

**INTERLOPER MEDIA:**  
**JOURNALISM'S REACTIONS TO THE RISE OF WIKILEAKS**

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To my parents,  
for their endless support.

and to JT & Dot, who I think would have liked to have seen this.



## ABSTRACT:

This thesis explores journalism through its reactions to change. Adopting field theory and approaching journalism as a profession, it explores the ways journalism enforces its self-perceived identity criteria and societal primacy along in-group/out-group divisions. This involves promoting an idealised picture of journalism that also marginalises new media entities that claim belonging, distances the challenge they present, and bars entry to the journalistic field.

At the vanguard of this in-group/out-group dynamic is WikiLeaks. WikiLeaks confronts traditional concepts of journalism first by claiming to be journalism, second by adopting its idealised roles, and third by antagonising journalism's boundaries. While unique in its methods, and iconoclastic in its identity, WikiLeaks serves as a paragon of *interloper media* in its out-sized claims of journalistic belonging, and its wholly unfamiliar approach.

Through discourse analysis of more than 1,200 news texts referring to WikiLeaks and Julian Assange in the *Guardian* as well as the *New York Times*, a concept of *interloper media* is built to define new media entities that claim to be journalism. With further analysis of documentaries, books, lectures, and other media discourses, alongside expert interviews, this thesis introduces *interloper media reactions* as a unique boundary-building process interwoven in overt and covert discourses of belonging to reinforce journalism's in-group/out-group construct. In the latter chapters these concepts are developed beyond reactions to WikiLeaks to broaden the *interloper* category to blogs and new media, and to differentiate *interloper media reactions* from journalistic boundary maintenance.

Finally, in its conclusion, this thesis revisits traditional concepts of journalism to propose a new conceptualisation of journalism through a multi-sphere model. This model takes into account *interloper media* and their performance of journalism, and puts forward an idea of journalism that reflects modern shifting media dynamics, defining journalism with flexibility and utility for past, current, and future media actors.



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## TIMELINES, DIAGRAMS & FIGURES

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### TIMELINE

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# 1.0 INTRODUCTION

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Saki's 'The Interlopers' tells a fictional tale of two men who meet one night in the wooded hunting grounds their families have long-fought over (Munro 1969).<sup>1</sup> That night's conflict is part of a generations-long feud over contested ownership of the land, with each man more certain than the other that the land is rightly his. Of the two, one holds the legal deeds and rights and his ownership has been ordained by law, the other persists in his and his family's claims to belong, having "never acquiesced in the judgment of the courts" (ibid.). More than merely antagonistic, the claims of belonging and unyielding pursuit of recognition frame the antagonist's identity through contrasting his claims against those of the legally ordained landowner. Saki's tale of claims and counter claims of land ownership provides a useful allegory for understanding discourses of journalism, journalism facing *interloper media*, and claims of journalistic identity.

Wolfgang Donsbach describes the loose way in which journalism is defined succinctly as: "I know it when I see it" (Donsbach 2010: 38). To this, he adds:

There is no other profession in our modern societies where the gap between its undisputed importance for the whole of society and the perception of its borders, structures and competencies is so large. (ibid.)

With journalism defined by loose and abstract boundaries – that which we know when we see it – and known as much for its societal importance as for the gap between its definition and its recognition, WikiLeaks' emergence and its claims of being journalism would seem unproblematic. To the contrary, WikiLeaks' entrée into the media landscape has presented as a challenge to journalism's primacy, its identity, and its

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<sup>1</sup> Saki is the pen name for British author Hector Hugh Munro.

authority over its definitions and its normative ideals, and this is reflected in the way news texts portray the work of traditional journalism and of WikiLeaks. This thesis will explore these very concepts, weighing them as they are communicated in the discourses of news texts reacting to WikiLeaks' claims of belonging embedded within traditional journalism texts.

In the online context, and as news media have faced change after change, WikiLeaks joins a range of new media entities that embrace journalism's normative tenets. Espousing such norms and ideals as being a watchdog, serving a public interest, acting with social responsibility, and holding power to account, WikiLeaks openly identifies as journalism, while simultaneously challenging the traditional exclusivity that journalistic actors have associated with their field; WikiLeaks is presented as a member of an out-group trying to gain entry into an in-group of traditional journalists:<sup>2</sup>

Better scrutiny leads to reduced corruption and stronger democracies in all society's institutions, including government, corporations and other organisations. A healthy, vibrant and inquisitive journalistic media plays a vital role in achieving these goals. We are part of that media. (WikiLeaks 2014)

For journalism, the claims of WikiLeaks as within a field of journalism comes amid crises of public perception amid scandal (Carlson 2013), and at a time when traditional journalism continues to try and define its societal space in the face of online changes.<sup>3</sup> For both WikiLeaks and journalistic media, this is communicated through identity discourses within their texts; discourses that reify an idea of journalism as something

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<sup>2</sup> The basis for these points as 'journalistic norms' is detailed fully in the Literature Review (Chapter 2.0), but can be found in a range of research exploring the norms and values of journalism in a western context, including: Hanitzsch (2007, 2011), Siebert, et al. (1956); also in Donsbach (2010), as well as in Carlyle (1908) and Hampton (2010), exploring journalism as a 'Fourth Estate'.

<sup>3</sup> While 'societal space' can be seen through the prism of Field Theory, and this is adopted in this thesis and its work, the concept of journalism as a 'Fourth Estate' put forward by Carlyle (1908) among others (Hanitzsch 2007) posits journalism as a separate, autonomous, pillar of society necessary for its orderly function.

integral and key to modern societies, a ‘Fourth Estate’ (Carlyle 1908). This lauding of journalism as idealised, “noble” as Dale Jacquette writes (2010: 214), or as Mark Hampton writes, this idealised – reified – picture of journalism is put forward, absent critique, as “a vision to which journalists often aspire” (2010: 10). This thesis draws on this idealised image of what journalism is as it is articulated by journalists and within journalistic texts, projected outwardly in news texts as an embodiment of the journalistic ideal, and enabled to define the boundaries against *interloper* claims.

To Hampton’s (2010) point, the claims made by WikiLeaks and *interlopers* reveal cracks in journalism’s primacy over a distinct societal place; a space that had consolidated as it had gone relatively unchallenged:

The rise of professionalism reflected the intentions of occupations to demarcate boundaries vis-à-vis others that claimed to be experts in the same field. Journalism, instead, didn’t have such competition. No other occupation or consolidated profession pretended to be in the same business as journalism. Such absence of competition somewhat protected journalism from potential challenges. (Waisbord 2013: 139-140)

However, in modern media dynamics, this has changed. WikiLeaks is able to claim journalistic identity because, despite a lack of previous challenges, and due to the space between the ways we understand journalism and the ways we define it (Donsbach 2010: 38), a range of emerging actors have emerged claiming to perform journalistic roles nowadays. This pushes back against a profession that had consolidated to the point of inherence, as well as the reification that traditional journalistic actors have adopted; a result of their “undisputed importance” (Donsbach 2010: 38, cf. Jacquette 2010) society associates with their work. In the discourses of WikiLeaks and traditional journalistic actors reacting to one another, this interplay reflects Saki’s tale, and we can liken traditional journalism to the protagonist who has long held the hunting land, with the claims of WikiLeaks and *interloper media*, the antagonist, refusing to acquiesce to that

judgment and continuing to claim a place in the hunting land. For this thesis, this emerges discursively as a challenge of a traditional identity between one set of news media which can be perceived as a discrete set of individual actors and processes within society, separate from emerging media actors which do not reflect the same history, traditions, or practices, including WikiLeaks.

With a void between societal acknowledgment of journalism's importance and its defining characteristics, WikiLeaks has been able to articulate belonging by identifying how its work aligns with traditional journalistic norms. Publicly claiming to belong to something familiar, journalism, while appearing utterly unfamiliar, WikiLeaks has held a role that at once antagonises the traditional understanding of journalism, while expressing adherence to journalistic ideals and belonging. This thesis explores the tensions around WikiLeaks' emergence as it manifests in news discourses that refer to WikiLeaks and Julian Assange. It will parse news texts for utterances of journalistic identity elements and for the ways discourses within news texts reflect understanding of journalistic belonging. Further, it will seek to understand any contestation over what constitutes journalism as it appears in news texts, and where reactions to WikiLeaks foreground the role of traditional ideals in presenting an idea of what journalism *is*, as well as the manner in which WikiLeaks challenges those normative dimensions. In short, this thesis unpacks concepts of an idea of journalism as an outwardly projected identity in the face of challenges by new media actors who claim the same identity. However, negotiating that contestation and making sense of its facets remains complex.

This thesis embraces that complexity for the challenges it presents to existing concepts of journalism within both the field of journalism and within journalism studies, as well



as the contributions these approaches to journalism and journalism studies lend to understanding journalistic identity facing change. For developing a means to assess these elements within discourses of news texts, this thesis posits a concept of *interloper media* that will be developed and tested in the empirical work so the nuances of changing dynamics can be better understood.

In this introduction, the key dynamics of this research will be outlined, including:

- The research agenda and the research questions asked,
- The dynamics of WikiLeaks' claims of journalistic belonging, and of reactions to those claims
- An overview of WikiLeaks' origins and WikiLeaks as a news story
- Relevant research areas to establish the foundation for this study
- Key research dynamics developed in the chapters that follow
- Aspects of researcher positionality and reflexivity that have underpinned the development of this research, including the origins of this research project
- A description of parallel publications that have come out of and alongside this work

This thesis endeavours to add to our understandings of journalistic identity as it is expressed in news texts and to better understand how journalism as a field articulates its identity when confronted by new entities claiming belonging. It also looks to advance understanding of the ways journalistic boundaries are communicated, and does so in the aim of broadening our understanding of what the journalistic field, journalistic identity, and discursive boundary building might incorporate. This chapter lays out the aims of this PhD thesis, introducing its theoretical approach to the journalistic field, journalistic identity, the rationale for approaching the discourses of journalism texts for markers of that identity, and an understanding of the tension around that identity evident in WikiLeaks' claims of belonging to the journalistic field.

From the entrance of Julian Assange and WikiLeaks into the media environment to the rise of WikiLeaks as its own news story, Julian Assange's ardent claims of being a journalist and of WikiLeaks' embracing journalistic ideals have underscored a debate over what qualifies as journalism in the context of online mediated communication. Initially, the term *interloper media* merely describes the interloping nature of WikiLeaks' claims of journalistic belonging; the exact nuances and texture of that dynamic will be built through the analysis within this work. To understand those aspects, this thesis goes on to illuminate how the emergence of WikiLeaks and the reactions to its emergence fit more broadly into understandings of the changes facing journalism, adding to a body of work within journalism studies that seeks to understand change and journalistic identity. It maps that change over time, assessing both explicit discourses of WikiLeaks vis-à-vis journalism and those subtle, covert, discourses interwoven in news texts to drive its empirical analysis. From that basis, this work concludes by contributing new models of conceptualising journalism that seek a better appropriation of the journalistic landscape WikiLeaks has emerged into, while reflecting the dynamics of both change and challenge of traditional journalistic tenets posed by new media actors.

Conceptually, this work begins from the broad understanding that there is a traditional sense of journalism that has long been seen and accepted by society: the 'ordained' journalism profession, and that this sense of journalism is expressed outwardly in news texts.<sup>4</sup> Expanded on in the Literature Review (Chapter 2.0) that follows, this is expressed as those individuals and entities whose journalistic work adopts the values of social responsibility, being a watchdog, in the public interest, while adding value to

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<sup>4</sup> Referring back to Saki's dispute between the ordained landowner and the interloper.

information (Hanitzsch 2011). This sense of journalism reflects the way journalists and others within society view the journalistic field (Bourdieu 2005) as integral to the functioning of society (Donsbach 2010), and as such, reflects the way journalists and journalistic media have been granted the protections of the courts, given access to information as a necessary balance on those in power as it stands prepared to expose faults, and lauded for communication in the public interest.<sup>5</sup> This is the ‘noble’ idealised journalism we might call the Fourth Estate (Carlyle 1908, Hampton 2010, Jacquette 2010), and as the journalism profession, a profession that has carved its exclusivity as a distinct field in a society composed of fields by foregrounding unique dimensions of its work, articulating a unique societal role, and establishing its distinctiveness against other societal actors.<sup>6</sup> All of this while eschewing formal professional licensure, regulatory structures, or codified rules of belonging. In this way, the journalism profession can be understood better as a field which, to preserve its belonging and its functions, articulates its criteria through amplifying and projecting outwardly its unique societal role, its tenets of belonging, and the boundaries of its societal space. To that field and those functions, WikiLeaks has also claimed belonging. In the ‘Interloper’ analogy, WikiLeaks presents itself as the antagonist yet to acquiesce to the judgements that it does not have a claim of journalistic ownership, asserting its belonging within the journalistic field; the long-contested hunting grounds of Saki’s tale.

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<sup>5</sup> Expanded on in Chapter 2.0, Section 2.2.

<sup>6</sup> These points are elaborated on in Chapter 2.0, Sections 2.1 and 2.2.

### 1.0.1 WIKILEAKS AS JOURNALISM: POSTURING OR POSITIONING?

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“We are part of that media”, WikiLeaks asserts. “Our goal is to bring important news and information to the public” (WikiLeaks 2014). Since its beginnings, and prominently since 2010, WikiLeaks has continuously described its work as journalism, has adopted the same terminology as traditional journalism, including language that has traditionally reinforced the journalistic field as a “healthy, vibrant and inquisitive journalistic media” (WikiLeaks 2014).<sup>7</sup> It does this intentionally, and it does so assertively. However, WikiLeaks also presents an obvious challenge to extant concepts of journalism as both its methods and its media are decidedly unfamiliar. It offers a “new model” (WikiLeaks 2014) that, in deference to traditional journalistic ideals, also antagonises the status quo. WikiLeaks heralds its new approach in contrast to the in-group’s use of selective information – through news-source dynamics or journalistic gatekeeping functions – noting it does not “hoard” information but reveals all (WikiLeaks 2014). While it sees its differences as an improvement, rather than a divergence, this thesis will argue that the traditional in-group of journalism does not widely accept its belonging. The way this disagreement has played out will also be shown as reflective of dynamics, conceptualisations, and understandings facing journalism in a modern era, and how new actors who mediate information differently challenge traditional journalism’s primacy. This thesis attempts to unravel those dynamics represented by discourses that react to WikiLeaks’ claims for how they shed light on an idea of journalism being outwardly projected as well as how competing claims of journalistic belonging either fit or challenge such projections.

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<sup>7</sup> This will be noted throughout this thesis, and is clear at the WikiLeaks.org/About page cited as (WikiLeaks 2014), and accessible at: <http://wikileaks.org/About.html>

In its focus on journalistic identity and belonging, this research is also a study of tension and power: tension between those ‘ordained’ by history, traditions and norms, societal acceptance, and legal standing as ‘journalism’, and those emerging entities that also claim journalistic belonging, and power manifest in traditional journalism’s primacy over determining what information becomes news, its relative institutionalisation in societies, and its control over journalistic belonging. It is at this point, as the tension over journalistic belonging meets the power to enforce such belonging, where reactions to WikiLeaks are illustrative and where in-group/out-group dynamics come to the foreground.

WikiLeaks’ claims of being journalism, and traditional journalism’s reaction to them, can be outlined in three broad strokes. First, in an April 2010 profile in the *New York Times*, Assange’s work as journalism is framed as *his* categorisation: “Mr. Assange considered himself both a journalist and an advocate” (NY10)<sup>8</sup>. Second, as coverage of WikiLeaks continues, its claims of being ‘journalism’ are mostly referenced when they can be further minimalised as claims, noting how Assange has, “portrayed himself as a journalist, calling himself an editor” (NY33). Third, as WikiLeaks’ prominence in news coverage persists, labels shift further from journalistic identifiers such as ‘editor-in-chief’ or ‘journalist’ towards a non-journalistic lexicon, as when *Guardian* editor Alan Rusbridger describes Assange as: “the rather strange, unworldly Australian hacker” (Leigh and Harding 2011: 2).

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<sup>8</sup> NY10 refers to *New York Times* article 10, which is coded for ease of referencing in the discourse analysis within this thesis. Similarly references to G1, G2, G3, and so forth, refer to the list of *Guardian* articles analysed. Full lists of *Guardian* and *New York Times* articles can be found in Appendix A and B.

Rusbridger's use of this 'hacker' label is notable, but it is not unique; the term is never far from Assange or descriptions of WikiLeaks' work.<sup>9</sup> Such a label distances Assange's work from journalism towards something irresponsible, and tech-based, and clearly outside the in-group.<sup>10</sup> This presents a key element of the reaction to 'new' entities that claim journalistic belonging and one that allows WikiLeaks to be marginalised, its category reduced to an online dropbox, a safe conduit for whistleblowers, or as a hacker. WikiLeaks does not dismiss the value of its tech-savvy, however to define its role as uniquely technological provides a red herring for its communicative function; an identifiable lexicon that is employed to disqualify its work as something technological, possibly illegal, and limited to the 'novelty' of certain online activity; a prism of technology 'causing' changes in journalism through ascribing agency to technology (Örnebring 2010b). Such technological terminology allows the prevailing in-group to disassociate WikiLeaks and journalism by suggesting it is an intermediary.<sup>11</sup> This subjugates WikiLeaks' under prominent news-source dynamics, and restricts its contributions to that of a media actant that can only support journalistic actors.<sup>12</sup> Put differently, in a society built on unique and separate fields, journalism foregrounds its field not only as distinct from others in providing a unique communicative function, but also as distinguished, necessary and critical for society's functioning – the 'Fourth Estate' (Carlyle 1908, Hampton 2010).

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<sup>9</sup> See Section 5.3.9.

<sup>10</sup> See: Chapter 5.0, Section 5.3.5

<sup>11</sup> For other interlopers, such technological marginalisation is no lesser (See: Chapter 6.0).

<sup>12</sup> As will be discussed further in the Conclusion (Chapter 7.0), actants are perceived as supportive processes, systems, or individuals enabling actors to carry out their roles. In this comparison, WikiLeaks being treated as a source relegates it to an actant, non-speaking, role, disregarding agency, whereas journalism maintains an actor role imbued with agency (Greimas 1971, Latour 1994).

While such references subtly marginalise WikiLeaks' journalistic identity, direct questioning of Assange's journalistic bona fides provide further distancing, even as Assange rejects such inquiries forcefully. Asked in 2011 whether he is a journalist while appearing, via Skype, to a global editors' conference, Assange chirps back: "Of course I'm a goddamn journalist!" (AFP 2011). While illustrative and certainly colourful, Assange's reaction reflects how the ever-present challenge to WikiLeaks' claims of being journalism are both constant, and to Assange, counterintuitive and the questioning of his claims reflect what Benkler (2011: 315) reflects on as the vulnerability of traditional news media. They also raise questions over who determines such belonging, and identify the tension over concepts of journalism laid bare by the rise of WikiLeaks.

### *1.0.2 RESEARCH AGENDA AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS*

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Through analysis of claims and counter-claims of belonging embedded in the discourses of news texts, this thesis looks at how news discourses offer a public communication of journalism's self-perception. Through analysing articulations of what journalism is found in news texts, and gauging WikiLeaks' claims of journalistic belonging against those, this work addresses obtrusive questions about what journalism is in the context of WikiLeaks and change. The core research questions guiding this inquiry are:

**Q1:** What is journalism, and how is an idea of journalism communicated in news discourses?

**Q2:** Is WikiLeaks journalism?

**Q3:** Can traditional concepts of journalism be re-assessed to account for emerging news media dynamics?

From these overarching questions, specific questions operationalize the core agenda to enable analysis of the ways news discourses represent a sense of journalism held by the news media being analysed. In focusing on discursive reactions to WikiLeaks, these questions help inform analysis and help structure the research through which language can be understood as offering a window into the perceptions of the journalistic field vis-à-vis WikiLeaks. These research questions are:

**RQ1:** How do news texts refer to WikiLeaks and Julian Assange?

**RQ2:** How are traditional concepts of journalism and journalistic identity expressed within news texts?

**RQ3:** Do news texts referring to WikiLeaks and Julian Assange reflect on WikiLeaks' claims of journalistic belonging?

To answer these, this thesis will begin by theorising journalism as a societal construct and exploring dynamics of WikiLeaks within that context. Second, through analysing references to WikiLeaks and to Julian Assange found in traditional news texts and made by traditional journalists, the rise of WikiLeaks and its relation to journalism can be parsed against the way news texts discursively represent the journalistic field. Finally, by comparing these assessments to the changing dynamics of news media more broadly, the parameters of journalistic belonging can be unravelled and power dynamics that texture such concepts can be better understood. This will allow for a revisiting of traditional and staid concepts of journalism in the conclusion (Chapter 7.0).

This research goes beyond a study of reactions to WikiLeaks, or assessments of WikiLeaks vis-à-vis journalism, to unpack concepts of journalism and the tenuousness with which traditional journalism distinguishes itself from emerging new media entities. This thesis engages less with the claims of belonging made by Assange or by



WikiLeaks, rather focusing on how such claims challenge a profession of journalism, and unsettle the tenets of that profession in the face of changing media dynamics. Finally, it looks at the perceived threat posed by new media actors beyond WikiLeaks, and in that this is a thesis that looks at journalism as it faces change to suggest a re-conceptualisation of journalism that embraces change. It does so by explaining emerging entities through an initial concept of *interloper media*, making sense of reactions to their emergence by developing a concept of *interloper media reactions*, and finally articulates a multi-sphere conceptualisation of journalism to attend to these dynamics of change with greater utility for modern news media realities.

### 1.1 INTERLOPER MEDIA AND INTERLOPER MEDIA REACTIONS

To address how WikiLeaks' claims of journalistic belonging fit into a changing media environment, and traditional journalism's reaction to that change, the term of *interloper media* has been coined in this research and published in parallel in Eldridge (2014) and Eldridge (2013).<sup>13</sup> Building on the *interloper media* concept put forward here and in these publications, the discursive process of *interloper media reactions* is developed to describe the specific process of boundary work between traditional journalism and new media entities claiming journalistic belonging. In the first of these publications (Eldridge 2014), the *interloper media* concept is developed through analysis of reactions to WikiLeaks as a form of boundary work that differs from inward-looking boundary work that separate 'good' and 'bad' journalism within a traditional journalistic field. Through separating the inward focused boundary work of boundary maintenance from the outward-facing projections of journalistic identity in *interloper*

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<sup>13</sup>Both articles emerge out of the comparative discussion presented in Chapter 6.0.

*media reactions*, the perception of WikiLeaks' claims of journalistic belonging are developed a unique boundary-building process. This distinction is developed through a comparative analysis of discourses in the *Guardian* reacting to WikiLeaks and *Guardian* discourses reacting to the phone hacking scandal at the *News of The World*.

The concept of *interloper media* is broadened in Eldridge (2013)<sup>14</sup> by comparing discourses reacting to WikiLeaks to those reacting to political blogs in 2008, when blogs emerged as significant media actors in the coverage of the US presidential campaign.<sup>15</sup> This analysis expands the idea of *interloper media* beyond WikiLeaks, finding similarities in the discursive treatment of new entities that claim to be journalistic actors. The conceptualisation of *interloper media* argued here and in these articles evaluates those entities that openly proclaim their work as journalism for their claims, offers a more precise description of how these media claim journalistic belonging, and how their claims present as an 'interloping' step into the news media landscape, distinct from other new media actors which may not claim the same journalistic belonging. In other words, while *interloper media* are broadly encompassed by a category of 'new media', they are further defined by this expressed adoption of a journalistic identity, and by their adoption of journalistic ideals.<sup>16</sup>

Resisted by the traditional in-group, reactions to these *interloper media* are described through a process of *interloper media reactions*. While *interloper media reactions*, as a term, describes a boundary-building process, it differs from traditional processes of

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<sup>14</sup> Eldridge (2014) was published online-first (DOI: 10.1080/1461670x.2013.791077) in May 2013 and Eldridge (2013) was published in October 2013. The 2014 reference refers to the first article's print publication in *Journalism Studies* 15 (1): 1-16.

<sup>15</sup> Both of these articles build their analyses on the same methodological framework applied in this thesis and detailed in Chapter 4.0.

<sup>16</sup> The full text of both of these articles is included in Appendix D.

journalistic boundary maintenance in the manner, language, and specific dynamics employed distinguishing between the in-group and the *interloper* through language interwoven in both explicit and implicit discourses of what journalism ‘is’. This is further addressed in Chapter 6.0, and again in Eldridge (2014: 12). Extended beyond WikiLeaks, Eldridge (2013) explores how this dynamic can be mapped onto references to political blogs as they gained prominence in 2008, and shows how the concepts of *interloper media* and *interloper media reactions* can extend beyond treatment of WikiLeaks. The *interloper media* concept provides an analytical prism to address the research questions at the core of this thesis, and its approach to understanding new media as confronting journalism’s primacy, and provide a specific means to discuss how entities at the nexus of traditional and new journalistic media emerge and how the journalistic in-group addresses their emergence.

As a result perhaps of their digital nature or their radical forms of communication and information gathering, the work of *interloper media* is often framed through the language of the online technology that enables their work. For WikiLeaks, this comes in news texts that emphasises the technological nature of its leaking mechanisms, highlight the cryptographic security they, or as with Rusbridger’s comments above, reference Assange’s history with hacking. Similar dynamics emerge with news blogs, which were first dismissed as the work of amateurs or bloviating partisans, and are described using language of amateurism, lack of expertise, and rumour mongering (Eldridge 2013). In each case, such outlets can be understood through the definition of *interloper media*:

**INTERLOPER MEDIA:**

EMERGING ONLINE MEDIA ENTITIES NOT CLASSICALLY DEFINED AS JOURNALISM THAT EXPLICITLY OR IMPLICITLY CLAIM JOURNALISTIC BELONGING.

Building off of *interloper media*, the concept of *interloper media reactions* describes the process of discursive interaction and boundary building processes of in-group/out-group differentiation within news texts that refer to *interloper media* actors. In this process, news discourses reinforce boundaries within traditional news texts by discursively marginalising *interlopers* to a journalistic out-group – grouping *interlopers* with hackers, bloggers, commenters on social media, or other vague groupings of ‘new media’ – while simultaneously elevating the in-group profession’s own work – using a lexicon of the Fourth Estate, watchdog, and public interest ideals. These discourses make clear how *interloper media reactions* differs from other boundary work which relies more explicitly on the journalistic metadiscourse – journalism talking about journalism – where the concept of journalism is being discussed (Bishop 1999; Carlson 2013). *Interloper media reactions* look at these and any further reference to *interloper media* to explore the subtle references to traditional ideals of journalism woven in news texts. Combined, these discourses foreground a self-professed sense of journalistic belonging in contrast to *interloper media* and can be defined as:

**INTERLOPER MEDIA REACTIONS:**

PROTRACTED BOUNDARY BUILDING EXPRESSED IN OVERT AND COVERT DISCOURSES BY A PERCEIVED IN-GROUP OF JOURNALISM IN RESPONSE TO EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT CLAIMS OF BELONGING. PORTRAYS INTERLOPER MEDIA AS AN OUT-GROUP OF NON-JOURNALISM.

*Interloper media* and *interloper media reactions* take their name from Saki’s allegorical tale, which offers a metaphor to describe the way new entities claim membership of a traditional journalistic field. Purposefully developed to apply to any emerging media that confront journalism’s in-group boundaries, the *interloper* concept allows for the re-conceptualising of journalism under a multi-sphere model, advanced in the final chapter of this thesis and outlined below. This acknowledges the traditional societal functions of

journalism and its ideals and the way these are held up as a criteria of ‘being’ journalism, but does so while revisiting narrow concepts of the journalistic field that might preclude emerging entities towards a concept of journalism that addresses the journalistic role these entities fulfil:<sup>17</sup>

**A MULTI-SPHERE MODEL OF JOURNALISM:**

The label ‘Journalism’ is applied to those in society who embrace the criteria of journalistic belonging around a quartet of information-driven, publicly-interested, value-adding, and watchdog/’Fourth Estate’ criteria, with a necessary intention and identity of performing a journalistic act, alongside independent, mediated, public communication.

Why do categorisations like *interloper media* and *interloper media reactions* matter? For one, WikiLeaks’ own prominence and its claims of belonging and tacit challenges to the exclusivity of journalism have forced a conversation over what defines journalism in an era of change and amid challenges to the traditional definers of journalism. By locating these discourses in news texts, *interloper* concepts reveal how journalism is engaged in an outward-facing conversation of its societal role that takes place in a public arena (Carlson 2013). This conversation projects a dominant definition of journalism by articulating the parameters of journalistic belonging, subsequently marginalising *interlopers*. Key to the importance and development of these concepts is the awareness that there is something journalistic to what WikiLeaks has done,<sup>18</sup> found in the public interest aspect of WikiLeaks’ work acknowledged by many of the journalists involved (See Chapter 4.0), in WikiLeaks being awarded several journalistic honours (including from Amnesty International and the Walkley foundation in Australia), the revelatory function of its content (such as its ability to reveal the

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<sup>17</sup> This categorisation purposefully encompasses a range of new media entities that claim to be journalism, developed further in Chapter 6.0. Chapter 7.0 further explores how this concept can be developed to re-evaluate concepts of journalism.

<sup>18</sup> This is explored further in the responses in interviews found in Chapter 4.0.

‘Collateral Murder’ source footage Reuters had been seeking), all contribute to the perception of WikiLeaks as impinging on journalism’s claims of societal exclusivity, and the dynamics of *interloper media*.

To Yochai Benkler, there is an anxiety towards online entities; an anxiety reflected in tenuous distinctions drawn between journalism and *interlopers* like WikiLeaks which:<sup>19</sup>

forces us to confront the fact that the members of the networked fourth estate turn out to be both more susceptible to new forms of attack than those of the old, and to possess different sources of resilience in the face of these attacks (Benkler 2011: 311).

This susceptibility can be further found in the nature of WikiLeaks’ rise and its unique dimensions. Benkler goes on to describe the response to WikiLeaks “as an effort by older media to preserve their own identity against the perceived threat posed by the new, networked model” (2011: 315). In this, both the challenge to in-group primacy made by emerging *interlopers* and the unsettled definitions of traditional journalism underpin an anxiety about change towards that which is ‘new’. In its confrontation of the primacy of traditional concepts of journalism, WikiLeaks’ most prominent work was not found under a lone WikiLeaks masthead. Instead, attention to its work came in the pages and websites of traditional news media, work for which both the *interloper* and the traditional garnered praise. Add to this WikiLeaks’ opaque history, its technological underpinnings, and its enigmatic organisational structure, and WikiLeaks does not seem like a journalism organisation in any traditional sense. To that point, Assange and WikiLeaks would likely not disagree, and WikiLeaks’ ‘About’ page

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<sup>19</sup>Yochai Benkler is listed on the WikiLeaks website as a commentator whose views support WikiLeaks’ claims, as is John Pilger, cited elsewhere in this research (WikiLeaks 2012), and Glenn Greenwald (Greenwald 2013), also discussed further. Benkler, in testimony at the Chelsea (née Bradley) Manning trial clarified that he has not provided support in any structured or agreed-upon way, and rather his listing as a supporter is based on his research findings (Benkler 2013a). For the sake of this research, being seen as a supporter of WikiLeaks’ claims from its perspective textures the in-group/out-group dynamics at play.

suggests as much: “WikiLeaks has provided a new model of journalism” (WikiLeaks 2014). In that new model, though, the question of what journalism is has been renewed and this becomes clear in reactions to WikiLeaks, including those that emphasise his falling out with journalists.<sup>20</sup>

While this work focuses narrowly on journalism, such anxious reactions are not unique to communicative media. The dynamics of *interloper media* explored in this thesis reflect broader societal structures which are, first, built on identity and differentiation, as Bourdieu (1984, 2005) and Luhmann (1977, 2000) establish, and second, reinforced through articulating sameness among individual field members and distinction between those fields that collectively represent society (Bourdieu 1991, 1994, Görke and Scholl 2006). For journalism, this is tied to the primacy and power of journalism’s communicative authority.

*Interloper* dynamics are but a microcosm of the ways fields within society change and the anxiety that accompanies that change. Such anxiety can be found whenever specialists perceive threats from new actors with alternative means of providing the same societal function. Samuel Huntington sees this as a condition of professions, and how change confronts the core definers of professions, identity and ideology:

The relation among power, professionalism, and ideology is a dynamic one, reflecting shifts in the relative power of groups, changing currents of opinion and thought, and varying threats to national security. (Huntington 1964: 95)

Such power dynamics enable societal structuration around professional ideologies and, for professions as varied as law, medicine, and the clergy, such stability allows the

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<sup>20</sup> This is identified by Luke Harding, Nick Davies, and John Burns in interviews for this thesis detailed in Chapter 4.0.

profession to preserve its control over unique societal roles. Even those professions that have no specific regulation or licensure rely on such unique ideologies, and a cordoned access to esoteric knowledge, which contribute to define their distinction in society (Hughes 1963: 655). And so, for professions that have grown comfortable in their roles and spaces, in-roads made by newcomers naturally provoke anxiety.

For Benkler, journalism's anxiety reflects a fear of losing its control over distinct knowledge and societal roles (2011: 391). Some of this is tied to technology, or more broadly to the means of producing communicative knowledge and the exclusive control of its membership as a *de facto* profession regulated not by licensure, but by the way journalists project and maintain their professional identity, also explored by Hughes (1963). Historically, this too can be found at moments of change, when new means of production and new actors step out to fulfil traditional roles. In facing such change, the fear of losing a specialist's distinction can be found in the reactions to those new actors that *also* purport to fulfil the profession's unique societal roles. Throughout reactions to *interloper media*, as but one case of this in society, the risk for journalism of losing its societal capital remains a constant undercurrent, one that long predates the emergence of online media. Similar trepidation can be found in the emergence of the steam press and the telegraph in Britain, their adoption coming alongside a shift towards a more professional class of journalists and style of journalism (Eldridge, *Forthcoming*, 2014). However, when the emergence of broadcast technologies began to impinge on news dynamics, particularly when the BBC was able to establish its role as a news broadcaster with a public service mandate, change was again realised; an open door that was walked through again, when news media shifted online (*ibid.*).



Barrington Moore, Jr. (1978) finds similar anxieties in the resistance of trade guilds in 1848 Germany to the changes confronting them. Tradesmen and specialist merchants facing change in the nineteenth century confronted this, and their reactions present a similar backlash (Moore 1978: 130). Looking at the development of what the guilds termed ‘Bönhasen’<sup>21</sup>, anxiety accompanied the emergence of artisans and manufacturers outside of traditional hierarchies and traditions. Performing the same roles and providing the same product as guild members, the reactions to Bönhasen built on a similar trepidation that has greeted *interlopers*, and as mass-produced materials became readily available, and esoteric knowledge less rare, trepidation grew. In a manner similar to *interloper media reactions*, the guilds’ reaction to change was built on invocations of the members’ integrity, and assaulted the Bönhasen for lacking the same:

The vehemence behind this opposition to intruders was much more than purely economic. Guild honor implied a sense of moral decency and purity, while the intruder carried an odor of pollution, and therefore of evil that had to be stamped out. (Moore 1978: 130)

Overlay these dynamics onto journalism’s reactions to WikiLeaks, and the specific anxieties of the unique societal sphere of journalism’s in-group are not only understandable, but journalism’s defensive responses can be seen as an effort to preserve professional primacy. While terms like ‘pollution’, which Moore identifies, are not found in discursive reactions to WikiLeaks, discourses do reinforce journalism’s primacy through its most idealised values and societal roles against the opaque and disruptive nature of WikiLeaks. Also, while Assange is not described as ‘odorous’, or ‘evil’, his work is cast in heavy scepticism, his personality critiqued and motives questioned. For the guilds Moore discusses and for the *interloper* dynamics of WikiLeaks addressed in this thesis, vehement opposition to change greeted both.

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<sup>21</sup> Translated by Moore as ‘ground rabbits’ and, alternatively, as ‘interlopers’ (Moore 1978: 130).

## 1.2 WIKILEAKS' BEGINNINGS

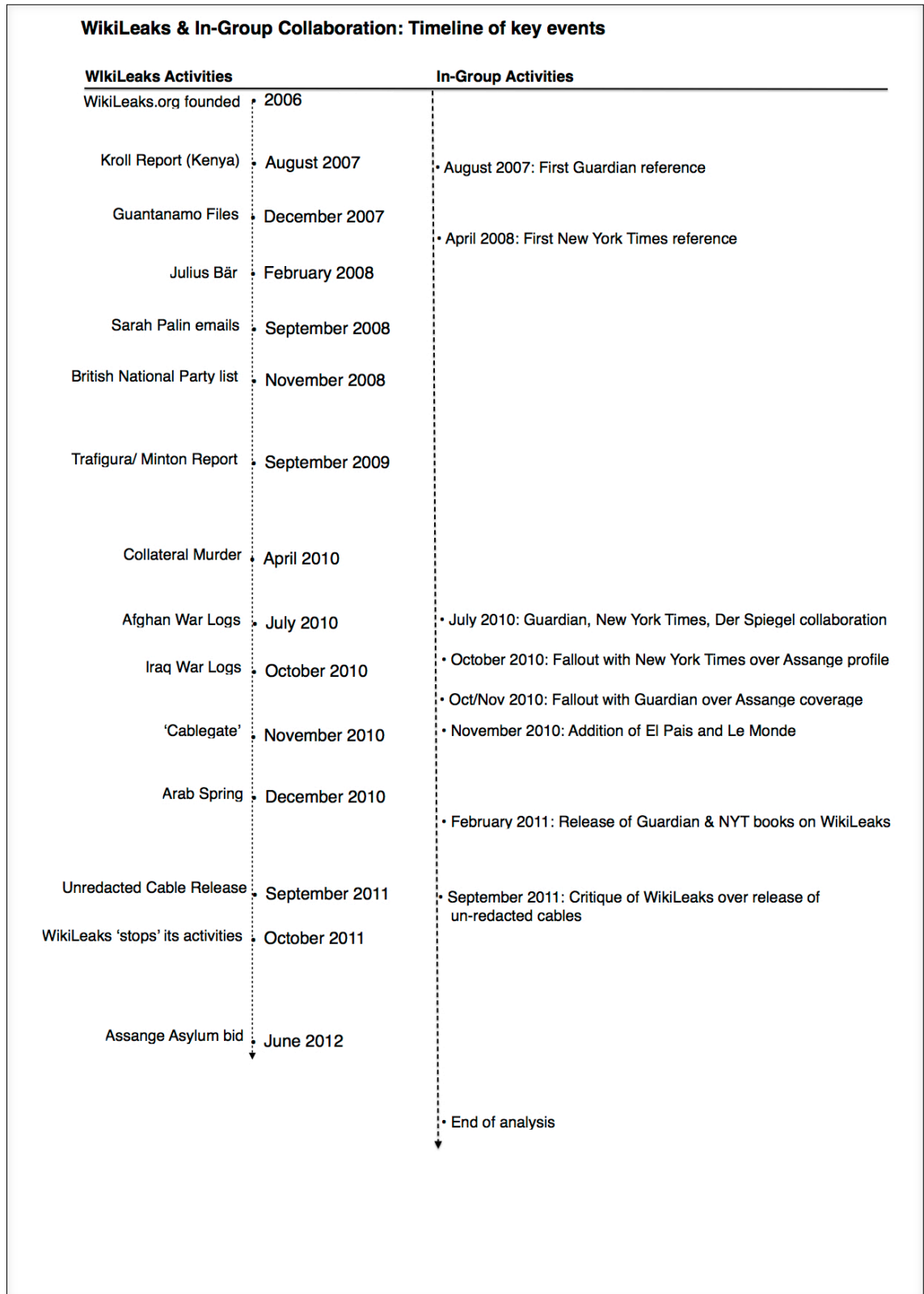
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The story of WikiLeaks varies depending on which of the often-discordant accounts you choose, or when that account was written or broadcast. This thesis builds on some of the more popular accounts, and particularly those mediated by newspapers and traditional outlets since those accounts reflect the in-group reaction to WikiLeaks' rise most strongly (See timeline on the following page). However, this work also draws on accounts from Julian Assange's unauthorised autobiography (2011)<sup>22</sup>, former WikiLeaks member Daniel Domscheit-Berg (2011), Charlie Beckett's book with former WikiLeaks member-turned *Guardian* journalist James Ball (2012), and both the book by *Guardian* journalists David Leigh and Luke Harding (2011), and the book spearheaded by the *New York Times* (2011). It also draws on documentaries by PBS (2011), SvT (2010), Channel 4 (2011), and magazine profiles such as by the *New Yorker's* Raffi Khatchadourian (2010) and in the *New York Review of Books* by Christian Caryl (2011). While outlining the main dynamics of WikiLeaks' emergence, this brief summary is expanded through analysis in chapters 4.0, 5.0 and 6.0.

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<sup>22</sup> Assange (2011) refers to the unauthorized autobiography of Julian Assange, which was published before he had given final approval, after which he sued Canongate, the publisher.

## WIKILEAKS TIMELINE



For the in-group, WikiLeaks' early years were relatively nonintrusive. While it released significant leaks on Scientology, bank malfeasance in Switzerland and Iceland, and

corrupt governments in Kenya, before 2010 it attracted only occasional notice and, when it did, the focus lasted a few days. This all changed with the release of the ‘Collateral Murder’ video on 5 April 2010 (WikiLeaks 2010). For the first time in its then three-year existence, WikiLeaks had gained prominent exposure. ‘Collateral Murder’ was the first major release of classified US military content, presented as a documentary-style video featuring the gunsight footage of a US Army helicopter in Iraq as it shot a van, killing several civilians including two Reuters journalists (Beckett and Ball 2012; Khatchadourian 2010). Along with attention, this brought significant public scrutiny to WikiLeaks and Assange (Allan 2013: 158), notably from the US government, predictably upset, and public scrutiny from news outlets including Reuters, which had sought the footage through traditional Freedom of Information requests.

Discourses of what defines journalism and where WikiLeaks fits in that concept also began to emerge publicly with the release of ‘Collateral Murder’ (NY10). This occurred for two reasons: First, ‘Collateral Murder’ signalled a departure from WikiLeaks’ previous practices of releasing unedited documents and, second, the public nature of the release and its focus garnered more attention than previous releases. While this prompted questions as to whether WikiLeaks could be considered journalism, for Assange this has always been a nonstarter and he has long seen his work as journalism (NY10). For others, his role was unclear and the release complicated that picture (Hendler 2010). With a documentary-style format, ‘Collateral Murder’ includes edited visuals and edited audio, done so for clarity and effect (Khatchadourian 2010), seen as adding to WikiLeaks’ journalistic claims. ‘Collateral Murder’ also includes investigative reporting from WikiLeaks-contracted journalists sent to Iraq to speak to

victims and families, supporting its bona fides.<sup>23</sup> The final version was released at a Washington, DC National Press Club event where Julian Assange's identity as the face of WikiLeaks was established (Beckett and Ball 2012: 42).<sup>24</sup> While WikiLeaks also made the raw video and audio footage available online, the video it produced marks a shift towards something aspiring to be journalism (Domscheit-Berg 2011: 162).

Through the prominence of 'Collateral Murder', its editorial production, and its emergence outside of collaborative arrangements, this was by most accounts a departure for WikiLeaks (Domscheit-Berg 2011: 154, Khatchadourian 2010, Thorsen, et al. 2013). In the earliest coverage of 'Collateral Murder', politicians accused WikiLeaks and Assange of supporting terrorism (Rahman 2010). In both negative and positive views, the prominence and attention that had eluded WikiLeaks in its early years arrived with 'Collateral Murder', and while it did not lead to a prolonged discussion of WikiLeaks and journalism on its own, it set out the parameters of that discourse when the collaborative publications with the *Guardian*, *Der Spiegel* and *New York Times* arrived.

'Collateral Murder' is also critical for the type of journalism it adopts, and its release contributes an idea of transience to the development of *interloper* concepts. Transience, in this case, refers to the way emerging entities can seem more or less journalistic under certain circumstances. 'Collateral Murder' provides an example of how new actors with new approaches to mediation possess the ability to report news-as-journalism where

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<sup>23</sup> According to Gavin MacFadyen (R5), interviewed for this research.

<sup>24</sup> Equating Assange with WikiLeaks is problematic to some, including Assange (2011), Beckett and Ball (2011) and Domscheit-Berg (2011), who describe the organisation as bigger than one man. However, Assange's 'celebrity' cannot be ignored as a catalyst for the devolved relationship between WikiLeaks and the newspapers they collaborated with (also problematic is the use of 'collaborate', as identified by Assange (2011) and by the newspapers he worked with).

other organisations had struggled, particularly because WikiLeaks relied on a technologically secure dropbox and willing whistleblowers rather than Freedom of Information requests or public means. Setting aside its alternative news gathering process, its editorial interventions with ‘Collateral Murder’ offers an instance where WikiLeaks produced something identifiably journalistic (Beckett and Ball 2012; Khatchadourian 2010). That this is achieved by bucking, rather than adopting, traditional journalistic dynamics (FOI requests), proves irksome to the traditional journalists when *interlopers* describe their work as performing those journalistic roles being neglected by that in-group (Beckett and Ball 2012: 87), and WikiLeaks’ transience between journalism and activism is further given as cause to discount their journalistic claims.<sup>25</sup> With the traditional in-group of journalism’s primacy as a legitimising authority on information and its position of power in society exposed in these moments, *interloper media* and *interloper media reactions* are all the more necessary to understand (Pilger 2011, Žižek 2011).

After ‘Collateral Murder’, the activities and interaction between traditional journalism organisations and WikiLeaks fed debates over what is and is not journalism. With the Afghan and Iraq War Logs, and later Cablegate, WikiLeaks was the focus of both inward and outward facing discourses of journalistic belonging (Beckett and Ball 2012: 68). WikiLeaks, for its part, continued to build its public presence thereafter, and in appearances at the TED festival (TED 2010) and in public and written statements, made the case that its work was journalism (G45). While these discussions were present during periods of limited collaborative activity, the in-group/out-group collaborations

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<sup>25</sup> For some, the amplified audio of ‘Collateral Murder’ and its selective editing eschewed objectivity to too great a degree to be journalistic (Beckett and Ball 2012; Domscheit-Berg 2011), while others have described WikiLeaks as ‘spear-carrying’ with ‘missionary zeal’ (See interview responses from *New York Times* reporter John Burns in Chapter 5.0).

placed WikiLeaks and the traditional media partners alongside each other, intensifying such debates (Channel 4 2011, Leigh and Harding 2011, Warner 2011). In many instances, these discussions highlight the roles and responsibilities that define what journalism is, often narrowly locating that definition within the profession embodied in traditional journalism.<sup>26</sup>

The work within this thesis shows these early discussions reoriented conversations about WikiLeaks and journalism to view WikiLeaks as an intermediary, and as a technological clearinghouse for the in-group to act on. However, there is a more textured debate within and around WikiLeaks in academic and news discourses, and through longitudinal analysis of coverage of WikiLeaks the tenor of these discourses can be mapped comparatively (Eldridge 2014, 2013). Chapter 4.0 focuses on these discussions in explicit, overt discourses of in-group/out-group belonging and Chapter 5.0 focuses on textual analysis of nuanced, covert discourses of in-group/out-group journalistic belonging. These outline how the unfolding collaborations and subsequent reactions portrayed WikiLeaks outside journalism's identity, how WikiLeaks was continuously framed as a technological phenomena, and how its antagonism and work as activist-oriented are used to marginalise WikiLeaks as a technological phenomena and grouped alongside other hacktivist groups (Ball 2012, Lindgren and Lundstrom 2011, Ludlow 2010).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The three pieces produced by the US broadcaster PBS, the Swedish broadcaster SvT, and the UK broadcaster Channel 4, provide a number of these accounts.

<sup>27</sup> Hacktivism, as a term, groups together an array of more-or-less legitimate groups and individuals who act online for political, moral, or social initiatives (Sauter 2013). Clear in Rusbridger's (Leigh and Harding 2011) use of the term in the quote above, when the media discuss WikiLeaks and Assange there is a curiosity about its online nature that is never far from the discussion. Often placed within the broad (and ill-defined) group of online activists labelled 'hacktivists', the term is slung across a range of computer-aided media entities, from those whose work appears similar, such as WikiLeaks (which claims a journalistic identity) and Cryptome.org (which does not),

The analysis within this thesis shows that, along with being an inarticulate categorisation of WikiLeaks, the use of the labels ‘hacker’ and ‘hacktivist’, marginalises WikiLeaks’ journalistic work (as noted above). While at moments its work might seem comparable with other ‘hacktivists’ for using technical skills as part of their political activity (Sauter 2013)<sup>28</sup>, such broad categorisation implicitly projects digital novelty, equates both with non-journalism, and suggests such entities could be either temporary or insincere. This diminishes WikiLeaks’ own claims of being journalism, as the ‘hacker’ and ‘hacktivist’ labels build marginalisation along technological attributes alone, rather than the substance of content or activities (Lindgren and Lundstrom 2011, Ludlow 2010, Sauter 2013).<sup>29</sup>

### 1.3 RESEARCH RATIONALE AND ORIGINS

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This thesis develops on a framework that first, focuses and substantiates that which we ‘seem to know’ as journalism<sup>30</sup> to then look for the expressions of a journalistic identity projected by the ‘ordained’ or in-group of journalism. This creates a focal point around

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alongside hacking collectives such as Anonymous and LulzSec. Placing these disparate groups within the same category suggests they are equally aligned within a hacktivist culture, and ignores critical differences (Lindgren and Lundstrom 2011, Ludlow 2010). These dynamics are further addressed in Chapters 4.0 and 5.0.

<sup>28</sup> This activity, and related areas of WikiLeaks legal activities online, are further explored by the UK cyberlaw blog Techno Llama, at: [technollama.co.uk/WikiLeaks](http://technollama.co.uk/WikiLeaks)

<sup>29</sup> With regard to journalism’s in-group/out-group dynamic, such classifications allow the in-group to frame WikiLeaks as an out-group member. However such groups identify their specific causes, Section 5.3.9 shows how the term ‘hacktivist’ is frequently used to separate and distance the individuals and organisations collectively, without nuance, and through language that delegitimizes their stated motives through distancing their activities (Van Dijk 1998a). Within the collaborative publications, newspaper discourses describing WikiLeaks as ‘hacktivist’ further emphasise distance from the in-group’s own sense of responsibility and transparent (ie: professional and legal) practices of news gathering, and draws the in-group/out-group boundary more strongly.

<sup>30</sup> Using Donsbach’s (2010: 38) argument.



which the exclusivity of journalism's in-group and profession can be better discussed when challenged by emerging and shifting entities. By mapping the assumed status of journalism through discursive claims made by the in-group against counter-claims made by the out-group of non-journalism, and assessing both to better understand concepts of journalism. It builds on well-worn research methods to analyse new dynamics and modalities to explore the utility of traditional concepts of journalism and their application in modern, digital, contexts.

This is achieved by analysing the consistent expressions of journalistic identity that occur in news texts that signpost their discussion of journalism and society, which offer insight for the greater analysis of those discourses of journalistic identity in texts not ostensibly about media and journalism. When combined, the analyses of overt and covert discourses map how normative discourses of journalism's self-perceived identity inform the self-defined parameters of the profession. Triangulating this analysis with interviews (Chapter 4.0), the textual analysis (Chapter 5.0) is further established through comparative analysis (Chapter 6.0) to provide a rich set of data and analysis. This approach explores how the in-group constantly maintains its boundaries through discourses of journalism's societal importance through identity discourses, reasserting its exclusive role as an idealised, 'truth-seeking', responsible, and vigilant arbiter of information in the public's interest, among other criteria outlined above and in Section 2.2 in the chapter that follows. In the face of the same claims being made by WikiLeaks and *interlopers*, this work reflects how emergent entities challenge journalism's primacy and societal distinction, and identifies the tenets through which a recontextualisation of journalism can be hewn.

An easy but rather insufficient way to end a debate over WikiLeaks' place in the journalism landscape could be to label it somehow 'journalistic' without also trying to address whether it fits within understandings of 'being' journalism. However, this sort of flexible explanation poses larger problems as it ignores the authoritative and provincial nature of identity processes, of journalism's profession, and of the in-group/out-group dynamics of language explored in this thesis. Calling WikiLeaks 'journalistic' also offers a catchall, but rather undisciplined, grouping of anything that problematizes understanding journalism. To define WikiLeaks as journalistic allows it to be considered anything from a data source, an issue advocate, or a technological device without seeking to substantiate that definition, as well as setting aside its claims of being a part of the tradition of journalistic media in democratic societies (WikiLeaks 2014). While such approaches may fit specific research contexts outside of journalism studies, this approach is particularly ill suited for evaluating WikiLeaks' claims of 'being' journalism. Casually classifying WikiLeaks as 'journalistic' also has ramifications for politicised discourses reacting to leaks and to the legal challenges WikiLeaks is directly or indirectly involved in. Put simply, while failing to address WikiLeaks' place within concepts of journalism risks leaving it open to political and legal attacks, including in the UK and the US where a lack of journalistic recognition leaves WikiLeaks legally vulnerable, even as its work remains unrestricted by press regulations, defence notices, and other statutes (See: Section 2.3.2.4). Finally, the 'journalistic' association also fails to resolve the question of yet-to-emerge media actors that will also challenge traditional concepts of journalism. This thesis addresses these needs.

When mapped onto journalism's profession, Bourdieu's theories and his articulation of *doxa* and *habitus* can be employed to underpin dynamics of boundary building. Using his concept of fields, associating these with professions, the preservation of the field is enhanced by articulating where other fields differ and do not belong in addition to articulating aspects of the *doxa* to identify its own criteria of belonging.<sup>31</sup> At the core of in-group/out-group dynamics is the view of journalism as a *de facto* profession that is self-maintained through emphasising its self-perceived societal exclusivity, rather than by legal or regulatory strictures (Hughes 1963, Waisbord 2013, cf. Section 2.2). This differentiation draws on expressing the journalistic field's *doxa* (Bourdieu 1994) as criteria of belonging, including its public service, liberal, socially responsible identity outlined in this study. This work adopts the Field Theory developed by Pierre Bourdieu and his further work on *doxa* and *habitus* to explain how, despite individual differences in individual journalistic actors, journalism acts as a consolidated field within society, a field which reinforces membership through utterances of shared complicities and identity criteria – the *doxa* – in contrast to other societal fields which do not share the same. As such, the work of Bourdieu (1991, 1994), aided with the Systems Theory work of Luhmann (1977, 2000), and of Görke and Scholl (2006), draws on the way journalism can be perceived uniformly through the way journalistic actors similarly emphasise belonging and simultaneously articulating distinction and non-belonging, create a theoretical and philosophical basis for understanding *interloper media reactions*. The articulation of boundaries builds on simultaneous expressions of a *doxa* reinforcing belonging, and the projection of non-belonging on *interlopers*. These signal the elements of *habitus* that define the in-group. Through this theoretical foundation,

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<sup>31</sup> Section 2.1 develops the relationship between field theory, *doxa* and *habitus* as dynamics of differentiation and societal boundary building further.

this thesis advances methodological approaches for assessing concepts of journalism and its place in society.

### 1.3.1 RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY

When the *New York Times*, the *Guardian* and *Der Spiegel* began their coordinated publications of the Afghan War Logs in the summer of 2010, the early shape of this research began to come into focus. As the sites of the *Guardian* and the *Times* began to push their content online, it became clear that the intriguing nature of WikiLeaks and the in-group collaboration provided a unique object of inquiry and the genesis of this work. That first release would turn out to be the earliest in a long run of WikiLeaks-related collaborations. From that point, through to proposing this PhD study and beginning the research in September 2011, the concept and shape of the work has developed alongside a rapidly changing story of WikiLeaks, with the aspects of its own releases and collaborations shifting and Assange's and WikiLeaks' legal challenges mounting. Initially conceived as a study of the treatment of past leaks against those of WikiLeaks, the reactions in news texts to WikiLeaks' prominence and its claims of journalistic belonging presented fascinating challenges to traditional understanding of journalism, including those made within news texts and by journalists interviewed within this research (See Chapters 4.0 and 5.0). On this point, the development of the *interloper media* concepts have provided a rich vein to mine for understanding journalism when contested and challenged. Beyond the intrigue of WikiLeaks, this thesis builds on a deeper interest in the ways journalism articulates its identity in news texts, and what those texts reveal about change at the nexus of traditional and emerging media for society and for journalism.

The exact permutations of these reactions became clearer as the work progressed through textual analysis to interviews with journalists, even as the specific inquiry was frequently challenged. On several occasions, journalists made clear they found the academic inquiry of their role “overly intellectualised”, and made clear they would stop participating in interviews at the first sign of “academic waffle” and “analysis to absurdity”.<sup>32</sup> Often the agreement to participate was predicated on the researcher’s previous work as a journalist, as to respondents this signalled some sort of proof of fairness. Yet amid the resistance to inquiry, interview responses to the research questions reinforced the questions at the centre of this study, and offered context to the textual analysis. When asked whether WikiLeaks is journalism, the answer for journalists, apparent in the analysis of this thesis, is an obvious: “no”, and while the opposite was true for supporters, the dichotomy was never straightforward.

Intriguingly, supporters of the view that WikiLeaks is journalism and Assange a journalist (the flip side of the in-group/out-group divide) were also dismissive of the analysis, and respondents saw the focus of this work as predicated on refuting WikiLeaks’ claims of belonging, and therefore built on a predisposed premise and outcome. In considering these responses by interview respondents to the research itself as reflecting the in-group/out-group dynamic, the qualitative framework of analysis and data gathering allowed for such initial reactions to be expanded upon in interviews, thereby adding meaningful data. This included adopting semi-structured and

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<sup>32</sup> These quotes emerge from preliminary conversations preceding three research interviews, but left anonymous per agreement with the interview respondents as these quotes represent views expressed prior to official inquiry. It was later agreed with respondents that these excerpts could be included to contextualise the researcher’s approach to reflexivity, and in all cases (with both those in favour of WikiLeaks-as-journalism, and against that view) the interviewees were pleased with the tenor, content, and approach of the interviews. This is reflected in Appendix C.

conversational and responsive interview methods and allowing respondents to develop their points, later analysed for themes and responses on in-group/out-group dynamics, as outlined in Chapter 3.0.

While at first blush the above responses seem detrimental to this project and its focus, they add important context by offering a tacit acknowledgement of in-group/out-group dynamics and of the role of identity and perceptions. These add to understandings of in-group and out-group perceptions of emerging new entities with regard to journalism, and for the development of this work. They also offered overt reminders of caution to maintain focus, amplified further as the object of inquiry – the case of WikiLeaks – was always in motion. These responses contribute to the broader analysis that develops in chapters 4.0, 5.0 and 6.0, and invigorated a constant reflexive assessment of potential research bias, predicated analysis, and pre-supposed findings. Chapter 3.0 outlines the specific methodological tools that were employed to bolster this effort.

