

Explaining the 'Crisis'

Correspondents' Perceived Strategies of Mediatization

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Abstract

This work analyses how correspondents in Portugal report on the vast thematic field of the economical and financial 'crisis'. Basis of the research is the abundance of scientific literature either on correspondents' work or on economic journalism – but so far no study about the correspondents' work in the current 'crisis'. Further, there is a lack of scientific approaches that include the correspondents themselves, by interviewing them, instead of solely analysing the content they produce or stating normative requirements.

For this study consequently an approach centred on the mediators themselves was chosen: information about their demographics, work environment, intentions and self-view, as well as their routines and practices in reporting on topics linked to the 'crisis' was obtained in a first step with the aid of a questionnaire, followed by semi-directed interviews.

The findings suggest that correspondents reporting on the 'crisis' in Portugal are mostly European or from countries with special cultural links to Portugal. They are generalists, not specialized on economics or other thematic fields. Being long-timers their detailed knowledge about the country could be seen as some sort of specialization. The aspects of the 'crisis' deemed relevant vary according to the countries of their buyers. Common is a focus on personalized news as an attempt to illustrate.

The evaluation of the information obtained from the questionnaire and interviews shows, that these professionals are no specialists and have a need to understand and familiarize themselves in the first place with the current economic situation of Portugal. It could be of future interest in journalism studies to find out how important detailed expert knowledge actually is for correspondents' reporting or whether insider knowledge on culture, politics and the general functioning of a society might be the more important 'equipment' for these professionals. Further this study could be of use for future research on media effects, as it allows to compare the intentions and ideas of the producers to the evaluations of audiences.

Keywords: Correspondents, Journalism, Portugal, Economic Journalism, Crisis

Resumo

Este trabalho analisa como correspondentes em Portugal abordam o vasto campo temático da 'crise' económica e financeira. Base da investigação é a abundância de literatura científica ou sobre o trabalho de correspondentes, ou sobre jornalismo económico – mas até agora nenhum estudo especificamente sobre o trabalho de correspondentes na 'crise' actual. Além disso, faltam aproximações científicas que incluem os próprios correspondentes, através de entrevistas, em vez de somente analisar o conteúdo que produzem e formular requerimentos normativos.

Para este estudo consequentemente foi escolhida uma aproximação baseada nos próprios mediadores: informação sobre a sua demografia, o ambiente de trabalho, intenções e auto-conceituação, tal como as suas rotinas e práticas em abordar temas ligados à 'crise' foram obtidas num primeiro passo através de um inquérito, seguido por entrevistas semi-dirigidas.

Os resultados sugerem que os correspondentes ocupados com a 'crise' em Portugal são sobretudo Europeus ou provenientes de países com alguma ligação cultural especial a Portugal. São generalistas, não especializados em economia ou outro campo temático. Estando em Portugal há muitos anos, o seu conhecimento detalhado sobre o país podia ser considerado uma especialização. Os aspectos da 'crise' considerados relevantes variam consoante os países de origem dos seus clientes; um foco em notícias personalizadas e uma tentativa de ilustrar são comuns.

A avaliação da informação obtida pelo inquérito e pelas entrevistas mostra que estes profissionais não são especialistas e têm em consequência de familiarizar-se com a situação económica actual em Portugal. Podia ser de interesse futuro para estudos jornalísticos perceber quão importante perícia detalhada de facto é para o trabalho de correspondentes ou se talvez conhecimento privilegiado da cultura, política e o funcionamento geral da sociedade será o 'equipamento' mais importante para estes profissionais. Além disso, este estudo podia ser útil para investigações futuras sobre efeitos dos média, por permitir uma comparação de intenções e conceitos dos produtores das notícias com a avaliação do público.

Palavras-chave: correspondentes, jornalismo, Portugal, jornalismo, crise económico

Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	ii
Resumo	iii
List of Figures	v
Abbreviations	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I: State of the Art	3
1.1 The Context of Correspondents' Work	4
1.1.1 Media and Institutional System	4
1.1.2 Correspondents' Self-Image and Perspective	5
1.1.3 Work environment	7
1.2 The Process of Mediatization	9
1.2.1 The Selection of Stories	10
1.2.2 The Editing of News	13
1.3 What Foreign News tell us about the World	15
CHAPTER II: Method	17
2.1 Determining the Sample	17
2.2 Questionnaire	17
2.3 Interviews	18
CHAPTER III: Results	21
3.1 The Correspondents in Portugal	21
3.1 The Mediatization of the Crisis	25
3.2.1 Routines	25
3.2.2 Topics and their presentation	27
3.2.3 Perspective and intentions	32
CONCLUSION	35
REFERENCES	I
BIBLIOGRAPHY	I
ANNEX I: Questionnaire	III
ANNEX II: Interview guidelines	VIII
ANNEX III: Interview audio-files	X

ANNEX IV: Declaration of originality

XI

ANNEX V: Curriculum Vitae

XII

List of Figures

1 Questionnaire: Type of media 22
2 Questionnaire: Specializations and most reported topics 23
3 Questionnaire: Sources 24

Abbreviations

AIEP	Associação da Imprensa Estrangeira em Portugal (Portuguese Foreign Press Association)
ARD	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Consortium of public-law broadcasting institutions of the Federal Republic of Germany)
ECB	European Central Bank
EU	European Union
RTP	Rádio e Televisão Portuguesa (Portuguese public broadcaster)

INTRODUCTION

The insolvency of 'Lehman Brothers', the resulting problems of European banks, the consequences for real economy, "fiscal pacts", bailouts and the case of Greece – the financial and economic 'crisis' in the Euro zone, that had its origin in the real-estate bubble of 2008 in the United States of America, abruptly brought to light the complexity of the interconnections of the political, financial and economic sphere – and confronted journalists with the tough challenge of explaining this complexity to their readers, listeners and spectators.

This investigation entitled "Explaining the 'crisis'. Correspondents' perceived strategies of mediation" pretends to explore the work routines of correspondents based in Portugal in the relating, analysing and explaining of the financial and economic 'crisis' on our continent. How do journalists, especially correspondents, treat news on this complicated matter, in order to make them understandable for and interesting to their recipients abroad? How does the condition of reporting on foreign and transnational European news influence this work? Do correspondents part from a special viewpoint different from their colleagues abroad? What are the differences in reporting for citizens of the Euro-Zone, the broader European Union and those further abroad?

Focussing on correspondents, one has the opportunity to unite in one study journalists who work for a variety of media and produce an even bigger variety of texts – from short agency reports to long *reportages*, from radio to online, from print to television texts. Also, as will be argued, foreign correspondents' work holds special interest because it is a 'point of contact' between the reality mediated and the ones of the audiences.

The thematic field 'crisis' should be of special interest to media professionals and audiences, given the direct involvement of their nation-states and banks, and the fact that they experience the economic problems themselves. This implicates that this topic should be frequently reported on, donating the professionals interviewed for this investigation with exactly what is to be investigated here: routine.

The economic and financial 'crisis' often summed up under the term "euro crisis" and its treatment by journalists is a significant object of study, because of being a long-term topic, because of its (assumed) importance to audiences and because of its complexity. The motivation for this study is also based in the activity of the author as a journalist and in the results obtained in a previous content analysis of newspaper articles about the 'crisis' (Senftleben, 2011). Moreover the author has the impression, that scientific literature about the role of journalists in this financial and economic 'crisis' is either of highly normative character, pointing out how journalists *should* inform, or extremely critical, as the study by Kirchhoff and Kämer (2010) referred later on.

In opposition to these normative approaches, the aim of this study is to give voice to the correspondents themselves in order to gain a *realistic* insight to their work. Besides gathering information that can serve for better reviewing the critics and the normative expectations, this investigation can be a useful contribution to the professional and academic training of journalists in general, and those aiming to become correspondents in particular. However, it is not meant to be uncritical, but rather a solid base for realistic critique and improvement.

The limitation on a small universe of professionals – foreign correspondents in Portugal - and an important and difficult range of topics permits an analysis of the specific frameworks and circumstances of work, as well as the work itself, the perceptions of routines and techniques.

In the first chapter of this dissertation a brief overview of the state of the art in investigation on

journalistic working routines, their techniques of mediatization in general and the work of foreign correspondents in particular will be given. As will be argued, journalistic practice is part of a social system and itself production of social meaning. As such, it is inserted in a whole social and institutional framework that this work also has to draw a sketchy portrait of. In Chapter II the methods used in the investigation – inquiry and semi-guided interviews – will be laid out, in Chapter III the obtained results will be presented.

CHAPTER I: State of the Art

The investigation about journalism in general and the work of foreign correspondents in particular is a multi-faceted field. “Classical” journalism studies subdivide the abundance of aspects worth studying into four approaches: communicator studies, the study of the organization of editorial offices, content analysis and the research on media effects. Among these approaches, the German investigator Ulrich Pätzold observed a “shift from communicator studies focussing on the individual to system-centred study of editorial offices” during the past 20 years (Pätzold, 2002, p. 33). The author argues that an investigation of journalism that wants to do justice to its object has to consider the broadest picture possible, including the framework journalism is inserted in, as for example the specific media system and the political and economical background. Pätzold cites Rühl, who describes journalism as “social subsystem [...] that delivers its specific performance in production and distribution of topics for public communication in structural response with other systems like economy and politics”¹ (Rühl, 1980 cit. in *ibid.*, p. 33).

This perception of journalism being inserted in and interacting with a whole social and institutional framework is common grounds among journalism researchers. Günther Rager and Lars Rinsdorf describe this framework as “three-dimensional system of coordinates” with the axes of “the publicist and economic goals of the media companies, the demands of the recipients and the normative requirements of the political system”² (Rager and Rinsdorf, 2002, p. 44). Ulf Hannerz, an anthropologist researching foreign correspondents, alerts for the fact that mostly political systems get increasingly complex due to “the growth of transnational and supranational institutions and organizations of political and legal nature” (Hannerz, 2004, p. 21).

Before taking a closer look to this social context journalism is inserted in, a definition of journalism is necessary. First of all, not all media production is of journalistic nature. As Nelson Traquina points out, the concept of “news media” as subdivision of media in general gives a more appropriate circumscription of it (Traquina, 2000a, p. 19). Peter Golding and Philip Elliott define news production as an “industry”, being “a sequence of gathering raw material, processing it into the required product, and distributing the product to an intended market” (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 90). W. Lance Bennett defines news as “what newsmakers promote as timely, important or interesting [...], which news organizations select, narrate, and package into information formats [...], and that people consume, at any moment in history” (Bennett, 2001, p. 19). These definitions all together draw a detailed picture of journalism as:

- a process of gathering, processing and distributing of information for specific target-audiences,
- performed by professionals,
- who in their work obey to rules of selection and processing this information, standardized by pre-set “information formats”,

¹Translation by the author; original quote: “In einem weiter gefassten interdisziplinären Verständnis der Journalistik [...] gehören zu ihr auch die Medienökonomie, die normativ-rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen des Journalismus, die Medienstrukturen und gleichsam als Quersumme dieser Aspekte die Medienpolitik [...]. Diese Kontexte des Journalismus können als Wirkungen auf das journalistische Handeln angenommen werden. In diesen Kontexten wird Journalismus als soziales Subsystem verortet, das seine spezifische Leistung in der ‘Herstellung und Bereitstellung von Themen zur öffentlichen Kommunikation’ in struktureller Rückkopplung mit anderen Systemen wie z.B. Wirtschaft und Politik erbringt.”

²Translation by the author; original quote: “Journalismus bewegt sich in einem dreidimensionalen Koordinatensystem mit folgenden Achsen: - den publizistischen und ökonomischen Zielen der Medienbetriebe, - den Anforderungen des Publikums, - und den normativen Vorgaben des politischen Systems.”

- and who are inserted in a set of relations with colleagues, sources and audiences, as well as economic and normative demands.

1.1 The Context of Correspondents' Work

It is for the various facets of this definition that scholars comprehend journalism as some sort of social activity. Otto Groth writes of it as a “cultural act” inserted in the “social structure” of media (Groth, 1960 cit. in Pätzold, 2002, p. 33), Pierre Bourdieu calls journalism a “social phenomenon of cultural production” (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 29). The latter describes this cultural production to be situated in the “field of journalism”, possessing “invisible structures” and functioning as a microcosm “obeying its own laws” and showing some autonomy (ibid., pp. 30-32). Characteristic for the concept of “fields”, as introduced by Bourdieu, is “a kind of fundamental complicity among the members” and an internal struggle “for the power to impose the dominant vision of the field” (ibid., p. 36). Bourdieu argues that professionals inserted in this field rely on “implicit schemes of classification [...] that we know how to use in situations, but of which we do not have explicit mastery”. And as these schemes are “socially constituted and socially acquired” (ibid., p. 36), they have to be tied to the membership in the field of journalism, being an “implicit [and] tacit” system of “presuppositions that we accept as the natives of a certain society” (ibid., p. 37).

Nelson Traquina calls these presuppositions “professional ethos” and a “set of norms, rituals and values (objectivity, independence, immediacy) that form a professional ideology” (Traquina, 1995, p. 200). Golding and Elliott recall Bensman and Lilienfeld’s concept of “journalistic attitude” as a “particular occupational way of seeing the world” (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 16).

Contemplating all these considerations, Rodrigues comes to the conclusion that investigators should “also lean into the professional culture of journalists, known as being [...] decisive in the process of news production [...]. This perspective on the world of journalists does not only mean highlighting the constraints and organizational practices typical to editorial offices. It also means reaching into the level of symbolic order, the shared representations within the community, sometimes in an almost unnoticed way.”³ (Rodrigues, 2005, p. 8). This “level of symbolic order” that journalists share will be further specified in the section “The Process of Mediatization” (1.2).

