

# Centre for Media Transition

Public Trust in Journalism  
An Annotated Bibliography



## Centre for Media Transition

The Centre for Media Transition is a joint initiative of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and the Faculty of Law at the University of Technology Sydney.

The Centre works across disciplines to explore and develop responses to rapid technological change that has destabilised the news media industry.

We work in partnership with industry, individuals and public and private institutions to examine the major developments and pressures wrought by digital disruption.

Our primary focus is Australia, but we also appreciate the value of working in collaboration with like-minded groups and individuals on a regional and global basis.

We investigate three key areas of media evolution and transition: journalism and industry best practice; new business models; and regulatory adaptation.

We emphasise the impact and promise of new technologies that can help to develop more innovative, engaging and sustainable news media models that serve to strengthen the role of journalism in democratic, civil society.

We are by nature and inclination optimistic yet realistic.

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## Executive Summary

Globally, public trust in four key social institutions – media, government, business and NGOs (including academia) – has been in freefall. This ‘implosion of trust’ (Edelman 2017) has been observed in part in the migration of audiences from traditional news media (newspapers, TV and radio) to online and alternative news sources such as blogs, Twitter and Facebook.

The Centre for Media Transition commissioned this bibliography to assess the current state of knowledge on public trust in journalism – including audience expectations and the role of journalists, platforms, social media and other online news sources – in Australia and throughout the world.

The bibliography can be read in a number of ways. One way is to refine a sample search by using key words (for example, ‘transparency’ or ‘China’) in the search bar of any PDF viewer. It is also possible to explore its offerings randomly or in alphabetical order within each of its three main sections.

## Contents

The bibliography is divided into three Parts, according to source type: public opinion polls and surveys; peer-reviewed academic literature; and perspectives from the journalistic field. The annotations summarise the aims, methods and key findings of each work referenced. Some of the longer annotations offer additional historical background and political context for media systems in selected countries. We have embedded links to websites and works that can be readily accessed online.

[Part 1: Public Opinion Polls and Surveys](#), contains references to recent public opinion polls and surveys that measure public trust in journalism across dozens of countries and geopolitical regions including Australia, Africa, Asia, China, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East and North America.

[Part 2: Peer-reviewed Academic Literature](#), is equally geographically and culturally diverse. It includes references to peer-reviewed studies published as books, book chapters, journal articles and major university-published reports. Most of these studies investigate factors that influence perceptions of credibility or public trust in the news media. The section also contains theoretical papers and literature reviews that engage in reflexive analyses and propose new research directions.

[Part 3: Perspectives from the Journalistic Field](#), presents a collection of news articles, features, editorials, commentaries, blogs and other contributions from journalists, news editors and media scholars working on collaborative projects between news organisations and universities. These works offer explanations of why public trust in journalism has declined and suggest strategies for adapting to technological change, safeguarding and strengthening quality journalism, and rebuilding public trust.

## Methods

Google searches were conducted using combinations of the search terms ‘trust’, ‘public’, ‘journalism’, ‘news’, ‘media’, ‘news media’, ‘survey’ and ‘poll’ to identify major national and international surveys and public opinion polls that measure public trust in journalism and the news media as a social institution. These searches also turned up several news articles, features, editorials, commentaries, blogs and other contributions from journalists, news editors and media scholars.

The same search terms (sans ‘survey’ and ‘poll’) were used to interrogate the Academic Search Complete (EBSCO) and Google Scholar databases to identify peer-reviewed academic literature on public trust in journalism, and to set up Google Scholar email alerts to capture studies published while the bibliography was being researched and prepared. Google Scholar Citations proved a reliable indication of the most influential and landmark studies on public trust in journalism. Temporal and spatial considerations also influenced the scope of the bibliography. First, we made a conscious effort to include recent studies that explore the role and influence of digital media and platforms on public trust in journalism. Second, we have been mindful to gather studies from as diverse a range of countries and geopolitical regions as possible, to build a more representative and broadly informed bibliography.

Readings from the initial gathering of literature were reviewed and assessed based on a closer examination of each study’s level of relevance to public trust in journalism, clarity of methodology and results, and potential for contribution to further research. In the course of this vetting process, studies deemed only marginally on-topic or otherwise limited in scholarly value were discarded. The remaining core group of literature formed the basis for the second round of searches, conducted in two parts. First, the References sections of the studies themselves were reviewed to explore previous studies that informed the core group of studies. Second, Google Scholar Citations were searched to review more recent publications informed by studies in the core group. The studies gathered in this second round of searches were reviewed and then included or excluded according to their level of relevance to public trust in journalism, clarity of methodology and results, and potential for contribution to further research. Finally, the number of studies included was inevitably limited, owing to time and funding constraints.

## Key Trends

- Research on public trust in journalism and the news media is limited; numerous studies allude to the concept of trust but measure factors that influence public perceptions of *news credibility*.
- Research on public trust in journalism, and news credibility, has been dominated by surveys and studies that use quantitative methodologies.
- Major surveys often generalise 'the news media' as a monolithic entity; yet even within a single media channel, there is an uneven distribution of trust and distrust in individual news organisations and sources, usually correlated with partisan or demographic groups.
- Globally, trust in journalism is on the ascent; however, this is obscured by declining trust in the news media as an institution - and the tendency of quantitative surveys and their respondents to conflate quality journalism, tabloids, online platforms and 'fake news'.
- Overall, the public continues to trust traditional news media sources more than online and alternative news sources; globally, TV remains the most trusted news source, followed by newspapers, radio, newspaper websites and social media.
- Local conditions such as societal structures, media systems and current events and conflicts in each country influence the factors that affect citizens' perceptions of credibility and trust in journalism; this complicates international comparisons.

## Feedback

We hope that journalism scholars, students and practitioners in the news media will find this annotated bibliography a valuable resource. We welcome feedback and suggestions that might help us to improve and update this bibliography: [cmt@uts.edu.au](mailto:cmt@uts.edu.au)

## Public Opinion Polls and Surveys

BARTHEL, M. & MITCHELL, A. 2017. *Americans' Attitudes About the News Media Deeply Divided Along Partisan Lines*. Pew Research Center for Journalism and Media.

This poll used a representative panel of 4,151 US residents who completed online surveys. The key finding is that Democrats are 47 points more likely than Republicans to support the news media's watchdog role: while 89% of Democrats believe news media criticism holds power to account, only 42% of Republicans say the same. The majority of Americans (70%) express faith in the watchdog role of journalism, as do 70% of independent voters. Republicans (87%) tend to believe the news media are politically biased, compared to 53% of Democrats. The partisan divide appears strongest in national news sources – trusted 'a lot' by 34% of Democrats but only by 11% of Republicans. Overall, when deciding whether a news story is trustworthy, Americans are most strongly influenced by the sources cited within the story (51%), the news organisation that published the story (48%), their gut instinct (30%) and the person who shared the story (26%). Americans express only moderate levels of trust in most news source types, but place 'a lot' of trust in local media organisations (25%), followed by national news organisations (20%), friends and family (15%) and social media (5%).

DAWSON, A. 2017. *Public trust in Australian media falls to all-time low*. *Mumbrella*. 17 March 2017.

This online summary of the Essential Report 2017 compares the Australian public's trust in a range of news media (daily papers, local papers, ABC TV, SBS TV, ABC radio news, ABC talkback radio, commercial TV news, commercial radio news, commercial talkback radio, news websites, internet blogs) using data from Essential Trust in Media surveys for each year during 2010-2017. The interactive graphs on *Mumbrella's* website are especially useful as they enable quick comparisons between years as well as access to more in-depth data for individual years. ABC TV remained the most trusted news source despite a small (7%) drop in trust, while trust in daily and local newspapers declined sharply (20% and 11% respectively) over the same period. Internet blogs were least trusted, with only 19% of respondents expressing trust in blogs as a reliable source of news. Original report not found at [essentialvision.com.au](http://essentialvision.com.au).

EUROPEAN BROADCASTING UNION. 2017. *Market Insights: Trust in Media 2017*. EBU Media Intelligence Service, May 2017.

This report analyses data published in the 86<sup>th</sup> Eurobarometer survey (2016), based on approximately 1,000 face-to-face interviews in 33 European countries. Results indicate that broadcast media (radio and TV) are the most trusted media throughout Europe. Out of the 33 countries surveyed, radio is the most trusted medium in 21 countries and TV in 11 countries. Social networks and newspapers are the least trusted sources of information in 17 of the 33 (mostly Western European) countries. Newspapers are the least trusted sources in 13 (mostly Eastern European) countries. The EBU's Trust Index indicates that there are clear

differences in preferred media according to geographic region. Broadcast media (radio and TV) are most trusted in Nordic countries and least trusted in south-east Europe. Newspapers are most trusted in the Nordics, Benelux and Portugal and least trusted in the UK and south-east Europe. Online media enjoy highest levels of trust in Eastern Europe but have the lowest levels of trust in north-west Europe.

#### EDELMAN TRUST BAROMETER 2018.

The Edelman Trust Barometer is an annual gauge of the international population's trust in business organisations, governments and the media. This survey of 33,000 residents in 28 countries saw trust fall globally in four key social institutions: media, government, business and NGOs. At opposite ends of the scale, public trust in the US is declining across all institutions, especially government (down 30 points), while China has seen the most extreme gains in trust across all key institutions. Media reached a new low as the least trusted social institution in 22 of the 28 countries; however, many respondents consider 'the media' to include social media and search engines, where trust is now in decline. The majority (59%) of respondents actually trust journalism (up 5 points) more than platforms (down 2 points at 51%) in 21 of the 28 countries. Nearly 70% of respondents worry that fake news or false information will be used as a weapon and 59% say it is getting harder to tell whether a news item is produced by a professional news organisation. Australia registered the second lowest levels of trust in the news media (31%) out of all countries, compared to 42% in the US and 71% in China. Most Australians (52%) trust journalism, while only 35% trust online platforms.

#### EDELMAN TRUST BAROMETER 2017.

The Edelman Trust Barometer is an annual gauge of the international population's trust in business organisations, governments and the media. This survey of 33,000 residents in 28 countries revealed a 'global implosion of trust' in the four key social institutions: media, government, business and NGOs. Trust in the media declined the most from the previous year, from 48% to 43%. In 82% of all countries surveyed, less than 50% of respondents trust the media. Australia registered the fifth lowest levels of trust in the media (32%, down 10 points). The survey included a breakdown of trust by media type during 2012-2017, which shows the decline in trust in traditional news media (62% to 57%), social media (44% to 41 %) and the media as an institution (46% to 43%). At the same time, trust increased in search engines (61% to 64%), online-only media (46% to 51%) and privately-owned media (41% to 43%). In response to questions about the value of facts and objectivity, nearly half said they would support a politician who 'exaggerates the truth', while 53% said they tend to ignore information from people or organisations that don't share their opinions. The survey identifies strategies for (re)building trust: provide reasonable context of issues; work to improve long-term economic and social conditions of communities; create public forums that educate and advocate for policies that benefit society; and communicate directly with stakeholders/audiences.

EON GROUP 2017. [Philippine Trust Index 2017](#).

The fifth Philippine Trust Index surveyed 1,200 Filipinos aged 18+ during March and April 2017. The sample was evenly divided into two groups: the 'general public' and the 'informed public' – defined as aged 25+, tertiary educated, with twice weekly exposure to news. The most trusted source of news remains TV (89%), followed by radio (85%) and newspapers (75%), with lower levels of trust in social media (55%) and online news sites (54%). However, while only 49% of Filipinos have access to the internet, those who are online express higher levels of 'extreme' trust in social media sources (29%) than they do in traditional media sources (24%). Overall, extreme trust in the news media fell from 32% in 2015 to 28% in 2017. The main drivers of trust in the news media are perceptions of journalists' competence and objectivity.

GALLUP, I. 2005-2017. [Gallup Worldwide Research Data Collected 2005/2006-2017](#).

This dataset provides a detailed guide to the information collected in the course of conducting the annual Gallup polls from 2005 to 2017. The tables list the countries covered, number of respondents in each country, interview method, language used and any exclusions from the sampling.

GLOBESCAN, BBC, REUTERS & THE MEDIA CENTER 2006. [Trust in Media Poll: US, UK, Brazil, Egypt, Germany, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Russia and South Korea](#).

This multinational survey was conducted in-person and by telephone with a total sample of 10,230 people in the US, UK, Brazil, Egypt, Germany, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Russia and South Korea in 2006. It provides a valuable historical snapshot of trust in media and social institutions in these countries. In 2006, more people trusted the media than their governments, especially in developing countries. Media was trusted by an average of 61% compared to 52% for governments across the countries polled. But the US bucked the trend – with government ahead of media on trust (67% to 59%) along with Britain (51% to 47%). Trust in media over the government was highest in Nigeria (88% to 34%) followed by Indonesia (86% to 71%), India (82% to 66%), Egypt (74%, government not asked), and Russia (58% to 54%). National TV was the most trusted news source overall (trusted by 82%, not trusted by 16%), followed by national/regional newspapers (trusted by 75%, not trusted by 19%), local newspapers (trusted by 69%, not trusted by 23%), public radio (trusted by 67%, not trusted by 18%), and international satellite TV (trusted by 56%, not trusted by 19%). Internet blogs were the least trusted source (trusted by 25%, not trusted by 23%), with one in two respondents unable to say whether they trusted blogs. TV was also seen as the most 'important' news source (56%) followed by newspapers (21%), internet (9%) and radio (9%). One in four (28%) respondents reported abandoning a news source over the previous year after losing trust in its content.



GUESS, A., NYHAN, B. & REIFLER, J. 2017. *Poynter Media Trust Survey*. The Poynter Institute for Media Studies.

This survey was conducted by YouGov using a representative sample (n=2,100) of the US population. Questions were designed to collect data about respondents' media consumption, demographic characteristics and political attitudes, as well as their trust and confidence in the news media, their perceptions of accuracy and bias, and their support for press freedom. The survey also included an experimental component to measure responses to a mock news article. Meanwhile, data were collected, with respondents' permission, on their browsing behaviour in the week before the survey. Results indicate that the public supports the news media, albeit weakly. However, this result masks dramatic partisan polarisation in media attitudes. Republicans and Trump supporters have far more negative attitudes toward the press (especially among respondents with high levels of political knowledge) than Democrats and Trump opponents. Exposure to anti-media messages, including an attack by Trump on 'fake news', had a limited effect on attitudes towards the press.

HARVARD CENTER FOR AMERICAN POLITICAL STUDIES & THE HARRIS POLL.

2017. *Harvard-Harris Poll May 2017*.

This online survey of 2,006 registered US voters was conducted between 17-20 May 2017. The partisan breakdown is 36% Democrat, 32% Republican, 29% percent independent and 3% other. Nearly two-thirds (65%) of Americans across the ideological spectrum say the mainstream press is full of fake news. That includes 80% of Republicans, 60% of independents and 53% of Democrats. This is against the backdrop of current events in which President Trump frequently accuses the news media of 'fake news', especially when anonymous sources provide information used in news stories. Most (84%) voters said it is hard to know what news to believe online. The survey found 60% of all voters believe President Trump is treating the press unfairly, while only 48% said the media is treating Trump unfairly. Overall, 62% say journalistic organisations that publish information, even if it is received illegally through hacking, should be protected by law.

KANTAR MEDIA. 2017. *Trust in Media Survey: Fake news reinforces trust in mainstream news*.

This survey was conducted in 2017 and included residents (n=8,000) of four countries: Brazil, France, the UK and the US. The study explored the effect of 'fake news' on public trust in the news media. Results indicate that traditional media sources (newspapers, TV and radio) were on balance not greatly affected; however, in the online environment, social media and messaging apps were greatly affected. Print magazines, at 72%, are the most trusted news source, closely followed by print newspapers, TV news and radio news. Only one in three respondents recognise social media sites and messaging apps as a trusted news source.

KEARNEY, M. 2017. *Trusting News Project Report 2017*. Reynolds Journalism Institute, University of Missouri.

This report is based on an online survey of 8,728 self-selected respondents, with the survey promoted by 28 newsrooms across the US and made available on their digital media platforms. A majority (67%) of respondents reported that they would be 'likely' or 'very likely' to trust mainstream news organisations, and 70% reported that they financially supported at least one news organisation. Subjects were also asked to list, without any prompting, their most trusted news sources and given an open-ended question about how they decided which news organisations were credible. A regression analysis was performed to attempt to predict trust in journalism from demographic variables.

KLEPOVA, O. 2017. *Australians trust radio more than any other media channel*.

This report provides the results of a survey conducted by GfK Radio Insights, in which 1,267 radio listeners were surveyed across Australia. Results include that radio is the most trusted medium, with 42% of respondents finding it trustworthy, 47% finding it authentic and 41% saying they trust the information they obtain from radio. This compares with 24%, 24% and 29% for the same categories for TV, 18%, 20% and 21% for online news sources, and 15%, 12% and 18% for newspapers.

KNIGHT FOUNDATION. 2017. *How Youth Navigate the News Landscape*.

This study is based on a series of focus groups conducted in three US cities. A total of 52 participants aged 14-24 were separated into six focus groups. Key findings include: young people do not follow the news but expected the news to find them; young people do not trust the media and seek out alternate sources to verify news; young people's concept of what constitutes news extends beyond traditional news media sources; and many young people consider user-generated content to be more trustworthy than mainstream news sources.

NEWMAN, N., FLETCHER, R., KALOGEROPOULOS, A., LEVY, D. & NIELSEN, R. 2017. *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2017*. University of Oxford.

This international survey includes samples of approximately 2,000 residents from each of 36 countries, for a total of over 72,000 respondents. There are wide variations of trust in the news media across countries, with trust highest in Finland (62%) and lowest in Greece and South Korea (23% each). Only 24% of respondents overall trust social media to separate fact from fiction, compared to 40% who trust traditional news media. In most countries, there is a strong connection between distrust in the media and perceived political bias; this is strongest in countries known for their deep partisan divides – the US, Italy and Hungary. Across all countries, residents of Norway, Sweden and Denmark are most likely to pay for online news (15%, 12% and 10% respectively) compared with 8% of Australians – tied with four other countries for fourth place. Those who are prepared to pay for online news tend to be younger and politically left-leaning. More than half (54%) of respondents prefer algorithmic paths to news stories, rather than having their news selected by human editors or journalists (44%); this is especially true for younger consumers (64%) and those who mainly use smartphones (58%).

Measuring overall trust in news media, Australia came 21<sup>st</sup> out of the 36 countries, with 42% of respondents expressing trust in the Australian news media. When asked about traditional news media sources they use most, TV news rated highest – led by Channel 7 (41%), Channel 9 (39%) and ABC TV News (38%). Local and regional papers topped print news sources for 19% of Australians, followed by *The Herald Sun* (13%), *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* (tied at 11%) and *The Age* (8%). *The Sydney Morning Herald* is the newspaper with the most-accessed website, with 16% of respondents reporting they get their news there weekly. The top online news brands were news.com.au and ABC Online, which tied for the top spot at 29%, followed by Ninemsn (27%) and Yahoo!7 (21%). Triple J is the only radio channel on the radar, with 9% of respondents accessing news from this source weekly.

NEWPORT, F. 2017. [Gallup News Poll Trust in Institutions.](#)

This telephone poll surveyed 1,009 US residents. Overall trust in US institutions increased with 35% of all respondents expressing ‘a great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ of confidence in 14 institutions; this is up from 31% in 2014 and 32% in 2015 and 2016. The most significant differences were observed along partisan lines, with Republicans showing an increase in trust and Democrats losing trust in institutions. Trust in newspapers climbed from 20% to 27% along with trust in TV news, which rose from 21% to 24%. Partisan differences were also clear in terms of overall trust in news media, with Republicans showing steady or reduced trust in newspapers and TV news and Democrats showing increased trust in them.

NORMAN, J. 2016. [Gallup Poll: Americans Increasingly Turn to Specific Sources for News.](#)

This telephone poll surveyed 1,025 US residents, asking where they get their news. Key findings include that the percentage of respondents who identify a type of media (i.e., ‘newspapers’ or ‘TV news’) as their primary source of news has fallen from 58% to 48% since 2013, while the percentage of respondents who identify specific news organisations (i.e., Fox News or NPR) rose from 30% to 42%. Meanwhile, 15% of younger respondents (18-34 years) list a specific social media site (i.e., Facebook or Twitter) as their main source of news, up from only 3% in 2013.

NPR, PBS NEWSHOUR & MARIST COLLEGE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC OPINION. 2017.

This is a national poll of American residents conducted in July 2017 (the size of the sample and the specific method used were not disclosed). The poll found that most Americans believe civility has deteriorated in Washington, D.C. since President Donald Trump was elected. Seven in 10 residents think the tone between Republicans and Democrats has got worse. This is twice the proportion of Americans, 35%, who reported in a 2009 Gallup poll that civility in the nation’s capital had declined after the election of President Barack Obama. On average, 30% of respondents expressed trust in the news media; within this statistic is a

stark partisan divide in which a majority of Democrats (56%) trust news media, compared to only 9% of Republicans.

OFCOM 2017. [News Consumption in the UK: 2016](#).

This survey reports the results of 2,894 face-to-face interviews conducted in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland in late 2016. TV remains the most important news source (69%), although internet news sourcing has increased from 41% to 48% since 2015. Demographically, 50% of 16-24s use mainly TV for news compared to 90% of those aged 65+, who are also more likely to use newspapers and radio for news. Younger people are more likely to use the internet (63% for 16-24s against 18% for 65+). Meanwhile, 29% of respondents now access news through their mobile phones. Quality, accuracy and trustworthiness are the most important attributes for TV news users and for readers of 'quality' newspapers. Facebook and Twitter are highly rated for providing a range of opinions, but less highly rated for quality, accuracy and trustworthiness. Most respondents (90%) believe TV news should be impartial, compared to 84% for radio, 80% for newspapers, 70% for broadcaster websites and 66% for newspaper sites, while 52% think it's important that social media sites be impartial.

POLITICO & MORNING CONSULT POLL. 2017. [Voters barely trust media over scandal-ridden Trump Administration](#).