### *1.3.2 REFLEXIVITY*

Maintaining stable research parameters while the interaction of WikiLeaks and journalism remained fluid required a constant self-evaluation of the research and the researcher's place within the work. Rather than hindering the progress of this work, that constant reflexive evaluation benefited the study in many ways. While collaborative WikiLeaks and in-group endeavours subsided early in the PhD research process, coverage of Assange and WikiLeaks never did. For analysis, this introduced a task of managing ever-shifting dynamics of the WikiLeaks story amid the devolving collaborative relationships, legal proceedings around Assange's travails in Sweden, and the politicised and often acerbic commentary from the many participants in the

‘WikiLeaks story’. To maintain focus, the discourse analysis at the core of this study, the comparative analyses that follow, and the interview findings were thoroughly tied to the frameworks of the methodology section in Chapter 3.0.

Maintaining focus on the language reflecting journalism’s in-group/out-group dynamics also assuaged the risk of distraction made by frequently shifting storylines. In fact, these shifts served their own informative purposes within discourses as changing stories textured in-group/out-group dynamics. Across Assange’s court appearances, his house arrest, his Ecuadorian embassy asylum, as well as the Leveson Inquiry’s drawing attention to journalism’s societal role and the court martial of Chelsea (née Bradley) Manning for leaking to WikiLeaks, each inflamed debates of journalism, transparency, and press freedom. Amid these and the on-going discourse over the legacy and dynamics of the collaborations, concepts of *interloper media* were ever-present, further contributing to the findings and conclusions of this thesis.

#### *1.4 CONCLUSION: WIKILEAKS’ RISE AS AN INTERLOPER MEDIA*

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WikiLeaks presents important challenges to journalism’s primacy. Assange’s claims of being a journalist have been unavoidable, and even when he is not explicitly heralding his identity as a ‘goddamn’ journalist WikiLeaks’ prominence in news coverage and in discourses about journalism has presented an equally unavoidable narrative of journalism and change. The dynamics WikiLeaks has unnerved are not easily explained through looking at the organisations alone, nor through addressing the work of either

the ‘ordained’ journalistic field or of the *interloper*. They do, however, make clear that a new approach to understanding specific forms of boundary building is required.

This thesis will show how a conceptualisation of *interloper media reactions* as a boundary building process achieves this by assessing journalism’s metadiscourse in all of its permutations. This metadiscourse – journalism talking about journalism – examines the discourses of boundary building as they occur, both signposted and subtle references to WikiLeaks and other *interlopers* that reinforce traditional journalism’s perception of its place in society. It argues that language can represent how individuals and groups see themselves in contrast to others (Van Dijk 1998a, 1998b), and suggests that in structured societies subsets of communicative systems (Görke and Scholl 2006) seek to differentiate themselves (Luhmann 1977, 2000). As they are unpacked, the means through which this is communicated are reflective of Bourdieu’s (1991, 1994) treatment of the *doxa* and of *habitus* and of a journalistic field as the socialised space, shaping these expressions (Bourdieu 2005).

WikiLeaks’ backstory tells of an organization loosely constructed and finding success and public traction in fits and starts (Domscheit-Berg 2011; Leigh and Harding 2011). Its claims of being journalism were equally sporadic; coming alongside activist and advocacy roles, and in instances can be compared to the rise of independent news sources, such as news blogs (See: Chapter 6.2.0). In the early years these competing identity roles were non-problematic: “before 2010, that didn’t matter”, said Gavin MacFadyen (See: Chapter 5.0, R5). However, with its greater public prominence from 2010, its claims of belonging emerged in close proximity to the traditionally accepted in-group of journalism, reinvigorating a discussion of what journalism is, and how it is



defined. Salient to this work, those questions can be parsed further as: How does the ordained in-group of journalism define itself in contrast to the out-group?

The development of a construct of *interloper media* and of *interloper media reactions* defined around claims of belonging and reactions to those claims seeks to achieve this. In understanding these dynamics, the discursive in-group/out-group claims of belonging, and the reactions found in news texts that refer to WikiLeaks in traditional news media, can be analysed to assess how journalism communicates its sense of self, and its sense of other media entities. This propels research towards a better understanding of the ways emerging new media entities are reacted to by ‘journalism’, and can be defined this way:

**INTERLOPER MEDIA:**

A CLASSIFICATION TO DESCRIBE EMERGING ONLINE MEDIA ENTITIES NOT CLASSICALLY DEFINED AS JOURNALISM THAT EXPLICITLY OR IMPLICITLY CLAIM JOURNALISTIC BELONGING.

**INTERLOPER MEDIA REACTIONS:**

PROTRACTED BOUNDARY BUILDING EXPRESSED IN OVERT AND COVERT DISCOURSES BY A PERCEIVED IN-GROUP OF JOURNALISM IN RESPONSE TO EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT CLAIMS OF BELONGING. PORTRAYS INTERLOPER MEDIA AS AN OUT-GROUP OF NON-JOURNALISM.

This approach can help articulate a way to understand and define journalism that goes beyond discussions of technological convergence to explore the identity elements that define journalism.

This chapter has outlined the key areas of inquiry, and the core questions and dynamics being addressed in this thesis. It has outlined the core research agenda and questions, and the researcher's place within this area of journalism studies and within the research itself. It has further identified the concepts of *interloper media* and *interloper media reactions*, concepts that reflect aspects of WikiLeaks emergence but warrant further theorisation and empirical support to be fully established. This thesis now progresses to look at the range of theory and journalism studies research that will ground analysis, and further will identify how this research is situated within that array of academic work.

## 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

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This chapter begins by exploring journalism studies research on WikiLeaks (Section 2.0.1). From there, it goes on to present Bourdieu's Field Theory (Section 2.1) to explore how the dynamics of a journalistic field provide a useful way of understanding the discursive representations and reactions of prevailing, dominant concepts of journalism, further drawing on Luhmann's Systems Theory to support that approach (Section 2.1.3). By employing the concepts of Field Theory developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1994) and specific aspects of Niklas Luhmann's Systems Theory (1977, 2000), the concept of journalism can be addressed as a societal field that stands distinct from other societal fields, a distinction that is made clear through repeated articulation of its core criteria of belonging in the discourses of news texts.

This chapter then goes on to explore how journalism has been conceptualised within journalism studies through research that has studied journalism as a profession, with normative roles and idealised standards of belonging (Section 2.2), relating the similarities across various ways journalism has been studied back to the theorised journalistic field. This allows this chapter to develop an analysis of the journalistic field that can then be posed as 'under threat' (Section 2.3). It concludes exploring how the language of news texts provide an 'outward-facing' discourse of journalistic identity and belonging that can be analysed in terms of the way it perceives a threat to its own professional standing by media which is designated *interloper media* (Section 2.4). This allows news texts to be understood as discourses of that identity, contrasted by perceived threats, and provides a locus to analyse aspects of journalism's in-group belonging and out-group non-belonging. These discourses serve simultaneously as an

articulation of journalistic identity (Section 2.4.1), and as a confirmatory discourse between members of a peer group of journalists (2.4.2), and as a means of enforcing standards of belonging (Section 2.4.3).

### *2.0.1 THE STATE OF WIKILEAKS RESEARCH*

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As a focus of research, WikiLeaks offers many different avenues of inquiry for many scholars. Some scholars have approached its work through the lens of transparency and advocacy (Sifry 2011), others through the frame of online activism (Coleman 2013, Lindgren and Lundstrom 2011, Ludlow 2010, Milan 2013), and others still who have adopted a political economy approach (Brevini and Murdock 2013). Researchers have assessed the legality of what WikiLeaks did with regard to press protections, and while Peters (2011) finds WikiLeaks' work beyond the protections of reporter privilege, Tambini (2013) finds instances where it aligns itself with reporter privilege. Other studies of legal aspects of the WikiLeaks dynamic have identified prosecution angles (Freedman 2012), and others still have advocated a consideration of press protection and shield provisions that could cover WikiLeaks (Benkler 2011, and in testimony: Benkler 2013a). This section will outline key research in this area, research that will be returned to through this chapter and those that follow.

Across this range of research, WikiLeaks' releases and collaborations draw both practitioners and observers of journalism into a debate over 'what is journalism' and where WikiLeaks fits in that concept, a debate dealt with by Baack (2011), Beckett and Ball (2012), Benkler (2011, 2013a, 2013b), Gardels and Morozov (2011), Graves (2008), and Peters (2011), among others. Leading up to and during the publications,

WikiLeaks steps into discussions over the ways traditional and new media have shaped and continue to shape journalism studies (Beckett and Ball 2012: 38), and scholars have taken the approach of assessing WikiLeaks as part of the rise of citizen journalism (Moro and Aikat 2011), or as part of the trend of using large sets of data in journalism (Baack 2011). Others focus on journalistic change, noting WikiLeaks' unique source dynamics and concept of 'scientific journalism' for its effect on journalism studies and journalism discourses (Lynch 2012, 2013).

Stuart Allan (2013) makes it clear that even as WikiLeaks "forces us to confront" traditional definitions of journalism, as Benkler writes (2011: 311), it does not provide a clear path through that confrontation (Allan 2013: 173). Throughout its rise there have been both internal and external disagreements over its journalism (Allan 2013: 156), ranging from questions about whether it 'is' journalism or not. Allan (2013) sees WikiLeaks in the role of witnessing, and witnessing as a defining characteristic of journalism. The focus of enthusiastic engagement by and through its supporters and contributors, WikiLeaks has been "tapping into the passion, innovation and expertise of ordinary people prepared to blow the whistle over what they witness" (Allan 2013: 173)

However, it is Allan's discussion of how WikiLeaks challenges and confronts traditional journalistic tenets that is reflected in the work of this thesis and the concepts of *interloper media* and *interloper media reactions*. Due to its disruption of traditional hierarchies, and its upsetting of governments and news organisations alike, its activities are viewed not as journalism or citizen journalism, but as a "cell of activists" (ibid., quoting George Packer) and in labels often ascribed to terrorists and activists for example as a provocateur of journalistic norms (Shafer 2011). Mark Coddington looks

at these definitions and resultant boundaries by looking at the criterion of ‘original reporting’ in defining of journalism (2013), and further explores WikiLeaks’ treatment through processes of boundary maintenance (2012). In his first work, Coddington (2012) uses the idea of boundary maintenance to look at those news texts referring to WikiLeaks in editorials and media texts; sign-posted, overt, discourses of its role vis-à-vis journalism. Coddington’s (2012) work focuses on substantial discourses of WikiLeaks and Assange, and looks at concepts of institutionality, journalistic paradigms such as objectivity, and the way overt boundaries are drawn in texts that focus on WikiLeaks.<sup>33</sup>

Karin Wahl-Jorgensen (2013)<sup>34</sup> has also explored boundary work with regard to WikiLeaks, focusing on the anxieties WikiLeaks has exposed in the journalism profession. Wahl-Jorgensen She identifies the reticence by the profession to accept WikiLeaks as a radical shift within texts referring to WikiLeaks and journalism:<sup>35</sup>

Fundamentally, WikiLeaks demonstrates that new technologies can be harnessed for the purpose of free expression and circulation of information – core journalistic values in which the profession remains heavily invested, and willing to fight for. (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 14)<sup>36</sup>

While undertaking the work of this PhD thesis, there were several outputs in the form of conference papers, presentations at symposia, and two key peer-reviewed journal articles that were produced to expose and vet the ideas and concepts produced here to

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<sup>33</sup> Coddington’s work is informative, but as argued in Eldridge (2014) coming out of this thesis, the differentiation of journalism around in-group/out-group parameters warrants deeper consideration, and more nuanced exploration of a wide range of language referencing WikiLeaks provides that. This PhD work diverges from that basis in its further incorporation of boundary building within subtle discourses of journalistic identity.

<sup>34</sup> This citation is based on a draft version of the article provided by the author.

<sup>35</sup> This thesis extends its inquiry beyond these dynamics in terms of both its findings and its methodological approaches to discourses where ‘journalism’ is not explicitly referenced.

<sup>36</sup> Pagination based on pre-publication draft provided by the author.

peer evaluation and test their strengths against blind peer review. In order of relation, these publications emerge out of the work of this PhD, rather than vice versa, and where cited within this thesis, point to where specific arguments are *also* made. Among these publications are two journal articles, cited as Eldridge (2014) and Eldridge (2013), which coined and first articulated the concepts of *interloper media* and *interloper media reactions*, adding context to some of the key elements of analysis within this work. The first of these, Eldridge (2014), is titled: “Boundary Maintenance and Interloper Media Reaction: Differentiating between Journalism’s Discursive Enforcement Processes”, and compares the boundary building language in news discourses reacting to WikiLeaks to those reacting to phone hacking at the *News of The World*. The second, Eldridge (2013), is titled: “Perceiving Professional Threats: Journalism’s Discursive Reaction to the Rise of New Media Entities” and expands the concept of *interloper media* and *interloper media reactions* by testing the dynamics and discourse analysis frameworks applied in this thesis to political blogs covering the 2008 US presidential election.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> This thesis builds on the growing body of research into WikiLeaks by addressing the way members of the in-group of journalism have defined their exclusive belonging through a set of traditional identity roles. However, it utilises analysis of reactions WikiLeaks as a means of understanding the way journalism and journalism studies conceptualise and react to change. This thesis explores how journalism maintains an in-group/out-group construct in both substantial and insubstantial discourses through the prism of reactions to WikiLeaks to build understandings of journalism, unpacking traditional concepts of journalism and evaluates their utility in a modern, digital, era. This thesis asks ‘what is journalism?’ and ‘who is a journalist?’ and aided by a concept of *interloper media*, it answers those questions in a manner that applies to both emerging and traditional concepts of journalism. Within that realm, however, it is also worth assessing whether or not WikiLeaks might fit within the concept of alternative journalism, as simply a new form of this tradition of journalism that has existed for some time. The methodologies adopted for these two publications are the same as those applied in this thesis, detailed in Chapter 3.0, and as these pieces were developed in parallel and out of the analysis of this PhD work, they are incorporated and contextualised in Chapter 6.0 as well. Two additional pieces, Conboy and Eldridge (2014) and Eldridge (*Forthcoming*, 2014) develop similar dynamics within separate studies. The first of these is a journal article titled: “Morbid Symptoms: Between a dying and a re-birth (apologies to Gramsci)”, and looks at news texts within quality UK press in 2011 and 2012 for discourses of journalism in crisis or in a ‘Golden Age’. The second is a chapter for the Routledge Companion to British Media History, titled: “Change and Continuity: Online media through history’s lens”, presenting a historical analysis of news media and technological change, assessing the trepidation that has often confronted media technology and change. These two pieces are not considered core to this work, but are cited where they provide further support for elements under discussion.

### 2.0.1.1 WIKILEAKS AS ALTERNATIVE JOURNALISM?

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To evaluate the argument that WikiLeaks is laying out claims of journalistic belonging, and that the form of journalism to which WikiLeaks claims belonging is the idealised norm, the question of whether WikiLeaks presents a new form of alternative journalism must also be addressed. This argument is born of WikiLeaks' antagonism not only of power structures in government, but also in its challenge to the traditional forms of journalism embodied by the newspapers of the *Guardian* or *New York Times* and of the magazine *Der Spiegel*. The argument that WikiLeaks represents an alternative form of journalism struggles in other aspects particularly as its most notable work came through collaborations with traditional outlets. This section will analyse those arguments that suggest that WikiLeaks is an alternative form of journalism, and why and where those arguments have merits, and locate their shortcomings to further underpin analysis of reactions to WikiLeaks and its impact on understanding journalism.

As a digitally native media outlet with evident political threads, WikiLeaks provokes at least a discussion of its potential as an online form of alternative journalism, perhaps as one of many 'journalisms' found online (Deuze 2003). Chris Atton (2002) notes how, throughout history, alternative journalism has embraced this political strand in its media output, including highly politicised pamphlets, resistance-driven publications, and the media of social movements or movement-aligned groups. This is reflected in Mark Hampton's (2010) argument that alternative journalism comes closest to the 'Fourth Estate' ideal, something also argued by Atton (2002). Alternative journalistic media are identified for embodying, in their various forms, a resistance to established power structures, including those within mainstream media. Invoking resistance at times,



WikiLeaks and Assange have also identified with these histories, describing themselves as “the first global Samizdat movement”<sup>38</sup>, a claim through which WikiLeaks’ compares itself to the Samizdat anti-Soviet movement and publications; in Atton’s history of alternative media, he refers to the Samizdat movement as a form of alternative media (2002: 52). For all these reasons, it might seem natural to associate WikiLeaks with alternative journalism. However, upon closer examination, problems with associating WikiLeaks’ particular radicalism with alternative journalism emerge, and its claims of journalistic identity rather indicate other dynamics.

Assange describes WikiLeaks’ journalism as ‘scientific journalism’ in a TED interview (TED 2010, cf. Lynch 2012, WikiLeaks 2014). He differentiates scientific journalism from its mainstream counterparts for WikiLeaks’ provision of original source material to buttress its journalistic analysis and contributions, and in the vein of alternative journalism this would seem to present a contrast to traditional gatekeeping and traditional media allegiances with power structures. Lisa Lynch in her work (2012, 2013) explores WikiLeaks’ branding of its work as ‘scientific journalism’. Differentiated from ‘science journalism, this refers to WikiLeaks’ approach of ultra-transparent sourcing where juxtaposing the primary source documents alongside news content, which Assange views as an improved-upon adherence to journalistic norms. For some, this presents a radicalism that aligns WikiLeaks with alternative journalism models, perhaps within a new form of journalism put forward by WikiLeaks as both radical and alternative (Sifry 2011). However, in a retrospective on the leaks of WikiLeaks as a call for journalism and journalism studies, Lynch (2013) identifies the way leaks such as WikiLeaks and the ‘Pentagon Papers’ before it offer not an

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<sup>38</sup> <https://twitter.com/wikileaks/status/10076975834079233>

alternative media, but rather an alternative *means* of mainstream media performing traditional and journalistic roles and functions in line with the idealised 'Fourth Estate'.

It is by working through mainstream media, in fact, that WikiLeaks and other major leaks offer opportunities for traditional press to engage with radical journalism, thereby:

eliding the importance of alternative or "underground" media in performing this function. Perhaps most importantly, the WikiLeaks phenomenon suggests how little is resolved about how legacy media should engage with and accommodate emergent media forms and organizations, and how much may need to be rethought – by both scholars and practitioners – about the encounter with what is new, unexpected, and often liminal. (Lynch 2013: 327)

Charlie Beckett and James Ball (2012) also view WikiLeaks as outside the alternative media construct, locating such alternative dynamics WikiLeaks' origins rather than its consistent identity, arguing:

it begins as an evolving, protean form of alternative media. In its practice and structure it is self-consciously apart from mainstream media with a declared radical political outlook. It uses new technologies and novel organizational methods. It adapts but also rejects other alternative media paradigms. (2012: 6)

Beckett and Ball go on to unpick some of WikiLeaks' claims of scientific rigour as well as its claims of responsible editorial intervention, and see WikiLeaks as quickly moving past being any identifiable form of 'alternative media' to being one of a networked journalism; the Networked Fourth Estate Benkler (2011) writes about. To this, Beckett and Ball argue:

It can attempt to remain outside mainstream politics and journalism as a model for alternative media: something that no other radical news organization has managed to sustain on any kind of scale, even in the Internet era. Or it can become networked into other media organizations and perhaps become a kind of new Networked (or Mutualized) News agency. (Beckett and Ball 2012: 12)

From this perspective, WikiLeaks offers alternative communicative and sourcing means, and perhaps alternative forms, but not a form of 'alternative media'. As Beckett and Ball go on to write, WikiLeaks is part of a broader debate on what kind of

journalism WikiLeaks creates or contributes to (ibid.: 26). Rather than a form of resistance, Beckett and Ball argue that WikiLeaks struggles, but tries, to assert its place within more traditional norms and ideals and that is reinforced by its identity claims around Fourth Estate ideals.

Much of the conceptual problem with typing WikiLeaks as a form of alternative media is its close proximity to mainstream, decidedly non-alternative, news media. Whether speaking of its major leaks since 2010 and their mediation through mainstream newspapers, or of its earlier work, there has always been an effort tied to WikiLeaks work to share its work through mainstream channels for maximum reach (Domscheit-Berg 2012: 46), and resistant to be labelled as anything other than a peer of the journalistic organisations it compared itself with. Where WikiLeaks fails to fit within an alternative media framework or understanding is in its clarity of stance about who or what it is an alternative to, and from what ideological standpoint it speaks from (Bailey, et al. 2007). This has not been helped by a loose understanding of what defines alternative media in the first instance, and the adoption of the ‘alternative’ label:

The multiplicity of media organizations that carry these names have caused most mono-theoretical approaches to focus on only certain characteristics, ignoring other aspects of the identity of alternative media. (Bailey, et al. 2007: 5)

Alternative journalistic identities can be based on challenging power dynamics such as the political structures of society, a point on which WikiLeaks resonates, though in challenging power dynamics of mainstream media it is less consistent (ibid.: 6). Atton (2002: 2) writes about the conflation of alternative with radical, however he emphasises

the role of consensual decision-making, and agendas towards change in defining or characterising alternative media (ibid. 5).<sup>39</sup>

Some of the association of WikiLeaks as alternative comes from the equation of online media with alternative media for its forms of autonomous mediation that have historically defined alternative media apart from mainstream media (Atton 2002, Bailey, et al. 2007). However, as Beckett and Ball (2012) argue, this is not a unique characteristic of WikiLeaks and rather places its dynamics within the disruptive change that has faced all news media with their confronting the Internet and its media technologies (cf. Eldridge, *Forthcoming* 2014). The “already turbulent reshaping of journalism that WikiLeaks emerged” into (Beckett and Ball 2012: 38), seems to place WikiLeaks not within an alternative subset of journalistic media, but as a participant or actor within a reshaping and reconfigured view of what journalism is, or might become (Benkler 2013b: 15). These dynamics are invoked by Lynch (2013) as well, and are core to the focus of this thesis in its development of broader understandings of what journalism is, WikiLeaks’ place in that discussion, and how language enforces such distinctions.

For these reasons, WikiLeaks again problematizes classification as within or outside mainstream or alternative typologies. Its engagement with sourcing (See: Section 2.3.2.3) and even its view of its work as ‘Scientific Journalism’ as a form of objectivity (See: Section 2.3.2.2), these belie its engagement with prominent and mainstream

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<sup>39</sup> By several accounts, WikiLeaks does not offer the same consensual decision-making dynamic (Domscheit-Berg 2011, Leigh and Harding 2011; See also interviews highlighted in Chapter 4.0), and its close association with mainstream media as well as its falling in and out of favour with radical political resistance movements, such as Anonymous, or the Occupy movement (Milan 2013), place it in either a different subset of journalistic media or a different relationship with traditional journalism.

journalistic outputs, further exacerbated by Assange's joining RT (Russia Today) as a television presenter. For WikiLeaks, these competing projected and expressed identities underline its disruptions are as much an element of its online nature, and could very well be endemic of what Atton suggests that with online media, "Internet technology has the capacity to erode the binarism of alternative and mainstream media and the polarities of the powerful and powerless, dominance and resistance" (2002: 6). Brevini and Murdock (2013) put this dynamic back into the context of WikiLeaks' evolution as a media outlet, and as a journalistic one identifying that were WikiLeaks to stay disconnected from the mainstream, its impact would have been far lesser (ibid.: 44).

These points aside, there are perspectives of alternative media as radicalism or perhaps as modern-day pamphleteers (Atton 2002: 13) that can be located in WikiLeaks' work. In advocating politicised stances, or its radical views on information transparency, this has been operationalized by critics of WikiLeaks to discount its claims of journalistic identity, and provided as a point of contrast with mainstream objectivity-driven reporting.<sup>40</sup> What WikiLeaks presents, then, is an alternative form of sourcing to some (particularly those in the traditional entities, as will be evident in Chapters 4.0 and 5.0), or perhaps of communicating within a networked Fourth Estate to others (Beckett and Ball 2012, Benkler 2011), but not within the traditions or forms of alternative media. It is out of these disruptions where this research finds its gap, answering what Lynch (2013) calls for:

As exceptional as WikiLeaks has been in many aspects, a consideration of the organization is also part of a broader conversation about how the profession of journalism might tread the line between absorbing and institutionalizing organizations who do not fit comfortably into journalism's boundaries, or alternately working to reshape those boundaries to develop a more flexible

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<sup>40</sup> This was also raised in interview responses from Gavin MacFadyen highlighted in Chapter 4.0.

notion of what twenty-first-century journalism might become. (Lynch 2013: 327)<sup>41</sup>

While WikiLeaks falls outside the alternative media genre, there remains the question of determining how it is perceived within the relationship of a '21<sup>st</sup> century journalism. From the perspective of traditional journalism, this requires an understanding of what forms that identity, how that is expressed, and how journalistic identity conveyed through news discourses articulates a concept of journalism to which WikiLeaks can claim belonging, and against which its claims can be understood.

## *2.1 CONCEPTUAL, THEORETICAL, AND PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS*

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In both Pierre Bourdieu's use of fields, and Niklas Luhmann's systems and sub-systems, groups within society distinguish their space by articulating similarities and differences; these can be articulations of belonging and non-belonging, Us v. Them (Van Dijk 1998a), or adherence and non-adherence to a field's particular norms and ideals (Bourdieu 1994). In order to assess these dynamics for journalism, components that might underpin belonging to journalism's societal field need to be outlined for how they have been defined in journalism studies. Through identifying a mixture of self-perceived and expressed distinction, alongside external recognition from society that there is something distinguished about journalism separating it from other fields, the field of journalism can be explored. The way the field's distinction is articulated provide a central focus around which the contestations of journalistic identity claims can be understood. This section proceeds, first, with developing a conceptual definition

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<sup>41</sup> It is those boundaries, and that flexibility, which will be developed in the next chapter and the empirical work to follow, and that notion of what twenty-first century journalism might be in the conclusions of Chapter 7.0.

of journalism, building on that definition to outline the key elements of field theory against which aspects of journalistic belonging can be assessed.

### *2.1.1 DEFINING JOURNALISM*

Hanitzsch argues that shared ideals underpin journalism's in-group identity work (2007, 2011). These ideals are expressed with relative consistency as ideal types of what journalism 'is' across socio-political divisions, and lead toward the ideal-type identification of the journalistic field. Hanitzsch approaches these ideals and journalistic identity using a field theory framework, identifying as 'milieus' of: information disseminators, watchdogs on power (the 'Fourth Estate' role), advocates of social change, acting with an eye to social responsibility and the public's interest. Often idealised in a non-critical pronouncement of what journalism 'is' made by journalists, these reflect how journalists see themselves and their profession. The profession's embrace of a set of ideal types is reliant on expressing identity and belonging and shared acceptance of these ideals, and remains less concerned with ideal types being realised (cf. Hampton 2010). For identity construction, membership of the in-group of journalism can be demarcated against these idealised roles and types, regardless of their realisation in the day-to-day practice of journalism (cf. Burger 1976, drawing on the concept of ideal types put forward by Weber 1952).

Conboy (2013) begins by defining journalism, for the sake of exploring its characteristics, on two axes. The first of these, "its aim is to provide a truthful account of the contemporary world; and it is committed to reporting information that is new to the world, whether in terms of fact or opinion based on fact" (2013: 2), and the second point, through its: "technologically mediated communication", and "traditional

contribution to our democratic commentary” through transmitting “specialist knowledge” to a “non-specialist” audience (ibid.). This definition offers a means to explore journalism as a product, and through the use of “aim” reflects a historical trend of journalists who embrace these roles and, in doing so, who define journalism through their aspirations to convey truth and facticity (Hampton 2010: 10). However, the focus of journalism as a field benefits from juxtaposing this definition with a set of ideals, including those enveloped in Conboy’s definition and emerging out of Hanitzsch’s work surveying global perspectives of journalists about their work, and locating shared ideals that underpin journalism’s in-group identity work (2007, 2011).

Within any exploration of the aspects that define journalism, there is a requirement to acknowledge journalism’s commercial end and understand how journalism as a product affects understandings of journalism. Consequently, assessing what defines a ‘journalist’ and its roles cannot be fully disengaged from journalism as a business venture or a publicly funded venture. Despite this, commercial ends rarely enter into projections of the idealised concept of journalism’s in-group belonging (Hampton 2010: 5-6). However, journalism’s commercial dynamic and its challenges – both financial and technological – do emerge strongly in a perception of crisis around its societal standing. In this aspect, *interlopers* present a dual challenge in claiming belonging to what journalism defends as unique in its most idealised societal roles (Siles and Boczkowski 2012: 1377-1378). For the sake of this work, a tentative conceptual definition of journalism as an in-group and a field with regard to the ideals expressed as journalism, one that is augmented under the perception of a threat by commercial challenges and digitally native *interloper media*, allows the competing claims of journalistic belonging to be evaluated. This conceptual definition of journalism builds



on a) the transmission of pertinent information in the public interest to the public; b) transmission of information necessary for the operation of democratic societies and as a check on those in power – a ‘Fourth Estate’ (Carlyle 1908) or ‘watchdog’ role (Hanitzsch 2011); c) analysis and evaluation of specialist information to represent complex ideas or information to audiences, and d) its conduct of these activities with regard to a responsibility to society (Nerone 1995, 2004, Ostini and Fung 2002, Siebert, et al. 1956).

These four points emerge consistently within studies of journalistic norms as well as in expressions made by journalists within this and other research. They further provide points around which journalism as a field and profession can be defined reflected broadly across research. This conceptualisation of journalism can be articulated for further analysis as:

**JOURNALISM:**

A distinct field in society self-identified by its members’ expressed adherence to idealised traits and roles that underpin the transmission of facts as information to a public in their interest; further defined by a provision of context and analysis, built on expertise, and as integral to democratic societies.

This too is a flawed definition as it neglects the elements of commercialisation that affect these goals, further neglecting entertainment roles and functions within journalism, and neglects the role of opinion Conboy (2013: 2) rightly emphasises. However, it does focus on the *self-identification* of those within the field of journalism, in other words how *they* see themselves and how *they* define a field to which they belong, which underpins journalism’s reactions to out-group challenges and fundamental change and establishes a framework for assessing claims of belonging and reactions to those claims. The above definition attempts to identify the realm within

which a field of journalism and the professional identity of journalism is strongest, it attempts to capture how it is idealised and projected as those features which are challenged by emerging *interloper media* claims. Focusing on the in-group/out-group dynamics as this thesis does, this conceptualisation points to journalism's sense of its own sense of societal power at a point of change.

This conceptual definition also allows an analysis of in-group/out-group dynamics from responses to perceived challenges outside of WikiLeaks, and is adopted for its agility as a definition of the field in that regard, resonating with definitions of traditional journalism reacting to blogs as employed by Johnson and Kaye (2004) in early work on the nexus between online news of blogs and traditional media. It also locates a sense of journalism which McQuail (2010: 326) identifies as predominant in traditional outlets built on hierarchies of treating information through processes of filtering, and only then publishing that information as news.<sup>42</sup> This is further reflected in the definition's emphasis on the expertise and explanatory functions of reportage as information gathering and information selection processes that define traditional journalism, highlighted by Lasica (2003) in contrast to new media which he sees as operating a) more horizontally, and b) with origins of a 'publish, then filter' practice where commentary adds context after publication, rather than before.<sup>43</sup>

With changing media realities, such traditional and structural definitions built on hierarchies have become diffuse in real terms as more news organisations adopt converged media outputs in terms of forms and technologies (Örnebring 2010a), having

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<sup>42</sup> Elsewhere in this thesis, this process is described as "editorial discretion" and "selection" and contributes to criteria of journalism belonging.

<sup>43</sup> This was an organizing principle of WikiLeaks' initial activities as well.

also crossed boundaries to journalistic forms that were formerly unique to new media, such as social media outputs (Vis 2013). These shifts have not diluted a strong identification with traditional concepts of journalism reflected in the expression of in-group standards, values, and beliefs that reflect a journalistic field and resist change (Eldridge 2013). Such normative dimensions and traditional markers of ‘belonging’ provide a basis for journalism to self-identify as unique, particularly as it relates to other groups of societal actors with differentiated roles and identities. Having adopted this conceptual working definition, the dynamics of field and systems theories and the elements of self-definition around idealised identities and roles can be further developed.

### 2.1.2 BOURDIEU'S FIELD THEORY

Bourdieu's field theory and his work on the *doxa* and the *habitus* offer a theoretical basis for this thesis approach to discourses presenting journalism as a coherent field around a series of held beliefs – the *doxa* – and the contribution to socialised dynamics of in-group formation – the *habitus*. It further offers a foundation on which identity can be understood through the journalistic field's interrelation with other fields and actors in society, rather than as something developed in a pristine and isolated space. Field theory takes into account the way challenges, contravening pressures, and competing claims of what journalism is or might be act contribute to the way we understand journalism – what journalism *seems* to be (Donsbach 2010: 38) – as a societal construct. Through unpacking the structures, practices, and norms that distinguish certain fields within society from others, field theory provides an approach to describe how different segments of society differentiate their roles (Bourdieu 1984), and further encourages the

analysis of those interactions to better understand the way individual fields project their own identities (Navarro 2006: 15).

To address this societal differentiation and distinction as represented in the outward discourses of journalism's news texts, field theory allows social science research to look at dynamics of belonging and non-belonging that reinforce a field's sense of both unique societal place and primacy (Bourdieu 1984, 1994). The power of in-group/out-group identity within and between fields is reflected through language that repeatedly enforces exclusivity, articulates membership, and demarcates a unique space within society as a reaction to the journalistic field's struggle to maintain its distinction against closely related peer fields (Bourdieu 2005: 30). Bourdieu's use of the term "distinction" (1984) is further reflective not only of the way journalism arranges its place in society through expressions of difference, but also for how distinction manifests in an elevated self-perception of the field's unique societal space; in other words it is not enough for journalism to be different, the journalistic field must also be valued and invaluable; a fundamental 'Fourth Estate' (Hampton 2010: 10).<sup>44</sup>

Developed around shared ideals and identities, field theory approaches language emanating from an in-group or field as a symbolic representation of that distinct place, imbued with elements of the power and primacy of the field's sense of expertise and unique socialised space (Bourdieu 1991, 1994). When these expressions emerge in discourses of journalism, they present a relatively similar vision of journalism across

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<sup>44</sup> This sits in contrast to the anti-hero mythologies of 'hacks', 'muckrakers', and 'ink-stained wretches' (Aucoin 2007; Carlson 2011; Graber 2003). The hero and anti-hero dynamic as a part of journalism's societal narrative is returned to in the adoption of A. J. Greimas' (1971) narrative semiotic work, adopted to offer a reconceptualised model of journalism in the conclusion (Chapter 7.0).

otherwise disparate forms. A result of what Bourdieu calls the “struggles within fields for the power to impose the dominant vision of the field” (2005: 44), these discourses reflect:

a kind of fundamental complicity among members of a field, and the interests inherent in belonging to a field are the foundation of complicities that are, in part at least, hidden from the participants themselves by the conflicts of which they are the principle, complicities which, in other words, engender conflicts that have the effect of concealing the very principle of these conflicts. (2005: 36)

Fields unite through contrasting their belonging against external fields in part by agreeing on the points of distinction between the field and outsiders who do not fit the field’s criteria of belonging. Built on principles generally agreed to by its members as a set of idealised roles and identities that inform the profession belonging, the expression of these roles and identities provide the dimensions through which the field maintains its belonging and distances non-members, projecting that identity to reinforce non-belonging as “us” against “them” (Van Dijk 1998a: 63). News texts, as will be shown ahead, provide discursive evidence of this creation and add texture to the journalistic field’s belonging and identity.

This argument maintains that even as idealised roles and identity elements defining a field are often taken for granted, their assumption as present in field members’ identities can be ascribed to as that field’s *doxa*. *Doxa* comprises elements of orthodoxy and heterodoxy – beliefs and opinions – and while they are distinct to a field and represent the shared belief of that field, they can be overly idealised and emerge as such through the linguistic dimensions of the *habitus* as ideal-typical, regardless of their realisation as power relations between groups (Bourdieu 1994: 155; Myles 2010: 116). When they are expressed outwardly with similarity, they reflect Bourdieu’s reference to inherence and can be analysed as utterances of the otherwise assumed and unspoken *doxa*; utterances

notably provoked under contest (Bourdieu 1994: 163-164). Importantly, utterances of the *doxa* do not require reflection on whether or not such ideal and inherent criteria are actualised; rather they assume the presence of such ideals within the field.

In the case of journalism, such ideals form an ideal-typical self representations allow journalism to be scoped through its in-group members' discourses of their self-perceptions of the field, articulated as the standards and values embedded in journalism. The inherence of the *doxa* to the field is made salient through expressions of the criteria of belonging to the journalistic field, and the force with which journalism draws these distinctions reflects how it's a) struggles to define a place in society a distinct field (Bourdieu 2005: 44), and b) is vulnerable to challenges from outside entities claiming entry (Benkler 2011), and c) in the presence of contrasting claims (See Section 3.2). As an articulation of *doxa*, this allows the identity held by members of a perceived in-group of journalism to both dictate journalistic belonging, and to provide a means of gauging non-belonging through emphasis of 'Us' and 'Them' constructs (Van Dijk 1998a).

The use of Bourdieu's field theory when applied to journalism is not without its critics. Myles (2010), for instance, critiques Benson and Neveu's (2005) approach to Bourdieu and journalism and their aims of addressing language and situating this research between field and reception studies as unrealised (Myles 2010: 23). However, within Myles' critique he identifies the point on which this thesis turns. Myles criticises Benson and Neveu's work for neglecting language, focusing their theses too narrowly on Bourdieu's ideas of the field, *doxa*, and *habitus*, and only superficially "stimulat[ing] alternative ways of look at the media" (2010: 25). Acknowledging this criticism, this thesis will now seek to use the organising principles of Bourdieu's theories as a means

to approach journalism's discursive representation for its alternative ways of studying news media and media fields. Myles points to a need for scholarship "to draw attention to the professional codes of journalism, or to outline more details about the major distinctions within the profession" (2010: 27) in applying Bourdieu's theories to journalism. This thesis also strives to look at language as a representation of dynamics of the field, however it does not assume that a) language alone defines the field, nor that b) the field can be fully understood through language alone (ibid.: 29); rather it seeks to explore the way discourses within news texts represent the ways distinction can be mapped in language and the ways field stability is maintained or challenged in shifting news media environments. It does this while drawing on the work of Schultz, who understands the journalistic field not merely as unified towards self-preservation, but as a distinct societal grouping concerned with power:

the journalistic field is part of the field of *power*, not least because the constant cultural production of social discourse not only implies productions of categories for 'vision' of the social world, but at the same time, categories also of 'division', or more simply put: to give a name, is also to place within a hierarchical symbolic space. (2007: 192)

Building on Schultz's commentary, as well as Myles' critique of certain approaches to Bourdieu's research, this research will now show how the elements of journalism's field are projected not only to distinguish journalism from other fields but as elements of an ideal-type projection. As Myles writes, this allows research to break down the self-perception and idealised sense of the journalistic field and rather explores how that might be understood as a societal construct through language and discourses as a particular set of practices symbolic and symbolising power dynamics behind them:

Looking at the media field in discursive terms, then, allows a 'break' with the 'illusio' that have currency in the journalistic field and to 'construct the object' of the media as a topic of analysis and further our understanding of the particularity of its form of 'capital' and symbolic power. (2010: 31)

### 2.1.2.1 THE DOXA

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The *doxa* reflects the core set of criteria of belonging that underpin its integral to a field's societal space and its role. Inherent to a field's members, adoption of the *doxa* provides part of the basis of distinction for a field's in-group/out-group identity construction. In Bourdieu's development of the *doxa* as a system of inherent beliefs self-evident to field members, made salient through repeated expression of a coherent set of ideals, utterances of the *doxa* reflect the unifying dynamics of the field to project a dominant vision (Bourdieu 1984, 1994). The same inherence that emerges repeatedly as utterances of what it is to belong to the journalistic in-group also coalesces a sense of journalistic identity. The *doxa* is crucial for in-group/out-group dynamics and field belonging as it is not imposed externally, but rather is built on a field's self-perception and self-identification. This allows members of the journalistic field to articulate its field boundaries discursively when provoked by interrelation with other fields and by identifying non-belonging (Bourdieu 2005: 30).

While the *doxa* and its inherence can be a limiting force in that it centres the field on static parameters of belonging and is resistant to internal change, the notion of the *doxa* forms the basis for self-definition of an in-group as a field against which non-belonging can be measured. Its centrality, a coproduction of its static inherence, represents what is considered appropriate for belonging to the in-group around traditional norms. Rather than merely representing a set of beliefs as held by the in-group, the *doxa* also limits the adoption of new societal structures or practices, prevents mobility from outside the specific field into the field and its inherence stunts innovation from within (Bourdieu 1984: 473). The result is a field being defined by the struggle between its dominant vision and negotiations of change; a socialisation process between the *doxa* and *habitus* of fields, with *habitus* discussed in the next section.



The *doxa* provides a key component of in-group identity, but it does not go so far as to make that in-group's activity or its cultural production beyond critique; cultural production being a key aspect of the field of journalism, as discussed in Bourdieu's work on fields of journalism, social sciences, and politics (2005). Bourdieu cautions that the centrality of the *doxa* can result in unyielding self-reverence of that field's work, its cultural production, but such self-reverence oversimplifies the importance of interaction between fields in society. Indeed, the interaction of fields allows a field's *doxa*, *habitus*, and cultural production to be centred through its contrast and relation to other fields' evaluation throughout society. This allows fields to be viewed not as static, but as reinforced by forces outside of the field's control. Using the example of academia, Bourdieu writes: "one might expect the scholastic field to give the highest respect to scholastically certified cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1984: 88-89). However, such a conclusion would ignore competing views from elsewhere in society and the influence of those views: in this example, a societal deprecation of certain scholastic work, resulting in ambivalence. Respecting this interactivity in society, fields produce and value their capital to a certain degree, but that value is not arrived at through insulated self-evaluation. For journalism, this presents as self-critique (See Section 2.4.3) and through elevating its idealised elements (See Section 2.2.1). In focusing on Bourdieu's intervention in developing a specific *doxa*, and of the journalistic field's specific *doxa* underpinning its communicative interaction with society (2005: 37), these interactions provide a context through which the way journalism scopes its identity in relation to other fields, and journalistic belonging can be assessed.

While consistent in articulations of a sense of belonging – the sort of elements of *doxa* expressed in the work of Hanitzsch (2011), among others – Bourdieu describes how fields like journalism’s can be understood through their adoption of a ‘specific *doxa*’, “a system of presuppositions inherent in membership in a field” (2005: 37). To look at this as an interaction focuses on utterances of the *doxa* specific to the journalistic field. This applies to moments of articulating journalistic normative values from within the field to associated members, particularly when asserting or repairing belonging (Bell 1991, Bishop 1999), utterances from the field directed outward as reinforcement of the societal importance of journalism as a ‘Fourth Estate’ (Carlyle 1908), contributing Schultz’s (2007) discursive hierarchy-building, and from the field to contrast *interloping* entities perceived as falsely claiming belonging (Eldridge 2014, 2013).<sup>45</sup>

In Rodney Benson and Erik Neveu’s *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (2005), the authors call for the application of field theory to assess whether (or how) communication enabled by new technology and new media might break from past field dynamics (ibid.: 8). Field theory takes journalism’s oft-tautological defences of its primacy – our work is journalism because we are journalists – to unpick the elements of that identity, and Bourdieu’s work on language as symbolic of societal power to understand that tautology. In looking at specific *doxa*, a rationale for understanding journalism as somewhat unified, if not monolithic, is advanced reflecting how its ideals

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<sup>45</sup> Departing from Bourdieu’s development of field theory as a grand theory of society to unpack field theory with a specific focus on the journalistic field (Bourdieu 2005) takes this argument beyond distinctions of mediums of communication to address the societal and sociological factors at play, such as journalism’s unique cultural capital. It is in journalism’s specific challenges of communicating distinct boundaries where Bourdieu’s theorisation focuses, and where it reflects the loosely defined status of journalism’s profession (Donsbach 2010: 38). Through this specific *doxa* they can articulate how the field coalesces around belonging, buttressing their unique field in society, even reinforcing the strength of the ‘know it when I see it’ sense of journalism.

are treated as an inherent set of beliefs which journalism holds and society ordains (Bourdieu 2005: 36-37).

However, even as journalism assumes an externality to the tenets of its self-perceived societal place, journalism struggles to secure acceptance of its societal space and journalism's self-perception of its roles and ideals require frequent articulation:

Those who deal professionally in making things explicit and producing discourses – sociologists, historians, politicians, journalists, etc. – have two things in common. On the one hand, they strive to set out explicitly practical principles of vision and division. On the other hand, they struggle, each in their own universe, to impose these principles of vision and division, and to have them recognized as legitimate categories of construction of the social world. (Bourdieu 2005: 36-37)

While the *doxa* refers to those ideals considered inherent to the field (and therefore needing no exposition to exist) its internality can be better understood when journalism expresses the elements of its distinction outwardly. This is the discursive set of practices both Schultz (2007) and Myles (2010) refer to above as part of the journalistic field's engagement with power in society. To draw further on Bourdieu, in-group belonging uttered as elements of the *doxa* also develop out of journalism's *habitus* as a product of socialised construction and the contested socialised dynamics that define ideals as immutable. This allows claims by non-members expressing adherence to those criteria of belonging to be rebuffed by discourses projecting that field's internal *doxa* outwardly.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> To dissect this further, with a preview of data to follow: the journalistic field makes its sense of belonging clear internally through the "principles of qualification" (Bourdieu 2005: 38) for belonging, and its struggle to make these explicit externally results in tautological explanations. One response to the question: 'Is Julian Assange a journalist?' posed to *Guardian* journalist Luke Harding is informative: "I think actually he's not a journalist because if he were a journalist, first of all he wouldn't have fallen out with all the journalists, which he has done" (R1). While analysis of this and similar responses are further addressed in the Data & Analysis chapters (Chapters 5.0 and 6.0), they represent a sense of journalism's belonging around adherence to a *doxa* as an inherent belief set, and shared across a journalistic identity that coheres the field.

### 2.1.2.2 THE HABITUS

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Articulations of the field's *doxa* illustrate how field theory and its internal and external dynamics revolve around criteria of belonging. Discourses expressing elements of the *doxa* are also reflective of the negotiations within a journalistic habitus and the contested sense of belonging from within that societal space. As Zander Navarro (2006) describes, Bourdieu's *habitus* extends beyond considering space (a habitat) and rather reflects how fields deal with contestation to unite in coherent, yet not concrete, fields.

He goes on to describe the *habitus* as:

A durable set of dispositions that are formed, stored, recorded and exert influence to mould forms of human behaviour. It may vary in accordance to the social environment, because unstable social domains may produce unstable systems of dispositions that generate irregular patterns of action. It does reinforce cohesion but also stimulates change and innovation, especially when it does not fit the surrounding social world where it evolves. (Navarro 2006: 16)

Considering change, Bourdieu suggests that this takes into account the “weight” of members of a field and their ability to strongly express space within the society at large (2005: 43). Journalistic media come to have such ‘weight’ through external recognition of their role and presence, and the normative dimensions of their identity and societal roles as a ‘Fourth Estate’ (Hampton 2010, Hanitzsch 2011: 486). For the field, this simplifies efforts to a) explain a *doxa* as inherent to the closed field of the journalistic profession, and b) provides ample space to vocalise the boundaries of that field in media spaces. While a field of journalism might traditionally struggle to articulate its exclusivity to society writ large, when faced with dynamics of threat or challenge the weight of its traditional members increases the opportunity to express its exclusivity

repeatedly and specifically and limit counter-arguments to its claims through those same limits.<sup>47</sup>

Together, the ‘weight’ of the journalistic field and its articulation of difference can be seen similarly to concepts of gatekeeping, and how gatekeeping provides a “symbolic mediation” of the in-group’s “homogeneity” (Harrison 2010: 191). Jackie Harrison’s exploration of gatekeeping through these elements ties closely to field theory developed in this research as texts outwardly represent the internal machinations of the field, building its belonging. Indeed, Bourdieu’s theories factor into the treatments of gatekeeping as they limit the intrusion of alternative discourses into news expression, a more harmful homogeneity when considered in terms of public discourses (Harrison 2010: 194). However, in dealing with Bourdieu’s reference to ‘weight’ reinforcing exclusivity, Harrison’s work on gatekeeping reflects the ability of prominent members of a field to control messaging within its content, reinforcing journalism’s assumed space in society and its acceptance of that dynamic as a “a form of consent” (ibid.: 198).

These specific dynamics allow the theoretical approach of field theory to be applied to explorations of the primacy of journalism’s in-group and its authoritative voice in

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<sup>47</sup> With these aspects of the journalistic field’s enforcement of its distinction in mind, it would be foolhardy to ignore the advice of Benson and Neveu (2005: 6-7) who caution that online media might provide alternative means of provoking public expressions of field belonging and challenging concepts of ‘weight’, as well as Myles’ (2010) critique that more work needs to be done to explore the affect of alternative media forms on the journalistic field. In considering ‘weight’, Benson and Neveu suggest advancing field theory in new media research with a view to depart from previous understandings of field dynamics in society. While opening mediated spaces for non-members of the field is seen presents potentiality to lessen the ‘weight’ of traditional members, or at least the potential for a perceived lessening. As such, new entities pose a perceived threat to the traditional field members as they lessen the strength traditional field members; this is a key consideration with *interloper media*. This is reflected in reactions to WikiLeaks and *interlopers* emerging as defensive discourses of journalism’s in-group belonging as *interlopers* shake existing power structures.

defining journalism's societal role in reaction to *interlopers*. While largely coherent in a dominant vision, the field's 'susceptibility' (Benkler 2011: 311) to internal and external forces contributes to a complex to-and-fro that balances competing dynamics of the field. The result, writes Bourdieu, is a paradoxical mixture of internal exclusivity, societal meaningfulness, and eventual uniformity:

In other words, within a field, there is a competition for legitimate appropriation of what is at stake in the struggle in the field. And, within the field of journalism, there is a permanent competition to appropriate the readership, of course, but also to appropriate what is thought to secure readership, in other words, the earliest access to news, the "scoop", exclusive information, and also distinctive rarity, "big names," and so on. One of the paradoxes of that competition, which is always said to be the precondition of freedom, has the effect, in fields of cultural production under commercial control, of producing uniformity, censorship, and even conservatism. (Bourdieu 2005: 44)

It is to this last point of uniformity, "and even conservatism" (ibid.) where the conflation of the theoretical basis of this research within field theory and the competition inherent to its mapping onto journalism and society are connected to the larger struggle which emerging entities irritate; to confront their challenge, the field reacts with broad uniformity and through discourses seek to reinvigorate a perceived societal power structure (Schultz 2007). The provocation of a field's parameters results in specific articulations of in-group/out-group belonging as explored in this thesis. Predicated on exploring a coherent sense of journalism articulated in reaction to external and internal challenges, the argument rests on Bourdieu's theorising of the journalistic field and its "cultural production" carried out with "uniformity", despite efforts to amplify individual differences within the field.<sup>48</sup> The strength of this approach

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<sup>48</sup> This dynamic is highlighted by former *New York Times* executive editor Bill Keller (Keller 2013) in hypothetically discussing what would have happened had Private Manning leaked to the *Times* instead of WikiLeaks. The short answer is there would not have been any collaboration; the 'scoop' would have been the *Times'* alone.

can be emboldened by looking at Niklas Luhmann's (1977) theory of society as a set of differentiated systems.

### 2.1.3 SYSTEMS THEORY

The theoretical approach of systems theory, with its emphasis on interaction and differentiation, shares similarities with field theory. Systems theory, as developed by Luhmann (1977, 2000), posits societal structuration around unique systems, which interrelate but never replicate within society.<sup>49</sup> When Systems Theory is focused on journalism. Alexander Görke and Armin Scholl (2006) identify how journalism distinguishes itself from other communicative subsystems (e.g.: entertainment or advertising subsystems of communication). Systems theory focuses on processes of differentiation to define belonging and non-belonging to a system, and through discursive interaction provides a contrast. Görke and Scholl (2006) locate this as a process of constant interaction within discursive spaces, defined by its overall perspectives on other systems:

Luhmann decomposes the subject into system references. As such he shifts from a perspective of unity to a perspective of difference. The subject is no more conceptualized as an individual, as a human being or as another kind of semantically constructed unit. (Görke and Scholl, 2006: 645).

Where fields are defined through shared criteria of belonging (the *doxa*) and a dominant vision of the field (unity), systems theory offers a way to approach discourses of projected identity to understand difference. Understanding news texts as representing

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<sup>49</sup> With regard to systems theory, this research does not intend to engage in a full evaluation of Luhmann's theoretical construction, but rather it is constrained to exploring how in-group/out-group dynamics of journalistic identity reflect the differentiation theorised by Luhmann and Görke and Scholl (2006), incorporating the latter work's focus on belonging and non-belonging and enforcement through exclusivity of a journalism sub-system.

perspectives of differentiation addresses the individual nature of systems and fields, wherein each distinct and discrete system performs a function that it defends as unique and not replicated elsewhere in society. In their construction, discourses depend on identity, and boundaried spaces:

Social systems are by no means given objects, but constitute their identity by drawing a distinction between the system and its environment and by setting boundaries against their environments. (ibid.: 646)<sup>50</sup>

In the case of journalism as a system, its performance of particular societal roles around its idealised sense of belonging allows it to recognise its unity distinct within a broader media system, functioning “without redundancy” (Görke and Scholl 2006: 649), ie: not replicated by other systems in society:

As a consequence of delegating specific functions exclusively to certain systems, modern society does without redundancy: no system can fulfil another system’s function, but every system relies on the problem-solving capacity of all the other systems fulfilling their functions. (Görke and Scholl 2006: 647)

Systems theory emphasises that within each system program, including a system program of journalism, information is conveyed based on the system’s own rules (Görke and Scholl 2006: 652). Paired with field theory and dynamics of *doxa* and *habitus* used to define the specific field of journalism, perspectives of unity and perspectives of difference strengthen the aspects of in-group/out-group membership key to understanding journalism as perpetuating a sense of belonging to a professional

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<sup>50</sup> In focusing on claims of belonging and journalism’s discursive identity building, the articulation of difference in reactions to *interloper media* emerge as subjugation, reinforcing a hierarchical stratification that extends beyond mere differentiation. In this, the void of Luhmann’s perspective of difference is backfilled with language distancing *interlopers* from the in-group and marginalising their roles to those of supportive, or supplementary to the processes of traditional journalism. This subjugates *interlopers* to a role of source or intermediary, symbolised as a lesser and oppositional actant within narrative semiotics and the hierarchy established through approaching discourse as societal practice that reinforces a dominant concept of journalism and its primacy within that hierarchy (See: Greimas 1971, discussed further in Chapter 7.0, and Schultz 2007, as noted above).



identity, and a journalistic ideology. Through discourses, the contrast of defining journalism through its normative ideals separates it from non-journalism through self-identification and active differentiation, the contrast making salient the dimensions of each: “neither aspect is capable of evolving without the other” (Luhmann 1995a: 174; Görke and Scholl 2006: 647-648). These elements provide components of the journalism-as-profession definition advanced in later sections of this chapter (Section 2.2.1), and their contribution to understanding journalism’s professional identity as a defensive reaction to perceived threats posed by non-journalism entities.

#### 2.1.4 EPISTEMOLOGY

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In approaching news texts as discourses representing utterances of journalism’s specific *doxa*, analysis of distinction in field theory and differentiation for systems interaction are enabled in the qualitative approaches within this research. This thesis considers how these dynamics can be understood through an array of philosophical vantage points, including both structuralist and interpretivist epistemological stances. Bourdieu himself sought to break from the primacy of objectivist views of society through pairing structuralism and phenomenology to explain how interactions and systemic formations can be used to understand society (Bourdieu 1968: 684). In viewing news texts as discursive expressions of those places, and language as a social practice (Schultz 2007), the ways specific uses of language both encode and reflect the power dynamics of social interactions and patterns resonates with Bourdieu’s philosophical approach as well (Burr 1995, Gill 2000, Hall 1993, Parker 2000 [2004], Potter 2000, Van Dijk 1998a).

In adopting Bourdieu's field theory, his encouragement of "radical doubt" is embraced through exploring where contra-perspectives and alternative analyses can be made (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 235). This approach posits that discerning reality from such representations can only be assessed, and research can only be successful, with a thoroughly reflexive understanding of researcher positionality in perceptions of the 'world' being analysed (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, Byrne 1998). In this sense, the research contained within this study intends to build an awareness of the subjective nature of discourse analysis, and adopts a structure of analysis within a rigorous framework to both systematically evaluate and analyse data, outlined more fully in the following chapter.<sup>51</sup> Discourse analysis frameworks and textual analysis methods provide a means of assessing representations of the power dynamics and in-group/out-group differentiation of journalism as a field and a professional in-group. The specific methodological frameworks in this study embrace Bourdieu's work on language's ability to develop that field internally, and language's power and ability to represent that field externally (Bourdieu 1990, 1991).

These dynamics are emblematic of the power that is at the core of most discourse studies, and certainly of the power of defining journalistic belonging and journalism's societal roles (Fowler 1991, Van Dijk 1998b, van Leeuwen 1995). As Bourdieu understands discourse as the produce of a relationship between the speaker and the reader, it can only be analysed through understanding its development, its delivery, and its perceived reception. As such, news texts lend themselves to being understood and analysed as representing the power relations of a journalistic field. A discursive

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<sup>51</sup> A full address of how reflexivity within this thesis is built into its research methodology is reflected in Chapter 3.0.

practice that lends itself to theories of social construction of reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966), such a journalistic field carries particular aspects power in that societal construction through discourse (Schultz 2007).

Discourse analysis within the social sciences is often allied with structuralist epistemologies, and language as a form of social practice vis-à-vis societal power as Schultz (2007) writes. This was seen as a post-modern antidote to the objective epistemologies of positivism (Comte 1868) and to the focus on empirical falsification theorised by Popper (1972), and, for Bourdieu's work, presented a post-structuralist intervention with structuralism and phenomenology to reflect *habitus* built on individual dispositions (Bourdieu 1994: 555f2). Structuralism, interpretivism, and critical realism all represent departures from positivist epistemologies and have since been embedded in the recognised and well-established methodologies of discourse analysis. Since its emergence, discourse analysis methodologists have defended its interpretive approach and potential subjectivity against objective and positivist views that insist reality can be objectively observed, and against those that seek to use such an objective approach to align social sciences with more hypothesis-based research in the physical sciences.

This thesis also approaches its analysis with an epistemologically interpretivist understanding, underpinned by a strong reflexivity that acknowledges subjective tendencies in analysis (Gill 2000: 172-173), and structures its analysis accordingly by considering four aspects of analysis:

A concern with discourse itself; a view of language as constructive and constructed; an emphasis upon discourse as a form of action; and a conviction in the rhetorical organisation of discourse. (ibid.: 174)

The approach in this thesis, while leaning heavily on Bourdieu, finds that by steeping its development in varied epistemologies, emerging and ever-shifting dynamics of interaction within journalism can be approached with an agility to the ways discourses can be assessed as constructing society through representations (Burr 1995). More purely structural in terms of the hierarchies and power dynamics at play (Bourdieu 1994, 1968), and analytically mindful of the interpretivist lenses inherent to discourse studies and analysis; that “discourse constructs the speaker’s understanding of the world” (Gill 2000: 173).<sup>52</sup>

This thesis also takes caution, bearing in mind the critiques of these approaches that have developed over time, and seeks to avoid overreliance on language as an absolute definer of societal power relations. Instead, discourses are approached as an element of social practice and a component of societal representation and power building (Gill 2000: 175, Kress 1991: 85-86). In this consideration, there is an element of interpretivism that remains mindful of the subjectivity of the researcher’s place within inquiry, and acknowledges the limits of assessing impact and influence when research focuses on reading and analysis of texts (Byrne 1998). Rather than discordant, these approaches provide an epistemological vantage that meets the demands of the questions and inquiry at hand.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> This also appreciates the epistemological traditions of social structuralism, what Luhmann refers to as “structural coupling” (Luhmann 1977, 2000). Structuralism views language as capable of defining and delineating identities through differentiation and within this understanding, there are elements of structuralism and constructionism incorporated inherent with discourse analysis approaches.

