "native advertising" (also known as branded content), to stem the tide of this near economic collapse.

Except for *The New York Times*, the *Financial Times* of London and *The Wall Street Journal*, all of which have thrived under some form of paywalls, strong research evidence shows that most of these paywalls have failed to do the job at most large-scale legacy print media in developed countries.

Some of the newspapers there are now re-opening their once-enclosed news gardens. Of course, there are a few examples of small towns and cities where such paywalls have been, and are still successful – and this is because newspapers there would be enjoying a virtual monopoly and, it must be acknowledged, are also providing what their audiences regard as news content that has both value and utility to them.

For most parts of Africa in the past decade, paywalls have remained only experimental for most newspapers. However, we are now seeing more African newspapers beginning to implement these walls, especially on what they consider to be their premium news content. Examples of such newspapers abound and include the *Daily*

News and the *Financial Gazette* in Zimbabwe; some newspapers in Botswana and South Africa; and a few in Egypt.

Whether these efforts are bearing financial fruit or not, is hard to tell in the absence of accurate statistics on the impact of their walls and the sheer unwillingness by a significant number of African media to be transparent and open about their business operations.

Needless to say, the issues of transparency and openness are both key ethical and journalistic tenets which these media themselves paradoxically demand and expect from other key societal stakeholders.

Instead of creating paywalls, East Africa's largest media group – Nation Media which owns several newspapers, radio and television stations – launched an innovative money transfer system in 2012, working with a local bank, for Kenyans in the diaspora.

This was, of course, a follow-up to the establishment of East Africa's highly successful, world-first mobile phone money transfer system known as M-PESA, which was created by mobile phone group Safaricom in Tanzania in 2015. Regrettably, I have just learnt from East African colleagues who are at this conference that the Nation Media's money transfer system apparently collapsed because of challenges involving its implementation. However, the *Nation*'s money transfer system showed an innovative use of emerging digital technology, as well as an effort by the Nation Media Group to try to diversify its revenues to support its business model.

The *Nation* – and I am sure other African media as well – simply found it inappropriate to impose a paywall in East Africa primarily because of a likely resistance from audiences and the high cost of data use, a key and unresolved challenge in most of Africa even today.

As Harding's Future of the News report noted in 2015, 60% of the world's population still does not have access to the internet, and a significant number of those without the net live on our beautiful continent.

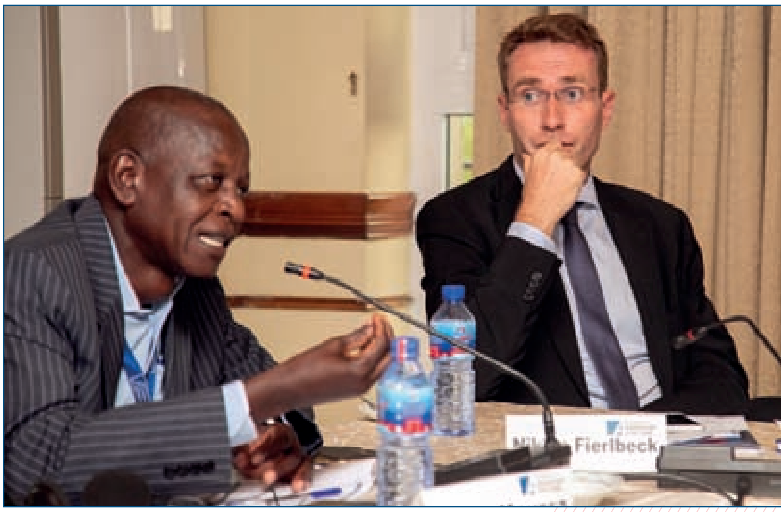
So did the promised new journalisms help bridge the news content gap between Africa's information-poor and information-rich, and between urban and rural areas, or make Africa's media more sustainable or profitable?

A number of studies show that, if anything, the "digital divide" has broadly widened and, in some instances, worsened, despite modest improvements in some African nations, notably South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria and Mauritius. The business models of most African media are also coming under greater economic and financial pressure than ever before.