This poll of 1,983 registered US voters was conducted in July 2017 with a balanced spread of Democrats, Republicans and independents. The poll found that 21% of respondents found information coming out of the White House to be very credible; 22% said they thought Trump was trustworthy. When asked about their trust in specific news organisations, TV news channels rated highest in the credibility stakes, led by public TV – PBS was found to be very credible by 29% of respondents, followed by ABC News (28%), CBS and NBC News (27%), CNN and *The New York Times* (26%) and *The Washington Post* and Fox News (24%).

SWIFT, A. 2017. [Gallup News Poll – In U.S., Confidence in Newspapers Still Low but Rising](#).

This random telephone survey of 1,009 US residents was conducted between 7-11 June 2017. The report shows longitudinal results for questions the poll has historically asked about newspapers (since 1985), TV news (since 1993) and online news (since 1999). Results show that 27% of respondents currently express confidence in newspapers, up from its historic low of 20% in 2016 but down from its historic high (39%) in 1990. The long-term decline to the year 2016 began in the year 2000. Meanwhile, 24% of respondents said they trust TV news 'a great deal/quite a lot', up from its historic low of 18% in 2014 and its historic high of 46% in 1993. Finally, the survey shows a decline in the percentage of respondents who trust online news sources 'a great deal/quite a lot': from 21% in 1999, to 19% in 2014, and down to 16% in 2017.

SWIFT, A. 2017. [Gallup News Poll – 6 in 10 in U.S. See Partisan Bias in News Media.](#)

This random telephone survey of 789 US residents was conducted between 9-29 March 2017. The report shows longitudinal results for questions the poll has historically asked about perceptions of bias and accuracy in the news media. Results show that the majority (62%) of Americans believe that the media favours one party over another and this result has increased over time; most (64%) say the favoured party is the Democrats, while only 22% believe the media favours Republicans. Although this is consistent with historical trends, it is the widest recorded gap in perceptions of media bias for the period 1995-2015; this gap narrowed most in 2003 – the year the US invaded Iraq. Meanwhile, the majority (55%) of respondents say that the media is often inaccurate, while 36% say the media gets the facts straight; this represents a complete reversal since 1987, when 55% believed the media got the facts straight and only 34% said news reports were often inaccurate. This major shift in trust began in the late 1980s and became firmly established in the year 2000.

SWIFT, A. 2016. [Gallup News Poll – Americans' Trust in Mass Media Sinks to New Low.](#)

This random telephone survey of 1,020 US residents was conducted between 7-11 September 2016. The report shows longitudinal results for the question: *'In general, how much trust and confidence do you have in the mass media – such as newspapers, T.V. and radio – when it comes to reporting the news fully, accurately, and fairly – a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all?'* Results shows a complete reversal of trust in the news media over time, from a high level of public trust in 1972 to a high level of distrust in 2016. The 2016 survey shows only 32% of respondents trust the news media a fair amount or a great deal, down from 40% in 2015 and 68% in 1972. Meanwhile, 68% of respondents in 2016 expressed little or no trust in the news media, up from 60% in 2014 and 31% in 1972.

THE ECONOMIST & YOUNG & RUBICAM 2017. [Most Republicans trust the president more than they trust the media.](#)

This survey (n=1,500) conducted in the US by YouGov in June-July 2017 compared the trust Americans place in the President and national news media outlets. The most striking results relate to the responses of Republicans. When Republicans were asked whether they trusted President Trump more than *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* or CNN, at least 70% sided with the President each time compared to less than 15% who chose the media outlet. Republicans also trusted Trump's information more than that provided by conservative magazines *The Weekly Standard* and *The National Review*. Meanwhile, the distrust Republicans have long-harboured for 'the liberal news media' has now reached the point where Republicans would support unconstitutional means to silence them. When asked whether courts should be allowed to 'shut down news media outlets for publishing or broadcasting stories that are biased and inaccurate', 45% of Republicans were in favour, compared with 20% who opposed the measure. More than half of Republicans

surveyed thought it was acceptable to impose fines on offending news outlets, and 40% thought it would not violate the First Amendment (freedom of speech) to do so.

THE ECONOMIST & YOUGOV 2017. *What is “Fake News?” Often, just something people don't like.*

This survey (n=1,500) conducted in the US by YouGov in June 2017 explored Americans' attitudes towards 'fake news'. Most respondents (68%) were somewhat or very confident that they could detect fake news, with Republicans slightly less confident than Democrats. Nearly half (44%) of respondents said that people use the term 'fake news' when 'they just don't like what is being reported'. Among this sub-set of respondents, there were significant partisan differences – this was the opinion of 64% of Democrats and 24% of Republicans.

## Peer-reviewed Academic Literature

ABDULLA, R. A., GARRISON, B., SALWEN, M. B., DRISCOLL, P. D. & CASEY, D. 2005. Online news credibility. *In*: SALWEN, M. B., GARRISON, B. & DRISCOLL, P. D. (eds.) *Online News and the Public*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. The chapter is based on a national survey in the US that examines public perceptions of credibility of online news as well as newspapers and TV news. The chapter reviews previous literature on public perceptions of news credibility and factors known to influence these perceptions, and considers recent studies of online news credibility.

ABDULLA, R. A., GARRISON, B., SALWEN, M., DRISCOLL, P. & CASEY, D. 2002. *The credibility of newspapers, television news, and online news*. Paper presented to the Education in Journalism Annual Convention, Florida USA.

This study compares factors that influence credibility across media types by surveying a stratified representative sample (n=536) of the US population. The data analysis uses Gaziano and McGrath's (1986) 12-factor model of credibility designed to measure trustworthiness, currency, bias, fairness, completeness, objectivity, honesty, up-to-date (containing the latest information), believability, balance, accuracy, and timeliness. The study found that different factors influence audience perceptions of the credibility of TV news, newspapers and online news sources. Credibility for newspapers was found to be based on balance, honesty and currency. For TV news, credibility was based mainly on fairness and currency. Internet users based their perceptions of credibility on trustworthiness and believability; at the same time, these users were more concerned about bias and lack of objectivity than other news consumers.

AL-JABER, K. J. M. 2012. *Audiences' perceptions of news media services in three Arab countries*. PhD Thesis. Department of Media and Communication. University of Leicester.

This PhD thesis uses the theoretical approaches of the Media and Gratifications Model and Media Credibility to examine trust in TV news in three Arab countries: Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Qatar. Analysis of 1,752 online surveys found that the perceived reliability and credibility of a news source was an important factor in viewing that source. The Arabic TV channels were perceived as credible sources, particularly Al-Jazeera and BBC (Arabic). Respondents ranked the BBC highest in terms of expertise and Al-Jazeera highest in terms of trustworthiness. Subjects for the survey were self-selected and were generally young and well-educated.

ALHAMMOURI, L. 2013. *The road to the White House through Arab eyes: Analysis of frames and credibility as presented by Alarabiya, Alhurra and Aljazeera*. School of Social Sciences. Brunel University.

This PhD thesis uses media framing theory and analysis, along with a media credibility framework, to examine Arabic language TV, newspaper and online news coverage of the 2008 US election in Saudi Arabia. The research design uses framing theory, focus groups and questionnaires. The researcher-coded TV

reports were analysed for their framing content using eight frames: conflict, horse-race, human interest, issue/policy, regional perspective and historic victory. The questionnaires were designed using Gaziano & McGrath's (1986) 12-factor model of credibility – trustworthiness, currency, bias, fairness, completeness, objectivity, honesty, up-to-date (containing the latest information), believability, balance, accuracy, and timeliness – measured using a variation of the Likert scale. The questionnaires also included open-ended questions. Most of the respondents mentioned the issue of credibility and fair reporting as the main issue in delivering news, and this issue was also prominent during the discussions with the two focus groups. Terms such as unbiased, fairness and impartiality were used to reflect the good quality of news channels. TV as a mass media outlet was rated highly credible on aspects of fairness, completeness, accuracy, public interest and employing correspondents all over the world. Online news ranked low in credibility according to the sample of respondents in the questionnaire due to the difficulty in verifying authentic sources on many sites. Print media, due to its time-related and visual limitations, trailed TV news in both preference and credibility. Data obtained in this study supports the literature on media credibility that suggests a positive correlation between the frequency of media use (exposure) and the audience's perception of media credibility. Credibility of TV channels increased with more frequent viewing and exposure; however, respondents still held reservations about bias related to the ownership of the TV stations and perceived differences in coverage between different channels.

ALLERN, S. & POLLACK, E. 2017 (forthcoming). [Journalism as a public good: A Scandinavian perspective](#). *Journalism*.

Swedish discussion paper arguing that journalism, especially investigative journalism, serves the public interest in terms of a healthy functioning of democracy. The traditional news media business model based mainly on advertising has been weakened, with the danger of journalism being abandoned by capitalist investors. The article discusses recent Scandinavian media experiences and policy reforms, and proposes that there is a strong case for new funding models that include direct government funding that acknowledges quality journalism as societal knowledge production and a public good.

AMAZEEN, M. A. 2017 (forthcoming). [Journalistic interventions: The structural factors affecting the global emergence of fact-checking](#). *Journalism*.

This study uses critical juncture theory to examine the spread of fact-checking and attempts to measure the influence of internet accessibility, press freedom and political/social stability on the practice of fact-checking. The study found that the strongest predictor of fact checking is press freedom, with weaker associations attributed to internet accessibility and political (in)stability.



AMAZEEN, M. A. & MUDDIMAN, A. R. 2017. Saving Media or Trading on Trust? The effects of native advertising on audience perceptions of legacy and online news publishers. *Digital Journalism*, Volume 6, Issue 2, pp. 176-195.

This experimental study uses the Persuasion Knowledge Model, conceptualisations of media literacy and credibility, and inoculation theory to explore audiences' attitudes to native advertising. The online experiment was conducted in 2016, using 443 respondents recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk population. Only 17% of participants recognised advertising when labelled 'sponsored content'; this increased to 27% and finally 50%-65% as more obvious interruptive messages were used to forewarn participants about the publisher's use of native advertising. The study's main finding is that the blurred boundaries surrounding the convergence of news and commercialisation do diminish the credibility of online publishers. Further results indicate that both legacy and online news publishers who used native advertising are evaluated less favourably by audiences, with respect to their attitudes toward the publisher and perceptions of its credibility. This negative effect was more pronounced for online publishers; the authors suggest that legacy publishers may benefit from their established reputations.

AMIN, A., ZHANG, J., CRAMER, H., HARDMAN, L. & EVERS, V. 2009. The effects of source credibility ratings in a cultural heritage information aggregator. Proceedings of the 3rd workshop on information credibility on the web. ACM, 35-42.

This study adopts the notion of credibility as believability and focuses on the credibility of online information sources. The researchers added credibility ratings to online sources to determine whether such ratings would improve users' confidence and/or speed at choosing a preferred source of information from the results of an online search. Study participants (n=122) were given search results for cultural history questions, with and without these source credibility ratings. The study found that source credibility ratings increased users' confidence in their selection of information; however, the ratings increased the amount of time users took to make their selections. This suggests that readers used the credibility ratings as additional information in the course of forming their views, but still examined a range of alternative sources.

ANDALEEB, S. S. & RAHMAN, A. 2015. Television news in Bangladesh: Intersection of market-oriented journalism and perceived credibility. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 25, 162-177.

This survey of viewer perception of TV news trustworthiness in Bangladesh is based on 300 face-to-face interviews conducted in the capital city, Dhaka, in the local language, Bengali. Results were aggregated into three factors known to influence perceptions of credibility: independence, social role, and objectivity. Respondents gave TV news a low score on independence, suggesting that viewers perceive the market-oriented journalism model as compromising journalistic freedom. Interestingly, the low score for independence did not affect viewers' giving TV news channels higher scores for objectivity and overall credibility.

ANDERSON, C. W., BELL, E. & SHIRKY, C. 2015. Post-industrial journalism: Adapting to the present. *Geopolitics, History and International Relations*, 7(2), 32-123.

This discussion paper considers the impact of rapid technological change on journalism. It offers four major contributions: an overview of the current state of journalism as a practice and as an industry; an analysis and recommendations for practicing journalists; an analysis and recommendations for news organisations; and a section surveying the overall ecosystem. The authors conclude that there are no simple answers or solutions to the uncertainty faced by news organisations. Adaptation will likely result in further instability before the emergence of a more diverse range of news organisations with different methods, goals and means of support.

ARDÈVOL-ABREU, A. & GIL DE ZÚÑIGA, H. 2017. Effects of editorial media bias perception and media trust on the use of traditional, citizen, and social media news. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 94, 703-724.

This study used two waves of panel data from online surveys over three months with 1,024 panellists recruited from Nielsen media polling in the US. The study investigates the influence of audiences' levels of trust, and their perceptions of bias, on their consumption of news from various sources: traditional news media, citizen journalism and social media. The study produced three main findings: perceptions that the news is biased reduces media use across the board including traditional, alternative or social media; reduced levels of trust in traditional news media do not reduce consumers' use of traditional media; and increased trust in citizen journalism increased people's consumption of news from online news sources and social media platforms.

ARMSTRONG, C. L. & COLLINS, S. J. 2009. Reaching out: Newspaper credibility among young adult readers. *Mass Communication and Society*, 12, 97-114.

This study is based on an online survey of students enrolled in an online economics class (n=1,906) at the University of Florida which examined students' levels of trust in the campus newspaper against the local newspaper (*Gainesville Sun*) in September 2005. A hierarchical linear regression shows that the strongest predictors of credibility for both campus and community newspapers were higher levels of interest in news and encouragement from parents to read newspapers. Overall, respondents viewed the campus newspaper as more credible than the local newspaper, which is linked to agreement with the campus newspaper's editorial policies. However, there are some stand-out anomalies based on demographics: female students gave the campus newspaper low scores on credibility; African-American students gave the lowest credibility scores to both the campus and the local paper; and Hispanic students gave both papers the highest credibility ratings.

ARMSTRONG, C. L. & COLLINS, S. J. 2009. Attracting younger audiences: Examining how access to local news content influences perceptions of credibility on younger readers. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 17, 101-114.

This study is based on two online surveys of students enrolled in an online economics class (n=3,400) at the University of Florida which examined students' levels of trust in the campus newspaper against the local newspaper (*Gainesville Sun*) in September 2005 and February 2006. The results appear to be strikingly similar to the above paper by the same authors. A hierarchical linear regression shows that the strongest predictors of credibility for both campus and community newspapers were higher levels of interest in news and encouragement from parents to read newspapers. Overall, respondents viewed the campus newspaper as more credible than the local newspaper, which is linked to agreement with the campus newspaper's editorial policies. However, there are some stand-out anomalies based on demographics: female students gave the campus newspaper low scores on credibility; African-American students gave the lowest credibility scores to both the campus and the local paper; and Hispanic students gave both papers the highest credibility ratings. Exposure and credibility for the local paper declined over time. On the other hand, although exposure to the campus newspaper had declined, there were no statistically significant changes in perceptions of its credibility.

ARNOTT, D. C. 2007. Research on trust: a bibliography and brief bibliometric analysis of the special issue submissions. *European Journal of Marketing*, 41, 1203-1240.

This bibliography of trust-related scholarly works was compiled from database searches, reference lists, bibliographies, internet searches, library catalogues, university web pages, researchers' curricula vitae (inter alia) for conference papers, journal articles and books that use trust as a key concept within the work.

ARPAN, L. M. & NABI, R. L. 2011. Exploring anger in the hostile media process: Effects on news preferences and source evaluation. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 88, 5-22.

This paper draws on previous studies that confirm Americans consume media that they do not trust; in fact, in some studies, distrust of the media is correlated with greater consumption. The survey of 293 US university students measured their responses to three news articles – a stimulus article which included identity-threatening content with respect to the partisan group and two control articles containing information intended to be either neutral yet relevant and neutral yet irrelevant to the partisan group. The results showed that perceptions of bias and anger responses were stronger when participants were exposed to articles containing identity-threatening content than when they were exposed to neutral content. While bias perceptions were associated with further information avoidance, this was reversed when strong anger responses were registered – anger led to greater interest in additional information (both identity-threatening and identity-bolstering). The paper suggests that heightened emotional reactions to

news content (in this case, anger) led to an interest in additional, relevant information.

AYISH, M. I. 2010. News credibility during the 2003 Iraq war: A survey of UAE students. *Journal of Global Mass Communication*, 3(1-4), 321-332.

This survey of 150 UAE university students in May-June 2003 found that Western media and governments were viewed with suspicion in Arab countries during the US-led invasion of Iraq and were therefore perceived as biased and less credible. This seems to have given more credence to regional Arab TV news media players such as Qatar-based Al-Jazeera satellite Channel (JSC), Abu Dhabi Satellite Channel (ADSC), Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC) and Al-Arabiya Channel. TV news was rated as most credible, owing to its timely and visual approach to coverage of war developments. Although considered less credible, newspapers were sought out for analysis and in-depth reporting; *Al-Khaleej* was rated most credible among local and regional Arabic newspapers. While online media were rated as least credible by respondents, the study found that internet-based news operations like Jazeera.net and IslamOnline were considered the most credible online sources of information about war developments.

BAKSHI, M., KHAN, B. M. & MISHRA, P. 2014. The effect of content credibility on consumer-based brand equity: the case of Indian television channels. *International Journal of Indian Culture and Business Management*, 8(3), 329-344.

This study aims to explore message credibility and establish its relationship with packaging and brand equity of TV channels. Data was collected from semi-structured questionnaires and interviews with two focus groups of 12 participants each and a follow-up survey (n=185). Factor analysis of the Meyer's credibility scale was used to interpret the data. The main finding is that there is a relationship between credibility and brand equity. There is also a strong bivariate relationship between credibility and quality programming; content credibility was found to explain 47% of the variance in brand equity. Packaging is not a significant differentiator for news consumers; it remains an embellishment.

BANNING, S. A. & SWEETSER, K. D. 2007. How much do they think it affects them and whom do they believe?: Comparing the third-person effect and credibility of blogs and traditional media. *Communication Quarterly*, 55(4), 451-466.

This study investigates the third-person effect and media credibility as a result of media attribution across four different types of media: personal blogs, media blogs, online news and print newspaper. The study uses a survey of 145 communication students at a university in the southern US. Each participant read the same two news articles; however, the same articles were randomly attributed to different types of media sources. The study found that when it comes to comparing blogs with more traditional media, there are no observable differences in terms of the third-person effect. That is, third person effect is not mediated by source attribution, regardless of other factors such as social distance or credibility. Meanwhile, blogs achieved a credibility standing in line with that of traditional news media sources. Most remarkably, the third-person effect increases as credibility decreases, which

suggests that people tend to believe that others are more gullible and susceptible to non-credible media sources and messages.

BENTIVEGNA, S. & MARCHETTI, R. 2018. Journalists at a crossroads: Are traditional norms and practices challenged by Twitter? *Journalism*, 19(2), 270-290.

This analysis of 23,515 tweets by 1,202 Italian journalists during January-February 2016 found that journalists tend to use Twitter mostly to retweet and interact with other journalists, not the general public. Thus, journalists in Italy have maintained their old practices concerning the transparency norm, gatekeeping function and audience engagement yet they have not adapted these to new modalities and opportunities offered by new media. The authors suggest more effective adaptation would enable journalists to share the culture of social media and help (re)legitimise the profession of journalism.

BLACH-ØRSTEN, M. & BURKAL, R. 2014. Credibility and the media as a political institution. *Nordicom Review*, 35, 67-79.

This study of the Danish media defines credibility at an institutional level by two dimensions: (1) the accuracy and reliability of the news stories featured in leading Danish news media, and (2) journalists' knowledge and understanding of the Danish code of press ethics. The study reports the results of two surveys. In the first survey, news sources (n=596) who had been interviewed for national and regional newspapers, TV news and online national newspapers were asked to rate the news content in which they were featured for accuracy. In the second survey, journalists (n=231) from the same media organisations were asked questions to measure their understanding of the Danish code of press ethics. News sources reported high levels of accuracy for the reports in which they featured; nevertheless, they expressed distrust of most media organisations as biased. Meanwhile, journalists expressed concern that increasing pressures jeopardise ethical journalistic practices. Overall, the article concludes that the status of the news media's credibility at an institutional level is sound, but threatened by a general distrust on the part of sources and a general worry among journalists about pressures to compromise their ethics.

BLÖBAUM, B. 2014. Trust and journalism in a digital environment. *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*. Oxford University.

This literature review and discussion paper examines the relationship of trust between the public and journalism and argues that the historical basis of this relationship will ultimately secure the future of journalism online. This includes its historical role as watchdog, representing the public interest while holding power to account and its reputation for evidence-led newsgathering, credible daily coverage of relevant and current information, diversity of opinion, professional competence and ethics and accountability to transparent standards. (Re)establishing trust with audiences in the digital environment necessitates that journalism maintains these professional norms, roles and practices while developing new features and strategies. Promoting their brand can help outlets transfer existing trust and audiences into the online environment. Personalising news content might involve

posting the journalist's photo and byline that links to a CV of professional experience, fields of competence and awards. Personalising contact (a favourite of politicians) might involve public tours of newsrooms to enhance transparency and engage in face-to-face discussions. The use of social media such as blogging and tweeting could more widely disseminate and gather information. The authenticity and veracity of user-generated content (photos, footage and text) can be confirmed by investing in software, dedicated in-house teams or web-based fact-checking services. Interactive features encourage audiences to 'like', 'share' and comment on stories while rankings such as 'most read' or 'most comments' enhance the appearance of importance, credibility and ultimately trust.

BOULTER, T. R. 2017. *Following the familiar: the effects of exposure and gender on follow intent and credibility of journalists on Twitter*. PhD thesis. University of Texas at Austin.

This thesis uses a combined theoretical approach (Mere Exposure Effect, Gender, Technological Acceptance Model) and empirical data from online surveys to examine the effect of exposure and journalists' gender on the credibility and follow intent of journalists on Twitter. The study confirmed that both exposure and journalists' gender significantly impact the credibility and follow intent enjoyed by journalists. This indicates the need for practicing journalists to strategically consider their levels of activity on Twitter and how they might adapt to the technology to strengthen their position as an information source in the digital media environment. The study also found that, following initial exposure on Twitter, users considered female journalists more credible than their male counterparts and had a higher likelihood of following them as an information source.