1.1.1 Media and Institutional System

As will be argued, journalism may present implications to the social system – but it is itself also influenced by forces acting in its own field, as well as other fields such as politics and economy. An important institutional influence is the specific juristic framework journalists can ‘move’ in: their legal status, their right to keep their informants anonymous or the definition of their work as important by the constitution are examples of that. Foreign correspondents work in the peculiar situation of being affected by different

³Translation by the author; original quote: “Ao perspectivar as notícias como produtos que sofrem múltiplas influências, os investigadores tendem a debruçar-se também sobre a cultura profissional dos jornalistas, reconhecida como marcante e decisiva no processo de produção noticiosa [...]. Esta perspectivização do mundo dos jornalistas não passa apenas por realçar constrangimentos e práticas organizacionais típicas das redações. Passa também por penetrar num plano da ordem do simbólico, das representações partilhadas por toda uma comunidade, por vezes de forma quase despercebida.”

frameworks of those, being the 'home-base' (and place of jurisdiction) of the media they work for in different countries from that they actually do their research and reporting from.

Influences from the field of economy are for example the dependency on advertising sales most non-public media outlets increasingly struggle with. According to Pierre Bourdieu this dependency tends to worsen as audience research becomes more sophisticated: "[...] economic constraints are increasingly weighing on production as advertisers distribute their budgets [...] according to the size of audience delivered by 'ratings'." (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 42). Moreover, profit orientation of media outlets and resulting tendencies towards reduction of costs and perception of news as an economic good (see for example Briggs and Burke, 2002, p. 255) has during the past decade been a reason for reduction of manpower in editorial offices – and continues to be.

While this tendency affects journalists of nearly all areas, foreign correspondent are in an especially vulnerable position because they are rather expensive to maintain (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 99). Peter Golding and Philip Elliott already in 1979 describe the common practice of relying on "home-based reporters travelling to cover stories" for being "cheaper than permanent foreign postings", or even of relying "almost entirely upon the news agencies either for complete information, or as a guide and warning system about stories in their initial stages which might warrant the outlay of travel and subsistence funds for newsroom staff to go themselves" (ibid., p. 99). Besides these tendencies, Ulf Hannerz also observes a 'flexibilization' of the forms of international correspondence by applying new working models such as "highly variable, arrangements with 'stringers'" or the extension of the geographical responsibility of correspondent offices, for example when correspondents based in Miami cover the whole Caribbean, or those based in Tokyo are responsible for South Asia in total (Hannerz, 2004, pp. 52-53).

Competition from within the journalistic field presents another economic influence - that is believed to also reflect on contents. Pierre Bourdieu described the paradox mechanism that "competition [...] has the effect, in fields of cultural production under commercial control, of producing uniformity, censorship and even conservatism" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 44). During a recent panel discussion of journalists and media researchers organized by a German journalist labour union ("ver.di") on the topic of 'journalistic attitude and positioning', Sebastian Dullien, a former economic journalist at the reference newspaper "Financial Times Deutschland", begged editors-in-chief to stop evaluating the quality of their journalists by checking "whether they write the same as the competition" (Bauer and Nehrllich, 2012, p. 10). This apparent tendency of 'mainstreaming' of contents, fuelled by the omnipresence and credibility of news agencies, according to Hanno Hardt is accompanied by a "standardization" of format that for example implicitly dictates "the design and layout of newspapers" (Hardt, 2005, p. 234). However it is to be noted, that this effect of 'mainstreaming' neither has only this sole cause, as will be argued in the section on correspondents' work environment (1.1.3), nor is it automatic and inevitable - as sometimes journalists and editors actively try to work against it.

1.1.2 Correspondents' Self-Image and Perspective

Having the media system and broader framework in mind, it does not come as a surprise, that the definition of what is a correspondent is not an easy one. For as Ulf Hannerz points out, "the edges of the category get a bit blurred, through variations in recruitment, geographical mobility, and audience definitions" (Hannerz, 2004, p. 5). Besides the alterations in the profiles of correspondents due to economic

reasons, as referred in Chapter 1.1, Rodrigues also alerts for changes by the “diversification of their socio-graphic profile”, meaning that the average correspondent is becoming younger and that there is an increase of women in this profession (Rodrigues, 2005, p. 33). Nonetheless the anthropologist Hannerz delivers a definition useful to this investigation: “I take the core group of foreign correspondents to consist of those individuals who are stationed in other countries than that of their origin for the purpose of reporting on events and characteristics of the area of their stationing, through news media based elsewhere (usually in their countries of origin).” (Hannerz, 2004, p. 5). However, this much may be revealed already, there are also correspondents whose country of origin actually is Portugal and who nonetheless work for foreign media.

Ana Luísa Bento Rodrigues, who analysed correspondents views on “Portugal and the Portuguese people” focussing rather on the social representations than on the work routines and practices of these professionals, comes to the conclusion that foreign correspondents, living and working in a common situation of “being between two worlds”, form a “transnational interpretive community” (Rodrigues, 2005, p. II). Ulf Hannerz analogically compares foreign correspondents to a “tribe” living in a “transnational contact zone, engaged there in reporting, representing, translating, interpreting” (Hannerz, 2004, p. 3). When it comes to the status of foreign correspondents, Peter Golding and Philip Elliott (1979, p. 97) compare it to the status of a “leader-writer”. Rodrigues writes that the “figure of the correspondent is traditionally associated to a logic of mystification that grants it the status of member of an elite - a sort of caste apart” (Rodrigues, 2005, p. 29).

This specialty of being a foreign correspondent not only reflects in the status of the profession, but also in what Ulf Hannerz describes as “consciousness of kind”. The author ascribes this consciousness to “a sense of sharing particular types of experiences and values. [...] there are frames of relative cohesion that, as they intersect with each other, may create an overall network of relationships.” (Hannerz, 2004, p. 155)

What these “particular types of experiences” are, becomes partly understandable reflecting on the adjective ‘foreign’. Rodrigues justifiably alerts for the fact, that the concept of being foreign in case of correspondents is a special one, as they mostly permanently live in the countries they report from and therefore their experiences probably differ much from those of tourists (see Rodrigues, 2005, p. 3). However they did in most cases not grow up in these countries and thus also experience it differently than the bigger part of the people around them. As this condition intersects with their professional occupation as journalists, Rodrigues therefore calls them “privileged testimonies” as analysers of the places they report from (ibid., p. 1).

Correspondents base their reporting on this mixture of an outside and an inside view on the issues they relate. Rodrigues describes this as an active posture and a “mental operation of perspectivization” (ibid., p. 30). For Ulf Hannerz this perspectivization consists in “bringing a perspective from one place and applying it to another place, then reporting back to where it came from” (Hannerz, 2004, p. 15). Sauvage describes it as a conscient process of merging in the society reported on without losing the ability of a ‘step back’ towards an observing, a meta-perspective: “Le correspondant s’imprègne du pays, mais il ne peut jamais pas le faire complètement. Il se trouve nécessairement à cheval sur deux pays, deux cultures, deux vies. [...] Il lui faut partager la vie de son pays d’accueil et garder le rythme de son pays d’origine.” (Sauvage, 1988: 37 cit in. Rodrigues, 2005, p. 30).

Besides this permanent need to reflect on their perspective on the country they work in and the

country they work for, correspondents also feel the dilemma common to all journalists and well discussed in scientific literature between being 'engaged' or 'reserved' towards the issues of reporting. Is it, as the German broadcasting-legend Hanns Joachim Friedrichs once stated, a necessary quality of a journalist not to "familiarize oneself with a cause, not even a good one"? (Bauer and Nehrlich, 2012, p. 8) Or is it legitimate to use one's position as 'mediator', as supplier of interpretive context, as transformer of worldview, for being partisan with 'good' causes? For correspondents this decision might even be harder, as they can experience very different realities in that the perceptions of what a 'good cause' is, do not necessarily need to be the same.

1.1.3 Work environment

This perspectivization and consciousness of different worldviews and possible limitations of understanding certain issues that are discussed in other countries are crucial parts of correspondents' work, because these professionals work from afar, cannot participate in regular editorial planning and reunions and therefore need to 'sell' or 'place' their stories by convincing their editor of their newsworthiness – often having only a quick phone call or an e-mail to do so. As Ulf Hannerz points out, this quick process of 'selling' a story is often the only contact with the editor at home: "Feedback is often limited, and there might not be much opportunity to share experiences and assumption or for the give and take of more broadly defined face-to-face collegiality" (Hannerz, 2004, p. 10). However it is quiet common that correspondents, most of all the freelancers among them, depend on the decision of this one editor, meaning that they have to be able to predict what this professional 'likes', what he or she is likely to chose for publishing or broadcasting. A participant in the discussion on 'journalistic attitude and positioning' by the German journalist labour union mentioned before, stated that he as a freelancer could "hardly sell a story to an editor, that he or she dislikes", even if it was a good one (see Bauer and Nehrlich, 2012, p. 11).

Besides this dependence on the decision of in most cases one editor, foreign news are also always in direct competition with domestic news. Rodrigues sees this competition sharpened by a general reduction of space or time for international stories (Rodrigues, 2005, p. 35). Peter Golding and Philip Elliott relate from their 1979 case study on the work of foreign correspondents, that these journalists are often frustrated by their "carefully prepared pieces on a relatively timeless topic" being deplaced "by a more immediately topical or important item" (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 100). According to Rodrigues it is therefore common practice among the freelance foreign correspondents to work for more than one media at the same time, trying to increase the possibility to place a story (Rodrigues, 2005, p. 35).

So, in order to be successful in proposing a story, correspondents need not only to know the editor in charge of decision, but also the mediated reality of their countries very well. Their foreign news is always evaluated based on the "knowledge and sensibility built up by the news flow" (Hannerz, 2004, p. 37). On one hand, this is a necessary preoccupation in order to make sure the audiences can embed the issues related in what they already learned by previous mediatization – and therefore understand them. On the other hand, this consideration of the mediated knowledge of the world might as well lead to "mainstreaming". As pointed out before, this phenomenon of expressing opinions, estimations, predictions only within the 'safe zone' of other opinions expressed might be a result of competition between different publications – but the news flow produced by other media and news agencies might also be such a 'safe zone' for editors unwilling to go out on a limb. Angela Giese, economic journalist

at the German regional newspaper “Nürnberger Nachrichten” described it in the following words: “I experience these processes of mainstreaming on a daily basis. One should recognize the role of press agencies in this, for example when it comes to giving an estimation on the situation in the ‘crisis’ of the Euro. Giving a divergent opinion from what they write in an editorial or commentary might be dangerous and even sanctioned.”⁴ (Bauer and Nehrlich, 2012, p. 9)

While these considerations make correspondents seem very little autonomous in their proposing and placing their articles and radio and television pieces, this is only one side of the story. As Ana Luísa Bento Rodrigues points out, correspondents can in some cases also have the power to set the news agenda from their place of reporting. As they become specialists for the country or region they are placed in, and if this is a place little known to the colleagues at home, the correspondents “due to their specific knowledge, for their editorial offices [abroad] function as an anchor in that determined country” (Rodrigues, 2005, p. 37). Correspondents in consequence find themselves in a dialectic situation between dependence on decisions taken far away and their being an expert for a certain place in the world and even having the power to influence the specific news agenda by making the initial decision of what to offer to the editor and what to omit.

As for the work ‘on site’ correspondents around the world mostly do their job alone. Only in cities and regions known for ‘big beats’, as for example Washington DC, London or Tokyo, one will find correspondent offices where it is possible to work in teams. This refers to “long-timers”, permanently based in a certain place, as well as many “spiralists”, switching places every four in four years on average (ibid., p. 31). Correspondents being sent to a certain ‘beat’ as parachutists for a limited period in time, in order to cover a certain event or issue, such as for example the earthquake in Japan in 2011 or the parliament elections in Greece in early 2012, though may find many other journalists engaged in the same, who however have the same lack of experience in reporting from that region that a permanent correspondents would have. For these different reasons, and for the in some cases very big areas to cover by a single correspondents, some of these journalists rely on the cooperation with so-called “stringers” (see for example Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 98).

This special working context translates into certain organizational peculiarities. First of all, correspondents are not as directly subjected to hierarchies as their colleagues at home, dotting them with the ability to decide on their own, but also with the sole responsibility for for example leaving a big city in order to report on an event far away from the usual news beats, or for the costs of travel. Rodrigues thus points out the high mobility of correspondents and their routine in reacting quickly, when it seems necessary to travel (see Rodrigues, 2005, p. 37).

Another particularity is that the placement of correspondents around the world follows a logic of “center-periphery relationships” (Hannerz, 2004, p. 42). These ‘geopolitics’ of news correspondence become visible when one observes on the origin and the placement of correspondents worldwide, recognizing that most of these professionals are “western Europeans or North Americans” and that they are “primarily engaged in intra-Occident reporting, within Europe and across the North Atlantic” (ibid., p. 42). One exception from this pattern might be the Middle East, namely Israel, while most of the African continent, Middle and South America and South East Asia play an insignificant role in interna-

⁴Translation by the author; original quote: “Ich erlebe die Prozesse des Mainstreamings in der Wirtschaftsredaktion tagtäglich. Man sollte dabei auch die Rolle der Presseagenturen berücksichtigen, wenn es etwa darum geht, die Eurokrise einzuschätzen. Davon im Leitartikel oder Kommentar mit einer eigenen Meinung abzuweichen, ist zum Teil wirklich gefährlich und wird womöglich sanktioniert.”

tional reporting. But even in those regions in the (relative) center of attention of news journalism, there is a logic of center and periphery. In Europe, Portugal would rather belong to the latter, functioning the Spanish capital Madrid as what Hannerz calls a “switchboard” for news traffic, with many big media companies having their correspondents responsible for Portugal there, instead of in Lisbon or Porto. As an example might serve the reporting area of the correspondent for the nine German public radio broadcasters of the ARD based in Madrid: there is one single journalist responsible for Spain, Portugal and Andorra. (Norddeutscher Rundfunk NDR, 2012) The ARD broadcasters’ two television correspondents based in the Spanish capital do cover the entire peninsula, as well as - since the closing of the studios in Algiers and Rabat in 2004 - Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. (ARD Tagesschau, 2012)

When it comes to places where several correspondents work, Ulf Hannerz observes what he calls “clustering” of these professionals “almost to the point of rubbing elbows”, not only in certain cities, but even within them (Hannerz, 2004, p. 61). This search for proximity to colleagues, even if they do not work for the same employer, might be a reaction to the loose relations with those at home, presenting a possibility to exchange experiences or share resources. In Portugal foreign correspondents have founded an association, functioning as place of social interaction and facilitating a workplace with some equipment open to members in downtown Lisbon (see Chapter III).