<sup>53</sup> Returning to the theoretical foundation of this research and its approach to discourses as representative of journalism’s field through articulating societal differentiation and power, the specific journalistic *doxa* provides a way of understanding the held identity of journalism’s professional identity. In it, we can see elements of a strong relationship between expressions of that *doxa* and the *habitus* it emerges from as textual expressions of an idealised professional identity. *Habitus*, as the specific socialised structure from which these expressions emerge, represents the

This underpins analysis of discourses of journalism in news texts as representing a) the beliefs, roles, and identities that inform the field under analysis; the journalism professional in-group and identity, and b) the product of negotiation between the in-group and the risks and challenges posed by an out-group claiming belonging. To the point of *doxa* and *habitus*, these expressions reinforce a system within society bounded by both perceived and expressed belonging. Field theory and *doxa* and *habitus*, then, provide a rationale for understanding journalism as forming the first component of the in-group/out-group dynamics of *interloper media reactions*, the latter half coming through out-group distancing, and the sorts of identity through differentiation outlined in Luhmann's systems theory (Luhmann 1977) and through language as as symbolic representation of power (Bourdieu 1991, Schultz 2007).

For this thesis, these also inform the approach of analysing textual expressions as representative of a *doxa*, allowing discourses to be identified further as representing the *habitus* that also defines journalism's profession as a system through differentiation (Luhmann 1977). Philosophically, this represents a) the underlying premises of a definition of a *de facto* journalism profession built on exclusive in-group understandings of its place in contrast to out-group members, and b) how the expression of difference and distance preserves that *doxa* and in-group belonging and reinforces non-belonging, thereby rebuffing *interloper* claims. This assuages two veins of argumentation against defining journalism through professional identity and cohesion;

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confluence of "individuals' predispositions, assumptions, judgments, and behaviors [sic] the result of a long-term process of socialization" (Benson and Neveu 2005: 3) towards an in-group identity that, while not permanent, is stubborn and persistent. The articulations of these elements of belonging in news texts offer a representation of the *doxa* and the socialised space of the field, the *habitus*.

the first being the varied classifications used to define journalism, the second exploring how *de jure* and regulated definitions of professions fail to apply to journalism.<sup>54</sup>

## 2.2 DEFINING JOURNALISM: A PROFESSIONAL IN-GROUP

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Towards a conceptual definition of journalism and building on field theory and in-group/out-group articulations, this study now moves to explore approaches of categorising or defining journalism. This maps the way journalism's in-group/out-group dynamics promote the adoption of journalism as a profession built on professional identity, and how that draws on elements of journalism across a range of approaches taken to capture a concept of journalism.<sup>55</sup> While there are varied approaches to understanding journalism, seemingly disparate, across these categorisations there are key elements that weave throughout, similarities that allow the development of journalism's professional identity through in-group/out-group dynamics.

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<sup>54</sup> However, it is wise to consider Bourdieu (2005) again in this discussion to locate the elements of a specific *doxa* within the journalistic field. Narrow foci can be mapped onto the way Luhmann (1977) and Habermas (1984) both provide instructive but not prescriptive theorising of the ability of language to communicate difference, systemising society, and reinforcing societal structures. The emphasis on distinct boundaries between systems is, as Benson and Neveu (2005) identify, predicated on traditionally dominant constructs of communication being replicated in modern contexts. Indeed, the challenge to the in-group's primacy can be understood as part of a seeming fracture of distinct mediated spaces and the way previously defined genres and forms have become more susceptible (Benkler 2011; Siles and Boczkowski 2012). Considering this challenge, if expressions of journalistic belonging represent the *doxa*, they can also help locate and reconcile how that in-group defines its field around an inherent and self-perceived distinction of its primacy and exclusivity as a reaction to new media and to *interloper* entities toward a uniformity in the face of perceived threats (Bourdieu 2005: 44).

<sup>55</sup> Briefly, the various categorisations and definitions of journalism that have emerged include Zelizer's (2004a, 2010) and Reese's (2008, 2007) interpretive communities, Deuze's (1999, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2007, 2010, 2002) journalism-as-profession, Schudson's (1978, 1989, 1995, 2003) shared identity definitions, Örnebring's (2009, 2010a, 2010b) and Aldridge and Evetts' (2003) professional identity research, as well as Tuchman's (1972, 1978) research into journalism's ritual practices, and Tunstall's (1970, 1971) and Ettema's (2010) use of journalism as 'culture'.

Such consistencies are identified by Hanitzsch (2007), and later emerging in his work assessing journalists' sense of their roles across countries (2011). Hanitzsch finds that, regardless of the terms used or the traditions respondents come from, a field of journalism emerges through constancy in the way journalists perceive their. Such findings return the argument to field theory, and indeed Hanitzsch's use of journalistic milieus assesses journalism through field theory (Hanitzsch 2011: 478). Drawing out consistencies across differentiated approaches shows where field theory and journalistic identity offer explanatory heft. For instance, while defining journalism as a culture invokes similarities with more recent articulations of journalism as a profession reliant on identity considerations (Aldridge and Evetts 2003), the categorisation of journalism as a culture still benefits from added dynamics of identity-building and in-group/out-group creation. For those journalists, including Pilger (2006) and practitioners interviewed by Harcup (2005), who continue to define their journalism as a craft in the classical sense, their invocation of shared ethical and truth-telling standards resonate with concepts of a journalistic field and *doxa*.<sup>56</sup>

When viewed through the theories of Bourdieu and located in news discourses, journalism can be analysed as a profession coalesced around its internal sense of identity and societal roles and its sense of an elevated place particularly in democratic

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<sup>56</sup> While varied categorisations define journalism on specific points, each with their merits, adopting field theory and the journalism of professional identity bridges the dissonance. Furthermore, this develops a relatively stable idea of journalism around professional identity out of this dissonance, and explores how identity research and sociological approaches to professional identity offer coherence across these perspectives. Mindful of Bourdieu's demonstration that efforts towards distinction within the communicative field can lead to greater uniformity (2005: 44), this thesis approaches journalistic identity as representative of a reinforced *doxa* and as agreed upon complicities that present a unified field of 'journalism' to society, smoothing over individual characteristics (Bourdieu 1991, 1994, 2005: 36, 44). To be clear, this approach intentionally adopts a coherent view of journalism as a functional and analytical tool, and while that allows for critique in instances, it will be shown how this coherent and uniform view of journalism is reflective of the ways a narrow set of expressions of what journalism 'is' provide the basis for articulations of identity reacting to new and emerging interloper media.

societies, which is then expressed in texts in-group adherence to criteria of belonging. These expressions reflect elements of a specific and exclusive *doxa* held by ‘ordained’ bearers of the journalism identity, employed in a manner that then allows journalism to be considered a *de facto* (if not *de jure*) profession (Hughes 1963). This forms the foundation for exploring how journalism’s reactions to *interloper media* are in fact predicated on defining journalism as a professional in-group built on particular aspects of professional identity reinforced in articulations of belonging and non-belonging.

### 2.2.1 A PROFESSION OF JOURNALISM?

Despite – or perhaps because of – a persistent debate over whether journalism should be seen as a profession, the conceptual definition highlighted above can be addressed for how that definition fits within research of professions. Building on the identity of exclusivity to a journalistic field, definitions of professions with their emphasis on exclusive and unique knowledge substantiate the in-group/out-group dynamics of the journalistic field, and draw out the descriptions of professions made by Everett Hughes (1963). Further to this point, Silvio Waisbord in his work ‘Reinventing Professionalism’ identifies how applying the label of ‘profession’ to journalism involves contending with the range of debated categorisations, which results in a professional ambiguity that sometimes makes such definitions unwieldy (2013: 89). To avoid a cumbersome unravelling of these many debates, effectively dealt with by Waisbord (2013), this section will focus on how shared identity elements spanning various definitions of journalism are resolved by labelling journalism a profession.<sup>57</sup> This is enhanced by a

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<sup>57</sup> These identity components provide further support for adopting the dynamics of field theory towards understanding in-group/out-group belonging of journalism



rule-bound definition of its profession through a perceived public service role (See Chapter 1.0) and professional aspiration, centring the field on professional attributes (Waisbord 2013: 73-74).

For the first of these elements pertinent to in-group identity, there is journalism as a community. In purely etymological terms, the idea of a journalistic community suggests a sense of belonging, and a coherence of in-group dynamics. Reflective of the “uniformity” Bourdieu (2005: 44) identifies, the idea of a coherent journalistic community also informs the “dominant vision” (ibid.: 36) of the journalistic field and profession. Zelizer (2010) and Reese (2008), for instance, use the phrase “interpretive communities” in describing journalists and the broader field of journalism. Zelizer (1993b) takes this tack as a departure from the professional label to describe journalism as a community united around the shared interpretation of public events, rather than around shared professional attributes.

While Zelizer (1993) emphasises the interpretive community as a more appropriate label than that of ‘profession’, her later revisiting this conceptualisation in 2010 dealing with new media images of the execution of Saddam Hussein provides points of similarity with the adoption of the professional label here.<sup>58</sup> In the latter work, Zelizer emphasises how journalism as an ‘interpretive community’ adapt to change, “united through their collective interpretation” of events (Zelizer 2010: 182). In the case of Hussein’s execution, this was the near-uniform decision to broadcast or print mobile phone images of his execution. This represents, to Zelizer, the way journalists can

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<sup>58</sup> This later case (2010) explores how news media around the world used cell-phone footage of the hanging of Hussein, and reflected an interpretive community through articulating their decision-making as a necessary adaptation to changing dynamics of content sourcing.

address change – such as citizen witnessing and ‘amateur’ footage – “by doing what they have always done” (2010: 182) and making adjustments in their typical practice. As it does with defining belonging, discourses factor into this adaptation, to ‘discuss’ changes as they present (ibid.: 188).<sup>59</sup>

Zelizer’s (2010) collectivity, and Bourdieu’s (2005) uniformity, can both be seen as underpinning Tunstall’s (1970, 1971) studies of the Westminster lobby of political journalists in London, and Ettema’s (2010) broader study on the coherent cultures of journalism. Both scope elements of shared belonging, further describing journalists in terms of shared aspects of culture, while also incorporating elements emblematic of a shared community. Shared aspects of belonging are also detailed by Bell (1991), Schudson (1989, 1995), Deuze (2005a, 2005c), and by Tuchman (1972, 1978), with each describing journalism in terms of a shared adherence to various professional criteria. While Martin Eide (2010) refers to this as soft professionalism, there is an agreed-upon core that reinforces the perspective of journalism as a profession that reinforces journalism’s exclusivity and societal primacy.

Others label journalism as a constellation of practices, suggesting that disparate definitions can still be unified in a broader perspective focusing on the shared emphases on news-making with truth-seeking elements, thereby differentiating journalism from other forms of communication (Barnhurst and Owens 2008: 2557). Jacquette identifies the myriad and shifting conceptions as: “vocation, trade, craft and profession in the

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<sup>59</sup> Much like the uniformity of Bourdieu’s journalistic field, Zelizer’s (2010) focus on interpretive communities carries a further emphasis on the practices of news-making, and in that study ‘collectivity’ is not dissonant towards field approaches, but rather otherwise focused. For professional understandings, however, the elements of belonging and identity provide a stronger basis of coherence than mere shared practices; a note that is carried throughout this thesis.

most general sense” (2010: 214), but emphasises that these individual categorisations require adherence to shared guiding principles, regardless of the term applied to journalism. To Jacquette’s point, defining journalism as a profession extends beyond an analytical prism and offers an apt description of the profession as a product of shared elements, on which journalism’s in-group:

- a) articulates its exclusivity through the elements of field theory explored previously,
- b) articulates its exclusivity through the in-group/out-group divisions analysed in this thesis, and
- c) articulates its exclusivity around criteria long used to define professions.

Traditionally, these elements contribute to a shared set of criteria, a criteria of belonging, that reflects how professions are defined through the possession of esoteric knowledge or exclusive skills by a set of individuals, the professionals; the transmission of their knowledge, as with clergy, or skills, as with medicine, to a public by those professionals; and through exclusive possession of specialist knowledge that is applied objectively in a manner non-professionals would be unable to (Hughes 1963).<sup>60</sup> To Hughes, these elements form core components of professional definitions and as such can be applied to understand professions’ absent strictures of regulation or formal licensure, the *de jure* profession. Instead, Hughes views the concept of the license as fitting both *de facto* and *de jure* professions through the focus on exclusivity, only codified in professions built on a legal notion of professional accreditation or professional licensure. This allows concepts of a profession to extend beyond those

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<sup>60</sup> These elements – a specific skill and knowledge set, an exclusivity, a transmission of knowledge, and a sense of objective ability – emerge in Chapters 4.0 and 5.0.

where individual – rather than organisational<sup>61</sup> – membership is regulated, such as medicine or law.<sup>62</sup> This further enables the consideration of journalism as a profession around notions of professions built on exclusive ownership of a set of knowledge, skills, and of transmission of that knowledge. Through this, professionals define themselves and their professions, emboldened by viewing exclusivity of belonging as part of a *de facto* licensure:

This is the basis of the license, both in the narrow sense of legal permission and in the broader sense that the public allows those in a profession a certain leeway in their practice and perhaps in their very way of living and thinking. (Hughes 1963: 656)

This provides the first point of understanding journalism as a profession tied to sets of perceived and expressed criteria, and further theorised as a distinct field built on belonging and non-belonging. In doing so this approach adds structure to Bourdieu’s “uniformity” (2005: 44), allowing journalism to be cast through the ways it confronts newness – new entities, new technologies, and new opportunities – while also making sense of its understanding through a collective set of knowledge, skills, and accepted dynamics of transmitting that knowledge to a public (Zelizer 2010).<sup>63</sup> By defining journalism as a profession, it necessarily excludes arguments for the vocation, occupation, trade, craft, and culture of journalism definitions. However in focusing on in-group/out-group identity expressions elemental to each of these, their pertinence is not ignored. Rather, focusing on these as expressions of journalism’s professional

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<sup>61</sup> This separates the regulation of journalists as professionals from the regulation of media outlets under trade, competition, and other legal structures.

<sup>62</sup> Medicine and law provide archetypal definitions across research, including Hughes (1963). Other such archetypal professions include the military (Huntington 1964) and clergy (Hughes 1963).

<sup>63</sup> This consideration of professions incorporating a “certain leeway” (Hughes 1963: 656) is later addressed with regard to reporter privilege by Peters (2011), but in the first instance allows the development of research on professions to depart from a profession defined by a professional structure, and allows for a focus on professions defined by identity with regard to society.

identity provides a robust characterisation of how journalism can be analysed as a profession by incorporating counter-definitions of journalism as a trade, a practice, a culture, occupation, interpretive community, and various other categorisations through the complicities smoothed over to unify the dominant vision of the journalistic field (Bourdieu 2005:36). Through the emphasis on exclusive possession of a set of skills and knowledge (Hughes 1963), the elements across these categories are strikingly coherent even when articulated as disparate.

Dale Jacquette (2010) consolidates the various definitions under the auspices of an ethical journalistic identity. The shared sense of ethical norms Jacquette describes pushes the more disparate definitions of journalism inward and towards a definition of professional identity. This centre point contributes to journalism's professional identity the elements of esoteric knowledge, which Hughes (1963) identifies at the core of professions. In terms of accreditation, education, and expertise, Mark Deuze (2005a) sees these as providing exclusive elements of belonging, while providing identifiable elements of the specific *doxa* of journalism's unique field (Bourdieu 2005).<sup>64</sup> This further enhances the professional measure of distinction separating journalism within society, and moves an exploration of ethics forward as an aspect of its societal belonging. Jacquette finds this provides "an ideal of journalism as a noble profession that has the potential at every level of participation to serve as a force for social good" (2010: 214).

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<sup>64</sup> This was further raised as a point of consolidation and differentiation between traditional media and online media during the Leveson Inquiry in the United Kingdom, when Lord Justice Leveson suggested there was no expectation of ethical adherence to the ethical ideals in new media spaces: "People will not assume that what they read on the Internet is trustworthy or that it carries any particular assurance or accuracy; it need be no more than one person's view" (Stewart-Robinson 2012).

Jacquette's use of "ideal", "noble profession", and "force for social good" are not isolated, and they reflect the moralistic language that often imbue the ideal-typical self representation of journalism (Hampton 2004, 2010; Nerone 2004). Particularly in reflecting a self-perception of journalism's identity articulated in aspirational language<sup>65</sup>, these elements fuel the development of an in-group as self-maintained and allow journalists to self-define their profession and to label others as not belonging.<sup>66</sup> In exploring this in-group/out-group dichotomy, this thesis can progress to understand how journalism reacts to the claims of belonging made by those perceived as out-group. Those reactions, when revolving around the idealised, noble, identity elements that separate journalism from non-journalism, reinforce the parameters of journalism's field and profession and differentiate journalism from new media entities (Arant and Anderson 2001, Blood 2003, Brown 2005, Lasica 2003, Newman 2009, Overholser 2002). Importantly, this takes the idea of professions towards professional identity, which adopts a sociological approach (Aldridge 1998, Aldridge and Evetts 2003) in line with Bourdieu's distinctions and fields (1984, 1994).<sup>67</sup>

To explore this further, take Barbie Zelizer's definitions of journalism alternating between the product of the "caretaker" of information, or as a profession, an institution, a text, a people, or a set of practices (1993a, 2004a, 2010). Rather than suggest these are

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<sup>65</sup> Rusbridger (2010) in his Hugh Cudlipp lecture provides one of the clearest articulations of this when he highlights the seeming contradiction of traditional roles and perceptions while embracing new media technologies and their possibilities.

<sup>66</sup> cf. Data and Analysis I

<sup>67</sup> While approaching journalism as a profession could be viewed as simple operationalization, that the criteria underpinning the self-identification of the journalistic profession reflect the in-group/out-group divisions found in reactions to WikiLeaks discount this claim. As with Jacquette's (2010) view that various definitions of journalism adhere to an array of shared aspects, professions and professional identity also provide a navigable path through the myriad definitions that would otherwise discourage analysis. To that end, this chapter will proceed to adopt a view of professions as built on professional identity. This blazes that navigable path, substantiates elements of *doxa* and *habitus* tied to the field, and draws on classical criteria used to define professions developed by Huntington (1964) and Hughes (1963).

incoherent with professional identity, when viewed through the prism of professional identity they offer a means of bridging different research and analytical frameworks, which otherwise diverge based on the precise object of inquiry. Indeed, several of these concepts contribute to the ways journalism will be understood in this research and inform an adoption of journalism as a professional in-group with a unique professional identity, and are addressed by the professional identity studies of both Örnebring (2010a, 2010b) and Aldridge and Evetts (2003), and the way Waisbord (2013) and Jacquette (2010) use these myriad approaches to home in on where journalism's profession is united.<sup>68</sup>

At its core, this research takes the approach that journalism is a profession, but its effort is not to define the minutiae of journalism's profession around structures or processes, or to resolve dispute of its label steeped in political, critical, or occupational studies. Rather, it focuses on how journalism acts as a profession, and how the dynamics of journalism's professional adherence discern the means through which an in-group of journalism expresses what constitutes journalism. From that perspective, the distance ascribed to emerging entities that challenge such definitions can be better understood. This draws on the key elements identified by Hughes (1963) that distinguish professions as exclusive from other participants in society.

#### *2.2.1.1 PROFESSIONAL EXCLUSIVITY*

In this thesis' focus on journalism as a distinct in-group, and the boundary building that reinforces such distinction, the aim is to depart from views of journalism as a non-profession built on structural criteria and build instead on sociological approaches that

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<sup>68</sup> Further yet, Zelizer engages with each of these labels actively (1993, 2010).

relate identity and common in-group criteria of *doxa* and the journalistic field to define the profession. Additional conciliatory bases for this approach can be found in shared practices arguments put forward by sociologists who have studied the work and routines of journalists (Chalaby 1998, Dickinson 2007, 2010; Schudson 2003, Tuchman 1972, 1978). It also draws on work that advances these arguments through pairing them with studies on the ‘tasks’ of journalists done by Örnebring (2010a), Weaver (1998, Weaver and Wilhoit (1986), as well as studies of new media technologies, such as that of Wall (2004), labelling blogs as “black market journalism”, or Herring, et al. (2004, 2005) looking at new media as a bridging of genres, perhaps towards a post-modern journalism (Wall 2005). Across these approaches, there is an array of descriptors that quantify the product and process of journalism, but built into each there is an element of coherent identity and professionalism that encompasses the field more consistently.

This argument for professional identity shunning structure-based definitions of professions reflects the way a projected and dominant identity of journalism can be located within news texts as a discourse of journalism’s societal place and power (Schultz 2007). This develops on the work of Hughes (1963) who explores a profession’s connection and expression of knowledge as definitional, with news discourses providing that expression of specific knowledge for journalism, allowing a journalism profession to articulate its unique characteristics in such a way as to make it invaluable and irreplaceable.<sup>69</sup> This is carried out, in part, through obfuscation:

The nature of the knowledge, substantive or theoretical, on which advice and action are based is not always clear; it is often a mixture of several kinds of practical and theoretical knowledge. But it is part of the professional complex, and of the professional claim, that the practice should rest upon some branch of knowledge to which the professionals are privy by virtue of long study and by

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<sup>69</sup> In the case of journalism, the irreplaceable ‘Fourth Estate’ (Hampton 2010).



initiation and apprenticeship under masters already members of the profession. (ibid.: 655-656).

Hughes' emphasis on knowledge, training, and the "privy" nature of that knowledge, emphasises the criteria by which professions enforce their primacy and authority as an in-group. While neither apprenticeship nor initiation is, strictly speaking, part of the journalistic identity, this concept reflects the ways journalism's identity is sometimes based on a tautological defence: journalism is the work of journalists. Through articulating its primacy over the journalistic field as that of an in-group with shared expertise or education or experience, journalism (the product) is defined as that which is produced by journalism (the profession). Hughes' work explores the way such articulations further define the profession as self-made claims of legitimacy and primacy:

Professions profess. They profess to know better than others the nature of certain matters, and to know better than their clients what ails them or their affairs. (ibid.:656)

Hughes goes further yet to identify the ways professions, in professing, depend on "a close solidarity" of members "constituting some measure of a group apart and with an ethos of its own" (657). These elements all play out in the focus on expressions, in-group/out-group identity building, and speak to the nature of journalism's self-defined, and self-enforced profession, as approachable through Bourdieu's treatment of uniformity towards a dominant vision (2005: 44), not to mention Zelizer's "collectivity" (2010: 182).

Language of primacy amounts to a performance of professionalism, something Deuze (2010a) carries beyond language to focus on the activity of news reporting and gathering as performance of practices that serve to support what professions "know

better” (Hughes 2005: 656). Elsewhere, Deuze (2005b) identifies professionals in journalism (as well as advertising and marketing) as foregrounding this aspect to their identity, and tying it to a civic and societal, function, having:

traditionally been defined in terms of telling people what they need to know’ and in journalism, that ‘telling’ related to what people needed to ‘function as citizens in democracy’ (Deuze 2005b: 3).<sup>70</sup>

This identification is firmly implanted in the traditions of liberal, public service-oriented journalism that underpin definitions of journalism around a social function at the core of journalism’s identity, thus substantiating its professional identity.<sup>71</sup> Specifically, this decline with regard to journalism has been identified as commercialising, and abandoning public service ideals towards something akin to Donsbach’s (2010) commercial tradition. In literature examining professional identity, such profit motivations are cited as a strong pressure on journalism’s professional identity, though it remains unclear whether that has usurped public service as a motivation across quality newspapers (Örnebring 2010b; Hampton 2010: 6-7).<sup>72</sup>

To inform the role of professional identity in journalism, there is a notion that in the face of commercialising trends and other external pressures, a reactive invigoration of traditional ideals found in news texts can reaffirm the idealised self-perception of

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<sup>70</sup> Also addressed by Graber (2003), and in the context of online news media by Goode (2009).

<sup>71</sup> The possession of a role to play in democratic societies contributes to these expressions of exclusivity, and idealised elements of belonging are consistently identified at the core of how journalists articulate a sense of journalism (Jacquette 2010), even if they are simultaneously described as in decline or reshaping (Deuze 2005c, Robinson 2006). As will be clear in the methodology, initial reviews of public statements and interviews with individuals involved in the case study under review expressed in clear terms the elements of public service and social responsibility that form the basis for these statements, but they can be found historically in the work of Hampton (2004; 2010) as well.

<sup>72</sup> Bishop (2004), Connell (1998), Deuze (2005a), and Trench and Quinn (2003), among many others, all discuss the role commercial interests and profits have played in altering the news media landscape, though these shifts present as challenges to the normative ideals of journalism, rather than aspects of change which alter or remove these ideals, including for those committed to public service, while operating as commercial enterprises (Donsbach 2010)

journalism (Conboy and Eldridge 2014).<sup>73</sup> Building on concepts of the journalistic field as united, with adherents adopting professional criteria, this approach is not beholden to traditionally strict criteria previously applied to define ‘professions’ and ‘professionals’ (Donsbach 2010) and provides a conciliatory definition of journalism as a profession.<sup>74</sup>

#### 2.2.1.2 PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

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As the field defines its own belonging, and in-group’s dictate criteria of membership, the (mostly) unregulated nature of journalism’s professionalism, and the (mostly) non-existent licensure or bureaucratic criteria for belonging, allow journalism to be characterised as a self-defined profession (Deuze 2005a, 2005b). Reflecting Hughes’ (1963) broader conceptualisation of license, this self-determination can be explored through concepts of professional identity, allowing the expressions of in-group out-group belonging to further define what is and what is not within the scope of the profession, rather than as imposed on journalism by entities situated outside of the profession, such as a regulatory overseer or ruling body.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Also developed in Conboy, M. and Eldridge, S. II (2013) ‘Morbid symptoms: between a dying and a re-birth (apologies to Gramsci)’, presented at the Future of Journalism Conference, at Cardiff University, 12 September 2013.

<sup>74</sup> During the initial stages of this research, Lord Justice Leveson’s inquiry into News International’s phone-hacking and more broadly made the same analogy. In comments regarding professional codes and regulations, he noted that unlike legal and medical professionals who can be “struck off” for failures, the work of the press, failed or otherwise, is protected as freedom of expression. (See: <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2012/feb/28/leveson-inquiry-nick-davies-chris-jefferies-live#block-40>)

<sup>75</sup> In this instance, the reference is focusing on Hallin and Mancini’s research (2004) into comparative Media Systems. Hallin and Mancini illustrate that, while licensure is often considered a criteria of professionalism, Italy is the only ‘Western’ country that requires their reporters be licensed as such, and yet Italy is regarded as a highly non-professional Media System on nearly every other criteria of journalistic professionalism. This is further discussed in Kleinstueber (2007), who has sought to extend Hallin and Mancini’s work by incorporating analysis of the Media Systems outside of the Western world. Furthermore, this is a strictly press-based analogy, as most broadcaster activity falls under some regulatory framework, either by charter or by legislative structures.

This approach is hardly arbitrary as it addresses how journalism consistently operates according to shared organisational and cultural tendencies. Michael Schudson's (1989, 1995, 2003) work on the sociology of news media in the United States identifies this behaviour as that of a pack mentality, with journalists highly attuned to the activities of fellow members of the in-group. Schudson outlines the intra-professional focus of journalism's discourse and practices, one that results in similar editorial strategies and, as a result, very similar news agendas across outlets (Schudson 1989, 1995, 2001).<sup>76</sup> Similarities and uniformities extend beyond self-identification to how news and information are selected and transmitted by the profession and can be seen as representing the world in ways that are more than coincidentally similar and as representations of group dynamics and identity. Similarities create a sphere of communicative uniformity that Hall, et al. (1978) and Anderson (1983 [1991]), among others, tie to theories of news media as constructors of a social and cultural reality (Giddens 1984, Stones 2005, Wodak, et al. 1999). As measures of belonging, similarities are enhanced when encountering a defined out-group of non-journalism members or external pressures. The existence of such an in-group/out-group framework cements an identification of some news media as within a journalism profession, and others as outside (Schudson 1995: 216), developing further when the intra-group discourse identified by Schudson and by Alan Bell (1991) is extended to discourses of peer accountability. This last point is discussed further below (See Section 2.4.2).

Exploring research on journalism's professional identity augments an analytical focus on articulations of similarity to address the relationship between how journalism

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<sup>76</sup> Once again, this reflects the Zelizer's (2010) collectivity of news foci and Bourdieu's (2005) uniformity of in-group identity. Schudson's work on the sociology of news both resonates and has resonated across a range of such research, and aspects of identity and group identity are embedded in his findings.

perceives its profession internally, and projections of difference reinforcing that professional space externally (See: Sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3, above). Understanding identity as a unifying concept around which a profession of journalism can be defined represents the ways discourses incorporate shared practices and knowledge as defences of primacy responding to external claims, but also as competencies held by the profession. Donsbach's (2010) treatment of shared competencies reflects Hughes' (1963) definition of professions around knowledge, transmission, and skills. To Donsbach, these are:

a grasp of relevant history, current affairs, etc.; a specialised subject expertise; a scientific understanding of communication processes; a mastery of journalistic and reporting skills; and finally, working as a professional within professional ethical norms. (Donsbach 2010: 45).

This, again, brings professional definitions towards those built on identity, with a semblance of uniformity (Örnebring 2010a), cementing a shared construct and perception of what journalists do, particularly within the traditions that are at the core of this study;<sup>77</sup> extended to draw together perceptions and roles as transcending troublesome definitions that depend on organisational structures, or specific educational, training, accreditation, or membership criteria.

Among the shared aspects of belonging there are four that are consistently raised across models and traditions of journalism and addressed within this work that speak to journalism's perceived 'role' in society through its aspirational, idealised, and noble elements, with minor variations of how they are categorised between constructs. McNair (2009) labels these four as: 1) source of information; 2) watchdog on power; 3) mediator between the government and people; 4) advocate of social issues. Weaver and

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<sup>77</sup> An amalgamation of the Liberal Media System (Hallin and Mancini 2004); Social Responsibility Theory (Siebert, et al. 1956), and Donsbach's (2010) Public Service Tradition.

Wilhoit (1986) similarly list these as: 1) disseminator, 2) adversary, 3) interpreter-investigator, and 4) populist-mobilizer, Donsbach and Patterson (2004) as: 1) Passive-neutral, 2) passive advocate, 3) active-neutral, 4) active advocate, and Hanitzsch's (2011) four milieus of: 1) Populist-disseminator, 2) detached watchdog, 3) critical change agent and 4) opportunist facilitator<sup>78</sup>, and Deuze's (2005c) five elements as: 1) "ideal-typical traits or values" of public service, 2) objectivity, 3) autonomy, 4) immediacy, and 5) ethics (Deuze 2005c: 446-447). While not exhaustive, these can be diagrammed as:

<p><b>JOURNALISM</b></p> <p>A DISTINCT FIELD IN SOCIETY SELF-IDENTIFIED BY ITS MEMBERS' EXPRESSED ADHERENCE TO IDEALISED TRAITS AND ROLES THAT UNDERPIN ① <b>THE TRANSMISSION OF FACTS AS INFORMATION</b> TO A ② <b>PUBLIC IN THEIR INTEREST</b>; FURTHER DEFINED BY A PROVISION OF ③ <b>CONTEXT AND ANALYSIS, BUILT ON EXPERTISE</b>, AND AS ④ <b>INTEGRAL TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES</b>.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>① <b>INFORMATION DRIVEN:</b> SOURCE OF INFORMATION (MCNAIR 2009); DISSEMINATOR (WEAVER AND WILHOIT 1986); POPULIST-DISSEMINATOR (HANITZSCH 2011)</p> <p>② <b>PUBLICLY INTERESTED:*</b> POPULIST-DISSEMINATOR (HANITZSCH 2011); POPULIST-MOBILIZER (WEAVER AND WILHOIT 1986); MEDIATOR BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE (MCNAIR 2009). PASSIVE ADVOCATE (DONSBACH AND PATTERSON 2004)</p> <p>③ <b>VALUE ADDING:</b> INTERPRETER-INVESTIGATOR (WEAVER AND WILHOIT 1986); CRITICAL CHANGE AGENT (HANITZSCH 2011)</p> <p>④ <b>WATCHDOG/'FOURTH ESTATE':</b> DETACHED WATCHDOG (HANITZSCH 2011); INTERPRETER-INVESTIGATOR, AND ADVERSARY (WEAVER AND WILHOIT 1986); WATCHDOG ON POWER (MCNAIR 2009); AND, IN INSTANCES, ACTIVE-NEUTRAL, ACTIVE ADVOCATE (DONSBACH AND PATTERSON 2004)</p> <p>.....</p> <p>*WITHIN THE CATEGORY OF PUBLICLY INTERESTED ALSO EMERGE 'SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY' IMPERATIVES, DRAWING ON POINTS 1 AND 4.</p>
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<sup>78</sup> Watchdog is the dominant milieu across the 18 countries Hanitzsch analyses.

These criteria of journalistic identity and belonging and the aspirational ideals they espouse inform the framework for locating a *doxa* of journalism's professional identity in expressions of belonging, reinforcing in-group/out-group dynamics of the profession, and allowing analysis of news texts as discourses of that identity that informs the empirical elements of this thesis. However, even developed within a framework of shared aspects of professional identity, the adoption of a definition of journalism as a profession remains neither straightforward nor unproblematic.

Understanding journalism's identity as that of a profession requires articulating how the shared aspects of both the profession and the product of journalism persist in the face of valid critiques of the liberal media system, socially-responsible theory, and public service tradition they are often aligned with (Donsbach 2010, Hallin and Mancini 2004, Siebert, et al. 1956). The approach of understanding journalism as a profession is not always well received by journalism itself, and it remains an aspect of debates within journalism scholarship. Counter-intuitively, describing journalism as unified creates fractures both within academia and those who work as journalists, the subject of inquiry, as Henrik Örnebring highlights:

Like most social science concepts, professionalization is contested, not least when it comes to journalism. Many journalists have resisted labelling theirs as a profession, preferring instead to call it a trade or craft, and this ambivalence (or even antipathy) towards the idea of journalism as a profession is reflected in scholarship on the professionalization of journalism as well. (2010a: 568).

Despite the antipathy, research into the description of professionalism and professions has persisted and now extends beyond traditional definitions that restrict understandings to the strictly organised structures or regulated definitions that have hampered these debates previously (Burrage and Torstendahl 1990). Evetts (2003, 2006) assesses this approach as *passé*, noting the ways sociologists have applied the use of identity to

address professional and professionalism and the ways it spans across occupational groups, systems, and fields as embraced here.

Analysing journalism as a profession from a sociological identity-based perspective broaches the range of shared aspects addressed across this research. Indeed, this allows researchers to extend modern studies beyond the historical bases or emphases on structures and routines and analysing the production end of journalism that have otherwise limited understandings of and research into professions. The sociological approach to identity is particularly salient for this study as it explores foregrounded interactions as utterances of belonging, further seen as emerging from within professions and between professions and groups. Rather than focusing on explicating the profession through structures previously used to analyse those constitutions of professions, professional identity focuses more on interaction and held beliefs; what Van Dijk calls journalistic ideologies (1998a). It also returns to Örnebring (2010a) and his work on the ways journalism as a profession is reinvigorated amid constant disruption and devolution of its professional structures. The concentration of the profession around shared aspects of professional identity reinforce viewing journalism through the prism of professionalism, even as such structures erode.

Debates over defining journalism as a profession will likely continue, at least in Anglo-American and European contexts, and the argument within this thesis welcomes such an on-going debate as it is representative of the way changes and ill-suited concepts of journalism force such discourse. Amid change and uncertainty, Donsbach's observation



from Chapter 1.0 is worth remembering.<sup>79</sup> Tie a profession of journalism to the journalistic field and the difficulty of the journalistic field expressing its legitimacy and distinct place in society (Bourdieu 2005), and the contestations over approaching journalism as a profession are all the more pertinent. As emerging actors claim similar belonging, and even as WikiLeaks' members, its supporters, and other *interloper media* would likely balk at a designation of their work as 'professional journalism' and as synonymous with establishment journalism beholden to those in power (Greenwald 2013, cf. Chapter 7.0), they would still likely ally their work with the idealised notions of the profession. Indeed it is the framing of the ideals around a term – professional journalism, the journalism profession – rather than a set of beliefs – the *doxa* – that seem to enhance the divisive nature of journalism's professional label.

However, developing this label around an identity construct can also centre the understanding of the profession around dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, and how journalism's self-expression of its professional identity provides a means to "justify inequality of status and to limit and control access to that status" (Donsbach 2010: 39). Inequality is a powerful component to understanding both the overt and covert aspects of identity-building processes analysed in this thesis, and focus on journalism's own perception as a legitimising and authorising voice and as a part of the power structures within society (Schudson 1995, 2003; Schultz 2007: 192). These dynamics of belonging and exclusion are also reflected in the processes of *interloper media reactions* developed in this thesis. To advance such an argument, Meryl Aldridge moves the understanding of professions beyond unsettled dynamics in work together with Julie

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<sup>79</sup> "There is no other profession in our modern societies where the gap between its undisputed importance for the whole of society and the perception of its borders, structures and competencies is so large." (Donsbach 2010: 38).

Evetts (2003), and in a separate study of the UK Press' unique shared 'mythmaking' behaviour (Aldridge 1998). In the earlier of those studies, Aldridge highlights the unified publishing strategies of major UK newspapers following the 1995 death of the London-based magazine editor Michael VerMeulen, and the mythmaking of his journalistic work as an aspect of the in-group dynamic.

Aldridge (1998) highlights how the identity of the press came together around VerMeulen's death; a rallying point to reconfirm and assert the more nostalgic and heroic elements of journalism's identity and the most idealised elements of the *doxa*. These activities, Aldridge posits, are exerted not merely as a memorialising process, but also as a means of counteracting commercial pressures on the press at that time (Aldridge 1998: 109). Now, as in the 1990s, pressures of de-skilling, profit motives and struggling business models, alongside commercialism, all pose challenges to the profession that provoke and augment the expression of the shared professional identity, which Örnebring (2009) highlights as concurrent forces of journalism's reinvigoration of professional identity.

While continuing to analyse debates over journalism's professional label at greater length would burden the advancement of this research, this overview makes clear the advantages and utility of discussing journalism as a profession for analysis of its in-group/out-group dynamics. Focusing on identity in defining journalism as a profession provides both a more conciliatory and a more applicable approach to the journalism-as-profession label. This conciliation provides the uniformity enacted to locate criteria of belonging, even as categorisations of journalism extend beyond traditional forms, organisations, and structures. As has been shown here, aspects of professional identity

and the noble, idealised and aspirational roles professional identity is comprised of make salient the internal identity perceptions that unite an understanding of journalism across the in-group. As with the work of Örnebring (2009, 2010a), and Aldridge and Evetts (2003), this research abandons structural licensure criteria and focuses instead on an adherence to specific ideals, perceptions and behaviours built on expressions of primacy (Hughes 1963: 656). In the next sub-section, further understanding of journalism in terms of the specific models, traditions and other categorisations will be discussed to cement identity as the prevailing force of a journalism profession.

#### *2.2.1.3 LIBERAL, SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE, AND PUBLICLY INTERESTED*

The criteria of aspirational, noble, and socially responsible journalism developed above are not, seemingly, reflective of all forms of journalism, and rather describe journalism through ideal types amid those typologies of journalism under study here. As ideal types, these extend across formats, content, and styles of news media assessed here, and elsewhere (Hanitzsch 2011).<sup>80</sup> While within this analysis, the news media involved are closely associated with the characteristics and values of a public service tradition, elements of the social responsibility theory, and of the liberal media system (Donsbach 2010; Hallin and Mancini 2004; Nerone 1995, 2004; Siebert, et al. 1956), such typologies also reflect Bourdieu's (2005) view of 'complicities' in the projected discourses of belonging and journalistic identity. Furthermore, while these typologies have been critiqued since their emergence<sup>81</sup>, the ideals represented continue to emerge

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<sup>80</sup> This is a rough approximation of the criteria Hallin and Mancini (2004) apply in dividing western Media Systems into three categories: Liberal, Democratic Corporatist, and Polarized Pluralist. It also incorporates Donsbach's (2010) formulation of three traditions, which divides across these attributes.

<sup>81</sup> Aspects of Siebert's theories are, at best, out-dated and Hallin and Mancini's classifications in particular are criticised for their broad comparisons.

in the discourses of journalism and as substantiations of the *doxa*.<sup>82</sup> As such, the elements of these models that remain salient to this study will be considered for how they advance the conceptual definition of journalism as a professional in-group.

Addressing Donsbach's three traditions of journalism offers a contemporary categorisation of elements the in-group definition revolves around, with a focus on its utility for understanding the profession. Expressions of adhering to a public service tradition of journalism, defined by its commitment to "valid information", "objectivity/plurality" of voices, "facts before opinions", and valuing the journalist as a "professional" (Donsbach 2010: 41) emerge in discourses of journalism, articulated as emblems of the in-group's identity.<sup>83</sup> The defining characteristics of Donsbach's public service tradition provide a contrast to both the largely out of vogue subjective tradition, which he describes as representing a Miltonian tradition of journalism (Milton 1644),<sup>84</sup> further distinct from the more profit-driven aspects of his third tradition, Commercial, emblematic of tabloids. The latter two traditions distinguish the underpinning of an idealised in-group view of journalism against the 'marketplace of ideas' in the subjective tradition and the market forces that drive the commercial tradition, to promote audiences as a public journalists are in service to, rather than co-evaluators of content, or a public to be catered to as consumers (Donsbach 2010: 41). The public

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<sup>82</sup> The use of Hallin and Mancini's Media System models does not ignore the critiques of the Media Systems approach. However, the example remains pertinent to this study as it addresses Donsbach's (2010) further dissection of media traditions. As the arguments made here contend that traditional ideals and values have persisted in the modern era, it is worth a critical exploration of the theories and research that have informed those ideals and values. Josephi (2005) critiques these approaches as well, challenging the relevance of an Anglo-American model in a globalised news landscape. This dynamic is also raised by Crack (2007).

<sup>83</sup> This tradition should not be considered as synonymous with the constructs of Public Service Broadcasters, which incorporate certain government and charter mandates dictating their service roles as outlined in Bromley (1997), and Conboy (2011).

<sup>84</sup> See the previous discussion of journalists who identify their role as writers within a 'craft' of journalism.

service tradition, then, articulates discourses of journalism reflective of its idealised self-perception, and a role of journalism as historically ‘ordained’ by society as a voice to otherwise unheard social causes, and challenging those in power and government that also resonates with how journalists express their in-group identities (Donsbach 2010: 38). These expressions are not necessarily limited to those Donsbach would class as within the public service tradition, as even ‘tabloidised’ or explicitly subjective media certainly express similar ideals (Connell 1998). However, it will be clear in the chapters that follow that these elements are evident in discourses of journalism within the news media in this work and, as such, those media outlets can be broadly classed as fitting the public service tradition.

Donsbach’s categorisation for journalism in the public service tradition, having been incorporated into the conceptual definition in Section 2.1, is in many ways inherent to the traditional media at the focus of this research in the Anglo-American context. However, it extends to represent a persistent and strong tradition of journalism found more broadly in Hanitzsch (2011). To that end, it also represents an ideal-typical journalism, built on noble traditions and idealised values and standards, further embraced through carrying out of idealised journalistic roles. If understood through Donsbach’s traditions, this bridges a dichotomous construction of public service versus commercial traditions as these idealised roles can be found in the expressed identities of many journalists and, in practice, even as news media incorporate commercial imperatives, they still foreground public service ideals as the projected journalism identity. Further yet, in all traditions gatekeeping and advocacy roles continue to filter through, even as these roles are more closely aligned with the subjective tradition

(Janowitz 1975).<sup>85</sup> Analytically, however, such ideal types offer a wash over critiques of distinct traditions and rather reflect the focus of this research as reflecting the way discourses show a *perceived* professional identity and field that is discrete in society, and more importantly, reflect how journalism wishes for its field to be perceived (Hanitzsch 2011). This helps outline the idealised and aspirational elements of professional identity that are then used to limit membership to that in-group as a profession and field by articulating the exclusivity of journalism's perceived role in society (Anderson 1983 [1991], McNair 2009).

#### 2.2.1.4 A CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO TYPOLOGIES

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As Connell (1998) and Deuze (2005a) both make clear, there is a blurring between 'quality' and 'tabloid' journalism in the modern era, on top of which commercial imperatives disrupt concrete divisions between 'types' of journalism such as 'public service' and 'commercial' (Donsbach 2010).<sup>86</sup> As such, an inquiry focused purely on that categorisation would quickly find flaws with such a broad mapping, and a recognition of crossover elements when they relate to in-group/out-group belonging is taken as a facet of 'pressures' facing the idealised journalistic identity detailed in the next section.<sup>87</sup> With that in mind, such critiques are taken on board as informative of the difference between the expressed and ideal definitions of journalism, the way they

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<sup>85</sup> The role of advocacy is also explored in the social identity model identified in Reid, et al. (2004).

<sup>86</sup> Particularly as commercial influences lead to more entertainment-oriented and celebrity-style news in even the most high-brow newspapers, the distinctions have been weakened and elements of this idealised role is found in explorations of the popular press as well. As this thesis confines its analysis to the activities of a set of quality newspapers most associated with under Donsbach's (2010) public service tradition, and the esteemed members of the press within Hallin and Mancini's (2004) liberal system, and broadly fitting Siebert's, et al. (1956) social responsibility theory, these blurred distinctions are less problematic.

<sup>87</sup> To engage further with a critique of these categorisations would also depart from the focus on the idealised and classical values appropriated by journalism's in-group, developed within the quality news elements developed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, advanced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and expressed and espoused as distinguishing identity elements in the modern era.

promote a profession and professional identity of journalism, while acknowledging the translation of those ideals into practice is rarely as theorised, or expressed when prompted.

Within this caution, the historical bases for the quartet of roles outlined above that underpin broader definitions of journalism's identity elements provide an understanding of their near-prescriptive guidelines of belonging. These are reflected in reports of the so-called Hutchins Commission (The Commission on Freedom of the Press 1947) in the United States and the Royal Commissions on the Press in 1949 and 1977 in the United Kingdom (Sparks 1988). These commissions articulated an understanding of what journalism *should* be in the United States and United Kingdom, and one that is in line with the ideals expressed in classical works, and prompted at critical moments in in US and UK history. As Donsbach (2010) and Siebert et al. (1956) link origins of public service/liberal tradition to the work John Milton (1644) and John Stuart Mill (1859[1947]) in the United Kingdom, and James Madison (1789) in the United States, these historical articulations of liberty and the press are often idealised when incorporated as underpinning philosophies of press freedom (Hampton 2004; 2010). While pre-dating the modern media systems discussed comparatively by Hallin and Mancini (2004), such foundations provide artefacts for the ideal elements of journalistic belonging, including standards, values, and paradigms. The work of these commissions also provide pseudo-codifications of what journalism professes to be, while stopping short of regulatory frameworks or structural professionalism.<sup>88</sup> As such, the values included within these and other reports on the press or on journalism are often

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<sup>88</sup> As this research develops, the question of statutory frameworks defining or overseeing journalism, and everything from 'underpinnings' to 'charters' are being bandied about as a result of the Leveson Inquiry. Quite deliberately, they are being set aside as neither the outcome nor the larger context of the Inquiry can be sufficiently addressed within this study.

employed as justification for journalism's exclusivity, and used to legitimate the holding of a unique societal role to serve the public's interest, again invoking the internal and external aspects of Bourdieu's treatment of the journalistic field (2005).

If, from a critical perspective, these idealised notions seem counter-intuitively present in examinations and investigations of specific aspects of journalism's decline in terms of perception or of fulfilling these roles<sup>89</sup>, this study returns to an examination of the divisions between Donsbach's (2010) commercial and public service traditions. Take for argumentation the adherence to reporting in the public interest and its place in idealised self-identity of journalism. Its inverse, that which is "of interest to the public", provides the key critique of a "tabloidization" of press previously classed as 'quality' under the commercial tradition (Conboy 2013: 127-128). This trend is tied to newspapers' decline in terms of 'high-brow' content, a concession made in order to stave off a decline in terms of revenue (Deuze 2005a).

This distinction between 'public interest' and 'of interest to the public' is more than wordplay, and it highlights a pressure evident in the expression of the in-group role perception. While previously this distinction defined the schism between quality and tabloid journalism (Connell 1998), the articulation of difference on the principles of public interest is now employed as an articulation of identity between quality journalism and detractors or critics. That distinction alone is a self-defined process of belonging, according to Deuze, and one that is "perhaps nostalgic for the wrong reasons" (2005c: 458) of some past "golden era" (Conboy and Eldridge 2014). Decidedly focused on how

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<sup>89</sup> This is raised in Moore (2010), as well as in explorations of new media such as Adamic and Glance (2005), Blood (2003), Brown (2005), Carlson (2007), Delli Carpini (2004), Farrell and Drezner (2008), Fiedler (2008), Lasica (2003), Lowrey (2006), Shirky (2003), St. John III (2007).



journalism is perceived, “the cultural inquiry of journalism suggests such distinctions to be part of journalists’ ‘modernist bias of its official self-presentation’” (Deuze 2005c: 458, cf. Zelizer 2004b). In other words, the noble ‘public interest’ ideal is not merely a retort to prevent ‘quality’ journalism being grouped with tabloids covering sex, crime, and celebrity, but has become a riposte to questions of journalism’s roles, primacy, and fuels assertions of its distinct place in society around mythologised pasts (Graber 2003).

Jacquette identifies this as part of journalism’s sense of moral imperative, foregrounding a common foundation “to do justice to shifting conceptions of journalism” (2010: 214). The moral imperative underpinning public interest journalism is often tied to investigative journalism in the United Kingdom and United States and, in particular, the muckraker tradition of the early twentieth century in the United States (Aucoin 2007, Graber 2003, Sinclair 1919). Such terms nowadays are employed to underpin the pushback against accusations of commercialisation, further enhancing efforts made by the profession of journalism that sees itself as bound by truth-telling elements that unify a professional identity of journalism (Conboy 2013: 2).

The moral imperative can be seen in the way journalism invokes terms and roles that serve to mythologise the past through their modern adoption. To a cynic’s eye, ideal types might be better described as journalism’s mythologies of itself, which Doris Graber (2003) develops in looking at the tenets of media and democracy. Expressing concepts of journalism in language of morality certainly enhances a notion of a prescriptive, heavy-handed idealism. To wit, this thesis also takes into consideration Lule’s (2001) work on mythologies of journalism, and seeks to intervene in their expression as a distinguishing characteristic, though it cannot fully separate the

mythologies of journalism from the self-promoted concepts of journalism and discourses which project an idealised vision (Bourdieu 2005) of journalism regardless of its realisation (Hampton 2010). It also looks at the re-assertion of identity around mythology explored by Aldridge (1998), and emergent in defence of work by *interlopers* such as those made by Benkler (2013a), as a means to re-visit the way journalism's identity is employed to promote exclusivity.

Returning this discussion to professional identity addresses the common threads woven throughout expressions of roles, whether commercial or public service-oriented, and whether idealised, actualised, or mythologised. To that point, while flawed in a modern context, the elements of Siebert's (1956) social responsibility theory of the press (See also Nerone 1995, 2004) carried forward in the values of the liberal system outlined by Hallin and Mancini (2004), are addressed in their modern contexts in Donsbach's (2010) public service tradition. Similarly, as the four theories Siebert, et al. (1956) identify are steeped in the contrasts and political structures of a bygone era, and Hallin and Mancini's work focuses on comparisons that predate the widespread online media of today, both locate the aspirational elements of belonging that are expressed by modern day journalism. With that, they inform a sense of in-group belonging with a normative prescriptivism identified by their critics. Ostini and Fung (2002) provide a focused critique of the antiquated nature of Siebert's and similar approaches, and their traditional constructs:

The fundamental problem with many of the media models discussed here is the prescription that these authors attempt to impose on current systems – that is, they try to prescribe rather than to describe social phenomena by using an empirical basis for inquiry. Theories of the press from Siebert et al. (1956) onward have focused on normative theories largely based on traditional mass media structures. (ibid.: 45)

Seemingly aware of this, Hallin and Mancini edited a collection that specifically addresses the Media System comparison outside of Europe (Berkowitz 2000, Cecil 2002). Kleinsteuber has also advanced the comparative method in a wide body of research, including examining Media Systems in emerging democracies and states in transition (Kleinsteuber 2007). Donsbach (2010) also alludes to the ways efforts to provide frameworks and theories of Media Systems have struggled historically, and the array of research into professions and other definitions identify the ways they incorporate some elements (such as identity) while discounting others, such as structure and organisation (Örnebring 2010a). Furthermore, while Donsbach identifies the moralistic nature of public service journalism in his research, he also identifies a perception that these roles and values are fading in the public's eyes (2010: 43).<sup>90</sup> One could append the argument that such traditions and typologies are too static, and negate more fluid media online (Boczkowski 2004), and that the dynamics of commercialisation have weakened – though not wholly erased – distinctions between some systems, and have informed a sense of crisis across systems (Siles and Boczkowski 2012).<sup>91</sup> However, even if the models are overly prescriptive and imbued with normativity, the idealised elements they describe continue to emerge as pillars of journalistic belonging.

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<sup>90</sup> It is important to emphasise that the outline of traditions and of formulations of a liberal, public service, and socially responsible journalism, does not provide an exhaustive breakdown of the array of traditions or models of journalism, nor the lone bases for its in-group formation. As such, it should not be seen as perfect categorisation, as even public service-oriented newspapers incorporate some subjective elements and commercial business models, even liberal systems have political influences, and social responsibility can be contested. Instead, it serves as a skeleton upon which the identity elements that unite belonging to the in-group of journalism in the public service tradition can be further built. In looking at how journalism defines itself around ideal types (Weber 1952), these continue to inform the in-group/out-group construct of journalism's definitions of belonging and its self-perception of a profession.

<sup>91</sup> Including journalism outlets studied in this research.

### 2.2.2 DEFINING JOURNALISM: A CONSOLIDATING APPROACH

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To distil this brief foray into complicating aspects of journalism as a profession, journalism's identity, and the focus on field theory, this section has drawn on a range of developments historically and theoretically to help cement criteria of a professional identity. Doing so has focused the analysis of journalism's aspirational and idealised self-perception in this thesis, and while there is room for further debate over the premises, origins, and persistence of certain elements of journalism's identity, this thesis demonstrates how the idealised elements continue to emerge in overt and covert expressions of journalism's in-group identity. Through expressions, these tie back to the "complicity" (Bourdieu 2005: 36) that glosses over flaws and disagreements to articulate a "dominant vision" (ibid.: 44) of the journalistic field. Their emergence in news discourses informs understandings of journalists' perceptions of their own roles, and remain crucial to understanding the way journalism perceives other media entities that challenge the primacy of traditional journalism's claim of primacy.

The degree to which the content produced by those who identify with this categorisation of journalism reflects any of these typologies, however antiquated, also informs an understanding of in-group/out-group dynamics revolving around the journalist within a profession, as a responsible actor in a democratic society, and as a distinguishing characteristic to contrast and distance the work of *interloper media* entities as outside that social responsibility framework (Thomaß 2011). This can be achieved in specific cases, such as through allying WikiLeaks with a broader group of 'hacktivism' (See Section 1.2), or through positioning it within online media as a challenge to the dominant news culture, as explored in Lindgren and Lundstrom (2011), and Ludlow (2010). Through its strengths and contrasts, this further incorporates the necessary

framework of in-group/out-group construction and belonging that identity processes hinge upon. Paramount to the differential elements that separate journalism and non-journalism in this study is that sense of public service and social responsibility. Seen as a means of expressing *doxa* and the primacy of a field, these factors ground analysis of journalism in contrast to *Interloper*. This involves operationalizing the historic ‘understandings’ of journalism so as to define what the profession defines itself against, so as to exclude what does not fit those understandings, as laid out in the methodology chapter that follows.

Through expressions of in-group cohesion, journalism’s members share in an adoption and adherence to elements of a societal role that is socially responsible, serves the public interest, and adheres to liberal values. It draws on adding value to information, and self-perceives as more than a mere conduit of information, but rather information augmented by analysis, context, and commentary provided by members of the in-group.<sup>92</sup> Örnebring identifies journalism as “a profession mainly engaged in rule-bound information gathering and presentation of said information” (Örnebring 2010a: 61), and through integrating rule-bound gathering and presentation of information with the elements of identity outlined in this chapter, this begins to scope the framework within which we can analyse journalism as a profession around these shared elements of belonging and identity found in texts, and how these relate to expressions of journalism’s societal primacy and authority of belonging over its profession.

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<sup>92</sup> Schudson (1989, 1995) identifies this element as adding value. This is not to disregard journalism’s place as a source of information, as that still forms the core around which journalism’s additional attributes are developed.

### 2.3 PERCEIVED THREATS AND STANDARDS OF ENFORCEMENT

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While it is clear that WikiLeaks and other *interlopers* see their own role and identity as journalism and as a necessary reaction to journalism's failings, that alone is not enough to form the sense of a threat that fully forms the construct of *interloper media reactions*. For that dynamic to be complete, there need also be a reaction to new actors; not only to the claims of belonging by an *interloper* as an encroachment on its domain, but also to the constitution of a threat or perceived threat presented by that *interloper*. Those threats emerge amid a range of other threats to the field. The perception of emerging entities as a 'threat' can seem dramatic, but is embedded in Bourdieu's description of the distinction of journalistic, sociological, and political fields as vulnerable, requiring constant articulation of their parameters (Bourdieu 2005: 44), and in Benkler's (2011) interpretation of traditional journalism as 'susceptible' in the face of WikiLeaks and new media actors.

In the face of external confrontation, discursive reactions to pressures and threats become informative where they invoke journalistic ideals that contribute to a definition of its professional identity and to the articulation of what is and what is not journalism. Such pressures vary, and include in-group members failing to adhere to professional standards<sup>93</sup> or the extant threat of commercial decline and changing technology perceived as upending journalism's profession. While standards, commercial realities, and technological threats all seem distinct, they form a tripartite threat perceived in the 'encroachment' of digital and social media on the domain of traditional news media. In

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<sup>93</sup> Such as plagiarism or objectivity as dealt with later in this chapter.

this section these pressures and the threats they present are explored, as is the manner they are perceived and combated.