BRANTS, K. & DE HAAN, Y. 2010. Taking the public seriously: three models of responsiveness in media and journalism. *Media, Culture & Society*, 32(3), 411-428.

This study compares three modes of media responsiveness using interviews with a journalist from each of three news sources in The Netherlands. The 'civic responsiveness' mode, driven by the desire to engage in public interest journalism, is represented by national newspaper *de Volkskrant*. The 'strategic responsiveness' mode, driven by commercial considerations and marketing, is represented by current affairs TV show *Hart van Nederland*. The 'empathic responsiveness' mode, driven by journalists' feelings for their subjects is represented by *PremTime*, a TV show focused on issues concerning Dutch multicultural society. Interview data helps explain the opposing logics operating in each mode, as well as the commonalities that unite journalists in divergent formats. The editorial approach at *de Volkskrant* assumes a sense of social responsibility, addresses readers as citizens, upholds transparency in topic selection, and maintains an informative style of communication. In contrast, *Hart van Nederland* invites the audience to suggest issues they want covered, then develops stories they know will emotionally please the public. *PremTime* takes an anti-establishment, populist position in which the presenter takes on the role of moral crusader, advocate and problem-solver for victims of prejudice, neglect or

mistreatment by public authorities. Despite these different formats, all three journalists see themselves as bound to traditional norms and practices: they view their gatekeeping role as one of paramount importance; they guard their autonomy as news makers, truth finders and social constructors of meaning; and, despite early audience input into the selection of topics, they determine the content, direction and outcome of the story. All three journalists agree that a new level of audience engagement is needed to win back the trust of the public, but insist their independence must not be compromised in the process.

BRATICH, J. Z. 2004. Trust No One (On the Internet): The CIA-Crack-Contra Conspiracy Theory and Professional Journalism. *Television & New Media*, 5(2), 109-139.

This discussion paper proposes that two forces converge when conspiracy theories spread over the internet: (1) establishment journalism confronts and manages the re-emergent phenomenon of conspiracy theory, and (2) establishment print-based journalism attempts to organise a relationship with the emergent medium of the internet. When these two forces collide within the profession, as they did in this case study, conspiracy theories and the web end up mutually defining each other. Meanwhile, the protocols and core values of professional journalism reinforce its status as a source of trustworthy knowledge production, whether in print or online.

BUCY, E. P. 2003. Media credibility reconsidered: Synergy effects between on-air and online news. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 80, 247-264.

This experimental investigation of media credibility examined the combined, or synergistic, effects of on-air and online news exposure, exposing student and adult news consumers to broadcast news, online news and telewebbing conditions. The study took the form of a 4 (media channel) x 2 (age group) between subjects, factorial experiment. The first factor, media channel, had four levels: TV news, online news, both TV and online news, and no exposure (control group). The second factor, age group, had two levels: communication undergraduate students at a US Midwestern university (n=84) and older adults from the local community aged 26-80 years (n=83). After viewing a small number of news items in their corresponding media channel, respondents were asked to evaluate the news item as believable, fair, accurate, informative and in-depth. Results indicate that perceptions of news credibility are affected by the channel used. Younger subjects found TV news highly believable and informative; both age groups rated TV news low in terms of in-depth reporting. The younger group found online news highly informative and in-depth, in contrast to the older group who considered this media channel lacking in credibility and fairness; many had no experience with online news at all. Overall, younger subjects found the news more credible.

CANNON, D. F. & MACKAY, J. B. 2017. Millennials fail to embrace civic duty to keep informed. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 38(3), 306-315.

This paper uses Aristotelian principles of democracy and individual freedom to investigate the level of citizen engagement of millennials through media usage. Empirically, the study is based on an online survey of 252 US university students

aged 21-29 years, conducted in March 2014. The design incorporated 15 questions from the National Survey of News Engagement, 36 items from Potential Measures of New Gratification, and the four-item McCombs-Poindexter scale which measures the sense of civic duty to keep informed. The study's main finding is that the concept of engagement, particularly the civic duty to stay informed, barely registers with millennials.

CARLSON, M. 2017. *Journalistic Authority: Legitimizing News in the Digital Era*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Journalistic authority has become a topic of concern in a changing news landscape transformed by technological developments. Carlson argues that journalistic authority is not a thing to be possessed or lost, but a relationship built on connections between those laying claim to being an authority and those who assent to it. He views declining trust in the news media as a part of the larger cultural decline in key social institutions as well as the product of a distinct distrust centred on news outputs. Carlson takes issue with the way public trust in journalism is measured through large-scale surveys, such as those conducted by the US-based Pew Research Center, which he says are wrought with methodological flaws: respondents are presented with concepts that are poorly defined; questions are embedded with assumptions about the normative role and cultural authority of the news media; questions structure how respondents can answer, even providing the very language of 'their opinions'; dichotomised choices in questions belie the complexity of issues raised; results sacrifice nuance and contradiction in favour of one-dimensional simplicity; results expose incongruities but cannot explain them. Overall, the book attempts to forge a new model for understanding journalism while advocating for journalistic practices we need in an age of fake news, shifting norms and rapid technological change. This is an important book.

CARR, D. J. & BARD, M. 2017 (forthcoming). [Even a Celebrity Journalist Can't Have an Opinion: Post-Millennials' Recognition and Evaluation of Journalists and News Brands on Twitter](#). *Electronic News*.

This study of US university students (n=310) used a simulated Twitter feed to determine the influence of media branding on post-millennials' assessment of credibility and objectivity, and their evaluations of journalists and content published on Twitter. The feed was variously attributed to either a mainstream journalist (Lester Holt), an opinion journalist (Bill O'Reilly) or a celebrity (John Legend). This study found that young consumers' trust in media interacts with source type. Although the respondents had not heard of Lester Holt they did seem to place value in his role as a journalist; when presented with his bio (which identifies him as the anchor of the *NBC Nightly News*) and his profile image (which includes the NBC peacock logo), the respondents took the branding cue and judged him to be objective more often than respondents did for O'Reilly – who was identified with Fox News, a brand that does not enjoy high credibility ratings. Even the celebrity John Legend, whose Twitter bio and profile image lacked any media branding, was viewed as significantly more objective than Bill O'Reilly as well as more credible.



CARR, D. J., BARNIDGE, M., LEE, B. G. & TSANG, S. J. 2014. Cynics and skeptics: Evaluating the credibility of mainstream and citizen journalism. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 91(3), 452-470.

This study examines the influence individual predispositions toward the media and politics have on perceived credibility of mainstream and citizen journalism. A web-based experiment conducted in April 2012 used a representative sample (n=184) of the US population through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. After completing a pre-test questionnaire, subjects were randomly assigned to one of two groups: those who read a citizen news report in the form of an email message (n=90); and those who watched a video of a mainstream news report (n=94). Both reports were fictitious. Results indicate that media scepticism and political cynicism do interact: cynics and sceptics perceive citizen journalism as more credible, while non-cynics and non-sceptics think mainstream journalism is more credible.

CASSIDY, W. P. 2005. Variations on a theme: The professional role conceptions of print and online newspaper journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(2), 264-280.

This study examines journalists' perceptions of their role in legacy and digital news environments. It is based on a national online survey conducted in the US in 2003, with a sample (n=655) of journalists who worked for print newspapers (n=456) and news websites (n=199). Respondents were asked about how strongly they identified with four professional role conceptions: interpretive/investigative; disseminator; adversarial; and populist mobiliser. The print group perceived the interpretive/investigative role as significantly more important than the online group. No significant differences were found between the groups in their perceptions of the adversarial and populist mobiliser roles. Results were mixed for the disseminator role. The online group rated getting information to the public as quickly as possible as significantly more important than the print group.

CASSIDY, W. P. 2007. Online news credibility: An examination of the perceptions of newspaper journalists. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 12(2), 478-498.

This study examines print and online daily newspaper journalists' perceptions of the credibility of online news information and the influence of factors such as professional role conceptions on those perceptions of credibility. It is based on a national online survey conducted in the US in 2003, with a sample (n=655) of journalists who worked for print newspapers (n=456) and online news websites (n=199). Results indicate that online news information was viewed as moderately credible overall, and that online newspaper journalists rated online news information as significantly more credible than did print newspaper journalists. Hierarchical regression analyses revealed that reliance on the internet was a strong positive predictor of credibility. Two professional role conceptions emerged as significant predictors: the populist mobiliser role conception was a significant positive predictor of online news credibility, while the adversarial role conception was a significant negative predictor. Demographic characteristics of the journalists surveyed did not influence their perceptions of online news credibility.

CHEEVER, N. A. & ROKKUM, J. 2015. Internet Credibility and Digital Media Literacy. *In: ROSEN, L. D., CHEEVER, N. A. & CARRIER, L.M. (eds.) The Wiley Handbook of Psychology, Technology, and Society*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

This book chapter presents a literature review of scholarly studies that examine people's perceptions of credibility and their trust in information found online. Groups of studies comprise research into online news credibility, young people's perception of online material and trust in online information. The paper includes a useful table from Cheever's previous (unpublished) study in 2007 which contains a list of activities in which users engage in order to assess the credibility of unverified online information, reduce uncertainty and decide whether they think they can trust the source and the information. These activities include checking the author's credentials (using the website and other sources), emailing the author, testing the veracity of information via comparison with other sources, and investigating the organisation or individual behind the website.

CHITHRA, N. R. & ARULCHELVAN, S. 2014. Does Partisanship Influence the Perception of Credibility? Examining the Determinants of News Media Credibility in the South Indian State of Tamil Nadu. *Asian Journal of Information Technology*, 13(1), 661-669.

This study examines the role of TV news in regional politics and audience perceptions of Tamil TV channels in South India. Data were collected between August 2013 and January 2014 in three rural regions and one major urban region in South India. A total of 691 residents were surveyed using a combination of face-to-face interviews and email distribution of a link to an online questionnaire. The main finding is that news sources perceived as partisan were less trusted. The non-partisan Tamil regional channel Puthiya Thalaimurai received higher credibility ratings than the news programs on Sun TV, public service broadcasting and English news channels. This also alludes to the language divide on credibility that emerged: Tamil-language channel viewers generally rate the news media as more credible than do English-language channel viewers. Exposure is also a strong predictor of credibility: the more time one spends watching TV news, or a particular channel, the more credible they tend to perceive it.

CHOI, J. H., WATT, J. H. & LYNCH, M. 2006. Perceptions of news credibility about the war in Iraq: Why war opponents perceived the Internet as the most credible medium. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 12, 209-229.

This study is based on an online survey conducted in the US in April 2003, shortly after the decisive military battles of the US-led invasion of Iraq had concluded. The survey was designed to determine how American opponents of the war in Iraq perceived the media. A total of 481 people completed the survey: 71% war supporters, 19% opponents and 10% neutrals. All three groups perceived TV as the most pro-government medium, which had flow-on effects with respect to perceptions of credibility. Opponents of the war rated the internet as the most credible source of news about the war, owing to the diversity of views online, followed by newspapers, TV, radio and magazines. Results were reversed for war supporters, who rated TV as the most credible news medium followed by the

internet. The neutral group did not show any significant correlation between media credibility and pro-government stance for any media.

CHOI, Y., AXELROD, D. & KIM, J. 2015. Trust me, I am your news channel: Media credibility across news platforms in the United States and South Korea. *Electronic News*, 9(1), 17-35.

This article compares how millennials rate the credibility of the news they consume from TV, radio, newspapers, websites and mobile devices. The authors note that South Korea was chosen due to the country's most high level of online users (80%) across platforms; this compares to 67% in the US. The study used a convenience sampling approach to survey university students at one university in the US and three universities in or near Seoul. The final sample (n=611) comprised 294 American students and 317 Koreans. The study found that both American and Korean students prefer to access news through online and mobile platforms, rather than through traditional media sources. However, unlike the Americans, the Koreans perceive traditional media outlets are the most credible sources of news. American students rated online news as most credible, with TV and radio news least credible. The study also found that using a smartphone or a computer to access news did not automatically make those platforms the source of choice to consume journalism; in both countries, the survey showed that young adults may even lean toward preferring a medium less when they use it more.

CHRISTIE, T. B. & CLARK, A. M. 2011. Believe it or not: Understanding the credibility and effectiveness of Radio Sawa in the UAE. *International Communication Gazette*, 73(4), 359-371.

Radio Sawa is a US-run, Arabic-language satellite radio network that began broadcasting in March 2001 throughout the Middle East – an example of soft power aimed at winning hearts and minds, influencing public opinion and ultimately advancing US foreign policy in the Muslim world. It has become a popular station among young people in the Middle East (also available online) with a 'fresh, upbeat American style' designed to 'become part of the daily lives' of its young audience. This study examines the perceived credibility of Radio Sawa among its listeners and its impact on their attitudes towards the US. Empirical data were collected through face-to-face Arabic-language interviews with young people (n=503) aged 15-34 years, at their places of residence. The sample included mostly UAE nationals as well as Egyptian, Jordanian, Sudanese, Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian and Yemeni respondents. Of those who listen to radio, nearly two-thirds said they listen to Radio Sawa, with most tuning in at least three times a week. Results indicated that 71.5% of Radio Sawa's audience rate it (moderately) as a more, rather than less, credible news source. Listeners rated it most favourably for being a knowledgeable and accurate news source, but less favourably in terms of objectivity, trustworthiness and completeness. In evaluating the differences in attitudes towards the US between Radio Sawa listeners and non-listeners, listeners had a small but significantly more positive view of the US. Thus, the US has had a small but significant measure of success with Radio Sawa, which has

softened negative attitudes towards the US among young people in the Middle East.

CHUNG, M. 2017. Not just numbers: The role of social media metrics in online news evaluations. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 75, 949-957.

This study examines how social media metrics, as compared to the credibility of news organisations, affect online news evaluations. In a 2 x 2 between-subjects experiment (n=202), participants read a news story that was reported either by a high credibility or a low credibility news organisation, with either an absence or presence of social media metrics. The results indicate that (a) social media metrics reduce the effects of media credibility on online news evaluations; (b) the effects of social media metrics on online news evaluations hold only when the news story is from a low credibility news organisation; and (c) the personal relevance of the issue moderates the effects of media credibility and social media metrics. Thus, social media metrics were more influential in changing credibility perceptions of the low credibility news sources.

COLEMAN, S., ANTHONY, S. & MORRISON, D. E. 2009. *Public Trust in the News: A constructivist study of the social life of the news*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

This report is based on a qualitative study conducted in the UK in March 2008. Using a constructivist approach, the authors asked focus groups composed of news consumers to define their concept of news and explain the reasons for their trust, or lack thereof, in the news media. Insights gathered from the focus groups formed the basis for subsequent interviews with 14 European news editors, journalists and bloggers. The report's main finding is that public trust in journalism is not a story about credibility: it involves 'feelings of a kind that accord the media a legitimate place in the social ordering of the world'. Consumer expectations are driven by the need for news information that is useful (supports them in their personal and civic lives), reliable (provides a sense of assurance in an insecure world) and amusing (offers distraction from the anxieties of the serious world). News is valued and trusted to the extent that it meets some or all of these expectations. Participants generally did not question the veracity of news information. Instead, their distrust is fuelled by a sense of alienation from the news media, for example: when their expectations of news are not shared by news producers; when they are told stories they don't understand; or when their own communities' stories are told in ways that lack depth, sensitivity or fair representation. So when digital platforms began to provide useful, reliable and amusing information in abundance, without the need to submit to the cultural authority of journalists (and pay for the privilege), they abandoned the mainstream news media. The authors suggest that the relationship of trust between the public and the news media can be rebuilt with a renewed 'mission to connect' via various modes of linkage: between news stories and their context or background; between citizens and institutional decision-making processes; between people and the colossus of information they encounter online and offline; and between communities and other communities.

EBERL, J.-M. 2017. *Political Preferences and the 'Lying Press': Three Layers of Perceived Media Bias*. Paper presented to the International Communication Association Conference, 25-29 May 2017, San Diego.

This study explores the relationship between political preferences and perceived media bias within the context of the rise of populist movements in many Western democracies. It investigates perceived bias of the broader news media system in Austria, perceived bias of individual outlets, and perceived beneficiaries of slanted coverage. Analyses are based on an online survey in Austria in 2015 (n=1,460) that compared citizens' perceived biases towards seven newspapers and TV outlets. Results show that news media bias in Austria is strongly related to right-wing but not to left-wing extremism. Furthermore, there are not only differences between single outlets but also between media genres, as tabloids are less affected by right-wing perceptions of bias. Finally, there is tentative evidence that voters base their assumptions about political beneficiaries of bias on out-group derogations rather than on actual media content.

ELARESHI, M. & GUNTER, B. 2012. Credibility of Televised News in Libya: Are International News Services Trusted More than Local News Services? *Journal of Middle East Media*, 8(1), 1-24.

This Libyan study investigates the importance of perceived credibility as a factor that influences audience consumption of TV news services, and compares the perceived credibility and use of TV news broadcast from local and non-local TV stations in Libya. Data are drawn from a survey of 400 university students. Results indicate that young adults in Libya regard pan-Arabic TV news sources Al-Jazeera TV and Al-Arabiya TV as more credible than the Libyan TV news sources Al-Jamahiriya TV and Al-Libiya TV.

ESPINA, C. 2013. *Perceived cultural proximity and perceived news source credibility in Puerto Rico*. MA Thesis, Newhouse School of Public Communication, Syracuse University.

This study examines the relationship between perceived cultural proximity (between Puerto Rican and American cultures) and the perceived credibility of both Puerto Rican and US-based news sources. Data were collected using an online Spanish-language survey of 372 Puerto Rican residents. The results yielded three key findings: Puerto Rican news consumers perceived US-based news sources as more credible than national Puerto Rican news sources; there is a positive relationship between interaction with the US and perceived credibility of US news sources; and trust in US news media increased with greater perceived cultural proximity with American culture.

FAHMY, S. & NEUMANN, R. 2015. Internet wags the world: Understanding web credibility in the context of citizen/professional journalism, Twitter/blog, and Iran's Green Revolution. *International communication Research Journal*, 50(1), 23-46.

This study aims to determine whether the platform or the expertise of the journalist (manipulated by the biographical information provided) affects news consumers'

perceptions of credibility. Six Iranian university students were presented with simulated data in either Twitter or blog format. Results showed that the participants regarded blogs as more credible than Twitter. Meanwhile, provisions of the journalist's biographical details did not result in a statistically significant difference in the perceived credibility of the journalist.

FERNÁNDEZ-PLANELLAS, A. 2015. [Factors influencing trust in media: exploring the association between media consumption and news about the 15M Movement](#). *Hipertext.net*, 13.

This study examines the association between media exposure, trust and political participation. Data is drawn from face-to-face interviews with 339 activists from the 15M Movement in Spain. The questions were designed to determine the respondents' levels of trust in traditional and alternative media, and the reasons for their trust or distrust. Results indicate that politically interested online users place more trust in information disseminated by alternative media than by traditional media. Higher levels of exposure to social media were associated with higher levels of trust in social media, while age and gender were not. Those who do not use social media, and those who use traditional media, placed highest levels of trust in traditional news media.

FERRUCCI, P. 2017. Technology allows audience role in news construction. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 38(1), 79-89.

This ethnographic study examines how technology affects the gatekeeping role of journalists while allowing audiences to have more input into the production of news. The focus of this case study is the *St Louis Beacon*, a digital native non-profit news website based in St Louis, Missouri. Data were drawn from observations and in-depth interviews with the organisation's 15 journalists, conducted in the newsroom and in the field. The study found that journalists used technology to maintain a high level of engagement with readers, especially by way of encouraging readers to join the Public Insight Network, which connects newsrooms and journalists with sources nationwide. As well as providing their contact and demographic details, readers can list subjects in which they are interested or have expertise. Audience members thus shape the news and contribute content and comments. Journalists also noted that technology both enables user feedback and allows more content to be published, as there are no page limits.

FISHER, C. 2016. The trouble with 'trust' in news media. *Communication Research and Practice*, 2(4), 451-465.

This review paper evaluates studies of public trust in the news media over the past 80 years, noting that this body of research forms part of a larger literature on news media credibility. In her critique of the dominant research designs and methodologies found in the literature, Fisher challenges the usefulness of survey questions that ask news consumers whether, or to what extent, they 'trust' the news media – often, there is no indication that the researchers and respondents even agree on what is meant by 'trust' or 'the news media'. She argues that survey questions must be clearer about exactly what element of news is being investigated

– for example, the content, the brand, the individual journalist, the friend who shared the information or the algorithm that selected it. She proposes that Uses & Gratifications theory could help researchers develop new theoretical and methodological approaches better equipped to provide a deeper understanding of why people use news media and for what purposes. Fisher suggests three key issues that need to be resolved in order to meaningfully advance our knowledge of public trust in journalism: (1) there is no agreed definition of ‘trust’ or ‘credibility’, nor is there an agreed, reliable and valid way to measure it; (2) there is a growing disconnect between the normative ideal of an informed citizenry and the reality of news consumption in the digital era; and (3) in an era of heightened uncertainty about the veracity of information (e.g., ‘post-truth’ politics and ‘fake news’), it is worth questioning whether more public ‘trust’ is even desirable.

FLANAGIN, A. J. & METZGER, M. J. 2007. The role of site features, user attributes, and information verification behaviors on the perceived credibility of web-based information. *New Media & Society*, 9(2), 319-342.

This US-based study was designed to assess audience perceptions of the credibility of message, site and sponsor across four genres of websites: news media, e-commerce, special interest or personal websites. Data were drawn from an experiment with 574 participants recruited from a university communication course and electoral rolls. Subjects were presented with a news story from a simulated website with the characteristics of the website manipulated. For both sponsor credibility and message credibility, news media sites were perceived as more credible than all other genres. News media and e-commerce sites did not differ significantly in perceived credibility, but were viewed as more credible than both special interest and personal websites. Personal websites were rated the least credible of all genres.