The way we are now

Over the past few years, several new business models have been suggested for the financially troubled media worldwide. In some cases, these are being experimented with by media in developed nations, along with paywalls and "native" advertising, as competition for increasingly fragmenting audiences, who have rapidly expanding menus of news content and programmes, has heightened.

The sustainability of both global and African media, therefore, looks increasingly under



Burkhardt Hellemann, Head of KAS Office in Ghana, listens on as Niamey-based investigative journalist Moussa Aksar discusses the plight of reporters in the Sahel.

mounting financial and economic pressure as we meet at this conference, appropriately examining “entrepreneurial journalism”.

I am sure we are all familiar with efforts of major news media such as *The New York Times* of staging important social events, including hosting cross-Atlantic luxury cruises and others to the Middle East, that attract some rich members of its audiences for a price as a way of generating extra income.

Other revenue-generating efforts include attracting audiences to donate money to media firms of their choice; an intensification by media to use news videos and podcasts to widen and strengthen their content distribution and net more revenue; efforts to monetize mobile journalism, though this does not appear to be gaining much traction so far except among the young; and efforts to seek either governmental funding or funding from audiences and corporates to run non-profit news outlets. There is another emerging digital media business model that seeks to accommodate audiences who only want to pick one or two news stories or programmes from several web-based media houses at once, and not to subscribe to the whole bouquet that might be on offer.

This is known as micro-payments. So, a news consumer might want to choose one story to read from, say, CNN Digital; one from BBC Digital; one from another media in what we now call “news snacking” by audiences. In other words, audiences are increasingly being picky and wanting to select only the stories which they believe matter to them – the news that people can use!

Other media groups in developed nations are also experimenting with what media analysts Jameson Hayes and Geoffrey Graybeal (2011) call “micro-earnings”. This is a business model where a media house creates a synergetic relationship with its audiences but especially with its “social influencers” – celebrities or high-flyers who have a large number of followers in today’s networked economy. As these influencers share a media house’s news content with their followers or friends, the influencers get rewards just like you would get rewards for frequently flying on a particular airline, and the influencers are rewarded through points, a digital-type of currency or in real money.

The more the influencers and their followers share a media’s content with others in their social network, the more rewards these influencers and their followers get. This particular business model needs a digital bank that would create a virtual currency and be the mediator between the media, on one hand, and those influencers who are maximising the sharing and dissemination of that media’s news content or programmes, on the other hand.

Where does Africa stand in all of this? Again, only sketchy information on these developments is available from Africa. I look forward to hearing about the novel journalism and business models that are being contemplated or are being applied in different African regions from friends and experts who are attending this conference.

In particular, I am interested in understanding how, for example, state or trust funding and audience membership funding ensure that a media firm remains editorially independent from those who are financing it at a time when issues of the media being “captured by vested interests” has rightly become a hot public topic not just for governments and political parties, but for the media itself.

What is increasingly clear is that journalists and media houses from Abidjan to Nairobi and from Cairo to Cape Town and Johannesburg are working feverishly to ensure that their journalism offerings are increasingly multi-media, with strong indications that even legacy newspapers have now entered the broadcasting sector, especially that of television, to try to stave off financial collapse of their organisations and, with it, of their journalism.

And yet, it must be noted, these new broadcasting stations are facing a new and heightening competition, mostly on broad lifestyle programming, from internet streaming video services of companies ranging from South Africa’s Africa-wide MultiChoice/DSTV, which is, itself, in financial trouble because of falling premium subscribers; to the American networks such as Netflix, Amazon Prime Video, and so on.

Complicating an already hyper-competitive media ecosystem for Africa and the rest of the world has been the rapid disruptive emergence of news aggregators such as Facebook's Instant News Articles; Google's Accelerated Mobile News Pages; and Apple's News Pages, etc.

These global technology platforms have not only become the news disseminators but are increasingly taking over the global business of news through value-addition, according to several studies.

Rasmus Nielsen and Sarah Ganter (2018), for example, warn in a paper just released on the operations of these "digital intermediaries" that the news platforms of Facebook, Google, and Apple are increasingly taking over control of media's editorial, financial, and communication levers across the world and are "reshaping how news is distributed and, by extension, produced and funded" (page 1601).