1.2 The Process of Mediatization

The process of mediatization is actually a multi-step process of approximation. Paul Ricoeur divides it into the “emergency of an occurrence”, the “search for sense” and the “construction of the narration” (Ricoeur, 1991 cit. in Rebelo, 2006, p. 19). This search for meaning is no more or less than a socialization of the journalists with the issue of reporting. Journalists do so by reviewing, selecting and treating news – in order to enable a second step of socialization: that of the individuals forming the audience, with the mediatized version of this issue.

As will be argued, the reality shown to us by the media plays an important role in how we perceive our world, our society and even ourselves. For those wanting to understand this mechanism of ‘meaning making’, it is necessary to also understand its first step – the making of meaning in the heads of the journalists.

Now this process of socialization of the journalists towards the issues and objects of his or her articles and radio and television pieces is, as Peter Golding and Philip Elliott emphasize, not random. On one hand, because social processes, as news production is one, tend to show some kind of “order”, and on the other hand, because in “large shifting groups of people are working often in a hurry there have to be routines of practice which lessen the burdens of unpredictability, and make manageable the colossal task of transmuting the events of the world into news” (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 6). Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann support this idea of routines distilling from organizational necessities, saying that “the base of an activity that has become habitual opens the foreground for deliberation and innovation” (Berger and Luckmann, 2004, p. 78). As Golding and Elliott point out, those routines – in work organization, selection and treatment of news – have reached a degree of internalization that makes them mostly implicit and subconscious (see Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 114). The authors in this context refer to Tuchmans comparison to what we might call ‘common-sense’ knowledge (Tuchman, 1973 cit.

in Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 16).

One of those routines is the activity of planning in editorial teams, undertaken for “reducing the uncertainty of the task by plotting events in advance and determining which are to become news.” (ibid., p. 92). According to the authors, this routine of planning is for example institutionalized in “the diary and the editorial conference”, where issues are “mark[ed] for manufacture into ‘stories’” (ibid., p. 97).

1.2.1 The Selection of Stories

The selection of stories is an inevitable step of journalistic production. Rager and Rinsdorf (2002, p. 45) for example lead it back on the “limited budget of attention” of the audiences. Golding and Elliott, describing selection as a “process of compilation [...] converting observed events into stories” (ibid., p. 102), add that also the limited space and time of news products themselves demands selection. The authors perceive story selectors to be torn in “two basic dilemmas”: the one of having limited time and space for giving “a *comprehensive* account of significant events in the world”; the other between objectivity and the attempt “to make them *meaningful* [...] to audiences”, as explanation and contextualization “introduces meaning with the inevitable intrusion of opinion and tendentiousness” (ibid., p. 17).

One of the most thorough studies of story selection by journalists was executed by Gans (1979), and although it already has some years, his systematic considerations on the different theories of story selection is still very useful. Gans divides these theories in “journalist-centered” and “event-centered”, as well as those emphasizing the influence of organizational request, economy, sources and technology on the selection process. Of course, the author comes to the conclusion that these “alternative explanations of story selection all contain some degree of truth” (ibid., pp. 78-79).

According to Gans, these considerations on the newsworthiness of an issue need to be “relational and comparable, since the suitability of one story always depends on what others are available” and require “consensus among journalists” (ibid., p. 83). Nelson Traquina calls this consensual pattern of selection “knowledge of recognition” (Traquina, 2000a, p. 27). However Gans also recognizes that these importance judgements are to some extent variable, because there are still individuals making decisions (Gans, 1979, p. 152).

Being so, criteria of story selection are by no means objective (see for example Traquina, 2000a, p. 20). Herbert J. Gans underlines that choice-making is often a “hurried” process of “intuitive judgments, which some [journalists] ascribe to ‘feel’” (Gans, 1979, p. 82). Ulf Hannerz exemplifies the influence of subjective interests and worldview of the journalist on story selection by recalling that correspondents always carry a “specific baggage of ideas”, meaning “the conceptions of the beat that they brought from home” (Hannerz, 2004, p. 136). Herbert Gans further gives concern that sometimes journalists part form the presupposition that what “evokes the enthusiasm of story selectors [...] will also interest the audience” (Gans, 1979, p. 155).

So what is news, more precisely foreign news, to correspondents? According to Ulf Hannerz (2004, p. 31), it is most of all ambiguous: “It can refer to something that just happened, or something that can be news mostly because we simply have not come across it before and find it interesting and even surprising.” What one can extract from this description is that news implies some sort of novelty or strangeness, however as unknown or new issues are abundant, there have to be other criteria for selection besides this.

Most scholars refer to these criteria as to ‘news-values’, that help to evaluate the importance of a

certain issue or event. According to Golding and Elliott, news-values are based on “implicit assumptions” on the audience, accessibility of information and “fit”, meaning the suitability of fitting into “programme making” and previous mediatization on the issue. News-values were therefore “a classic case of making virtue of necessity” (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 115).

What is striking about this vast set of selection criteria, is that they are to a certain point consensual among journalists, and on the other hand, as pointed out before, highly ambiguous and sometimes even paradox. From reading the existing research, one would expect a journalist asked about what news-values he or she sticks to to answer nothing else but “it depends”.

News-values can for example regard the content of the news, its 'freshness', the actors within the story or issue, the audience, and they can derive from organizational considerations. When it comes to the content, Gans (1979, p. 57) and Golding and Elliott (1979, p. 120) point out, that what they call 'disorder', 'negativity', 'drama' and 'conflict' seem to be powerful news-values. However this does not mean, that only stories on the abysses of humankind are likely to be mediatized, it rather means that issues are more likely to be chosen, if they can be presented in a 'dramatic' way, for example “by the matching of opposed viewpoints drawn from spokesmen of 'both sides of the questions'” (ibid., p. 115). Drama and conflict in opposition to unanimity, that is. On the other hand, some authors come to the conclusion that also “humour” (Hannerz, 2004, p. 137) and entertainment (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 117) can be decisive. Hannerz analyses that in foreign news a humoristic view on other societies is quiet frequent, characterizing the unknown athwart anecdotes and thus playing with stereotypical notions of the reporting area (Hannerz, 2004, p. 112). Golding and Elliott refer to this ambiguity between hard news and entertainment as a “balancing act” creating “tension between the desire to ensure audience attentiveness and interest by following entertainment values, and a concern to maintain standards of seriousness and the plain honest narration of facts” (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 117).

Another characteristic of news that is considered in decision making is what Herbert Gans and Nelson Traquina describe as “surprise” (Gans, 1979, pp. 156-157; Traquina, 2000a, p. 27), meaning a “rupture with quotidian expectations”. But as for ambiguity, Traquina also alerts for “consonance” being a possible news-value, describing a process of the journalist choosing an issue or event for mediatization because it is apt to be “dovetailed [...] into old definitions”, meaning that it fits the shared knowledge, the 'Lebenswelt' of the imagined audiences (ibid., p. 28).

A rather dictating character is observed when it comes to the criterion of 'freshness' of news, or as scholars call it, “topicality” (ibid., p. 27), “internal novelty” (Gans, 1979, p. 167) and “recency” (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 121). According to Golding and Elliott, this news-value exists due to competitiveness between publications for 'scoops' and quickness in delivering news, and for the “periodicity of news production itself sets the frame within which events in the world will be perceived”. According to Gans, the concept of “internal novelty” is based on the assumption that a story is “new” to the audiences. He argues, that even rather 'timeless' feature stories, possibly possessing other news-values giving them relevance, are subjected to the criterion of 'freshness' by journalists using “a recent event or a public official's statement [...] as a 'handle' on which to 'hang' their stories” (Gans, 1979, p. 167). According to him, most editorial offices have a sort of 'standing matter' of timeless stories “waiting for a peg to make them topical”.

As for acting persons and institutions in stories, members of economic or political elites can make a story newsworthy, as well as the proverbial 'average Joe'. For the latter, Gans divides these “people

stories” in a not too differentiated way in those featuring “ordinary people acting or being acted upon in unusual situations”, and “role reversals” or “hero stories” (Gans, 1979, p. 156). Golding and Elliott further explain the selection of stories featuring members of ‘elites’ as due to the news-value “bigness”, suggesting that “big names are better news than nobodies”. The authors also alert for the fact that the media might in some cases be producing this ‘bigness’ themselves: “There is an obvious circularity in this in that well-known personalities become so by their exposure in the news media.” (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 122)

Ulrich Pätzold argues that cultural theory perceives “the audience as central focus of journalistic action”. This consideration of what would be interesting, meaningful, useful and important to know for the people addressed by news products results in an “enlargement” and a “limitation” of journalistic production at the same time, he goes on: “If the audience is understood as the social locus where sense and meaning of the journalistic news text manifest, the journalist necessarily changes from being a producer to being a supplier”⁵ (Pätzold, 2002, p. 38). This would insert journalists in a logic of being “mediators”, rather than “communicators”. News-values regarding audiences (imagined and/ or empirically grasped by surveys) are mostly based on the attempt to appeal to the interests of the readers, listeners and viewers or because the events or issues to be mediatized concern the audiences in some way. When it comes to the latter, most authors circumscribe this ‘concern’ with the term “importance”, meaning “considerable significance for large numbers of people in the audience” (Golding and Elliott, 1979, pp. 117-118). Gans refers to it as “impact on the nation and the national interest”, “impact on large numbers of people” and “significance for the past and the future” (Gans, 1979, pp. 148,151,152). Some authors further break it down into the news-values of “social” or “cultural proximity” (ibid., p. 125; Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 119) and “geographic inclusion” (Traquina, 2000a, p. 27). Based on this news-value, for example a news story about the implications of the economic ‘crisis’ on the public health system in Portugal can be considered as of interest by a journalist in Estonia – while geographical proximity is relatively small, social proximity might be considerable. On the other hand, a story about wealthy northern European immigrants seizing the opportunity of low real estate prices in Portugal might lack social proximity for most of the news audiences in the country, but might be considered due to geographical closeness.

Many scholars point out that those parts of the world not linked to for example western Europe in a geographical way, nor by strong political or social institution such as the European Union, tend to be marginalized in news production and only mentioned in the context of “disasters, political and military intrigues, shortages and famines” (Briggs and Burke, 2002, p. 258). Rodrigues recognizes that these ‘world maps’ of geographical priorities in news production might vary between different media and countries (Rodrigues, 2005, pp. 26-27). Hannerz (2004, p. 136) in this context adds, that news “about particular connections between home and abroad” can as well satisfy the news-value of proximity. Portuguese media thus might give much more room to news from some African countries than for example German media, due to the historical links of colonialism and the shared language. Herbert J. Gans further mentions that selection of stories for their potential of audience-identification and their service character, for example in consumer issues, are based on audience regarding news-values (Gans, 1979, p. 242).

Gans further alerts for the fact that audience considerations in story selection can also lead to the adoption of protective attitude of the journalists towards the audience, namely when it comes to news that

⁵Translation by the author; original quote: “Wird das Publikum als der soziale Ort verstanden, an dem sich Sinn und Bedeutung des journalistischen Medientextes manifestiert, dann wandelt sich der Journalist zwangsläufig vom Macher zum Anbieter.”

might cause shock, panic or imitative behaviour (Gans, 1979, pp. 242-243). In these cases professionals might choose to dedicate some extra-time to the collection of background information, explicitly inform about eventual lacks of information and rely on contextualization by experts.

Of further importance in story selection are values that Gans sums up as the “quality” of a story, meaning for example the “completeness” and “clarity” of information, as well as the satisfaction of “aesthetic and technical standards” (ibid., p. 172). For audio and/ or visual media the quality of sound and image material would be an example of that (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 16). Moreover the availability of information and the suitability to the specific format are likely to be considered by journalists (Gans, 1979, pp. 81,160), as well as the “balance” of stories within the news programmes or print issues of a medium, thus regarding the ‘news flow’, and the balance of political opinions or geographic focusses (ibid., pp. 173-175). When it comes to considerations on the ‘news flow’, Ulf Hannerz reports that sometimes journalists also deliberately choose to write “against the story lines” (Hannerz, 2004, p. 143). As an example he uses the conflict in the Middle East, in that some journalists from time to time search for positive news on peaceful coexistence and cooperation of Palestinians and Israelis.

The being aware of the subjectivity existent in story selection, as well as other reasons⁶ are believed to be the root of the establishment of the so-called ‘news paradigm’, that Michael Schudson characterizes as “a moral idea, a set of reporting and editing practices and an observable pattern of news writing” (Schudson, 2005, p. 19). Harlan S. Stensaas perceives the “notion of objectivity” as the core of the paradigm, meaning the imperative of attempting to report “value-free”. Moreover the “clear distinction between news reports and expressions of opinion”, the “attribution of facts to expert opinions” and the “inverted pyramid structure in writing up the story” are summed up under the paradigm (Stensaas, 2005, p. 37). While the latter concerns the presentation of news, the attempt for objectivity and the valuing of expert opinions reflects on the selection of information sources.

1.2.2 The Editing of News

One may say that once a news is selected, the editing process starts. However, decisions on what form of presentation is most suitable to the news is often closely linked to the selection: for instance ‘angles’ are discussed, decisions on ‘where’ to put background information are made, and the knowledge about rhetoric skills of interviewees might have direct implications on the type of journalistic text chosen.