FLETCHER, R. & PARK, S. 2017. The impact of trust in the news media on online news consumption and participation. *Digital Journalism*, 5(19), 1281-1299.

This study examines the impact of individual trust in the news media on source preferences and online news participation behaviour, in particular sharing and commenting. Data were taken from the Reuters Institute Digital News Report which surveyed a total of 21,524 people in 12 countries: UK, US, Germany, Spain, Italy, France, Ireland, Denmark, Finland, Japan, Australia and Brazil. (However, this research paper did not include Brazil.) The results show that people with low levels of trust tend to prefer non-mainstream news sources such as social media, blogs, and digital-native news providers; they are also more likely to engage in online news participation and other forms of interactive media. The association between low trust in mainstream media and preference for alternative media tends to be strongest in northern European countries.

FORTUNATI, L. 2014. Media between power and empowerment: Can we resolve this dilemma? *The Information Society*, 30, 169-183.

This article considers the ways in which media have been conceptualised within the broader theoretical construct of power. What has emerged is a dichotomy of

opposing perspectives – one that views media as a tool used by dominant social groups to exercise power, the other that views the media as a social institution that serves to empower citizens. Fortunati first outlines the issues and research questions that have arisen in scholarly debates over the relationship between media and power and empowerment. She then gives an account of the development of the notion of power, and more recently empowerment, in the social sciences. In the final section, she proposes an approach in which classics can help reconceptualise the roles of power and empowerment in a way that accommodates both notions in the same theoretical framework.

GAZIANO, C. & MCGRATH, K. 1986. Measuring the concept of credibility. *Journalism Quarterly*, 63(3), 451-462.

This study explored dimensions of news media credibility and how they relate to each other. The first part of the study used focus groups to identify the qualities that influence the level of trust people have in the news media; the focus groups helped develop a list of 16 qualities, or factors, that influence perceptions of news media credibility. The second part of the study involved a series of four telephone surveys, using a final sample of 875 US residents, in which people were asked to rate the level of importance of the 16 credibility-related factors using a five-point Likert scale. The factor analysis showed that 12 of these items grouped together, which indicate whether people believe news coverage is fair, unbiased, tells the whole story, is accurate, respects people's privacy, watches out after people's interests, is concerned about the community's well-being, separates fact from opinion, can be trusted, is concerned about the public interest, is factual, and is produced by well-trained reporters. Gaziano and McGrath's 12-item credibility scale is still widely used in contemporary research.

GHAZALI, W. N. W. M. 2011. *New and Traditional Media Influence of Muslim Students' Perception on Selected Islamic Issues: A Comparative Study*. Paper presented at the National Seminar on New

This Malaysian study examines the relationship between trust and consumption of online news, TV news and newspapers. The study's main hypothesis, based on Media Dependence Theory (MDT), is that the more a user is exposed to a news media source, the more the user trusts it and the more it is able to influence users' perception on Islamic issues. Data were collected from a survey of 369 students at the International Islamic University Malaysia. Findings included that both male (83.9%) and female (79%) participants were high users of the internet (defined as online access at least four times per week). Most respondents (70.3%) were low users of TV (viewing less than four times per week). There was an almost similar proportion for low (56.8%) and high (43.2%) users of newspapers. Consistent with MDT, respondents trusted online news most, followed by TV and newspapers. High users of news websites believe they are moderately influenced by the internet, whereas TV and newspaper users believed they are less influenced by these media.



GIL DE ZÚÑIGA, H., DIEHL, T. & ARDEVOL-ABREU, A. 2016. When Citizens and Journalists Interact on Twitter: Expectations of journalists' performance on social media and perceptions of media bias. *Journalism Studies*, 1-20.

This study examines how expectations about journalistic practices on social media influence audience engagement with journalists and, in turn, perceptions of editorial bias. Drawing on a two-wave panel survey of respondents (n=2,837) in the general population of the US, the study first finds that expectations about the practice of 'good journalism' on social media (for example, reciprocity, collaboration and public service) predict engagement with journalists on Twitter. Second, the more people engage with journalists on Twitter, the less likely they are to report viewing the news media as having editorial bias. Third, respondents who report the highest levels of expectations of journalists' performance were more likely to perceive editorial bias in the news, regardless of their interactions with journalists on Twitter.

GLYNN, C. J. & HUGE, M. E. 2014. How pervasive are perceptions of bias? Exploring judgments of media bias in financial news. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 26(4), 543-553.

This paper investigates whether the financial press is more trusted than the general news media, and the level of influence of partisan factors on trust in general and financial news. Data were collected using an online survey of US residents (n=1,116) who have investments in the stock market. Results indicate that Republicans view the general news media as significantly more biased than their Democratic counterparts. However, the story changed when respondents were asked about specific news outlets. Republicans rated CNN and *The New York Times* as highly biased in both general and financial reporting, while Democrats perceived *Fox News* as more biased in terms of both general and financial reporting. There were no significant differences between the partisan groups on perceptions of *The Wall Street Journal*.

GOLAN, G. 2010. New Perspectives on Media Credibility Research. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 54, 3-7.

This is the introduction to the journal's special issue on media credibility. The introduction outlines the scope and the approach of the papers included in the special issue, which explores media credibility across communication fields including political communication, civic journalism, advertising, online journalism, media convergence, and religion and the media.

GOLAN, G. J. & BAKER, S. 2012. Perceptions of media trust and credibility among Mormon college students. *Journal of Media and Religion*, 11, 31-43.

This study evaluates media credibility and trust among Mormons based on an online survey of students (n=266) at Brigham Young University. The results indicate that Mormons, who are generally conservative, have little trust in the US news media. First, they view the news media as ideologically progressive and politically biased. Second, they do not believe the news media are credible, trustworthy, accurate or morally upright. Third, they see media coverage,

especially TV news and current affairs reporting, as portraying Mormons in a negative light. Finally, although conservative students might be expected to trust Fox News, this was not true of Mormon students, perhaps because Fox News is strongly identified with evangelical Christians.

GOLAN, G. J. & KIOUSIS, S. K. 2010. Religion, media credibility, and support for democracy in the Arab world. *Journal of Media and Religion*, 9, 84-98.

This paper is based on a re-analysis of secondary data from a previous survey of 1,882 Arab youths (18-25) in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The study investigates the relationship between the respondents' religious and political opinions and their trust in news media as well as the impact of these variables on their support for democracy. Contrary to the authors' expectations, results indicate that general religiosity and religious fundamentalism correlate positively with trust in the news media, both domestic and international. Other unexpected findings included that there was a positive relationship between domestic media credibility and support for democracy, and a negative relationship between satellite/internet credibility and support for democracy.

GROSSER, K. M. 2016. Trust in Online Journalism: A conceptual model of risk-based trust in the online context. *Digital Journalism*, 4(8), 1036-1057.

This theoretical paper examines differences in public trust in traditional and online news media. Using a systems theory understanding of journalism, Grosser proposes a conceptual model that can assess the difference in offline and online trust by illustrating the positive and negative impacts of technological change on public trust in journalism. She also outlines an expanded research agenda for public trust in online news media.

GUNTER, B., CAMPBELL, V., TOURI, M. & GIBSON, R. 2009. Blogs, news and credibility. *Aslib Proceedings: New Information Perspectives*. 61(2), 189-204.

This literature review on news blogging aims to assess whether news blogs have the core attributes of mainstream news and journalism. The review considers the attributes that have traditionally defined good quality news and competent journalism, then applies some of these principles to 'news blogging'. The review concludes that, although many news blogs had become increasingly influential and considered reliable sources of news and analysis, they lacked the 'brand' characteristics of traditional news organisations which drive perceptions of credibility.

GUNTHER, A. 1988. Attitude extremity and trust in media. *Journalism Quarterly*, 65(2), 279-287.

This paper combines cognitive response theory and social judgement theory. The combined theoretical model predicts that a news reader's attitude towards, or involvement with, a given issue will affect that person's judgement of the credibility of a relevant news item in a non-linear way. Data collected from a phone survey of 268 US residents provide partial empirical support for the combined theoretical framework. The main finding is two-fold: moderate involvement with an issue

predicts increased perceptions of the credibility of a relevant news item, the result of a cognitive response effect; however, a high level of direct involvement with an issue will decrease perceptions of a relevant news item, the result of a social judgement effect.

HAMDY, N. N. 2013. Prediction of Media Credibility in Egypt's Post-Revolution Transitional Phase. *Global Media Journal*, 12, 1-42.

This paper is based on a survey (n=431) of residents of Cairo following the 2011 revolution in Egypt. The survey aims to assess attitudes toward traditional and online news media during the pre-election transitional period. The survey includes factors that might influence news credibility perceptions such as media reliance, political attitudes and non-mediated sources. It also includes constituents of news credibility such as accuracy, trustworthiness, balance and depth. Results indicate that TV news rated the highest in credibility, followed by newspapers and the internet. High-level users of the internet rated online newspapers, news portals and Facebook postings as highly credible. State media received the highest credibility ratings among the less educated and lower income respondents, who represent the majority of voters in Egypt. Reliance on online news proved to be a strong predictor of internet credibility; however, reliance on TV news and newspapers did not result in a similar correlation of credibility.

HEDMAN, U. 2017 (forthcoming). [Making the most of Twitter: How technological affordances influence Swedish journalists' self-branding](#). *Journalism*.

This paper is based on a content analysis of 2,543 Swedish journalists' profiles on Twitter, which aims to evaluate aspects of journalistic self-branding. Swedish journalists on Twitter were found to brand themselves as audience-oriented, engaged in networking, and 'individualistic' – that is, independent from their employer news organisation. The paper concludes that on Twitter, journalists tend to project a mixed identity of both professional and personal features, in line with the demands and logic of social media.

HEIDER, D., MCCOMBS, M. & POINDEXTER, P. M. 2005. What the public expects of local news: Views on public and traditional journalism. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(4), 952-967.

This study is based on a random telephone survey (n=600) conducted in the US in 2001 to explore the public's beliefs about the role of journalism and local news. Results indicate that the public does not strongly endorse the traditional journalism role of watchdog or the norm of rapid reporting. Survey respondents regarded the role of providing a community forum – a public journalism principle – as extremely important. African-Americans, Hispanics, women and adults with lower levels of education and income strongly endorsed the public journalism principle of offering solutions to problems.

HERRING, K. 2010. *Credibility and the Internet: Can credibility levels indicate news medium choice?* MA Thesis. Florida Atlantic University.

This study is based on a re-analysis of data collected in 2005 by Princeton Survey Research International for the Pew Research Center, consisting of phone interviews with a representative sample (n=1,464) of the US population. The study tests the hypothesis that general trust in the news media is a predictor of traditional media use, whereas low trust in traditional media predicts alternative media use. The data did not confirm the two-fold hypothesis. However, a pattern of negative credibility scores across the two media types indicated that in general people do not have very positive feelings of credibility for the type of news media they choose to use; nearly 75% of respondents gave TV news and newspapers a 'not credible' rating.

HURST, N. 2016. *To clickbait or not to clickbait? An examination of clickbait headline effects on source credibility.* MA Thesis. University of Missouri, Columbia.

This study is based on an experiment designed to assess the extent to which the use of clickbait headlines on Facebook influences the perceived credibility of the news sources. The online experiment included 336 university students in the US and used a 2 (headline type: traditional vs sensationalist) x 2 (source type: university vs news organisation) x 2 (source credibility: high vs low) within-subjects design. The types of headlines and the types of sources were crossed, creating eight experimental conditions where headline and source type were paired along with the level of credibility of the source. Respondents were presented with either a traditional or sensationalist headline, then were asked to rate the credibility of the news source. The main finding is that clickbait headlines result in lower perceived source credibility overall. However, this is mitigated by a source's reputation in terms of credibility: news sources with pre-existing low credibility (for example, *The National Enquirer* or *The Rush Limbaugh Show*) are more negatively affected by clickbait headlines than sources with pre-existing high credibility (for example, Harvard University or *The New York Times*).

IDID, S. A. & WOK, S. 2006. Credibility of television, newspaper and Internet with popular votes of Barisan Nasional during elections by race. *Jurnal Pengajian Media Malaysia: Malaysian Journal of Media Studies*. 8(1), 41-56.

This Malaysian study tracks levels of the perceived credibility of TV, newspapers and the internet among Malay, Chinese and Indian registered voters in Malaysia. The study uses a series of surveys conducted in 1990 (n=2,847), 1995 (n=1,882), 1999 (n=3,512) and 2004 (n=2,651). Results suggest that when the Barisan Nasional (BN) coalition is popular, TV and newspaper credibility rises while internet credibility falls – however, the authors caution that this result may be attributed to low levels of access and uptake of the internet, or the fact that internet-related data was available only for the 1999 and 2004 surveys. When the figures for media credibility were compared with the popular votes for BN in 1990, 1995, 1999 and 2004, there was a correlation between the two. There were no statistically significant differences between Malay, Chinese and Indian voters in terms of fluctuations in perceived news media credibility over time; overall, there was a rise

in trust for TV news and newspapers for the years 1990 and 1995, but there was a dip in 1999. At the time of the study, the internet was still an emerging medium about which most Malaysians were still sceptical, and perhaps it is not surprising that its credibility was low compared to the established news media – TV news and newspapers.

JACKOB, N. G. E. 2010. No alternatives? The relationship between perceived media dependency, use of alternative information sources, and general trust in mass media. *International Journal of Communication*, 4, 589-606.

This study is based on a random phone survey of 850 German residents designed to investigate the relationship between media dependency, use of alternative media sources and overall trust in the media. The results of the multivariate analysis suggest a number of related correlations: (1) respondents who actively search for non-traditional news media information feel less dependent on it, as do respondents with low confidence in the traditional news media; (2) respondents feeling somewhat independent of the traditional news media express lower levels of trust in these media, as do frequent users of non-traditional news information sources; and (3) respondents with low trust in the traditional news media search more actively for alternative sources, as do respondents who feel somewhat independent of the traditional news media.

JAHNG, M. R. & LITTAU, J. 2016. Interacting is believing: Interactivity, social cue, and perceptions of journalistic credibility on Twitter. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 93(1), 38-58.

This study uses Social Information Processing Theory and Social Presence Theory to investigate the relationship between interactivity and perceived credibility of journalists on Twitter. The online experiment included 156 university students in the US and used a 2 (gender: male vs female) × 2 (social cues: high vs low) × 2 (interactivity: high vs low) mixed factorial design. Gender was manipulated as a between-subjects factor while social cue and interactivity on social media were within-subjects factors. Participants' evaluation of journalistic credibility and overall attitude toward the journalists did not differ between male and female journalists. Likewise, further analysis examining the impact of gender match between participants and the journalists did not render any significant difference in credibility evaluation or overall attitude. The results suggest that audience perceptions of the credibility and trustworthiness of a journalist on social media is built on how the journalist uses the platform: a high level of interactivity with readers (e.g., doing more than posting one's own tweets or links to stories) is a strong predictor of high credibility evaluations. Study participants did not consider the personal information provided on the Twitter account when evaluating the credibility of the journalists.

JARVIS, S. E., STROUD, N. J. & GILLILAND, A. A. 2009. College students, news use, and trust. *Communication Research Reports*, 26(1), 30-39.

This study investigates which news sources American university students use, and which ones they trust. Data were collected via an online survey (n=213) that used pre-existing scales on source credibility, the uses and gratifications theory of

media, and previous studies on the news consumption patterns of young people. The study's main findings are that university students are most likely to get their news from the internet and cable TV comedy programs, and least likely to get their news from radio and TV news and current affairs programs.

JOHNSON, T. J. & KAYE, B. K. 2016. Some like it lots: The influence of interactivity and reliance on credibility. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 61, 136-145.

This study has four aims: to investigate the level of interactivity with fifteen sources of political information; to determine the degree of reliance on each of the sources; to assess perceptions of credibility; and to compare the strength of interactivity to the strength of reliance on judgments of credibility. The fifteen sources of political information were categorised into four major groups: traditional news media (newspapers, news magazines, broadcast TV news, CNN, MSNBC, and news radio, and their online counterparts); social media (social network sites, Twitter, YouTube, mobile news apps); non-traditional partisan sources (political websites, political blogs and candidate blogs); and traditional partisan sources (Fox News and talk radio). Data were collected using an online survey of US residents (n=1,267) conducted on Mechanical Turk during the two-week period before and after the 2012 US presidential election. Respondents rated traditional non-partisan media as most credible; newspapers are considered the most credible medium followed by news magazines, broadcast TV news, CNN, news radio and MSNBC. These findings demonstrate that brand reputation is an important influence on perceptions of credibility. The three least credible sources are either new to the communication landscape (Twitter) or are biased, partisan sources known to push a particular political agenda (Fox News and candidate blogs). Media reliance emerged as the strongest predictor of credibility: broadcast news and newspapers are most heavily relied upon, followed by social network sites, CNN and two non-traditional partisan sources (political websites and political blogs). Interactivity predicted credibility for only 8 of 15 sources: interactivity with sources that are inherently interactive and collaborative (e.g., Twitter, social media, talk radio) better predicted credibility than interactivity with sources that are mono-directional (e.g., TV news and political websites).

JOHNSON, T. J. & KAYE, B. K. 2013. The dark side of the boon? Credibility, selective exposure and the proliferation of online sources of political information. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 29(4), 1862-1871.

This study tests the hypothesis that source reliance and credibility lead to selective exposure and selective avoidance in the online environment (e.g., the 'dark side' of credibility). An online survey (n=4,241) was conducted during the 2008 US presidential election to measure the extent to which American users of blogs seek out online sources that share and validate their point of view. The survey results do not support the hypothesis. Most respondents who judge blogs as credible reported that, although they do search for information that supports their point of view, they also seek out information that challenges their opinions.

JOHNSON, T. & KAYE, B. 2010. Choosing is believing? How Web gratifications and reliance affect Internet credibility among politically interested users. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 18, 1-21.

This US study is based on an online survey (n=1,366) of politically interested American internet users during the 2004 US presidential election. Results indicate that reliance on online news sources was the strongest predictor of whether a respondent perceived online news sources as credible. Partisan political orientation was also a strong predictor of credibility: progressives rated traditional news media sources and their online counterparts as credible, while conservatives regarded blogs as the most credible sources of information during the election.

JOHNSON, T. & KAYE, B. 2010. Still Cruising and Believing? An Analysis of Online Credibility Across Three Presidential Campaigns. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 54, 57-77.

This study examines the degree to which people perceive online information as credible and compares how credibility shifted in the US during the years 1996-2004. It also compares the extent to which credibility of online sources correlates with reliance on traditional and online news sources. The study is based on online surveys of politically interested web users during the 1996 (n=308), 2000 (n=442), and 2004 (1,366) US presidential elections. Respondents were asked to rate the credibility of online newspapers, news magazines, candidate literature, issue-oriented sources, TV news, and radio news; these ratings were then compared to the credibility ratings for traditional news media – newspapers, TV and radio. Results indicate that there was an overall credibility increase between 1996 and 2000, then overall credibility decrease over the years 2000-2005. Online newspapers, magazines, online TV news, and online radio were considered most credible in 2000. Online issue-oriented sources were judged most credible and online TV news sources the least credible. Whereas respondents perceived few differences between online and traditionally delivered sources in the 2000 campaign, greater differences emerged in the 2004 campaign. Online candidate literature was the only source rated as more believable, fair, accurate, and in-depth in 2004 than in earlier elections.

JOHNSON, T. J. & FAHMY, S. 2008. The CNN of the Arab world or a skill for terrorists? How support for press freedom and political ideology predict credibility of Al-Jazeera among its audience. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(5), 338-360.

This study is based on a survey of Al-Jazeera viewers through an online survey (n=731) posted on the network's Arabic language website. The study found that Al-Jazeera viewers rate the network as highly credible; further, they believe Al-Jazeera increases press freedom and presents a wide diversity of views and opinions. Respondents strongly agreed that the Arab news media should be allowed to operate free from government control and should be allowed to criticise their governments. Most respondents rated freedom of the press as low in Arab countries and just average in the US. They further rated CNN and the BBC (Arabic) highly on expertise but low on trustworthiness. Younger respondents and those who relied heavily on Al-Jazeera were more likely to judge the network as credible.

Reliance and age were the only strong predictors of credibility; younger people rated the network as significantly more credible than older people.

JOHNSON, T. J. & KAYE, B. K. 2004. Wag the blog: How reliance on traditional media and the Internet influence credibility perceptions of weblogs among blog users. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(3), 622-642.

This study surveyed blog users (n=442) during the 2000 US presidential election, to investigate the degree to which respondents find blogs credible, compared to other online sources and traditional news media. The study also explored the degree to which respondents' reliance on blogs, other online sources and traditional news media predicts blog credibility. Nearly 75% of respondents viewed blogs as moderately credible or very credible. Blog users rated blogs as highly credible, more credible than traditional media; still, they rated traditional media as moderately credible. Blog users also rated blogs higher on depth of information than they did on fairness. The researchers suggest that while fairness is considered a hallmark of traditional journalism, bias is likely regarded as a virtue by blog users. Reliance on blogs was the only strong predictor of blog credibility. However, other factors – trust in government, likelihood of voting, age and education – were also found to predict credibility of online sources, albeit to a lesser degree.

JOHNSON, T. J. & KAYE, B. K. 2000. Using is believing: The influence of reliance on the credibility of online political information among politically interested Internet users. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(4), 865-879.

This US study used an online survey (n=308) of politically interested internet users during the 1996 presidential election to investigate the degree to which reliance on traditional and online sources predicts credibility of online newspapers, TV news, news magazines, candidate literature and political issue-oriented sites. The majority of respondents were politically conservative and nearly 75% actively sought out politically conservative sources and information. Reliance on a given medium proved to be the strongest predictor of credibility across the survey.

JOO CHUNG, C., KIM, H. & HYUN KIM, J. 2010. An anatomy of the credibility of online newspapers. *Online Information Review*, 34(5), 669-685.