### *2.3.1 TECHNOLOGICAL THREAT*

Henrik Örnebring (2010a, 2010b) highlights two separate dynamics in discussing journalism's professionalism: there is journalism's professionalism "in decline" when measured as labour (2010b), and there is journalism's professionalism reinvigorated as an identity in response to such structural declines (2010a). This is further split between those who see the profession weakened by internal forces as journalists abandon their commitment to professionalism's ideals, and those see decline as externally rendered by commercialisation, technological convergence, and an emphasis to use fewer journalists to perform more tasks; multi-skilling or de-skilling (2010b).<sup>94</sup> These arguments, though, need to be unpacked and analysed individually. As Örnebring warns, there is a distinction between taking these arguments seriously, and taking them for granted (Örnebring 2009: 2). This section will achieve that role of taking them seriously, and will contextualise the threats and pressures on journalism so that journalism's response can be better judged.

For understanding discourses representing in-group journalistic belonging, it becomes clear that it is perhaps not a matter of either/or but rather of degrees of influence. Research has shown technological pressures as being 'blamed' for a sort of journalism that leans heavily on the willingness of sources to cooperate, further hamstrung by

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<sup>94</sup> He attributes these arguments to Lloyd (2004) and Davies (2008) for the internal stance, and Henry (2007) for the external.

added technical work (Örnebring 2010b).<sup>95</sup> As a result (argue some, including Davies (2008), journalism in traditional outlets has become a less aggressive profession at the whim of sources and spin-doctors (Lewis et al. 2008); a journalism of opportunism which Zelizer (2010) describes as seeking “the lowest common denominator”, casting journalism in a state of innovation as a means of preserving the primacy of their “interpretive community” (Zelizer 2010: 181, cf. Hanitzsch 2011). Elsewhere, Örnebring (2010a) discusses a similar lack of ‘aggression’ as desk-bound journalists are increasingly subject to the willingness of sources to cooperate.<sup>96</sup> In other words, internal changes and external forces converge to pose a threat to the traditional, idealised, and noble standards and values of journalism’s in-group.

Linked to these internal forces and technological convergence is an external pressure on journalism’s professional identity in the form of commercialisation and economic pressures challenging the traditional business model of journalism, as argued by Henry (2007), Donsbach (2010), and Örnebring (2010b). The profit influence is outlined, roughly, as a business-first model where commercial interests pressure the profession to produce the most marketable journalism content.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> This argument is also made in Örnebring (201b).

<sup>96</sup> Interestingly, this general argument echoes critiques made by Walter Lippmann (1922 [2004]) in encouraging a more professional journalism to combat government spin doctors and information agents following World War I, and of previous critiques against the corporatisation of journalism laid out in the US context by Upton Sinclair (1919) and Hamilton Holt (1909). The persistence of these dynamics over the decades, and their ability to pressure journalism’s self-understanding, further threatens journalism’s professional identity and gives merit to external critique. All the while, understanding these pressures encourages a more thorough study of the responses these activities have garnered as representative of perceived threats, perceived action, and of the reactions deemed as warranted from within the profession.

<sup>97</sup> While the Internet and its mediated opportunities can be found in the way journalism is distributed, and to some degree the way it is produced and the way reporting is conducted, it has had an impact on the economic realities and pressures facing journalism and news media (Garrison 2001, Loosen 2002a, Örnebring 2010b, Pavlik 2000, Siles and Boczkowski 2012).



However, questions remain with regard to the way these changes are internalised and perceived by the in-group. These aspects have become a particularly salient aspect of journalism's professional identity, tied to technical and organisational challenges (Ursell 2004), but also as affecting the identity-building processes as reactions and responses by journalism towards innovation become more pronounced. Örnebring (2010b) addresses this by looking at the ways journalists ascribe a certain agency to emerging technology, a result of technology's close proximity to the news gathering and disseminating processes.<sup>98</sup> In his study, Örnebring identifies a "dominant technological paradigm" (2010b: 58) running alongside pressures of commercialisation as frequently cited by journalists as an explanation for the decline of journalism. The result of these changes is, essentially, blaming the technology for the changes to 'journalism' itself:

But when the entire newsroom has to change to a new content management system, or when journalists are required to learn digital production techniques in order to create content for different media platforms, that represents tangible changes in their working lives, changes that are readily perceived as being 'caused' by technology. (Örnebring 2010b: 58)<sup>99</sup>

This theme was raised at the beginning of the century by Wiebke Loosen (2002a, 2002b) and by Bruce Garrison (2001), separately exploring the integration of new media technologies into the workflow and environment of newsrooms; convergence. In

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<sup>98</sup> The argument articulated in this thesis, and in research conducted alongside this thesis found in Eldridge (2014, 2013), contends there is a somewhat structural but largely superficial embrace of new media entities and technologies. As such, suggestions of 'convergence' as complete offer an inarticulate and analytically dangerous term to describe changes facing journalism, as it fails to account for institutional, professional, and legacy aspects that persist despite change. When looking at journalism's reactions to new entities (*interlopers*) in terms of professional identity, this change incorporates at best an arms-length acknowledgement of traditionally out-group media's contribution, and only then when such content provides the most newsworthy image or opportunity, as Zelizer (2010) identifies. This reinforces the ideal-type projection of journalism and its emphasis on information transmission and information primacy (Örnebring 2009, 2010a).

<sup>99</sup> It is worth nothing that while similar changes are constant and frequent within organisations, technology is consistently blamed and given 'agency' for these challenges.

Loosen's work, the new technologies and their purposes are perceived as separate and tiered from the traditional practices and norms of the newsroom, a dynamic again found by Schmitz Weiss and Domingo (2010). In Loosen's analysis of integrating technologies into newsrooms, there is a sharing of space within the newsroom, but the embrace of technology and its opportunities is secondary to the traditional media's news focus and digitally native journalists treated as distinct.<sup>100</sup> Garrison (2001) also looks at the pace of adoption in a study that spans six years as new technologies are integrated into newsrooms.<sup>101</sup>

For viewing the ways technology has been encountered and integrated (or not) by newsrooms, the theories of Creative Destruction defined by Schumpeter (1943) and later dealt with by Perez (2002). As a means of approaching technological convergence not as an adaptive and accommodating process, but rather as a competitive reaction to threats perceived by the in-group, both Schumpeter and Perez identify the ways old markets are destroyed and new markets emerge through innovation, new technology, new sources of capital etc. Through the prism of expansion and then contraction, the dynamics of journalism's adoption of technologies as varied as blogs and social media allow journalism as a profession to defend its self-perception through the appearance of openness. In first adopting a varied array of technologies, then contracting and retrenching as it perceives threats on its hold on legitimacy, expansion and contraction

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<sup>100</sup> This was in early days of convergence, though many of the distinctions between 'online' and 'new' and 'traditional' persist to this day.

<sup>101</sup> While the argument is also made in later, similar studies (Schmitz Weiss and Domingo 2010), the polarisation and the traditional ideals and values affecting convergence found by Garrison and Loosen persist in the expressions of journalism's identities and, indeed, in the findings laid out in this thesis (Chapters 4.0, 5.0, and 6.0). This has also been found by Donsbach (2010) and Örnebring (2009, 2010a), who locate the separation of 'new' and 'traditional' also evident in, and expanded upon in García Avilés, et al. (2004) and in Sarrica, et al. (2010). Similar values are also evident in Deuze (2005c), Schudson (2003), St. John (2007) Singer (2003), and others such as Bicket and Wall (2007), Bishop (1999) and Loosen (2010a) who highlight the defence and in some cases amplification of those values in the face of technological pressures.

can be seen in journalism adopting only those partners, technologies, or forms that suit its in-group goals, and in its distancing of problematic and iconoclastic *interlopers*.

Specifically, Schumpeter offers a view on how new media technologies are perceived as disruptive entrepreneurial entities emerging into the news media landscape. Convergence, as it relates to journalism and new media technologies, can then be understood through these processes, particularly as Perez describes:

Each technological revolution is received as a shock, and its diffusion encounters powerful resistance both in the established institutions and in people themselves. Hence the full unfolding of its wealth-creating potential at first has rather chaotic and contradictory social effects, it later will demand a significant social recomposition. (2002: 23-24)<sup>102</sup>

New technologies, including those that claim belonging to the in-group and those that pose a resistance to the paradigmatic dynamics of journalism, offer both threat and opportunity (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013). However enticing, the risk of overturning paradigms in adopting emerging forms and technologies as an opportunity carries risk. In particular, the primacy of the familiar poses a challenge for public adoption of new paradigms, as it does for the profession:

[A]fter decades of successful development under the established paradigm, the environment has over-adapted. Not only firms but also people and society as a whole have accepted and adopted the logic of the established paradigm as the ‘common-sense’ criterion. Yet the way forward along that route is now barred by impending exhaustion. (Perez 2002: 30)

Through the theory of Creative Destruction, the benefit of belonging to the prevailing norm can be identified as ‘familiar’ and benefited by its history in response to emergent claims of belonging. Bourdieu, and Benson and Neveu (2005), in applying similar

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<sup>102</sup> The challenge with understanding Creative Destruction as it relates to both the profession of journalism and *interloper media* is the ability to foresee which technologies will lead to revolution – a dynamic that has challenged the approach to online media by journalism throughout media history and media engagement with communicative technology (Eldridge, *Forthcoming*, 2014).

notions to field theory, might refer to this as the ‘weight’ of the dominant members in outlining the vision of the field (Benson and Neveu 2005). As it has long established its place as ‘the norm’, traditional journalism has a societal dominance over emerging media entities, even as threats and perceived threats challenge its image in society. Under this structure, efforts of media convergence can be understood as negating the threat of new technologies by adopting these technologies for the profession’s own aims.

These efforts help journalism maintain its primacy, amplified by new entities’ struggle to gain traction against the resistance of societal norms. Through “incessant” processes of creation and destruction that emerge with new challenges to existing paradigms inherent to the theory of creative destruction (Schumpeter 1943: 83), which points to an analogous argument in Zelizer’s reference to the adaptation the journalistic community has always done (2010: 181). However, rather than accept these as ‘given’, there needs to be room for analysis into whether the defence against technological pressures on journalism has led to a greater expression of an idealist image and identity and an exertion of professional autonomy from emerging media entities, particularly digitally native ones; taking online media dynamics seriously, but not for granted.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> In other words, a way to understand how journalism can react and respond to technology by integrating its possibilities, while preserving and maintaining its authority over them, and asserting through discourse an identity of the profession as insulated from the perceived threats of new media technologies and entities. These processes are significant aspects of the in-group/out-group processes discussed in this research. As with journalism’s professional identity, exertions of primacy and of autonomy and reactions to technology or technology-related factors can be parsed in discourses of news texts, and as such serve dually. First, the role of language in putting forward the idealised image and identity is evidenced in overt and public statements made by those who represent the ‘in-group of journalism’, and second, can be understood as a clear expression and confirmation of the profession’s ideals. It can also be found more subtly, encoded within the discourse of news texts to demonstrate the persistence of traditional ideals as outlined in the Methodology chapter (Chapter 3.0). However, in these portrayals, the existence of any discourse of acceptance of adoption of new technologies, as outlined by Zelizer (2010), must also be analysed and understood. This is where the identity research of Örnebring (2010a, 2010b) and of Donsbach

Pavlik (2000) and Quinn (2006) each explore these issues in wide-ranging studies that look at how Internet technologies have been integrated into the newsrooms and reporting practices of journalists. The emphasis in Sarrica et al. (2010) can piggyback on Örnebring's (2010b) technological paradigm and ascription of technological agency to changes in journalism though, interestingly, Sarrica, et al. (2010) emphasise that journalists do not see technology as augmenting their core values, rather their contribution is limited to providing new methods of reporting.<sup>104</sup> While stopping short of identifying journalism's professional identity as enhanced by the pressures of technology and deskilling, Sarrica, et al. note the persistence of a traditional, print-based, identity tied to even the most technologically integrated news staff, which dilutes the technology-as-change-agent thesis while reflecting the tenets of a uniform and persistent in-group identity.

Alternatively, Quinn (2006) identifies this trend of integration as convergence, and defines it as a response to a medley of technological, audience, and societal pressures that resonates with Sarrica, et al. (2010). In distinguishing between technological integration and convergence, then, there is room to analyse convergence as part of a series of changes, some superficial and others at the identity level, but altogether 'less' than the consuming trend it is sometimes made out to be (Quinn 2006: xvi). By mitigating any attribution of journalistic agency to technology, and instead

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(2010) address how technology has led to fraught and defensive reactions by a profession under assault. These considerations will come into sharper focus as theories of boundary maintenance and paradigm repair are developed further in this Literature Review, but relate to the discussion of de-skilling and multi-skilling that follows.

<sup>104</sup> This resonates with the thesis of this research that considers traditional values as not only persisting but also reviving in the face of new media technologies.

understanding innovation as changing journalistic “tools”, analysis can return its focus to understanding how technological threats relate to journalism’s identity, and how it relates to such threats or perceived threats. Viewed through the lens of Quinn’s (2006) and through Örnebring’s (2010b) research, Internet technologies can be further identified as pressures and as perceived threats to journalism’s identity and in-group parameters.

Gillian Ursell (2004) further advances this concept of pressures in the digital era, identifying journalists not as a new breed of journalist wrought by Internet technologies, but rather an old breed that has faced and adapted to occupational changes over time. The Internet’s development, to Ursell, is but another in those stages, and she argues that journalists have retained their familiar societal roles, which continue to shape the norms and discourses of societies as they have for centuries. However, identity formation under the more digitally connected conditions of the 1990s and 2000s have had some impact on the profession, particularly through muddying previously distinct concepts of professional identity. Where once a journalist’s claim of professionalism acted as a sort of “semantic credit card” with cultural capital, it has since lost value as the goals of audience retention and attraction infringed on the public interest and public service claims of journalism in the 1970s (*ibid.*: 39-40). The degree to which the “semantic credit card” has devalued and the way that has prompted specific reactions on the part of professional identity remain unclear, according to Ursell, but tie into discussions of journalists efforts to define journalism’s internal uniformity and preserve its societal place against a perceived threat of commercial devolution.

### 2.3.1.1 DE-SKILLING AND MULTI-SKILLING

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Technological integration into newsrooms, whether seen as a full-on convergence or something lesser, has always factored into an examination over whether, how, and to what degree, new technologies influenced the work of journalism (Eldridge, *Forthcoming*, 2014). Viewed through a prism of journalism-as-labour (Örnebring 2010b), new technologies and online media can be tied to changes of the specific skillsets that have defined journalism for journalists. Örnebring (2010b) identifies the ways journalists perceive technology's role within journalism to the point of ascribing agency of journalism's changes to technology. In his study, technology's integration into the process of collecting and reporting news is reflected as having had an impact on both the way journalists perceive their work (2010b: 58), and as posing a threat to their identity (Örnebring 2010a: 574).

Studies examining professions broadly, and journalism more acutely, have found consistent and plentiful evidence of de-skilling as a challenge to professional identity. Deuze and Paulussen (2002), García Avilés, et al. (2004), Høyer and Lauk (2001), and Örnebring (2009, 2010a, 2010b) all emphasise the role technology has played in changing the ways that journalists perform their reportage and journalistic tasks as de-skilling or multi-skilling. Singer (2005, 2010), for one, explores these with a focus on the ways traditional media outlets, including outlets explored in this study, integrate new technologies in relation to their perception of journalism's roles and responsibilities.

Örnebring's emphasis on journalism and the practice of performing societal roles highlights how technological paradigms shape a journalistic professional identity and further contribute to dual professionalising and de-professionalising forces that

journalism faces. This argument positions deskilling along with deregulation of labour, new forms of employment, and technologisation as four factors affecting the professionalization of journalism (Örnebring 2010a). Additional arguments revolve around the ‘de-skilling’ of specialist journalists, defined as a trend by which journalists in news media organisations are expected to master several tasks and assignments, rather than one focused expertise (Örnebring 2010a: 67).<sup>105</sup>

Across these explorations, questions about the newsgathering process as an aspect of the shared identification of journalism as a profession are also raised. While values, roles, traditions and models do offer a set of criteria for the ways journalism can be understood as a profession, the product and process of journalism is never far off. These processes recall what Örnebring describes as the “rule-bound information gathering” (2010a: 61) that informs journalism’s sense of a professional identity.<sup>106</sup> Jacquette further separates journalism’s identity from other communicative activity in a fashion similar to Örnebring’s ‘rule-bound’, with journalism standing apart because of its emphasis on “truth-telling” and facticity (Jacquette 2010: 213, McQuail 2010: 378). While the burden of truth is a steep one, it is not a rare element in the projected identities of journalism (Conboy 2013: 2). Ursell (2004) found this to be an obvious categorisation when put to working journalists who identified the fact-gathering aspect

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<sup>105</sup> These arguments are often made in conjunction with claims of journalism shifting to a more Commercial Tradition, as Donsbach (2010) explores. Furthermore, these analyses go beyond Hallin and Mancini’s (2004) Liberal Model of the United States and United Kingdom, and have been found across the analyses of journalism’s professional identity (Aldridge and Evetts 2003, Deuze 2005c, Evetts 2003, 2006, Örnebring 2010a).

<sup>106</sup> Also in Chalaby (1996, 1998), Elliott (1978), Golding and Elliott (1979); Golding and Elliott, 1979); McQuail (2010); Schudson (1978, 1989, 2003); and Tuchman (1972, 1978).



of journalism's practices to be at the core of the profession, and how these considerations are confronted with the advent of new technologies.<sup>107</sup>

### 2.3.1.2 A DIGITAL IDENTITY THREAT

Understanding discourses of journalism as part of an identity-building process<sup>108</sup> becomes critical when change extends beyond changes to forms and practices. Accepting that journalistic output is not contained within recognisable forms of journalism and journalism has fully emerged online, further challenges emerge out of the routines and practices of journalism confronted by digital means and emerging media outlets. This includes the challenge posed by competing voices and unique source dynamics, pushing back against hard criteria and too-strict definitions of journalism. Capturing an idea of journalism in this space become problematic for both journalists and scholars, as faults emerge in rigid categorisation as well as 'catch-all' descriptors that offer little analytical purpose. Lowrey (2006) alludes to this span and to the challenge in strict definitions to understanding journalism as a profession:

There is no licensure, and though there are schools of journalism, they need not be accredited, it is not required that the organizational group sanction them, and it is common for news organizations to hire individuals without journalism degrees [...] In short, journalists 'are ill-disposed to point out how blogs lack their professionalism' ([citing] Park 2004). (2006: 485)

While offering a strong articulation of how identity could offer an analytical locus, Lowrey summarises the unique characteristics of journalism's professional dimensions and, while decrying it, highlights the inclusive/exclusive aspects that define identity.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Similarly, this was cited in Örnebring (2010b) as a reference for his 'rule-bound' descriptor.

<sup>108</sup> Referring to the creation and enforcement of the in-group and the out-group, beyond casually viewing it as "I know it when I see it" (Donsbach 2010: 38).

<sup>109</sup> Lowrey's reference is confined to blogs, though it could be applied more broadly within this research as blogs are later introduced as a type of *interloper media* in the comparative analysis of Chapter 6.0.

When focusing on Lowrey's argument, there emerges a concept of journalistic identity as both the locus of professionalism in journalism and as part of journalism's in-group/out-group dynamics.<sup>110</sup> In using identity as the uniting terminology this research adopts a criteria common to professions – belonging – while working within the theoretical foundation of field theory to interpret and analyse the ways journalism and journalists communicate specific messages within a discourse of identity contained in news texts.

### *2.3.2 STANDARDS OF BELONGING: ESTABLISHING BOUNDARIES*

In this section, a working of paradigms as developed by Thomas Kuhn (1962 [1996]) will be laid out to inform a discussion of how the journalism field operates around certain paradigms, such as objectivity, and how aspects of journalistic identity are treated as paradigmatic to invigorate journalistic identity. While objectivity is but one identifiable paradigm, the upholding of objectivity as paradigmatic by journalists provides a useful starting point to understand the paradigmatic adherence to belonging on which reinforcement and boundary building of the in-group develops. Paradigms provide foci for articulating the shared adherence to norms and values, and further shared understanding of specific routines of journalism practice and communication.

Paradigms in this reflection refer to the criteria with which a profession polices its own identity by defining and articulating key aspects of belonging. In particular, standards,

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<sup>110</sup> In considering identity as the defining aspect of what is and is not journalism, it is again worthwhile to move beyond strict terminology of profession and professional and rather to embrace the aspects of identity that evade structure to define journalism in terms of inclusion and exclusion to the profession, as laid out in Section 2.2.1.

values, and routines take the characteristics of dominant paradigms. In their persistence, these allow in-group members to assume such values as inherent, and thus they become definitional criteria of belonging reflective of the *doxa*. Adherence to specific paradigms has come to represent in-group belonging, and failure to adhere to their guidance has led to projections of out-group identity. Paradigms offer the ability to underscore such in-group/out-group distinctions:

Paradigms gain their status because they are more successful than their competitors in solving a few problems that the group of the practitioners has come to recognize as acute. To be more successful is not, however, to be either completely successful with a single problem or notably successful with any large number. (Kuhn 1962 [1996]: 23)

Key to the value of paradigms is their persistence and, in contrast to trends, they tend towards a long-term acceptance by professions and act as ingrained and fundamental descriptors of the ways the profession is understood externally and internally (ibid.). Resonant of the *doxa*, even as paradigms are not always successful at addressing the broadest range of problems faced by a profession, they provide points around which the profession can articulate and maintain its authority over belonging. As an example, while objectivity has been criticised from within and without journalism, it serves as one of journalism's most identifiable paradigms (Durham 1998, Karlsson 2008, Kuklinski and Sigelman 1992, Overholser 2004, Schudson 2001, Thorsen 2008, Tuchman 1972) and while it is a long-standing tradition for their American cousins, journalists in the United Kingdom flaunt it as a paradigmatic element of their own identity (Schiller 1979, Williams 2007). This section will now detail four paradigmatic concepts employed as defences to shape and enforce the journalistic identity, further identified as the exclusive domain of the journalistic field: 1) conferring legitimacy, 2) objectivity, 3) sourcing and legitimation of information, and 4) legal protection.

### 2.3.2.1 CONFERRING LEGITIMACY, GRANTING AUTHORITY

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As a profession built on information and truth-telling facticity (Conboy 2013, Jacquette 2010), journalism professes its authority not only through confirming facts or defining information, but through offering determination of who does and who does not have authority to speak. This has been studied previously, found in Schudson's (1989, 2003) and Habermas' (1984, 1991) identification of journalism's role of conferring legitimacy and authority to voices and information and provides a pattern that applies not only to news media formations of in-group/out-group dynamics, but more broadly to the ways journalism dictate and control information flows. With regard to external voices, it can be seen in Gans' (1980) study of who is used as sources, and whose authority is given clearance in journalism, as well as in Manning's (2001) look at news sources.

News media would be "unimaginable" without sources, write Franklin and Carlson (2010: 1), but its control over information illustrates the way journalism determines what items transit from source to audience. Frequently identified as 'gatekeeping' in media research, this concept views journalism as operating through a clearing house of editorial discretion and journalistic decision making to decide what does and does not get covered and reported on in the news (Baum and Groeling 2007, Fiedler 2008, Harrison 2010, Lewin 1947). Through gatekeeping, a conference of authority and legitimacy upon information takes place. While speaking to traditional dynamics of journalistic sourcing, this extends conceptually to determining who is and who is not allowed to partake in that gatekeeping process as well (Reich 2010: 33). This presents a process of legitimation and authority within the field (Breed 1955, Carlson 2007, Robinson 2006).

These concepts of journalism's power extend to a society-building function addressed by Benedict Anderson (1983[1991]) for media's ability to create and reinforce, through ritual and narrative, a concept of the society within which they operate. Through their conference of legitimacy, and collective adherence to similar news agendas (Schudson 1995; Zelizer 2010); an imagined community built on the shared narratives crafted by journalists in conscious or unconscious simultaneity. In Anderson's writing, these echoed within national borders in the morning newspapers, though an extension of these dynamics online to a more diffuse community could be hypothesised (Coddington 2012: 379). However, whether nationally constrained or internationally disseminated, Anderson's work reflects the degree to which news conveyed in unison can influence and develop a concept of what matters to a populace through a common narrative. Extending Anderson's concepts to that of journalism's roles and perceptions, the influence of the speaking media can be understood as narrating a dialogue of importance and value. Extended one step further, the ways journalists discuss their self-perception of their roles and identities against those of non-journalists within news discourses further confirms and defines the ways audiences understand journalism, its roles, and its perceptions of distinction and primacy (Jha 2008, Johnson and Kaye 2004, Sundar 1998).

New media and *interlopers* are not separate from this process. While it seems paradoxical to see the rise of a non-traditional media as interconnected to the traditional media they decry, dynamics of the interaction between *interloper media* and traditional media that view traditional media as legitimizing forces, and can be understood through journalism's role of adding confirmatory value to information:

The 'value added' by the way the media inflect information is often just a fractional increase of the sheer force of mass distribution of information. [...]

When the media offer the public an item of news, they confer on it public legitimacy. They bring it into a common public forum where it can be known to and discussed by audience. They not only distribute the report of an event or announcement to a large group, they amplify it. (Schudson 1995: 19)<sup>111</sup>

Answers to these open questions return the focus to language as enforcing in-group/out-group dynamics, and language evident in discursive process within news texts as identity building.<sup>112</sup> As Van Dijk (2005, 1988b, 1998b) shows, and as Hall (1993, Hall, et al. 1978) supports, news media through their use of language create a representation of reality that includes and promotes their own status as professional and elite, and subjugates others. These subaltern voices are diminished not only in terms of how or whether they are featured in news texts, but also in how they are dealt with when they do appear in texts. In his work, Teun Van Dijk has also shown more broadly how these identities are also projected onto other media referred to in news texts, reinforcing a journalism ideology through polarised media-to-media discourses (Van Dijk 1998b). This construction of media realities is replicated continuously and similarly across news media and represents a shared identification, further adding to our understanding of a shared professional identity across certain news media outlets outlined by Luhmann's constant communication of difference (1977), and can therefore be assessed as they emerge in news texts reacting to WikiLeaks.

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<sup>111</sup> With WikiLeaks, this emerges as a sticking point to the in-group/out-group dynamic. By their own admission (Assange 2011, Domscheit-Berg 2011, Khatchadourian 2010, Leigh and Harding 2011), WikiLeaks benefited from the "amplification" (Schudson 1995: 19) allowed by partnering in collaborations. However, this does not answer the question of whether *interloper media* should be understood as part of the in-group, where surely internal amplification is also a dynamic of legitimation, or outside that group as a typical source, an out-group collaborator, a non-journalistic media outlet, or otherwise.

<sup>112</sup> While 'news texts' in research terms includes broadcast, for the purposes of this research and ensuing discussions, this thesis refers mainly to press and written/printed news texts in textual formats online.

The level of control, even when performed amid sometimes *laissez faire* attitudes towards information emanating from outside traditional source dynamics described by Gans (1980) and Lewis, et al. (2008), provided a motivating factor in the rise of blogs, highlighted by Blood (2003) and expressly as a motivation for WikiLeaks (Benkler 2011; WikiLeaks 2014). These entities emerge to offer an alternative source of information which foreground an understanding of these entities as outside of the established news-source paradigms, and as reactions to their authoritative controls over information. Through their embrace of particular technologies and online communication, such entities see their *raison d'être* as a response to traditional media's failure to meet the expectations of audiences.<sup>113</sup>

In recent years, such motivations have only intensified the provocative dynamics of reactions to new media and *interlopers* and their threat perception. In response, reactions to new media fit within the greater efforts of identity creation and defining an in-group/out-group journalistic identity by emphasising how in-group processes are not debated within an organisation, but rather shared throughout a field. That a categorisation of *interloper media* can be developed demonstrates this in broad terms, as the polarisation is not bilateral – as between WikiLeaks and one journalistic outlet – but spread across traditional news media towards emerging media. It further reinforces the idea that journalism retains its legitimizing force, warranting critique when failed and enhancement when externally limited (Arant and Anderson 2001, Johnson and Kaye 2004).

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<sup>113</sup> This augments an implicit understanding of *interlopers* and WikiLeaks as claiming journalistic belonging:

In the years leading up to the founding of WikiLeaks, we observed the world's publishing media becoming less independent and far less willing to ask the hard questions of government, corporations and other institutions. We believed this needed to change. (WikiLeaks 2014)

### 2.3.2.2 OBJECTIVITY AS A TOUCHSTONE

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The focus on objectivity as a journalistic paradigm is strongest in the United States, where it emerged out of a strained relationship between the press and government following World War I (Schudson 2001), though it has since been adopted transatlantically (Schiller 1979, Williams 2007). Often linked to early articulation of the principles of objectivity by Lippmann (1920 [2008], 1922 [2004]), objectivity is postulated as an even balance of voices was identified as the core of journalism's mission, and a means for journalism to avoid being 'suggestive':

It [the public] hears reports, not objective as the facts are, but already stereotyped to a certain pattern of behaviour. Thus the ostensible leader often finds that the real leader is a powerful newspaper proprietor. (1922 [2004])

What Lippmann advocates as a mix of "controlled reporting" and "objective analysis" is intended to regain the public's respect and trust in newspapers. Lippmann's writing was specific to the US context, but has been carried over to the United Kingdom as well (Chalaby 1996; Williams 2007). In Lippmann's (1922 [2004]) construct, objectivity is seen as providing a balanced reporting method (for every argument A, where an argument B exists, argument B must be present in equal strength): "The sensible procedure in matters affecting the liberty of opinion would be to ensure as impartial an investigation of the facts as is humanly possible" (1922: 71). Lippmann goes on to warn that not finding a way to counterbalance impartiality could result in Congressional intervention, a spectre that has been raised and realized in instances since 1922, though primarily outside of the United States (1922: 76).<sup>114</sup> Dan Schiller (1979) looks at the

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<sup>114</sup> Similar elements are also developed in response to other crises of journalism and power as well, they are raised as part of the critique within the News International phone hacking scandal and the ensuing Leveson Inquiry, which has served as a highly visible case of Boundary Maintenance



origins of objectivity as a guiding paradigm for journalism, including its transatlantic dynamics, identifying it as a hallmark paradigm evolving out of economic roots of the penny press of the 1830s.<sup>115</sup>

Kevin Williams (2007) describes this crossover as absorbing the practice across Anglo-American journalistic traditions. The principles and dynamics of objectivity have since become a journalistic paradigm, even as the concept of true objectivity and perfect balance have been dissected and debunked in the decades since (Deuze 2005c, Durham 1998, Karlsson 2008, Overholser 2004, Schiller 1979, Thorsen 2008, Trench and Quinn 2003, Tuchman 1972). In light of these critiques, it is how dynamics of objectivity serve as an enforcement tool despite their flaws where the paradigmatic in-group nature of standards and values comes into focus.

Kuhn's examination of paradigms identified earlier illustrates how such entrenched beliefs, processes, or rules of belonging and practice, are carried over from one generation to the next with little regard to their relation to modern realities (1962 [1996]).<sup>116</sup> However, it is Kuhn's discussion of paradigms carrying over generation-to-generation that seems most applicable to journalism's use of traditional in-group identity traits to enforce in-group dynamics against emerging entities that claim the same. To this point, journalism's definitions of its own identity, managed through traditional and idealised roles, standards, and values, provide the basis of authority by continuing to adhere to particular standards and paradigms as parameters to define

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activity, both seeking to critique the failings, while participants have sought to reaffirm an idealised perception of journalism (Keeble and Mair 2012).

<sup>115</sup> This close and deterministic linkage has been disputed (Eldridge, *Forthcoming*, 2014; Fink and Schudson 2013).

<sup>116</sup> Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) takes the concept of paradigms further to apply it to journalism and the challenges WikiLeaks poses

journalism. That even under critique objectivity has persisted, applied by the in-group of journalism to police its own membership, reinforces its utility as a means to understand how values (even when contrived) provide social and defensive constructs of belonging (Tuchman 1972, 1978).

While initially objectivity might have served a means of avoiding bias or slanting news towards one dominant source, it has since been identified as posing a challenge to the public service and analysis missions which journalism is also understood to aspire to, and as a 'guiding paradigm' has been criticized as insufficient. Jane Singer (2005: 177), for one, addresses the complexity of perpetuating this paradigm with the increasing prevalence of online news actors who take on more opinionated, advocacy roles (Singer 2003). Particularly, Singer's work challenges the concept of professionalism as an endpoint towards which all occupations are headed, and argues that online journalism challenges the social construct of objectivity as journalism's mark of professionalism (Singer 2003, 2005, 2010). Still, as Kuhn reminds us, no matter how ill fitting, paradigms are not easily altered or overthrown and objectivity as one example of a journalistic paradigm has persisted for nearly a century. In its persistence, the force of paradigms as a tool to promote the dynamics of in-group/out-group formation has also persisted.

Geneva Overholser (2004) frames the persistence of objectivity in another light, one that speaks to the in-group/out-group dynamism of journalism's professional identity and criticises the vaunted position objectivity has been given. Particularly, Overholser targets the approach of news organisations that purport to be objective while articulating an ideology:

Ideological leanings are not themselves harmful. It is deceit that is wrong – the false presentation of one's intentions. No one should be allowed to get away with hoodwinking the news consumer. Those who try should be called out – something clannish journalists have been disappointingly timid about doing. (Overholser 2004: 53).<sup>117</sup>

Arguably the most noted critique of objectivity is provided by Gaye Tuchman (1972, 1978) who unpacks it as both a social construct and as a defensive strategy employed against internal and external critiques of the profession. Tuchman's study made clear that objectivity did not, as Lippmann theorised, erase subjectivity from journalism, but rather serves as a cover for journalists who select dominant sources to represent favourable viewpoints in their reporting and writing processes, then balanced with opposing sources to provide the image of balance. Despite this critique, now several decades old, objectivity has remained a guiding force in the ways journalism is defined by the profession, and has been utilised as a means of creating and re-creating the in-group, as explored by Van Dijk (1998a).

In Tuchman's work, the basis for objectivity is seen almost as its performance roles (See: Bogaerts 2003, 2005). In performing practices and rituals of objectivity, journalism offers an outward appearance of objectivity, allowing journalists to argue an adherence to facts and balance, and rebuff critics who argue a media outlet or journalists are biased. While an awareness of this critique deflates the lofty tones with which objectivity is expressed by those who ascribe to it as a paradigm, it has not weakened the way the paradigm is employed and critiques have not, as yet, undone its primacy.<sup>118</sup> As such, the treatment of the paradigm, as enacted as ritual, cements an understanding that within journalism, flawed or not, objectivity provides a paradigm journalists adhere

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<sup>117</sup> Overholser's use of 'clannish' reflects the elements of in-group dynamics in focus here.

<sup>118</sup> See: Singer (2003: 139)

to and emphasise in response to ‘threats’ from external forces.<sup>119</sup> Bogaerts also argues that the nature of paradigms such as objectivity frames arguments of journalistic identity around the performance of its paradigmatic rituals, and reinforces the cultural perceptions of journalism as a profession (Bogaerts 2011).<sup>120</sup> Elements of objectivity perceived as apolitical dissemination of content, as non-advocacy, and as evenness, are then asserted as definers of the profession, and in the case of this study as definitive marks of distinction that separate WikiLeaks from journalism.

Objectivity as a paradigm provides more than an external defence and boundary, as failures of objectivity from within the in-group provide an internal method of repudiation for those seen as falling out of line with the professional identity through boundary maintenance.<sup>121</sup> In the same way that bygone dynamics, highlighted in Donsbach (2010) and Siebert, et al. (1956), continue to inform journalism’s *doxa*, objectivity ties into these traditions and as a dominant value of the public service tradition, though Donsbach presents it alongside “plurality”, thereby offering a more open-ended approach than what Lippmann (1922) outlines or Tuchman (1972) critiques.<sup>122</sup> In more recent work, Thorsen (2008) and Karlsson (2008) re-examine this paradigm in the context of new media, again finding the process of institutionalisation of objectivity and adherence to a neutral or objective stance problematic, arguing for

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<sup>119</sup> This is discussed further in Section 2.4 as Berkowitz (1972, 1978), Bishop (2011), Bicket and Wall (Schiller 1979) and Cecil (2000) all identify objectivity as the paradigm media watchers and critics focus on when they engage in activities of boundary maintenance, paradigm repair, and paradigm overhaul to reinforce the professional identity.

<sup>120</sup> Geneva Overholser, a former ombudsman at the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* responsible for maintaining these paradigms, has spoken at length about the risks of a close adherence to objectivity as a paradigm (Overholser 2004).

<sup>121</sup> See the next section, as well as Chapter 7.3.

<sup>122</sup> The persistence of objectivity as a paradigm underlies much of journalism’s work, and has been critically employed in the defence of the profession and in the development of in-group/out-group dynamics that will be discussed in the sections that follow. Objectivity and its pursuit, therefore, can be seen as contributing to the understanding of a liberal and public service tradition of journalism, though it is but one element of these traditions and models.

more effective paradigms such as transparency. And yet, as is evidenced in Chapters 4.0 and 6.0, when prompted members of the in-group continue to identify objectivity through fair and balanced reporting as a touchstone of their in-group construction (Overholser 2004).

To see objectivity as a touchstone, as Overholser (2004) does, perceives objectivity as not only how journalism defines its work,<sup>123</sup> or as offering guidance to how to practice journalism, but also as part of the enforcement processes within news texts employed as paradigms are broken. Bishop (1999), Cecil (2002) and Tuchman (1972) have all identified the use of objectivity as a motivating factor for a particular set of identity-building processes around paradigmatic adherence that journalism engages in and with.<sup>124</sup> These are defined as rituals by Tuchman (1972) precisely because they emerge through particular and predictable patterns of sourcing as a protective practice.<sup>125</sup> To discuss these processes as reactions to failed paradigms, they are in their most overt forms labelled Boundary Maintenance (Bishop 1999; Coddington 2012; Eldridge 2014, 2013; Wahl-Jorgensen 2013), Paradigm Repair (Berkowitz 2000, Carlson 2011, Zhongdang Pan 2005), and Paradigm Overhaul (Cecil 2002) discussed in section 2.4.3. As visible reactions to failures within the profession that are carried out within mediated forms of communication, they can also be seen as a quasi-pressure release valve, vented to deflate public backlash and criticism of the paradigmatic failures. In their defence,

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<sup>123</sup> Overholser (2002, 2004) uses this term 'touchstone' to critique objectivity's primacy as a journalistic paradigm. Overholser's analysis of this touchstone, a term which could be interchanged with 'paradigm', recommends abandoning the paradigm altogether.

<sup>124</sup> Other criteria of the profession that serve as paradigms include certain gatekeeping roles, news-source dynamics, and the values incorporated in the Public Service tradition, Liberal system, and Social Responsibility theory of the press.

<sup>125</sup> On the consumption end, Anderson (1983 [1991]) uses the term ritual to describe the newspaper and the ritualized reading of newspapers as akin to morning prayers, and as a ritual that unifies a society's sense of self.

they are designed to discursively absolve journalism as a whole from the faults of a few by excoriating specific individuals or organisations that fail or failed to maintain the identified dominant paradigms, including professional conduct, social responsibility, and a normative ideal of the public interest (Eldridge 2014).

Returning to Kuhn's (1962 [1996]) seminal work, a paradigm's persistence is the key component to their stature and dominance; in other words, once a paradigm takes hold in a field or a profession, any changes to its primacy are not easily arrived at, and members of that group continue to reinforce and recreate the paradigm rather than alter it (Kuhn 1962 [1996]). In examining journalistic paradigms, the same case holds true as they perpetuate existing patterns of news-source relationships, certain ethics and ethical rules to reporting (Jacquette 2010), and a dynamic of socialised practices that maintain a narrow understanding of belonging. The enforcement of these paradigms, then, also delineates between professional and non-professional journalism, labelling the latter through out-group definers and identifying claims of belonging as misappropriation based on not fulfilling these paradigms. More broadly, this informs how journalism is defined and articulated by the members of the journalistic field, however loosely that definition is codified (Bishop 1999, Van Dijk 1988b, 1998b).

To the point of in-group maintenance and policing, one of the keys to perpetuating long-existing paradigms is a profession's ability to employ them as recognisable enforcement tools that rebut the suggestion of new paradigms that would otherwise challenge the dominant norms, chief among these being challenges to objectivity. However, objectivity is a rather narrow concept to use as the lone paradigm, and characteristics such as the role of gatekeeping, the principles of journalism adopting a

watchdog role, the adherence to journalistic autonomy, and the quartet of belonging identified in the conceptual definition above also fall into the realm of paradigms and paradigmatic values dealt with by enforcement processes (Berkowitz 2000, Cecil 2002). Indeed, it is the language of paradigms of objectivity – the “strategic ritual” – that comes to inform much of how these roles, standards, and criteria of belonging become paradigmatic (Shapiro, et al. 2013), and the ideals of objectivity as a guarantor of facticity (Conboy 2013: 2) represented in the in-group/out-group dynamics of *interloper media reactions*.

As a means of enforcing a range of paradigms and paradigmatic values as constituting journalism’s *doxa*, discourses emerge to reinforce exclusive professional identity first through overt processes of boundary distinction (Berkowitz 2000, Bishop 1999, 2004, Carlson 2007, 2011, Schudson 2001). However, as will be demonstrated in the latter chapters of this thesis, there is a complementary covert process where distinction is maintained in subtle discursive processes of journalism’s primacy against *interloper media* in ‘everyday’ news texts that do not foreground a discussion of journalism’s values or ideals of belonging (Eldridge 2014, 2013). While objectivity provides a strong case to explore dynamics of such journalistic paradigms, further paradigmatic values specific to the enforcement dynamics of *interloper media reactions* warrant exploration.

#### 2.3.2.3 SOURCING AND LEGITIMISING AUTHORITY

Manning (2001) highlights new-source processes as an additional set of parameters that give news media a claim on exclusivity, a dynamic that can be understood in terms of Kuhn’s work on paradigms. News-source relations can be seen as paradigmatic in their appropriation as a defence of the journalist’s role of conferring legitimacy to

information. From within professional domains to wider audiences, sources are then treated by newsmakers to provide a structure of information transmission, a dynamic that, according to Hall, et al., (1978) replicates elite power structures outside the news media. To the dynamics of in-group primacy, the replication of power structures confers a sense of credibility as it emerges from a recognisable information authority, representing a hierarchy of credibility. The hierarchy of credibility that Manning (2001: 11), Hall, et al. (1978), and Gans (1980) identify, acts to reinforce a perception of the in-group's authority as a trusted arbiter of news and information, and as a delegitimising force on other sources of information. By sourcing under shared rules and paradigms of journalism, a force of legitimisation conveys not only the importance deemed on a news story's contents, but also reinforces the primacy of the media telling that story. This process subtly engages a dialogue within journalism, emerging publicly in news texts as an outward expression of adherence to accepted norms and practices, cohering the in-group of the profession, and serving as an intra-profession expression of belonging (Bell 1991: 90; Schudson 2003: 173).

Schudson (2003) refers to this as conferring a public legitimacy on information as an item of news. Separate from overt legitimation, public legitimacy is inferred on the basis of information being presented as journalism and through the use of specific sources in recognisable and specific roles (Schudson 1995). Manning's (2001) research on the relationship between journalists and news sources identifies this same dynamic, further augmented through consistency and resonant with Kuhn's work on paradigm's persistence (1962 [1996]: 195). This is also the way Baack (2011) deals with sourcing, specifically as it relates to emergent challenges, and ties these dynamics to WikiLeaks as a challenge-force encouraging traditional media to use more data-driven sources and



disrupting traditional dynamics. While Baack stops far short of placing WikiLeaks within any professional group or identifying it as journalism or journalistic, he identifies WikiLeaks as disrupting the ways journalism performs its news-source dynamics. However, such a force represents a call for changing news-source dynamics not from within, but from without, and in considering the dynamics of persistence and inherence that inform in-group/out-group constructs of journalism, such changes will not be easily made.<sup>126</sup>

This interplay between journalism and its use of information remains fundamental to understanding the emergence of new voices and entities within journalism, or denying their emergence within the field. Starting with the work of Jha (2008), journalism's legitimation and authority granting can be viewed through a reluctance to cite from new media outlets, and particularly social media. This reluctance has to do with veracity, trust, comparing opinion and fact, as well as the translation of journalistic routines online (Albrecht 2006, Deuze 1999, Karlsson 2008). These studies suggest the role traditional journalism plays in the development of any new category of journalistic media is one of persistence of traditional norms, a point which bears analysis within dynamics of in-group/out-group identity processes. Particularly, as the advent of blogs as a format embraced by even the most traditional news outlets, they are dealt with

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<sup>126</sup> Journalism as a force of legitimisation extends beyond the communication from the in-group to the out-group. In a 2008 study, Gina Walejko and Thomas Ksiazek found that while disconnecting themselves from the traditional media, independent news-oriented blogs relied on the traditional media for 96.4 per cent of their sources (Walejko and Ksiazek 2008: 149; cf. Eldridge 2013). Such a high rate of reference supports normative claims and perceptions that the in-group of journalism has the power to ordain legitimacy, then re-asserted by out-group members. Viewed another way, out-group media entities choosing to cite the in-group at such a high rate provide their own processes of legitimation, confirming the in-group's authority as valid and necessary for out-group mediation. Walejko and Ksiazek suggest that this sort of data weakens the argument that blogs pose challenges to journalism, and that their inter-reliance shows a more mutually beneficial role, particularly assuaging the wariness of audiences to embrace change by incorporating familiar sources within the novel presentation of blogs (Sundar 1998).

through dynamics linked to the paradigms through which professional journalism performs its roles (Baack 2011). However, in further focusing on the genre of blogs<sup>127</sup>, new media entities are given space to be seen as complements to existing paradigms, rather than overall challengers to them. Their rise as a form of journalism informs our discussion of interloper media as similarities can be drawn between the independent nature of blogs devoted to media criticism and alternative voices and those of *interlopers*.

The independence of *interloper media* comes from the nature of these shifting claims of belonging, at once touting journalistic values while expressing a *raison d'être* of challenging traditional journalism (Singer 2003). Tying these opportunities for change to the concept of *interloper media* and *interloper media reactions*, the role of blogs in such dynamics is paired with the role of WikiLeaks in Chapter 6.0. These broader pieces of new media research provide an angle to understand the challenge of understanding *interloper media* and as through the reactions they provoke, *interloper media reactions* can provide context to the ways these identity processes are persistently expressed, even as they are sometimes tenuous. Together, these concepts can also help explore the way journalism's in-group is simultaneously involved in an activity of defence and enforcement.

To this point, it is because journalism is already perceived as a legitimising force that protections and allowances made under press freedom laws and statutes can emerge in discussions of in-group/out-group dynamics. In general terms, this legitimising force is

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<sup>127</sup> Identified as a bridging genre by Herring, et al. (2004, 2005), and as a genre of black market journalism by Wall (2004).

reconstituted as a point of protection – the safe arbiter of information, with social responsibility, and in a public interest – which invigorates particular reinforcement and repair activities on the part of the profession. In other words: because of its societal role as a ‘Fourth Estate’, failures to adhere to rules of belonging risk that vaunted and protected status and must be attended to. In their overt forms, these activities seek to regain the trust of the institutions that either grant, in terms of licensure, or allow journalism to carry its legitimising authority, as reflected in journalism’s relative institutionalisation in society (Berkowitz 2000, Cecil 2002, Coddington 2012).

#### *2.3.2.4 LEGAL PARADIGMS: CODIFYING AN IN-GROUP*

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In further considering journalism and its in-group/out-group dynamics of professional identity, some room must be made for the legal debate around WikiLeaks. Seemingly outside the in-group/out-group dynamic under study here, legal protections are applied as proxy fights from both pro- and anti- WikiLeaks positions. Where efforts to distance WikiLeaks from the in-group are made, the ways the in- particular legal caveats and statutes justify in-group exclusivity. Furthermore, legal discussions of WikiLeaks-as-journalism make the questions of in-group/out-group dynamics more dramatic and tangible as questions move from the academic theorising to a spectre of prosecution (Peters 2011). As crafting a definition of what is or is not a journalist can contribute to the ways state protections of journalism apply, they relate to whether emerging entities, such as WikiLeaks, are made subject to prosecution or protection under press laws, or where it is placed in the context of espionage or leaks cases (Benkler 2011). With WikiLeaks, this has been an ever-present dynamic both articulated as a spectre, and more concretely with the prosecution of Chelsea (née Bradley) Manning for leaking to WikiLeaks (Benkler 2013a; Poulsen & Zetter 2010). Outside such concrete examples,

authors have offered a number of explorations to how such provisions or prosecutions might be carried out. This section will briefly outline those, then returning to the work of Benkler (2011, 2013a, 2013b) to relate the legal arguments back to the identity constructs at play.

In the way legal protections serve as pseudo-codifications of definitions of journalism, they contribute to external and internal pressures on journalism's sense of identity and its in-group boundary building. As such, the legal aspects draw into focus understandings of what journalism is, and the importance of sense making around such definitions. They often serve as proxy arguments in discourses of professional identity, wherein the constructs of legally-defined journalism is used as grounds to deny *interloper* claims, while simultaneously suggesting that outside those definitions, *interlopers* remain covered under broader categories of protected speech.

As will be explored in the overt discourses of belonging in Chapter 4.0, this emerges in the way in-group members draw distinctions between 'legally journalism' and "everyday" (R2)<sup>128</sup> definitions. In short, they advocate protections to WikiLeaks' right to publish information as speech and expression and even journalism in some codifications, but not to call itself journalism based on identity terms. Such disagreements point to the way considerations of professional definitions of journalism set too strictly, which would then inform legislative and judicial decision making

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<sup>128</sup> Referencing Nick Davies, as Interview Respondent 2, coded R2 to separate responses made in interviews for this thesis from published texts by the same respondents.

processes, reflect a sense of journalism's *doxa*, as well as the ways the in-group remains uneasy about such explicit definitions.<sup>129</sup>

In the specific case of WikiLeaks, there is a further legal dynamic as its activities seem to fall between national legal frameworks, with WikiLeaks carrying out its work in Iceland, Sweden, Kenya, Germany, the United Kingdom and elsewhere (Beckett and Ball 2012), its technical infrastructure equally disperse (Assange 2011, Khatchadourian 2010, Leigh and Harding 2011, TED 2010), and then publishing through collaborations with traditional media in different countries with unique press and speech protections. This results in WikiLeaks, and other *interlopers*, being labelled “stateless” (Rosen 2010, Allan 2013: 164) in reference to their digitally-native nature. Reese might place this in a context not unique, but rather representative of dynamics facing previously nation-bound understandings of journalism:

Journalism as a practice and interpretive community is adapting to this emerging global news arena and increasingly must navigate between its traditional “vertical” orientation within whatever nation state it is carried out and a “horizontal” perspective that transcends national frameworks. (Reese 2008: 241)

Within nation-bound dynamics, argues Peters (2011), WikiLeaks' emergence “imperiled [sic]” efforts to broaden protections through a federal shield law, after which “groups stated publicly that the website does not engage in journalism and thus the shield would not provide protection” (ibid. 669). Peters sees WikiLeaks as outside of “reporters privilege”, a concept developed out of jurisprudence that have favoured specific practices for a group of journalism, distilling the idea of the press from more sweeping first amendment protections. He argues that on two points, WikiLeaks

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<sup>129</sup> A robust explication of this is provided in the Conclusion chapter.

qualifies, but draws legal distinction in a section he titles “Investigative Reporting Involves More Than the Mere Dumping of Documents” (Peters 2011: 676), where he goes on to say:

WikiLeaks could clear hurdles one and two because the medium (here, the Internet) is not dispositive, and the intent of the website always has been to disseminate information to the public. (ibid.)

However, related to reporter’s privilege, Peters counter-argues WikiLeaks’ claims (detailing them fully) in saying:

WikiLeaks does not engage in multi-article reporting. It does not do extensive interviewing for its news stories. It does not provide meaningful context or journalistic analysis. It does not, in short, “make an understandable story out of the mountain of information” it has gathered. (680)

Value-added is not only a legal application; Schudson (1995) applies it to distinguish the role of journalists towards information. However, it provides one of several criteria that are used to ‘define’ journalism. Particularly related to protections afforded journalists and journalism, this standard is often applied *in addition* to income thresholds (earning a specific amount of per annum income to qualify as a professional journalist) and organisational belonging either to established news media outlets, or to journalistic unions or accrediting bodies (Peters 2011: 688). Additionally, Schudson’s (1995) reference to legitimacy frames an understanding of the existing research into ways in which legitimacy is conferred upon *interlopers* in certain instances, and the degree to which that interaction does or does not constitute acceptance within the ‘in-group’ of journalism.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> As an example relevant to this study, the ability of WikiLeaks to publish outside of specific legal frameworks gave cover to the *New York Times* and the *Guardian* to publish information that might have otherwise been suppressed by the US and UK governments.

Peters goes on to dilute this point somewhat, acknowledging that WikiLeaks “did provide some context and analysis” (2011: 683) but failed to incorporate counter-claims to the assertions being made, going on to say its processes failed to minimize harm consistently. This, argues Peters, disallows WikiLeaks under reporter privilege as it “has passed on to the mainstream media the burden of investigative reporting – of adding value to the leaked documents” (ibid.: 688). Peters lays out a legal definition of journalism that represents the *doxa* and criteria also applied in the professional identity, though his formulations of such reflect normative, if not subjective, categorisations of WikiLeaks’ dissemination practices.<sup>131</sup>

Denying WikiLeaks belonging under reporter’s privilege might be a moot point, as such privileges tend to shield journalists from revealing sources and the technical infrastructure of WikiLeaks anonymises that source contribution. That said, there have been acknowledgements that prosecution of Assange was being pursued by the US government, that a sealed grand jury indictment of Assange exists (G658), and an aspect of the Manning trial revolved around determining if Assange had instructed or aided his leaking, tantamount to a violation of the Espionage Act. So, while in broad terms the reporters’ privilege might seem disconnected from the practice of journalism as WikiLeaks sees it, such legal cover under the auspices of press rights and protections would benefit Assange or other associates under prosecution for these activities (Calvert 1999).<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Counter-arguments to Peters’ claims that WikiLeaks passes along the role of contextualisation have been made by supporters such as Gavin MacFadyen and Trevor Timm (R5, R6) in Chapter 4.0, and in Benkler’s testimony at the Manning trial (Benkler 2013a) discussed below.

<sup>132</sup> The arguments related to Sweden’s pursuit of Assange to answer accusations and possibly stand charged for sex crimes falls outside this aspect of legal arguments. While characterisations of those accusations as a conspiracy persist, to engage with them further would not benefit this research and they are being set aside as ‘noted’ and ancillary to the focus of inquiry.

Freedman (2012) also addresses these aspects in analysis of avenues of prosecution under the Espionage Act. Freedman points out the challenge to trying to limit WikiLeaks' publications or to prosecuting its activities as a publishing avenue, rather than Manning's as a leaker, saying:

Prosecuting third-party recipients of classified information who later redistribute it is far more difficult, both because of the language of the applicable statutes and due to First Amendment protections. (ibid.: 188)

This speaks again to the broad protections of speech, rather than those specific to reporter privileges,<sup>133</sup> and the difficult-to-regulate realm within which *interloper media* operate. Neither identifiably journalism, nor certain that they are not, observers struggle to determine how legal statutes apply: "It's unclear whether receiving and subsequently publishing information thereby obtained would violate this statute" (ibid.: 191). In terms of the legal arguments, considerations of *interloper media* extend outside the in-group/out-group dynamics of identities and discursive processes. These arguments, when settled, will likely contribute to the manner in which *interloper media* are defined vis-à-vis traditional journalism, but remain contentious as they are yet unresolved.

Benkler, first in his 2011 article, later articulated in Benkler (2013b), then in his testimony at the Manning trial (Benkler 2013a), provides the most visible and cited work placing WikiLeaks within a framework of legal protections, labelling it part of the "networked Fourth Estate":

Prosecution of WikiLeaks or Assange will almost certainly falter under present First Amendment doctrine. In the unlikely event that prosecution succeeds, it will only do so at the expense of making very bad First Amendment law from the perspective of freedom of the press in the networked age. (Benkler 2011: 313)

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<sup>133</sup> A distinction between 'legally journalism' and 'everyday journalism' is explored in Chapter 4.0.



Rather than focus overly on the particular legal statutes that would provide an argument for seeing WikiLeaks as journalism, Benkler's provides a way to understand those dynamics in the context of identity and socio-political activities. Looking at articulations for and against protecting WikiLeaks in the modern networked dynamics of journalism sourcing and production, he brings the argument of protecting WikiLeaks back around to in-group identity defences and boundaries, and offers counter-arguments to WikiLeaks' claims that, in their substance, react to Peters (2011) argumentation above. Benkler illustrates several examples where claims around such in-group dynamics falter, and where the differences are more tribal than substance. "Professionalism' and 'responsibility' can be found on both sides of the divide, as can unprofessionalism and irresponsibility" (Benkler 2013b: 11).

While this last point of Benkler's speaks directly to the competing claims of belonging, he rightly acknowledges that within the power dynamics that emerge in treatments of *interlopers*, difference plays on the uncertainty of how people and society approach content outside traditional mediation. For the in-group, such information native to 'the web', or first transmitted by digitally native *interlopers*, have inherent questions of veracity, only assuaged by the familiar traditional journalist:

The core of the critique of the networked forms of the press has been the same since Klein's memorable quote: the concern that the Internet and the blogosphere provide misinformation, while the traditional media are necessary to provide reliable investigative reporting. (Benkler 2011: 380)

This centres the discussion of legal protections of WikiLeaks within this research and, as is evident in Chapter 6.0, the difference between legal cover and association with the in-group is not an abstract discussion excised from how journalists discuss their own

perspectives of WikiLeaks and journalism as distinctions between the legal, protected, definition and the everyday definition of what journalism is.

## 2.4 NEWS DISCOURSES AS AN IDENTITY-BUILDING PROCESS

Thus far this literature review has explored journalism through a conceptual definition of journalism building on field theory and dynamics of *doxa* and *habitus*, and systems theory's emphasis on differentiation. This was further substantiated through exploring elements of the journalistic field as a profession built on identity elements, thereby further detailing criteria of belonging to the in-group. Through weighing legal definitions and technological factors and those that constitute a threat perception to journalism's primacy, the basis for understanding journalism's in-group construction was further established. This section explores how identity, and in particular journalistic identity, is expressed in news texts as a practice of social power and construction (Schultz 2007). To locate differentiation processes in discursive reactions to WikiLeaks, this section will look at how news discourses present processes of identity construction, then go on to explore how news texts have been used to define the in-group of journalism following departures from the in-group's *doxa* and criteria of belonging and as responses to public scrutiny of the profession (Fengler 2003).