In any way, editing of news always means some sort of modification, by selection of ‘speakers’, emphasis on certain aspects, omitting of others and contextualization. Rager and Rinsdorf (2002, p. 45) therefore refer to the concept of “Inszenierung”, that could be translated as “orchestration” or “staging”, because – similar to the production of performing arts – the products of journalistic work are shaped by “the active role of journalists in supply and mediatization”, as well as the whole background of the “embeddedness in editorial organization” and the “societal framework”⁷. The authors’ comparison to

⁶The collection of works on the ‘news paradigm’ edited by Hoyer and Pöttker (2005) gives a wide-angled overview on this core professional ideology of journalism. The contribution of Harlan S. Stensaas well explains the reasons that are believed to have led to the establishment of the ‘news paradigm’ in the early 20th century, such as the “technological argument” introduced by the brevity required by telegraph, the commercialization of news and therefore the wish to reach broad audiences of many different opinions, the valuing of objectivity as “defence against propaganda” and as result of secularization, the “professionalization of journalists” and the “rise of the scientific method”. (Stensaas, 2005, pp. 42-46). Schudson adds that in present time also the felt need of journalists “to protect themselves from criticism, embarrassment or law suits and to endow their occupation with an identity that can count as worthy” are reasons for the pursuit of objectivity (Schudson, 2005, p. 32).

⁷Translation by the author; original quote: “Der heuristische Wert des Inszenierungsbegriffs für die Journalistik liegt darin, dass er eine integrierende und umfassende Perspektive auf verschiedene Dimensionen journalistischen Handelns erlaubt,

the functioning of a theatre goes so far that they depict the decision making about how to present content on various levels in analogy: publishers (compared to artistic directors) set global programme directions and define target audiences, editors (compared to stage directors) translate it into a journalistic concept, a 'script', that reporters (compared to actors) rely on in their "daily task of translating the complexity of societal development into easy-to-digest information" (Rager and Rinsdorf, 2002, p. 46).

As for means of this "Inszenierung", the authors enumerate some techniques like "composition" of images for television journalists and "scenic entries, irony [and] linguistic specialties like metaphors or play on words" (ibid., p. 47). These modifications do not necessarily have to strain quality of journalistic texts: Well thought use of these techniques, they argue, can encourage audiences to follow a discourse. As a result of a content analysis on "Inszenierung", they formulate that even pieces that have undergone some major jazzing up can "portray political topics in a very differentiated way" (ibid., p. 53).

As Rager and Rinsdorf do not limit the use of techniques like these to journalists, they come to the conclusion that, even if they try not to do it themselves, it is impossible for journalists not to depict realities already modified - for example by the "staging" and "orchestration" inherent to politics.

As a first step of news editing, Erving Goffman in 1974 identified what he called "framing" (see for example Traquina, 2000a, p. 28). Rodrigues sums this paradigm up in a quiet catchy way: "[...] actors within the media not only choose events to refer, but also form their presentation [of them] based on a set of reference grits" (Rodrigues, 2005, p. 11). These grits, she explains, consist in implicit "patterns of thinking, interpreting and presenting" of topics (ibid., pp. 28-29). As previously noted, Paul Ricoeur divides the active part of the journalist in mediatization in "search for sense" and "construction of narration", and thus describes a process of socialization of the journalist towards an issue, as well as the production of a journalistic product, that itself becomes base of the audiences socialization with that issue. The "frames" and "reference grits" Goffman and Rodrigues refer to, represent the known "order of things" that a new event or issue is inserted in by mediatization - a process that helps to reduce the "irrationalité principielle de la nouveauté" (Ricoeur, 1991 cit. in Rebelo, 2006, p. 19).

This subconscious comparison of the new to known patterns of understanding the world may result, as various authors observe, in a 'categorization' of the issue or event to mediatize. Although being perceived as somewhat 'natural' to the way humans cope with novelty, in journalistic routine this process is mostly a target of critique. For example Jacques Derrida (2004) reproaches journalists of confiding to quickly in concepts like "war" or "terrorism", without questioning these categories they insert news in. Sabine Kirchhoff and Walter Krämer blow the same trumpet noting an "inflation of the word 'crisis'" (Kirchhoff and Krämer, 2010, p. 27). This turns obvious the high normative stands journalists are compared to, because of their assumed privileged situation of being mediators, that due to their occupation should be able of reflection that goes beyond the normal.

Just like the 'categorization', also the specific way of presenting news, the form of representation which is, at last, a sort of encoding, fulfils the function of 'framing' an information. Although this does not imply a deterministic relation as suggested by Marshall McLuhan's "the medium is the message", the type of text chosen orientates perception. The choice of an interview alerts for that the text might rather go on about the points of view of a single person and not the official government's position; the form of a feature or a report is more likely to be used for a 'lighter' story (for example those "flaneur stories"

nämlich auf - die aktive Rolle der Journalisten bei der Bereitstellung und Vermittlung von Themen für den gesellschaftlichen Diskurs und die aktive Rezeptionsleistung des Publikums, - die Eingebundenheit einzelner Redakteure in Organisationen, - die gesellschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen journalistischen Arbeitens in Form von normativen und ökonomischen Zielen."

Ulf Hannerz (2004, pp. 32, 106) identifies as typical in foreign correspondence) - or one focussing on individuals, for example in pointing out the impact of a new law on the population. As the text forms chosen may create certain expectations of audiences towards a story, it may on the other hand also shape the work of the journalist. That if this choice is made before starting the collection of information. A journalist determined to write a feature including personal testimonies not only might invest more time in a topic than one writing a short news, he or she will most probably search for protagonists the other one would not even think of.

Finally, many authors identify a set of techniques journalists recurrently make use of. One of these techniques is for example the personalization of news - both in the process of choosing news referred to by Hanno Hardt as focus on “the individual with issues of health, personal relations, consumer tips” (Hardt, 2005, p. 236), and in treatment, for example in the attempt of “reducing complex processes and institutions to the actions of individuals” in order to make stories more comprehensible (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 122; see also Bennett, 2001, p. 35). Also the use of certain stylistic means like metaphors, comparisons or descriptions may influence the way a story is perceived (see Gamson and Modigliani, 1989 cit. in Traquina, 2000a, p. 29).

1.3 What Foreign News tell us about the World

As referred so far, Pierre Bourdieu perceives the cultural process of journalistic news production as “struggles for symbolic royalty” (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 28). This struggle is both internal to the field of journalism, as well as externalized by the products of journalistic work itself. First of all, it is obvious that journalists play a crucial role in turning things public (Traquina, 2000a, p. 20). Much has been written on the agenda-setting function of journalism. The concept, first established by McCombs and Shaw in 1972 (McCombs and Shaw, 1972 cit. in *ibid.*, p. 13), is based on the assumption, that journalists consciously and unconsciously filter some news to be mediatized from the abundance of news available. Nelson Traquina refers to the product as to a “map that is designed for them [the audience] by the editors” (*ibid.*, p. 17). Ulf Hannerz formulates the quiet positivist view, that journalists thus are engaged in “information brokerage” providing “representations” of the world to those who have not “been everywhere and seen, heard, smelled, tasted, and touched everything” (Hannerz, 2004, p. 23). However also inherent to the concept of agenda-setting is the existence of unselected news, that do not get to be a part of the mediatized agenda and therefore are much less likely to become public.⁸

Beyond the mere concept of agenda-setting, many scholars discuss this role of journalistic work in the “production of reality”. Pierre Bourdieu for this phenomenon established the term of “symbolic power of the media”, meaning the “power to constitute the given by enunciation, to make believe and make see, to confirm or transform the worldview” (Bourdieu, 2001 cit. in Rodrigues, 2005, p. 6). As Rodrigues points out, this discourse is partly inherited from the “constructivist paradigm, the idea of news as social construction of reality” (*ibid.*, p. 12). She, as well as other authors, however alert for a critical view on this paradigm. Herbert J. Gans:

⁸There are some projects researching those unselected news in specific, like for example “Project Censored” affiliated with Sonoma State University and the German project “Initiative Nachrichtenaufklärung” affiliated to the faculty of journalism of Technische Universität Dortmund.

Journalists do not hold up mirrors to events; nonetheless, mirror theory [...] reminds us that journalists do not make up the news but begin with what they deem an empirically graspable external reality. [...] whatever the nature of external reality, human beings can perceive it only with their own concepts, and therefore always 'construct' reality. (Gans, 1979, pp. 79-80).

The influence of journalistic products on the reality perceived by their consumers is not direct and deterministic, they are rather, as Ulrich Pätzold puts it, “transactional processes of meaning made consumable by media”⁹ (Pätzold, 2002, p. 36). They do not determine, but create a “context” for “Weltanschauung and self-image of society” (Hardt, 2005, p. 299). Ulrich Pätzold best explains what this 'context' is, referring that “With their formal structure, their language, their content-design media texts dictate interpretations and stay at the same time open for divergent ones.” (Pätzold, 2002, p. 37). Writing about television news in particular, Pätzold characterizes its structure as “polysemous”. Pätzold therefore adapts the concept of 'interpretive frameworks' from the field of Cultural Studies. In journalistic texts, he argues, the most basic framework is established by the choice of journalistic genres, because they serve as “observation schemes [...], [and] organization guidelines” that enable the individual to choose or skip the given piece of journalistic work: “The construction of meaning is the result of the properties of the text and their contextual integration by the recipients.”¹⁰ (ibid., pp. 38-39).

This contribution of journalistic products to the production of meaning however is not always neutral. Various authors alert for the function of 'legitimation' of journalism. They argue that some journalistic techniques, consciously or unconsciously can lead to an 'explication' of the institutional order (for example politics), providing it with validation (see Berger and Luckmann, 2004, pp. 127-129).

Moreover it is necessary to recognize that journalists themselves by doing their work get somewhat involved in the issues reported. Peter Golding and Philip Elliot exemplify this phenomenon for election campaigning and violence in television reports (Golding and Elliott, 1979, p. 10). The authors further argue, that professional routine “and its attendant values and practices, itself adds an important constraint on the news produced” (ibid., p. 13). This idea is fundamental to the investigation presented in this work, as it is based on the assumption that the routines the correspondents rely on and choices of techniques of mediatization they make are crucial to the final product and therefore to the 'framework' of mediatized issues that the audiences construct their worldviews in.

⁹Translation by the author; original quote: “[...] von Medien konsumierbar gemachten Transaktionsprozessen von Bedeutungen.”

¹⁰Translation by the author; original quote: “Die Bedeutungskonstruktion ist das Ergebnis der Texteigenschaften des Mediums und deren kontextuelle Einbindung durch das Publikum. [...] Aus der Sicht des Fernsehpublikum, sind Genres nämlich Beobachtungsschemata für das Programm, Ordnungsvorhaben, die Entscheidung für oder gegen eine Sendung ermöglichen.”

CHAPTER II: Method

As pointed out before, the focus on correspondents permits an analysis of a relatively small group of professionals and their respective circumstances of work. In combination with the analysis of their perceived techniques, routines, intentions, rules in mediatization of a topic of high relevance, this study aims to obtain a complete, though small, insight into this important process of production of meaning.

As the objective of this investigation is understanding how correspondents perceive their work in mediatizing the economic and financial 'crisis', talking to these professionals was absolutely mandatory to this approach. In order to, before these interviews, obtain an overview of the community of correspondents in Portugal and the circumstances they work in, in a first step of investigation a questionnaire was delivered to the correspondents.

2.1 Determining the Sample

There is no count of foreign correspondents in Portugal that deems itself official and complete. However, there are two institutions that keep count on at least some of these professionals. The Commission responsible for issuing press passes¹¹ also issues a special one for foreign correspondents¹². In February of 2013, the Commission counted 89 foreign correspondents holders of such an identification.

The number of correspondents who are members of the Portuguese Foreign Press Association AIEP is much smaller, being only around 55.¹³ However, as the Commission unfortunately did not wish to cooperate, the investigator was forced to limit the sample to those correspondents members of the AIEP – completed by those whose contacts could be found on the internet or in the phone book.

Accordingly, the universe was determined as “55 + x” correspondents at the beginning of the investigation phase. As it is virtually impossible to obtain a response rate of 100%, a response rate of 30% was a declared goal. It is obvious that the resulting data sets are too small to be representative. However, they will make possible the qualitative first-hand insight targeted in this study, as it is not meant to be a large-scale quantitative approach.

2.2 Questionnaire

As mentioned before, the first step of investigation consisted in a questionnaire. Its goals were a first establishment of contact with the correspondents and an overview of their conditions of work and their routines. The findings from the questionnaire were useful for the following individual interviews, as they helped to prepare the guidelines for the interview, as well as compare the answers and set the individual considerations of the professionals in a broader context.

In order to design a low-threshold questionnaire, a high relevance was given to the time that would be needed to complete the full set of questions. Moreover, as the language the correspondents lead their daily lives and work in is Portuguese, this was also considered the appropriate choice for the questionnaire. The outcome was a survey in Portuguese that would take 10 minutes to complete (see Annex I). It was delivered both in online and print format to all members of the AIEP, via the association's mailing list and by leaving some print copies in the space used by the AIEP at Palácio Foz in downtown Lisbon.

¹¹ Comissão da Carteira Profissional de Jornalista

¹² Carteira de Correspondente Estrangeiro

¹³ The exact number is not clear, as there are some correspondents who are still members of the AIEP but who already retired.

Questions of five areas were chosen:

- The first questions targeted demographics, asking for the age, sex and nationality of the respondents.
- The second group of questions was meant to cover the character of the correspondents' situation of labour. Thus they were asked for the exact title of their position, their legal type of employment (employed, self-employed or other forms) and the type and number of media they work for. Moreover they were asked to indicate for how long they have been working as a correspondent, as well as for how long they have lived in Portugal. In case they indicated having worked as a correspondent elsewhere in the past, they were also asked to indicate where that was.
- The third group of questions targeted the topics of their journalistic work, asking for specializations, prevalent topics in their work, their geographic area of work and their sources of information.
- The correspondents' integration in editorial structures was inquired in the fourth set of questions; precisely, the frequency of 'selling' stories, the ways of communication with editors and the frequency of contact with the editorial offices. Also questions on the practice of giving and requesting feedback and on the proposal of stories were included.
- The last group of questions was meant to cover the correspondents' work 'on site', asking whether they work alone or with colleagues, whose equipment they use and how often they usually travel for work.

The answering of the survey was anonymous. It ran during five weeks, starting February 1st until the first week of March of 2013. In this period of time 20 correspondents responded to the questionnaire, resulting in a response rate above the expected, being 36%.