This paper investigates the primary components of credibility of three types of online newspapers: mainstream (*USA Today*), independent (*Drudge Report*) and index (*Google News*). Data collected using an online survey of US university students (n=288) showed that, while three factors of credibility – expertise, trustworthiness, and attractiveness – are common across all three types of online newspapers, each newspaper type has a different credibility structure. The mainstream newspaper's website enjoys the highest credibility, while the index type was found to offer a sense of creativity and lack of bias. The independent online paper rated lowest in terms of credibility, as it does not have a recognised editorial policy or gate-keeping system.



KIM, D. & JOHNSON, T. J. 2009. A shift in media credibility: Comparing Internet and traditional news sources in South Korea. *International Communication Gazette*, 71, 283-302.

This study examines how politically interested online users perceive the traditional news media, their online counterparts and independent web-based newspapers. Data were collected during the two weeks preceding the 2004 general election in South Korea, through an online survey (n=249), with invitations to participate posted on the websites of the four main political parties, political webzines, discussion forums and NGOs. Respondents rated independent web-based newspapers as more credible sources of political information than either traditional media or their online counterparts. Reliance on online and traditional sources tended to be stronger predictors of credibility of online sources. Political variables, such as campaign interest, political involvement and voting also turned out to be significant predictors of perceived credibility of online sources. Overall, results indicate that there has been a shift in perceived credibility among politically interested South Koreans from traditional news media to online and alternative sources of information. The author suggests two reasons for this shift: people enjoy feeling more engaged by the non-professional, biased and emotionally charged political narratives characteristic of these online and alternative sources; and the traditional news media are widely considered to have failed to serve as a watchdog of political and economic interests or to provide a public sphere, instead supporting the interests of the country's elite while excluding South Korean citizens from the process of forming public opinion.

KIM, K. S. & PASADEOS, Y. 2007. Study of partisan news readers reveals hostile media perceptions of balanced stories. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 28(2), 99-106.

This study investigates how partisan news readers evaluate the credibility of news articles, based on perceptions of bias. The study is based on an experiment using 248 US university students. Participants were shown three different 'clippings' of newspaper articles on the morning after pill: one slanted towards a pro-abortion position; one slanted towards an anti-abortion position; and the third one balanced. Results showed that, while participants could correctly identify the articles that were actually biased, they also tended to judge the balanced articles as biased and hostile towards their own position.

KIOUSIS, S. 2006. Exploring the impact of modality on perceptions of credibility for online news stories. *Journalism Studies*, 7(2), 348-359.

This study investigates the influence of website modality on people's perceptions of source and message credibility. Modality is defined as the use of text, graphics, sound and video on a single communication platform. An experiment was conducted using 64 students at a large Midwestern university. They were asked to read an online news story about China being awarded the 2008 Summer Olympics, then complete a questionnaire. The questionnaire asked which multimedia features they had used (a picture gallery and video were available in some versions of the story) and how they rated the credibility of the news sources and the story itself. The index used to analyse the data included six measures of credibility:

accuracy, believability, fairness, objectivity, bias and sensationalism. Findings indicate that increased modality in online news stories has no direct effect on perceived source or message credibility. However, a positive effect on perceived source credibility was observed when participants used multimedia content that was available in certain versions of the story.

KIOUSIS, S. 2001. Public trust or mistrust? Perceptions of media credibility in the information age. *Mass Communication & Society*, 4(4), 381-403.

This study explores perceptions of news credibility for TV, newspapers and online news. It is based on a phone survey administered to a random sample of 818 residents of Austin, Texas in 1998. The study's media credibility index included five components: how factual the medium is; the extent to which it is motivated by money; whether it invades people's privacy; what is its concern for the community; and whether it can be trusted. Contingent factors that might influence news credibility perceptions, such as media use and interpersonal discussion of news, were incorporated into the analysis. Findings suggest that people are generally sceptical of news media but rate newspapers with the highest credibility, followed by online news and TV news. The data also show a moderate negative relationship between interpersonal discussion of news and perceptions of media credibility for TV news but not newspapers; however, when controlling for demographics, a positive correlation was found between interpersonal communication and online news credibility. Finally, a marginal association was noted between media use and public perception of credibility across all three media channels.

KOHRING, M. & MATTHES, J. 2007. Trust in news media: Development and validation of a multidimensional scale. *Communication research*, 34, 231-252.

This theoretical paper aims to address the absence of a standardised scale for the measurement of trust in the news media. The authors present the development and validation of a multidimensional scale of trust in the news media. A theoretically derived model was tested on a representative sample (n=510) in Schwerin, Germany via confirmatory factor analysis. After some modifications, the model was then validated on another independent sample (n=812) in Berlin. These results confirm the hypothesis that trust in the news media can be considered a hierarchical factor (of second order) that consists of four lower order factors: trust in the selectivity of topics; trust in the selectivity of facts; trust in the accuracy of depictions; and trust in journalistic assessment. This model is the first validated scale of trust in news media in communication research.

KOLISKA, M. 2015. *Transparency and trust in journalism: An examination of values, practices and effects*. PhD Thesis, University of Maryland, College Park.

This PhD study uses mixed methods to examine the role of transparency and its relationship to trust in the US news media. First, a total of 27 in-depth interviews were conducted with journalists from 12 national news outlets. Analysis of these interviews revealed that journalists rarely consider transparency in their work. Although journalists agreed that transparency has value, they said their employer news organisations utilise transparency only as a promotional tool to engage

audiences and to appear transparent, rather than commit to significant disclosure of information about the inner workings of the organisation. Second, the study involved conducting two experiments designed using the multifactor model of trust in news media developed by Kohring and Matthes (2007). A total of 1,471 participants were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk; the experiments evaluated how features such as hyperlinks, editorial comments and journalist biographies (e.g., information about the journalistic process) influence readers' perceptions of transparency and credibility. Results indicate that transparency features such as these have no effect on readers' perceptions of credibility.

KRUIKEMEIER, S. & LECHER, S. 2018. News Consumer Perceptions of New Journalistic Sourcing Techniques. *Journalism Studies*, 19(5), 632-649.

This study is based on an experiment using a representative sample (n=422) of the Dutch population. Participants were shown generated content to determine whether the source of a story affected readers' perceptions of its credibility and, specifically, whether stories sourced from social media are rated as less credible. Results indicated that news consumers consider online sources of information – especially social media platforms such as Twitter or Facebook – as less credible than traditional news sources. Authors suggest the results imply that news organisations should significantly increase the visibility of how they verify information, either in daily reporting or in an editorial mission statement on the quality of their journalism. This paper contributes to research on media transparency in terms of newsgathering and fact-checking techniques.

LADD, J. M. 2011. *Why Americans hate the media and how it matters*, Princeton University Press, Princeton N.J.

Ladd investigates the causes and consequences of Americans' declining trust in the news media, which in the 1970s was one of the most respected institutions in the US. He notes that the decline in public trust in the news media is significantly sharper than the public's declining trust in other key social institutions, so he argues it is not the consequence of a general decline in trust. Ladd pursues structural explanations and points to two trends external to journalism: first, the two major political parties have become much more polarised in their policy positions; second, because of technological changes and regulatory changes such as the end of the fairness doctrine, the media industry has become much more diverse and fragmented. Ladd traces the increase in political polarisation back to the 1960s and 1970s, when the relative political consensus of the immediate post-war era gave way to more attacks on the media from politicians. Today, this has been amplified exponentially with the proliferation of online and alternative media making these attacks more effective, as readers can easily find dissenting messages that align with their own partisan orientation, and increasingly choose to access only these sources. Finally, he writes that public distrust of the traditional news media enables extreme partisan beliefs to take stronger hold, because there is no 'objective' media to moderate the information published on alternative media.

LADD, J. M. 2010. The neglected power of elite opinion leadership to produce antipathy toward the news media: Evidence from a survey experiment. *Political Behavior*, 32(1), 29-50.

This study is based on a national random-digit dial survey experiment (n=1,014) conducted in the US in 2007. Respondents were asked to evaluate the news media after being told a story which randomly varied among six different versions: Democrats have been criticising the media for being too friendly with President Bush; Republicans been criticising the news media for being too critical of President Bush; the media has been critical of both President Bush and Congressional Democrats; the media has been reporting on President Bush's opinion polls especially when his popularity increases or decreases (horserace); the media has been reporting on the death of Anna Nicole Smith (tabloid); and a control question asking whether the respondent had been following any news stories recently. Results indicate that partisan political elite opinion can powerfully shape the attitudes of the public towards the news media on both sides of the political spectrum. Horserace and tabloid coverage create antipathy towards the news media, regardless of the respondent's partisan disposition. The study finds no detectable effect of negative reporting on news media credibility.

LAMBE, J. L., CAPLAN, S. E., CAI, X. & SIGNORIELLI, N. 2004. Public perceptions of media performance at the beginning of the war on terrorism. *Communication Research Reports*, 21(3), 299-309.

This US-based study was conducted following the September 11 terror attacks, at the beginning of military action in Afghanistan in 2001. The study explores the interplay between audience perceptions of the role of the news media, their evaluations of media performance, and their attitudes towards restrictive media. Data were collected through a national random-digit dial phone survey of 401 Americans. Audience evaluations of media were positive – consistent with the Pew Research Center's (2001) findings that Americans' public trust in news media was higher in the aftermath of September 11 than it had been since 1985. The study also found that both media role expectations and audience evaluations are significant predictors of endorsement of restrictive attitudes. Thus, although the public gives near-uniform endorsement of freedom of the press in the US, there is widespread public support for restrictions on certain media content during times of national crisis.

LEE, S. H. 2011. *Does Trust Really Matter? A Quantitative Study of College Students' Trust and Use of News Media*. MA, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

This study examines the relationship between trust and the consumption of news – via traditional, online and social media platforms – among university students in the US. Data were collected using a survey of 489 respondents, who completed the surveys in their classrooms. Results indicate that there is no significant correlation between overall trust and use of various sources of news. The students had more trust in traditional news sources and viewed TV as their most important news source. However, they were more likely to seek out information about a future event from online news sources. Social media sources, such as Facebook and

Twitter, were used as frequent sources for news – and the correlations between trust and use of social media sources for news were generally stronger than those of other news sources. This study suggests that news outlets might gain more young adult users not by (re)gaining their trust but by making their content more easily accessible and consumable.

LEE, T.-T. 2010. Why They Don't Trust the Media: An Examination of Factors Predicting Trust. *American Behavioral Science*, 54(1), 8-21.

This study tests the hypothesis that stronger ideology and partisanship, and higher levels of political and personal cynicism, lead to increased perceptions of media bias. It also explores the effect of people's perceptions of the health of the economy on their trust in news media. The study uses aggregated national survey data from the University of Michigan's National Election Studies, collected from 47,438 respondents during alternating years from 1948-2004. Results indicate that partisanship is more important than ideology in affecting media trust. At the same time, people have more trust in media if they are less cynical and have a positive evaluation of the economy, and when their preferred party is in office.

LIU, T. & BATES, B. J. 2009. What's behind public trust in news media: A comparative study of America and China. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 21(3), 307-329.

This theoretical paper proposes an evaluative framework to enable more insightful and meaningful comparisons of measurements of public trust in journalism over time and between countries, especially those with radically different cultures, social structures, political regimes and media systems – such as China and the US. The study suggests three perspectives that can help better accommodate longitudinal and geopolitical differences in terms of studying public trust in news media: operation dynamics, imaged power, and national identity. Given the limitations of uniform transnational quantitative public opinion polls and surveys, the study argues that these surveys should be designed to reflect five dimensions of identity mechanism: professionalism identity, antagonism identity, heterogeneity identity, public sphere identity, and the 'other' identity. The authors conclude that instruments designed to measure public trust in news media – especially those used for longitudinal or cross-cultural comparisons – should be less fixated on questions about 'credibility' or 'trust'. Instead, questions should be informed by a more rigorous understanding of the role and function of journalism within the local context, and then measure the public's perception of the local news media's performance in that regard.

LIVIO, O. & COHEN, J. 2017 (forthcoming). ['Fool me once, shame on you': Direct personal experience and media trust.](#) *Journalism*.

This Israeli study aims to determine the extent to which news media coverage of events that were directly witnessed by individuals might affect their trust in the news media. Data were collected using an online survey of 405 Israeli adults. The study's main finding is that perceived correspondence between the events as described in news media reports and the events as directly witnessed by the respondent was the strongest predictor of trust in journalists, and the only one that

remained significant when controlling for other factors such as political orientation and frequency of exposure to newspapers, TV, radio and online news.

MACEK, J., MACKOVÁ, A., PAVLOPOULOS, V., KALMUS, V., ELAVSKY, C. M. & ŠEREK, J. 2017. Trust in alternative and professional media: The case of the youth news audiences in three European countries. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 1-15.

This paper aims to identify the national specifics of trust in traditional and alternative news media and its developmental patterns through the application of cross-cultural and developmental perspectives and comparisons of social and political predictors influencing media trust in three countries. The study is based on an analysis of 2016 survey data of Estonian, Czech and Greek youth (aged 14-25, n=3,654) collected as part of the international CATCH-EyoU project (Horizon 2020). Trust in traditional media was rated strongest in Estonia, followed by Czechia and Greece – the only country in which the youth demographic is a significant predictor of media trust and where trust in alternative media was most pronounced. In general, media trust is highly dependent on local contexts. For example, in Greece, there is a strong link between negative attitudes toward the EU and trust in alternative media. In Czechia, there is a positive relationship between tolerance and general media distrust, which might be seen as symptomatic of a tolerant population's dissatisfaction with the intolerant tone of professional media. The study concludes that differences in selected predictors of media trust, and the distribution of media trust types (professional vs alternative) across national sub-samples, illustrates the different pathways to media trust in these varied contexts along socioeconomic and cultural lines.

MACKAY, J. B. & LOWREY, W. 2011. The credibility divide: reader trust of online newspapers and blogs. *Journal of Media Sociology*, 3(1-4), 39-57.

This study considers how different online news formats affect the perceived credibility of a news medium; it also asks whether exposure to a medium that is primarily institutional is perceived as more or less credible than a news medium that appears more individualistic. In an experiment using 138 US university students, the researchers studied the effects of media use, media dependency and political interest on the perceived credibility of a news medium. Participants were presented with a story attributed to one of three types of online media (all mock websites): online news produced by a newspaper; a blog created by a journalist; and a blog written by a non-journalist, or citizen's blog. Respondents rated the non-journalist blog as more credible than the other two media types, which suggests that young adults are more trusting of news sources that are less affiliated with an institution.

MASULLO, G., CHEN, P. S., CHANG, C.-W. & ABEDIN, Z. 2017. News video quality affects online sites' credibility. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 38(1), 19-31.

This study explores the influence of video production quality on viewers' trust in the news organisation that produced it. An experiment was conducted using 212 US university students separated into three groups: those who viewed high-quality

videos, those who viewed low-quality videos and a control group who viewed mixed quality videos. Exposure to low-quality news videos led respondents to perceive the news organisation as less credible and lacking in value. Videos of high quality resulted in high credibility and value ratings for the news organisations. The results indicate that even a few low-quality news videos on a newspaper website might damage the organisation's ability to attract and sustain a younger audience.

MEHRABI, D., ALI, M. S. S. & HASSAN, M. A. 2013. Components of news media credibility among professional administrative staff in Malaysia. *China Media Research*, 9(1), 34-41.

This study attempts to measure components of credibility of newspapers, magazines, radio, TV and the internet in Malaysia. Based on data drawn from a survey of 270 administration staff at a university in Malaysia, the results indicate that fairness, timeliness and clarity were the strongest predictors of credibility overall. The questionnaire asked respondents about each media genre generally, and did not ask targeted questions about specific newspapers, magazines, TV stations, radio channels and online sources of news.

MEKIDAD, F. 2017. *The Credibility Crisis: Has the Information Revolution Rendered Arab State Media Obsolete?* MA Thesis, International Relations, Leiden University, The Netherlands.

This study explores how public trust in news media has changed in Egypt following the Arab Spring (which began in Tunisia in 2010). The study uses data collected in previous surveys as well as 10 interviews conducted by the researcher (nine consumers and one journalist). The study found that trust in Egyptian state media (newspaper, TV and radio) decreased during the years 2010-2016, suggesting mistrust of a government perceived as undemocratic and suppressive. Meanwhile, the government tightened regulations on privately owned newspapers and satellite TV channels, so press freedom across the board declined between 2010 and 2016. In addition, some privately owned newspapers changed their editorial policy after the government issued a statement in 2014 insisting that editors 'realise their national responsibility and support the army in its fight against terrorism', while other newspapers and satellite TV channels owned by corrupt businessmen continued to disseminate messages that reflected the ruling regime's agenda. Regional conflicts also influenced people's trust in news media: owing to conflicts between Egypt and the countries of Qatar and Saudi Arabia, interviewees expressed distrust in TV stations Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya, respectively. Finally, consistent with an emerging generational divide throughout the world, all interviewees under the age of 35 preferred to source their news information from social media such as Twitter and Facebook.

MELICAN, D. B. & DIXON, T. L. 2008. News on the net: Credibility, selective exposure, and racial prejudice. *Communication Research*, 35(2), 151-168.

This study explores the perception of credibility of various forms of news media, including the online counterpart sites of traditional news media and non-traditional (alternative) internet news sites. Data were collected through an online survey

(n=432) used to assess perceived credibility of newspapers, TV news and different types of internet news sites, while exploring a possible link between perceptions of news credibility and racist attitudes. Overall, respondents rated non-traditional internet sources as the least credible of all other news sources. After controlling for other factors, results indicate those respondents who found non-traditional media more credible also scored higher on the racism scale, which supports the view that the internet provides a haven for groups who share extremist beliefs such as those based on racial hatred.

METZGER, M. J., FLANAGIN, A. J., EYAL, K., LEMUS, D. R. & MCCANN, R. M. 2003. Credibility for the 21<sup>st</sup> century: Integrating perspectives on source, message, and media credibility in the contemporary media environment. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 27(1), 293-335.

This literature review encourages media scholars to make better use of the substantial body of research on media credibility that has accumulated since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. The authors argue that the historical development of the concept of media credibility has generated knowledge that has retained its relevance and has the potential to provide greater understanding and depth to current studies on credibility, especially regarding user strategies to assess the veracity of information they encounter online. The ensuing literature review synthesises and integrates previous studies on source, message and media credibility. The authors consider the conceptualisation, operationalisation and measurement of credibility and then suggest strategies to empower online users and content providers. The paper concludes by proposing a new research agenda for the study of credibility in the contemporary media environment.

MITCHELSTEIN, E. & BOCZKOWSKI, P. J. 2010. Online news consumption research: An assessment of past work and an agenda for the future. *New Media & Society*, 12(7), 1085-1102.

This literature review considers research on online news consumption up to the year 2009. The authors found that, at that time, there was still little difference in the way people consumed news from traditional news media and online news sources. This paper provides a valuable historical snapshot of scholarship on the changing media landscape in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

MOEHLER, D. C. & SINGH, N. 2011. Whose news do you trust? Explaining trust in private versus public media in Africa. *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(2), 276-292.

This study explores the reasons why citizens in post-authoritarian African democracies trust government-owned news media more than they trust private news media. State media lack independence and have a history of disseminating state propaganda. Meanwhile, most investigative journalism and revelations of government malfeasance originate from the private news media – despite significant challenges posed by governments, including denial of access to important political information, harassment and the use of colonial-era libel and sedition laws. The study looks for answers in data collected in the 2005 Afrobarometer survey of 16 countries: Benin, Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya,



Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia. At the individual level of analysis, the study found that politically sophisticated and democratic individuals who doubt the integrity of government officials, who are unsatisfied with the government, and who feel close to opposition parties are more likely to trust private media as opposed to public media. At the regional level, citizens in only five of the countries surveyed trust private news media more than state media. The authors argue that the reason for this trust gap lies not with the quality of journalism produced by private news media, but with the capacity of local news consumers to assume the role of democratic and critical citizens. The paper further argues that the public trust gap between state and private news media in many African countries can be attributed to low levels of political sophistication, illiberal attitudes and uncritical support for incumbents. The authors suggest that the fortunes of private media and democracy in Africa are intertwined: in order to cultivate a diverse media ecosystem in which they can thrive, the private media need to help cultivate a more informed and engaged political culture in these consolidating democracies, thereby linking private press to the public good and self-interest to the broader needs of society.

MUDRICK, M. 2015. *Pervasively offside: A gendered analysis of sportscasting*. PhD Thesis. University of Connecticut.

This study examines the influence of gender-norm endorsement and sexism on perceived sportscaster credibility. The study is based on an experiment involving 544 participants (58% males and 42% females) recruited from Mechanical Turk. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions using a 2 (participant gender) x 2 (reporter gender) factorial design; all participants watched a video of a debate between two sportscasters, one male and one female, from the ESPN programme *Numbers Never Lie* (now known as *His & Hers*). They debated which NBA star, Michael Jordan or Kevin Durant, would win a one-on-one contest. The analytical model used to interpret the results of the experiment included a revised version of the 11-item Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI-R) which measures perception of gender norms. Two subscales of the MRNI were selected for this experiment: dominance (e.g. "Men should be the leader in any group") and avoidance of perceived feminine activities (e.g. "Boys should play with action figures, not dolls"). Results indicate that gendered behaviour beliefs and sexist attitudes have a negative effect on perceived credibility of female sportscasters, and discrimination toward female sportscasters is extensive. Results also suggest that, although the female broadcaster was lauded for possessing trustworthy features, the male broadcaster was inherently perceived to have greater sports-related expertise, thus was more persuasive in this setting. The male broadcaster was also praised for using authoritative tactics to garner favourability, confirming traditionally accepted behaviours associated with men in power. The study provides evidence of gender-based double standards in the perceived trustworthiness of sportscasters, which favour men and hinder women from gaining acceptance in the sports media network.

MUSTAPHA, L. K. & WOK, S. 2015. Perceived Credibility and Consumption of Homeland News among Diasporic Nigerians in Malaysia. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, 23(S), 127-142.