### 2.4.1 ARTICULATING IDENTITY

Now, this review shifts to the conceptual bases for analysing news texts for discourses of in-group/out-group identity processes before developing the methodology for such analysis. The expansion of analysis and understanding of in-group/out-group

differentiation to incorporate subtle, covert, and nuanced discourses of journalistic belonging alongside overt and obvious discursive boundary building will also be developed. Discourse analysis approaches provide the starting point for these assessments. Bell (1991, 1998), Bell and Garrett (1998), Carvalho (2000, 2008), Fairclough (1995, 2003), Fowler (1991), Gill (2000), Kress (1991), Parker (2000 [2004]), Van Dijk (1988b, 1998a, 1998b), van Leeuwen (1996), and Wodak and Meyer (2001) have all, across their work, mapped ways for parsing such identities in news texts, and for analysing texts for identity and meaning, frameworks that can be adopted to look at the aspects of in-group/out-group construction in this study as well. As such, news texts when evaluated through frameworks of discourse analysis and textual analysis can locate and discern salient identities, and further explore aspects of belonging in the ways they are articulated by journalism's in-group.

This approach allows this research to better understand the ways identities and boundaries are created in terms of acceptance or rejection by the speaking media. They also provide the outward facing expression of journalism's identity, and in that they offer representations of the utterances of journalism's specific *doxa* (Bourdieu 1991, 2005). As this identity-building process is often encoded subtly, interlaced in word choice and structures in a manner that expresses in-group and out-group formations, this section develops through an understanding of linguistic devices and language choices of the media texts (Fowler 1991), their subtlety being foundational to the dual overt and covert assessment of *interloper media reactions* (Eldridge 2014, 2013).

Thus far, the in-group of journalism has been discussed in terms of adherence or adoption of criteria of professional identity, professional belonging, and the elements of

an inherent *doxa*. Van Dijk (1998b) provides an exploration of how these criteria emerge in texts as expressions of identity and journalistic ideology, and draws on similar dynamics to those Bourdieu (2005) describes as the journalistic field's aspects of belonging. While Van Dijk describes journalism texts as representative not of a field, but rather of an ideology, the identity-building in news texts represents a "socially-shared" (Van Dijk 1998: 25) ideology that presents – resonating Bourdieu (2005) – an inherent set of criteria that informs the identity of journalists:

For journalists as a group, these ideological categories will feature basic information about who is recognized as a journalist (e.g. through holding a diploma or licence), what journalists typically do (e.g. write news and editorials), their goals (e.g. to inform the public, to serve as a 'watchdog of society'), their values and norms (e.g. truth, reliability, fairness), their position with respect to their readers or the authorities, and their typical group resource (information). (Van Dijk 1998: 25)<sup>134</sup>

As Van Dijk goes on to argue, these elements, whether referred to as he does as a journalistic ideology or in this thesis' focus on identity, a journalistic field's *doxa*, and as a journalistic professional identity, can be located in the discourse of news (ibid.: 27). In particular, "words may be chosen that generally or contextually express values or norms, and that therefore are used to express a value judgment" (ibid.: 31); the evaluation of that judgment being belonging. While this addresses expression of values and evaluations that substantiate journalism's in-group standards, roles, and identities, it is useful to view expression of out-group differentiation as judgment. As a judgment, these reflect both self-maintained elements of journalistic belonging and the struggle to

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<sup>134</sup> These elements could in another space be called the specific *doxa* of the journalistic field, while taking on board the substantial elements of the profession and professional identity put forward in this thesis.

articulate the unique scope of the journalistic field in society as belonging in contrast to non-belonging (Bourdieu 2005: 37).<sup>135</sup>

In judgment, and in differentiation, discourses of journalism's "ideology" (Van Dijk 1998) develop through language that distances and subjugates the out-group either in a news-source relationships, such as those outlined in Manning (2001) and Gans (1980), or through emphasising the power dynamics of the in-group societally, thereby asserting primacy. In the case of *interloper media*, such subjugation is typical of the distancing of new media seen previously with blogs (Brown 2005, Carlson 2007, Chung, et al. 2007, Jha 2008, Johnson and Kaye 2004, Lloyd, et al. 2005, Lowrey 2006, Singer 2003) and in the focus of WikiLeaks in this work (Coddington 2012, Gardels and Morozov 2011, Ludlow 2010, Lynch 2013, Wahl-Jorgensen 2013). These discourses encapsulate a mixture of in-group attention, enforcing peer-accountability as Bell (1991) and Schudson (1995) find, and seems to demonstrate Hall's encoding and decoding of meaning in texts (1993).

Dynamics of judgment and ideology and implicit and explicit coding of belonging and non-belonging provide the initial scope to assess news texts reflecting a sense of those who are 'allowed' to speak authoritatively (the purview of professional journalism), and those who are relegated; those to be spoken to or be spoken of (Schudson 1989, 1995, Tuchman 1978). In the next section, the way these dynamics reflect the in-group will be

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<sup>135</sup> Where this thesis develops a method and framework to assess overt and covert language as processes of journalistic identity construction and enforcement, Van Dijk also focuses on implicit and explicit discourses of identity as expressions of in-group/out-group dynamics (Van Dijk 1998b). For the purposes of this study, these manifest as reactions to implicit and explicit claims of belonging posed by emerging new media entities and actors.

explored as conveying meaning to a shared professional in-group, later contrasted to out-group boundary-building processes.

#### 2.4.2 MEDIA-TO-MEDIA DISCOURSE: PEER AUDIENCES

Taking as a premise that all news texts are produced with some form of audience in mind (Bell 1991; Schudson 1995, 2003), and that there is an intentional conveyance of certain messages in news texts that construct a certain image of reality (Hall, et al. 1978), news texts can be analysed for those messages (Van Dijk 1988b, 1998b). In doing so, however, analysis must take into consideration a more nuanced definition of audience other than viewers or consumers of news, and address an internally focused audience of peers. As Schudson (1995) argues, journalists often write for the audience of other journalists more than for the ‘general’ audience. This intra-group discourse provides another enforcement method, one that expresses the shared in-group identity held by journalists and guards against criticism from peer colleagues. Designed to maintain an outward and obvious acceptance of the norms of the in-group by incorporating certain phraseology and linguistic coding intended to be understood by fellow journalists, such discourses provide the field “uniformity” (Bourdieu 2005:44), and further present the profession publicly as one. While these dynamics emerge strongly in the Chapter 5.0 analysing overt discourses of belonging, they are not unique to reactions to *interloper media* or emerging entities. Schudson develops this point further:

News is to a degree designed for insiders and is written almost in code.... A news story may be a complex construction that communicates one message to one audience and, by irony and innuendo, a very different message to a more sophisticated audience. (2003: 174)

Alan Bell echoes these findings, identifying a media-to-media discourse in critical terms that describes such internal peer accountability as a primary focus of identity discourses: “Mass communicators are interested in their peers, not their public. Fellow communicators and co-professionals are their salient audience” (Bell 1991: 90). Elsewhere, Donsbach (1982) reflects the same, finding that journalists in Britain and Germany in particular consider the in-group as the favoured audience, and the audience that news texts are geared towards. Donsbach’s work shows reporters not only directing their work to each other as a peer audience, but as also having a low opinion of readers in the ‘public’ sense.

As to why journalists work in this manner, speech accommodation theory can offer understanding of texts as reflective of a speaker-hearer dynamic where the speaker, the journalist, adjusts their message both in response to and in seeking the hearer’s approval (Giles and Powesland 1975). Attaching that approach to Schudson’s (1995) and Donsbach’s (1982) journalist-as-audience focus, and Örnebring’s (2009, 2010a) and Aldridge and Evetts’ (2003) professional identity findings, it can be understood how attuning their message to an audience of peers, journalists augment and amplify the self-preferred, and self-perceived definition of a journalistic identity, while also demonstrating their adherence to the criteria of belonging.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> There is also an upwardly focused audience that proves important for justifying in-group/out-group dynamics and articulating an exclusive journalistic field (Fowler 1991). As outlined in the case of WikiLeaks by Benkler (2011), news media address those in power through the discourse of news texts, and maintain access and favour in that communication. While this reflects the traditional media in Habermas’ (1984, 1991) public sphere and communicative action theories, it is also emblematic of the efforts of fields to assert their unique place across societies (Bourdieu 1991, 1994, 2005), and to those in power as in accordance with the privileges of the Fourth Estate (Hampton 2010, Myles 2010, Peters 2011, Schultz 2007). In considering both peer and upward communication as part of a mediated public sphere, the in-group as an intermediary between the elites, in power and government, and the ‘public’ writ large. In a top-down conceptualisation of that process, news media would speak in both directions: up to those in power, down to those in the

However, as Benkler (2011: 95) illustrates, WikiLeaks pose a challenge to both upward facing discourses in reaction to power and in a media-to-media metadiscourse among peers. It is this challenge that will be evaluated in the remainder of this chapter, and the analysis that follows. The final section of this chapter will carry the theories and literature that have been laid out here towards an understanding of in-group/out-group boundary building processes as a reaction to *interloper media*.

#### 2.4.3 BOUNDARY BUILDING: IN-GROUP/OUT-GROUP DIFFERENTIATION

Whereas the previous section developed on discourses of in-group definition and an audience of peers, this section will focus on how language distances the in-group by defining an out-group and how language addresses that out-group as a discourse of identities. These discourses reinforce the creation of a journalistic field and identity of around shared sets and senses of norms, values, and practices, by articulating how out-group members fall short of those criteria either explicitly or as a reflection of the in-group's foregrounded adherence to these norms.<sup>137</sup> Different than the audience of peers discussed above, this refers to practices of boundary maintenance responding to episodic failures of belonging through overt, demonstrable critiques (Bishop 1999). Characterised by its sign-posted and expressed discourses of belonging, boundary maintenance processes provide a foundation for more nuanced differentiation when out-group members claim belonging (Eldridge 2014), and often relate narrowly to the sorts

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public, a bi-directional focus that is equally clear in defences of the profession as a responsible arbiter of truth and information for the governed and the governing (Jacquette 2010: 213).

<sup>137</sup> What is meant by 'foregrounded adherence' is a dynamic of either explicit labelling of an *interloper* as non-journalism, or implied labelling through the speaking media amplifying its belonging in contrast to the *interloper*. Further differentiation emerges when the in-group fails to uphold its own identity, as previously discussed.



of in-group policing found in Bishop (1999) and, with regard to WikiLeaks in Coddington (2012), and Wahl-Jorgensen (2013), that focus on overt discussions of journalistic belonging in media columns and editorials.<sup>138</sup>

The terms 1) 'boundary maintenance', 2) 'paradigm repair' and 3) 'paradigm overhaul', identify three processes of boundary building that takes place within news texts and delineate 'good' and 'bad' journalism and professional definitions by reasserting the criteria of the journalistic profession and its paradigmatic standards and values when the perception of the value and its profession are harmed. Landmark studies in journalistic boundary maintenance and paradigm repair and overhaul have looked at the public rebuke of paparazzi photographers around Princess Diana's death (Berkowitz 2000, Bishop 1999), celebrities acting in the role of journalists (Bishop 2004), efforts to limit public backlash around the war in Iraq in 2003 when other (in this case foreign) news media were under criticism (Bicket and Wall 2007), and to isolate non-objective and poorly-sourced news stories on the use of chemicals during the Vietnam War (Berkowitz 2000, Bishop 1999, Cecil 2002). Whether reacting to objectivity, sensationalism, plagiarism, or poorly sourced news stories, through boundary work processes reassert both the in-group and its place in the news-source relations outlined in Gans (1980) and Manning (2001) and emphasised in Dickinson (2010).

For the first of these processes is boundary maintenance, Bishop (1999, 2004) provides two robust explorations of boundary maintenance, identifying how journalism's texts, through specific overt and public practices of media criticism, protect, define, and

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<sup>138</sup> For instance, both authors culled texts that discussed WikiLeaks AND journalism, whereas the approach of this thesis is to locate elements of journalism's identity discourse in any text referencing WikiLeaks or other interlopers.

defend the in-group's professional identity. These, first, defend against failures that occur within the in-group more broadly (Bishop 1999) and, second, defend against the use of non in-group members as 'journalists' (Bishop 2004). This process is discursive in that it emerges as a discussion of journalism's standards, values, and rules of belonging, and does so in a way that is meant to be seen by the audience, appearing in sign-posted news texts (Bishop 1999: 91).<sup>139</sup> Boundary maintenance processes are the profession's self-policing of its in-group through decidedly overt and unequivocal public discourses of belonging, and which tend to be episodic, rather than continuous, and responsive to individual events and failings rather than protracted distancing of ongoing dynamics (Eldridge 2014: 13).<sup>140</sup>

Finally, boundary maintenance processes present the ideals and standards of the profession and its identity in sign-posted forums, such as editorials, media columns, and other portals for debates of journalism labelled as such, and carried out by journalists, editors, and media observers within the in-group (Bishop 1999). As Bishop provides, examples can include discursive distancing made by "quality" press to separate itself from tabloids (1999), as a pushback against celebrities as 'faux journalists' (Eldridge 2014: 2), imposed on them from executives within news organisations to boost commercial value (Bishop 2004), and can also be used to separate segments of the in-group from others within the field (Bicket and Wall 2007).

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<sup>139</sup> Boundary maintenance has been used to look at similar dynamics to those under study here related to WikiLeaks by both Coddington (2012), and Wahl-Jorgensen (2013), however those approaches will be discussed further for where they are supplemented by nuanced analysis of in-group/out-group dynamics within the approach of interloper media reactions.

<sup>140</sup> *Interloper media reactions* also build boundaries, but do so in a manner that is further embedded within non-signposted discourses. To establish this distinction, it is helpful to view boundary maintenance as an outwardly presented but inwardly focused process of publicly excoriating the failures of journalists, of distancing imposed associations, and of promoting positive attributes of the profession.

For this work, boundary work within news texts hopes to address what Roger Dickinson (2007) as it seeks to understand how the journalism profession both defines and maintains its societal boundaries:

Mistakes and misconduct are reminders that journalists are social actors whose behaviour does not always conform to the professional codes, normative frameworks, organizational constraints and source pressures that media sociologists have identified as powerfully determinant. They also draw our attention to one of the core problems in sociology – how social control is defined and maintained in specific social contexts. (2007: 190)

Dickinson's argument goes on to look at the way failures of journalism's professional norms receive extra attention; that is the journalists become the news, what Bishop describes as becoming part of the headline-grabbing 'what-a-story' (1999). As a defence to this scrutiny, boundary maintenance draws on public attention to those gaffes or failures by honing an inward-focused evaluation of those failings and a public communication of the same.<sup>141</sup> However, his invocation of journalists as social actors resonates with the timbre of this research in that it identifies both the peer accountability and in-group reactions to such scrutiny, as well as the social control that emerges out of reactions to reassert both the in-group sociology and its outward perception. It reflects, in terms of in-group sociology, myriad similarities with the in-group enforcement and out-group distancing foundational to this thesis. Dickinson writes of media work "as resulting from collective behaviour" which:

requires members of an occupation to share an understanding of what is needed to get the job done and what is and what is not acceptable practice at work. (Dickinson 2007: 202)

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<sup>141</sup> Dickinson (2007) focuses on research into journalistic practice and reinvigorated sociology of media work as a means to empirically explore these contexts.

In expanding this to focus on how this social action and interaction might be expressed outwardly, analysis of overt discourses of boundary maintenance provide strong indicators of that shared understanding, further seen as reflective of the journalistic field and its *doxa* (Bourdieu 2005). With news stories that draw attention to media practices, boundary maintenance “normalizes” (Bishop 1999: 95) the news narrative, shifting the news angle and focus from that of a media story, to one that focuses on the ‘main’ news angle of the specific event. By isolating discussions of media practice from that coverage, the boundary maintenance processes allow journalists to “validate their work” (ibid.: 96) through foregrounding positive in-group adherence.

Overt enforcement discourses present two points, the first involves the public airing of the failure of belonging and news texts as a discourse for both the audience of peers and the broader public’s sake. The explanation then incorporates a second discussion of why the failing entities or activities were non-journalism or non-journalistic and for what reason, alternatively conducted by foregrounding the positive attributes of the speaking media. In a case study of Boundary Maintenance activities following Princess Diana’s death by Ronald Bishop (1999), these types of maintenance activities could be easily located in the responses a) to the singular event and b) contained within news editorials and news programs that discussed the collusion of paparazzi and tabloids, and where and whether they belong within the same in-group as quality journalism (Bishop 1999). The discourse of the journalistic identity, in these instances, allows the reader to understand the same parameters of belonging the in-group ascribes to.

#### 2.4.4 DISTINGUISHING INTERLOPER MEDIA REACTIONS

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From boundary work and its location in spot lit ‘what-a-story’ coverage, discursive reactions to WikiLeaks differ. Even in their more overt arenas, the processes of differentiation carried out within news texts differs for those agreed-upon members of the profession and those perceived-as-external actors claiming belonging. This section will explore how reactions to WikiLeaks as an *interloper* form a different dynamic of boundary work. WikiLeaks provides both a ‘what-a-story, an critique, and a challenge that could harm the public perception of journalism, and responses within news texts foreground the professional attributes, paradigms and reinforces shared ‘accepted’ aspects of identity (Cecil 2002).

However, it is also in these key aspects where *interloper media reactions* do not follow the same formula. As *interloper media* exist in a contested space defined as in-group by their own claims of belonging, or out-group from the in-group’s perspective, there are complicating factors where the *interloper* is integral to the news story being told, thereby preventing any normalizing.<sup>142</sup> In other words, with initial coverage of the WikiLeaks collaborative publications, the ‘what-a-story’ aspects – to borrow Bishop’s (1999) phrasing – were the leaks, the collaboration, and the information disclosed, rather than the dynamics of belonging, journalism’s place in society, or WikiLeaks’ place within the field. As a simple contrast, coverage cited in Bishop is contained within the first week following Princess Diana’s death, policing the in-group within that time, whereas the processes of *interloper media reactions* with regard to WikiLeaks are not

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<sup>142</sup> With WikiLeaks in particular, this thesis will show how news stories involving *interlopers* are initially shaped not by a challenge to the primacy of traditional journalism or WikiLeaks’ in-group claims, but rather by their role as a source of information that enables the in-group’s professional news work and reporting. Initial reactions, then, were devoid of the same explicit reactions and boundary-defining activities seen in boundary processes.

only not immediately apparent, they continue to evolve over the years following the initial emergence of WikiLeaks as a major news story (Eldridge 2014: 13).

Zhongdang Pan (2005) maps some further aspects of such ‘what-a-story’ coverage in looking at the ways boundary processes as paradigm repair relates to news events, in this instance reacting to the hyping of the Hong Kong handover in 1997. In this case, repair involves news media pushing back against the hype, managed, and structured news media events: the imposition of news selection as a criteria of belonging and as challenging the established news gathering and dissemination. In such controlled news media events, boundary and paradigm work serves as a re-assertion of in-group membership rules against imposition. This reaction to imposition on journalism’s in-group also occurred when the actor Leonardo DiCaprio interviewed former president Bill Clinton (Bishop 2004), the maintenance reacting to DiCaprio being imposed on their news work as a “faux journalist” (Eldridge 2014: 2). Zhongdang cites the managed news event as threatening the normal manner through which journalists are able to process news and information for societal consumption, prompting the “expulsion, expansion, and protection of autonomy” (cf. Bishop 2004: 31) and that Thomas Gieryn (1999) also defines boundary work on. Altheide and Snow (1991) also illustrate this challenge, as the news media event presenting a version of events that is assumed by the audience to be reality. This challenges and threatens the paradigmatic nature of news media’s relationship and “mars the liberal democratic premise of news as a means of informing and engaging the public” (ibid.: 12).

Thomas Gieryn’s (1999) research on boundary work looks at science and the reclaiming of scientific professional integrity against think tanks and other ‘faux’ experts. This

provides a further element of differentiation with *interloper* reactions and boundary maintenance within journalistic fields, but as familial to other boundary-building processes. As such, Gieryn's exposition of credibility with regard to science provides a useful parallel to the foci of journalism's boundary distinctions:

“Credibility contests” are a chronic feature of the social scene: bearers of discrepant truths push their wares wrapped in assertions of objectivity, efficacy, precision, reliability, authenticity, predictability, sincerity, desirability, tradition. People often take shortcuts when faced with practical decisions about how to allocate 'epistemic authority' the legitimate power to define, describe, and explain bounded domains of reality. (1999: 1)

Gieryn's emphasis on “discrepant truths” can be seen as an emblematic feature of boundary reactions to plagiarism, or the fake news stories of Jayson Blair (Bicket and Wall 2007, Coddington 2012). The claim to tell truth where there is less of a basis is as damaging for the credibility of science, reliant on truth, as it is for the in-group of journalism, which articulates its definitions around an adherence to ‘facticity’ (McQuail 2010) and ‘truth-telling’ (Conboy 2013). In response to these encroachments on its credibility, boundary work proceeds with the profession reasserting its identity and credibility through “attributing selected characteristics to science that effectively demarcated it from religion” (Gieryn 1999: 40) or, in the case of journalistic identity, characteristics that effectively demarcate it from non-journalism.<sup>143</sup> While past approaches to boundary maintenance processes are insufficient for cases of *interlopers*, they provide the basis to inform and substantiate the theory in the following ways: boundary maintenance and paradigm overhaul and repair demonstrate that media are engaged in constant processes of negotiation and definition of their journalistic

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<sup>143</sup> In this, *interloper media reactions* seem properly within the sphere of boundary processes. However, as *interloper media reactions* are not reactions to in-group failing, and *interlopers* are not quite “bearers of discrepant truths” (Gieryn 1999: 1), as the content of *interlopers* is sourced, referred to, and interwoven in in-group content, the process is distinct. Instead, *interloper* claims of being journalistic provoke the more nuanced and protracted reactions this thesis adopts.

identities, reflective of Bourdieu's theorisation of journalistic field enforcement and creation (Bourdieu 1991, 1994, 2005).<sup>144</sup>

*Interloper media reactions* as a concept develops out of the inadequacies of boundary maintenance to explain the range of processes attending to such distinctions when a) they occur in subtle or covert language, and b) when language serves to push back against external, interloping, media that claim journalism's identity.<sup>145</sup> In that, *interloper media reactions* develops out of boundary maintenance, while allowing research to better understand how the journalistic field reacts to such incursions and claims. These distinctions are drawn through foregrounding belonging via a familiar lexicon of belonging and by isolating *interloping media* and emerging actors and entities as threats to the identity of journalism that need to be defended against. This provides a fuller understanding of in-group/out-group processes as reactions to *interloper media* through *interloper media reactions* developed in this work and in Eldridge (2014).<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> This addresses an audience of in-group peers, and an audience of the out-group public. While the challenges that singular events pose to the journalistic identity and professionalism present unique elements of boundary building, persistent and drawn out news events such as with WikiLeaks or *interloper* interactivity call for analysis of the more consistent process of in-group/out-group identity processes.

<sup>145</sup> That these processes engage in overt identity building and enforcement in news texts, rather than being performed in backrooms or within newsrooms, provides evidence that news texts can be parsed for discussions of in-group/out-group belonging in a way that are meant to be seen. Bishop (2004) refers to this as second-order boundary maintenance, and ties Dickinson's (2007) argument for a revised media sociology and focus on media work as a product of social actors to the outward discourses of in-group/out-group belonging.

<sup>146</sup> In Chapter 7.3.0 this distinction is discussed in more detail in a comparative analysis of reactions to WikiLeaks and reactions to phone hacking, the latter explicit boundary maintenance, the former nuanced interloper media reactions.



Julian Assange: “*Of course I’m a goddam [sic] journalist.*”<sup>147</sup>

The above quotation provides perhaps the easiest operationalization of the concept of *interloper media*: claims of belonging made by emerging entities not typically categorised as ‘journalism’ that challenge the traditional profession. Long after WikiLeaks had emerged in prominent news stories, following several public rebuttals of its claims of belonging, the frustration in Assange’s tone further reflects the protracted nature of *interloper media* claims and reactions. The presentation of WikiLeaks’ claims of belonging, the news dynamics they emerge from, steep this research and its analysis in one of the more persistent questions in the fields of journalism studies and media and communications research: What is journalism?, and: Who is a journalist?

These questions and their answers reflect the way we understand the mediated world as discursively representing power and communicative primacy in societal dynamics within news texts, and importantly how discordant responses to these questions highlight the ways in-group/out-group dynamics of professional identity are formed and reinforced. Questions about journalistic belonging are implicit in the emergence of WikiLeaks in journalism discussions to understand the ways assumptions of journalism as we seem to know it (Donsbach 2010: 38) is challenged and reacted to when new media entities emerge claiming in-group identity, what Lynch refers to as treading “the line between absorbing and institutionalizing organizations who do not fit comfortably into journalism’s boundaries” (2013: 327). This thesis will now go ahead to look at how those boundaries can be identified as they are maintained, the role of language in that

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<sup>147</sup> Relayed via Twitter, originally delivered via Skype to the Global Editors Network summit of news editors held 28 November 2011 in Hong Kong, and also cited in (AFP 2011, Gillmor 2011).

process, and to explore the empirical background of those processes for its final contribution, an effort “to develop a more flexible notion of what twenty-first-century journalism might become” (Lynch 2013: 327).

### 2.5.1 RESEARCH GAP

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Based on the research overviewed here, the theories presented by Bourdieu (1984, 1991, 1994, 2005), and the work on professional identities and boundary building, this chapter has provided three points to understand how journalism defines itself through exclusivity and in-group dynamics. The first articulates the scoping of a journalistic field, providing a conceptual definition for journalism defined as an in-group. The second advances this through developing journalism as a profession, building on professional identity, and establishing criteria of belonging as well as identifying the threats to that profession. Finally, the third explores how language defines this in-group, and how boundary work defines an out-group of non-journalism in overt and episodic ways, discursive processes that provide the foundations for *interloper media reactions* that have played out in reaction to the rise of WikiLeaks.

All of this establishes the basis for the methodological frameworks outlined in the next chapter and, opening an avenue for seeing exactly how journalism is defined and expressed in reaction to WikiLeaks, as well as the degree to which they resonate with the work outlined in this chapter. The supposition here is that as the professional in-group moves beyond the initial fanfare and spotlight of the *interloper media*-fuelled dynamics – the “what-a-story” (Bishop 1999) – the in-group will foreground expression of an in-group/out-group dynamic so as to clarify any perspective of where the *interloper media* belongs in the news landscape.

The research centres initially on one *interloper media*, WikiLeaks, so as to thoroughly investigate these dynamics and provide a basis that can then be applied through comparative analysis to other media-to-media reactions, approached in later chapters. In doing so it addresses an area of research and scholarship that is, as Beckett and Ball (2012) write, facing turbulent dynamics as online media actors, new dynamics, and emerging challenges confront relatively normative ideas of what journalism is. Whether approached as a system or field (Sections 2.1.2, 2.1.3), labelled a profession (Section 2.2.1), or viewed through the lens of its standards and norms (Section 2.3.2), an idea of what we ‘seem to know’ as journalism has persisted (Donsbach 2010:38) as a journalistic identity. This research looks at how that manifests in modern dynamics and picks up the mantle laid out by Benson and Neveu (2005) to see where Bourdieu’s work on field theory might address new media dynamics, mindful of the critique of Myles (2010) and the approach of news discourses as social practice (Schultz 2007). This addresses these discourses as part of a process reinforcing field belonging by exploring the way journalism talks about journalism, what Matt Carlson (2013) refers to as the journalistic metadiscourse. It challenges the applicability of existing concepts of journalism by evaluating the claims and counter-claims of journalistic belonging made both by those who fall into the ‘seem to know’ in-group, and those *interloper media* seeking recognition and belonging.

This underpins the contribution endeavoured in this thesis to evaluate discursive representations of journalism and journalistic belonging more broadly and understand reactions to the claims of new actors, such as WikiLeaks. This addresses the gap Donsbach (2010: 38) identifies between what we seem to know journalism to be and

how we define it. In doing so, this research will evaluate the expressions of belonging and journalistic identity found in news texts as discourses of in-group/out-group belonging, replete with the dynamics of the journalistic field, its sense of a peer group sharing a journalistic identity, and its perception and reactions to threats on that identity. This advances understandings of concepts of idealised journalism in news texts as identity discourses, and allows for a reflexive discussion and re-evaluation of the way journalism is perceived as distinct, how that perception is projected outwardly, and whether such a concept of journalism remains fit for modern new media dynamics.

While WikiLeaks has provided a research focus for journalism studies since its emergence, the gaps in research addressed by this study have less to do with broadening scholarship on WikiLeaks as a subject, and is geared towards contributing to journalism studies and journalism research of journalistic identity and shifting concepts of journalism. As will be explained in the methodology chapter to follow, through analysing nuanced references to journalistic identity criteria in reference to emerging journalistic actors, the way we understand boundary work as an outward facing process contained within an array of news texts can be deepened. Finally, for understandings of what journalism 'is' this research evaluates where traditional identity criteria that have underpinned an idealised perception of journalism continue to emerge, where they falter, and whether they present an 'Us versus Them' dynamic of journalistic belonging or a more open perception of new actors. Combined, these contributions allow this research to revisit understandings of what journalism 'is' from a static field to a more dynamic conceptualisation, advanced as a multi-sphere model in the final chapter.

This chapter has explored the way journalism can be understood as a societal field, at once unique in contrast to other societal fields, and difficult to define as a single unique space. It has explored the ways the field is formed around concepts of societal roles, ideals, and norms, and how those underpin an idealised perception of journalism as distinct and inherent to the functioning of society. It has further explored the ways journalism reinforces that in-group by peer evaluation and communication, how threats to that distinction are perceived amid change, and how reactions to those threats further define the field in relation to other societal fields and other mediated communication. Having explored the ways WikiLeaks has been studied for its journalistic potentialities and as a challenge to journalism's information primacy, this chapter addressed the shortcoming of WikiLeaks research with a keen eye to understanding broader concepts of journalism, identifying a need for more nuanced methodological approaches allow for an evaluation of the tenets of WikiLeaks' discrete claims of journalistic belonging and the reactions found within journalistic texts to those claims.

## 3.0 METHODOLOGY

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This chapter establishes the methods of analysis and the methodological commitments for analysing news texts as overt and covert discourses of journalistic belonging. It first explores the rationale for adopting discourse analysis and textual analysis methodologies, going on to outline the incorporation of interviews as a secondary methodology. This chapter will detail the process and structure of data gathering and detail the elements of the analytical framework applied to news texts, and explained in the chapters that follow. Details of the specific elements of discourse analysis that are adopted and applied will also be explained, as will the categories of discourses being approached, and the complementary research that will be developed. This chapter will, therefore, advance a methodological approach for exploring journalistic identity discourses located within news texts and the grounding for approaching discourses as a boundary-building process of *interloper media reactions* reflective of a journalistic field.<sup>148</sup> To explore whether discourses of journalistic identity project a concept of journalism as a field through articulating belonging and an in-group/out-group journalistic identity around a set of criteria inherent to its members (Bourdieu 2005), analysis focuses on:

- a) Detecting criteria of belonging in news texts as an outward expression of journalism's *doxa* and in-group professional identity.
- b) Exploring how journalism further defines its exclusivity as a field against *interlopers* who claim adherence to those criteria of belonging.
- c) Mapping the extent to which these processes emerge in non-prompted covert, nuanced, and subtle discourses of journalism belonging, in contrast to overt, sign-posted, discourses expressed when prompted.

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<sup>148</sup> Through exploring discourses of differentiation, analysis can explore whether or not a dominant vision built on agreed-upon complicities that represents a journalistic field emerges through news texts, whether that represents a diverse or relatively coherent and monolithic projected identity of journalism, and gauge its consistency with Bourdieu's (2005) work on the journalistic field.

As a piece of qualitative research, this research aligns with Uwe Flick's justification of qualitative approaches. Flick identifies: "the main reason for using qualitative research should be that a research question requires the use of this sort of approach and not a different one" (2014: 12), and this chapter will detail why discourse analysis and interviews offer the most appropriate are required to explore *interloper media reactions* in response to emerging new media entities that claim journalistic belonging. It is on this last point where innovative understandings of journalism's reaction to new media are developed and how a multi-stage analysis provides an explanation of the journalism in-group and its relation to interloping out-group members, emerging with consistency in news texts.

Methodologically, this research also endeavours to advance understanding of how in-group/out-group constructions of journalistic identity emerge as outward-facing *projections* of identity from within the language of news texts. By analysing news texts for both obvious and subtle boundaries between the journalistic field and perceived non-members of that field, the ways discourses represent an in-group identity can also be understood. In the first stage of analysis, this calls for textual analysis of overt discourses of journalistic identity and belonging in news texts to establish a baseline of expressed criteria of belonging within discourses made explicitly *about* journalistic belonging. From there, analysis shifts to focus on how identity discourses present elements of belonging within subtle, covert discourses which advance understanding of journalism's in-group/out-group identity in nuanced reactive discourses referring to WikiLeaks and other new media. Furthermore, whether these new media – *interloper media* – can be seen as a threat to journalism's primacy consistent with past perceptions

of technological change as a threat (see Section 2.3.1) will be explored as a factor in the expression of journalistic identity as a reaction to that threat (see Section 2.4).

### *3.1 METHODOLOGICAL RATIONALE AND LIMITATIONS*

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Within qualitative research and qualitative methods, potential biases and pitfalls can be guarded against through an acknowledgement of researcher positionality (See: Section 1.3.1) rigorous frameworks of analysis. To the latter point, three levels of analysis were arrived at to establish a broad study and guard against risks through reflexive engagement. These are: 1) Textual Analysis, 2) Contextual, and 3) Interviews. Within each of these, the components of analysis and how they enable analysis of a) overt discourses of identity, b) covert discourses of identity, c) discourses of identity boundaries will be further unpacked. Before expanding on these three points, a brief explanation of the benefits and limitations of the adopted approaches is needed. Any qualitative analysis of texts is looking, first, at representations and meanings encoded within those texts, interpreted through an analytically honed, but ultimately subjective, lens. That subjectivity can either be one of bias that favours analytical presumptions and predictive conclusions, or it can be a subjectivity that, when steeped in reflexive engagement with academic theory, rigour, and distance, effectively guards against bias and provides an awareness that informs the work's scholarship and subsequent contribution to knowledge. Adopting the latter requires a rigorous use of analytical tools and a structured methodological framework, and even then must recognise the limitations of representations as indications, rather than proof, and analysis as emerging from the particular approach to discourses.



### 3.1.1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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This research adopts Discourse Analysis and a Textual Analysis framework for its main methodological framework and engages with key dynamics of Critical Discourse Analysis and the work of Critical Linguistics that CDA developed out of. Critical Discourse Analysis emerges out of the combined efforts of scholars including Teun van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Michael Meyer in the 1980s and 1990s to adopt critical linguistic methods and discourse analysis approaches to language analysis with a critical focus, developing a methodological approach with social implications (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 3). Through language analysis imbued with critique, the work of CDA scholars focused on how academic work could provide critiques of power and societal structuration through analysing those elements as they are reproduced in language. As such, CDA is often associated distinctly with evaluation of ideologies in the broad societal sense, as Teun Van Dijk has developed extensively in his work (1988, 1991, 1998a, 1998b), and which fellow leading scholars of CDA Ruth Wodak (1999, 2001), Gunther Kress (1991), Norman Fairclough (1995, 2003), and Theo van Leeuwen (1995) also embrace. However, in developing a school of methodological approaches, described by Wodak and Meyer as a “research programme” (2009: 4), these scholars and others have also advanced the consideration of a range of specific methods for understanding other dynamics of power and society as replicated in discourses. These can be applied to analysis of elements of social action (van Leeuwen 1995), and have been embraced to analyse discourses of identity and power specific to the work of news discourses (Bell and Garrett 1998, Van Dijk 1998b)

Developing alongside the more critically-focused work of scholars such as Van Dijk, Fairclough, Meyer, and Wodak, others such as Alan Bell (1991, 1998) and Roger

Fowler (1991), and Anabela Carvalho (2000, 2008) have embraced critical linguistics, discourse analysis, language analysis, and the textual analysis of news texts and journalistic texts for the specific means which they represent dynamics of power and identity. Bell, for instance, has written extensively about the ways news language is directed to an in-group of journalistic peers (1991) and Fowler (1991), a founder of critical linguistics along with Theo van Leeuwen (1995, 1996), focused his analysis on news texts for how they are constructed under social and political dynamics. Van Leeuwen is also credited with developing analytical methods and theories around social actors, and language as legitimating or delegitimizing the work of those social actors and reflecting societal hierarchies and power structures. These aspects of language analysis are adopted in this research as well, particularly for their utility in understanding language for its potential to demarcate fields. Out of the work of both critical linguistics and discourse analysis in its more critical traditions, scholars such as John Richardson (2008) have worked alongside Fairclough and others to expand analysis into language and journalism as a distinct field of discourse analysis. These efforts have further developed discourse analysis as a means of analysing news texts by developing rigorous frameworks of discourse analysis, such as those developed by Anabela Carvalho (2000, 2008) and detailed in Section 3.4, and by normalising its use within analysis of journalism texts as discourses of power, identity, and representative of societal dynamics: the focus of this thesis.

In contrast to content analysis in either its qualitative or quantitative forms, discourse analysis embraces an analytical subjectivity and foregrounds researcher positionality in its analysis. Where Wodak and Meyer (2009) describe this as an embraced bias, this thesis endeavours to temper that subjectivity by evaluating the researcher's

interpretation against those of other actors.<sup>149</sup> Such critical methodological approaches and their open biases led to CDA decried in its early years as too ideologically driven, or as engaging with the very language dynamics it decries: “We investigate language, yet at the same time we must use language in order to make our investigations” (Billig 2008: 783). To these critiques, theorists have pushed back by developing frameworks for analysis that advocate transparent approaches to the presentation of data and reveal positionality (Van Dijk 1990). It also accepts that within the discourse analysis approach, there is often an embrace of change wedded to its outcome.

Efforts to strengthen CDA methodological approaches against these claims have spurred discourse analysis methodologists to develop analytical tools for discourses in its many forms, from conversational to written text, and to establish thorough programmes of analysis and methodology. Lending an adaptability to discourse analysis that is advantageous for analysis of language as a representation of societal structures and power as addressed in this thesis, “studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies,” (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 5). At the core of this approach to language is a view that discourses present a social practice (Schultz 2007), an idea developed extensively by Norman Fairclough in writing of language and its use as shaped by social relations, power. These influences the way language appears and how it is constructed in news texts, representative of a choice; not of conscious choice, but of choice influenced by societal factors (Fairclough 1992). Discourse analysis as a set of methods, then, can range from highly ideologically-driven (as much of the work of Van

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<sup>149</sup> This effort remains consistent with a recognition of researcher positionality necessary to fulfil Uwe Flick’s criteria for qualitative work (2014).

Dijk advocates) or it can be more focused on linguistic elements, as Hodge and Kress (1993) and others pursue (Carvalho 2000, Richardson 2008), all the while assessing the way language expresses various aspects of power, societal construction, and identity.

Consistently across discourse analysts, be they critically-focused or more closely aligned with linguistics, is a recognition that words and their relation with each other in texts and discourses both carry and reflect elements of positionality and power emanating from within society and projected outwardly towards the audience of those discourses (Fowler 1991). In other words, discourse analysis recognises language as discourses for both carrying and conveying meaning. Through combining elements of various analytical tools allows discourse analysis to engage with the structures it is being focused on. Indeed, CDA and DA as schools or programmes adopt macro and micro-linguistics and pragmatic linguistic analyses, and are rarely wedded to one approach, and can be applied to a variety of theoretical bases (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 23). Where discourse analysis is particularly advantageous for this analysis is in its ability to adapt to the focus of inquiry on expressions that reflect or draw upon discursive markers of journalistic identity.

To unpack its utility further, in this analysis of journalism's in-group/out-group discursive construction, journalistic identity discourses can be analysed as constructing a journalistic field through looking at social actors and social structures as van Leeuwen (1996) develops, alongside aspects of agency addressed by Hodge and Kress (1993), drawing on their ideological underpinnings (also found in Van Dijk 1991, 1998a), all the while considering Bell's (1991) work on news discourses as in-group communication. This is possible because these approaches work through the way

components of discourses can be understood individually and collectively to analyse meaning, what Wodak and Meyer refer to as the hermeneutic circle (2009: 22). The utility of these approaches is made clear by outlining the theoretical bases, interpretive frameworks, and operationalization of analytical methods, and evaluating individual aspects of analysis – components – as elements of a constituted whole – the overarching discourse (ibid.: 24).

Discourse analysis has its limitations, limitations that extend beyond the critique identified above by Billig (2008). At the core of discourse analysis is an interpretation of language, and with critical discourse analysis an interpretation aligned with social change or challenge. Billig joins Charles Antaki, Derek Edwards, and Jonathan Potter (Antaki, et al. 2004) in outlining the key critiques levelled against CDA as:

- (1) under-analysis through summary;
- (2) under-analysis through taking sides;
- (3) under-analysis through over-quotation or through isolated quotation;
- (4) the circular identification of discourses and mental constructs;
- (5) false survey; and
- (6) analysis that consists in simply spotting features. (ibid.: §1)

In their survey of criticisms of these approaches, the authors do not invalidate nor discount the merits of such analysis, rather they point to the struggles DA and CDA as fields have faced in establishing their positions within the academy, struggles Van Dijk identified in his foundational introduction to the journal *Discourses & Society* (Van Dijk 1990: 14). Such shortcomings, he argues (and this is also argued by Carvalho (2000, 2008), among others), can be overcome through structuring frameworks to guide analysis. Within specific frameworks, and particularly to avoid critiques (2) and (5) highlighted above, interviews are added to this research to evaluate the findings of the discourse analysis in the operationalization of Carvalho's (2008) Textual and Contextual Analysis framework (see Section 3.4).

In adopting Textual Analysis with elements of CDA, language in this thesis is analysed as a discourse of social action and in particular as a representation of the way media actors perceive their space within societal structures (Myles 2010, Schultz 2007). Both Schultz (2007) and Bourdieu (1991) identify discourses as a symbolic representations of power, through which distinction and differentiation can be projected. Approaching discourse as an articulation of societal space and as a symbolic representation of power pins discourse analysis methods to Bourdieu's field theory dynamics and allows for assessing language as utterances of journalistic *doxa* and *habitus*, but also through his approach to language as a symbolic mediator of power (Bourdieu 1991, 1994; Schultz 2007, Myles 2010). With regard to the elements of power as an expression of belonging, the articulation of the journalistic field and its distinction from other fields in society can be understood through the language of in-group/out-group dynamics of a journalistic field, and the way news discourses represent a sense of societal primacy held by the speaking media, and its efforts to enforce its boundaries (Bourdieu 2005). As a qualitative methodological approach, Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992) 'invitation' to embrace reflexive research and researcher personality is also adopted by triangulating the in-depth language analysis with interviews. This is approached as a guard against the risks of researcher subjectivity by using interview responses to compare findings and inform analysis.

The analysis in this thesis adopts a systematic approach that also avoids over-emphasis on ideological elements, or essentialist notions of a discourse's strength and influence on the audience (Carvalho 2000). Specifically, the usefulness of this dynamic is developed in Carvalho's (2008) explorations of the ways discursive strategies can be

used to approach claims making. To that end, discourse will be analysed as providing elements of “showing”, “proving”, and “calling attention to” particular points that the speaking media wants made salient, rather than directly influencing understandings (ibid.: 169).<sup>150</sup>

### 3.1.2 INTERVIEWS

Incorporating additional methodological approaches to analysis offers a component of triangulation, also referred to as a ‘hybrid approach’, which adds depth to the findings and enhances the strength of the research endeavoured. This is referred to as triangulation, and within this thesis is addressed by adding interviews as a component of contextual analysis under the framework outlined below, further emboldened by comparative analysis to other discursive reactions (Chapter 6.0). Triangulation calls for adopting several methods of analysis so as to confirm a phenomenon or findings across an array of measurement techniques:

Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes (Webb, et al. 1966: 3)

The benefit of triangulation when added to discourse analysis methodologies is the opportunity it allows the researcher to assess interpreted findings from analysis against interpretations made by participants in the construction of those discourses or the narratives they tell. This is often referred to as expert or elite interviews, and can take a variety of forms – structured, semi-structured, or un-structured (King 2004: 11). Within this thesis, interviews also provide a point of evaluation, with a conversational style of

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<sup>150</sup> As this research deals with the response to and expression of claims of journalistic identity as representing claims of field belonging, conveyed through the discourse of news texts, the focus on claims-making as showing and calling attention to the perceived identity of the speaking media, the in-group, provide a particularly appropriate analytical dynamic.

semi-structured interviews allowed for the greatest opportunity for evaluative data gathering (Carvalho 2008). As Berger (2011) notes, in this approach “the interviewer has a written list of questions to ask the informant but tries, to the extent possible, to maintain the casual quality found in unstructured interviews” (136). In this method, interviewees’ interpretations are not constrained to specific questions and responses, and alternative interpretations or narratives which emerge provide further context for analysis.

Flick (2014) identifies the incorporation of expert interviews as a method to assess how individuals with specific purview on facts related to the subject of inquiry can be approached for their insights and perspectives. Of three typologies of expert interviews advanced by Bogner, Littig, and Metz (2009), including exploration, to collect data as a complement to other data gathered, or to reconstruct knowledge, the purpose of interviews in this study is found in types two and three: complementing data gathered and analysed through discourse analysis methods, and to reconstruct perspectives on the WikiLeaks story itself. For that purpose, interviews offer an insight into the perspectives of participants in reporting on WikiLeaks from journalists interviewed, or in working with WikiLeaks in various capacities from advocates and allies, but also offers an opportunity to explore the core questions of journalism and WikiLeaks-as-journalism as they are understood by participants in those shifting debates and dynamics.

In approaching interviews as a means of triangulation within qualitative methodologies, what Seale describes as “a set of techniques that arose initially within a crudely realist paradigm” (1999: 472), but which contribute to validity of individual methods is



achieved. Triangulation is also achieved by adopting the mantle of contextual analysis from Carvalho's (2008) framework, providing a point of validity for the interpretations and analysis emerging out of textual analysis. This is what Denzin (1970) refers to as between-method validation or triangulation. Interviews are not without their shortcomings, though, as they can be too restrictive in terms of the expertise of the interviewee, or over-relied on for their reliance on participant perspectives as a stand-in for facticity. For this reason, Lincoln and Guba (1985) advocate assessing credibility as a within method triangulation (Denzin 1970), an approach which allows for the cross checking of interview accounts from different participants to broaden understanding (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 314). When added to the textual analysis of news discourses, this further strengthens analysis.

This chapter will develop further on the work of the scholars above to provide greater detail to how these methods are being adapted to assess journalism's reactions to *interloper media*. In that effort, it is important to understand how both discourse analysis and interviews offer an opportunity to evaluate the way language of journalistic identity within traditional news media can be identified. In approaching interviews as well as discourse analysis through a constructivist epistemological stance (See Section 2.1.4), this research can engage with both the cautious and the enthusiastic potential of both analytical approaches. Through an established and clear framework of analysis, and a careful triangulation of findings, the advantages of qualitative methodologies can be further harnessed to offer a thorough and nuanced perspective of the reactions to WikiLeaks for its contributions to an understanding of journalism.

### 3.1.3 LIMITATIONS

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Within this research there are several limitations, limitations that both maintain a stable focus on the questions outlined in Section 1.0.2 and call for reflexive engagement with the process of analysis to avoid predetermined findings, subjective biases, or overly expansive conclusions. One such limitation is in the focus of inquiry. An analysis of the *Guardian's* reactions to WikiLeaks, even one based on years of coverage, is restrained in its explanation to that medium's discursive reaction to one specific *interloper media*. While robust in scale, and broad in analysis, such analysis can also only speak to that particular relationship as emergent in news texts. By expanding analysis to a structured comparison of coverage in the *New York Times* and including interviews with journalists who worked on the WikiLeaks collaboration, as well as interviews with supporters of WikiLeaks-as-journalism definitions, findings are enhanced. By further incorporating discourses contained in books, documentaries, and public discourses addressing WikiLeaks, seated within a broad view of journalism explicated in the literature review of Chapter 2.0 and within the theoretical expansion in chapters 6.0 and 7.0 broaden that understanding significantly.

However, even with an expansive range of discourses, findings would remain restricted to the reactions to WikiLeaks, to one *interloper media*. The integration of two additional points of analysis strengthens that understanding. The first of these, a comparison with findings against reactions to news blogs, broadens the *interloper* classification both temporally and across a wider range of new media. Second, and to develop *interloper media reactions* as a specific boundary-building process further, its dynamics will be differentiated from other boundary building processes through a comparison to reactions to phone hacking in the United Kingdom. In this, four aspects

of analysis – overt discourses, covert discourses, comparative analysis, and evaluative interviews – are mapped onto the dynamics of the journalistic field and substantiated through dynamics of a professional identity of journalism (See Section 2.1) to provide a robust understanding of journalism’s reaction to *interloper media* and how that reflects dynamics of journalism’s definitional belonging.

### 3.2 DATA GATHERING AND STUDY PARAMETERS: OVERT AND COVERT REACTIONS

This thesis analyses all stories in *the Guardian* that contain the word “WikiLeaks” or “Julian Assange” from the first mention of WikiLeaks in its pages on 31 August 2007, through to 12 January 2013 when data gathering stopped.<sup>151</sup> All texts from *the Guardian* were gathered using the Lexis Library. While gathering all texts that include these two terms results in 1,166 news texts (Appendix A), this wide net manages to capture the full range of both overt and covert discourses of belonging, tracing back to WikiLeaks emergence in news discourses. This enables a full analysis of covert discourses – any mention of WikiLeaks or Assange, regardless of context – and allows for the robust analysis and findings this thesis embraces as part of its contribution to boundary building processes, *interloper media reactions*. The time frame incorporated allows analysis to address references to WikiLeaks that precede its collaborative publications, and extends to incorporate post-collaborative discourses.<sup>152</sup>

Following collection of articles, the first phase of analysis is preliminary reading, detailed below in section 3.3. This phase of analysis precedes the analysis under

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<sup>151</sup> This last text, a reflective piece by *Guardian* editor Alan Rusbridger, provides a useful end point to the data set reflecting both finality to the bulk of coverage, and a pragmatic conclusion to the data set.

<sup>152</sup> As will be evident in Chapter 5.0, the January 2013 cut off also presents a conclusive case of the distancing and interloper dynamic developed throughout the four phases of analysis (Eldridge 2014: 13).

detailed analytical textual framework detailed in Section 3.4, but allows texts referring to WikiLeaks and Assange to be divided into two subsets. For analytical purposes and in developing the concept of *interloper media reactions*, this research puts forward a concept of dual discourses: overt and covert discourses of journalistic identity. These discourse types refer to the sorts of discursive reference to perceived-as-outside actors, and the context within which these discourses emerge. These types of discourses are defined as:<sup>153</sup>

#### **OVERT DISCOURSES:**

Discourses of journalistic identity found in news texts that present an obvious and clear, sign-posted discussion of journalism and its definitions, ideals, standards, identity, or other traits. Located in media columns, media-focused news stories, and editorials, these discourses are identified through the use of signposts of a media/journalism discussion in headlines (including references to *interloper media*) or prominently in the text.

#### **Examples:<sup>154</sup>**

- “**Media**: WikiLeaks” (G45);
- “**Media**: A ‘modern **media**’ place” (G64);
- “**Media**: Bye-bye **brown envelopes** in smoky bars?: **Journalists** are going to have to get better and quicker at analyzing data if they want to **break scoops** in the future says the father of the world wide web Tim Berners-Lee” (G159).
- “Comment: As secrecy and privacy become things of the past, **media ethics** are in a mess: **A journalist's job is to get the story**, but electronic surveillance and the internet demand a new map of the boundaries” (G561).

#### **COVERT DISCOURSES:**

All other discourses within news texts that are not signposted as discussions of journalistic identity, conduct, or belonging which nevertheless, through references to journalistic actors and media and nuanced references to criteria of journalistic belonging, present discourses of journalistic identity and belonging through language used to reference journalistic actors (including *interloper media* actors) and dynamics.

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<sup>153</sup> These are demarcated in Appendix A, with shaded entries highlighting those texts that present overt discourses.

<sup>154</sup> Bold and Underlined text indicates signposts in headlines.

**Example:**<sup>155</sup>

**Headline:**

The war logs: The leak: About the logs <*no indicator of journalistic discussion*>

**Within Text:**

In a collaboration with the *New York Times* and *Der Spiegel*, the *Guardian* <*reference to journalistic in-group; foregrounding peers*> **has spent weeks sifting through this ocean of data** <*indicating journalistic information verification process*>, which has gradually **yielded the hidden texture and human horror stories inflicted day to day during an often clumsily prosecuted war** <*revealing information of a public interest*>. (G72)

Analysis of overt discourses provides a baseline for analysis of covert discourses, which make up the vast majority of discourses of journalistic identity in texts that reference *interloper media*. These are highlighted in Appendix A as shaded entries, amounting to 132 of the total 1,166 *Guardian* texts analysed. Comparative analysis of *New York Times* texts followed, of which 7 of the 50 analysed texts were considered overt discourses of journalism. News articles from the *New York Times* were gathered from its online database. These are presented in Chapter 6.0 and highlighted in Appendix B. Identified during preliminary reading, overt discourses are primarily situated in editorials, media columns, or other texts that focused on WikiLeaks and journalism explicitly, and the WikiLeaks-journalism dynamic as a focus of coverage, what Bishop (1999) refers to as ‘what-a-story’ coverage.<sup>156</sup> Importantly, the use of ‘media’, ‘journalism’ (or its derivations) or ‘WikiLeaks’ or ‘Assange’ in a headline alone does not indicate an overt discourse of journalistic identity or belonging, and only through the preliminary reading can these texts be identified as overt discourses.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Bold and Underlined text analysed within < > brackets.

<sup>156</sup> Examples of these can be seen in Appendix A as those texts with headlines that begin with the word ‘Media:’, or other texts focused on journalism which also incorporate discussions of WikiLeaks, such as opinion columns, media columns, or news stories where the focus was on WikiLeaks vis-à-vis journalism.

<sup>157</sup> Analysis of overt discourses of belonging within *Guardian* news texts that sign-post a discussion of WikiLeaks vis-à-vis journalism are presented in addition to the analysis of other overt texts and interviews in Chapter 4.0.

Additional overt discourses of belonging are gleaned from documentaries, lectures, and books written about WikiLeaks, including those that feature perspectives of participants in the WikiLeaks/Newspaper arrangement. These are found in: Channel 4 (2011), Domscheit-Berg (2011), Leigh and Harding (2011), PBS (2011), SvT (2010), TED (2010), *Times* (2011), and Assange (2011), as well as other texts, documentaries, and programmes referenced and cited in text. Further overt discourses of in-group/out-group analysis are gleaned from six expert interviews that were conducted in three phases, analysed as ‘overt’ because they reflect the ‘prompted’ nature of discussions of journalism and *interloper media*. In order, these were conducted first by interviewing *Guardian* journalists involved in the collaborative endeavours and during early stages of textual analysis to inform analytical frameworks, second by interviewing *New York Times* journalists following the analysis of *Guardian* texts to inform analysis of *Times* texts, and third by interviewing two advocates and supporters of WikiLeaks who have been involved with various interactions to augment analysis.<sup>158</sup>

For the main analysis – textual analysis of covert discourses embedded in ‘everyday’ news texts and presented in Chapter 5.0 – analysis is quartered into: Phase I, leading up to the ‘Collateral Murder’ release; Phase II, leading up to and including coverage of the Afghan and Iraq War Logs; Phase III, Cablegate coverage and its aftermath; Phase IV, post-collaborative coverage. This allows assessments of WikiLeaks in terms of in-

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<sup>158</sup> Initial efforts to interview Julian Assange included contacting his publicists, and later his host Vaughan Smith. After he sought asylum in the Ecuadorian embassy, efforts continued. With the assistance of Dr. Jairo Lugo-Ocando, the Ecuadorian embassy was contacted by telephone to try and arrange a research interview with Assange, followed by a series of email requests and further telephone calls. None of these requests were responded to, nor were requests to fellow WikiLeaks collaborators and organisation members, and so interviews with significant supporters were conducted to ensure that a perspective in favour of WikiLeaks’ claims of being journalism was included beyond public utterances of Assange and others.

group/out-group dynamics, in light of allegations of Assange's sexual misconduct in Sweden and his subsequent house arrest in the United Kingdom, as well as in response to the release of the unredacted trove of diplomatic communiqués in September 2011, and Assange's being granted asylum in the Ecuadorian embassy in London (Ball 2011, Carr 2011a, 2011b, Stöcker 2011, Warner 2011).

These analyses are later cross-compared using the same analytical framework and time periods against 50 texts in *the New York Times* (Appendix B). The comparative findings are presented in Chapter 6.0, along with two further points of synchronic and diachronic comparison (outlined below). Each of these aspects inform analysis to greater and lesser degrees, but altogether provide a full picture of the ways discourses interlaced in news texts provide expressions of journalism's in-group dynamics, and the distancing of *interloper media* and their claims of belonging. This chapter will now detail the process of data gathering and analysis and further develop the two-part framework of analysis. This follows the timeline in Section 3.6

### 3.3 PRELIMINARY READING

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The analytical framework in this thesis builds closely on Anabela Carvalho's (2008) textual and contextual framework, further aided by a reading of the work of methodologists who have developed analytical frameworks to analyse discourses demarcating identities in journalistic, mediated, and non-mediated discourses alike (Carvalho 2008, Davies and Harre 1990, de Beaugrande 1980, Fairclough 1992, 1995,

1998, 2003, Hardy 2005, Harre 1991, Hodge and Kress 1993, Kress 1991).<sup>159</sup> This foundational work allows a multi-stage analysis with a focus on discursive dynamics and a broader comparison of wider dynamics that begins with a preliminary reading. Gill underpins preliminary reading as the first phase of critical thinking for analysis, adopting “a spirit of scepticism” (Gill 2000: 178) harnessed through an initial and “sceptical reading” (ibid.: 172). Nearly across the board, researchers embarking on discourse analysis are warned to address texts first with a preliminary reading to “identify significant debates, controversies, and silences, and possibly suggest specifications and amendments to initial research goals and questions” (Carvalho 2008: 166).<sup>160</sup> Carvalho (2008) recommends three questions to consider while performing this initial reading to identify themes and avoid overly narrow interpretations:

1. Why do some things get said and others do not?
2. How are things said and what are the possible implications of that?
3. What is absent from a particular text (factual data, arguments, points of view, etc.)? (Carvalho 2008: 166)

Parker (2000 [2004]) also encourages adoption of a preliminary reading, identifying the benefits of distance and systematic analysis that an initial reading of texts contributes to understanding prevalent themes and trends. This first step of analysis also helps to identify typical and atypical expressions of identity discourses and the general frames within which specific identity discourses take place over time (de Vreese 2005). Preliminary reading is also considered a component of reflexive qualitative analysis, as it helps the researcher locate their position within analysis and enhances rigour by allowing specific discourses to be understood as a component of a range of discourses

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<sup>159</sup> This incorporates the cognitive-structural work of Van Dijk (1988a, 1988b, 1991, 1998a, 1998b) for thematic aspects and structural dynamics, also drawing on the work of Bell (1991, 1998), Bell and Garrett (1998); and Fowler (1991), for locating journalistic identity within discourse analysis of news texts.