Another notable media commentator, Nick Srnicek, writing in his 2017 book Platform Capitalism, says the new global platforms' business models are based on extracting audiences' personal data which they sell to third parties as these platforms seek to create a network economy that they monopolise and control.

Srnicek (Ibid) says the analytics or algorithms used by these platforms remain opaque. Indeed, these algorithms have been blamed for spreading "fake news", especially during the 2016 US presidential election, that is blighting our world today and is challenging the future and sustainability of journalism and media organisations across the entire globe.

In their paper, Nielsen and Ganter add ominously: "We are, as individual, ordinary users, increasingly transparent to and monitored by (these) large technology companies that we rely on (2018:1611)." In this regard, let me note that the role and place that these digital platforms play in journalism and media was actually the focus of the 13th Summit of the World Media Economics and Management Conference (WMEMC), which my Institute hosted in Cape Town from 7-9 May this year. Details of the deliberations of this summit, the first held in Africa in nearly 30 years, can be found at www.wmemc.org.

However, may I repeat some key points of what I told the 300-plus delegates from across the world at this WMEMC summit:

"… Should humanity allow a triopoly of Google, Facebook and Apple, aided by Twitter, Amazon and a few other global technological giants such as Alibaba, to define who we are and our future?
"Should humanity allow them to define our values and beliefs; to define our ethics and moral standards; and, above all, to redefine what our centuries-old democracy should be – all in the name of 'likes', 'mentions', 'tweets', 'followers' and 'trending stories', which are posted on these platforms under the guise of 'enlightenment' of our globalised world?
"Should humanity in this 'brave twenty-first century' allow these technological platforms to define and run – virtually solo and almost with impunity and without any meaningful regulation except for Europe's nascent efforts of enacting the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) – a global 'platform economy' that takes over the work of mainstream media and of hundreds of thousands of dedicated scribes who have for centuries provided humanity with mostly credible, high quality and ethical journalism?"

Just a week before this conference (in September 2018), UNESCO released a handbook which looks in-depth at the challenge that is posed to the future of journalism and media by not only these platforms but by digital and social media which thrives on these platforms in what the handbook sees as an increasing threat of "fake news" (Posetti and Ireton, 2018).

The handbook says there is a new "disinformation war", a war in which "journalism and journalists have become prime targets" (Ibid). (Please also see the NiemanLab at http://www.niemanlab.org/2018/09/fighting-back-against-fake-news-a-new-un-handbook-aims-to-explain-and-resist-our-current-information-disorder.

The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at

Oxford University also warned in a report, released just before this conference, that the role of news in social media had reached what it described as an "inflection point" as a result of fears about misinformation and privacy issues, as well as content clutter and declining relevance, according to Nic Newman (2018).

In short, there are increasing voices around the world, especially from the EU which in May this year adopted the GDPR, to have some governmental regulation of the operations of these super-technological monopolies, with many people calling for the setting up of parallel independent platforms that are run as public trusts (e.g. Srnicek, 2017; *Press Gazette*, 2018).

To conclude this section, the economic turbulence that has long engulfed media and journalism in developed nations is upon us, but are we prepared for it? Have we learned and understood the mistakes and lessons of the early technological adopters of developed nations so that we, in Africa, minimise their negative impacts on our media and journalism?

The future and concluding remarks

The new journalisms that are being waved these days as "saviours" of our journalism include the following: explainer journalism, which, we are told, must seek to unpack the complexities and significance of a news story; solutions journalism, which must aim at finding and recommending solutions to audiences' real-life problems; data journalism, which must mine data from a range of sources and use graphs and multimedia to unearth hidden news stories; and so on.

For those of you who have been in this profession as long as I have, I am sure you will all agree that there is nothing new in these "new forms" of journalisms: what is being raised as "new" is exactly what any self-respecting professional journalist ought to have been doing all along and must continue to do going forward!

Having said this, I must, however, emphasise the need for journalists and media across the world to seek increased financial and human resources that are aimed at boosting investigative journalism in particular if our noble profession is to regain its waning public trust and remain relevant in the face of an onslaught by the authors of fake news and "alternative facts" of the Donald Trump era.