This study explores the relationship between perceived credibility and consumption of news media. Data were collected in surveys of 321 Nigerian university students in Malaysia during the lead up to the Nigerian presidential election in 2011. The three online Nigerian newspapers used in the study were *The Daily Trust*, *The Punch* and *The Vanguard*. Respondents generally found these newspapers from their homeland to be credible; they believed the newspapers told the whole story and were fair, accurate and trustworthy in their reporting. Overall, *The Daily Trust* was rated as most credible, followed by *The Vanguard* and lastly *The Punch*. These rates of credibility strongly correspond with measures of readership, which provides empirical evidence that there is a positive relationship between credibility and consumption.

NAH, S. & CHUNG, D. S. 2012. When citizens meet both professional and citizen journalists: Social trust, media credibility, and perceived journalistic roles among online community news readers. *Journalism*, 13(6), 714-730.

This study examines how social trust and perceived media credibility influence conceptions of the role of both professional and citizen journalists. Data were collected in 2008, through an online survey of news consumers (n=239) in the Midwestern US, in partnership with the local state press association and with the assistance of local community newspaper editors who promoted the survey on their websites. The survey measured respondents' levels of social trust and media credibility, and their perceptions of the importance of five roles of professional and citizen journalists: disseminator, interpreter, adversary, mobiliser, and civic roles. Results indicate that social trust is positively and significantly associated with the roles of both professional and citizen journalists except for the adversary role, whereas media credibility yielded a positive and significant relationship with the roles of professional journalists only, except for the adversary and civic roles. These results seem intuitive in the sense that social trust plays a crucial role when citizen journalists interact with ordinary citizens; in contrast, media credibility is an important factor in the roles of professionally trained journalists who are traditionally distinct from ordinary citizens. Respondents rated the role of professional journalists as more important than the role of citizen journalists except for the adversary role, suggesting news consumers highly value the role of professional journalists in delivering news and information, interpreting public issues and mobilising ordinary citizens. The results suggest that citizen journalists can supplement the roles of professional journalists or function as sources of local, non-traditional and alternative journalism. Meanwhile, online news sites can provide a platform on which professional and citizen journalists can combine their efforts to contribute to the public sphere in ways that are critical for the functioning of a healthy democracy.

NEWMAN, N. & FLETCHER, R. 2017. *Bias, Bullshit and Lies: Audience Perspectives on Low Trust in the Media*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

This report explores the reasons for low trust in the news media and social media across nine countries: US, UK, Ireland, Spain, Germany, Denmark, Australia, France and Greece. The study uses quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse data from the 2017 Reuters Institute Digital News Report (Newman et al., 2017), including thousands of responses submitted by respondents asked to give their reasons for low trust – in their own words – in open-ended text fields. These responses were coded and analysed, and used to develop the following categories of specific issues that drive public trust and distrust: those with lowest levels of trust in the news media (young and low-income consumers) cite bias, spin and agendas that serve powerful interests; the partisanisation of news (especially in the US and UK) has alienated audiences and further fragmented society while failing to expose lies, uphold the truth and help audiences understand issues that matter to them; people believe TV news is less open to manipulation than any other form of media because viewers can see live coverage of reporters and events, although some respondents criticised the medium for prioritising speed over accuracy and favouring partisan opinions and agendas; respondents who trust the news media (40%) believe journalists are good gatekeepers – checking sources, verifying facts and providing evidence-based news; highest levels of confidence in the professional integrity of journalists were recorded in the US, Germany and Denmark; the mainstream news media is trusted more than social media to separate fact from fiction; a substantial minority of respondents trust social media more than the mainstream news media due to the greater diversity of sources and views, the ‘authenticity’ of user-generated content, and their confidence that they can spot inaccuracies and hidden agendas. Based on these findings, the authors suggest three ways to restore public trust in the news media: increase the quality of news, minimise clickbait and increase transparency concerning fact-checking processes and other integrity checks; clearly distinguish facts from opinion; and diversify the newsroom in terms of age, gender political orientation, economic perspectives in order to provide greater diversity of content that is seen to serve the interests of society and not just ‘the establishment’. The authors conclude that restoring trust in media will take time and commitment and will require the collaboration of publishers, platforms, regulators and audiences for significant progress to be made.

NIXON, B. 2017 (forthcoming). [The business of news in the attention economy: Audience labor and MediaNews Group’s efforts to capitalize on news consumption](#). *Journalism*.

This paper considers the acquisition-consolidation business model of newspapers and its failure to negotiate technological change. The author provides an account of the demise of the MediaNews Group, whose acquisition and consolidation of daily newspapers in California had made it the second largest newspaper company in the US by 2006. However, its inability to respond to seismic shifts in the broader media landscape wrought by digital disruption would force it into bankruptcy by

2010. After it was taken over by a hedge fund it was merged with another newspaper chain to form Digital First Media, whose strategies to generate new revenue streams included digital advertising, paywalls, mobile distribution, citizen journalism and copyright infringement lawsuits. None of these proved profitable enough and in 2016, the company reverted to the old business model of ownership consolidation – cutting costs, selling assets and looking for a new purchaser. The author uses a political economy approach and the concepts of attention economy and audience labour to theoretically reframe the process of capitalising on news as a process of gaining power over attention and treating it as an exploitable form of audience labour. As such, maintaining a monopoly over access to the news has historically formed the basis of the news business; the loss of this monopoly through increased competition from online news providers ignited the financial crisis engulfing newspaper publishers. In the case of MediaNews, the company's failure to thrive in the new media ecosystem was structured into a business model based on expanding its monopoly and de-localising local news. Thus, at a time when online platforms were cultivating communities and personalising the user experience, the MediaNews publishing empire was increasing its remoteness from the very communities its papers ostensibly served. When these communities joined the digital revolution, the publisher lacked the vision, organisational culture and capacity to transform – and had no relationship to rebuild with its audience. This is a useful case study that compares well to the experience of struggling mastheads around the world and offers one theoretical approach to interpreting the phenomenon.

OYEDEJI, T. A. 2010. The credible brand model: The effects of ideological congruency and customer-based brand equity on news credibility. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 54(2), 83-99.

This study proposes and tests the credible brand model (CBM), a model which attempts to explain the processes by which media audiences make credibility judgments about media outlets and their products. The primary postulate of the CBM is that media audiences' perceptions of the media credibility of a media outlet, and by extension the message credibility of its news stories, are dependent on their perception of the customer-based brand equity (CBBE) of the media outlet and the ideological congruency between their personal worldview and the worldview of that media outlet. The theory is explained and a multi-stage survey run, using Fox News and CNN as the brands, to confirm the theory.

OYEDEJI, T. A. 2007. The relation between the customer-based brand equity of media outlets and their media channel credibility: An exploratory study. *The International Journal on Media Management*, 9(3), 116-125.

Successful branding practices generate customer-based brand equity (CBBE) – a concept that predicts that consumers will react more favourably toward the product, price, promotion, and distribution of a branded product than they would a generic product. A survey of journalism students at a US university was used to study the relationship between CBBE and media credibility. The survey found that CBBE explained most of the variance of media credibility for US cable news stations.

PEARCE, K. 2011. *Armenian Media Landscape*. Caucasus Research Resource Centers. Yerevan State University, Armenia.

This report aims to contribute to a broader public understanding of Armenian attitudes, perceptions and use of news media. The study presents an overall picture of the media landscape in Armenia. It is based on a survey of the Armenian population and eight complimentary focus group discussions conducted in 2011, which provides detailed data on trust in the media, attitudes towards media freedom and news consumption. Many of the survey questions relate to trust, perceived bias and media use. TV news is the dominant source of news, primarily Armenian TV but also Russian TV channels – watched by half the population. Internet use is on the rise in Armenia.

PEIFER, J. T. 2015. *Perceived News Media Importance: News Parody, Valuations of the News Media, and Their Influence on Perceptions of Journalism*. PhD thesis. Ohio State University.

This study examines the effect of comedy news programs, such as *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report*, and their effect on attitudes towards the media, especially news media credibility. The study suggests that comedy news commentary may be contributing to public perceptions of the news media in ways that enhance media trust. News comedy may enhance trust by endorsing the importance of and respect for the core functions of journalism.

PETERS, C. & BROERSMA, M. J. E. (Eds.) 2013. *Rethinking journalism: Trust and participation in a transformed news landscape*, New York, NY, Routledge.

Peters and Broersma outline the challenges facing journalism and argue there is a need to rethink journalism fundamentally and understand the structural transformation it is undergoing. This book explores the news media's strategic responses to decreasing levels of public trust, the ways in which emerging forms of news affect the established journalistic field, and how participatory culture creates new dialogues between journalists and audiences. 'Crucially, [the book] does not treat these developments as distinct transformations. Instead, it considers how their interrelation accounts for both the tribulations of the news media and the need for contemporary journalism to redefine itself.' The first of the book's three sections contains four chapters on public trust in the news media. In the first chapter, 'Trust, cynicism, and responsiveness: the uneasy situation of journalism in democracy', Brants investigates the decline in trust in the news media and discusses possible causes of the decline. In the second chapter, 'A refracted paradigm: journalism, hoaxes and the challenge of trust', Broersma asks whether and to what extent hoaxes and stories that turn out to be false undermine the social role of journalism. In the third chapter, 'Getting the facts straight in a digital era: journalistic accuracy and trustworthiness', Porlezza and Russ-Mohl examine the relationship between trust in journalism and errors in reporting such as fact-checking errors and copywriting errors. In their study, they found approximately 50% of newspaper articles contained at least one error and that the presence of errors reduced trust. They also make comparisons between news media in the US,

Switzerland and Italy. In the fourth chapter, 'The postmodern challenge to journalism: strategies for constructing a trustworthy identity', Bogaerts and Carpentier take a discourse-theoretical perspective that views journalism as a discourse centred on privileged signifiers connected within hegemonic discursive formation.

PHINNEY, J. 2012. *Millennial assessment of credibility among news sources*. MA Thesis. Angelo State University, Texas.

This study explores the sources in which millennials are turning for credible news and how they assess the credibility of news. The study is based on a combined experiment/survey in which 207 students from a US university were asked to: (1) use the internet as they normally would, to find news information about a given topic; (2) print out a source they deemed credible; and (3) complete a questionnaire about their news source and their news consuming habits. The majority of participants turned to the websites of traditional news media sources for information. When evaluating the credibility of their source, participants valued from most to least: type of source (traditional news media platform, scholarly publication, web-only publication, press release, blogs), organisation of the information, type of information, depth of information, reputation, and presentation of information. The low ranking reputation and presentation is surprising. No correlations were found between credibility scores and the frequency of news consumption.

PJESIVAC, I., SPASOVSKA, K. & IMRE, I. 2016. The Truth Between the Lines: Conceptualization of Trust in News Media in Serbia, Macedonia, and Croatia. *Mass Communication and Society*, 19(3), 323-351.

This study uses qualitative methods to explore people's conceptions of trust in news media in Serbia, Macedonia and Croatia – three Eastern European countries whose past oppressive regimes may have left a legacy of distrust in public institutions. The analysis of 61 in-depth interviews showed the coexistence of three conceptions of trust: trust as faith in news media as expert systems; trust in journalistic selectivity (found in all three countries); and trust as confidence in news media (found only in the Serbian sample). The implications of these results on the measurement of trust in news media and on the relationship of Eastern Europeans toward their news media systems are discussed in light of sociological theories of trust, as well as specific historical, social, and cultural circumstances in the region.

PJESIVAC, I. 2017. The Effects of Culture and Performance on Trust in News Media in Post-Communist Eastern Europe: The Case of Serbia. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 94(4), 1191-1214.

This study examines the influences of cultural and performance factors on trust in news media in Serbia. This was done by conducting a survey on a stratified random sample of the Serbian population (n=544), with results indicating that, more than 20 years after the fall of Communism and 13 years after the fall of Slobodan Milošević's authoritative regime, distrust remains pervasive in Serbia. Respondents believe that Western journalistic standards such as fairness,

objectivity, neutrality, accuracy in reporting or sincerity in helping other people were either not met by the Serbian news media or not applicable in their country.

RAHMAN, B. H. 2014. Conditional influence of media: Media credibility and opinion formation. *Journal of Political Studies*, 21(1), 299-314.

This study explores the relationship between media usage, perceived credibility and political opinion formation among educated Pakistani youth. The relationship is studied under the premise that as trust plays an important role in many areas of social life, it will influence the opinion of the audience. Data were collected using a survey of 470 university students in Pakistan. Findings indicate that heavy viewing of TV news in itself does not influence perceptions of its credibility, nor does it affect the political opinion-making process. This is because respondents who watched TV heavily did not necessarily perceive it as a credible source of information – and only media that the audience finds credible influences opinion-making. The study suggests that the influence of media should be studied in the context of the audience relationship with the media. The findings showed that the audience were influenced by the TV views provided they trusted the media as a credible source of information

RAO, M. H. N. & RAVI, B. 2015. Audience Perception of the Credibility of Local News Channels. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, 5(2), 1-11.

This study explores audience perceptions of credibility on TV news in India, which has news channels in English and in regional languages. Data were collected using a survey of residents (n=250) across the city of Bangalore. Results indicate that, although local broadcasts in regional languages were popular because they had more local news in a familiar language, national English-language TV channels were perceived as more credible.

ROBERTS, C. 2010. Correlations Among Variables in Message and Messenger Credibility Scales. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 54(1), 43-56.

Credibility is a complicated construct involving interrelationships among messenger, message, communication channels and recipients; however, the most widely used credibility indexes measure only one of those attributes at a time. This study uses two credibility scales to simultaneously measure message and messenger credibility. Results confirm there are high correlations between the two scales and among their individual variables, but there are still distinctions between messenger and message. The study concludes that trust is a matter for both a messenger and the messages it delivers, and their relationships are clearly intertwined.

ROSAS, O. 2013. Public Engagement with, and Trust in, Online News Media in French-Speaking Belgium. *Recherches en Communication*, 40, 169-187.

This study investigates public trust in online news media by French-speaking Belgians using 37 interviews conducted face-to-face or by video. Results indicate

that online user perceptions of news site credibility are most strongly influenced by transparency, accountability, reputation and recommendation.

SABIGAN, C. G. 2007. *Credibility Perceptions of Television and Online News*. MA Thesis. University of South Florida.

This study explores factors that influence audience perceptions of the credibility of video news items on TV and the internet. Data were collected using a survey of a combined sample of university students and members of the public (n=538). TV and the internet were evaluated differently. Respondents measured the credibility of TV news and online video news differently. Their perceptions of TV news credibility were most strongly influenced by how they rated its comprehensiveness, consideration for the public interest and fairness. Their perceptions of online video news credibility was most strongly influenced by how they rated its trustworthiness, consideration of public interest and objectivity.

SAVOLAINEN, R. 2007. Media credibility and cognitive authority. The case of seeking orienting information. *Information Research*, 12(3), 1-13.

This article is based on a qualitative case study exploring the information seeking practices of environmental activists, with a focus on their perceptions of media credibility and cognitive authority. Empirical data were gathered in 2005 by semi-structured interviews with 20 environmental activists in Finland. Qualitative content analysis entailed constant comparison between articulations of media credibility and cognitive authority. Results indicate that perceptions of media credibility and cognitive authority tend to be dependent on the topic at hand: no specific cognitive authorities were recognised. The news sources perceived as most credible were environmental organisations. Newspapers were perceived as less credible because of their political bias and 'the general level of news reporting'. The significance of one's own critical reflection was emphasised in the judgement of the credibility of information sources of various types. The study concludes that perceived media credibility and cognitive authority significantly orient the selection of information sources.

SCHMIERBACH, M. & OELDORF-HIRSCH, A. 2012. A little bird told me, so I didn't believe it: Twitter, credibility, and issue perceptions. *Communication Quarterly*, 60, 317-337.

This article investigates how media use of the microblogging tool Twitter affects perceptions of the issue covered and the credibility of the information. In contrast to prior studies showing that ordinary blogs are often judged credible, especially by their users, data from two experiments show that Twitter is considered less credible than various forms of stories posted on a newspaper website, and fails to convey importance as well as a newspaper or blog.

SHAN, C. 2013. *The sources young people trust: The credibility ratings of sources of national political news in China*. MA Thesis. Iowa State University.

This study explores Chinese young adults' perceptions of the credibility of traditional and online news media. It also investigated differences in perceptions of



media credibility between urban and rural residents, and between members and non-members of the Communist Party and/or the Communist Youth League. The study also assessed the impact of media platform, place of residence, and Party/League membership on perceptions of source credibility given the potential intervening influence of exposure and attention to news, political involvement, and attitude toward politics. Data were gathered using an online survey of university students (n=624) in China. Results indicate that Chinese university students regard online media as more credible. The author suggests that this is because traditional news media are subject to state interference and control, while online media sources are perceived as allowing freer expression of comments and opinion. Chinese students relied on micro-blogs the most (such as Weibo, the Chinese equivalent of Twitter), followed by non-social networking sites, social networking sites and TV. There was no difference in the credibility assessments of rural/urban students for either platform. However, there were significant differences in credibility ratings between Youth League members and non-members, and between Communist Party members and non-members. The preferred media platform, place of residence, and Party/League membership did not significantly influence credibility perceptions after controlling for the influence of exposure and attention to political news, political involvement, and attitude toward politics.

SHEN, F., LU, Y., GUO, S. & ZHOU, B. 2011. News media use, credibility, and efficacy: An analysis of media participation intention in China. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 4(4), 475-495.

This study investigates the relationship between news media use and media participation intention in China by adopting an audience-oriented perspective in light of the changing patterns of media content associated with recent widespread commercialisation in China. Data were collected during November 2006 and May 2007 from face-to-face interviews with 2,409 residents of four cities in China: Beijing (n=600), Guangzhou (n=608), Shanghai (n=599) and Xi'an (n=602). Results indicate that TV news had a positive association with media participation intention, which might take the form of phone-in discussion, news exposé, media complaint or commentaries on social issues of the day – with the exception of Guangzhou. Newspaper use seems to have no particular relationship with people's perceived media credibility and efficacy. However, newspaper use in different geographical areas produced mixed patterns of prediction of one's intention for media participation; thus, results could not be generalised. Use of the internet tended to adversely affect people's perceptions of traditional news media credibility, but not necessarily their efficacy toward traditional news media. The study also found differentiated effects of internet news use on participation – positive for Beijing, negative for Xi'an. The study concludes that media credibility perception and efficacy strongly predicted people's intentions for media participation.

SHIM, K., GOLAN, G., DAY, A. G. & YANG, S.-U. 2015. Beyond the Western Masses: Demography and Perceptions of the Credibility of Pakistani Media. *International Journal of Communication*, 9, 2282-2305.

Using an existing random survey sample of the Pakistani population, this study examines assessments of different media platforms in Pakistan. It was found that in the complex Pakistani media landscape, ethnicity is a key indicator in predicting media credibility. The study's results indicate that minority ethnic groups tend to find domestic TV to be less credible, and international TV or traditional media to be more credible, than do members of the majority Punjabi group. Media reliance was found to be a significant indicator of media credibility assessment.

SIFF, S., HRACH, T. J. & ALOST, S. 2008. Attitudes differ for online reporting versus editorials. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 29(4), 18-35.

This study reports the results of two experiments (n=166, n=303) conducted on undergraduate students at a large Midwestern university in 2006-2007 to examine differences in reaction toward user-created and professionally created media. The experiments used a between-subject design to measure participants' assessments of the credibility and quality of identical (or nearly identical) content presented in user and non-user created formats. Results indicate that readers weigh sources of information differently when evaluating editorial opinion and factual reporting. While participants' responses in the second experiment revealed some prejudice against the quality and reliability of user-produced factual content, the same prejudices were apparently not brought to bear in the evaluation of editorial opinion in the first experiment. The authors conclude that, for news professionals, these findings suggest that newspaper editors and managers of news organisations need to educate readers about the higher standards of professionally produced content with an emphasis on showing readers that professionally produced content is fairer, more believable and of higher quality than user-produced content. The findings also suggest that it may be wise to focus on news reporting rather than editorial opinion.

SLAČEK BRLEK, S., ZAJC, J. & MANCE, B. 2016. Connections Between Trust in Journalism and Patterns of Media Use. *Medijska istraživanja*, 22(1), 41-63.

This study investigates the relationship between perceived credibility and media use. The authors re-analyse existing survey data of a representative sample (n=500) of the Slovenian population. Results indicate that the connection between frequency of media use for informative purposes and trust in journalism is very weak, being statistically significant for TV viewing but not for radio listening, newspaper reading or use of the internet. There are indications of polarisation along partisan lines, since those respondents who follow right-wing media (especially those associated with the Slovenian Democratic Party) exhibit a lower level of trust in journalism. Overall, trust in journalism is not associated with frequency of media use, indicating that trust is not an important predictor of media use, though it might have an important impact on information processing.

SPILLANE, B., LAWLESS, S. & WADE, V. 2017. *Common Measures of Credibility Used in Academic Research*. [https://www.scss.tcd.ie/~spillab/Credibility\\_Measures](https://www.scss.tcd.ie/~spillab/Credibility_Measures).

This website provides a summary of credibility measures used in academic media research. Credibility is a complicated concept that is broken down in several ways.

STOCKWELL, E. 2006. Relationship between newspaper credibility and reader attitude toward Korea and Koreans. PhD thesis. Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Australia.

This study explores the relationship between media credibility and attitude formation by examining the factors that influence perceptions of news source credibility, and then considering those factors that affect attitude change regarding South Korea. Australian university students were recruited (n=462) for the study, which consisted of three stages: a survey to determine which newspapers they find to be of high and low credibility; a content analysis of their high and low credibility sources for articles of positive, neutral and negative tone; and an experiment which measured subjects' attitude change through reading articles of different tones in high and low credibility sources. The study found that nearly 50% of the students selected *The Australian* as a high credibility newspaper, with the closest newspaper to this being *The Courier-Mail* (22%). Even though *The Courier-Mail* was selected as the relatively low credibility newspaper, the majority of students (about 52%) selected it as their most frequently read newspaper. In addition, *The Australian*, which was selected as the high credibility newspaper, was the most frequently read newspaper by only 16% of students. This suggests that readers do not necessarily choose their daily newspaper on the grounds of perceived credibility. When the subjects were exposed to news which differed from their original attitude towards South Korea, all of the subjects who changed their attitude followed the tone of the news. So, for example, after subjects who had a positive original attitude towards South Korea were exposed to negative news about Korea, they changed their attitude in the negative direction instead of persisting with their original attitude. If people perceive the news media source to be highly credible, they will tend to become highly dependent upon the media for information. This argument is supported by the relationship between the subjects' attitude change and their credibility judgments for the counter-attitudinal news in the high credibility newspaper. Most of the subjects who changed their attitude following the tone of the news after exposure to counter-attitudinal messages changed their attitude with the high credibility newspaper – in this case, *The Australian*.