Nonetheless, it has to be explicitly pointed out once again that, due to the small number of respondents, the data obtained is by no means representative of the universe of journalists working as correspondents in Portugal. The questionnaire was a first step of investigation, useful for a first insight into the community.

2.3 Interviews

As elaborated before, the aim of this thesis is to gain insight into correspondents' work routines in reporting from Portugal to the world and on the diverse thematic field of the 'crisis' of the Euro. As this insight was to be obtained first-hand, personal qualitative interviews with these professionals were inevitable. This way, the correspondents could be given a voice, allowing them to explain how they mediatize, i.e. how they choose, process and present news and how they organize their work.

As Bernd Klammer (2005) points out, this method of investigation is a highly risky one. Though the direct inquiry for self-disclosure on specific behaviour is, according to him, part of "the core of empirical social research", it is also known to produce a certain bias: "Questions on behaviour or action run the risk of to a large extent producing socially desirable answers." (ibid., p. 223) This has to be taken into consideration when analysing the correspondents' answers, as it may pose a limit to the veracity of the results.

On the other hand, these interviewees practice a profession that is a constant center of public attention and discussion. Moreover the techniques used by journalists, their judgements about the importance of topics, as well as ethic issues involved are usually reflected in their training – regardless of whether this training is 'on the job', at a university or a journalist school. Hence some capability of assessing their work from a meta-perspective can be assumed.

As an attempt to increase the veracity of the correspondents' answers, anonymity was guaranteed to the interviewees. This decision turned out to have been a good one, since many of the interviewed journalists either explicitly commented on their feeling more comfortable this way, or came to a point in their discourse where they felt the need to ascertain the guaranteed, asking questions like "This is anonymous, right?" or "You won't highlight my name on top of this, will you?".

Within three weeks in March and April of 2013, there were conducted twelve interviews of approximately one hour each. Correspondents of six different nationalities agreed to participate, among them eight men and four women. The range of ages ran from correspondents in their twenties to what is commonly called the 'retirement age' for employees, between 60 and 70. The number of years working as a correspondent and the type of media they work for also varied considerably in this sample. Though this variation is positive, it also has to be noted that with 21%, the response rate for this part of the investigation is below the expected.

The guideline for the individual interviews was elaborated with recourse to the results of the questionnaire (see chapter 3.1). With the same explanation as for the questionnaire, also the interviews were held in Portuguese – with the exception of two that were held in German, having been in these two cases the shared native language of both interviewee and interviewer.

The guideline itself consists of topical questions tapping the work routines, the criteria for choosing news and the techniques of presentation. Moreover, the interviewees were asked to explain their personal professional background and their relations with the editorial offices. They were further asked to reflect on their normative considerations on how their mediatization *should* be, on what aspects of the 'crisis' they find most relevant, on what in their opinion was the function of journalists in general and correspondents in particular, as well as on their being (or not) foreign.

As the interview situation was meant to be a structured but open one, the order of the questions varied from interviewee to interviewee. The request for describing a 'typical workday' was used as an ice-breaker in most of the interviews, as another frequent comment in the interview situations was that the correspondents were used to interviews – but usually in the position of the interviewer. Most of them started quizzing the interviewer about the research and only after having been asked a few questions seemed to settle into the – for them – unusual role of an interviewee. Thus the use of an icebreaker question showed to be very useful. Due to the open structure of the interviews, not all of the questions and sub-questions were asked in every interview: In many cases these informations emerged from the conversation.

CHAPTER III: Results

In the following chapter, the results of the questionnaire and the interviews will be presented. For further information twelve interviews are included as anonymized audio-files in Annex IV.

3.1 The Correspondents in Portugal

As mentioned before, the questionnaire delivered to the correspondents via mail and in print was meant to gain a first insight into their working reality and to enable a cautious characterization of these professionals. The 20 completions obtained reveal the following picture:

The respondents are in average 46 years old, the youngest being 26 and the oldest 76. The median age is 47. The sex of the respondents is equally distributed: 10 women and 10 men completed the questionnaire. However, regarding the list of members the AIEP publishes online (Associação da Imprensa Estrangeira em Portugal, 2013), this data is not reliable, as about 62% of the members are men and only 38% women.

Nine of the 20 correspondents are citizens of other EU-countries, six are portuguese, seven citizens of a Portuguese-speaking country other than Portugal. Only one respondent declared being a national of a non-EU country, that is also not Portuguese-speaking. In total, 23 responses were given in this category. This indicates that three of the respondents hold a double nationality. The rather high number of Portuguese working as correspondents for foreign media leads to think that the concept of correspondents being “foreign” themselves might not necessarily appropriately map the reality.

When it comes to their job title, eleven (and consequently most) respondents wrote “correspondent” or a combination including the word like “freelance correspondent” (1), “foreign correspondent” (1) or “foto-correspondent”. Three respondents indicated their job title being “journalist”, two “reporter” and one is a “stringer”. As for the type of job contract, there is a clear accumulation on the response option “self-employed”: 11 respondents ticked this box. Only three indicated being employed, two have some kind of “hybrid form” working contract. These numbers may on one hand serve as an example for the discussed “flexibilization” of labour conditions for correspondents and the increasing practice of substituting employees with freelancers. On the other hand, they may stress the geo-strategic location of Portugal: there may be few employed (and thus probably delegated) correspondents in Portugal, because it is not a high-priority news beat but rather a periphery zone in Europe and the world. However, the fact that there were seven respondents from other Portuguese-speaking countries indicates that in addition to this logic of center-periphery, there is in fact such a thing as historically or culturally founded geographic zones of media-interest.

Regarding the type of media the respondents work for, the answers are not as clearly distributed (see Figure 1). For this question, multiple answers were allowed - and the total number of answers given is 37. This leads to an average of 1,85 media types per respondent and can be interpreted as a sign of that correspondents are in many cases multi-media journalists. Seven of the respondents work for news agencies. Six respondents each answered working for daily or weekly newspapers, public radio and online media; five write for magazines. Three correspondents each ticked the boxes for private radio and public television. The least mentioned media were private television and tourist guides with one response each. None of the respondents is a professional blogger.

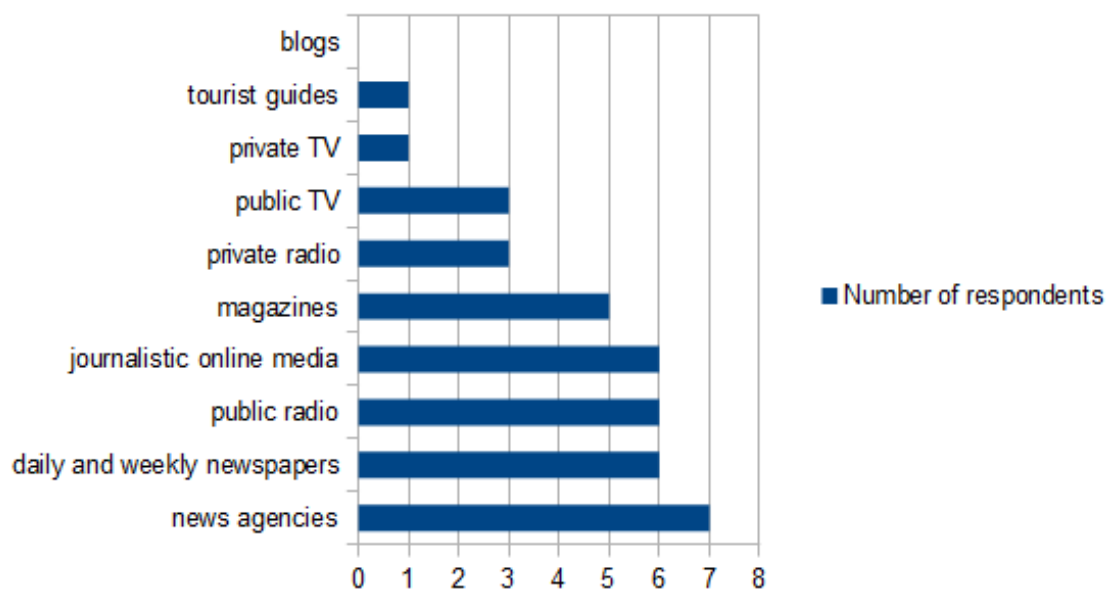


Figure 1: Answers to the question “What kind of media do you work for?”

This indication of multimediality is even more significant when compared to the answers to the question for how *many* publications, radio or television channels the correspondents work. Only six said they work for one single publication. The remaining 14 respondents work for two, three or more than three clients. Having in mind that most of the respondents work as freelancers, this leads to the conclusion that they need to work for various buyers (and thus maybe various media types) in order to make a living of their job.

When asked for how long they have been living in Portugal, the answers range from two to over fifty years. One correspondent answered “always” – which is not surprising, knowing that there are some Portuguese among the respondents. In average, the 19 other respondents have been living in Portugal for about 17 years and a half. The average time they work as a correspondent is only a bit lower: 14 years. For this question answers had a range from one to 38 years. For twelve of the 20 responding correspondents this is the first assignment. Those who already worked as a correspondent elsewhere listed Great Britain (3), the Middle East (2), namely Israel and Gaza, as well as Brazil (1), France (1), Germany (1) and São Tomé and Príncipe (1). This package of data indicates, that these correspondents are rather not parachutists nor “spiralists”, but professionals who are permanently based in Portugal. This finding was of special interest for the interviews, as it can be deduced that these professionals are indeed “insiders” when it comes to Portugal – the long time of stay might result in a rather intense integration or submersion in the local culture and society.

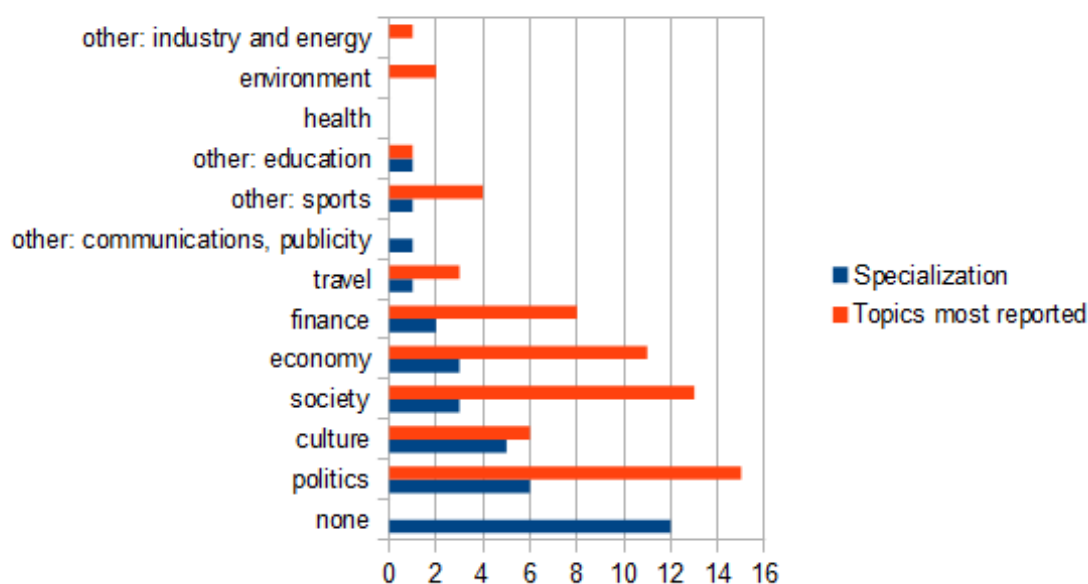


Figure 2: Answers to the questions “What thematic field(s) are you specialized in?” and “What topics do you report on most frequently?”

The question for potential specializations (see Figure 2) revealed that most of the correspondents who took the survey are generalists: twelve of them indicated not being specialized in a certain thematic field whatsoever. The other eight journalists produced 23 answers, leading to the conclusion that in case they are specialized, it is a multiple specialization (2,87 thematic field per respondent). Among these answers there is a slight peak observable for politics and culture, only three and respectively two correspondents indicated being specialized in economy or finance. Compared to the answers to the question “What topics do you report on most frequently?” a discrepancy between these specializations and the actual thematic emphases is striking (see Figure 2). According to the answers given, these correspondents report mostly on politics (15 answers), followed by society (13), economy (11) and finance (8).

The respondents were further asked to rank potential sources of information for their journalistic work from one, meaning they never use them to five, meaning they use them very frequently (see Figure 3). As expected, sources like news agencies (3,5), personal contact with informants (3,6) and sources on the internet (3,2) ranked quite high. Official press releases only occupy the fifth place in this ranking. Remarkable is the first place in the ranking being occupied by “personal experiences and observations” (4,0); further, the fact that information provided by the ‘buying’ editorial offices ranked lowest (2,8) – even after hints from other correspondents and local journalists and hints from friends and family. These results stronger than expected lead to conclude that correspondents work in an information environment apart from that of the editorial offices they work for. Own experiences and direct personal contact with politicians, entrepreneurs, ‘ordinary’ people etc. seem more important for their research than official sources. This leads to think that the influence of the correspondents’ personality on his or her work might be considerable.