The media firms and journalisms that will survive the current crisis of disinformation, misinformation and mal-information in the "attention economy" will be those that are not only trusted by audiences but those that will seek to be more transparent and more open in the ways of their journalistic practices.

Because transparency is the new objectivity in the 21st century (Sambrook, 2012), media and their journalists must now disclose real and potential conflicts of interests in their reporting; they should tell their audiences who their news sources are and not simply say that these are "informed sources" (after all, all news sources must be informed; otherwise they are of no use to journalists); how these news sources know what they claim to know; the evidence which should stand up in a competent court of law which these sources have to back up their claims, etc.

Let me also underscore a few critical issues if journalism and media are to survive in this turbulent and hyper-competitive century and beyond.

- Media houses must endeavour to pay their journalists and other media workers decent salaries and create favourable working conditions to stave off poor quality and often unethical journalism that plays into the hands of "fake news" and the widespread "brown envelope" journalism syndrome in Africa.

- Media houses must invest in high-level, all-round university education and training for both their journalists and media managers so that these workers are capacitated with holistic knowledge, understandings and work competencies of practising journalism and of managing and leading their media in an agile manner at a time of discontinuous change. I ask you to send your media leaders to my Institute and other universities which have emerged in recent years to provide such education and training.

- Quality news and programmes, as defined mostly by audiences' changing tastes and habits but with our judicious editorial and ethical judgements, will always triumph above the current "news noise"(Harding, 2015) and the shrills of "alternative facts". We must, therefore, hold our editorial freedom dear and guard against any erosion of journalism's credibility because this is what defines a successful business model of any media, more so now when we are being engulfed by false news.

We do not want to end up in a world in which US media analysts Thomas Davenport and John Beck warned about in their 2001 book, *The Attention Economy: Understanding the New Currency of Business*, where they saw the increasing information overload of the current century causing an "Attention Deficit Disorder" (ADD).

ADD, they noted, was already afflicting most people across the world, disrupting their attention to news and information, disrupting their work and study options, disrupting their decision-making and family life where, for example, we increasingly see spouses bringing their laptops, tablets and mobiles to bedrooms. Our social lives are under severe stress!

The two authors say that if the information overload is not arrested quickly so that we get our attention back, we are in for unprecedented social turmoil. In their words: "If attention is the scarcest good (in the 21st Century), people will ultimately realise that they should not trade it away lightly. We believe that knowledge workers will eventually realise the value of their attention, and anyone who wants it will have to pay a high price (2001:221).

"The trend of more information competing for less attention can't go on forever. Ultimately, people will begin to withdraw from the stress of an attention-devouring world, and information providers will begin to focus on quality, not quantity (Ibid)," they noted.

They then stated starkly: "For those who don't need to pay attention in order to make a living, the world will become much quieter. The rich will be able to live in attention-conservation zones, and ordinary folks will save up to vacation in environments in which attention can be devoted solely to loved ones, bodily processes, and a few carefully chosen attention stimuli. In the end, the greatest prize for being able to capture attention will be the freedom to avoid it." (Ibid).

After painting a somewhat gloomy future of journalism, let me end with two quotable quotes which perhaps give us some optimism in our troubled and uncertain times:

- John Nerone, a leading media scholar from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in the US, had this to say in his essay entitled The Death (and rebirth) of working class journalism in 2009: "Journalism will find its future when it finds its audience, and that audience will be many hued, sexually diverse, and composed of mostly workers (page 355)".

- To which British legendary social and media analyst James Curran (2010:466), writing on how millennials and Nerone appeared to be gleefully celebrating the death of journalism as we know it today, sarcastically commented: "In short, this view can be summarised as: things will get better because they are getting worse." However, Curran emphatically noted: "A journalism Armageddon is not nigh: sandwich boards can be put away (page 469)."

- To which I would add that this will only be for a short time unless journalists and media across the world begin a serious conversation to engage their audiences, discover their true and changing news and programme needs and wants, and begin an unprecedented way of adequately attending to these on the platforms which audiences prefer. For me, it is clear that we have to move backwards, literally to the basic tenets of journalism, in order to move forward.