SUN, Y. 2014. *The Effect of self-censorship on news credibility: public's perception of Hong Kong newspapers after the 1997 handover*. MSc Thesis. Iowa State University.

In 1997, the city of Hong Kong became a special administration region of China. Since then, scholars have expressed concern that there has been a decline in freedom of the press and a loss of credibility of Hong Kong's media system. This study investigates whether the public's perception of newspaper credibility has changed since the 1997 handover. Data were collected via an online survey of 283 residents of Hong Kong. Using a credibility index of four items – fairness, bias,

accuracy and trustworthiness – results were analysed to assess newspaper credibility before and after the 1997 handover. The study's main finding is that Hong Kong residents generally perceive newspapers as less credible following the 1997 handover. Public perception that newspapers in Hong Kong practice self-censorship was a predictor of the credibility ratings: the more people believe the newspapers in Hong Kong practice self-censorship, the less credibility they assign to newspapers. Results also indicate that of the four demographic characteristics (age, gender, education level and income), only age was statistically significantly related to the credibility rating: the older the respondent, the higher the credibility score they assign to newspapers. Gender, education level and income made no difference. Respondents who have a favourable attitude towards the governments of China and Hong Kong regard newspapers as more credible than those with negative attitudes; however, the level of one's involvement in political issues does not influence credibility ratings. Despite lower perceptions of newspaper credibility, Hong Kong residents still find news media credible overall.

SZOSTEK, J. 2018. Nothing Is True? The Credibility of News and Conflicting Narratives during 'Information War' in Ukraine. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 23(1), 116-135.

In international politics, the strategic narratives of different governments compete for public attention and support, using the mass media as a non-coercive means of influence. The Russian government's strategic narratives have become a major cause for concern, due to fears that the narratives it spreads through the mass media exert a destabilising effect on societies in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. In the Ukraine, Russian narratives appear regularly in the news media. This paper explores how Ukrainian news consumers who encounter contradictory narratives decide where to get their news and what to believe in a media environment where propaganda and disinformation constitute major threats to national security. Data were collected from 30 audio-diaries and in-depth interviews conducted in 2016 with adult residents of Odesa Region. The diary-plus-interview qualitative method is constructivist in its approach, in that it does not restrict participant responses to language or categories imposed by the researcher. This is valuable because the everyday stories people tell to describe their lives can be quite different from the constructs generated by elites. Participants were asked to record diary entries using either their own mobile phone (if available) or inexpensive USB dictaphones to record the context in which they consumed news (where, when, and with whom), the sources from which they obtained news, a summary of the stories they considered most important, and their reaction to those stories. Participants made these recordings daily over the course of two weeks, although strict intervals for diary entries were not set so participants would not feel obliged to consume news 'artificially' for the study. Interviews were conducted two to three weeks after submission of the diary recordings, in an office in Odesa. Using thematic analysis of the diary and interview transcripts, the paper found that participants judged the credibility of news and narratives based on what they considered important, not just on the basis of facts, or what they believed actually happened. The attribution

of importance to different foreign policy issues was associated, in turn, with varying personal experiences, memories and individual cross-border relationships.

TANDOC JR, E. C. & THOMAS, R. J. 2017. Readers value objectivity over transparency. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 38(1), 32-45.

This study explores the effects of objectivity and transparency on perceived news credibility and newsworthiness. University students (n=222) in the US were recruited to participate in an online survey and experiment which had a 2 (objective vs opinionated) x 2 (transparent vs not transparent) x 2 (news site vs blog site) x 4 (message repetition) mixed experimental design; the platform served as a between-subjects factor. Participants were provided a link to the online questionnaire and randomly assigned to one of two conditions (news site or blog site). They were asked to read four articles then answer a series of questions after reading each article. Participants viewed combinations of objective and opinionated articles, and transparent and non-transparent articles, on either a news site format or a blog site format. The combinations and order of objectivity and transparency in the articles were also randomised. The study found that objective articles rated as more credible than opinionated articles; objective articles were also considered more newsworthy than opinionated articles. More surprisingly, transparent articles were rated as less credible than non-transparent articles. Transparency did not affect perceptions of newsworthiness. Platform did not influence perceptions of credibility or newsworthiness. However, there was a significant interaction between objectivity and platform in terms of affecting perceptions of credibility: objective stories were rated as more credible when they appeared on a blog site than when they appeared on a news site. In contrast, opinionated articles were rated as more credible when they appeared on a news site than when they appeared on a blog site.

TEWKSBURY, D., JENSEN, J. & COE, K. 2011. Video news releases and the public: The impact of source labelling on the perceived credibility of television news. *Journal of Communication*, 61(2), 328-348.

This study aims to determine whether onscreen labels that identify externally supplied video news release (VNR) content in TV news programs affect audience perceptions of credibility. A VNR is a pre-packaged news report produced and provided by an external source. In the parlance of public relations, it is an information subsidy that aims to influence public perceptions and attitudes. VNRs mimic news reports, much like native advertising used in (mostly online) newspapers. Members of the public (n=241) were recruited to participate in a 3 (no label, communicator label, or moderator label) x 4 (news story 1, 2, 3, or 4) between-subjects factorial experiment conducted at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 2005. Each participant watched one news story. Thus, there were 12 conditions in this experiment. The three conditions in the label manipulation were (a) a control in which no label was used; (b) a simple communicator label version that merely advised viewers that some of the content of the story had been provided by an outside source; and (c) a moderator label version which stressed that the news station wanted viewers to be aware that some

of the story had been provided by an outside source. To increase the validity of the study and to examine the potential for partisan leanings to condition the effects of the label, four different news stories received the manipulations. Results show that respondents were able to absorb the label information and later recall the name of the group and the intent of the labels. The presence of the labels does not appear to have diverted audience attention from other elements of the stories. The study also found that perceptions of the expertise and trustworthiness of news creators and programmes are unaffected by audience awareness that external and interested parties had a hand in the creation of the news. The results suggest that news audiences might not use the presence of VNR content in evaluations of news stories, news programs and VNR producers. However, there is evidence that news audiences are concerned about the use of VNR content and support the use of labels.

THORSON, K., VRAGA, E. & EKDALE, B. 2010. Credibility in context: How Uncivil Online Commentary Affects News Credibility. *Mass Communication and Society*, 13(3), 289-313.

This study investigates whether and to what extent the credibility of a news story is affected by the context in which it appears. American university students (n=877) were recruited in 2007 to participate in an experiment that realistically reflected an increasingly common form of online content: a balanced news story 'cut and pasted' from a news website and embedded in a partisan political blog post. The experiment manipulated the partisan ideology and civility of the blog post to create a credible standard of comparison to the balanced news story to see how these shifts in context might affect perceptions of the news article's credibility. The experiment used a 2 (civil vs uncivil tone) x 2 (ideological congruence vs incongruence) between-subjects design, in which the civility of the tone was manipulated in the blogger's commentary; the ideological congruence/incongruence condition was created based on whether participants viewed messages with partisan content that 'matched' their political ideology. Participants were asked to read a news story about global climate change policy, which was written to emulate journalistic practice by providing a balanced summary of two positions on climate change policy. The article described both a liberal policy position for addressing climate change, endorsing mandatory caps on emissions, and a contrasting conservative position, supporting voluntary emissions reductions and technological innovation by industry. The news story was attributed to the Associated Press. The content of the news story remained consistent across all experimental conditions. Results indicate that a news story embedded in an uncivil partisan blog post is rated as more credible in contrast. Specifically, a blogger's incivility highlights the relative credibility of the newspaper article. The study also finds that incivility and partisan disagreement in an adjacent blog post produce stronger correlations between ratings of news and blog credibility. These findings suggest that news story credibility is affected by context and that these context effects can have surprising benefits for news organisations.

TIAN, D. & CHAO, C.-C. 2012. Testing news trustworthiness in an online public sphere: a case study of The Economist's news report covering the riots in Xinjiang, China. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 5(4), 455-474.

On 5 July 2009, riots erupted in Urumqi, the capital of Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region in China, when tensions between majority Uighur (Muslim) and minority Han (ethnic Chinese) residents boiled over. These riots, in which nearly 200 people were killed, were covered by the British online weekly newspaper *The Economist*, which ran headlines such as 'Unrest in China: Unrest on the Western Front', 'Riots in China: Rumbling On' and 'The Riots in Xinjiang: Is China Fraying?' – the last of which featured a six-page news report of about 3,000 words and a 'Readers' Comments' forum. During the 15 days the forum was open (9-24 July 2009) it attracted a total of 1,098 responses (all in English) from 846 readers all over the world. This study applies online field observation and discourse analysis to investigate *The Economist's* 9 July 2009 news report and the readers' forum posts. The study found that the news story and *The Economist* were considered credible by readers accustomed to the Western media's style of news reporting. However, 42% of readers on the forum accused *The Economist* of media bias and this resulted in lower perceptions of credibility and trustworthiness for these readers. They pointed out that the journalist had relied on overseas Uighur activists as the primary source of information and had incorrectly reported that the police had opened fire on the Uighur protesters, who became angry and killed Han Chinese with clubs and stones in the ensuing riots. These readers also noted that, when the journalist tried to cite the words of eyewitnesses, it was not clear whether the killers with clubs and stones were Uighurs or Han Chinese. Some readers cast doubt on the intentions and professionalism of *The Economist*, while others attributed the bias to a lack of basic knowledge of the local history and culture.

TONG, J. 2018. Journalistic Legitimacy Revisited: Collapse or revival in the digital age? *Digital Journalism*, 6(2), 256-273.

This paper asks whether the legitimacy of journalism has collapsed and, if so, whether it can be recovered. Legitimacy is conceptualised here as the source of justification for the activities and authority of social groups and organisations. Tong argues there is a tension between two opposing processes at work, namely the delegitimisation and re-legitimisation of journalism. The former is evident in the collapse of traditional news business models and the fragmentation of news audiences – both facilitated by the internet, platforms and the ever-expanding range of online and alternative sources of news. These conditions have made the news media more vulnerable to attacks from partisan antagonists, some of whom have branded the news media 'the enemy of the people' and claimed the mainstream news media can't be trusted. On the other hand, the re-legitimisation of journalism is manifest in the journalists and news organisations who are embracing digital technology, reaffirming their commitment to the values, norms and practices that have historically served society and democracy, defending their autonomy and the boundaries of the journalistic field, and maximising the potential of this defining moment and the opportunities it offers to reconsider what journalism is, what it should do, and what it can do. Tong concludes that journalistic legitimacy

is neither static nor a given. It is an earned privilege, a cultural authority, that must be continuously maintained. It can be constructed, deconstructed, challenged and transformed in the course of changing conditions in the media landscape.

TSFATI, Y. & ARIELY, G. 2014. Individual and contextual correlates of trust in media across 44 countries. *Communication Research*, 41(6), 760-782.

This study uses data from 44 countries (n=57,847), collected as part of the World Values Survey, to examine individual-level correlates across national contexts and to explore whether macro-level factors play a role in shaping public trust in news media. This study's findings indicate that levels of political interest, interpersonal trust, and exposure to TV news and newspapers are positively correlated with trust in the news media, while higher levels of education and exposure to news on the internet are negatively associated with trust in the news media. On the macro level, postmaterialism (a value system that emphasises self-expression and quality of life over economic and physical security) emerged as a consistent predictor of trust in the news media. State ownership of the media industry did not have a main effect on trust in media after controlling for other factors. However, an interaction was found between state ownership and level of democracy: state ownership of TV is positively associated with media trust in democratic societies and negatively associated with trust in media in nondemocratic societies.

TSFATI, Y. & COHEN, J. 2013. Perceptions of media and media effects: The third person effect, trust in media and hostile media perceptions. *International Encyclopedia of Media Studies: Media Effects/Media Psychology*, 5, 128-146.

This book chapter surveys previous research on media trust. It includes three conceptual discussions: credibility and trust; hostile media perceptions; and the third person perception. The authors argue that these concepts are empirically and theoretically connected and that they are related to media effects in three ways. First, people's mistrust of media has been found to moderate the influence of media on the audience. Second, people's perceptions regarding media impact matter, albeit indirectly, because people react to these perceptions as if they were real. Third, the effects of perceptions of media influence are amplified when they are coupled with perceptions of media hostility, especially among audiences that are personally and emotionally involved in the issues on which media texts report.

TSFATI, Y. 2010. Online news exposure and trust in the mainstream media: Exploring possible associations. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 54(1), 22-42.

This article explores possible associations between mistrust in mainstream news media and consumption of online news. Data were collected from two studies. In the first study, data from the fourth wave of the Media Trust Index (MTI), collected in October 2004, were analysed. This information was collected through telephone interviews conducted in Hebrew and Russian using a representative sample (n=523) of the Jewish population. In the second study, data were collected through an online survey to investigate possible differences in mainstream media scepticism by users of online mainstream and non-mainstream web outlets. Using the data from these two studies, mistrust in mainstream news media was measured



using five items adapted from Gaziano and McGrath's (1986) News Credibility Scale. Results indicate that there is a negative relationship between exposure to online news and mistrust of mainstream news. Moreover, whereas exposure to non-mainstream news sources is related to media scepticism, mainstream news exposure is related to trust in mainstream news media. The findings also shed some light on additional factors contributing to audience trust in online news.

TSFATI, Y. & PERI, Y. 2006. Mainstream media scepticism and exposure to sectorial and extranational news media: The case of Israel. *Mass Communication & Society*, 9(2), 165-187.

This study investigates whether exposure to external and alternative media sources reduces trust in mainstream or traditional media. Data were collected from phone surveys with a representative sample (n=1,127) of the Israeli population. Results indicate that scepticism toward the mainstream news media is indeed related to sectorial and international news consumption; however, it is not related to consumption of non-mainstream media exclusively.

TSFATI, Y. & CAPPELLA, J. N. 2005. Why do people watch news they do not trust? The need for cognition as a moderator in the association between news media scepticism and exposure. *Media Psychology*, 7(3), 251-271.

This study explores why people who have low trust in the media are still frequently heavy media users, and investigates the possible moderating role played by the psychological construct of the 'need for cognition' (NFC). Data were collected from the Electronic Dialog project, with a representative sample (n=424) of the US population. Results indicate that, for those with a reduced NFC, mainstream media scepticism is strongly associated with news exposure. As NFC increases, the association between news scepticism and exposure disappears. The authors conclude that people consume news they do not trust when their media scepticism is irrelevant to their motivation for news exposure.

URSIN, L. H. 2017. *Quality of Government Sustains News Media Trust: A Cross-Country Comparative Study on The Effect of Quality of Government and Media Systems on News Media Trust in Europe*. PhD Thesis. The University of Bergen, Norway.

This study examines the relationship between trust in journalism and quality of government using data from the European Social Survey (2012) conducted in 29 European countries. The study's main finding is that there is a strong relationship between perceived quality of government and public trust in the media.

USHER, N. 2018. Re-thinking Trust in the News: A material approach through "Objects of Journalism". *Journalism Studies*, 19(4), 564-578.

This theoretical paper argues that – along with declining public trust in the news media and other key social institutions, the collapse of traditional news business models, and full-throated attacks on the news media by President Trump and the Republicans – the model for journalistic scholarship is also broken. Usher discusses the most influential theoretical and methodological approaches in the field of journalism studies, identifying the gaps and shortcomings, then proposes a

new approach based on the relational nature of trust that encompasses journalists, audiences, sources and other social actors as 'objects of journalism'. Usher says a 'material turn in journalism' can inspire new ways of thinking about journalism as a relational concept.

VRAGA, E. K., EDGERLY, S., BODE, L., CARR, D. J., BARD, M., JOHNSON, C. N., KIM, Y. M. & SHAH, D. V. 2012. The correspondent, the comic, and the combatant: The consequences of host style in political talk shows. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 89(1), 5-22.

This study examines how three moderator styles – the correspondent, the comic, and the combatant – influence the perceptions of media credibility and evaluations of political talk shows in the US. The correspondent style exemplifies a conventional, dispassionate model of journalism, mediating between debate participants and questioning them in a restrained manner. The comic uses political humour and satire to approach and discuss serious issues, while the combatant style uses an aggressive mode of challenging their guests to elicit information. In order to determine the effects of these moderator styles on the credibility of political talk shows, data were collected in February 2010 using an experiment embedded in a web-based survey of 477 US university students. Respondents were randomly assigned to six conditions. All viewed a simulated political talk show, with a host questioning two guests; three actors filled the roles of a neutral host and two topic experts, with each role played by the same actor across conditions. Respondents were asked to rate host credibility, programme credibility, change in media trust, program entertainment value, program informational value and ideology. Key findings indicate that the correspondent host produces the highest ratings of media credibility and program evaluations without limiting entertainment value, while the use of humour mitigates the negative impact on these outcomes in the presence of an aggressive interviewer. Comic-hosted shows ranked second in terms of credibility, and lastly the combatant. Notably, the tone of participating pundits did not directly or indirectly affect credibility perceptions of the news media in general or the program in particular.

WAISBORD, S. 2006. In journalism we trust? Credibility and fragmented journalism in Latin America. In: VOLTMER, K. (Ed.) *Mass media and political communication in new democracies*, London: Routledge, 76-91.

In this book chapter, Waisbord argues that research on public trust in journalism has been significantly undermined by scholars' fixation on a normative liberal democratic model in which journalists unite under a professional canon of common values, norms and practices to hold power to account and inform the electorate. Waisbord takes issue with this research focus theoretically and empirically. First, this model fails to understand trust as relational, as the product of a pact between journalists and audiences. This relationship of trust is fundamentally driven by audiences' expectations – not those of news producers. Levels of public trust correspond directly to audiences' judgement of how well the media have performed, based on audiences' expectations. Second, Waisbord says there is no consistent correlation between the prevalence of watchdog journalism and public

trust in the news media, due to the complexity of public expectations which are influenced by political orientation and trust in social institutions; thus, understanding trust in journalism means understanding its wider social and political context. Finally, it seems clear that the focus on a normative liberal democratic model of journalism has resulted in a body of research that mostly excludes the exploration of trust in non-democratic or emerging democratic media systems. To illustrate this point, Waisbord gives a brief outline of the history of the news media in Latin America, a region with a history of authoritarian regimes and a highly partisan news media model, with individual news organisations almost invariably aligned with specific interest groups. Far from simply providing an arena in which social and political conflicts played out, news organisations became major partisan players in their own right, often attacking their news media counterparts – to the point of assisting authoritarian regimes in the persecution of other journalists and publishers. This was hardly an environment in which journalists might forge a sense of solidarity or common purpose. The partisan journalistic model began to break down in the 1980s as democracy and neoliberalism emerged in the region. Some of the first news organisations to close shop were those who lived off the largess of the juntas, after their patrons lost power in the 1980s. In Bolivia, union newspapers and miners' radio stations closed down as their social basis became politically weakened and membership dried up. In Mexico, the end of one-party rule after the electoral defeat of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional in 2000 resulted in financial losses and the eventual closure of *Excelsior* and other daily newspapers identified with the party. Some news organisations survived the turmoil and even managed to put their partisan counterparts out of business by stepping up to the role of watchdog, exposing government corruption and other forms of wrongdoing: in Peru, the tabloid attack dogs of the Fujimori administration (during the 1990s) closed after the government collapsed as a result of investigative reports that exposed extensive cash-for-coverage dealings between tabloid owners and prominent officials. Digital disruption also had a hand in breaking down the historical linkages between political parties and news organisations: in Columbia, the rapidly shifting media landscape convinced party leaders to offload their press organisations to major business corporations. Despite these historic changes, public trust in the news media in Latin America peaked in the 1990s and has been in decline since. As Waisbord argues from the outset, trust-building initiatives centred on democratic norms such as transparency and credibility-related practices such as fact-checking miss the point that trust is relational and contingent upon journalists meeting the expectations of the audience, so often missing from the top-down approaches led by journalists and press analysts. Apart from Waisbord's compelling polemic on trust, this case study of Latin America offers valuable insights into the unique challenges involved in building trust in a media environment not unlike the one emerging globally – in which the dominant features are fragmentation, partisan conflict and a profound lack of trust.

WILSON, S., LEONG, P., NGE, C. & HONG, N. M. 2011. Trust and credibility of urban youth on online news media. *Jurnal Komunikasi, Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 27(2), 97-120.

This paper investigates the online news consumption of young adults in Malaysia and their perceptions of online news credibility. The study is based on a face-to-face questionnaire survey of 1,000 students from universities in the Klang Valley. Results indicate that although most (95%) of the respondents owned a computer, the majority (94%) still relied on newspapers, TV and radio to obtain news. However, traditional media fell short of providing sufficient information for youth, so they sought out additional information from alternative news websites. These sources presented different viewpoints, were more critical, had more in-depth analysis and were relatively free from interference. All these factors contributed to youth's trust of the alternative news websites they read; however, the standout anomaly is this trust did not extend to blogs.

XIE, W. & ZHAO, Y. 2014. Is Seeing Believing? Comparing Media Credibility of Traditional and Online Media in China. *China Media Research*, 10(3), 64-73.