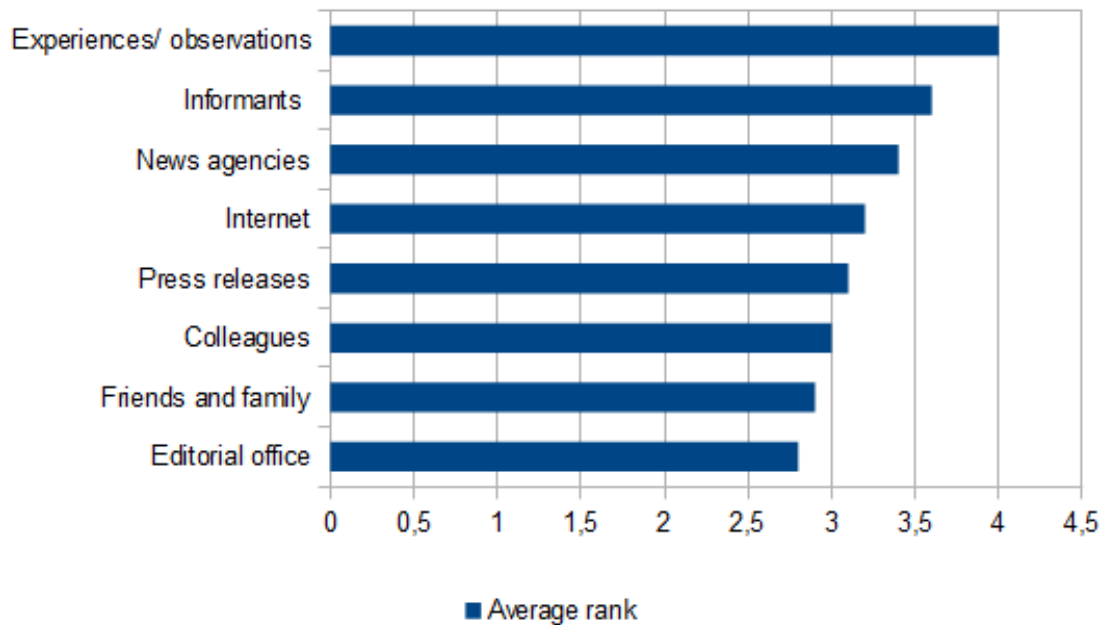


Figure 3: Answers to the question “Please rank these sources according to how often you use them for your work from 1 (never) to 5 (very frequently).”

As geographic area of work most respondents ticked Portugal as a whole (11). Four work mostly in Lisbon, two are responsible for reporting on Portugal and Spain. Three respondents have even bigger areas to cover: their answers were “Portugal and the EU”, “the EU” and “Portugal and African Portuguese-speaking countries”. However, the overall geographic focus on Portugal might correlate with the theory that the country is rather not a “switchboard” for news traffic. This coincides with the answers given to the frequency of work-related travel: only one respondent travels “frequently”, most ticked the option “a few times a year” (13 responses). The remaining six respondents travel “rarely” (4 answers) or “never” (2 answers).

Regarding the work environment the data obtained with the questionnaire support the assumption that correspondents are “lone warriors”. 15 of them indicated working mostly alone, only three work mostly in a team. As for equipment, the respondents answered using mostly their own (12 answers), two respondents work at a Portuguese editorial office, two share an own office with colleagues. Three respondents indicated at least partly using the equipment of the AIEP in down-town Lisbon.

Though five of the respondents indicated ‘selling’ texts “various times a day” and seven at least “a few times a week”, the actual contact with the ‘buying’ editors is less frequent. Only three respondents have contact with their editors on a daily basis, nine only “a few times a week”, four “less than once a week”. The medium of contact is mostly e-mail (19 answers), followed by telephone or cellphone (12 answers) and video-conference (4 answers). Most of the correspondents who completed the questionnaire indicated that they “sometimes” receive feedback for their work, only four said “always” getting it and three “only if I ask for it”.

In suggesting the topics, most editorial offices seem to rely fully on the correspondents’ judgement. 18 of the 20 respondents said that they “mostly” suggest topics and not their editors. This finding did not come as a surprise; it rather points out the singular agenda-setting function of these professionals.

3.2 The Mediatization of the Crisis

The economic and financial 'crisis' in Portugal and the rest of Europe at least has one positive aspect: it is a best-seller for correspondents working in the country. Without exception, every correspondent interviewed referred to it as (one of) the most demanded topics by their editorial offices. One Portuguese correspondent working for an international news agency said he did "only not sell more about the 'crisis' for lack of time and physical capacity". A freelance correspondent working for a southern European regional newspaper said she had "trouble selling anything else than the 'crisis'. There has to be 'crisis' in everything."

Asked to estimate the percentage of articles or radio and television pieces they do about topics related to the 'crisis', answers mostly ranged between 60% and 80%, two interviewees even said that basically everything they write was about this topic. A long-time correspondent working for various international newspapers said: "Almost every article is about the 'crisis'. Motions of censure, macro-economy, business, the situation of the banks, emigration – all these things are about the 'crisis'. Even in a supplement about Lisbon that is specifically thought for tourists and about culture, the crisis will enter."

As expected, the 'crisis' seems to be a topic of high interest to journalists. According to the interviewees, this general interest is common to journalistic media from all over the world – this study included professionals working for media from within the Europe (among them three from the neighbouring country Spain and other three working for big international media outlets based in countries outside the Euro-Zone), as well as those working for media in Brazil and Portuguese-speaking African countries. Three of the interviewees have an exceptionally big area of possible audiences, as they work for international news agencies.

However, regarding the aspects of the 'crisis' demanded most by the editorial offices and laid focus on, there was reported considerable thematic variation. But before diving into story selection, research and news treatment, a short look into the correspondents' working routines.

3.2.1 Routines

According to the interviewees there is one thing a correspondent will surely not die of: boredom. Asked for describing their basic routines - planning of their workdays and daily research for topics – all twelve interviewed journalists in unison retreated that it was nearly impossible to give a universally valid answer to this question.

Setting a personal agenda

As for planning, most interviewees described having an "approximate idea" of their days and weeks, but that in practice "you never know what happens". The correspondents' personal agenda seems to be like the Pirate's Code - 'more what you call guidelines than actual rules'. One correspondent said that in consequence "you always have to carry a bag full of information", in order to be prepared for all eventualities. While all correspondents seemed to be quite pleased with this variation, one correspondent also admitted sometimes being frustrated by having to cancel a thoroughly planned story for something more urgent. This problem was related mostly by correspondents working alone – the agency correspondents working in teams of two or three colleagues do not seem to have this problem as often.

But even if the work of a correspondent is diversified and sometimes sudden and surprising, it is in fact possible to distil some routines from the correspondents' descriptions. Various correspondents for

example referred to the news agendas of the Portuguese agency “Lusa” or the Portuguese government as useful tools for assembling their personal agendas, the guidelines for their workdays. This ranged from roughly consulting these official agendas, to the statement of one agency correspondent who said “following four or five important political figures almost religiously”. Another agency correspondent related that apart from these personalities always to have on the radar, planning was difficult because of agencies functioning in a very “reactive” way, publishing mostly short news articles rather than long reports or feature stories. A correspondent working for a big European public broadcaster said being frequently asked for confirmations to invites and not being able to give them, because even planned ahead it often came down to last-minute decisions.

Finding stories

Apart from this mini-routine of assembling a rather suggestive than demanding personal agenda, all interviewed correspondents described their process of searching possible topics as a routine activity. Summed up this routine includes: consulting Portuguese media (most correspondents referred to the public radio and television RTP, as well as newspapers of reference like “Público” or “Diário de Notícias”), consulting (mostly online) media from the countries they write for, formulating a proposal to the editors and then starting the actual research on the topics approved. A radio-correspondent said not having to research much on the ‘crisis’: “It’s a topic in constant development that I follow. And in a certain moment I have to find a hook. That’s basically it in economy – it is always there and I have to find the right moment to offer.”

One Spanish correspondent also added meeting with colleagues or informants for informal chats to her description of a working routine – though this is not something done on a daily basis. A very experienced freelancer further pointed out that also the administration is part of a (weekly or monthly) working routine: writing bills, tax computations etc.

Is there anybody out there? – Contact with the editors

Rather surprisingly, none of the correspondents described the contact with their editors as a routine: In the ages of video-conference not one of the interviewees related being included in the regular editorial conferences. Instead, whenever needed they enter in contact with their editors mostly by mail, some by telephone. Most interviewees pointed out besides the long-distance contact not knowing their editors personally. One said she could only manage to go to the newspaper’s headquarters on holiday season – when all the responsible editors usually were on holiday too. Two others related that they did not know these colleagues personally any more, because of a high turnover in personnel in the offices, mostly due to dismissals. A long-time employed correspondent said that he only understood “the intentions, the logic and the rhythm” of the editorial staff after having visited them and established a “relation of friendship”. Another experienced freelancer alerted for always trying to get on well with the long-distance colleagues, “because you never know who is going to be your next boss”.

Teasing the appetite – how to sell a story

The proposals themselves were described as very short texts delivered by mail or telephone. For the correspondents, their editors are the first readers, listeners and viewers - some interviewees described approaching them just as they would their target audience. One correspondent said that the objective of

her topic proposals consequently mainly was “finding the impact in the editor’s head”, the style of these texts seems to be what one would call a “teaser”.

Many interviewees also voiced their concern for the news flow at the place of their media. On one hand, this local news agenda could show a link to Portugal and thus provide a topic; on the other hand, correspondents pointed out it is important to know when a topic proposal would be hopeless: “During the Arab Spring nobody wanted to know about the rest of the world. I did not even offer, that would have meant making a fool of myself pretending that Portugal was more important at that moment.” But besides these temporary accumulations of focus on a certain area or conflict like during the Arab Spring, or more currently, the almost bankruptcy of Cyprus, the correspondents in unison reported a big interest in Portugal and the ‘crisis’.

The description of selling tactics varied considerably and without allowing to observe a pattern, for example according to the experience of the correspondent. A very experienced correspondent said he tried “not to bomb the office with proposals”. Two interviewees uttered concern for ‘budgeting’ topics, meaning “waiting for the most timely occasion to propose, like a hook or silly season”. On the other hand, one long-timer said his tactic was “proposing a lot in order to give a choice and to imply that Portugal has a lot going on”. Another experienced correspondent said that she could “not pass three days without proposing”, yet another called the editor “her filter”. One English speaking correspondent said that, besides the ‘crisis’, it had generally become harder to get Portugal on her editors’ radar, because of the diminishing number of correspondents in the country. The less information left the country, she said, the more energy she had to invest in her own proposals.

Competition

Following the same line of argumentation, all interviewees in unison said that there did not really exist competition between the correspondents in Portugal. Of course, as one correspondent exemplified, a professional would not tell colleagues he or she “exclusively knew that Seguro would dismiss himself the next day”. But besides this competition for “scoops” most interviewees said having personal interest in their colleagues selling stories about Portugal. Many of them described situations of that kind analysed as “mainstreaming” before: being asked for working on a certain topic, because another big media outlet had done it before. Some correspondents even related having tried to sell a certain story, receiving a ‘no’, selling it to another medium and then being approached by the medium that originally declined it. One journalist working for a news agency said that this effect was particularly difficult for him, because it was expected of agencies to “call the tune”. Three journalists also said from time to time giving specific hints to colleagues, “if I know about a story that is not interesting to none of my buyers”.

3.2.2 Topics and their presentation

To sum up, the actual process of proposing and selling a story is, according to the interviewees, a rather succinct and sometimes even impersonal process. Premiss for this process is a mutual understanding of criteria for story selection, implicit agreements on what topics and events are newsworthy for the given medium – and sometimes even individually for the deciding editor.

General interests

All interviewees named the economic, political and social implications of the 'crisis' on Portugal itself as topics of high interest. One freelancer remembered the day former prime-minister José Sócrates dismissed himself: "A country in a difficult political situation and a bailout - they loved it!" Other criteria in story selection correspondents named were "timeliness", the involvement of a "personality of international importance", "originality", "drama" and "rupture, the fact of differing from the current occupation". Also "firsts" and "curiosities" or "anecdotic stories" were named. As an example, one correspondent related the "creative protest when Portuguese started writing their private bills with the tax number of the Prime-Minister. It was just one small symptom of the 'crisis' and probably without implications, but it worked as a news".

One correspondent described a criterion that could be summed up as "worthiness of conversation", saying he would consider all those topics the thought he would possibly "tell my far away friends, for example in Malaysia".

Further, some professionals described some sort of "parallelism" that could sometimes be the root of considering a certain topic newsworthy. One Spanish correspondent remembered a request coming from the editorial office in Madrid for an article about "the Portuguese Beppe Grillo", right after the elections for parliament in Italy in spring of 2013. The fact that the Italian elections had been highly affected by the 'crisis', producing a high number of votes for a political newcomer who harshly criticizes the austerity programme and the EU, made the editors think that a similar dynamic could be observable in Portugal. The correspondent related, that in cases like this one would have to "give them something. You cannot simply say no, it does not exist. You have to adapt the topic to reality. They wanted to know, that is, about the opposition and political discontent." Other correspondents also described this effect saying things like "the vision of the editors is always contextualized by Spain and Greece".

A majority of the interviewees observed some sort of cycles, an economic curve in the demand of articles, radio and television pieces from Portugal. Many of them felt that interest had already gotten lower, one correspondent for example considered that the peak of interest was in 2010 and 2011: "Now it is much calmer, we moved out of focus when the ECB announced participating in the buying of bonds. The focus moved to Spain and Italy, it is a bit like the eye on that tower in Lord of the Rings." A correspondent working for a Spanish newspaper exemplified the varying phases of interest by saying that "the first month of Passos Coelho's government were boring. He was too secure, strong and convinced of himself." A very experienced professional gave a long-time view of the curve of international interest in Portugal: For him the peaks past-1974 were Portugal's accession to the EU in 1986, Lisbon's year as European Capital of Culture in 1994, the Expo and Saramago's Nobel Prize win of 1998, Portugal's Presidency of the EU council and the Lisbon Treaty in 2007 and the ongoing 'crisis', specially the bailout in 2010. All interviewees assured that the interest in Portugal would decrease as the economic situation in Portugal got better.

Portugal in the eyes of the editors

Some correspondents said, that from topic to topic the editors' ideas and the evaluation by the correspondents can differ completely. One correspondent said that her editors "have no idea of Portugal", another said: "In Paris they always imagine that we all died by now. Out there Portugal is 80% crisis, 20% Cristiano Ronaldo. They tend to forget that we continue our lives, we still go to the cinema and so

on.” Besides fights about content this might pose organizational problems, as one correspondent pointed out: “Sometimes they require for a statement overnight and then I have to explain that things don’t work like this in Portugal.”

Other interviewees said that the more travelled among their colleagues or, in one case, those who are Portuguese themselves, do better in understanding the Portuguese reality from afar. The correspondents working for news agencies seem to be in a privileged situation when it comes to these misunderstandings. All three agency journalists interviewed spoke of a relationship of trust of their headquarters towards the delegations. That of course, as all three admitted, might have to do with the fact that these teams are usually mixed of nationals and foreigners and thus possibly less biased – and that the evaluation of three colleagues might have more weight than the opinion of one single correspondent.