<sup>160</sup> Complementary advice is also found in: Fairclough (1992, 2003), Gill (2000), Parker (2000 [2004]), and Van Dijk (1998a, 1998b).



throughout coverage; the overall narrative presented by the texts. Indeed, building on the foundations of Bourdieu's philosophical writing and his emphasis on reflexivity and "radical doubt", preliminary reading operationalizes that reflexivity to develop a strong system for qualitative research (Bourdieu 1990, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 235).

To adhere to these guidelines, the preliminary reading of texts was used to familiarise the researcher with the array of content, and to identify where WikiLeaks or Assange was being mentioned and in what sorts of texts these references were located (to identify overt and covert discourses), and to generally scope the narrative of coverage in news texts to be further analysed. This preliminary reading did not incorporate detailed analytical steps, and rather was used as a guide to allow the discourse analysis to proceed with its two phases of detailed analysis of language of in-group/out-group dynamics: analysis of overt discourses of journalistic identity, and analysis of covert discourses of journalistic identity. The objectives of this preliminary reading include:

- The identification of overt and covert discourses
- Locating and defining the parameters for the four phases of analysis
- Identifying key players, dynamics, and significant events in the WikiLeaks narrative
- Observing the general narrative arc of coverage over time
- Identifying repeated headline lead-ins<sup>161</sup>, serial features (such as sidebars), and other journalistic objects

### *3.4 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: ESTABLISHED METHODS FOR NEW PHENOMENA*

Having identified key dynamics out of the preliminary reading, and scoped the general tenor of coverage, this research approaches analysis of both the overt and covert discourses using the same framework and criteria of analysis so as to provide the strongest platform for comparison to understand new dynamics of discursive interaction

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<sup>161</sup> This includes the use of 'Media:', 'The war logs:' or 'The US embassy cables:' to begin a headline.

with emerging media actors trying to place themselves in a news media landscape. Working from Carvalho's (2008) Textual and Contextual analysis framework allows the flexibility of utilising textual and discourse analysis for mapping journalism identity and belonging as represented in news texts. In a manner similar to that utilised by Van Dijk (1998b), but with specific adjustment to assess discursive reflections of journalistic identity and boundary building, further illuminating definitional discourses of journalism within texts. Furthermore, adopting two stages of analysis as Carvalho (2008) outlines allows the subsets of each allow analysis to borrow interpretive tools and theoretical approaches from a broad range of analysis that has developed by scholars such as Van Dijk (1988a, 1988b, 1991, 1998a, 1998b), Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995, 1998, 2003), Fowler (1991), Kress (1991), Richardson (2008, 2011), van Leeuwen (1995, 1996), Wodak (1999), Wodak, et al. (1999), and Wodak and Meyer (2001), detailed above.<sup>162</sup>

The bulk of analysis falls under the first part of this framework, textual analysis, and there are six subsets of analysis adopted: 1) layout and structural organisation; 2) objects; 3) actors; 4) language, grammar and rhetoric; 5) discursive strategies; and 6) ideological standpoints. Under the second part, contextual analysis, there are two subsets of analysis: comparative-synchronic analysis, and historical-diachronic analysis. In each set and subset of analysis, the elements laid out in the previous chapters are operationalized for the analysis of discursive reactions to WikiLeaks and representations of journalistic identity within those reactions. Some elements of the framework are developed further than others as not each of the seven elements are

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<sup>162</sup> Where specific tools or analytical approaches are employed, individual authors will be cited. However, as CDA has developed as both a methodological approach and a philosophical approach (Van Dijk 2005), there is significant cumulative development in the specific approaches.

equally relevant to the analysis of media-to-media discourses at the centre of this thesis. Furthermore, additional dynamics will also be outlined as appropriate.

As a secondary methodology, the addition of semi-structured interviews with traditional journalists who have worked within or around the WikiLeaks-newspaper publishing arrangement and with supporters who view WikiLeaks as journalism are incorporated into the analysis of overt discourses. These strengthen the overall data, analysis, and rigour of this research by providing a secondary check on interpretations. While interviews will be analysed along the same criteria as news texts and other discourses contained in documentaries and books, they are incorporated as a means by which the textual analysis can be evaluated externally and to guard against overly subjective interpretations.

### 3.4.1 *TEXTUAL ANALYSIS*

Carvalho's (2008) textual analysis framework lists six elements to move beyond the preliminary reading and analyse language at the micro-level within news texts. These are:

- Layout and Structural Organisation
- Objects (Themes, Topics)
- Actors
- Language, Grammar, and Rhetoric,
- Discursive Strategies
- Identity (Ideological) Standpoints

These six elements inform both the process and criteria of analysis to evaluate the strength of the in-group/out-group identity-building processes, as they exist within

individual news texts, and will be applied to both overt and covert discourses of belonging. The first of these is layout and structural organisation.

#### *3.4.1.1 LAYOUT AND STRUCTURAL ORGANISATION*

Layout and structural organisation refers to the layout of newspapers, including headlines, placement, highlighted quotes, and other elements. For this study, the main aspects of structure and layout analysed are headlines, building on Carvalho (2000) and Van Dijk (1988b). Van Dijk (1988b) identifies headlines as indicators of a preferred reading of the text, and instructive for understanding the frames and context for analysing other linguistic elements. Importantly, this use of preferred reading is similar to Hall's (1993) work on encoding and decoding of media texts, which favours the interpretive reading of texts as suggested by the tone of headlines, though it does not see headlines as the sole determinant. Instead, Hall (1993) posits there are no guarantees a message will be decoded as it was encoded, but that there is an ideal or 'preferred' reading. This, Van Dijk (1988b) suggests, can be conveyed through the language contained within headlines, setting the tone analysing discourses within the text. Further aspects of layout and structure that will be considered include sub-headlines, bulleted lists, sidebars<sup>163</sup> and other prominent features, an approach that is encouraged by Fowler (1991) and Van Dijk (1988a, 1988b).

In terms of analysis, these serve two purposes. First, they offer an indicator of whom or what is considered the main focus of a story that mentions WikiLeaks or Assange, and lay out the dynamics under inquiry. Headlines and subheadings offer the first indicator of whether an, 'Us versus Them' polarisation is being foregrounded (Van Dijk 1998a:

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<sup>163</sup> This refers to the brief, often list-oriented, explications.

44), or whether the focus is on hard or soft news (analysis in Chapter 5.0 will show where WikiLeaks is incorporated into satirical pieces, and ancillary stories such as fashion columns, to give two examples).

#### 3.4.1.2 OBJECTS (THEMES, TOPICS)

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More closely tied to themes or topics than to objects in a structural sense as artefacts, this subset of analysis assesses dynamics within the macro-frames of news texts (articles), as well as at micro-levels within specific sentences and above the sentence (Van Dijk 1998b: 38). This builds on the previous analytical category of layout, and contributes to the over-arching dynamics a story frames the in-group/out-group relationship with. Rather than adopting frames analysis as a methodology (Entman 1993, Scheufele 1999), the use of the word ‘frames’ here is as one auspice under which discourses can be analysed “as an action or operation, rather than in terms of frames as (fixed) independent entities” (Carvalho 2008: 170). In terms of the process of analysis, word choice indicative of themes – referring to ‘hactivism’, WikiLeaks’ ‘aura’ or Assange’s ‘cult-like’ personality to suggest out-group marginalisation (detailed further in Section 5.3.4 below). Elements of positionality – foregrounding in-group members through specific naming, while minimising or not referencing WikiLeaks (as with the example provided above to detail covert discourses, quoting article G72) – add analytical points of discourse structures to contextualise the relationship between the subject in-group, journalism, and the object out-group, WikiLeaks and *interlopers*.

The incorporation of framing in the consideration of themes and topics also addresses what both Norman Fairclough (1992, 1995) and Roger Fowler (1991) identify as the choices made in media discourse creation. Fairclough (1995) outlines these decisions as

not always made with intentionality or strong self-consciousness, but rather as representing the ways that in any particular language construction, word choices comprise an array of other possible constructions:

Such a view of text encourages analysts to be sensitive to absences from the text – the choices that were not made but might have been – as well as presences in it, as well as to weight presences against possible alternatives (e.g. how else might this have been put?). One should not, however, be misled by the language of ‘choices’ and ‘options’; this is a framework for analysing the variability of language and its social determinants and effects, and self-conscious linguistic choice is a relatively marginal aspect of the social processes of text production and interpretation. (18).

To that, Fowler adds to the understanding adopted in this thesis that news discourses represent a structure of society and a preferred enforcement of that structure held by the communicating in-group:

Language assists in the formation and reproduction of the schematic categories in terms of which a society represents itself: by providing labelling expressions which solidify concepts of ‘groups’, by assigning different semantic roles to the members of different groups, thus discriminating among them and, by imbalance, assisting the practice of allocating power and opportunity unequally among them. (Fowler 1991: 120)

In media-to-media discourses this occurs through integrating frames of belonging that reflect on both the speaking and the subject media and can be analysed as discursive strategies of distinction. As with Carvalho (2008), this research sees frames as inherent, rather than optional, and developed on two modalities. The first is the selection of terms, language, facts, opinions, and value judgments imbued in language to describe Assange or WikiLeaks or the overall WikiLeaks narrative; the second addresses composition, or the arrangement of selected language “in order to produce a certain meaning” (ibid.: 169) such as positionality.

#### 3.4.1.3 ACTORS

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The analysis of actors is a central element in exploring the relationship of in-group out-group dynamics and boundary building. Perceiving actors in the narrow sense, the

individuals involved, or in the broader sense of news media represented as actors, the interaction of one actor directed towards another expressed through discourses is core to the understanding of *interloper media reactions*. Analysis of actors can be informed through assessing whether aspects of agency are allocated to specific actors (WikiLeaks or traditional journalistic media), or how the actions of leaking, sourcing, or publishing are allocated as representing identity and belonging (Hodge and Kress 1993: 134, also Van Dijk 1998a, 1998b). This analytical category also involves the association of actors with certain information, its authority, its presentation, and its delivery – ie, who is doing the reporting, the leaking, or the obtaining of information. These present aspects of the dominant vision Bourdieu (2005) describes, and reflect dominant identities through discourses framing of actors. Carvalho, building on Hajer (1995), operationalizes this level of analysis through the following questions:

Who does the article mention? How are those actors represented? Here we are interested in the individuals or institutions that are either quoted or referred to in the text. The term “actors” in this analysis means both social agents (someone who has the capacity of doing something) and characters in a (staged) story (which is ultimately what news reports are). Actors are then both subjects – they do things – and objects – they are talked about. They may appear as isolated figures or in “discourse coalitions” (Hajer, 1995). (Carvalho 2008: 168)

Social actors and social action, as they relate to news and mediated discourses is developed thoroughly by van Leeuwen (1995, 1996), further assessing language as foregrounding or minimising actors in news texts through prominence, tone, and through presence or absence as dynamics of hedging and vagueness (Van Leeuwen 2007). As such, the portrayal and discursive representation of actors add to a narrative

of dynamics that reflect the polarised ‘us and them’ dynamics Van Dijk (1998a) identifies as endemic to the in-group/out-group dynamics under study in this thesis.<sup>164</sup>

The term ‘actors’ broadly incorporates any referred-to or suggested participant in a discourse or a news text. ‘Actors’ is addressed in the sense Carvalho and van Leeuwen apply, as well as through the manner they are discussed by Fairclough (1995) and again by Patterson and Donsbach (1996). In terms of positioning of actors, they can be more or less foregrounded in both the overall story structure (early or late in the story), within specific sentences or phrases, aspects of analysis, which reflect a perceived prominence and importance (Richardson 2008). Furthermore, actors can be ascribed highly active or highly inactive roles, and can be placed within proximity or distance to core dynamics of the news story (Van Dijk 1988b).

This thesis addresses specifically-identified actors – those referenced and labelled directly by name or nominalization – as well as the implied or casually referred-to actors – those alluded to within news discourses without label or specific naming, as anonymous ‘others’ or ‘some’ (Hodge and Kress 1993: 134), or as unspecified where they are alluded to as necessary, but subjugated, actants in the binary narrative treatment of actants as Greimas (1971) describes as similar to a ‘hero/villain’ construct.<sup>165</sup> This analytical perspective is adopted to encompass the way both explicit and implicit claims of belonging are analysed. In this sense, the use and analysis of ‘actors’ goes further than Fairclough’s (1995) use of voices-as-sources, and extends beyond Gans’ (1980)

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<sup>164</sup> This resonates with the explorations of language and the journalistic field approached by Myles (2010) and earlier by Schultz (2007) and in part by Benson and Neveu (2005).

<sup>165</sup> Greimas’ (1971) treatment of actors will be revisited in the Conclusion.



and Manning's (2001) references to sources to include non-source participants in news texts to understand various actors within discursive structures and narratives.

#### 3.4.1.4 LANGUAGE, GRAMMAR, AND RHETORIC

Elements of language, grammar, and rhetoric provide another substantial component of analysis to identify the ways in-group/out-group dynamics are framed. These elements include the identifiers that surround or stand in for WikiLeaks, nominalizations, agency, and the tonal strength of language surrounding them. As Carvalho identifies, "nominalizations and active/passive sentences are among the most important syntactic features in news discourse" (2008: 168) and these form a key component of analysis. Incorporating an analysis of rhetorical language, and emotionally tinged language, these elements are explained in Van Dijk (1998a) as processes which foreground or background certain elements, exclude others, and provide or eliminate agency. In terms of agency, particular emphasis is paid to transitivity and transactivity, and the way WikiLeaks or the in-group are given, or denied, the active processes of reporting, leaking, or informing the public (cf. Hodge and Kress 1993, van Leeuwen 1995). This enables analysis that recognises where structures and language are immutable, as well as where they are representative of ideological choices:

[M]any sentence structures are not contextually variable and hence cannot be used to ideologically 'mark' discourse sentences. However, others do allow at least some variation, such as word order, active and passive sentences, and nominalizations. Words may be put up front through so called 'topicalization', or they may be 'downgraded' by putting them later in a clause or sentence, or leaving them out completely. (Van Dijk 1998a: 54-55)

Assessing the way references to *interloper media* are phrased and analysing the sentences that surround references to WikiLeaks and Assange, where language presents a "marked" discourse, these can be evaluated for their reflection of *doxa* and professional identity criteria. As such, discourses are assessed for their provision of

more or less legitimacy, authority, and credibility on the subject and object media they refer to, and these then become key components to understanding in-group/out-group dynamics of the journalism profession.

A factor within language analysis that emerges repeatedly are indicators of a ‘familiar lexicon of belonging’ and of ‘non-belonging’; the ‘lexicon of the unfamiliar’ (Section 5.3.4). This includes the use of labels, such as ‘editor’, ‘news organisation’, or journalist that indicate in-group belonging for a lexicon of familiar terms, and out-group labels such as ‘hacker’ or ‘website’ or ‘activist, which can be assessed as indicators of the unfamiliar. Similar to a discourse community (Porter 1986), the familiar lexicon is analysed for highlighting adherence to in-group identity criteria, including ‘public interest’ and ‘value-adding’, which are traditionally associated with journalism. Markers of this familiar lexicon also present points of association and disassociation (depending on their use) in references to *interloper media* and WikiLeaks. Conversely, the lexicon of the unfamiliar includes terms like ‘hacktivist’ or references to WikiLeaks’ technological origins or Assange’s ‘cult-like’ leadership, assessed as distancing *interlopers* from the in-group. The presence or absence of these indicators further reflect the need for a qualitative discourse analysis approach as variations of these terms cannot be reasonably located through search terms, and the way these terms emerge in relation to the other aspects of analysis is key.

#### 3.4.1.5 DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES

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Discursive strategies explore those aspects of language employed by media to define and delineate the identities of the actors involved. In linguistic terms, this is often referred to as “discursive manipulation” (Carvalho 2008: 169). Carvalho uses the term

‘discursive manipulation’ in a manner similar to the discursive interventions found in Wodak (1999) and Wodak, et al. (1999). This thesis and its methodological framework also understands manipulation as discursive intervention, and bears in mind the warnings and critiques of critical discourse analysis outlined in Fairclough (1992) and Kress (1991), who caution against overly determinant findings that ignore individual variation.

As with the analysis of objects, interpreting discursive strategies requires an embrace of framing and utilises Scheufele’s (1999) and Entman’s (1993) treatments of framing as approaching discourse as power. Van Dijk (1998a) further develops frames in discourse analysis as conveyors of meaning and power dynamics. Van Dijk (1998a) approaches power and discourse in this way:

As is the case for many very general and abstract notions in the social sciences and the humanities, there are many definitions and theories of power. Here we only speak of social power, that is, the power of a group A over another group B. This power may be defined in terms of control. Since discourse is also a form of action, such control may also be exercised over discourse and its properties: its context, its topic, or its style. (Van Dijk 1998a: 36)

Van Dijk (1998a) goes on to outline the ways in which these dynamics are employed, particularly through the control of access to resources. “One of the important social resources of much contemporary power is the access to public discourse,” (36) which takes a mediated form through traditional journalism and news media (ibid.). This research develops on the work of Carvalho (2008) and others who see the strength of discourse’s influence as lesser than the way Van Dijk (1998a) suggests. In that sense, this thesis analyses discourses as enforcing or seeking to communicate a preferred journalistic identity, but without audience research it will not suggest its reception as strongly or directly. This study, instead, considers the ways discourse of identity work

in a manner akin to discourses of ideology, in that they “develop as mental forms of group (self-) identification, and often in relation to other groups” (ibid.: 37). This expression of identity develops around an expression of journalism’s criteria of belonging, comprised of the standards, values, and belief elements the expressions articulate, and the elements of non-belonging they project on out-group members; the differentiation of the field Bourdieu (2005, 1994) outlines in his work on field theory.

With this in mind, analysis of these elements further supports the choice to juxtapose analysis of the overt and sign-posted discourses surrounding journalism and *interloper media* against covert discourses of in-group/out-group dynamics. As the overt discourses provide a prompted, authoritative expression of dynamics of belonging, they are critical for understanding journalistic texts for their utterances of identity analysed more subtle and covert discourses. This dualism takes into account Carvalho’s (2008) warning to “discriminate the journalist’s strategies from the strategies of other social actors” (170) by utilising expressions in overt discourses as a means to guard against overly subjective interpretations of covert discourses.

Another element of Carvalho’s (2008) discursive strategies category is positioning, or addressing the ways that actors are placed within texts, how they are referred to, and framed. This aspect takes a direct focus on the way language creates hierarchy or reinforces positional power elements, and the elements of language as a societal power factor (Bourdieu 1991). Through analysing the position within the sentence where references to WikiLeaks, Assange, or journalism take place, discourses identify both speaking media and the *interloper* through actions of legitimation (Van Leeuwen 2007). These actions reflect what Wodak and Meyer (2009) refer to as ‘depoliticization’ and

‘politicization’, informing the “constitution of identity of the subject through discourse” (Carvalho 2008: 170) to give the actors particular power, or inversely deny power. As this research is developed on understanding elements of power conveyed through language, these factors are critical to unpack discursive in-group/out-group dynamics in references to *interloper media*. To consider this dynamic, the use of quotations or other qualifying language around claims of belonging, the positioning of actors within texts as a whole and texts as sentences or phrases, and the association of different actors with different dynamics of the WikiLeaks story are all analysed to inform analysis.

#### 3.4.1.6 IDENTITY (IDEOLOGICAL) STANDPOINTS

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Across this analysis, terms like ideology and identity have been addressed as components of the journalism profession, a profession that is defined by the presence or absence of a journalistic identity, and specifically with regard to journalism the way peers endorse or deny the appropriation of that identity (Bourdieu 2005, Deuze 2005c). However, their intermingling poses a range of problems within discourse research. Particularly, as analysing ideologies suggests speaking about and identifying motivations of social actors, there is a necessary rigour and caution involved. Van Dijk (1998a; 1998b) approaches ideologies and identities as fundamentally located within news texts, and much of his work on racism and elite societal voices seeks to understand ideologies from within texts, and this analysis will do similarly with a focus on journalism’s ideological core. Hartley (1982) also contributes to identifying ideologies in news texts as an analysis of the potentially meaningful social cues in a text. In developing its analysis, this research sees identity as a developing component of a journalistic ideology, though as outlined in Section 2.2, many components that are

adhered to as part of that identity and ideology are idealised and expressed-as-adopted regardless of their realisation (Hampton 2010).

While not bereft in addressing ideological elements, this research focuses more acutely on locating the identity elements that then contribute to a larger ideological, or belief-based, sense of belonging to journalism and journalistic identity. In doing so, it places identity across the discursive elements of ideology in the first instance, and in the second locates elements of adherence to public service, socially responsible, liberal media traditions which further enhance an understanding of journalism's ideology (Donsbach 2010, Hallin and Mancini 2004, Siebert, et al. 1956). Van Dijk identifies the role of ideology in society and as it plays out in news texts, as projecting a voice of opposition to something, reflective of the in-group/out-group exclusivity of journalism as “ideologies typically organise people and society in polarized terms” (1998a: 43). This develops the assertive dynamics of field theory and fields articulating their exclusivity, which Van Dijk goes on to develop around certain rules of speaking: “Say positive things about Us; Say negative things about Them; Do not say negative things about Us; Do not say positive things about Them” (ibid.).

In explicit and overt identity discourses, these elements are easily identified through expressions of what the in-group actors did – *Guardian* or *Times* journalists as ‘Us’– in contrast to actions of WikiLeaks – ‘Them’. In covert discourses of journalistic identity, where there is less flexibility within the conventions of news reporting to overtly identify a journalistic in-group and out-group, these elements are located within more nuanced expressions. In these cases, Van Dijk (1998a) suggests the process focus less on what is said explicitly, but rather on where the strength of voices is placed and

whether certain elements of 'Us versus Them' are indicated. In these instances he outlines the typical processes as discourses that:

Emphasize positive things about Us; Emphasize negative things about Them;  
De-emphasize negative things about Us; De-emphasize positive things about Them. (ibid.: 44)

Realms of emphasis will be the focus of the second phase of analysis that will explore the covert and nuanced in-group/out-group dynamics as they play out in news texts, and closely relate to the category of Discursive Strategies and Objects outlined above. As Van Dijk develops further yet, these elements of 'Us versus Them' contribute to the analysis of in-group/out-group dynamics as addressed in this research:

The option to express information or leave it explicit is not ideologically neutral, however. It is easy to predict that within our general schema, people tend to leave information implicit that is inconsistent with their positive self-image. On the other hand, any information that tells the recipient about the bad things of our enemies or about those we consider our out-group will tend to be explicitly expressed in text and talk. (ibid.: 47)

The key elements of these 'Us versus Them' discourses involve four types: Specification, Generalisation, Example, or Contrast (ibid.: 48). These are reflected across news discourses, while contrast is prominent and focuses on how:

Ideologies often emerge when two or more groups have conflicting interests, when there is social struggle or competition, and in situations of domination. Cognitively and discursively, such opposition may be realised by various forms of polarisation (ibid.: 49)

Polarisation aligns neatly along the in-group/out-group dynamics of power analysed within this study, and the strength or weakness of which polar elements are outlined develops the in-group/out-group parameters, and helps to cement the more definitive and delineated lines between the group of 'journalism' and the group seen as 'non-journalism'.

Taking the elements of ideology found in language further, Fairclough suggests discourse analysis can perform an analytical function by exploring the ways that:

The ideological work of media language include particular ways of representing the world (e.g. particular representations of Arabs, or of the economy), particular constructions of social identities (e.g. the construction in particular ways of the scientific experts who feature on radio or television programmes), and particular constructions of social relations (e.g. the construction of relations between politicians and public as simulated relations between people in a shared lifeworld). (1995: 12)

This analysis explores what Fairclough also calls: “texts as sets of options” (ibid.: 18). These options, as with Fowler (1991), “constitute choices of meaning, the selection of options from within the meaning potential - how to represent a particular event or state of affairs, how to relate to whoever the text is directed at, what identities to project” (Fairclough 1995: 18). The analysis within this study will identify and analyse the ways both explicit and implicit language lead to the development of a journalistic ideology, incorporating standards, beliefs, and values, and enforced through the expression and defence of in-group/out-group identity dynamics, through those choices.

All of these elements emerge in various elements of modality, hedging and vagueness, and as elements of strength and weakness (ibid.: 52-53). Modalities, writes Van Dijk (1998a), reflect the degrees of strength of any particular claim. Modalities include directives such as ‘must’ and ‘should’, as well as vagueness and hedging, offer ways of weakening or constraining the degree to which a speaking media expresses or aligns itself with certain beliefs and claims through qualifying claims, or through use of quotations (ibid.).<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> These elements incorporate not only the degrees to which a speaking media can say something explicitly under the rules of journalism, as Tuchman (1978) deals with, but also the textual and inter-textual constraints that Fairclough (1992, 1995) identifies in discourse.



### 3.4.2 CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

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Following on the Textual Analysis (Section 3.4.1), the second set of analyses in Carvalho's (2008) framework is Contextual Analysis, and its subsets are:

- Comparative-synchronic Analysis
- Historical-diachronic Analysis

In this research, comparative-synchronic analysis is addressed on two points; the first extends analysis to WikiLeaks coverage in the *New York Times*, the second compares discourses of identity as boundary work in comparison with coverage of phone hacking in 2009. This provides a juxtaposition of discourses in similar outlets from similar media systems and traditions, as outlined in Donsbach's (2010) and Hallin and Mancini's (2004) work, but also analyses coverage of media entities with proximity to WikiLeaks when the collaboration was at its strongest. Under historical-diachronic analysis, this research analyses news texts referring to blogs in 2008. This addresses the same dynamics of the core analysis to assess aspects of change or continuity with past instances of emerging new media claiming a journalistic role. This helps to substantiate the concept of *interloper media* and expands understanding of *interloper media reactions* by providing a longitudinal comparison of reactions to online and new media. This compares analysis of coverage of WikiLeaks to analysis of coverage of political news blogs as they rose in prominence during coverage of the 2008 US presidential election campaign.

As explained in the introduction, the findings of these comparisons were also published as parallel outputs of this PhD in Eldridge (2014) and Eldridge (2013). In Eldridge (2014), a cross-comparison of boundary building activities within *Guardian* coverage reacting to WikiLeaks and to phone hacking at News International helps to differentiate

between one media entity's processes of internal evaluation and external distinction.

Quoting Eldridge (2014):

This research studies *The Guardian's* coverage of its phone-hacking investigation and exposé in July 2009, and texts were selected from the coverage during the first days of the exposé. This resulted in analysis of 34 articles, commentaries, and editorials from 8 to 10 July 2009. With regards to WikiLeaks, texts were selected from the initial coverage of its coordinated publication with WikiLeaks beginning 26 July 2010. It then proceeds to explore a structured sample of coverage of WikiLeaks ranging from the April 2010 release of "Collateral Murder" (preceding the coordinated publishing) to the autumn 2011 release by WikiLeaks of its full trove of diplomatic communiqués un-redacted. This second phase incorporates a preliminary analysis of 1444 Guardian texts that mention WikiLeaks between April 2010 and November 2011, and a thorough analysis of 288 articles. The sub-set of 288 was chosen after dividing the corpus into sets of 10 articles, and analysing every fifth set. (2014: 15)

This adopted the same framework of analysis detailed utilised in this PhD, which allows for consistency across comparisons. The second publication focuses on comparative analysis of news texts referencing blogs in 2008 in news texts from the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* during the two months leading up to the 2008 US presidential election. Quoting Eldridge 2013:

This analysis focuses on reactions to blogs as outsiders, in the midst of journalism's tentative embrace of the blog form. The analysis shows that despite blogs rising in prominence within newspapers, there is a distancing of external, independent blogs. This distancing is made clearer yet by focusing on the larger content analysis this phase of the study is based on. Within the content analysis of 1,266 news and blog texts, and 3,168 individual 'media-to-media' references, of 397 references to media entities in newspaper articles, 49 refer to blogs run by newspapers, and 123 to Independent Blogs (the remainder refer to various traditional media entities). In looking beyond newspaper texts, *Times* and *Post* blogs refer to traditional media 921 times, 321 times to traditional media blogs, and only 89 times to independent blogs. These numbers echo Walejko and Ksiazek's (2008) findings of the inter-reliance of new media and traditional media, and provide a launch point for further analysis.

It both of these publications and in the larger study within this PhD, analysis is carried out on discourses that emerge at the same point in time to allow lateral comparative

across the focus of coverage or differing media and at different points in time to understand *interloper* dynamics within a continuum of news media confronting change. Beyond augmenting analysis, these comparisons further clarify where there are specific patterns of referral, as well as highlighting ‘deviant cases’, or those that go against the pattern and the norm (Potter 2000). In that respect, they inform the core analysis and its findings.

### 3.5 INTERVIEWS<sup>167</sup>

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Having adopted Carvalho’s (2008) framework of Textual Analysis (3.4.1) and Contextual Analysis (3.4.2) as its basis, further contextual analysis is enabled through assessing findings against the perspectives of individuals involved in the WikiLeaks collaborative publications. The interviews were conducted in three phases. The first conducted were with *Guardian* journalists Luke Harding and Nick Davies. Harding and Davies were both involved in the collaboration, Davies at the earliest stages including liaising with Assange and coordinating the collaboration, Harding with the publications around the diplomatic cables and with the *Guardian*’s book on Assange and WikiLeaks written with David Leigh. The second set of interviews were with *New York Times* journalists John Burns and Ravi Somaiya who were both based in the *Times*’ London bureau during the collaborations, and published extensive WikiLeaks coverage including a profile of Assange that came as the coverage of WikiLeaks and Assange hit a fevered pitch (NY27). Finally, after all the analysis of in-group discourses had been completed, and evaluative interviews with journalists had been conducted, interviews

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<sup>167</sup> All interviews were conducted in accordance with The University of Sheffield’s guidelines for research ethics and integrity. Interview consent forms were presented to each respondent, and those forms and interview recordings are on file with the researcher, per agreement. A signed ethical approval form is also on file with the Department of Journalism Studies.

with two supporters of the WikiLeaks-as-journalism stance were conducted. These were with Trevor Timm, Executive Director of the Freedom of the Press Foundation, an organisation that has consistently advocated on behalf of WikiLeaks, and Gavin MacFadyen, the director of the Centre for Investigative Journalism, and a frequent public advocate of WikiLeaks-as-journalism. Respondents are coded (R1, R2, R3 ...) to clearly separate interview responses from references to the interviewees otherwise published works.

**Table: Interview Respondents<sup>168</sup>**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Code</b>
Luke Harding	<i>Guardian</i>	R1
Nick Davies	<i>Guardian</i>	R2
John Burns	<i>New York Times</i>	R3
Ravi Somaiya	<i>New York Times</i>	R4
Gavin MacFadyen	Centre for Investigative Journalism	R5
Trevor Timm	Freedom of the Press Foundation	R6

Across all interviews, the same approach was taken – a loose qualitative semi-structured interview methodology utilising conversational methods to allow for flexibility and nuanced answers (Berger 2011, King 2004: 11). Interviews were conducted with the most open approach possible – asking for the respondents’ views on what journalism is, and whether or how WikiLeaks fits that perception – allowing the interviews to travel their own conversational route. As the core questions are interested in projections of journalistic identity and reactions to WikiLeaks’ claims of journalistic belonging, this allowed for both to be assessed in the interview context. Furthermore, interviews

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<sup>168</sup> While all interview respondents agreed to be named, rather than anonymised, this reference coding a) reduces confusion with other published work, such as books, where respondent surnames also appear, and b) reflects the same referencing standard applied to the *Guardian* (Appendix A) and *New York Times* (Appendix B) texts analysed.

allowed the researcher to assess whether analysis of texts, locating discourses of journalistic identity, resonated with the articulated expressions of journalistic identity and criteria being made outside those texts by journalists and WikiLeaks supporters. As interviews are incorporated as a secondary methodology and for evaluating the findings of textual analysis, the focus was on a) the experiences of interviewees with rich knowledge of the WikiLeaks dynamics, b) the perspectives of interviewees reflecting on journalistic identity, belonging, and WikiLeaks, and c) allowing interviewees to reflect on key dynamics of claims and counterclaims of journalistic identity posed by WikiLeaks.<sup>169</sup>

### *3.6 LOGISTICAL CHALLENGES AND RATIONALE*

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As there are logistical challenges for all research, the challenges presented in conducting interviews set this work within rather than outside normal dynamics. However, there have been some developments during the course of this thesis that have required a flexible approach to data gathering and to analysis; particularly to analysis of overt claims of belonging. First, the prime voice, founder, and titular head of

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<sup>169</sup> Per agreement with respondents, interview transcriptions and audio files are not included in this thesis, though they are stored separately and can be interrogated if necessary. As interviews were later transcribed and analysed using the same framework adopted for textual analysis, this provided the opportunity for nuanced analysis and allowed for interviews to present not only reactions to the rise of WikiLeaks, but also expressions of definitions of journalism. With Somaiya and Davies, interviews were conducted first via email, and then followed up in person (Davies) and through online messaging (Somaiya). With Burns and Timm, interviews were conducted via telephone and recorded, and with Harding and MacFadyen, interviews were in person and recorded. In all cases permission was granted to record and name participants, though Somaiya stipulated he could only speak generally and not go into detail about his past or potential coverage of WikiLeaks as part of his employment agreement. As interviews were confirmatory, rather than the primary methodology, and as the effort was to best understand how WikiLeaks' rise related to understandings of journalism, Somaiya's interview and its broader responses proved beneficial for analysis, as will be evident in the next chapter.

WikiLeaks<sup>170</sup>, Julian Assange, has been on trial for unrelated charges in Sweden (See Introduction), placed under house arrest in Norfolk, England, and since 19 June 2012 has been living in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London where he has been given asylum. While he has not been wholly absent from the public during this period – he has hosted a programme on the Russian broadcaster RT<sup>171</sup>, has appeared at conferences and events via Skype (AFP 2011, Gillmor 2011), and has met with dignitaries and celebrities at the Ecuadorian embassy<sup>172</sup> – he has not been readily accessible. Accordingly, all statements attributed to Assange included within this chapter refer to publicly accessible and transmitted statements of Assange or WikiLeaks, and not to interviews or questions posed to him by the researcher. These public statements come through news media, social media, and the WikiLeaks website, and can be found in books and documentaries, and are cited accordingly. Furthermore, all statements are gauged as publicly made, but not as ‘interrogated’; that is: not as expressed in an interview setting, or discussed as would be possible in person. To overcome this challenge, interviews with individuals supporting WikiLeaks’ claims of belonging were conducted with an added view to evaluate and expand on Assange’s publicly made claims and explore them more fully.

### *3.7 PROCESS OF DATA GATHERING AND ANALYSIS, RELIABILITY*

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Under the analytical criteria outlined above, the research was carried out according to the following steps:

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<sup>170</sup> A role he says was thrust upon him (Frost 2011).

<sup>171</sup> <https://assange.rt.com/> (accessed 1 February 2014)

<sup>172</sup> A running list of visitors to the embassy to see Assange is maintained by ‘Arbolioto’, an activism blog, accessible at: <http://arbolio.to.blogspot.co.uk/2013/06/list-of-personalities-that-visited.html> (accessed 1 February 2014).

- I. **Preliminary Reading of all *Guardian*, *New York Times* texts and other documentaries, books, lectures, and additional overt discourses:**
  - a. *Carry out pilot study*
  - b. *Presentation at The University of Sheffield, Symposium: Rethinking journalism teaching and learning in an interactive world, 21 March 2012*
- II. **Analysis of Phases I and II of *Guardian* texts; reliability check:**
  - a. *Interviews with Luke Harding, Nick Davies*
  - b. *Comparative-synchronic analysis of phone hacking coverage*
  - c. *Analysis of overt discourses*
  - d. *Presentation of initial findings at ECREA, Istanbul (Eldridge II 2012); publication of Eldridge (2014)*<sup>173</sup>
- III. **Analysis of Phases III and IV of *Guardian* texts; analysis of *New York Times* texts:**
  - a. *Interviews with John Burns, Ravi Somaiya*
  - b. *Historical-diachronic analysis of blog posts; publication of (Eldridge 2013)*<sup>174</sup>
  - c. *Interviews with Trevor Timm and Gavin MacFadyen*
- IV. **Development and presentation of analysis and findings:**
  - a. *Preparation and presentation of thesis*

Throughout the analysis, reliability checks were also conducted to confirm the evaluation and guard against subjective determinations (Gill 2000). After Step I, and again after Step III, reliability was assessed by providing sample discourses to a fellow doctoral researcher in the university, who then evaluated the sample texts using the same frameworks outlined in this chapter.<sup>175</sup> In the reliability check following Step I, this helped to confirm and justify the methodological approach taken. The reliability check following Step III provided a confirmation of findings. In both cases, findings were found to be consistent, though added clarifications to define the evaluative criteria were developed following Step I. As this research does not contain coding per se, there was minimal descriptive explanation offered to the reliability evaluator. Furthermore, these steps were adopted in addition to Potter's (2000) suggestion of deviant case

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<sup>173</sup> Publication process extends into Step III.

<sup>174</sup> Publication process extends into Step IV.

<sup>175</sup> Claudia E. Henninger, PhD Candidate (3<sup>rd</sup> year), Department of Management, The University of Sheffield. As with interviews, the reliability check is not included but can be accessed if needed.

analysis, participant understanding, coherence, and reader evaluation as reliability checks. With these, deviant case analysis offers the opportunity to explore findings against the pattern, participant understanding provides an insight into whether held identities match projected identities in discourses, coherence with previous findings and methodological approaches, and finally reader evaluations which provide as many illustrative discourses as possible. Finally, the reliability of analysis was also evaluated through presentation of findings at conferences and symposia, and validated through the peer review process for publication of Eldridge (2014) and Eldridge (2013).

### 3.8 PILOT STUDY: PRESENCE OF CLAIMS OF BELONGING

To test the concepts identified in the literature and frameworks detailed above, and to establish whether the concepts of *interloper media* and *interloper media reactions* carried weight, pilot research was conducted out of indicated trends from the preliminary reading. This final section will present elements of the pilot study to demonstrate how elements of analysis are operationalized. Since many of the pilot findings are later incorporated into the main analysis, this section briefly identifies the empirical rationale for the thesis as it was informed by that initial work, beginning with the implicit and explicit claims of belonging made by WikiLeaks and Julian Assange. In claiming a sense of belonging, Assange makes salient a specific identity that he holds and sees as inherent in WikiLeaks' work. Through expressions of belonging, this is then projected as on par with the in-group and presents the challenge and threat perception central to *interloper media*.



In terms of associating its work with the field tenets and journalistic identity, WikiLeaks' "About" page (WikiLeaks 2014)<sup>176</sup> reflects elements of the quartet of identity criteria outlined in Section 2.2.3. Through claims of journalistic belonging, WikiLeaks both associates its work with those ideals, while contrasting its adherence against the perceived failures of other media:

In the years leading up to the founding of WikiLeaks, we observed the world's publishing media becoming less **independent** <'Fourth Estate', *journalistic autonomy*> and far less willing to **ask the hard questions of government** <*watchdog role*>, corporations and other institutions. We believed this needed to change. (WikiLeaks 2014)<sup>177</sup>

As an acute demonstration of in-group/out-group dynamics and claims of belonging, Assange's statement on 28 November 2011, via Skype to the Global Editors Network summit in Hong Kong, makes this clear: "Of course I'm a goddam [sic] journalist" (Gillmor 2011). The phrase "of course", augmented by "goddam[n]" also reflects analysis of discursive strategies identified in Section 3.4.1.5. This exclamation, according to *Agence France-Presse* (AFP 2011) came in response to questions over whether Assange and WikiLeaks are within the in-group of journalism:

**He** defended **his right** to call **himself** a journalist <*Us v. Them construct*> and said WikiLeaks' next "**battle**" <*lexicon of the unfamiliar*> would be to ensure that the Internet does not turn into a vast surveillance tool for governments and corporations.

"Of course I'm a goddamn journalist," he responded with **affected frustration** <*emotive distancing, suggestion of incredulity*> when a moderator of the conference **asked if he was a member of the profession** <*polarisation between 'he' and 'profession'*>. (ibid.)<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> The WikiLeaks (2014) citation references that material which was confirmed as still present on the WikiLeaks 'About' page in 2014, though it was utilised for research in the previous years.

<sup>177</sup> Bold emphasis added, with criterion specified in < italics >.

<sup>178</sup> Bold emphasis added, with criterion specified in < italics >.

To expand on the annotations within these quotes, AFP uses discursive structures that represent hedging and vagueness (Section 2.4.1.4) referring to “his right to call himself a journalist”. Language also represents polar dynamics of in-group/out-group definitions and positionality (Sections 3.4.1.2, 3.4.1.4) central to this study in references to Assange’s claims of being a “member of the profession”, and distancing language emphasising indignation at that challenge; emotive language as ideologically distinct from the responsible ideals of the ‘Fourth Estate’ (Hampton 2010) and the neutrality of the journalism profession (Waisbord 2013: 122). With Assange’s own claims of belonging framed in distancing language, his response toned by, “affected frustration” emphasises incredulity, adding distance by questioning the merits of his assertion.

### 3.8.1 OVERT AND EXPLICIT DISCOURSES

Approaching an example in the *Guardian*, a 2010 article on Assange’s possible extradition to the US presents an overt discourse of his claims of journalistic identity. In this example, quotes used specifically exclude WikiLeaks and Assange, and elements of polarisation, hedging, vagueness, and distancing frame Assange’s claims:

One argument that Assange and WikiLeaks **could make** <modality> is that it is a news organisation, **as it describes itself on its website** <isolating claims>, and **should** <modality> be protected from prosecution under the freedom of the press. **It could be argued that if Assange were to be prosecuted, why not the New York Times and the Guardian?** <rhetorical discursive strategy>

[...]

Rosenzweig agreed: “**Newspapers like the Guardian** <in-group association> **add analysis and value** <criteria of belonging> to the enterprise. WikiLeaks is **just** <marginalising language> **a compiler or a means of distribution** <out-group identifiers; unfamiliar lexica>. As for **Assange's character** <personality-language; polarisation>, he seems likely not to be well received by an American jury if he ever goes in front of one.”(G432)

Through distancing language from the profession – “WikiLeaks is just a compiler or a means of distribution” and “One argument that Assange and WikiLeaks could make” – in polarised opposition to the way “Newspapers like the *Guardian* add analysis and value to the enterprise” (G432) – this example illustrates the boundaries and polarisation between the claims and criteria of journalistic identity. A similar example made in a TV documentary, then-*Guardian* Investigations Editor David Leigh refers to WikiLeaks in source terms, stopping short of being within the ‘journalism’ in-group. “Julian [Assange] performs a **journalistic service** *<hedging language, qualified role>*,” he said reflecting a subjugated news-source hierarchy with WikiLeaks in a utilitarian, rather than as an agent of journalism (Channel 4 2011). Leigh goes on to reflect on WikiLeaks identification within the Social Responsibility and Public Service traditions outlined in this research. In language positioning WikiLeaks opposite traditional journalism, Leigh refers to the divide between the two as: “an **abyss** *<discursive strategy; metaphor>* opened up **between** *<polarisation>* the way **we saw the world and the way he was seeing the world** *<positionality; us v. them>*” (ibid.).

### 3.8.2 EXAMPLES OF SUBTLE, COVERT, DISCOURSES

In more subtle discourses, the elements of referral continue to provide significant markers of the in-group/out-group dynamic. In an article from 25 April 2011 in the *Guardian* describing a trove of documents about US military prison at Guantanamo Bay released on WikiLeaks’ website, the *Guardian* does not mention WikiLeaks until paragraph 17 of 19:

The Guantanamo files are among hundreds of thousands of documents US soldier Bradley **Manning is accused of having turned over** *<description of agency; Manning>* to the **WikiLeaks website** *<out-group descriptor; positioning: de-emphasis of agency>* more than a year ago. (G776)

In this reference, WikiLeaks is described only in terms of its role hosting or fronting a website, a discursive strategy that minimises agency of WikiLeaks as a journalistic actor. With regard to the documents or the information contained within, the sole agency of information source is with “US soldier Bradley Manning”. In this way WikiLeaks’ role is “de-emphasised” and limited to being an intermediary (Van Dijk 1998b: 32-33). In that intermediary role, further minimisation is reflected as WikiLeaks is described as a place of deposit, not as a distributor nor publisher until later in the article when this is raised by US sources who frame WikiLeaks’ actions as illegal: “Later, U.S. officials called the publication of the Guantánamo files ‘unfortunate’ saying that they had been ‘obtained illegally by WikiLeaks’” (G776).

In that description, and in contrast to WikiLeaks being described as an intermediary, agency is ascribed to WikiLeaks for the distribution of the material:

“The assessments of the Guantánamo Review Task Force have not been compromised to WikiLeaks. Thus, any given DAB **illegally obtained** <agency, negative> and **released by WikiLeaks** <agency, negative> may or may not represent the current view of a given detainee,” he added. (ibid.)<sup>179</sup>

As the full analysis will demonstrate in the following chapters, agency – either referring to publishing, obtaining, or distributing information – is ascribed to WikiLeaks primarily in references highlighting the negative backlash to the leaks, or in references to the questionable legality of its activities. These references are consistent with references to WikiLeaks which identifies its role as a source, conduit, and marginalises its agency technological outlet for information rather than as journalism or as being a news organisation.

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<sup>179</sup> Note: While quotes within texts represent specific views, news-source selection and news-source dynamics regarding legitimisation of information and authority granting (see Section 2.3.2.1).

Having detailed an approach that allows research to assess and evaluate identity boundaries and constructs in texts both obvious and subtle for their evaluation and articulation of journalistic belonging, this adopts the rigour of thorough discourse analysis approaches and textual analysis methodologies, augmented by interviews, applying these to understand shifting news dynamics. Through this methodological approach, our understanding of boundary work can be developed further, expanding beyond sign-posted texts to the journalistic metadiscourse emerging in more subtle and covert discourses of belonging; in reaction to new entities perceived as *interloper media* this can be understood as *interloper media reactions*.

This chapter has outlined the methodological commitments and the frameworks of analyses applied in the chapters that follow. This chapter has established a methodological approach that allows for journalistic identity to be located within news texts, evaluated against traditional and theorised concepts of journalism as a field, and assessed for their boundary-building qualities. This will enable the analysis of identity discourses projected outward and reflective of in-group/out-group dichotomies of journalistic and projected onto WikiLeaks as an *interloper media*. Doing so will allow this thesis to address the research questions posed in Section 1.0.2:

**RQ1:** How do news texts refer to WikiLeaks and Julian Assange?

**RQ2:** How are traditional concepts of journalism and journalistic identity expressed within news texts?

**RQ3:** Do news texts referring to WikiLeaks and Julian Assange reflect on WikiLeaks' claims of journalistic belonging?

This thesis now goes on to present analysis of overt discourses of journalism across sign-posted discourses of WikiLeaks and journalism in the *Guardian* and elsewhere and in research interviews (Chapter 4.0). From that basis, analysis proceeds with covert discourses of journalism vis-à-vis WikiLeaks (Chapter 5.0). Finally, comparative analysis juxtaposes findings with regard to WikiLeaks and journalism in these overt and covert discourses against additional news media, previous emergent new media, and other forms of boundary work (Chapter 6.0).

## 4.0 DATA & ANALYSIS I: OVERT DISCOURSES

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This chapter provides a starting point for understanding discursive reactions to WikiLeaks by exploring expressions of journalistic identity made within overt discourses of journalistic identity. This focuses on those discourses defined in Section 3.2 that offer either explicit discussions about WikiLeaks and journalism or signposted reactions to WikiLeaks' claims of being journalism. Under the categorisation of overt discourses, media-centric news texts, lectures, news programmes, documentaries, and books will be analysed along with interviews to develop an understanding of how both journalism and WikiLeaks are understood within 'prompted' discussions of both.<sup>180</sup> This provides a starting point for exploring the contestations that define the journalistic field and its discursive construction. The analysis and the discourses presented here also provide a guide for the discourses analysed in the next chapter in that these discourses highlight key points of journalistic belonging and differentiation and the general tenor of reactions to WikiLeaks' claims. As such, they build on the pilot study in the previous chapter, and are more fully understood when combined with the analysis in Chapter 5.0.

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<sup>180</sup> Developing the concept of *interloper media* and *interloper media reactions* put forward in this thesis has two key components: discursive claims of belonging of journalistic identity made by members of a perceived out-group, and discursive expressions of exclusivity to that journalistic field, enforcing its boundaries by members of a perceived in-group. As with the rise and confrontation posed by WikiLeaks and other new media actors (Eldridge 2013; Chapter 6.0), journalism's identity can be located in the expressions defining and interrogating journalism's parameters and paradigms of belonging against those emerging media actors' claims. This results in expressions of journalistic identity emblematic of a profession, defined by outward facing discourses of a journalistic in-group, and centred on traditional and idealised aspects of journalism's identity (cf. Eldridge 2014, 2013; Chapter 6.0).

This chapter looks both at the ways journalists perceive the dimensions of their field and how they perceive WikiLeaks through discourses which openly foreground journalistic identity (Carvalho 2008: 168). Key aspects of inquiry addressed here include:

- a) Whether language presents ‘journalism’ as a coherent concept; a dominant vision of the journalistic field
- b) Whether discourses present journalism in a polarised binary in-group/out-group dynamic with relation to other media actors
- c) How journalistic identity is expressed as a ‘held’ identity of traditional journalists and what ‘projected’ identity is ascribed to WikiLeaks.

To unpack any polarised in-group/out-group constructs, elements of similarity and difference will be posed, analysed against WikiLeaks’ identity claims and those identity frames projected onto WikiLeaks. Analysis of discussions of WikiLeaks’ claims of journalistic identity and reactions to those claims in this chapter focus on how a signposted journalistic metadiscourse imbued with idealised notions of journalism can present journalism as a stable societal field to which journalists belong, and other media actors do not. For understanding both the in-group and the out-group dynamics, language is approached as utterances of the *doxa* of the journalistic field and as reflections on journalism facing change and challenge (Carlson 2013; Conboy and Eldridge 2014; Eldridge 2013). Overt expressions of journalistic belonging, therefore, help to map the perception of WikiLeaks’ ill or proper fitting within journalism and the in-group/out-group dynamics of *interloper media* for the thorough examination of nuanced, covert, and non-prompted discourses in Chapter 5.0.

Throughout this chapter, analysis of data found in media-centric news texts, lectures, documentaries, and books are interwoven, and at all points the textual analysis is weighed against a series of interviews conducted by individuals who have had either



interests or roles in the WikiLeaks reporting during and following the period under study.<sup>181</sup> While this will locate a certain measure of reaction to claims of being journalism, it is limited in that endeavour as a means to establish the key elements within the framework outlined in Carvalho (2008) and adapted for this thesis.<sup>182</sup>

#### 4.1 INTRODUCING OVERT EXPRESSIONS OF BELONGING

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Overt discourses of journalistic identity and belonging are made salient as markers of the journalistic field through repeated expression of markers of unique journalistic belonging. With belonging tied to traditional and idealised elements that have long persisted as definers of journalism (Donsbach 2010), the analysis in this chapter will show discourses amplifying an idealised identity with striking resonance to the tenets of a 'Fourth Estate' (Hampton 2010), and the four criteria of belonging mapped in Section 2.2; journalism defined around an information driven, publicly interested, value adding,

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<sup>181</sup> All views expressed in research interviewees in this study are to be seen as individual, and not representing either the news organisation or other organisations where participants are employed. All interviewees agreed to be quoted by name. In five of the interviews, the topic of journalism and WikiLeaks was addressed specifically, while Somaiya's interview was confined to discussions of in-group/out-group dynamics and definitions of journalism more abstractly, per agreement. All interviews were conducted with informed consent, and signing or verbally agreeing (in the case of phone interviews) to the terms of a participant consent form that was approved by the University of Sheffield and Department of Journalism Studies' ethical guidelines and processes. These are detailed in the Appendix C: 'Ethical Considerations and Approval'. The responses in interviews provide additional overt expressions of WikiLeaks' and journalism's definition and identity, allow for dynamics to be unpacked and clarified, strengthen the basis of analysis of covert expressions in language, and bolster the overall findings of the textual analysis. This approach adheres to Potter's (2000) and Carvalho's (2008) methodological guidance to compare analysed findings in texts against the views of participants and interested parties.

<sup>182</sup> As this research focuses on assessing reactions to WikiLeaks expressed by journalism's in-group, the interviews incorporated are intentionally skewed in favour of journalists involved in collaborating with and covering WikiLeaks for the *Guardian* – Luke Harding (R1), Nick Davies (R2) – and the *New York Times* – John Burns (R3), Ravi Somaiya (R4), and to outspoken supporters of WikiLeaks' claims – Gavin MacFadyen (R5), Trevor Timm (R6). Timm, as executive director of the Freedom of the Press Foundation, has advocated on behalf of this perspective, his foundation has helped raise money in support of WikiLeaks, and continues to articulate a defence of WikiLeaks as journalism. MacFadyen, as executive director of the Centre for Investigative Journalism at City University, London, has been on the periphery of aspects of WikiLeaks' publications and its activities, though he stresses he is not a member of WikiLeaks. He has also been an outspoken supporter of treating WikiLeaks as journalism, and has spoken publicly to this effect, including in texts analysed within this thesis.

watchdog/Fourth Estate journalistic identity. Discourses can reinvigorate dynamics of belonging and build on articulating exclusivity (Bourdieu 2005),<sup>183</sup> and show how *interloper media* challenge claims of exclusivity possession of these identities by the idealised journalistic field.

For both the journalistic field and *interloper media*, this chapter locates the identity claims of ‘watchdog’ roles and functions (R1, R3, R5), belonging to the ‘Fourth Estate’ (R4, R5), fulfilling a ‘public interest’ (R1, R3, R5, R6), and acting with ‘journalistic responsibility’ (R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6) that both groups use in expressing their journalistic identity. Emerging from both sides of the in-group/out-group binary, these reflect the contestation over claims of journalistic belonging, and the disruptive nature of new media actors asserting belonging to a perceived-as-stable professional identity (cf. Chapter 6.0, Chapter 7.0). Alongside these claims of ‘held’ identity made by the subject media are discourses of ‘projected’ identity onto other, object, media being spoken about. As a journalistic metadiscourse – journalists talking about journalism – projected discourses help to explore and understand the dynamics of *interloper media reactions* as a boundary-building process; amplifying held identity of journalistic belonging by projecting non-belonging on *interlopers*.

While both traditional members of the journalistic field and emerging *interloper media* use similar discourses to form expressions of journalistic identity, the historical and traditional strength and primacy allotted to the in-group (in this case, newspapers) affords their claims more strength through ‘weight’, and often less critique or evaluation

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<sup>183</sup> See the previous discussion of field theory, Literature Review, Section 2.1.2.

(Benson and Neveu 2005; Bourdieu 2005: 43).<sup>184</sup> As the newcomer claiming belonging, WikiLeaks is left to articulate belonging from outside, further enhancing its interloping status and weakening its claims.<sup>185</sup> As such, efforts to define journalism build on the in-group's primacy over maintain its own criteria of belonging, and the attendant boundaries that allows, towards distinguishing a journalistic field. As will be seen throughout, this can emerge in particularly strong reactions to incursive and interloping claims of belonging and presents a boundary building process through identification and differentiation. Statements of identity within overt discourses are less nuanced than covert discourses analysed in Chapter 5.0, and persist in a manner similar to Bishop's (1999) treatment of boundary maintenance as 'meant to be seen' (ibid.: 91). When combined with the analysis in the chapter that follows, these discourses contribute to boundary building through protracted in-group/out-group definitional discourses, unique in the treatment of out-group, *interloper media* (Eldridge 2014: 12).

#### 4.1.1 WIKILEAKS' CLAIMS OF JOURNALISTIC IDENTITY

As a starting point for exploring claims of belonging and reactions to them, we have Assange's many claims of journalistic identity. To him, there is no question as to whether WikiLeaks is journalism or not; his objection to being asked whether he is a journalist and to the suggestion that his status as such is not settled provides the most colourful example (AFP 2011), but he has repeatedly asserted that it is and that he is a journalist (See Section 1.1). In exploring these discourses, 2011 is a late starting point,

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<sup>184</sup> This will be made clear in expressions that foregrounding expertise (claims made in interviews R1 with Luke Harding and R3 with John Burns) and the resources journalism's in-group possess (further articulated in interview Burns; R3), and a defensive advantage afforded by its pseudo-institutionalisation as a Fourth Estate in modern democracies (explored again with Ravi Somaiya; R4).

<sup>185</sup> Explored in the interview with Trevor Timm (R6).

and skirts around earlier and earlier claims made in less confrontational settings, including those made in TED (2010) and NY10, as well as those described in Assange's early online work (explored in Assange (2011) and in Leigh and Harding (2011)). Adding to statements by Assange of WikiLeaks' journalistic bona fides, there are those made by journalists John Pilger (2012, 2013) and Glenn Greenwald (2012, 2013) that further reflect its field belonging. Where associating WikiLeaks as journalism is rebuffed, accusations of "smears" (Pilger 2013) emerge which intensify the in-group/out-group polar dynamics and contestation.<sup>186</sup>

Indeed, to question whether WikiLeaks is journalism stirs up a sense of aggrieved support, and backers of Assange's journalistic identity claims reflect the tension WikiLeaks has met. During initial inquiries to arrange interviews, the question: 'is WikiLeaks journalism?' was labelled "invalid" by MacFadyen (R5), who sees it as predicated on disbelief, negating WikiLeaks' claim of belonging from the outset. To Assange, and to WikiLeaks' supporters, the question: 'is WikiLeaks journalism?' is equated with a statement of: 'WikiLeaks is not journalism'. MacFadyen later expands on the invalidity:

In my view, it's a smear. It's an attempt to prejudice the argument by suggesting illegitimacy. That may not be the intention, but that's how it reads, that's how people take it: "This guy's not a journalist, then what is he? Some kind of propagandist?" or whatever. (R5)<sup>187</sup>

MacFadyen went on to say that the reaction seemed, to him, to reflect a profession seeing their identity and primacy being impinged on. In separate interviews (all conducted ahead of MacFadyen's and Timm's) members of the in-group (R1, R2, R3,

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<sup>186</sup> This charge of smear or dismissal also emerged in interviews when the question of WikiLeaks-as-journalism surfaced (MacFadyen, R5).

<sup>187</sup> The challenge of invalidity focuses the weight of determining the in-group/out-group dynamic addressed in this research and contributes to the analysis identified in Section 1.3.

R4) interviewed responded directly “no” when asked whether they saw WikiLeaks as journalism.