Francis Mdlongwa is Director of Rhodes University's Sol Plaatje Institute for Media Leadership in South Africa.

References:

Bowman, Shayne and Willis, Chris. 2003. *We Media: How Audiences are Shaping the Future of News and Information.* Reston, VA: The Media Centre at the American Press Institute. Available at http://www.hypergene.net/wemedia/download/we_media.pdf {Consulted on 10 September 2018).

Curran, James. 2010. The Future of Journalism. Journalism Studies, Vol. 11, No. 4, pages 464-476.

Davenport, T.H. and Beck, J. C. 2001. *The Attention Economy: Understanding the new currency of business.* Harvard: Harvard Printing Press.

Harding, James. *Future of the News.* Available at https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-bbb9e158-4a1b-43c7-8b3b-9651938d4d6a {Consulted on 10 September 2018}.

Hayes, Jameson and Graybeal, Geoffrey. 2011. Synergizing Traditional Media and the Social Web for Monetization: A Modified Media Micropayment Model. Journal of Media Business Studies, 8 (2), pages 19-44.

Hermida, Alfred. 2010. Twittering the News: The emergence of ambient journalism. J*ournalism Practice*, Vol. 4(3), pages 297-308.

Jenkins, Henry. The Cultural Logic of media Convergence. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 7 (1), pages 33-43.

Lorenz, J.; Rauhut, H.; Schweitzer, F.; and Helbing, D. 2011. How Social Influence can undermine the Wisdom of Crowd Effect. Available at www.pnas.org/cgi/doi/10.1073/pnas.1008636108 {Consulted on 10 September 2018).

Maharidge, D. 2016. These journalists dedicated their lives to telling other people's stories: what happens when no one wants to print their words anymore? Available at https://www.thenation.com/article/these-journalists-dedicated-their-lives-to-telling-other-peoples-stories/(Consulted 30 May 2017).

Nerone, John. 2009. The Dearth (and rebirth) of working class journalism. *Journalism*, Vol. 10 (3), pages 353-355.

Nielsen, Rasmus and Ganter, Sarah. 2018. Dealing with digital intermediaries: A case study of the relations between publishers and platforms. *New Media & Society*, Vol. 20 (4), pages 1600-1617.

Newman, N. 2018. The Changing Face of Social Media and the Rise of Messaging Apps for News. Available at https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/risj-review/changing-face-social-media-and-rise-messaging-apps-news {Consulted on 15 September 2018}

Pavlik, John, V. 2013. Innovation and the Future of Journalism. *Digital Journalism*, Vol. 1 (2), pages 181-193.

Pew Research. 2014. State of the News Media Review. Available at http://assets.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/13/2017/05/30142556/state-of-the-news-media-report-2014-final.pdf (Consulted 30 May 2017).

Posetti, J. and Ireton, C. 2018. Fighting back against fake news: A new UN handbook aims to explain (and resist our current information disorder. Published by the NiemanLab on 14 September 2018. Available at http://www.niemanlab.org/2018/09/fighting-back-against-fake-news-a-new-un-handbook-aims-to-explain-and-resist-our-current-information-disorder {Consulted on 15 September 2018}

Press Gazette. 2018. Cairncross Review into UK press future issues first call for evidence as report finds newspaper revenues have more than halved in decade. Available at https://www.pressgazette.co.uk/cairncross-review-into-uk-press-future-issues-first-call-for-evidence-as-report-finds-newspaper-revenues-have-more-than-halved-in-decade/{Consulted on 11 September 2018).

Rosen, Jay. 2006. *The People Formerly Known as the Audience.* The Blog, published on 06/30/2006, updated on 25 May. Available at https://www.huffingtonpost.com/jay-rosen/the-people-formerly-known_1_b_24113.html {Consulted on 6 September 2018).

Sambrook, Richard. 2012. *Delivering Trust: Impartiality and Objectivity in the Digital Age.* Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, pages 1-15.

Srnicek, N. 2017. Platform Capitalism. Cambridge (U.K.): Polity.

Witschge, Tamara and Nygren, Gunnar. 2009. Journalism: A Profession Under Pressure. Journal of Media Business Studies, 6 (1), pages 37-59.