What’s the frequency, Kenneth? – Specific interests

Besides this general high relevance ascribed to the thematic field ‘crisis’, the specific interests in certain aspects vary. For media from within the EU, the case of Portugal is important because of the shared political sphere, the transnational political debate and the close financial and economic links. For media from Spain in particular, it is further an important reference: “Portugal has a special importance for the Spanish market. There are many banks and enterprises with Portuguese participation, it is a neighbouring country. So Portugal became a sort of mirror, showing what could happen.” Correspondents working for media with audiences outside the EU (and thus lacking as direct political relatedness) stressed these particular economic links even more. For media that address Brazilians or people living in those African countries that are former Portuguese colonies, the implications of the ‘crisis’ on imports and exports, on migration, investments by individuals or enterprises, in short every “bilateral cooperation in economy and every negative reflex on the Portuguese markets that might influence those abroad. Particularly in those African countries whose currency is linked to the Euro.”

Personal stories: The individual in focus

Breaking it down into the various aspects of the phenomenon ‘crisis’, it can be roughly said that all interviewees referred to the ‘personal dimension’ as one of the most important, while not all said they give much room to the rather ‘technical’ aspects like evaluations done by the so-called ‘Troika’ or updates of unemployment numbers or public debt. While reporting these news is the main occupation of the professionals working for news agencies, other correspondents said they focus more on longer reports, analysis, features and interviews.

Most interviewees described the focus on individual stories as an attempt to illustrate the ‘crisis’ and make their texts more appealing to their readers, listeners and viewers. A radio correspondent for example said: “The personal dimension is the hardest to transmit, the subtlety of the crisis.” A print correspondent said: “It is the human case that touches and attracts the reader. Why does someone sell jewellery that has been in the family for generations? What do they mean to that person? It is telling this meaning, its undoing, the rupture that the crisis provokes in people’s lives.” Another one added that “the hard news can be found everywhere”, elaborating that the main task of correspondents should be delivering background and illustration to the simple, hard news. An agency correspondent said longer stories “have to have a face. Numbers are cold, that is why we try to add some ‘flesh’ to the stories”. Another correspondent suspected that this need for illustration could have to do with the “general distance

between governments and citizens”, another said trying to show what the “decisions made in Brussels meant for the individual”.

A special case: Photo-Correspondence

This tendency of illustration was also related by the one photo-correspondent interviewed: according to him, the most demanded images of the 'crisis' are of symbolic nature showing for example people queuing for emigration visa in front of the Angolan embassy, homeless people sleeping in front of luxury shops on Lisbon's Avenida da Liberdade or graffiti showing protest slogans. That is, if there is a demand for it: The correspondent said having a tremendous difficulty in selling images because most editorial offices have contracts with agencies including the photo services. On the other hand, the same professional deplored a “big lack of ideas and creativity” in some editorial offices, that became obvious by a “custom of illustrating a personal story about poor pensioners with a photography of the tram 28 or Pasteis de Belém”. With this critique the photo-correspondent was not alone: one agency correspondent self-critically considered that the treatment of news should be more multi-media, including more high-quality images.

Numbers and figures

While the personal aspects of the 'crisis', the illustrations, the “close-ups” were equally put in focus by all interviewees, they showed much more caution and concern about reporting on numbers and figures. While the agency correspondents said having to report a lot about the rather technical aspects of the 'crisis', others working for big newspapers or public broadcasters said they only use events like debt and austerity evaluations by the so-called Troika as a hook and 'status quo' that they always try to back up by a more palpable story. One correspondent working for a news agency said that he always tried to add a prognosis to these numbers, trying to show what the current situation could mean for the future. Another said: “Until 2010 we completely ignored the numbers, I sold maybe two paragraphs about the Portuguese public debt. We ignored it completely – out of disinterest and for not knowing. And now the impact on peoples' lives is important, so I take a look at the financial world, the stock exchange. This has opened up a new perspective also for me.”

All correspondents showed their concern for reporting few data, avoiding acronyms and “jargon”. Further they all stressed the need to explain and contextualize. The minimum, done by the agencies, consists in adding an explicative paragraph to each article; correspondents used to writing long reports, features or radio and television pieces said they had to start from scratch in every text, explaining for a not-specialized audience, giving historic framework, decoding terms like “bailout”, “Troika” and “austerity”. This because unlikely to national news, information from Portugal is not delivered on a daily basis to the audiences and thus a certain knowledge cannot be assumed. One correspondent overstated: “It's not that you have to point out the location of Portugal every time, but it comes close. The listener may know very, very little about this country. He maybe has a vague idea of it being a part of the EU.” The same professional said using her editors as proof-readers: “They are very informed people, but have never been to Portugal. So they maybe notice something that is not well explained.” Another correspondent said he sometimes worried about explaining too much, but that he was asked to do so. Another print-correspondent considered this contextualization the most difficult part of her job: “We all know how to write small daily stories. But how to sum up the history of a country in one article?”

Public discourse as a topic

Seen in the light of the aspects so far related – personalization and explanation of rather technical facts – it was rather surprising for the interviewer, that some correspondents also said being engaged in displaying the public discourse in Portugal, meaning for example the reputation of Germany among Portuguese people or the discussion about how southern European countries should present themselves in EU bodies. Surprising because these are topics contradicting the reported focus on personal and palpable topics, being rather abstract and sometimes even ranging in the sphere of national external relations.

Sources

When asked for their sources, most correspondents gave the interviewer a puzzled look as if feeling that they were invited to state the most obvious. In fact the results of the questionnaire, where all options given had ranked rather high, had given reason to the assumption that the interviewees would give a big list of habitual sources. On the other hand, the questionnaire also suggested that the correspondent himself and his or her personal surroundings are more important as sources than could be expected.

Consequently, the interviewees responded using press releases and conferences, contact with politicians, mailing-lists, news agencies, social media and Portuguese journalistic media as sources for their work. Many of them stressed the contact with experts, like economists: their information apparently is used as a background for the journalists themselves and as a means to dissociate themselves from the information, letting the economists give their assessment and forecast. One correspondent added that giving voice to experts increased the “credibility of the text”.

As for interviews with and statements of public authorities and members of the government, most correspondents lamented that they were uncommunicative, “bureaucratic” and exceptionally slow in answering requests for information. Only one correspondent said having made the experience of politicians being more favourable towards foreign media, “because like this they can escape the critique of national media”. A correspondent working for a big European media outlet said that ultimately when engaged in reporting on the ‘crisis’, she was rarely asked to approach these official sources by the editors: “I step out on the street and talk to ordinary people.”

The interviewees working for international news agencies all spoke about two big advantages of their network of offices they often use: the existence of experts among the colleagues and the habit of producing ‘dossiers’ on certain countries and topics that can be accessed for background information. While other correspondents also said colleagues can be useful sources, they do not dispose of networks this big. However, also these professionals said obtaining a lot of information from other correspondents, friends and family and - most of all - own observations in their daily lives.

The center of the interviewees professional activities was in all cases Lisbon. All live in the capital or in the suburbs surrounding it – and all said having to little time or financial capacities to leave it for research. One long-time freelance correspondent working for various European newspapers of reference said her buyers do not even cover the expenses for job-related travel.

Writing up the story

The ideal story as characterized by many interviewees is balanced, free of bias, well explained and includes a personal dimension. Some correspondents – mostly those working for agencies – added that an ideal story is also a novelty, a 'scoop', and as 'fresh' as possible: "Quickness is very important. Ten minutes are an hour at the financial markets." The agency-correspondents related having to fit their stories into very rigid formats, while the others have more liberty when it comes to that. The correspondents working for audiences in Brazil and African countries said producing mostly longer texts: reports, features, interviews and analyses: "The starting point is always a short news. But I only do features and analyses. Usually these include three different voices, three perspectives. One of them is always an analyst." The professionals working for media from inside Europe related selling shorter texts from briefs to articles of 500 and (more rarely) up to 2000 characters – but with a high frequency. Only one of the interviewees added being engaged in commenting.

One correspondent summed up the need to 'fetch' the audience at their point of knowledge and interest: "You want to tell something that the people don't know yet, but you have to speak of something they already heard of. So you cling on to examples." Another one said using a lot of comparisons: "I like comparing, for example the minimum wage that is lower here than in Greece. Like this people maybe get the right impression, they stop thinking that the Portuguese are wealthy."

For some correspondents a part of this 'fetching' is the use of certain vocabulary. When asked directly about their use of the word 'crisis' as a catchword, three correspondents considered it being a useful means to contextualize and give a first idea of a topic. One correspondent said: "The reader understands the word 'crisis', he maybe personally experienced one. He knows that 'crisis' means increasing consumer prices, reduction of salaries. 'Crisis' is context. It's a signal that the reader recognizes – then you have to explain it, for example what distinguishes a crisis from a recession." The other one even said that avoiding the word would mean "escaping the facts. I do not know another word that describes the current situation". Another broadcasting correspondent said including reference to the 'crisis' also in news on culture, "not for justifying that this news is relevant, but because the listener heard about it and already has this association with Portugal, it's a help for contextualization, not an excuse."

Other interviewees showed to be very critical towards it. One suggested using more concrete terms like "sovereign debt crisis", another one said simply focussing on sub-phenomena like "unemployment, poverty, emigration, insolvencies". The interviewees working for media in English in unison related using more specific catchwords due to the logic of the language itself – one of them further cited the principle "show, don't tell" as a guideline she uses. But in the end all correspondents said they in fact try to capture the audience's attention by establishing a connection to what is already known.

3.2.3 Perspective and intentions

When asked about their 'function', their ontology, all interviewees responded that it was first of all to inform their audiences. One correspondent called it "being the eyes and the ears of the audience", others spoke of providing information important for understanding the current situation in the country and Europe.

Engaged correspondents

The opinions on whether correspondents should be 'engaged' journalists or maintain themselves rather

distant to the country they report from and their stories varied considerably.

A handful of interviewees explicitly stated that a part of their job description was not only to deliver information but to stimulate a certain response to it. One (foreign) correspondent said she wanted to “form the image of Portugal”, another one said being some sort of a double-ambassador – of her home country and Portugal – and thus engaged in “encouraging interest” and “enhancing proximity”. A long-time newspaper correspondent said he considered “giving voice to the ‘Portuguese’ view on things” as part of his job: “These people deserve that the world recognizes their hard work.” A broadcasting correspondent said that especially when it comes to economic topics, his job was to “educate”, in the sense of making people understand and enlarging their horizon; one of his colleagues working for a European newspaper said she wanted people to “learn and grow”.

Those interviewees who have been in the country for a long time and work for renowned foreign media outlets, related being asked to comment on Portuguese politics or current issues of public discourse in national newspapers, radio or television shows. While two professionals spoke of recurring collaborations of this kind with Portuguese media, two others said not liking these sorts of requests: “A correspondent has no part in the national public debate. My job is not making judgements, but explaining. Even if the Portuguese are a bit obsessed with what foreign media say about them.”

One agency correspondent, a national, said that he tried to inform objectively, but at the same time to “rob” the readers of their prejudices. Others more explicitly complained about never selling “good news” and consequently trying to give a “touch of hope” to the stories they do sell. On the other hand, one correspondent said that this would mean not “serving” her listeners, as they probably preferred a balanced view of Portugal over knowing for the correspondent’s love for the country.

On “becoming Portuguese”

As analysed before, the correspondents in Portugal are rather long-timers – some are even nationals. Almost every interviewee showed to be critical towards his staying in the country that long. Only one said never having thought about his merging into Portuguese society influencing his work: “In the moment I’m working I am abstracted from nationality. This issue is not very important. After all the audience comes in first place.” This professional does not work for media in his home country and admitted that maybe if it was so, he would think about it more.

Of the other interviewees two said they defended that correspondents should not stay in one country for a long time. One of them, living and working in Portugal for over 15 years, said: “There is a good side to it: I am experienced, I can compare today with the past and I have contacts. On the other hand you stop seeing things.” Others of her colleagues circumscribed the issue by saying “we have to be careful not to get ‘lusified’; we have to see the forest and not the single tree” and “it is a daily struggle to maintain oneself distant”.

One of the Portuguese journalists working as a correspondent considered that he could not do this work if he had not lived abroad for several years: “It put everything into perspective. This is one of the worst crises we ever lived in Portugal. But when I think about what I experienced in other countries...”. The correspondents working for news agencies further praised the custom of working in mixed teams of foreigners and nationals, for enabling them to combine the view of outsiders and the detailed knowledge of insiders.

Specializations

Considering these answers, one could say that the correspondents working in Portugal are specialized in the country itself. They are integrated, some living in the country for several decades. Some even see their journalistic work as a way to make Portugal more known in the world and maybe transmit a positive picture of it. As for topics, these journalists are generalists. Two correspondents interviewed actually studied macro-economy, the others had to familiarize themselves with the thematic field. One correspondent said that she was rather inclined to sports when she arrived in Portugal, others had gained some experience in reporting on politics or culture. Being a phenomenon of the past five years, most of them had to acquire knowledge about the 'crisis' – for example on financial markets and public debt. One professional said that an actual specialization on content was not as important as “news judgement”, another said that “in principle every journalist is capable of describing what he sees. But if you know that you go to a country where the main topic is economy you should know well about it.”

CONCLUSION

According to the data obtained in this study, information about the 'crisis' leaving Portugal is gathered, processed and presented by journalists who know this country very well. Some of them are Portuguese, others have lived in the country for years and decades. They have Portuguese partners, their children represent the second generation of immigrants who already do not distinguish into home and host country any more.

But while sort of specialized in Portugal itself, these correspondents are generalists engaged in reporting on everything, including financial and economic topics. Thematic specializations are rare among these professionals – indifferently whether on economics, politics, sports or culture.

Further, most correspondents living and working in Portugal have not been sent by their media's headquarters. They chose correspondence out of interest, opportunity or personal reasons. It is thus not surprising, that a part of them sees themselves as 'ambassadors' of Portugal in the world and is worried about the country's image. Nonetheless, these professionals defend journalistic virtues and conventions such as balanced coverage, thorough research, explaining and exemplifying of complex topics.