The polar in or out dynamic has been made salient in part by WikiLeaks’ prominence and its ardent challenge of those who have been considered journalism and whether they are achieving their goals. This challenge has provoked articulations and discussions of what journalism ‘is’, and how it is defined, and has laid bare the loose nature of such definitions. To Timm (R6) and to MacFadyen (R5), this only amplifies the poor utility of defining journalism through any restrictive set of parameters, such as traditional organisational belonging, education, or accrediting criteria. Rather, both Timm and MacFadyen join Assange in suggesting more expansive measures that define journalism through carrying out acts of journalism and fulfilment of journalistic ideals.<sup>188</sup>

#### *4.1.2 WIKILEAKS AS JOURNALISM: ILLEGITIMACY AND LEGAL PROTECTION*

Section 2.3.2.4 discusses the legal protections that have been afforded traditional journalism and journalists and studies of WikiLeaks falling either under (Tambini 2013) or outside such protections (Peters 2011). This legal facet to claims of belonging presents a subtext of ‘legitimacy’ to discourses of WikiLeaks-as-journalism. Suggestions of illegitimacy around its claims – that WikiLeaks is other-than-journalism – are often tied to the dynamics of these legal protections, and while they make the implications of WikiLeaks’ journalistic association significant, they also underpin nuanced points of difference in overt discourses. Under the risk of prosecution

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<sup>188</sup> This is addressed again in Chapter 7.0 in a proposed multi-sphere model of journalism.

discourses of ‘legitimacy’ around WikiLeaks’ activities become a forced issue of discourses, and the legal and political aftershocks to WikiLeaks’ disclosures and the expressed ambition to pursue prosecution of WikiLeaks’ by (almost exclusively) US politicians highlight this. WikiLeaks expression of journalistic belonging with regard to the ‘legitimacy’ of its activity and whether that differs from traditional journalism’s is discussed as either coherent with the work and output of other traditional journalistic actors, or as an attempt at gaining legal cover to avoid those pursuits.<sup>189</sup>

Articulations around legitimacy similar to Benkler’s (2011, 2013a) came out in research interviews as well, particularly in light of the legal challenges WikiLeaks has faced following its rise to prominence in 2010.<sup>190</sup> “Initially, say in 2007, WikiLeaks did not say they were journalists,” said MacFadyen (R5). “The question never came up. They were supplying information of a public interest to the public.” However, when the questions began to emerge, WikiLeaks’ claims of journalistic identity are part of a debate of ‘why’ it claims legitimacy (parsing Assange’s motivations for asserting journalistic identity) as well as a debate of ‘whether’ (whether WikiLeaks could be considered journalism either legally or under other conceptualisations).

“That whole train of thought is created really after March of 2010. It’s created by big government and how they reacted to the releases,” said Manning’s defence attorney, David Coombs (Benkler 2013a: 49). From 2010 with ‘Collateral Murder’, WikiLeaks’ prominence and its presence in news content textured discussions over the legality of its

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<sup>189</sup> As Benkler (2011) writes, placing WikiLeaks within a “networked fourth estate” could offer a more expansive legal definition of journalism, but even within that construct its journalistic identity would be contested.

<sup>190</sup> While previously articulated in court cases regarding its work in the Julius Baer case (G6)<sup>190</sup>, prior to the ‘Collateral Murder’ release WikiLeaks had limited public recognition and so the distinction was less pronounced and less discussed, if not less important (G65).

work, and as in-group/out-group dynamics intensified over time legality as a factor for defining journalism began to emerge. Definitional discourses of journalism surrounding WikiLeaks also became more overt, and both official and unofficial narratives separated WikiLeaks from in-group legal protections, said MacFadyen:

Their [the government's] job was to prevent further embarrassment. So one of the ways you can attack the messenger is to say the messenger is a fraud, he's not a journalist. He's something else, an anarchist, a terrorist. I mean, [US Vice President Joseph] Biden called Julian Assange a crypto-terrorist. (R5)<sup>191</sup>

Alongside the government's reaction to WikiLeaks' more prominent releases came accusations of espionage, recriminations from US politicians and pundits, and calls for Assange's assassination and arrest (G166).<sup>192</sup> That WikiLeaks continued publishing previously secret documents only amplified the spectre of prosecution and the official treatment of WikiLeaks as non-journalism (G658).<sup>193</sup> This legal risk is often raised in reference to a secret grand jury in the United States that is widely believed to have already indicted Assange (ibid.), a point Assange raised in his asylum request to the Ecuadorian government (G1047, G1048, G1054).<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Biden is quoted in December 2010 as referring to Assange as "a hi-tech terrorist" (G445).

<sup>192</sup> An argument could be made, and is made by Assange (2011) that these pressures contributed to the manner in which the in-group distanced WikiLeaks and Assange. This thesis does not discount that factor, rather it focuses on the ways in which language reflects the myriad reasons journalism's in-group places boundaries when challenged by *interloper* groups that challenge traditional concepts of journalism as well as traditional newsgathering processes, as WikiLeaks does.

<sup>193</sup> While later the US government team prosecuting Bradley Manning acknowledged they would have acted the same if he had leaked directly to a newspaper (Timm 2013), this distinction is made after the period under study and is an outlier in terms of the in-group/out-group discourse explored here.

<sup>194</sup> Rather than just being a debate for governments and judges, the legal implications of identifying WikiLeaks as journalism continue to emerge in overt discourses of belonging, a concern that adds gravitas to expressions of illegitimacy in counter-claims directed towards WikiLeaks.<sup>194</sup> Rusbridger (Leigh and Harding 2011) describes his identification with journalism for legal reasons as another provocation of the existing in-group/out-group order, and how judicial systems were unnerved by WikiLeaks' emergence: "Judges were as nonplussed as global corporations by this new publishing phenomenon" (ibid.: 4).

Timm and MacFadyen identify the legal distinction as a substantive part of Assange's journalistic identity. "This is no small thing", said MacFadyen (R5); Timm argues that: "as a publisher of news and information, they are guaranteed the same first amendment protections [as journalists in the US]" (R6).<sup>195</sup> Within in-group discourses, expressions of difference reflect a perceived distinction between legal and identity definitions of journalism. In testimony at the Chelsea (née Bradley) Manning court martial Benkler, makes a similar point, expanding on his view that WikiLeaks fits within what could be described as a field of journalistic actors, as it carries out similar roles under new dynamics:

If you imagine the *Washington Post* finding Deep Throat, creating the conditions of secrecy for the, for the source, and then being able to protect that source, that required a certain amount of heft. .... In the network tremor there are a lot of organizations that don't have the organizational heft to do all of that but you do have the ability to provide it. (Benkler 2013a: 54)<sup>196</sup>

Where newspaper texts analysed also reflect a defence of WikiLeaks' right to publish, and the legitimacy and legality of its actions, that support is tempered. In a *Guardian* editorial from December 2010, that support is qualified as:

"He is clearly **in some senses** <qualified description>a publisher and journalist as well as **a source** <lesser role in journalistic process>. **In that respect** <limited to free speech defences> he deserves protection, not criminal indictment" (G448).

Such defences distinguish journalistic identity while embedding a cautionary tone. Coming at a point when WikiLeaks' work extends beyond the collaboration with the *Guardian* and *New York Times* to its own autonomous mediation and work with other

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<sup>195</sup> It should be noted that while the First Amendment to the US Constitution is expansive in its protections, it is emboldened by specific state and federal laws adding protections for journalists.

<sup>196</sup> The Freedom of the Press foundation crowd-funded and hired stenographers to transcribe and publish the proceedings of the Manning trial when it became clear the government would not publish such transcripts. The transcripts they provide are seen as accurate and match other accounts and news reports, but are not considered official by the US government.



media actors, discourses imply that the responsibility they provided to early releases might lack, expressing hope that journalistic ideals provided by WikiLeaks' collaborators would continue, and that WikiLeaks would take: "due care to anything that might **jeopardise individuals** <*social responsibility*>" (ibid.). This caution reminds readers of the in-group's information primacy and its unique role as an arbiter of societal responsibility explicitly:

**We and four other news organisations** <*in-group association*> have worked with WikiLeaks over many months in order **carefully and responsibly** <*social responsibility*> to **publish a small number of cables**. <*editorial discretion; gatekeeping*>

[...]

The process of **editing, contextualising, explanation and redaction is a painstaking one** <*foregrounding journalistic practices, familiar lexica*>. **It is part of the craft of journalism. Journalism is also about disclosure** <*in-group descriptors; criteria of belonging*>. It is at its best when it is the **disclosure of matters of high public interest** <*public interest criterion*>. **Judge Assange on that score,** <*ambiguity*> as much as any other. (G448)

Asking readers to "judge Assange" on WikiLeaks' journalistic activities offers an opportunity of accepting his journalistic claims, but leaves such an identity as undetermined, and through syntactical positioning and hedging separates such a finding from the work and association of the traditional in-group. Discourses of scepticism over Assange's claims are also present when describing Assange's self-identification as a journalist as a manoeuvre to protect himself legally: "In a sense it's kind of a **tactical decision** <*minimising claims*>" said Harding (R1).<sup>197</sup> Davies (R2) frames it as: "A **question of law** <*minimising claims*>, rather **than ordinary everyday usage**

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<sup>197</sup> The importance of Assange's and WikiLeaks' identification as journalism is pertinent as it could garner certain protections in the United States, a factor referred to in interviews with MacFadyen, Timm, Davies, Burns and Harding. In each of these interviews, Assange's identification as a journalist is tied to his avoiding prosecution for espionage in the United States, an element that emerges in news articles analysed as well (cf. G8, G46, G140, G1108).

<journalistic identity>”, and as such it is a debate separate from identifying his work and that of WikiLeaks as journalism in professional or identity terms. Rusbridger describes it as reluctance, rather than scepticism: “for some it simply boiled down to a reluctance to admit that Assange was a journalist” (Leigh and Harding 2011: 11). In early 2012 such a distinction between ‘legal’ and everyday’ is made explicitly<sup>198</sup>, raised separately by editors of the *Guardian* and *New York Times* in supporting ‘what he did’:

Any attempted prosecution for journalistic activities would almost certainly rouse a spirited international media campaign in defence of Assange. Alan Rusbridger, the *Guardian*'s editor-in-chief, has said: “If, God forbid, this came to court, I would be completely side-by-side with him in terms of defending **him with respect to what he did**<support (qualified)>.” Bill Keller, then editor of the *New York Times*, concurred. (G989)

Taking these distinctions further, members of the traditional in-group expressed a need to distinguish between earlier and later understandings of WikiLeaks as part of this difference. Some of these distinctions became stark as time went on, attributed to a shift in Assange’s persona (R1, R3) and to the rapid rise of WikiLeaks following the collaborative publishing endeavours (R1, R2, R3).

Journalists interviewed trace a distinction between WikiLeaks as a source: on the one hand and a data-driven lockbox and conduit for whistleblowers that can then be accessed through media partnerships (R1, R2, R4), and on the other seeing Assange as an activist and WikiLeaks as seeking political change or changing journalism practices (R1, R3). “This model, the sort of WikiLeaks ... the **whistleblowing website model** <out-group; Them> and the ‘**Fourth Estate**’ <journalistic identity; Us> working together ... it worked pretty well,” said Harding (R1). Burns echoes this, couching it as

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<sup>198</sup> Separating legal definitions of journalism from Davies’ “everyday” is also reflective of loose identity-based definitions of journalism (Donsbach 2010: 38, Section 2.2.1.2) and of a journalistic field built on shared identity criteria around practices and roles.

a distinction between WikiLeaks as a technological tool for use by journalists and WikiLeaks as journalism:

The evidence of this is in the estimable people who joined him in the very early days, who thought that he did have a valid role to play. **Not in remaking journalism**, *<out-group; boundary>* but certainly in **the WikiLeaks of which he spoke and wrote in the earliest period** *<out-group; Them>*. It was a very appealing proposition. (R3)

To supporters of the WikiLeaks-as-journalism view, this distinction rests on a misconception of both what WikiLeaks did and what it does, and revolves around traditional forms to define journalism. “The differences are much more cosmetic than **people make them seem** *<projected identity>*” (R6), Timm said, arguing that WikiLeaks’ gathering and dissemination is merely a computer-aided version of traditional reportage: “The anonymous admission system is just a digital P.O. [Post Office] Box where sources can drop information and while the medium has changed ... **the act is still the same** *<in-group; news-source dynamics>*” (R6). “[They were] more than a conduit, because they **wouldn’t release everything all at once despite the popular nonsense that they do** *<in-group; value-adding (context)>*” added MacFadyen (R5); “They try **to structure the release** *<in-group; value-adding>* in a way so that context could be given”.

The disagreement over whether WikiLeaks provides context emerges as a prominent dispute, with the in-group seeing WikiLeaks’ work as lacking context; a contrast that, in their view, places WikiLeaks outside the journalistic field (R3, R2). Beyond this, both the in-group and to WikiLeaks, the relationship between mediator – the providing context role of the journalistic field – and source – with no responsibility for context – relates to the criterion of conferring legitimacy to information (Section 2.3.2.1). This

defines journalistic identity built on gatekeeping and news-source dynamics (Gans 1980, Manning 2001), but also through the labour of journalism (Örnebring 2009).

#### 4.2 FOCUS: JOURNALISTIC METADISOURSE

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To begin looking in greater detail at overt discourses of journalistic identity in response to WikiLeaks, there is a subset of the texts analysed in this research labelled ‘media criticism articles’ comprised of columns and texts that focus on media specifically. These provide an overt journalistic metadiscourse – journalists writing or talking about journalism.<sup>199</sup> This group of texts sometimes focus on defining or discussing understandings of journalism, and when they do they fall into the category of ‘overt journalistic discourses’. When focusing on Assange or WikiLeaks, these texts provide ‘prompted’ discourses of in-group perspectives on WikiLeaks’ and Assange’s identification with journalism.<sup>200</sup> As the outward-facing overt discourses of in-group/out-group identity incorporated in news texts, they inform how *interloper media reactions* relate to traditional forms of boundary maintenance processes (also in Eldridge 2014).

The first *Guardian* media criticism text analysed (G4), published 17 September 2007, refers to a reporting endeavour by the *Guardian* as built on reports leaked onto

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<sup>199</sup> These are highlighted in grey in Appendix A and Appendix B.

<sup>200</sup> As these emerge from the same sample selection criteria as texts in non-prompted discourse – any text that mentions Assange or WikiLeaks – media criticism pieces analysed include some texts focused on media criticism, but where the references to WikiLeaks are made casually, as well as those texts where the primary subject is WikiLeaks and its activities. Additionally, media criticism pieces from outside the *Guardian* and *New York Times* are considered to strengthen the analysis of definitional discourses in journalism.

WikiLeaks. The language focuses on WikiLeaks' role as an information host, and as a website with an activist motif:

[A]n **online mouthpiece** <*out-group; unfamiliar lexica*> for anonymous whistleblowers, **designed to bring down corrupt governments** <*political agency; out-group*> and greedy corporations through mass collaboration. (ibid.)

In terms of polarisation and identification through difference (Van Dijk 1998a: 43), this captures how WikiLeaks is categorised as something 'other' than journalism, distanced as an agenda-driven online entity with unknown origins. Within media criticism texts, discourses of identity often describe WikiLeaks in terms of mystique and aura, with its claims and background dismissed as rumours spread "by bloggers" (G4)<sup>201</sup>, and further diminished as paradoxically opaque: "The site has done its best to dispel these rumours, but they can't be entirely refuted while the developers remain anonymous" (G4).

#### 4.2.1 TRANSITIVITY AND AGENCY

Within media criticism texts, aspects of agency and transitivity are prominent features of the metadiscourse as they structure the WikiLeaks narrative around the roles performed and allocate responsibility for those actions. Agency and transitivity around the act of leaking, roles in collaborations, and of reporting and publication is not static, and WikiLeaks is placed in either an active or passive position based on the context of the story. To explore these shifts, we begin with those WikiLeaks-based stories that came prior to the collaborative publications. In this period, there were three main news stories: A leaked report by Kroll Associates on elections in Kenya in 2007, stories about

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<sup>201</sup> See treatment of blogs as interloper media in Chapter 6.0.

information from a Swiss bank, Julius Bär<sup>202</sup> passed to WikiLeaks publicly, and the Minton Report, which was kept out of UK news by injunction but released on WikiLeaks. In overt discourses of WikiLeaks and journalism around these early cases, minimal agency was ascribed WikiLeaks as a source, describing news as built on: “Information on the WikiLeaks site” (G6). Transitive examples where WikiLeaks is given agency in the disclosures are absent in-group lexical markers, describing WikiLeaks as existing to:

Take **the stuff** <object> our politicians, financiers, religious leaders and other powerful yet shadowy types don't want us to know and **share** <transitive verb> it out as widely as possible. (G50)<sup>203</sup>

Discourses referring to any journalistic role or agency are largely absent, with language of its role describing the agency of WikiLeaks’ “encouraging” (G4) people to leak information to its site, separating the transitive and transactive dynamics of agency from WikiLeaks (Hodge and Kress 1993). Such agency is often couched in language that looks at technological potentialities as “worrying”, adding that “even if something is impregnable today, there’s no guarantee it will stay that way” (G1). Further stories in the pre-collaborative phase of analysis portray WikiLeaks’ role as “a brown paper envelope for the digital age” (G33), suggesting a pastiche of online novelty on traditional news-source dynamics (Gans 1978, Manning 2001), or as a “project” (G7) with a “scheme” (G7), and: “in a sort of legal limbo, not private, but not yet fully accepted by courts as part of the public domain”(G33). These all describe WikiLeaks

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<sup>202</sup> Also referred to as ‘Julius Baer’ and ‘Bank Julius Baer’.

<sup>203</sup> As these overt discourses of WikiLeaks precede the more engaged interaction between WikiLeaks and the *Guardian* and other news media, they provide an insight into how WikiLeaks’ and Assange’s activities were understood before there was greater proximity with the in-group of traditional journalists during collaboration.

with a lexicon of the unfamiliar, also analysed in the next chapter, that distances its role from that of the in-group lexicon it ascribes its own work.

#### 4.2.2 DISTANCING OF 'SELF-MADE' CLAIMS

Discourses surrounding claims made by Assange of his and WikiLeaks' journalistic identity further contextualise the in-group/out-group dynamics during pre-collaboration stories. In a column by Assange, he refers to "my role as WikiLeaks editor" (G45), and his claim contrasts the *Guardian's* own media texts around the same time which refer to WikiLeaks as otherwise motivated: "which exists solely to republish leaked, and hence copyrighted, work" (G48), posed through an out-group actor with an allusion to radical, albeit noble, actions: "the modern equivalent of Robin Hood? Sort of, yes." (G50). Through resolving the positing of WikiLeaks' role in both posing and answering the question, the rhetorical structure closes the informative gap on WikiLeaks' identity (Carvalho 2008: 166; Fairclough 1992). Acceptance of Assange's self-promotion as journalist and journalism is often cordoned off as a self-claim, made within quotes attributed to Assange or others and further linked to his advocate identity: "Assange, **who describes** <self-claim> **what he does** <ambiguity> as a mix of hi-tech investigative journalism and advocacy" (G53), in the context of WikiLeaks-as-phenomena:

Launched at the beginning of 2007, **WikiLeaks is at the cutting edge of digital journalism** <in-group> and has "more **scoops** <in-group lexical marker> in three years than the Washington Post has had in 30", according to the **internet guru** <out-group lexical marker> Clay Shirky. (G68)

In such references, the phrasing of Assange's own identity, or of someone like Shirky, is set within a technological frame around the online novelty of WikiLeaks' work,

emphasised by describing Shirky as an ‘internet guru’, a credential for his expertise on WikiLeaks. While Shirky’s perspectives is not dismissed warranted, that he is identified as an “internet guru” rather than as an expert on digital journalism at New York University, can be seen as marginalising WikiLeaks through emphasising the technological frame. Additionally, it can be understood as outsourcing efforts to understand WikiLeaks at an early stage. Shirky’s quote has been used extensively to describe WikiLeaks,<sup>204</sup> including several instances on the WikiLeaks.org site, and it presents as an expert voice. Through the use of quotations around such attribution, claims are presented as qualified assertions: this is what someone *else* says. Such usage can be interpreted as tempering the claims within the punctuation (Tuchman 1972).

While there certainly is a technological element to WikiLeaks’ rise, and its online functions make it a unique case of media, framing WikiLeaks exclusively as a digitally native online phenomenon adds to polarisation. This reflects Örnebring’s (2009, 2010b) treatment of technology found in journalism’s framing of its professionalism reinvigorated in contrast to technological change, perceived as a threat. Indicating dynamics of an in-group/out-group dichotomy of journalism around WikiLeaks’ technological premise and the in-group’s early treatment of WikiLeaks as a technologically driven entity, such discourses underpin the perceived provocation of WikiLeaks, and its emergence as a response to a perceived failure to by the in-group:

“Is WikiLeaks’s [sic] impact in the four years since it was founded **an inherent criticism** <out-group> of **conventional journalism** <in/out distinction>? Have

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<sup>204</sup> This is also referenced in a column by pro-WikiLeaks-as-journalism columnist Glenn Greenwald, who notes WikiLeaks winning an Australian journalism award: “When WikiLeaks was awarded Australia’s most prestigious journalism award last month, the awarding foundation described how these disclosures created “more scoops in a year than most journalists could imagine in a lifetime”. (G958)



**we** <*in-group*> been asleep on the job? “There has been an unconscionable failure to protect sources,” he [Assange] says. (G66)

In overt discourses, out-group distinction is found when presenting WikiLeaks in the context of opaque and alternating backgrounds, further marginalised when perceived as not adding value to information; the context criterion. Instead, WikiLeaks is described in terms of making its *own* unsubstantiated claims of being journalism, and while WikiLeaks sees itself as a peer, while simultaneously challenging the complacent in-group, that position is counteracted by the in-group specifying where they add value to WikiLeaks’ otherwise context-free data troves.

And yet, there are also moments where a tacit recognition within in-group texts points to the value of WikiLeaks’ work. In media texts, WikiLeaks is placed in a source construct that fills voids in journalism’s modern capabilities and provides an opportunity to re-assert its own in-group primacy and journalistic roles:

[Newspapers] relied on online disclosures by WikiLeaks. This not only **provided** <*sourcing agency*> rich material, it enabled **them** <*news-source dynamic*> to fill endless pages with **comment about the ethics of publishing it** <*identity discourses*>. **Newspapers do like to have their cake and eat it** <*journalism metadiscourse*>. (G395)

The language in overt discourses of journalism, media, and WikiLeaks offers polarised frames of in-group/out-group roles and identities. This becomes clear through the use of agency (Hodge and Kress 1993), references to the legitimisation role of WikiLeaks and of newspapers, separately (van Leeuwen 2007), and placing WikiLeaks within a source role; in such a role it is distinct from the journalistic in-group, which carries the agency of ‘reporting’ what news is sourced from WikiLeaks (Gans 1980, Manning 2001, Schudson 2003). This contributes a significant aspect to the argument within this thesis: difficult-to-define entities such as WikiLeaks, while seeking to provoke re-evaluations

of journalism's definitions and identities, simultaneously provoke a reinvigoration and retrenchment around traditional conceptions, and helps to answer the question of how WikiLeaks' emergence was reacted to. Where this occurs within a reflexive discussion of change and digital opportunities, such as in media columns, it hedges towards expansive rather than restrictive definitions of journalism. However, boundaries between WikiLeaks and traditional journalists remain a potent feature.

#### *4.3 JOURNALISM'S DISCOURSE COMMUNITY: A FAMILIAR LEXICON OF BELONGING*<sup>205</sup>

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In presenting boundaries between the in-group's perception of WikiLeaks as 'other', and in WikiLeaks identifying its journalistic 'belonging', overt discourses use a familiar lexicon of journalistic identity and belonging reflecting the quartet of criteria outlined in Chapter 2.0, Section 2.2. Within the familiar lexicon of belonging fall labels adopted by both the in-group and out-group members, statements of journalistic identity, and expressions of roles emerging through use of both specific use of value-laden terms associated with an identity of journalism and its roles, such as 'verify', 'responsibility', 'public interest', 'watchdog', nomenclature such as 'journalist', or 'editor', and unique processes or functions that distinguish the field, such as 'analysis', 'context', 'discretion' or 'editorial selection'. Such language presents belonging and non-belonging as boundaried and maintained by a discourse community (Porter 1986). These examples emerge in overt discourses of the WikiLeaks function initially, and

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<sup>205</sup> While this thesis does not engage in lexical mapping as a method of analysis, the presence of familiar terms of belonging forms a consistent and critical dimension of belonging and interloper media reactions. To highlight this dynamic, the presence of this familiar lexicon is situated within broader expressions of identity and journalistic roles found in analysis.

refer to more developed explications of sourcing, providing information in a public interest, providing context and analysis, and structuring information for the reader, and serve to construct a journalistic definition as an outward communication of identity in texts (cf. Chapter 2.0).<sup>206</sup>

In interviews, such as with David Frost (2010), Assange also uses familiar lexical markers of journalism referring to himself as editor-in-chief, describing his work as “source-driven” “publishing”, and referring to the drive and mission of WikiLeaks as sharing the same inherent “role and obligation” of news media (ibid.). Such language provides further support for Assange’s and WikiLeaks’ claims of belonging, through allying their work with traditional markers of journalistic identity (See Section 2.1.1). Use of lexical markers of a discourse community is also engaged in its inverse. In the overt statements made by the accepted in-group of journalism and specifically in the context of the newspapers – the *Guardian* and *New York Times* – that worked in close proximity to WikiLeaks, such terms are used to distinguish the in-group’s work from WikiLeaks’, and what Assange (Frost 2010) describes as a “business arrangement”, newspapers and journalists view as a traditional news-source arrangement, pointedly described using the familiar lexicon of journalism by Nick Davies, in Hendler, as:

“There’s a really interesting collaboration between the three news organizations. But Julian, **he’s a source** <distinction; out-group>,” says Davies. “All **three media organization interviewed him** <distinction; out-group> in order to be able to write a profile of him, explain various things about the material, challenge him on various points. **So he was there for that function**<distinction; out-group, minimised>.” (Hendler 2010)

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<sup>206</sup> Whether or not these are weak claims, in structural or organisational terms, or related to the content produced by either the in-group or the out-group extends beyond the scope of this study.

In a separate interview for this research, Davies (R2) elaborates using definitional roles of journalism: “For me, WikiLeaks and Julian Assange **are sources of information** <distinction; out-group>: **they** <Us/Them distinction> provide raw material which **we** <Us/Them distinction> **explore and check** <in-group roles> in search of stories”. This example reflects the hierarchical news-source dynamic, separately foregrounding the lexica of journalism’s field and its verification and analysis roles. His comments reinforce statements of other in-group members in Hendler (2010), quoting *New York Times* reporter Eric Schmitt:

This was a **source relationship**. <news-source dynamics> **He’s making it sound** <marginalised claims> like this was some sort of journalistic enterprise between WikiLeaks, *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, and *Der Spiegel*, and that’s not what it was. (Hendler 2010)

The projecting of unique journalistic belonging through a familiar lexicon of belonging portrays WikiLeaks as an out-group member, despite its own claims. Where there is a presence of journalistic work supporting WikiLeaks’ claim (as with ‘Collateral Murder’ and its editorial production and incorporation of reporting by WikiLeaks) supporters point to these as proof of WikiLeaks identity as journalism. In that, they also rely on a familiar lexicon of belonging, citing efforts to “confirm”, “verify”, and “add analysis” to the raw video (R5). ‘Collateral Murder’ is also described outside interviews as an editorial project, structured under an “editorial policy” (Khatchadourian 2010). While this is seen as a departure from WikiLeaks’ previous activities presenting information that was then produced with either citizen journalism or with traditional media partners (Domscheit-Berg 2011)<sup>207</sup>, it again proves insufficient to confer legitimacy on its claims of journalistic belonging.

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<sup>207</sup> In a story on Domscheit-Berg’s alternative to WikiLeaks – OpenLeaks – this distinction is drawn clearly: “However, OpenLeaks would not itself select and publish material, as WikiLeaks did when it edited - and titled Collateral Murder” (G763). The emphasis on this shows a dispute between

Apart from ‘Collateral Murder’, however, WikiLeaks’ work is treated as distinct from that of journalists. Timm (R6) sees this as a product of overly narrow conceptualisations of journalism that enable some traditionalists to define WikiLeaks as out-group. Reiterating Donsbach’s (2010) observation that journalism is what we “seem to know” (R6) as journalism, Timm suggests that beyond appearances, the out-group treatment could be a reaction to the scale of its publications and the amount of data which has “given people pause” (R6.) Timm suggests, as MacFadyen did (R5), that because Assange’s personality “rubs people [in the in-group] the wrong way” (R6) he was marginalised. Regardless, he says, “no one can doubt that WikiLeaks is a publisher of news and information” (R6), and by that measure, it is journalism to Timm: “The [independent] act of publishing this information is hard to differentiate between what they [the in-group] do” (R6).

Still, the reaction to WikiLeaks emerging from within an in-group seeking to make clear its exclusivity cannot be unexpected, particularly if WikiLeaks’ claims constitute a perceived threat to the journalism profession’s identity (Örnebring 2010a, 2010b; Section 2.3). As the identification of in-groups and professions rests on expressing difference, as in Van Dijk’s ‘Us versus Them’ construction of identity through polarization (1998b), such reactions function within that dynamic by amplifying positive attributes to the speaking media, the journalistic in-group, and de-emphasising the agency and journalistic work of WikiLeaks. MacFadyen (R5) sees this as controlling access to the means of performing the professional role or tasks as an element of professional validation; a return to Barrington Moore’s (1978) description of

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members (or former members) perceptions of WikiLeaks’ role, and its claims of being or belonging to an in-group of journalism.

the reaction to ‘Bonhäsen’; to *interlopers*. To MacFadyen, the means of performing that role have become more accessible with new technological possibilities; in an ideal scenario this would lead to the definition of journalism becoming less narrow, and the boundaries of the in-group less finite (R5). Timm sees WikiLeaks fitting the same structures and dynamics of the in-group, only with a digital façade: “This is all kind of new, but also not new at all”, he said (R6). “Journalists in the physical world go up to their sources in person and ask for this type of information all the time”.

These references emerge in texts that actively foreground and explicitly define journalistic processes. In Rusbridger’s account, the *Guardian’s* work is made prominent, explicitly described as a classically journalistic treatment of the WikiLeaks data:

What now began was a **rather traditional journalistic operation** <*distinction; in-group*>, albeit using skills of data analysis and visualisation which were unknown in newsrooms until fairly recently. (Leigh and Harding 2011: 5)

Rusbridger identifies that *within* WikiLeaks, Assange had a prominent decision-making role; he “was, in many respects – more, perhaps, than he welcomed – in a role not dissimilar to that of a conventional editor” (Leigh and Harding 2011: 4). This separates in-group descriptions from the *Guardian’s* structures, and softens any identification as editor through familiar lexical markers. Where they do occur, in-group descriptions are rare and couched in qualifying language, a dynamic Van Dijk (1998b) identifies as polarisation, and Carvalho (2008) notes as a discursive use of positioning to discount or weaken claims; labelling Assange as “not dissimilar” to an editor, but also not an editor.

Rusbridger’s ‘not dissimilar’ offers a description that is more nuanced than most made in earlier coverage, and emerging in a retrospective space, it is reflective perhaps of an

evolving dynamic of inclusion and exclusion. Similar modulation emerges in distinct moments that serve to encourage liberal protection of speech, as in an editorial in the *New York Times* in 2007 titled ‘*Stifling Online Speech*’ (21 February 2008). In this case, WikiLeaks is alluded to as a ‘new’ form of journalism, though also framed through a technology theme: “The rise of Internet journalism has opened a new front in the battle to protect free speech”. This editorial refers to a court decision disabling access to WikiLeaks.org, and identifies WikiLeaks as a “muck-raking website”, which qualifies as a term within the lexicon of belonging.<sup>208</sup> In the United Kingdom, the *Guardian* was referring to WikiLeaks through out-group descriptors in 2008, as a ‘whistle-blowing website’ (G6, G7, G10) in 2008, but on 22 October 2009 it ran an editorial, “In praise of ... WikiLeaks”, where it labelled the site with positive attributes: “A brown paper envelope for the digital age” (G33), employing terminology unique to journalism’s histories (and perhaps overly-valourised mythologies) of news-source reporting and leak-driven reporting. However, these still subjugate WikiLeaks to a role that requires journalistic agency to be legitimised. The *Guardian* and the *Times* differ, for instance, in the use of strong journalistic labels, though they channel classic imagery and symbolism that echoes the elements of journalism’s identity, role, and function to praise the opportunities WikiLeaks brings about.<sup>209</sup>

Benkler reflects on this in testimony at the Manning trial, drawing on his own analysis of coverage to support the case that WikiLeaks is a journalistic organisation: “The *New York Times* wrote about this in the framework of saying with this release WikiLeaks is

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<sup>208</sup> Interestingly muckraking as a term channels the classic works of journalists such as Upton Sinclair and Ida Tarbell who are regarded now as pioneering investigative journalists, while in their era they were not seen with as much favour (Sinclair 1919).

<sup>209</sup> The use of a familiar lexicon of belonging also emerges in a negative tone, as Rusbridger locates Assange as the head of WikiLeaks in historically negative terms, as a “new media baron” (Leigh and Harding 2011: 4).

edging close to investigative journalism” (Benkler 2013a: 78). He goes on to define WikiLeaks as journalism in this construct:

journalism is made up of many things. WikiLeaks doesn't do interviews and pound the pavement... WikiLeaks was a solution to a very particular and critical component of the way in which investigative journalism, muck-raking confined instances of corruption... [and] played that critical role of that particular critical component of what muck-raking and investigative journalism has always done. (Benkler 2013a: 102-104)

The examples within this section largely lie at the early stages of a multi-year trajectory during which Assange and WikiLeaks and its supporters have sought to establish recognition of WikiLeaks as journalism, “routinely describing” themselves as such (Becket and Ball 2012: 67). Their claims, either promoted independently or when delivered in response to critiques or inquiries, trace back to early treatments of WikiLeaks by journalism’s in-group and amplify how “WikiLeaks has long maintained a **complicated relationship with conventional journalism** *<in-group/out-group dynamic>*,” as Khatchadourian writes in a *New Yorker* profile of Assange (2010). In that complicated relationship, there is the sense that WikiLeaks and hacktivist organisations such as Anonymous and LulzSec operate under what Harding (R1) refers to as “**extreme libertarianism** *<out-group>*”, at times “**naïve libertarianism** *<out-group>*”. As such, their work is misaligned with the in-group as the goal is to maximise transparency and information access, to the detriment of editorial evaluation and temperance (Caryl 2011). “That’s the purpose [of such labelling], and to that degree, it’s been reasonably successful”, said MacFadyen (R5). Timm (R6) sees this effort as not only successful, but also risky<sup>210</sup>:

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<sup>210</sup> Further support of this claim is outlined in a widely circulated blog post written by Timm on 21 May 2013: “Virtually Everything the Government Did to WikiLeaks is Now Being Done to Mainstream US Reporters”, at: <https://pressfreedomfoundation.org/blog/2013/05/virtually-everything-government-did-wikileaks-now-being-done-mainstream-us-reporters>



Unfortunately because WikiLeaks has been looked at as some sort of different entity ... [this] has caused a lot of journalists to either ignore what's happening to WikiLeaks or to try to argue what WikiLeaks does is different. (R6)

Complicating matters, and underscoring the focus of this thesis, just as a journalist for the *New York Times* identifies journalism with the journalistic ideal of the 'Fourth Estate', and with "gathering information because the smooth running of a democracy depends in part on the Fourth Estate" (R4), so too does WikiLeaks, perhaps as part of a 'Networked Fourth Estate' (Benkler 2011). As journalists see their work "to report and explain and analyse all manner and aspects of life which have importance to readers" (R3), so Assange sees WikiLeaks as fulfilling the same: "people want answers now to questions they once didn't even know were questions. And they know where to look" (Assange 2011: 121). Where Burns (R3) and Davies (R2) emphasise "truth-seeking" and "truth-telling" as distinguishing characters, so too does Pilger (2013), writing "WikiLeaks is a rare example of a **newsgathering organisation** <*in-group*> that exposes the truth", and so does MacFadyen, defending WikiLeaks as journalism for providing "what anyone would regard as an accurate representation of actual events, whether they are unpleasant to your position or not" (R5). The language of an idealised notion of journalism is shared, expressed by competing claimants, even as distinction continues to be articulated separating one from the other; the polarised in-group/out-group dynamic.

As these views are solidified, references to WikiLeaks as journalism and Assange as a journalist are framed consistently as those *he* makes, and *his* identification. "**He** <*distancing*> calls himself a journalist, but to my mind, **whatever Assange is** <*out-group*> to good or ill, he's certainly **not a journalist** <*out-group*>", Burns said in February 2013. "He's a **protagonist** <*out-group descriptor*>" (R4.), Burns added,

echoing the narrative structuration of binary actants where journalists would be distinguished from other actors, such as sources or minor actants (Greimas 1971, cf. Chapter 7.0).

In terms of differentiating between an organisation that provides data and information, from the role of the journalist, Somaiya (R4) refers to the “analytical” and “contextual” roles, emphasised as definitional and foundational of journalism’s distinct identity by Schudson (1995) and Fink and Schudson (2013). Harding (R1) also highlights this distinction as playing to the strength of the WikiLeaks publishing collaborations, but in a news-source construct: “He brought the data, this bag full of goodies, and we brought specialism and inside knowledge and just experience.” (R1) Davies (R2) describes it in his view of WikiLeaks as a source: “There is nothing inherently new in journalists finding sources of information who can supply them with secret material” (See Section 4.4). Incidentally, this is the same argument raised by Timm in arguing the opposing view, that WikiLeaks fits the familiar in-group criteria:

Newspapers publish classified information all the time. If WikiLeaks didn’t exist, there are dozens and dozens of examples of newspapers publishing classified material ... it’s exactly the same kind of journalism that has been going on for forty years. (R6)

What is clear is that the question of Assange’s and WikiLeaks place in journalism is unsettled at this point, and moreover its claims of belonging reveal deeply divided views on WikiLeaks and journalism. The provocation of in-group/out-group definitions, the defensive postures of specific identity elements and the similarity in definitional statements of those on either side of the schism, and the framing of the ‘other’; each contribute to a contentious dynamic that is expressed in both prompted and non-

prompted discourses that reflect journalism's sense of primacy, and articulate the boundaries of the journalistic field.

#### *4.4 CLAIMS, MULTIPLE CLAIMS, AND COUNTER-CLAIMS*

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This chapter will now focus on aspects that seem to problematize WikiLeaks' claims of journalistic identity. In particular, this section looks at dynamic of identity association referred to as 'transience' in this thesis; that is, WikiLeaks moving in and out of different identity groups such as activist and journalist. Within journalistic identity discourses, these spheres are perceived as discrete and belonging to one presupposes non-belonging to another, reflective of field dynamics.

In the documentary *Page One* (Rossi 2011) Assange can be heard in a phone call with reporter Brian Stelter describing himself dually as both an advocate and a journalist, a dual and transient identity that would run counter to traditional professional identity criteria and objectivity as a 'touchstone' definer of journalism (Overholser 2004; Tuchman 1972, 1978; cf. Section 2.2.1.1), as well as the immovable and inherent dynamics of a journalistic field (Bourdieu 2005).<sup>211</sup> Assange makes the same identification in a TED interview (TED 2010). For traditional journalists, these open an avenue to discount Assange's claims based on the advocate/activist label he also adopts and its contradiction with touchstones such as objectivity and balance further reinforce distancing (See Section 2.3.2.2). While 'campaigns', for instance, resonate with an idea

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<sup>211</sup> *Page One* captures the process of reporting a story that emerges as a *New York Times* article (NY10), which also quotes Assange referring to that dual identity.

of activism when taken on by journalism through a social responsibility and advocate identity, the particular activism of WikiLeaks is discounted (See: Section 2.2.1.2).

Discursive reactions to Assange's assertions of belonging also point to the embrace of dual identities (activist *and* journalist, journalist *and* advocate) made by WikiLeaks through Assange. Discourses suggest that initially associating WikiLeaks with either is clouded in uncertainty, and there is fluidity to the way identity labels are applied pre-collaboration. However, the scope of non-journalism definitions placed on WikiLeaks becomes more concrete as the collaborative publications progress. As Hendler writes:

Although Assange has since spoken in a way that could suggest WikiLeaks was a journalistic collaborator in the effort, the traditional journalists don't agree with that description. (2010)

Further examples of how these projected identities of 'non-journalism' conflict with Assange's own perspective can be found in his unofficial autobiography.<sup>212</sup> Assange (2011) writes: "we saw ourselves as journalists from the start. Better ones. ... We had built a system that would alter the basic rules of journalism" (139). Elsewhere, he refers to working with traditional journalists as his "journalistic colleagues" (145). He goes further, to contend that the 'whistle-blowing website' label is what "they call us" (133), portraying a sense of belonging to a journalist field or in-group that was hamstrung by efforts to diminish it as something 'other' than journalism.

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<sup>212</sup> While Assange and Andrew O'Hagan worked on this autobiography, its publication was held up in a dispute between Assange and Canongate (the publisher) over the advance payment to Assange. Eventually O'Hagan asked that his name be removed, and Canongate published the book without Assange's explicit permission as "Julian Assange: The Unauthorised Autobiography" (G851, G905, G906); further detailed at: <http://www.canongate.tv/julian-assange-the-unauthorised-autobiography-1.html>

Within WikiLeaks, however, there is also disagreement and in a profile reported before the release of ‘Collateral Murder’, other WikiLeaks members separate its work from that of the in-group: “we are not the press” (Khatchadourian 2010). Khatchadourian (2010) adds to this sense of competing identities, but with an adoption of a journalism label that digresses from paradigmatic standards, such as objectivity: “Assange, despite his claims to scientific journalism, emphasized to me that his mission is to expose injustice, not to provide an even-handed record of events.” Rusbridger goes on to discuss fractures in the WikiLeaks organisation, “the fact that there were grumbles among his colleagues about **his autocratic and secretive style** <*out-group identifiers*> did not allay the fears about **this new media baron** <*negative in-group association; marginalisation*>” (Leigh and Harding 2011: 4). There is little uncertainty that the term ‘media baron’ offers a negative portrayal (Wiener 2011), and its positioning around ‘fears’ adds to this. Such a label reinforces the personality clashes that have punctuated the collaborative publishing endeavours, and accusations of egoism lobbed at Assange. Harding (R1) refers to the emphasis on personality as “silly”, but noted that it emerged after Assange became “appalled” that the *Guardian* had the “temerity” to report news about his legal troubles in Sweden. Timm (R6) saw a “rush to differentiate” between the in-group and out-group “because they [WikiLeaks] were fairly uncompromising and journalists were just used to doing things differently”. On both sides, there is an acknowledgment that a combination of personalities, different perspectives on roles, and accusations of mistrust fuelled disagreements (R1, R2, R5, R6).<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> Importantly, in each of these cases, personality elements are presented alongside rather than central to the discussion of WikiLeaks as journalism.

#### 4.4.1 TRANSIENT IDENTITY CLAIMS

Assange is seen as opportunistic in his choice of identity roles: “Julian has this sort of vaudevillian dimension”, said *Guardian* journalist Luke Harding (R1). “One day he’s a publisher, the next he’s a journalist, then he’s a whistleblower, then he’s a kind of hacker. He has all these kind of plural identities” (R1). In an oft-quoted piece by (then) *Slate.com* media reporter Jack Shafer, this shifting is described as manipulative and frustrating, with agency for the changes placed on Assange:

Assange bedevils the journalists who work with him because he refuses to conform to any of the roles they expect him to play. He acts like a leaking source when it suits him. He masquerades as publisher or newspaper syndicate when that's advantageous. Like a PR agent, he manipulates news organisations to maximise publicity for his 'clients', or, when moved to, he threatens to throw info-bombs like an agent provocateur. He's a wily shape-shifter who won't sit still, an unpredictable negotiator who is forever changing the terms of the deal. (Shafer 2011)

This transience is problematic for journalism and concepts of an inherent journalistic *doxa* that defends belonging around central and paradigmatic values, such as balance, fairness, and objectivity, and sees journalism as a space devoid of dualisms. Burns elaborates on this point:

Always and everywhere is, yes, to get at information, particularly information that people in authority, people who have a large influence on the affairs of mankind in one way or another would rather keep hidden. (R4)

To Burns, as to Harding, Assange’s advocacy and activist labels fall outside an in-group whose criteria for belonging ask that members operate in a “non-partisan”, “balanced” manner, “without a mission”, and carried out by those “who are fair, who do not espouse causes, who do not seek to promote [politicians]... who do not select winners and losers” (R3).<sup>214</sup> This reinforces objectivity as a definer of journalism, the

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<sup>214</sup> These reflect the idealised tenets of Siebert et al.’s (1956) social responsibility theory of the press, but also emerge in the language Donsbach (2010), Jacquette (2010) point to as idealised

‘touchstone’ Overholser (2004) refers to, or the ‘hallmark’ definer Maras (2013) refers to. Maras goes on to discuss how objectivity allows a journalist to “rise above” bias (2013: 63), allowing journalistic actors to idealise their societal role through its instrumentalisation. This, he writes, makes the role of the journalist precise, defined through the “craft to the construction of non-partisan reports” (Maras 2013: 63; cf. Tuchman 1987, 1978).

Harding (R1) echoes this emphasis on balance in describing Assange as having “a different mind-set”, a term that resonates with the idea that the in-group has a shared implicit set of standards, values, and beliefs, in other words, a mind-set of inherent and immutable criteria, that does not allow for the dualism Assange seems to represent. Whether indicative of a specific *doxa* in the sense Bourdieu employs – “a system of presuppositions inherent in membership in a field” (2005: 37) – or in the reactive professional invigoration identified by Örnebring (2010a), such dynamics ruffle the peer accountability that coheres and draws together the journalistic profession (Schudson 2003).

In reflections on the collaborative endeavours with WikiLeaks, in-group members continue to assert difference. Rusbridger refers to Assange in minimising and distancing language that emphasises technological novelty alongside what Roger Fowler refers to as an “over-lexicalised” (1991: 96) description: “the rather strange, unworldly Australian hacker” (Leigh and Harding 2011: 4). Bill Keller, then executive editor of the *New York Times*, refers to a “collegial partnership” between the newspapers despite “the WikiLeaks fiesta” (Keller 2013), and frames the in-group as professional and like-

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elements of journalistic traditions, and the foregrounded (if unrealised) idealised ‘Fourth Estate’ identity (Hampton 2010).

minded, and WikiLeaks as emotional, reactive, or otherwise-motivated through lexical markers amid an aura of non-professional traits.

As portrayals of WikiLeaks and the collaborations around the war logs and diplomatic communiqués develop, distinctions become more rigid and traditional news-source roles are increasingly reinforced. “He saw what the product, the desired product, of the whole enterprise in **very different terms to the way we did** *<us v. them emphasis>*,” said Burns (R3). “**After we published the Afghan war logs** *<foreground agency>*, there were a lot of **claims** *<minimising>* that WikiLeaks would change journalism forever” said Davies (R2); “Those **claims were always overstated** *<minimising>*,” he added. Harding, Davies, and Burns (R1, R2, R3) said the distance between their view and WikiLeaks’ view of journalism and of the partnership with the media organisations became more distinct following the newspapers reporting *on* WikiLeaks itself in October 2010. “This was always a story, like the others” said Burns (R3), referring to the *Times* profile of Assange he co-reported and co-wrote with Somaiya (NY27). Following a *Guardian* story on allegations of sex crimes in Sweden, distinction between Assange and the in-group of journalism became clearer to those in the in-group. As Harding said:

**if he were a journalist** *<in-group/out-group distinction>*, **he would understand** *<doxa>* that as someone who’s kind of in the public profile facing serious allegations in Sweden, that every newspaper has to report that **whether they’re his friend or not** *<balance; responsibility>*.... And that was the genesis of our falling out. (R1)

While distinctions are emphasised in the overt metadiscourse and interviews on WikiLeaks and journalism, the next chapter will demonstrate how they also emerge in non-prompted covert discourses during the publishing endeavours.



#### 4.5 CHALLENGING EXCLUSIVE AND NARROW IN-GROUP DEFINITIONS

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Many of the distinctions drawn between the traditional journalistic in-group and out-group *interlopers* come through emphasising an ‘Us’ of journalists and therefore journalism, and a ‘them’ of non-journalists and therefore non-journalism. The assumptive nature – the ‘therefore’ – of this difference is expressed in the relationship between ‘belonging’ and the expressed boundaries of journalistic identity. Through expressing what unites their peer group, as Harding, Burns, and Davies do above, an in-group of ‘Us’ is articulated. Through lexical out-group descriptors and identifying elements of difference in the work of *interloper media*, as interviewees in Hendler (2010), Shafer (2011), and Rusbridger (2011) do, a notion of ‘Them’ is also projected. For supporters of the journalistic claims of *interloper media*, this polarity represents journalism defined as the work of journalists (rather than journalists defined by those who do journalism) and reflective of power dynamics by the profession to maintain its unique societal space and role. For Timm (R6) and for MacFadyen (R5), it presents journalism as the work of certain media actors; journalism defined as the work of journalists. This reveals a flaw in the way concepts of journalism are articulated, they say: “It’s what they do that matters and how well they do it and whether they tell the truth or not,” said MacFadyen (R5). “The medium doesn’t matter, it’s more of what information is being expressed or *if* information is being expressed to the public”, said Timm (R6).<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>215</sup>Distinguishing journalism as the product of acts of journalism, the organisation Timm directs – The Freedom of the Press Foundation – defines journalism through acts, and advocates legal protection for WikiLeaks and all acts of journalism.

In an era of easy access to publishing platforms online, accessible communication, and the ability to transmit information broadly, Timm sees narrow definitions as out-dated; flawed in their lack of recognition of shifting means of reporting, communicating, and publishing: “It’s important, especially in this day and age, to have the broadest definition possible” (R6). To Timm, and to MacFadyen, and to Assange, defining journalism and its place in society around the work of organisations and individuals reinforces existing identity constructs and pre-empts who can practice journalism, a *de facto* profession (Hughes 1963). The implications for this distinction carry increasing weight not only for new media actors, but also for their legal ramifications (further discussed above in Chapter 2.0). However, as demonstrated above, these implications are neither ignored. Keller and Rusbridger, along with Davies, all expressed support for the legality of what WikiLeaks has done, they just separate it from ‘everyday’ notions of journalism; the journalistic identity they hold (R2).

In Timm’s view (R6), echoed by MacFadyen (R5) and Benkler (2011), the work of WikiLeaks is demonstrably journalism, even when it is identified or self-identifies as a transparency advocate or activist. This matches an explanation made in Benkler’s (2013a) testimony at the Manning trial:

These two [journalistic and transparency organisations] are not mutually exclusive. You can have the same organization commit acts of journalism or acts of movement building and movement participation. The two are not, they’re different, they’re not mutually exclusive... I think there's a difference between activism and journalism. Although again there are activists who also perform journalism, and when they perform journalism they're doing journalism. (Benkler 2013a: 131-132)

However, even when defining the role and function of journalism in language the same as WikiLeaks’ does, distinctions are still drawn. Burns describes journalism as getting information others “would rather keep hidden” (R2), sees WikiLeaks as a source of that

information, and while acknowledges that WikiLeaks carries that motivation, that resonance is muted in terms of journalistic identity. Instead, WikiLeaks' claims of being journalism are framed as just that, mere claims, and the political motivations expressed by Assange are used to further project an out-group identity.<sup>216</sup> What is missing in these overt discourses is the way WikiLeaks presents both confrontation and belonging.

WikiLeaks poses challenges beyond encroachment on the in-group through its identity claims. It balked at decisions by the *New York Times* to verify information with The White House and US State Department, it objected to the *Guardian*'s decisions to share the second trove of information with the *Times*, a move that also served to protect the *Guardian* from having its reporting restricted, according to Burns, (R3) and other accounts. These clashes, the dramatic aspects of the partnership between the newspapers and WikiLeaks, engender analysis of reactions to the myriad challenges to information primacy, social responsibility, evaluation and gatekeeping, and other principles seen as inherent to traditional journalism's identity as a Fourth Estate in democratic societies. However, as Beckett and Ball (2012) write, this is a key component of what WikiLeaks presents:

Those who argue that WikiLeaks is not 'journalism' are defining the term to exclude forms of news mediation that they do not wish to give an official stamp. Those who argue that WikiLeaks easily fits into their definition of journalism are in danger of ignoring how it challenges the validity of those categories. (ibid.: 26)

While much of the WikiLeaks and in-group story being framed in the falling out between the various partners, this did not emerge as a prominent point of difference in

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<sup>216</sup> Further distinctions are drawn on the 'context' question, with the bulk publication of material and a dispute over who determined to anonymise releases that included personal identifiers, and which organisation was behind the implementation of redaction are repeatedly articulated in overt discourses.

interviews. In discussing such distinctions with journalists from the *Guardian* and the *New York Times* who worked on WikiLeaks-related publications, none saw the distinction between the in-group and out-group as one born out of animosity, rather they sought to align journalism on one side as presenting facts, seeking truth, and providing analysis and context to data. On the other side, data gathered or obtained by WikiLeaks placed it in a role of source, and as an activist and as a transparency organisation, its claims of 'being journalism' discounted by its dual identities, a perceived lack of value-adding (context), and by its disagreements over the dynamics adhered to by the in-group of journalism (such as reporting on WikiLeaks and on Assange). Traditional journalists interviewed expressed admiration for the technological role they saw WikiLeaks as performing: "There's the WikiLeaks project, which I still think is admirable", said Harding (R1); "The idea that they could be a nonpartisan ... dropbox and distributor for whistleblowers of every kind, what journalist could possibly oppose that?" said Burns (R3).

Journalists interviewed also expressed sympathy for the plight of Assange and his being dogged by governments and police over accusations of espionage. "I have a certain sympathy for him and the way he strode eagerly into this corner that he now finds himself in, but it must be a very unpleasant place to be," Burns (R3) said. Burns and Harding both see elements of this 'corner' as resulting from the drive that brought WikiLeaks about in the first place, a necessary obsession to create and push the WikiLeaks model of openness and transparency. Harding (2012) said that, despite personally liking Assange, in terms of journalistic identity, "he would have a kind of journalistic view of how the world functions and how information functions and he

doesn't." Going on to discuss Assange's views on transparency, and his innovation of WikiLeaks, Harding said:

If he weren't so uncompromising, then he would never have done WikiLeaks because obviously you need somewhat of an obsession to drive that organisation. (R1)

Within the range of overt discourses, when interrogated through interviews, distinctions are drawn on terminology and idealised notions of the press as a Fourth Estate based on standards of social responsibility, adding analysis, and in-group camaraderie that reinforces traditional definitions of journalism.

#### *4.6 OVERT DISCOURSES: ESTABLISHING A BASELINE*

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Overt discourses reflecting on WikiLeaks' relationship with journalism provide a set of anticipated responses to prompted inquiry; the sense of belonging you *expect* journalists to express when they are asked what defines their field, and the sense of journalistic belonging you *expect* Assange and WikiLeaks supporters to express when making their claims of belonging to the journalistic field. From both perspectives, discourses are often, predictably, steeped in the noble, idealised, and aspirational roles and identity elements that underscore the articulations of the field's *doxa* (Bourdieu 1991, 1994; Hampton 2010: 10; Jacquette 2010). This provides a critical subset of identity discourses prompted by WikiLeaks' implicit (and explicit) confrontation of traditional journalism and by its claims of belonging, framed within a metadiscourse that also assesses journalism's sense of its fortunes, its failings, and its self-perceived definitions and future prospects (cf. Section 2.3).

Throughout this chapter, dynamics of in-group/out-group discourses have been outlined, and the ways journalistic language in sign-posted texts have categorised WikiLeaks as an out-group member against its own claims of belonging have substantiated the definition of *interloper media* put forward in the previous chapters. This comes through expressing idealised elements of journalism's 'Fourth Estate', representing a journalistic identity, and projecting a coherent and dominant vision of the journalistic field. While normative and idealised definitions and labels can be discounted as such, they continue emerge in overt discourses as the paradigmatic markers of in-group belonging, and the peer group uses these to reinforce and reflect an understanding of how the professional in-group of journalism is constituted discursively (Bell 1991, Schudson 2003, Van Dijk 1998b). Through the way prompted discourses of journalistic identity pair the expression of held identity by the in-group and projected identity onto WikiLeaks, journalism is articulated in discourses as something you either belong to, or not; a polarised in-group/out-group dynamic.

Through the varying ascription of agency and the use of familiar and unfamiliar lexical markers emphasising polarised identity elements (Van Dijk 1998b), journalistic texts when overtly discussing what journalism 'is' present their professional in-group as a *de facto* profession built on legitimation and performance of distinct societal roles (Hughes 1963). Alongside the use of traditional idealised role perceptions (Donsbach 2010, Hanitzsch 2007, 2011), these contribute to the criteria of a journalistic field (Bourdieu 2005, Benson and Neveu 2005), and make distinct their work from the roles and functions WikiLeaks performs. The blurriness of the in-group/out-group distinction has also been identified, and inasmuch as *interloper* claims of belonging are made but not always substantiated and similar ideals emerge from both sides of the 'binary'.

This chapter has established a baseline for understanding how journalistic actors perceive and project a journalistic identity in discourses where the discussion of what journalism is or whether new actors, such as WikiLeaks, are considered journalism. It has analysed the dynamics of the overt discourses of journalistic belonging through an analytical framework, juxtaposing the discourses within news texts to those solicited in research interviews and expressed during documentaries, books, and other sign-posted discussions of journalism and WikiLeaks. In doing so, it has contributed to an understanding of *interloper media* by mapping the ways in-group journalistic actors discuss WikiLeaks in the context of its claims of its journalistic belonging and identity, but distinguishes between those claims and the in-group's recognition of its own identity criteria.

While the claims of belonging establish WikiLeaks as a representative of *interloper media*, they form one aspect of an overall challenge to journalism's self identity and profession as maintained through the adherence to values, norms, standards, paradigms, and in-group identity elements. They force evaluation, and reinvigorate expressions of journalism's identity and criteria of belonging to that identity and profession. These elements can now be applied to covert discourses of journalistic identity, those that are not uniquely or directly *about* journalism through the discourse analysis in the chapter that follows. These differences emerge within a focus on WikiLeaks and journalism, the 'what-a-story' described by Bishop (1999) and emblematic of boundary maintenance processes. What remains to be seen, and will be developed in the next chapter, is how this translates within texts that are not signposted as discussions of journalism, and how differentiation and reactions to WikiLeaks' inherent and explicit claims have emerged.

## 5.0 DATA & ANALYSIS II:

### TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

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This chapter contains the analysis of texts referencing WikiLeaks and Julian Assange within covert discourses (See Section 3.2) of journalism's in-group/out-group identity, its perceived and projected roles, and articulations that further define a journalistic field. This chapter will present research findings chronologically and thematically, presenting discourses as the WikiLeaks story develops, detailing dynamics of that coverage and narrative, and emphasising key discursive representations of journalistic identity alongside boundary-building discourses of belonging and non-belonging to the journalistic field. Analysis will be presented in four main phases: Phase I, Analysis of texts before and surrounding the release of *Collateral Murder*; Phase II, analysis of texts during and surrounding the Afghanistan and Iraq 'War Logs' release; Phase III, analysis of texts during and surrounding the 'Cablegate' release; and Phase IV, analysis of texts at the end of and following the collaborative releases. Within each phase, examples of discourses which reflect the journalism in-group's positioning of its own role within the WikiLeaks story will be developed, while demonstrating reactions to WikiLeaks as imbued with language of journalism's idealised dimensions of belonging. Such discourses will help develop an understanding of a journalistic field, adhering through agreed upon complicities to present a dominant vision of what journalism 'is', and in contrast to *interlopers* such as WikiLeaks.