This study aims to evaluate media credibility in contemporary China and explore what factors influence people's perceptions of media credibility. By way of background, news media in China are grouped into two main categories: professional media and organ media. Professional media include Western media organisations such as *The New York Times* and CNN. Organ media include the 'party organs' (e.g., the official *People's Daily*, the official paper of the Chinese Communist Party, and the party-organ newspaper in each province or municipality) or the 'state organs' (e.g., the Chinese Central Television, or CCTV). The professional news media consist of two types of media exemplars among contemporary Chinese journalists. The first type includes Western media such as *The New York Times*, the BBC, and CNN and trans-border media organisations such as the politically neutral Phoenix TV in Hong Kong. The second type is the 'glocalised' exemplar such as *The Southern Weekly*, a newspaper with a clear liberal political orientation owned by the local government in Guangdong province. *The Southern Weekly* tested the limits of press freedom with its investigative reporting on official corruption, social problems and inequality; not surprisingly, it has been subjected to repeated crackdowns and censorship by Beijing and its local government owner, resulting in staff strikes and public protests. For this study on media credibility, journalism and mass communication students (n=376) enrolled at three major universities in Beijing data completed an in-class questionnaire. Overall, the professional media rated as much more credible than party-organ media, especially Phoenix TV, with the exception of the highly respected *Southern Weekly*. However, the respondents' low credibility ratings of the party-organ media did not translate to their online news counterparts. The two state news websites including the website of Xinhua News Agency, the official press agency of the People's Republic of China, received credibility ratings significantly higher than those of the traditional party-organ media organisations. The authors suggest that, compared to their traditional media counterparts, these new websites are subject to less political control by the Chinese government; therefore, they are more

informative and entertainment-oriented, and the content and information sources are more diversified. Meanwhile, respondents viewed the professional news websites as significantly less credible than the state news websites. The authors suggest two main reasons for this result: first, people tend to trust the 'quality control' of the established model of journalism more than the relatively new commercial online journalism; second, the Chinese government's regulation of the internet deprives commercial news websites of the authority to interview and publish original news, which further deprives them of the opportunity to establish their credibility through independent news gathering.

XU, J. 2013. Trust in Chinese state media: The influence of education, Internet, and government. *Journal of International Communication*, 19(1), 69-84.

This study investigates the levels of trust Chinese citizens place in their state media, and explores the extent to which this trust is influenced by education, online news exposure, and trust in government. The empirical component of the study is based on a series of data analyses of the China General Social Survey (CGSS) 2008, the national survey of urban and rural households that investigates the social structure and quality of life in China. Overall, this study found that Chinese people place a high level of trust in state media. However, levels of trust were lower for respondents with higher levels of education and online news exposure. There is a higher correlation between trust in state media and trust in government than there is between trust in state media and trust in experts and word-of-mouth communications. There is also a significant interaction between level of education and evaluation of government: the higher a person's level of education: as education level gets higher, the association between evaluation of media and evaluation of the government becomes weaker.

YAMAMOTO, M. & NAH, S. 2018. A Multilevel Examination of Local Newspaper Credibility. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 95(1), 76-95.

This study adopts a multilevel framework to determine whether perceived credibility of local newspapers is explained by individual- and community-level factors. Data were collected using a mail-out survey completed and returned by 1,154 residents in the south-eastern US. Results indicate that the variables which predict local newspaper credibility are use of newspapers, liberal ideology, social and political trust and living in a smaller, homogenous community. On the other hand, the variables which have a negative relationship with local newspaper credibility are conservative ideology and living in a larger, structurally pluralistic community.

YAMAMOTO, M., LEE, T.-T. & RAN, W. 2016. Media trust in a community context: A multilevel analysis of individual-and prefecture-level sources of media trust in Japan. *Communication Research*, 43(1), 131-154.

This study adopts a contextual framework by investigating the simultaneous effects of individual- and community-level factors on audiences' trust in the media. This study uses data from the Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSSs) to construct prefecture-level measures of structural pluralism and political heterogeneity to

explore macro-social sources of variations in media trust. The responses from the JGSS 2000 (n=2,893), 2001 (n=2,790), 2002 (n=2,953), 2003 (n=1,957), 2005 (n=2,023), 2006 (n=2,124), and 2008 (n=2,060) surveys were merged to construct a cumulative data file. Results indicate that structural pluralism had a negative effect on trust in TV and newspapers and overall trust in the media. Lower levels of media trust were recorded for residents of larger, more structurally pluralistic prefectures where diverse socio-cultural activities and relationships, as well as intergroup conflict, are more likely to occur. Respondents in politically heterogeneous prefectures also reported a lower level of trust in the media. The authors suggest this may be because political coverage in Japan tends to be limited in terms of representing diverse ideas and perspectives. The study concludes that structural pluralism and political heterogeneity have contextual effects on an individual's trust in the media; thus, the extent to which individuals trust or mistrust the media stem not only from their personal characteristics but also from their environments.

YUAN, E. 2011. News consumption across multiple media platforms: A repertoire approach. *Information, Communication & Society*, 14(7), 998-1016.

This study adopts a repertoire approach to news consumption to discern patterns of news consumers' use of multiple media types to access the news use. Data were collected using a random digit dialling telephone survey of a representative sample (n=1,004) of the three most advanced media markets in China – Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. The study found that the majority of respondents used more than one medium to keep up-to-date with the news. TV was the most popular choice for those users who relied on only one medium, and was found in all of the repertoires. Most respondents whose repertoires consisted of three media types used TV, newspapers and the internet. The level of users' interest in news and their access to a range of different media affected the size of their repertoires: for example, people who spend more time each week consuming news tend to have a larger, more varied repertoires. Perceptions of news source credibility influenced their choices of news media types, which resulted in various compositions of the repertoires. An exploratory factor analysis identifies both complementary and converging patterns of media use by the respondents. Finally, the difference in the internal structure of the repertoires created by individuals' choice of media is associated with diverging news interests among the news audience.

YUAN, Y. 2017. *Soft Power of International News Media: American Audiences' Perceptions of China's Country Image Mediated by Trust in News*. PhD Thesis. University of Maryland, College Park.

This study explores the concept of 'soft power' in the context of international news management and concepts that may influence soft power, such as trust in news. A total of 188 students completed an online experiment that employed a 2 (media source – Chinese vs American) x 2 (story valence – positive vs negative news) x 2 (repeated measures – pre- and post-exposure of perceived country image) factorial experiment. Stimulus stories were based on two primary criteria: attractiveness and understandable to the American audiences. The four versions

of the news story were evenly distributed among the participants: the positive story from a Chinese media source; the positive story from an American media source; the negative story from a Chinese media source; and the negative story from an American media source. Results indicate that independent of story version, mere exposure to a news story about China had a positive impact on American audiences' perception of China as a responsible country. However, after reading a news story about China, American audiences had a less positive image of China as a country with appealing cultural traditions. Variation of media source or positive/negative valence of story frames did not significantly change audience perceptions of the country's image. In terms of trust in the news, story valence made a significant difference in audiences' perceived trust in the news, but not in the originating source of that news. In addition, there was no significant interaction of story valence and source on perceived trust in the news. However, the correlation between trust in media source and trust in news was statically significant, but appeared to be attenuated by the fact that only about half of the participants could recall the media source. Participants place more trust in a news story about another country if that news is presented in a negative frame as opposed to a positive frame, regardless of its source. Thus, instead of focusing on positive stories about China, acknowledging some of China's problems could make its transnational journalism appear as more transparent and trustworthy. Finally, the study concluded positive correlations between media trust and most dimensions of country image.

ZHANG, H., ZHANG, X. & ZHOU, S. 2017. To Trust or Not to Trust: Characteristic-based and Process-Based Trust. *China Media Research*, 13(1), 29-41.

This study examines media use and credibility. Data were collected using a telephone survey of a random sample (n=611) of the general population in the southern Chinese city of Shenzhen. Results indicate that TV is still the most trusted medium overall, followed by newspapers and the internet. Women rated TV as the most credible news source, while men and the youngest group (under 19 years) rated newspapers most credible. Young adults aged 20-29 and those with higher education were most likely to give high credibility ratings to the internet. The more frequently a person uses Weibo, the Chinese micro-blogging site, the more credible they tend to find it. The study concludes that the frequency of media use is a strong predictor of trust.

## Perspectives from the Journalistic Field

FANCHER, M. 2009. The 21<sup>st</sup> Century Journalist's Creed: Earning Trust – Credibility Through Conversation. *Nieman Reports*, 63(3), 35-37.

Fancher argues that journalism faces a greater crisis than the breakdown of the century-old business model. He says journalistic practices and norms must evolve to reflect a new ethic of public trust which is earned through public engagement and the acceptance of the public as partners in the production of news. *Michael Fancher is former editor of The Seattle Times and fellow at the Reynolds Journalism Institute at the University of Missouri School of Journalism.*

GORDON, R. 2009. Social media: The ground shifts. *Nieman Reports*, 63(3), 7-9.

NewsMixer enables journalists to leverage new media technologies and increase their public engagement. The prototype for NewsMixer was developed by a group of Gordon's masters students and designed to build online communities based on 'conversations around news'. NewsMixer allows users to login with Facebook ID, cross-post comments to a home news website and Facebook, and write letters to the editor – each of which gets its own page and comments section, with the most insightful letters featured on the home page. NewsMixer has been well-received by the news industry and trialled by news websites such as [The Guardian](#). The software that powers it is available on an [open-source](#) basis. *Rich Gordon is a professor and director of digital innovation at the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University.*

HAGERTY, V. 2009. Reporting Relies on Questions: Now they Come from Readers. *Nieman Reports*, 63(3), 31-32.

MyReporter is an interactive feature on the *StarNews* website, where readers ask questions that are answered by *StarNews* journalists. Hagerty describes it as a 'help desk for the community'. Readers enthusiastically embraced MyReporter, while journalists struggled to balance the demands of the new 'help desk' with their core functions of reporting news and investigative journalism. In the final analysis, *StarNews* gained a clearer picture of its audience and their interests through MyReporter, which has helped shaped local news in a responsive way and focus newsroom resources on issues of greatest concern for the local community. *Vaughn Hagerty is web development manager and correspondent at StarNews in Wilmington, North Carolina and creator of [MyReporter.com](#), which won the 2009 Knight-Batten Citizen Media Award.*

HARRISON, A. 2017. [Can you trust the mainstream media?](#) *The Guardian*, 8 August 2017.

In this feature, Harrison investigates editorial failures that damaged public trust in the news media in the UK. The deadly Grenfell Tower fire in which 71 residents died emerged as one of the greatest sources of community anger. The collapse of local journalism in recent decades meant there was no watchdog to scrutinise and expose municipal mismanagement, which might have prevented the tragedy; having long ago lost touch with the local community, the news media missed the



story. After the fire, local residents came to believe that the news media were minimising the extent of the catastrophe to protect their fellow establishment elites, as one resident said: 'They're biased, absolutely. It's definitely about class, this would not have happened in the rich side of Notting Hill.' Another major source of working-class anger surrounds the British news media's portrayal of Jeremy Corbyn as unelectable – only to discover he had substantial community support and won 40% of the votes in the 2017 general election. Referring to a video that has become emblematic of the public's disillusionment with the media, Harrison quotes an activist giving a Sky News reporter both barrels: 'For two years, you've hounded and demonised Jeremy Corbyn. You said he was unelectable. You created that narrative and people believed your bullshit for a while. But what this election has done is shown that people are immune. They're wearing bulletproof vests to you and the other billionaires of the media owners and Rupert Murdoch and all the motherfuckers.' This level of toxic rage and alienation warrants committed, strategic action from a chastened news media eager to rebuild trust with its audience. As journalism professor Emily Bell explains: 'Trust isn't a given. It's earned. And if there's one basic truth that every storyteller understands, it's that if you want to be believed, don't tell – show.'

IMPRESSPRESS. 2017. [Without Trust, the Media Loses Legitimacy](#). *ImpressPress*, 21 September 2017.

In her presentation at IMPRESS in September 2017, author Rachel Botsman explained the global cultural shift from what she calls 'institutional trust' (based on hierarchies and organisations) to 'distributed trust' (based on people and their social networks). Botsman argues the problem with declining trust in the news media is one of legitimacy. Journalism might lose its cultural authority if people no longer trust the news media as an institution. Ironically, this loss of trust has seen people gravitate to less trustworthy alternatives of information. Botsman suggests journalists might increase trust by ensuring that their news organisations align their intentions with those of the public and maintain mechanisms to ensure accountability. News organisations can also increase trust by being clear and upfront with the public about their intentions and 'where they're coming from'. *Rachel Botsman is a lecturer at Oxford University's Saïd Business School and a world-renowned expert on technology and trust. Her most recent book is [Who Can You Trust?](#)*

JONES, A. S. 2009. An argument why journalists should not abandon objectivity. *Nieman Reports*, 63(3), 61-62.

Jones argues that acknowledging the reality that journalists have personal biases as private citizens does not mean that the journalistic norm of objectivity must or should be abandoned - 'the method is objective, not the journalist'. As an example, he says that an objective story might favour one side of a political argument, but it is nevertheless objective if it was based on an objective process of searching for relevant evidence and reporting what that evidence revealed. He further argues that 'good faith' reporting is what the public want and need from journalism. *Alex*

*Jones was Director of the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University from 2000-2015.*

**LSE TRUTH, TRUST AND TECHNOLOGY COMMISSION.** 2017. The London School of Economics and Political Science.

The LSE Truth, Trust and Technology Commission (T3) deals with the crisis in public information. The commission aims to identify trends, policies and strategic opportunities that provide ideas for solving the challenges caused by online misinformation. Its program consists of: holding consultative seminars with practitioners, experts, officials, researchers, activists, politicians, regulators and civil society representatives; gathering existing research and mapping initiatives by industry, government and other organisations; organising public events including a major conference; and publishing a final report in autumn 2018. This report will be used to create an international process that convenes regional and international processes to address these issues. The commission's key themes are journalism credibility, platform responsibility, media literacy and citizenship, and online political communication. While the first phase of the commission focuses on the UK, the wider European and North American dimensions are also considered. The commission's website provides copies of reports that contain summary discussions of two workshops held early in 2018, on [Journalism Credibility](#) (with practitioners, held at the LSE on 9 February 2018) and [Platform Responsibility](#) (also with practitioners, held at the LSE on 2 March 2018).

**LSE TRUTH, TRUST AND TECHNOLOGY COMMISSION.** 2018. [Journalism credibility workshop: strategies to restore trust](#). Report on workshop held at the London School of Economics and Political Science, 9 February 2018.

This report contains a summary discussion of the LSE's workshop on restoring trust in the news media. Participants included experts from academia, civil society and the public and private sectors, as well as senior journalists and editors, policymakers and industry representatives. In terms of measuring the value of journalistic content, there was strong consensus that a new model of journalistic value is warranted. Metrics such as page views, time spent on a site and the number of interactions a piece of content generates on social media (all driven by the need for advertising revenue) do little to enhance the quality of journalism, address the crisis in public trust, and fight the growth of misinformation. One participant suggested a new model based on three criteria: accurate information about what is going on at the national and international level; increased local news coverage; and clear, evidenced-based analysis about social change. When the discussion turned to fact-checking, participants were generally sceptical about algorithmic or AI-based fact-checking, but some suggested that very basic fact-checking might be automated to free up resources for investigative and more demanding journalism. With respect to news consumers paying for content, some participants expressed concern that this could lead to further fragmentation and polarisation of news audiences, as well as a class system in which poorer, less-educated people – who already have lower levels of trust in the news media – are unable to afford quality journalism walled off as the preserve of society's elites.

Others were concerned that the need to cater to subscribers might have a chilling effect on editorial freedom and innovation. In terms of restoring trust, there was strong consensus that greater transparency is vital in creating and maintaining trust and (importantly for revenues) loyalty. This might include providing information on the sources who inform news stories, showcasing the news-gathering processes that journalists use to find and develop stories, and clearly distinguishing news content from comment and paid promotions. Participants were reluctant to support regulating the relationship between news publishers and platforms; there was greater support for using the Eight Trust Indicators developed by [The Trust Project](#) (though this suggestion was rejected in the subsequent commission workshop on platform responsibility). The workshop concluded with some key issues to consider going forward, including: the search for revenue models that ensure open access to high quality journalism; strategies to convince news organisations to commit to new transparency norms and practices; revisiting the issue of 'balance' and what it means for evidence-based journalism; and enabling audiences to feel empowered to act on the news.

MEADE, A. 2017. [Investigative reporting more vital than ever: NYT managing editor](#). *The Guardian*, 28 October 2017.

Delivering the Andrew Olle Media Lecture in Sydney, *The New York Times* managing editor Joseph Kahn explained how his newspaper successfully navigated the triple threat of digital disruption to its business model, the proliferation of fake news and relentless attacks from President Trump by concentrating on investigative journalism and resisting the temptation to become partisan. *The New York Times* has increased its investment in reporters and given them time to break major news stories such as those which exposed unchecked sexual harassment and resulted in the downfall of powerful public figures such as Bill O'Reilly and Harvey Weinstein. Kahn says the newspaper strives to continually improve the quality of its journalism and is now focused on cultivating a much larger national and global audience.

[NEWS INTEGRITY INITIATIVE](#). 2017. City University of New York School of Journalism. New York.

The News Integrity Initiative (NII) is a project of the Foundation for the CUNY Graduate School of Journalism under the auspices of the School's Tow-Knight Center for Entrepreneurial Journalism. It provides funding to support efforts to connect journalists, technologists, academic institutions, non-profits and other organisations from around the world to foster informed and engaged communities, combat media manipulation and support inclusive, constructive and respectful civic discourse. Through grants, applied research, events, and other activities, the NII and its partners around the world work to build bridges between the public and journalists to foster collaboration and develop mutual respect and trust. This includes helping journalists learn new ways to listen to, empathise with, and reflect the needs and goals of the communities they serve. The NII supports work that meaningfully represents and reaches diverse communities and helps news organisations bring journalism to the public where they are, in conversations on

many platforms. The NII examines new ways to achieve news literacy, broadly defined, and investigate the roots of trust and mistrust in news, as well as the influence and impact of manipulation and misinformation on the public conversation. The NII also aims to extend the longstanding work of the Tow-Knight Center for Entrepreneurial Journalism, to build bridges between platforms and publishers, and encourage and support collaboration in service of the public and of journalism.

ROSENBERG, S. 2009. Closing the Credibility Gap: Web users have developed a set of tools for deciding what to trust online, and now journalists can learn from them. *Nieman Reports*, 63(3), 44-46.

Rosenberg gives an account of how a credibility divide opened up between journalists working in the traditional news media and journalists who primarily operate online. While online journalists developed techniques for checking the veracity of breaking news and other information found on the internet, based on interactivity and public fact-checking, journalists in the traditional news media remained unaware of these techniques and hence were repeatedly duped by internet hoaxes and errors. Rosenberg argues that these are failures of journalistic process, not failures of the internet. The new anarchic online environment allows misinformation to spread quickly – and also enables users to quickly debunk it. Rosenberg challenges ‘traditional’ journalists to stop scapegoating the internet and learn the requisite methods of checking the veracity of information they source online. These techniques include: checking a web page’s links to primary sources; taking time to read a blogger’s backlog which reveals background and biases; and taking the time to read a Wikipedia page’s ‘discussions’ and ‘history’ which shows disagreements and changes to information. Rosenberg further asserts that online journalists and bloggers are also ahead of the curve with respect to openness and transparency – noting that news organisations have been slow to provide journalist profiles, reluctant to shift from the mind-set of producing a finished product, and unwilling or unable to transform their comments sections (which mostly function to allow readers to vent) to create forums that enable collaboration between journalists and readers. *Scott Rosenberg is a former newspaper journalist, co-founder of [Salon.com](#) and author of [Say Everything: How Blogging Began, What It’s Becoming, and Why It Matters](#). He was awarded a Knight News Challenge grant for his project, [MediaBugs](#), an online service for correcting errors and problems in media coverage.*

SKOLER, M. 2009. Why the news media became irrelevant – and how social media can help. *Nieman Reports*, 63(3), 38-40.

Skoler argues that newspapers lost the trust of their audiences in the process of business rationalisation based on consolidation and syndication. This process marginalised local news and weakened the connection between newspapers and local communities. People had to turn to other sources to stay informed, mainly in the form of social networks of friends and family either by word-of-mouth or through Twitter, Facebook, forwarded news articles and blogs. Skoler says that while social networks do not do journalism, they demonstrate a new culture that shows how

news organisations must change to be more relevant. *Michael Skoler is a former fellow at the Reynolds Journalism Institute at the University of Missouri School of Journalism and former president of Louisville Public Media.*

**THE TRUST PROJECT.** 2017. Markkula Center for Applied Ethics, Santa Clara University.

The Trust Project is an international consortium of more than 75 news organisations that have collectively developed a set of transparency standards designed to instil greater public trust in the journalism they produce. [The Trust Project was launched in November 2017](#), emphasising eight core Trust Indicators: Best Practices; Author Expertise; Article Type; Citations and References; Methods; Locally Sourced; Diverse Voices; and Actionable Feedback. Trust Indicators now appear on the websites of participating news organisations, with machine-readable signals embedded in the article and site code; this provides the first standardised technical language for search engines and platforms - which have become important news distributors – to assess the quality of news items. Google, Facebook, Bing and Twitter have all agreed to use the Trust Indicators in an effort to preference quality news for their users.

VINER, K. 2017. [A mission for journalism in a time of crisis](#). *The Guardian*, 16 November 2017.

In this rousing call to arms, *The Guardian's* editor-in-chief sets the course through a treacherous media landscape blighted by the wreckage of business models lost to digital disruption, escalating inequality breeding contempt for the political and economic order, and plummeting public trust in key social institutions including the news media. Viner's survival strategy for *The Guardian* plays down technological solutions in favour of doubling down on the paper's illustrious history as the voice of the people and reinforcing its mission to hold power to account, uphold liberal values and champion the public interest. She warns that remoteness from the audience is the real enemy and says the paper's future rests on (re)building public trust through a committed relationship with readers – in which journalists intimately understand people's lived experiences and share a sense of purpose in breaking the stories that matter most to them. Viner boils down the strategic plan to five guiding principles: to develop ideas that help improve the world, not just critique it; to collaborate with readers and others to have greater impact; to operationalise diversity so a richer journalism can be produced by a more representative newsroom; to always engage in meaningful work; and to report fairly on people as well as power. Beneath the spirited tone of this piece, there is an undercurrent of contrition, soul-searching and lessons learned owing to a series of damaging editorial missteps earlier in the year (cf. Harrison 2017).