As one of these complex thematic fields, the so-called 'crisis' (meaning the troubled financial situation in Portugal, the public and private debt, the recession, the unemployment, the emigration and political measures for austerity) is their best-seller. The demand for these news coming from Portugal is big – sometimes even exclusive, meaning that the correspondents struggle to sell articles on culture or environmental issues or that they feel having to link everything they report to the economic situation. This phenomenon was reported by all interviewees – indifferent of the media and countries they work for.

However, the specific aspects the correspondents focus on vary according to the location of their audiences. While media from inside the EU are interested in specific economic aspects like exports or insolvencies, in politics, public debate and austerity measures and their implications, media from further abroad focus more on direct financial and economic links. For the first, Portugal is an example of the current situation in Europe. It serves as an illustration of what troubles the whole continent, or – as in the case of the neighbouring country Spain – as an omen of what could happen. For the latter, for example media in Brazil or Portuguese speaking African countries, it is a region of interest because of a partly shared cultural history, but mostly due to concrete business connections.

The treatment of these aspects differs from news agencies to other media. While the agencies rather focus on short and quick information, publishing longer reports and features only from time to time, newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations liberate space and time for news from Portugal less frequently, but allow their correspondents to elaborate a bit more.

According to the correspondents interviewed, what one will read, hear and see about Portugal around the world are mostly stories that focus on individuals, but bear a current 'hook' like an evaluation by the 'Troika', a new measure of austerity or a selling of bonds. Numbers and figures are mostly transmitted by the agencies – if newspaper, radio and television correspondents do so, they contextualize and exemplify.

Altogether, these specific focuses and techniques suggest that the correspondents in Portugal apply very audience-centred news values. They search for direct relatedness of topics and events to their audience's reality, they explain and illustrate, they try to use their words. Of course, these accounts have to be seen with caution, as they might at least partly reproduce what the interviewees think is expected of them.

To some extent, the practice of illustrating the complex 'crisis' by telling the stories of individuals, might be a technique of "Inszenierung", of 'staging' a story. The use of catchwords and mentioning the 'crisis' even in texts not related to it, correlates with what scholars describe as 'framing': It is an attempt to establish a connection between the news and what is assumed as already known to the audience.

The adversities the correspondents in Portugal have to struggle with in reporting on the 'crisis' are the sometimes inaccurate perception of the country by their editors, the bureaucracy of Portuguese official sources, their little time and financial means for travelling and, last but not least, the correspondents' own need to familiarize themselves with the thematic field, their constant need for learning about the financial and economic world.

Curiously, those professionals who are in the best position for reporting on a thematic field as complex as the 'crisis' are those who have least time to elaborate. The correspondents working for international news agencies are the only ones interviewed who work in teams that dispose of vast editorial networks and combine the knowledge of nationals and the distanced view of foreigners. These interviewees said being trusted most by their headquarters, while other correspondents related having to struggle a lot for making their view of the situation pass. On the other hand, this little knowledge of Portugal among their colleagues in the editorial offices indeed puts the correspondents in the situation of being their media's main 'agenda-setters' for this region.

A special case seems to be the work of photo-correspondents. The one professional interviewed painted a gloomy picture of correspondents' possibility to make a living out of this work, as well as of the common practice of illustrating articles about the 'crisis' in a rather uncreative way. The interview with this correspondent and similar statements by other interviewees suggest that it might be rewarding to analyse the imaging of economic articles in newspapers and maybe also in television.

As other possible future research approaches, a thorough content analysis as well as a study on media effects, specifically on how audiences perceive news on the 'crisis', seem to be in order. Especially regarding the current state of the art in journalism research and common critique of practices like "categorization" and 'framing' displayed in Chapter 1.2. From what the interviewed correspondents revealed about their work, to the audiences Portugal might be a country full of singular cases of affectedness by the 'crisis' – a thorough analysis of the content these correspondents produce might reveal whether correspondents actually focus as much on individuals as they claim. Approaching their audiences might resolve what picture they have of Portugal and whether they feel informed about the country's current situation.

The correspondents interviewed seem to be conscious of the flaws of their work: They ponder on their being too immersed in Portuguese culture and society, they seem conscious of the use of catchwords and their – in some cases deliberate – bias towards showing the country in a good light. Research on how this actually reflects on their products and how their audiences understand the Portuguese 'crisis' and what image they have of the country could be enlightening.

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ANNEX I: Questionnaire

Inquérito: Perfil de correspondentes estrangeiros em Portugal

I. DEMOGRAFIA

1. Idade _____

2. Sexo masculino

feminino

3. Nacionalidade

Português

outro país da UE

país fora da UE de língua portuguesa

outro país fora da UE

II. CARÁTER DE CONTRACTO

4. Por favor indique o seu cargo exacto. _____

5. Por favor especifique o tipo do seu contrato. empregado

freelancer/ trabalho por conta própria

forma híbrida

outro: _____

6. Por favor indique para quais tipos de média trabalha.

jornais diários ou semanais

revistas

rádio privada

rádio pública

televisão privada

- televisão pública
- média jornalísticos online
- blogues
- agências noticiosas
- guias turísticos
- outro: _____

7. Para quantas publicações, estações de rádio ou televisão trabalha de forma regular?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- mais de 3

8. Há quanto tempo vive em Portugal (meses e/ ou anos)?

9. Há quanto tempo trabalha como correspondente (meses e/ ou anos)?

10. Já trabalhou como correspondente a partir de outro país?

sim

se sim, por favor indique:

não

III. TEMAS

11. É especializado em uma/ várias áreas temáticas?

não

sim:

- política
- economia

IV

- finanças
- cultura
- sociedade
- saúde
- meio-ambiente
- viagens
- outro: _____

12. Quais as áreas temáticas que trabalha com maior frequência?

- política
- economia
- finanças
- cultura
- sociedade
- saúde
- meio-ambiente
- viagens
- outro: _____

13. Qual é a sua área de trabalho?

- Portugal
- Portugal e Espanha
- sobretudo Lisboa
- outro: _____

14. Na sua pesquisa jornalística, com que frequência usa as seguintes fontes de informação? (De 1 = nunca até 5 = muito frequentemente)

	1	2	3	4	5
Agências noticiosas					
Comunicados de empresas, políticos, partidos etc.					

Experiências e observações próprias					
Contacto pessoal com políticos, empresários, pessoas comuns					
Internet (Blogues, Social Media etc.)					
Dicas de amigos e familiares					
Dicas de outros correspondentes e jornalistas em Portugal					
Informação fornecida pela redacção 'em casa'					

IV. COOPERAÇÃO COM A REDACÇÃO

15. Com que frequência entrega ou vende peças jornalísticas?

- várias vezes por dia
- uma vez por dia
- algumas vezes por semana
- algumas vezes por mês
- de forma irregular

16. Como costuma comunicar com os editores 'em casa'?

- por e-mail
- por telefone ou telemóvel
- por videoconferência
- outro: _____

17. Com que frequência tem contacto com os editores?

- várias vezes por dia
- uma vez por dia
- algumas vezes por semana
- uma vez por semana
- menos de uma vez por semana

18. Recebe 'feedback' para o seu trabalho?

- sempre
- às vezes
- apenas se eu pedir
- raramente
- nunca

19. Quem costuma sugerir temas?

- sobretudo eu (o correspondente)
- sobretudo a redacção

V. TRABALHO 'ON SITE'

20. Trabalho sobretudo

- sozinho
- em equipa com outros jornalistas/ correspondentes
- em equipa com fotógrafos
- em equipa com técnicos (de som ou imagem/ operadores de câmara)

21. Uso sobretudo

- o meu próprio equipamento
- equipamento partilhado de uma redacção portuguesa
- equipamento num escritório partilhado (p.ex. 'coworking')
- equipamento e instalações na sede da AIEP
- outro: _____

22. Para o meu trabalho costumo viajar

- frequentemente
- algumas vezes por ano
- raramente
- nunca

ANNEX II: Interview guidelines

Guideline for Qualitative Interviews

- **Dados demográficos:** Idade, Nacionalidade
- **Estadia em Portugal:** Há quantos anos vive em Portugal? Como e onde aprendeu português? Há quanto tempo trabalha como correspondente a partir de Portugal?
- **Carácter de contracto:** É empregado/ freelancer/ outro? Para quais tipos de média trabalha? Para quantas publicações trabalha? É o/ a único/a jornalista para estes média em Portugal?
- **Descreva um dia de trabalho típico.** Rotinas, pesquisas, encontros, contacto com a redacção etc. Como costuma planear o seu trabalho? Há reuniões, um calendário etc.? Quanto tempo tem para um artigo/ uma peça? Quão importante é a rapidez? Costuma haver feedback/ crítica interna?
- **Descreva os seus primeiros passos de trabalho depois de ter ouvido/ lido de um possível tema.** Processo de aproximação: procura de informações, pesquisa nos arquivos, *brainstorming* de ângulos, abordagens, protagonistas?
- **Quais são as suas fontes de informação?** Agências, contactos pessoais, comunicados, observações e experiências próprias, conversas '*off the record*' etc. Porquê?
- **Como funciona o processo de proposta de artigos/ peças?** Quem propõe? Há já na proposta considerações específicas acerca de redacção, publicação, publico-alvo? Há temas que funcionam mais ou menos bem com certas redacções, certos editores? De onde tem a redacção as suas informações sobre o 'beat'? Qual é o papel de agências noticiosas? Lembra-se de temas que foram rejeitados? Sente uma certa 'conjuntura' nos temas ligados à crise?
- **Quais são as características que um tema/ evento tem de ter para ser relevante e eligível para ser abordado?** Quais os '*news values*' que considera mais na sua escolha de temas? Porquê? Qual a importância de novidade e surpresa vs. consonância?
- **Numa escala de 1 (pouco) a 10 (muito), quão autónomo/a pensa que é na sua escolha e proposta de temas?**
- **Existe concorrência entre os correspondentes em Portugal?** Se sim: Porquê? Como é manifesta?
- **Como aborda a crise económica e financeira?** Qual é a sua intenção mais importante: explicar, informar, mostrar outras realidades de vida etc.? Como costuma 'empacotar' as informações?
- **Descreva o seu público-alvo.** Área geográfica, classe económica, idade, sexo, nível de formação etc. Quais os seus conhecimentos sobre economia e finanças, a União Europeia, Portugal?

- **Quais os ângulos que escolha com maior frequência?** Exemplificação, enquadramento, relato de processos políticos, personificações, eventos vs. 'background' etc. Qual a importância de elites como protagonistas? Qual a importância de 'drama' vs. humor/ leveza?
- **Há considerações de linguagem, estilo etc.?** Uso de comparações, metáforas, imagens. Sensibilidade para linguagem oficial/ técnica?
- **É frequentemente criticado o uso de categorizações como 'crise' ou '-gate'. Como usa estas expressões?**
- **Quais os tipos de textos jornalísticos que produz com maior frequência?** Breves, entrevistas, reportagens, artigos de 'background', *features* etc.
- **Quais os aspectos da crise económica e financeira que acha mais importante para as suas audiências? Porquê?** Há diferenças de opinião com a redacção/ o editor? Consegue 'vender' os seus temas? Também tem de abordar temas que acha menos interessante? Quais os aspectos que trabalha mais, que vendem melhor?
- **Qual é a sua área geográfica de trabalho?** Há um foco na capital ou em outras regiões?
- **Qual pensa que é a imagem que a suas audiências têm de Portugal e da crise económica e financeira no país?** Qual é o contributo do seu trabalho?
- **Em Portugal, sente-se mais como estrangeiro/a ou nacional?** Esta perspectiva afecta o seu trabalho?
- **Qual é, na sua opinião, a função do jornalismo?** Vê-se como jornalista neutral/ 'advogado/a' de alguém etc.?
- **Qual é, na sua opinião, a função de correspondentes?**
- **Qual é a sua formação académica e profissional?** Sente-se bem preparado/a para temas económicos? O quê teria, na sua opinião, de melhorar na formação de jornalistas?

ANNEX III: Interview audio-files (CD)

ANNEX IV: Declaration of originality

Declaration of originality

I hereby declare that this master thesis on the subject “Explaining the ‘Crisis’. Correspondents’ perceived strategies of mediatization” is original work which I alone have authored and written in my own words without the aid of third parties. All passages that I have literally taken from the literature or from other sources such as websites, I have clearly marked as quotations, including an indication of the source. Furthermore, I hereby agree that the University ISCTE-IUL has the right to submit my work to its library.

Koblenz, 07 de Junho de 2013

Eva-Maria Senfleben

ANNEX V: Curriculum Vitae

Dados pessoais

Nome Eva-Maria Senftleben
E-mail em.senftleben@gmail.com

Experiência profissional

Desde 05/ 2013 Repórter multi-média na emissora pública alemã *SWR*, estúdio Koblenz

11/ 2012 – 02/ 2013 Estágio curricular na redacção de notícias da *Antena 1* (RTP), Lisboa

05/ 2012 – 03/ 2013 Repórter por conta própria na emissora pública alemã *Funkhaus Europa* (WDR)

03/ 2012 – 06/ 2012 Estágio curricular no Museu da Música, área de comunicação e relações públicas

07/ 2011 Repórter por conta própria na emissora *Radio Mülheim/ Radio Oberhausen*

08/ 2009 – 07/ 2010 Treinamento editorial na redacção de *Radio Mülheim e Radio Oberhausen* (formação como repórter local, redactora de notícias e locutora)

Formação universitária

09/ 2011 – 07/ 2013 Mestrado em Comunicação, Cultura e Tecnologias da Informação, ISCTE-IUL, Lisboa

10/ 2007 – 09/ 2011 Licenciatura em Jornalismo e filologia germânica, Universidade Técnica de Dortmund; dissertação: “Teu, meu nosso? As abordagens da crise do Euro em jornais diários de referência portugueses e alemães”

Conhecimentos de língua Alemão, Português, Inglês, Francês, Espanhol, Latim