### 5.1 PHASE I: EARLY YEARS AND 'COLLATERAL MURDER'

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This first phase of analysis precedes the more intensive coverage during and following the collaborative publication efforts. In the *Guardian*, the first reference to WikiLeaks comes in August 2007, looking at a leak of a report on corruption in Kenya. The reference is minimal: “The **report was obtained by the website** <*transitive; technological theme*> Wikileak [sic]<sup>217</sup>, which aims to **help expose corruption** <*out-group; activist theme*>” (G1). While attributing agency to WikiLeaks’ role in releasing the Kroll report, both the misspelling of WikiLeaks and its minimal referencing reflect the emerging organisation’s relative obscurity. The next day in a brief ‘at a glance’ piece, WikiLeaks is defined and described for the *Guardian*’s readers as “Modelled on the **online encyclopaedia Wikipedia** <*technological theme*> in design and spirit” (G2). This brief mention defines WikiLeaks’ function as exposing corruption, and as an organisation comprised of technologists, dissidents, mathematicians, as well as journalists. In neither of these early references is Assange mentioned, and the role of WikiLeaks is restricted to a whistleblowing function. Later stories on the corruption report refer to WikiLeaks as a “website” (G3) that leaked the report; in each case WikiLeaks is framed with transitive agency, and within a technological theme rather than a journalistic one. As with overt discourses framing WikiLeaks through its technological aspects, these discourses reflect similar elements of marginalisation and out-group association.

This technological theme continues throughout discourses preceding the April 2010 ‘Collateral Murder’ release. WikiLeaks is not mentioned again in *the Guardian* until

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<sup>217</sup> While beyond the framework and analysis applied here, there are variable capitalization practices followed with regard to WikiLeaks with the ‘l’ sometimes being left lowercase in early accounts, and later capitalized.

November 2007, when it published a manual for treatment of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay (G5). Minimal and passive in terms of the documents, WikiLeaks is referred to in the seventh of nine paragraphs, and then only as a platform for documents: “The leaked manual first **appeared on** *<transitive; non-transactive>* Wikileaks [sic], **a website** *<technological theme>* that invites people to send in sensitive documents” (G5). This phrasing “first appeared on” lacks the transitive agency present with references in the Kroll report stories above (G1), and situates WikiLeaks in a conduit/source function where motivated leakers can deposit information anonymously. The lack of journalistic identity discourses is similar to references in March 2008 – “Wikileaks [sic] allows whistleblowers to anonymously post documents” (G6) – and in references such as: “Information **on** *<transitive; non-transactive>* the Wikileaks [sic] site” (G6). In June, it is the information on WikiLeaks that is foregrounded, and WikiLeaks is defined as a location and host for information: “A draft version **appeared at** *<transitive; non-transactive>* the WikiLeaks site” (G9). These references frame WikiLeaks passively, as a platform for information lacking the more active references to: “obtained” (G1) or leaked or published.<sup>218</sup>

In September 2008, descriptions of WikiLeaks are mostly limited to its role as a conduit or intermediary for whistleblowers, and as a host of leaked documents. In reference to emails of then US Vice Presidential candidate Sarah Palin, the information was “**made available** *<passive phrasing>* on the **whistle-blowing website** *<technological theme>* Wikileaks [sic]” (G10), and WikiLeaks is given voice and agency in its reaction: “which defended its decision saying the **hack** *<technological them>* proved Palin was

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<sup>218</sup> These earliest references suggest either an unarticulated definition of its role and function on the part of WikiLeaks, or an undeveloped understanding of its role. These dynamics shift as WikiLeaks’ prominence grows.

**violating rules on keeping public records** <whistleblower claim>” (G10).<sup>219</sup> Still absent a notable or identifiable persona such as Assange, this is the first instance of WikiLeaks defining or describing its role. In this, WikiLeaks invokes an in-group public interest defence, though in the *Guardian*’s reporting this is not expanded upon. Further, statements from WikiLeaks or Assange are not quoted directly, making further evidence of such a claim speculative. In December, referring to “wikileaks.org: anonymous source of leaked documents” (G11), language frames WikiLeaks as a journalistic source in a traditional news-source dynamic. Such references reflect two shifting portrayals of WikiLeaks that vary between being portrayed as an intermediary:

Whistleblower <source> → WikiLeaks <intermediary> → journalistic in-group  
<news outlet>

or as a source in news-source hierarchies:

WikiLeaks <source> → journalistic in-group <news outlet>

As coverage progresses, discourses referencing WikiLeaks’ activities begin to coalesce around an intermediary role, as a host or channel for whistleblowers to reach the public. This emerges yet again when in a story about the Julius Bär leak, referred to as a site that “specialises in material from whistleblowers” (G12)<sup>220</sup>, and is only mentioned in one two-sentence paragraph. This continues throughout 2008 in references to documents “leaked to the WikiLeaks [sic] **website** <technological theme>” (G13), where the active agency is used to refer to the information and what it “reveals”, rather than assigning that agency to WikiLeaks or its members. Other references cite “moles tipping off **websites such as WikiLeaks** <technological theme>” (G14), and to WikiLeaks.org as one of several sites online where documents are “widely available”

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<sup>219</sup> The use of hacking in this case is in the *Guardian*’s language, rather than within a quote. The agency and identity of the hacker of Palin’s emails is somewhat obscured.

<sup>220</sup> By Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

(G15), grouping WikiLeaks among a vague amorphous classification of online media that will come to include hacktivist and other new media in later coverage. These early references are almost uniformly sparse, with only one or two sentences discussing WikiLeaks and its role or identity.

WikiLeaks' effect on journalism is not raised again until March 2009, more than a year before its *Collateral Murder* release when a member of the House of Lords described WikiLeaks in Westminster in reference to documents it hosted. By acknowledging the report in a public forum, the Lord ended a block on the *Guardian's* publishing of the same documents.<sup>221</sup> WikiLeaks' effect on journalism is hedged, described as *also* having the documents, but not as a source (rather as a website reinforcing the technological theme) and the revelation is credited to the peer in the headline: “How a **Lib Dem peer** <subject> **told** <transitive agency> **their lordships** <object> what we couldn't” (G15, cf. G16).<sup>222</sup>

In a 21 October 2009 article, WikiLeaks' release of British National Party membership offers the first instance where a confirmation of a leak's authenticity is made in a news text by a WikiLeaks “spokesman”(G29), immediately followed by an expression of the *Guardian's* confirmation role – “The *Guardian's* **inquiries** <journalistic/investigative role> **showed** <revelatory role> while some on the list are no longer members, many are” (G29). Such juxtaposition of WikiLeaks claims alongside the *Guardian's* becomes a feature of discursive expressions of journalistic roles within texts referencing WikiLeaks. Where WikiLeaks' information assists the *Guardian's*, it is the *Guardian's*

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<sup>221</sup> By entering this information into the public proceedings of the House of Lords, the basis of secrecy that underpinned the injunction against the *Guardian* was eliminated.

<sup>222</sup> WikiLeaks is later described in the same context as a “free speech website” (G18), and later again as a source of information, twice attributing information as “according to WikiLeaks” (G20).

reporting and the confirmation and due diligence performed by the newspaper that is given prominence (G15) and final say (G29).<sup>223</sup>

These early discourses frame WikiLeaks' role as supportive rather than leading, a syntactical positioning of actors and agency establish dynamics of power within news texts that becomes increasingly direct in later discourses (Carvalho 2008, Hodge and Kress 1993).<sup>224</sup> Even when WikiLeaks is described at length, treatments of its journalistic claims are minimal, again reflecting dimensions of positionality (Section 3.4.1.5):

The membership lists were **posted on Wikileaks [sic]**, *<indirect object; WikiLeaks as a platform, no agency>* an **internationally-hosted website** *<technological theme>* which allows **people** *<subject; agency>* to **publish** *<transitive>* **confidential documents** *<direct object>* using **servers** *<technological theme>* based in countries such as Sweden, Belgium, Malaysia and Tonga. (G30)

Such discourses focus on the novelty and digital nature of WikiLeaks, isolating it as a factor changing journalistic routines rather than as a journalistic actor (Örnebring 2009). Similar discourses minimise WikiLeaks' claims of journalistic seriousness, rather using language of technological novelty with its entrée to the media landscape: "So many people tried to download the file yesterday that the website crashed" (G30).

In November 2009, discourses take a different turn. In a story about a release of pager communications sent on September 11, 2001, WikiLeaks' role is expressed more actively: "The whistleblowing **website Wikileaks [sic]** *<subject>* **published** *<transitive>* the **messages** *<object>* over a 24-hour period" (G38). Such attribution of

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<sup>223</sup> The early emergence of these dynamics preceding WikiLeaks biggest splashes indicates early on the ways language serves to reinforce and foreground journalism's in-group identity through an expression of its idealised roles.

<sup>224</sup> This resonates with what MacFadyen (R5) highlights in the previous chapter.

agency is unique in this early phase of coverage, though it is set within a context where the in-group's own activities are separate from those of WikiLeaks; newspapers report on the leak as the story.<sup>225</sup>

Following these activities, in December 2009 WikiLeaks is listed on the “100 essential websites list” (G39), described as an: “anonymous source of leaked documents” (G39).<sup>226</sup> In February 2010, though, its role and impact is emphasised, albeit in a TV listing, grouped with protest movements, and distanced:

there's no denying that the internet, and sites like Twitter and YouTube, are accelerating globalisation, free speech and political consciousness like never before (**see election protests, Wikileaks [sic] et al** <*vague*>) <*distance; positionality*> (G43).

Leading up to ‘Collateral Murder’, references vary. Assange is referenced by name (G44) alongside Daniel Schmitt<sup>227</sup> in February 2010 describing efforts to promote free information legislation in Iceland, labelling himself an editor: “**Assange said** <*claim*> that as Wikileaks [sic] **editor** <*familiar lexical marker*>, he had fended off many legal attacks” (G44).<sup>228</sup> Assange’s use of a familiar lexicon to refer to WikiLeaks’ work is not

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<sup>225</sup> As an example, with the Minton report (the Trafigura release), with a direct impact on the *Guardian*, agency is ascribed in a manner that minimises WikiLeaks’ role. The story refers to messages “put out by Wikileaks [sic]”, raising the question of their origin the language foregrounds the opaque nature of WikiLeaks’ methods and identity: “The website has declined to reveal how it obtained the documents” (G38). While the article largely frames the information released positively, WikiLeaks’ role is made both and distinct from the newspaper’s reporting. This distance is expressed in more stark language in the more controversial releases to WikiLeaks, and in stories about the negative reaction its activities garnered.

<sup>226</sup> This is an interestingly minimal description considering the *Guardian* coverage of WikiLeaks’ publishing, leaking, obtaining, and confirming of information during the previous years, all activities associated with the in-group identity.

<sup>227</sup> Later revealed to be Daniel Domscheit-Berg.

<sup>228</sup> That same week the *Guardian* runs a ‘Comment is Free’ column by Assange (G45) where he describes WikiLeaks’ efforts to make Iceland a journalistic safe haven. As this column represents Assange’s voice, it reveals his perspective on their activities of publishing, and revealing information, and with his identification as editor. He also engages with the familiar lexicon of belonging, referring to efforts to “keep our sources safe” (G45), and describing WikiLeaks’ work as a more agile and adept news organisation whose experience dodging restrictions and overzealous prosecution makes it well equipped to spearhead its freedom initiative in Iceland. He does not make the same overt statements of identity outlined in the previous chapter, but his descriptors resonate strongly with the idealised roles that the in-group of traditional journalism also employs.

reflected in the identification of WikiLeaks or Assange as journalism within news texts, and out-group descriptors persist. On March 22, WikiLeaks is described as a site that “exists solely to **republish** <*de-emphasis; originality*<sup>229</sup>> leaked, and **hence copyrighted** <*illegality; minimisation*>, work” (G48). These functional descriptors, while limiting and minimizing against WikiLeaks and Assange’s own use of a familiar lexicon and in-group descriptors (G44, G45), also reflect the earliest conceptions in the *Guardian* of a sense of WikiLeaks as either a source for news coverage, or the subject of news coverage.

### 5.1.1 COLLATERAL MURDER

In the *Guardian*, the ‘Collateral Murder’ release is first portrayed using transitive language for WikiLeaks’ role, initially saying the video “**was revealed** <*transitive verb*> by **Wikileaks [sic]** <*subject*>” (G49). In the headline, WikiLeaks is referred to in a technological theme as a: “Web whistleblower”, and Assange as its “**director** <*unfamiliar lexical marker*>” (G49). When described as an intermediary, its role is often described in transitive, but non-transactive language; ie: as a platform (Hodge and Kress 1993): “appeared **on the Wikileaks [sic] site**” (G49). This contrasts occasional cases where WikiLeaks is described as “publishing” or “putting out” documents (G30, G38). References to opaque understandings of WikiLeaks reinforce its out-group status:

The Pentagon report, reflecting the depth of **paranoia** <*out-group; marginalisation*> about where Wikileaks [sic] is **obtaining** <*out-group role; agency*> its material, speculates that the **CIA may be responsible** <*out-group*>. But perhaps [the] most embarrassing leak for the US defence department was that of the 2008 report itself which appeared on the Wikileaks [sic] site last month. (G49)

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<sup>229</sup> The role of ‘originality’ and ‘authenticity’ in distinguishing journalism’s work from that of WikiLeaks and others is addressed in Coddington (2013).

Rather than merely referring to WikiLeaks as a source, discourses shift to focus on the lack of a defined identity or journalistic role of WikiLeaks and the difficulty for news media to define WikiLeaks or understand its motivations.

Through these articles, the roles and dynamics of WikiLeaks are described not in terms of journalistic tenets such as its claims of being a watchdog or publishing in a public interest, but rather in the context of the government's pursuit of WikiLeaks and Manning as the (then alleged) leaker of the files. "Who watches WikiLeaks?" (G53) reads one headline, invoking journalism's watchdog function (Hanitzsch 2011), and positing WikiLeaks as one in need of watching. The lede<sup>230</sup> continues: "It has **proclaimed itself** <*marginalisation; self-claim*: the 'intelligence service of the people'<*out-group; unfamiliar; minimised in quote*>, and plans to **have more agents than the CIA**<*out-group*>. They will be you and me" (G53). With "it has proclaimed" distancing WikiLeaks' claims, this positions WikiLeaks as needing to substantiate its role (Fowler 1991) through the emotive and assertive: "proclaimed", rather than 'said' or 'stated'; rhetorical devices that minimise its claims (Bell 1991, Carvalho 2008, Van Dijk 1998b).

WikiLeaks is also identified as a thorn in the side of the US, alluding to later leaks<sup>231</sup>:

American officials are searching for **the founder** <*out-group lexical marker*> of WikiLeaks in an attempt to pressure him not to publish thousands of confidential and potentially hugely embarrassing diplomatic cables that offer unfiltered assessments of Middle East governments and leaders. (G56)

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<sup>230</sup> A term introduced to differentiate the first paragraph of a news story, with spelling to differentiate it from the metal 'lead' used in the presses and story 'lead' referring to possible news items.

<sup>231</sup> In coverage of this release, Assange is referred to as "director" (G53), or "founder" (G56) of WikiLeaks, and his work "proved to be highly embarrassing to the US military" (G55).



Immediately following ‘Collateral Murder’, discourses are more consistent. As WikiLeaks substantiates its place in public discourses, that the use of lexical markers of non-belonging reinforce a distinction between the roles ascribed WikiLeaks and the journalistic identity WikiLeaks promotes as its own. Portrayed as an activist, amid frequent references to the online and ‘hacker’ aspect to its identity, its work is framed as perhaps illegal, certainly in a technological theme, but also minimal in terms of risk: the pursuit of Assange is “**more desperate than threatening**” (G56), WikiLeaks’ releases as “**embarrassing**” (G57). There is also an absence of no in-group lexical markers ascribed to WikiLeaks during the post-‘Collateral Murder’ coverage, with WikiLeaks referred to as a “whistleblowing **website** *<out-group; technological theme>*” (G57, G58) and in a profile of Assange, he is a “**founder** *<out-group>*”, described as a “**hacker** *<out-group; technological theme>*” (G59). Emphasis is also placed on his non-journalistic identities, made prominent in a headline which quotes Assange saying: “I’m an information **activist**’*<out-group>*” (G65); reflective of Wikileaks’ transient identities (Carvalho 2008, Section 3.4.1.2).<sup>232</sup> The use of discursive objects that marginalises his journalistic identity to that of a “**whistleblowing** *<source>* **website** *<technological theme>*” (G66), his activities are qualified through quotations, Assange as: “the **undercover force** *<out-group descriptor>* behind WikiLeaks, a **self-styled** *<claims emphasis>* ‘**intelligence service** *<out-group descriptor>* of the people” (G68).<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Such prominent placement reflects not only emphasis of these non-journalistic descriptors, but reflects the preferred reading of Assange’s roles (Hall 1993, Van Dijk 1998a).

<sup>233</sup> Reiterating the quote from G53.

News texts analysed during this phase provide a starting point for analysis of identity discourses made during the later collaborations, and augment the analysis in the previous chapter. While Assange at this point has laid claim to an identification of “journalism” repeatedly, traditional journalistic texts do not consistently refer to or associate WikiLeaks or Assange with that identity. However, WikiLeaks’ early releases also did not have the scale and breadth of the war logs or diplomatic cables that followed, and coverage paid less attention to the ‘what-a-story’ aspects than they later do (Bishop 1999). With the war logs, and with the release of the cables that follow, this dynamic changes significantly.

## 5.2 PHASE II: THE AFGHAN AND IRAQ ‘WAR LOGS’ RELEASE

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Starting on 26 July 2010, *the Guardian*, *the New York Times*, and *Der Spiegel* began publishing stories based on a trove of military battle communications from the war in Afghanistan. With the publication of these stories, and the simultaneous release of the communications on WikiLeaks.org, the first of three major collaborative publishing endeavours went ‘live’.

In the *Guardian*’s introduction of the war logs, WikiLeaks’ role is set as transitive and transactive, but as an out-group intermediary and a platform: “The logs were **sent to** <transactive> Wikileaks [sic], **the website which publishes untraceable material from whistleblowers** <technological theme>” (G70).<sup>234</sup> When attributed, agency is phrased

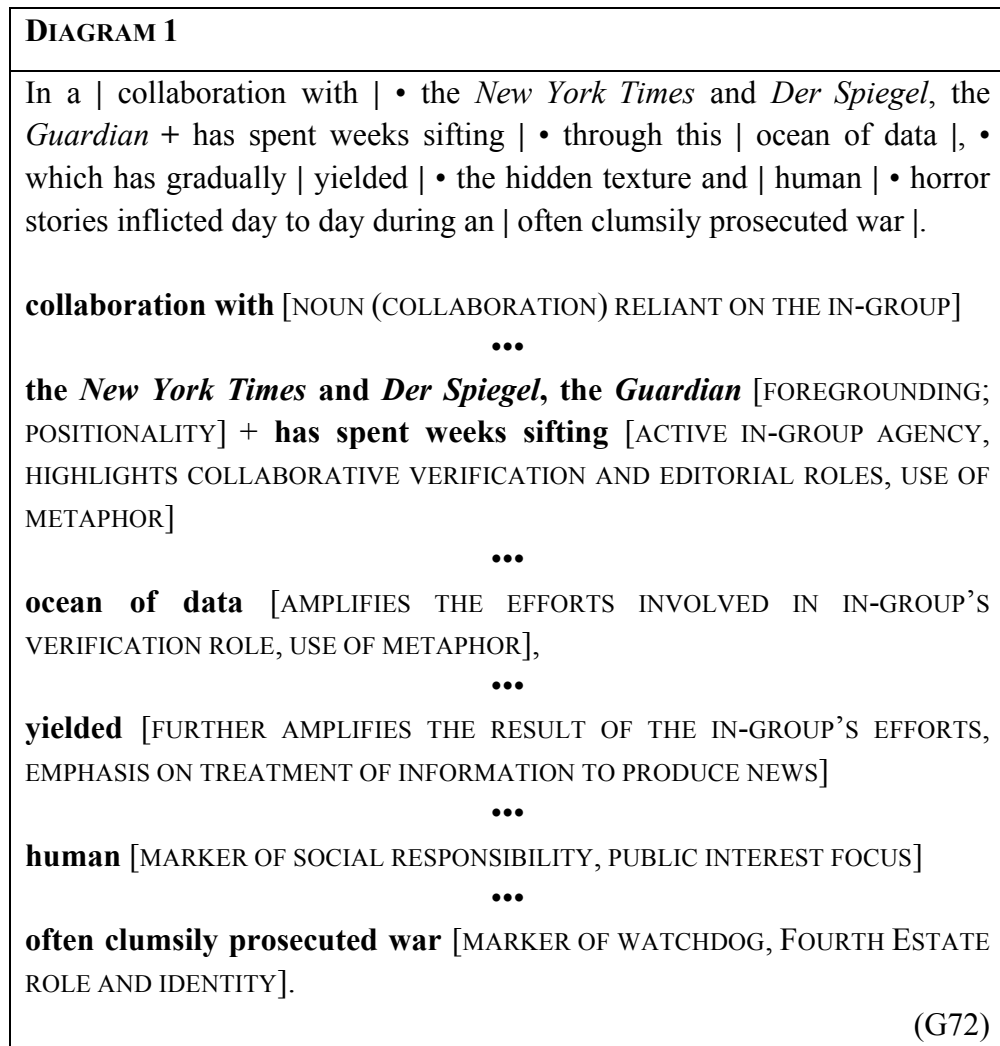
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<sup>234</sup> As this coverage follows the news and reportage on Manning being identified as the source of WikiLeaks’ files, the shift in description amplifies a view of WikiLeaks as a conduit for

in a passive construction: “the website which publishes”, the out-group association reflecting a discursive construction made. In relation to this discursive positioning, there is a clear foregrounding of the in-group’s journalistic role in contrast to the intermediary function of WikiLeaks:

In a collaboration with the *New York Times* and *Der Spiegel*, the *Guardian* has spent weeks sifting through this ocean of data, which has gradually yielded the hidden texture and human horror stories inflicted day to day during an often clumsily prosecuted war. (G72)

As a fairly typical example of the way in-group/WikiLeaks dynamics are discursively represented, this example can be dissected further (Diagram 1).



whistleblowers through subjugated positioning, a source its role within a hierarchical news-source construct (Manning 2001: 11).

An ‘about’ article (G72), this text goes on to describe WikiLeaks as the responsible party : “**the material** <object>, largely classified by the US as secret, was **obtained** <verb> by the **whistleblower website Wikileaks [sic]** <subject; technological theme>”, distancing any responsibility in terms of veracity and ownership of the leaked documents from the newspaper: “**The Guardian** <positionality> **has no direct knowledge of the original source** <distancing> of the material” (G72). There is also a clear description of the social responsibility taken by the *Guardian* as well as its editorial discretion and selection processes:

the *Guardian* **has taken care** <social responsibility> not to publish information that could identify intelligence sources, expose unknown intelligence-gathering techniques or place coalition forces in danger. For that reason **we** <in-group distinction> **have not made available the full database <editorial discretion>**. Instead **we** <in-group distinction> **have published** <journalistic role> **a selection of the logs relating to significant events** <gatekeeping; journalistic role> in the paper and a number more on the web. (G72)

The diagram below outlines where in-group functions and roles are foregrounded, often through highlighting belonging and emphasising in-group primacy as dependent on the tenets of belonging. This language invokes the same language in Burns’ description of the “do no harm” (R3) principle in the previous chapter, and echoes concepts of social responsibility by which the in-group defines journalism (See Chapter 2.0, Section 2.2.3). Throughout the explanatory ‘about’ coverage, WikiLeaks is placed outside the journalism in-group, as “the *Guardian's* source” (G73)<sup>235</sup>, saying “the disclosures come from [... files...] obtained by the whistleblowers’ website Wikileaks [sic]” (G74).<sup>236</sup> This foregrounds the *Guardian's* in-group identity while associating responsibility for the custody of the documents with WikiLeaks.

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<sup>235</sup> By Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>236</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

**DIAGRAM 2**

| the *Guardian* » has taken care | • | not to » publish information | • that | could » identify intelligence sources, expose unknown intelligence-gathering techniques or place coalition forces in danger | • For that reason | we » have not made available the full database | • Instead | we » have published | • a | selection » of the logs | • | relating to » significant events | • in | the paper and a number more on the web | .

the *Guardian* has taken care [FOREGROUNDING IN-GROUP RESPONSIBILITY]

•••

not to » publish information [RESPONSIBILITY + AGENCY OF PUBLISHING ]

•••

could » identify intelligence sources, expose unknown intelligence-gathering techniques or place coalition forces in danger [MINIMISE HARM + SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, PUBLIC INTEREST, EDITORIAL SELECTION ]

•••

we » have not made available the full database [IN-GROUP IDENTIFICATION + AGENCY THROUGH EDITORIAL SELECTION, PRIMACY, AND RESPONSIBILITY]

•••

relating to » significant events [EDITORIAL DISCRETION + NEWS VALUES, CONTEXTUALISING ROLE]

•••

the paper and a number more on the web [IN-GROUP FOCUSING]

(G72)

*5.2.1 Us v. THEM: HIGH SPECIFICITY IN NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE DISCOURSES*

In certain instances WikiLeaks is referenced with a ‘casual’ attribution of agency, referring to its role as an intermediary or platform. In other cases its agency is fully absent, with leaked files referred to as being “made available to” (G74<sup>237</sup>) the in-group journalists without highlighting Assange’s or WikiLeaks’ agency in transmitting them. Such discourses remove WikiLeaks from the reporting process and the newsgathering and dissemination processes, and emphasise the role of the in-group journalists as gatekeepers (Gans 1980, Manning 2001). When agency for disclosing of these secret

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<sup>237</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

files is ascribed to WikiLeaks, it is done within coverage of backlash or criticism: “The White House also criticised **the publication of the files by** <attribution of agency> Wikileaks [sic]” (G74)<sup>238</sup>. Through the use of high specificity, WikiLeaks’ role in news discourses that reference negative critique simultaneously excluding the in-group becomes more apparent as criticism mounts. Tying negative discourses to WikiLeaks’ agency further positions it in contrast to the *Guardian*’s role of “verify their authenticity and assess their significance” (72) enhance the ‘Us versus Them’ identity dimension that reinforce journalism’s definitional in-group (Van Dijk 1998a). This can be understood as a preferred construct of the role of various actors within news texts, restricting WikiLeaks’ active role as a publisher to those instances with negative association (Carvalho 2008: 171). In positive discourses which foreground journalistic roles and responsibilities, the familiar lexical markers of in-group journalistic roles (decode, establish, reveal, examine), distinguish the in-group’s agency from Assange’s agency as he “agreed” and “allowed” journalists access in a news-source relationship:

Instead **he [Assange] agreed** <out-group; source> that a small team of **specialist reporters from the *Guardian*** <in-group; journalist> could have access to the logs for a few weeks before **Wikileaks [sic] published** <out-group; distancing>, to **decode them and establish what they revealed** <in-group; information primacy> about the conduct of the war. (G73)<sup>239</sup>

And:

**Assange allowed** <out-group; source> **the *Guardian* to examine** <in-group; journalist> the logs at the newspaper’s request several weeks ago. No fee was involved and **Wikileaks [sic] was not involved** <out-group; distancing> in the preparation of **the *Guardian*’s articles** <in-group; distancing>. (G74)<sup>240</sup>

In considering Carvalho’s (2008) framework, the ascription of agency to WikiLeaks elevates the entity to that of an actor with agency – WikiLeaks’ granting of access, Assange’s agreement – but within a marginalised role as a conduit or source. This is

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<sup>238</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>239</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>240</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

also done in references to the *Guardian* and other in-group members, but when discourses refer to negative backlash, WikiLeaks is placed in a position of responsibility for disclosures:

The disclosures come from more than 90,000 records of incidents and intelligence reports about the conflict **obtained** <agency> by the **whistleblowers’ website Wikileaks** [sic] <technological theme; intermediary>. (G74)<sup>241</sup>

And:

Last night President Obama’s press secretary, Robert Gibbs, claimed the logs **published** <agency> by the **Wikileaks [sic] website** <technological theme> **posed “a very real threat” to US forces** <negative; backlash>. (G79).

The initial presence of such distinctions identifies a dynamic of in-group identification by the *Guardian* for journalistic treatment of the leaks amid definitional discourses that invoke journalism’s identity through familiar lexical markers. Within these same texts, WikiLeaks is identified as a source or conduit for data and documents. Texts increasingly use ‘WikiLeaks’ as a singular-noun modifier, referring to “the WikiLeaks documents” (G80, G90) or the “WikiLeaks files” (G82) to which the “*Guardian’s* analysis” (G82) is added; further limiting WikiLeaks’ role. Publication of information is emphasised as the role of the in-group members: “The thousands of documents, sent to Wikileaks [sic] and **published** <in-group role> **in the *Guardian*, the *New York Times* and *Der Spiegel*** <in-group; foregrounding>” (G85). These further emphasise the role of conferring legitimation on information and information primacy held by the journalistic profession (See Section 2.3.2.1).<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>242</sup> Exceptions remain when any negative implication of the releases is placed on WikiLeaks, as in: “Nato has long accepted that such incidents [of civilian casualties], including those uncovered by documents published this week by Wikileaks [sic], cause huge damage.” (G86)

Such distinctions reinforce a division between perceived in-group activity and out-group activity, pronounced when Afghanistan's president Hamid Karzai said the leaks on WikiLeaks.org contained personal identifiers<sup>243</sup>:

Several logs **published by Wikileaks [sic]** <agency; negative context> have been found to contain information about local intelligence sources including names, locations and even grid references. (G91)

In effect, this foregrounds the publication by newspapers as a separate in-group activity carried out with an adherence to rules and norms of belonging and as reflected by Davies (R2) and Burns (R3) in the previous chapter. Such discourses frame in-group publishing as 'based on' WikiLeaks' information, distinct from WikiLeaks.org's efforts:

The **three news organisations** <in-group foregrounding; positionality> which published reports **based on** <value-adding> the Afghan war logs this week, the *Guardian*, the New York Times and Der Spiegel, **took care** <responsibility? not to publish <editorial discretion> any material that would identify informers or otherwise put troops at risk. (G91)

While in-group descriptors ascribed to WikiLeaks are mostly absent, a 31 July 2010 story refers to Assange, and uses his preferred in-group identification as editor:

WikiLeaks and **its editor-in-chief** <in-group; familiar lexical marker>, Julian Assange, have come under attack from US officials and their allies for potentially endangering informants and troops in Afghanistan by posting the texts of thousands of leaked war logs. (G95)

However, further in this story WikiLeaks is isolated from its journalistic partners, emphasising that some of WikiLeaks.org's files "contain details of Afghans who have dealt with the coalition" (G95), separate from the *Guardian's* selected releases. In this, the text is both excoriating of WikiLeaks' publishing of these details, and isolating it as

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<sup>243</sup> Personal identifiers like names, locations, or other specific details that could put citizens at risk were included in the releases. The redaction of these details is a contested aspect of the in-group/out-group relationship, with both collaborators and WikiLeaks claiming that such 'harm minimisation' was their initiative.



an out-group member.<sup>244</sup> Other cases of negative critique continue as the *Guardian* foregrounds its reporting, describing WikiLeaks separately as the focus of the US government's ire, engaged in a "war of words against the WikiLeaks website" (G104). A later article (G112) similarly places the Pentagon's pressure on WikiLeaks, "condemning the whistleblowers' website", using "increasingly threatening language", and expressing their charge that the releases harmed troop safety, "which WikiLeaks founder, Julian Assange, denies" (G112). Foregrounding WikiLeaks as problematic, out-group identifiers distance journalistic identity claims and emphasises responsibility, as leaked files are 'made available' but not 'obtained by' the newspapers:

The **publication of the files** <in-group role>, **which were made available** <news-source dynamic> to **the Guardian, the New York Times and the German weekly Der Spiegel**, <in-group actors> was one of the biggest leaks in US military history. (G112)

### 5.2.2 BACKGROUNDED ROLE: SUBSEQUENT STORIES

Soon after the initial release of documents, WikiLeaks' troves provide supporting documentation for further in-group reportage, source material for wide-ranging stories about geopolitics, the war in Afghanistan, or related issues in Pakistan (G104, G105, G107). In these contexts, the focus on WikiLeaks is no longer foregrounded, and WikiLeaks is referenced minimally as background information or context, such as in a reference to contextualise a theatre performance based on Afghan history (G108). There are further references to the documents that minimise in-group reporting – "**his remarks** <distancing> followed the leaking of US military documents on **the WikiLeaks website** <out-group; technological theme>" (G114). The transitive phrase

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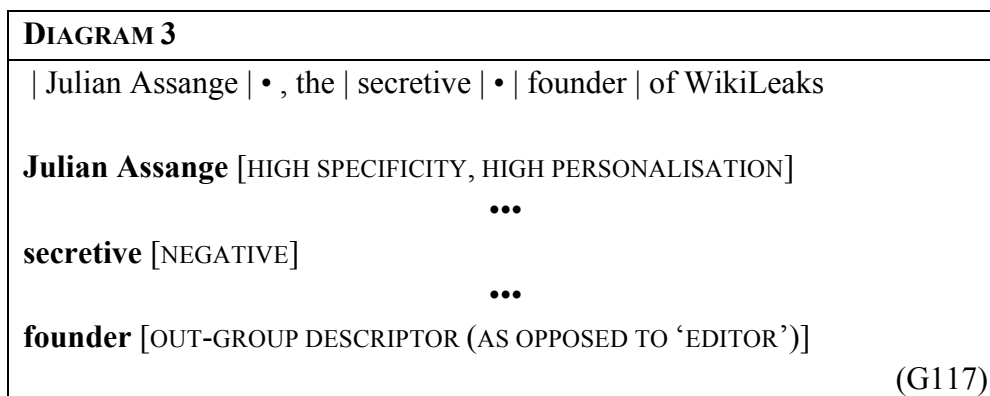
<sup>244</sup> As with other negative discourses, this news story does not mention any of the in-group collaborators specifically or vaguely, and makes no mention of their own publications of the war log materials.

“made available to” emerges repeatedly, with responsibility of obtaining information associated with WikiLeaks, and distancing the in-group through exposition around of the parameters of the WikiLeaks/newspaper relationships (cf. inter alia: G111, G122, G125). There are other instances where the relationship is phrased in a way that foregrounds the *Guardian’s* role, referring to the documents as “– published in the *Guardian* as the Afghan war logs –”(G123). In setting the *Guardian’s* role first, separate from “made public by WikiLeaks” (which follows) and set between two typographical em-dashes, the *Guardian’s* journalistic process and identity is made more prominent (Hodge and Kress 1993).

### 5.2.3 SWEDEN CASE

On 22 August 2010, the *Guardian* published a story about the allegations of Assange’s involvement in sex crimes in Sweden, and Assange’s denial of the charge (G117).<sup>245</sup>

The article leads with a phrase containing elements of negative, personalised, and specific framing referring to: “Julian Assange, the secretive founder of WikiLeaks” (G117), diagrammed as:



<sup>245</sup> The coverage of the case in Sweden, according to Harding (R1) and Davies (R2), prompted the deterioration of the relationship between the newspapers and WikiLeaks.

This article goes on to describe Assange's and supporters' reactions to the charges as "conspiracies", "smears", and "without basis and their issue at this moment is deeply disturbing", quoting WikiLeaks' Twitter account (G117).<sup>246</sup> The reaction to the charges also includes "speculation" that Assange's arrest would lead to a deadman-switch release of "a massive 'insurance file'" against "sceptics [who] believe the file is simply **an elaborate bluff** *<marginalisation>* and **contains nothing revelatory** *<marginalisation>*" (G117). All of these descriptions enhance an out-group categorisation through emphasising WikiLeaks' technological attributes and non-journalistic descriptors, positioning its work through lexical markers of non-belonging.

Reactions to the charges by WikiLeaks and supports are later described as a "web furore" (G118), and as a "rapidly spreading **online story** *<technological theme>*", with accusations made of "false allegations" (G118) amplifying the elements of technological novelty (See Section 2.3.1).<sup>247</sup> Use of language like 'furore', 'sensation', and 'defiance' are used, which places an emotive and irrational cast on the activities of WikiLeaks and Assange that, cumulatively, distance the professional in-group and the non-professional out-group. As the collaborative publications continue, such language downplays the in-group's participation in these dynamics of the WikiLeaks story, further distancing the in-group from the out-group reaction to and activity of WikiLeaks. Where this is defined around in-group descriptors and journalistic identity

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<sup>246</sup> The framing of the charges as a 'smear' is reinforced by MacFadyen (R5) in interviews (See previous chapter), who is also quoted in the article:

Gavin MacFadyen, director of the Centre for Investigative Journalism, and a friend of Assange, said: "A lot of us who had any notion of what he was doing expected this sort of thing to happen at least a week ago. I'm amazed it has taken them this long to get it together. This is how smears work. The charges are made and then withdrawn and the damage is done." (G117)

<sup>247</sup> The same dynamic continues with regard to later coverage of financial companies blocking donations to WikiLeaks, referring to the WikiLeaks releases that "caused a sensation", and the way WikiLeaks "defied" the Pentagon (G125); language that casts an emotional, irrational, pall over WikiLeaks' activities (developed further in Section 5.4.6).

markers, it reinforces the distancing of WikiLeaks' claims of belonging minimising its supporters as hacktivists and caught in a “**web furore** <technological theme>” (G118).

#### 5.2.4 IRAQ WAR LOGS

On 23 October 2010, the second of the collaborative publications hit the front pages of the *Guardian*, the *New York Times*, and *Der Spiegel*.<sup>248</sup> Similar to the Afghan War Logs, this release was a massive trove of US army communiqués from the war in Iraq that “**have been passed to** <transactive> **the Guardian** <recipient> and a **number of other international media organisations** <in-group emphasis> **via** <intermediary role> **the whistleblowing website WikiLeaks** <subject>” (G131).<sup>249</sup> As the second collaborative endeavour between *the Guardian* and WikiLeaks, exposition around the dynamics of collaboration is given less space. Articles in some cases do not mention WikiLeaks except to acknowledge previous leaks (G128).<sup>250</sup> Rather, the package of Iraq War Log stories foreground agency with in-group identifiers, saying, “War logs **examined by** <journalistic role; editorial discretion> *the Guardian* reveal” (G130), and “*The Guardian* **can also reveal** <journalistic role>” (G129), reinforcing the verification and legitimation functions of the press, as with what “a Pentagon spokesman told the *New York Times*” (G131) (Arant and Anderson 2001, Johnson and Kaye 2004).<sup>251</sup> When WikiLeaks is prominent, and ascribed agency, it is as an

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<sup>248</sup> By October, the story of WikiLeaks is coloured not only by the backlash of the US government's ire over the leaks but also the arrest of Chelsea (née Bradley) Manning, accused leaker; the allegations against Assange in Sweden, and subsequent accusations of conspiracies and smears; and the earliest decisions to block donations to WikiLeaks. While these aspects are on the periphery of the collaborative publications, the language within discourses certainly contributes to the reinforcement of in-group/out-group boundaries of journalistic identity.

<sup>249</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>250</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>251</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

iconoclast and in an antagonistic role: “**WikiLeaks says it is** <in-group/out-group separation> **posting online** <technological theme> the entire set of 400,000 Iraq field reports – in **defiance** <activist> of the Pentagon” (G131).<sup>252</sup> In another headline, WikiLeaks is given agency and responsibility: “the US **military reports** <object> **obtained by** <transitive verb; agency> **WikiLeaks** <subject>” (G133).

### 5.2.5 *Us v. THEM: AGENCY AND RESPONSIBILITY*

As with discourses surrounding the Afghan War Logs, discourses around the Iraq War Logs also highlight WikiLeaks’ agency and responsibility within negative framing, and the role of the newspapers is either absent or downplayed. In an article highlighting Iraqi torture squads (G135), it refers to “army logs **published by** <agency> WikiLeaks”, further detailed as “The 400,000 field reports **published by** <agency> the **whistleblowing website** <technological theme>”, which the Ministry of Defence said, “**could endanger the lives of British forces** <negative; irresponsibility theme>” (G135). In this article, the *Guardian’s* role in publishing is not mentioned at all.<sup>253</sup> Negative portrayals and in-group/out-group. When the collaborative arrangement is referred to, it amplifies positive roles carried out by the *Guardian’s* investigative and watchdog work; amplifying positive things about the journalistic ‘Us’ in-group (Van Dijk 1998a: 44):

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<sup>252</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>253</sup> There is a mention of a *New York Times* journalist whose work reinforces the veracity of the releases, but even that reference does not include the collaborative arrangement between the *Times* and WikiLeaks. Rather, the reference – “The field reports chime with allegations made by *New York Times* writer Peter Maass, who was in Samarra at the time” (G135). This minimises the information in the WikiLeaks files as supportive of the in-group in a new-source hierarchy, rather than novel (Manning 2001: 11). While not going so far as to say WikiLeaks’ trove is reiterating previous coverage, this discourse foregrounds the in-group’s legitimisation (van Leeuwen 2007) role by highlighting Maass’ work, his on-the-ground reporting, and the work of the in-group beyond what WikiLeaks places on its website.

The revelations come after *the Guardian* **published** <in-group role> US military documents **leaked to the whistleblowing website** <minimising; source insinuation> **WikiLeaks** <out-group; intermediary> **revealing** <journalistic role> details of torture, summary executions and war crimes in Iraq. (G141).

With the *Guardian's* role established as revelatory, a familiar lexical marker for of an in-group role is discursively employed, positioned apart from the “whistleblowing website”. This dynamic emerges again in an article that foregrounds the *Guardian's* pursuit of an MoD release that “came after the *Guardian* pressed for more details of those cases” (G145), foregrounding the revelatory function and watchdog roles of the *Guardian*. In this same article, WikiLeaks is referred to by its typical label: “the whistle-blowing website” (G145), denoting in-group/out-group distance.<sup>254</sup>

### 5.2.6 DEVIANT CASE ANALYSIS

In terms of deviant cases (Potter 2000; Sections 3.4; 3.7) that go against the pattern of coverage, a ‘Leading Article’ at this stage employs a different tone, emphasising the recriminations WikiLeaks faces around each turn:

Every time **WikiLeaks puts facts into the public domain** <journalistic role>, first about the war in Afghanistan and now about Iraq, it is accused of **partisanship and irresponsibility** <out-group framing>. (G143)

The article goes on to emphasise the lack of action on the revelations in the releases, such as those about torture, amid the accusations of WikiLeaks’ disruptive publishing. In terms of the expressions of in-group belonging, this editorial features some of the strongest and most resonant discourses, saying: “**It is not irresponsible or partisan to**

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<sup>254</sup> The dynamic of negative personalisation around Assange and the associated negative specificity of WikiLeaks emerges again in an article that addresses the sex crimes case in Sweden (G158), the role of in-group members wholly absent in referring only to “the WikiLeaks founder” and how “WikiLeaks angered the Pentagon”, and “WikiLeaks published 90,000 leaked documents” (G158).

**publish** <positive; supportive> **possible evidence of complicity in torture** <watchdog role>. **It is a duty to do so** <Fourth Estate role>” (G143). This sense of ‘duty’ invokes allegiance in-group descriptors of social responsibility, public interest, and most clearly, the ‘Fourth Estate’ and watchdog on power role of journalism identified in the overt discourses in Chapter 4.0, and established as markers of belonging in Chapters 2.0 and 3.0 (Carlyle 1908; Hampton 2010). Similar revelatory language is employed in an article on Iraq’s ‘Wolf Brigade’, saying: “the full range of their abuses and close cooperation with the US army **remained in the shadows until** <revelatory function> the **WikiLeaks disclosures** <singular-noun modifier> highlighted them in stark detail” (G152). This reference of ‘disclosure’ and WikiLeaks revelation and ‘highlighting’ of abuses, while not immediately reflective of in-group identity, draws on the lexicon of familiar journalistic roles more so than other discourses analysed thus far.

### 5.2.7 ‘WIKILEAKS’ AS A SINGULAR NOUN MODIFIER

As the aspects of collaboration have been spelled out twice now, first with the Afghan War Logs and now again with the Iraq War Logs, ‘WikiLeaks’ continues as a singular noun modifier: “The WikiLeaks disclosures”, “the WikiLeaks documents”, or “the WikiLeaks papers” (G154).<sup>255</sup> The in-group/out-group relationship has also gained facets, including language that at times lauds or foregrounds WikiLeaks’ revelations. Texts continue with to distance WikiLeaks from traditional journalists within negative reactions or critical texts, and continue foregrounding the *Guardian*’s and other news organisations’ work assessing, confirming, and reporting to bolster the data in the leaks. Continuously referred to as a “whistleblowing website”, with Assange as its “founder”,

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<sup>255</sup> As with the Afghan war logs, there is also a reference to WikiLeaks in a theatre review (G156).

these discourses position WikiLeaks apart from an in-group of journalism through a lexicon of the unfamiliar; through non-journalistic roles.

### 5.2.8 DIFFERENCES IN DISCOURSES: PHASE II

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While much coverage of the Iraq War Logs presents similar in-group/out-group descriptors and dynamics as occurred with coverage of the Afghan logs, they differ in several aspects. First, there are fewer examples of expository language detailing the relationship, reporting processes, and other descriptive details of the collaboration. Second, the added storyline around Assange being pursued for sex crimes in Sweden, Third, the language used to emphasise the *Guardian's* role in confirming, analysing, and reporting the releases foreground an in-group identity in more direct ways than previously.<sup>256</sup> Lastly, the description of Assange and WikiLeaks as an aggressor – as with “in **defiance** of the Pentagon” (G131)<sup>257</sup> – establishes an out-group theme of iconoclastic, activist, and non-professional, associating its work with lexical markers that frame it as unfamiliar to the in-group's discourse community.

At the same time, the prominence of identity descriptors employed that foreground journalism's roles reflect the same dynamics revealed in interviews and overt discourses of identity (cf. Chapter 4.0). These further contribute to the discursive representation of an in-group identity of journalism around responsibility, concepts of public service and public interest (Section 2.2.1). With the discourses further associating WikiLeaks with any negative backlash (Section 5.2.1), an idealised perception of journalism is further

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<sup>256</sup> Seen as cumulative boundary building, this adds to the previous distinctions to draw distinctions between WikiLeaks and the journalistic in-group that parallels the rise in public prominence of WikiLeaks and of the releases, as well as Assange's emergence as the known 'face' of WikiLeaks.

<sup>257</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.



amplified through an ideal-typical representation of journalism through an in-group identity underscoring its Fourth Estate, public service, and watchdog roles.

### 5.3 PHASE III: THE 'CABLEGATE' RELEASE

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'Cablegate' is the third, the largest, and the last of the collaborative publications between the *Guardian*, the *New York Times*, and *Der Spiegel*, along with newcomers *Le Monde* and *El País*. Based on a trove of 250,000 total communications sent between US diplomats and embassies, releases were meted out over the course of several weeks and in the end only a fraction of the full set was covered in newspapers or published on their websites.<sup>258</sup> While ostensibly similar to the previous releases, the collaboration was textured by the fallout between Assange and the in-group.<sup>259</sup> All of these dynamics contribute to the assessment of discourses of in-group/out-group belonging and journalism's identity through coverage of these leaks.

The release is prefaced by an article on 27 November 2010 headlined: "US envoy briefs Cameron on potential WikiLeaks disclosures" (G160), adding: "The leak is expected to be **co-ordinated by the WikiLeaks website** <distancing; technological theme>, which **has previously published** <distancing; minimising in-group role> secret details of

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<sup>258</sup> Initially only a fraction of the cables were put on WikiLeaks.org as well, though eventually the whole trove was released. See Phase IV of analysis in this chapter.

<sup>259</sup> Assange originally excluded the *New York Times*, which was then brought into the collaboration by the *Guardian*. Further, the continued presence of the Swedish case, the Manning case, the financial blockade, and the backlash from US government officials and politicians continue, emerging more stridently with this last major collaboration.

military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan” (G160).<sup>260</sup> The leaks are further described as contextualised, analysed, and facilitated by journalistic in-group members (G160, G166). The language used to describe these releases traverses well-worn paths of the previous collaborations, with some differences. This section will focus on these new aspects and their contribution to understanding the dynamics under study here.

As the largest release at the peak of intense scrutiny of WikiLeaks, the impact of this release is made apparent in the first lede of the first news story detailing the releases, foregrounding the journalism in-group’s role almost exclusively and with a corresponding absence of a prominent reference to WikiLeaks:

The United States was catapulted into a worldwide diplomatic crisis today, with the leaking to **the *Guardian* and other international media** *<in-group emphasis>* of more than 250,000 classified cables from its embassies, many sent as recently as February this year. (G165)

As Carvalho (2008:166) the absence of a reference to WikiLeaks around the third, and largest, of its collaborative engagements is notable. This is developed as “by design” in a story that chronicles the in-group/out-group arrangement:

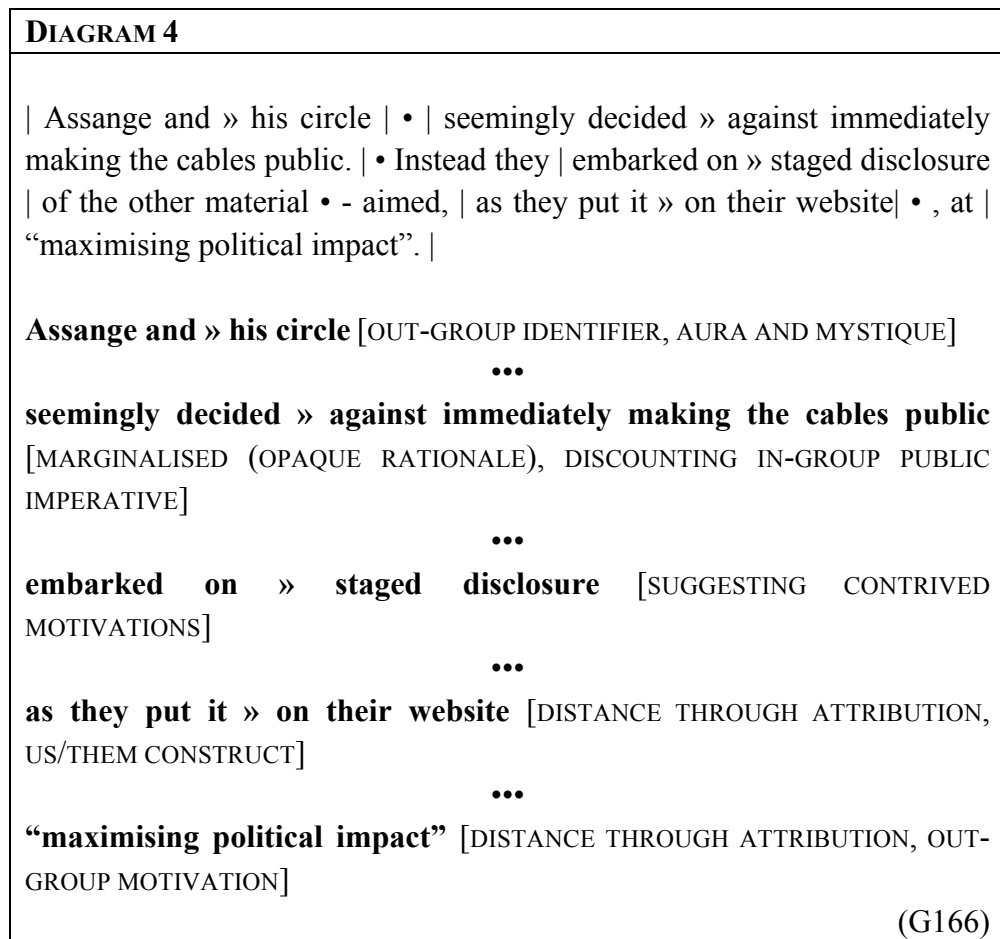
**Assange and his circle** *<out-group; aura/mystique framing>* **seemingly decided** *<opaque rationale>* against immediately making the cables public. Instead **they** *<out-group; Us v. Them>* embarked on staged disclosure of the other material – aimed, as **they** *<out-group; Us v. Them>* put it on their **website** *<technological theme>*, at “maximising political impact”. (G166)

Descriptions of Assange as making decisions based on consulting a “circle” that “seemingly decided” echoes an opaque decision making, irrational attributes allied with his ‘hacker’ background (G59) and later his ‘blogger’ supporters (G269) as further examples of non-journalistic identity ascribed to WikiLeaks and Assange. His roles and

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<sup>260</sup> This apparent misinformation, seeing as the *Guardian* knew full well of the disclosures coming in the next few days, places agency for “obtaining” the documents with WikiLeaks, and contextualising the releases and a Defence Advisory (D-notice) by quoting *Guardian* editor Alan Rusbridger.

his personality are further portrayed in language that channels myth, messianic descriptors, and a cult-like aura.<sup>261</sup> Indeed, in interviews both Burns (R3) and Harding (R1) refer to this sense of an aura around Assange articulated by his and WikiLeaks’ supporters. The elements of out-group distancing and identification can be diagrammed as:




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<sup>261</sup> Language of ‘aura’ is raised as a contrast to Assange repeatedly as a “naïve libertarian” (R1), and: to others, “Assange is just a zealot with a messiah complex. ‘You behave like some kind of emperor or slave trader’”, quoting Domscheit-Berg (G414). These contribute to descriptions of WikiLeaks’ activity draws further in-group/out-group distinction, as with his desire for “maximising political impact” (G166), with this advocacy portrayed an out-group identifier, and contrasts the stated ideals of balance professed by the in-group outlined in the previous chapter.

### 5.3.1 *Us v. Them: HIGH SPECIFICITY IN NEGATIVE & POSITIVE DISCOURSES*

Discourses continue to represent journalistic activities and decision-making positively with strong specificity, agency, and positive personalisation to in-group actors (Section 3.4.1.3). There are casual references to process in texts that otherwise do not signpost discussions of WikiLeaks vis-à-vis journalism: “**the Guardian’s Nick Davies** <positioning; emphasis> brokered an agreement”, and: “**a Guardian team** <positioning; emphasis> has been spending months combing through the data” (G166). The accompanying Editor’s note describes WikiLeaks as, “**devoted** <lexicon of the unfamiliar> to exposing secrets of all kinds”. Texts further identify WikiLeaks’ role as subordinate to the in-group’s: “cooperation with WikiLeaks **has been restricted to agreeing the dates** <minimisation> on which **we** <in-group/out-group; Us v. Them> could cover specific regions” (G167).

One of the most salient aspects of this release that, seemingly, called for in-group/out-group differentiation is the redaction of personal identifiers from the communiqués. In this, the newspapers have asserted redaction of names and locators was their initiative, positively describing the decision in language of social responsibility and public interest standards of journalistic decision-making (Section 2.2.1).<sup>262</sup> In the editor’s note, it is put this way:

The **news organisations** <in-group; Us v. Them> **have redacted** <agency> some of the cables in order to **protect** <social responsibility> a number of named sources and so as not to disclose certain details of current special operations. We have shared our redactions with WikiLeaks. (G167)

More so than with previous collaborations, the foregrounding of the in-group’s role is increasingly explicit, while WikiLeaks continues to be described in terms of an activist

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<sup>262</sup> Assange has asserted the same (Assange 2011, MacFadyen R5).

out-group identity as an organisation “dedicated to publishing **information of all kinds** <out-group; lack of gatekeeping>” (G169). In more explicit language, WikiLeaks’ actions are described as ‘dumping’ the data (G150, G169), distinguishing the analytical and discretionary editorial elements familiar to the in-group. Its resilience and purpose is portrayed as intractable, with governments seemingly resigned that “there was no realistic chance of it being suppressed” (G169).

In the context of governments’ resignation and negative reaction to the publications, the *Guardian* expresses its role as claiming, and makes a critical distinction between that and WikiLeaks’ role:

While opposing publication, the US administration has acknowledged that the **involvement of news organisations has not only given protection to many sources** <in-group foregrounding; positive emphasis>, but has also given a **context to information** <in-group; value-adding> which, had it been simply **dumped** <out-group; minimising WikiLeaks>, would have been both overwhelming and free of any such context. (G169)

For journalism’s identity, news organisations provide “protection” aligning with their in-group ‘do no harm’ principles, as referenced by Burns (R3), and add “context” to the raw data and information. Distance is enhanced by use of transitive verbs such as “dumped”, further qualified in scale as “overwhelming and free of any such context” (G169).<sup>263</sup>

As before, where there are strongly negative reactions to this agency, describing it as “a criminal act” and WikiLeaks as “irresponsible” (G178), the in-group’s role is minimal or wholly absent and there is high specificity and negative personalisation around

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<sup>263</sup> This is expressed elsewhere in this article as “things that were widely known, but which acquire special significance by virtue of the quality of the source or analysis” (G169). A later story about England’s World Cup bid refers to the trove as “the WikiLeaks avalanche” (G208).

Assange.<sup>264</sup> This emerges when US politician Sarah Palin asks ““Why was he (WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange) not pursued with the same urgency we pursue al-Qaida and Taliban leaders?”” (G180). This also emerges in coverage of WikiLeaks being “cut adrift” by Amazon’s web hosting services (G205):

**The development came amid angry and polarised political opinion in America over WikiLeaks** <out-group; activist theme>, with some conservatives calling for the organisation's **founder** <out-group descriptor>, Julian Assange, to be executed as a spy. (G205)

In articles detailing international reactions to the disclosures, accusations are made against WikiLeaks through quoting or reporting on these reactions. In these cases, stories do not otherwise mention the newspapers’ role in publishing the communiqués. The isolating of agency in negative contexts reflects the ways the in-group has, within the majority of coverage around releases, foregrounded idealised journalistic roles of revealing, contextualising, and serving as a watchdog within positive discourses of those roles; contrasting portrayals of WikiLeaks’ agency within in negative contexts.<sup>265</sup>

There are references to “US embassy cables obtained by WikiLeaks” (G192), and other discourses that refer to the US reacting to the leaks as a “security breach” (G193), where the in-group’s role in publication is absent. By and large, the early coverage of the cables refers to the documents as actively acquired by WikiLeaks in using

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<sup>264</sup> While there remain elements of agency in positive references to WikiLeaks around the cables, including: “WikiLeaks disclosed a US spying operation targeting the [UN] secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, and Security Council members” (G176), and “the release of the material by WikiLeaks” (G180), they are rare.

<sup>265</sup> A new dynamic emerges with the diplomatic cable release that had largely been absent in prior releases, and that is one of speculation, doubt, and the scepticism of politicians and governments. These emerge through reaction pieces, emphasising frivolity in some of what is communicated. Headlines such as: “Iran: leaks are just US psychological warfare” (G175), with Iran further describing the release as “worthless”. Previously, the closest dismissive reaction to a release was found in the headline “International: Bin Laden is a CIA agent, says Castro” (G122). These references, while dismissive, do not reflect on the strength of the releases, or the in-group/out-group dynamic, but rather highlight the information within the communiqués and the way they range from serious geopolitical affairs, to rumour and humorous observations, as with a story which mentions Libyan president Muammar Gaddafi’s Ukrainian nurse (G181).

‘obtained’ and articles continue to use WikiLeaks as a descriptive modifier.<sup>266</sup> Along with downplaying the role of journalism’s in-group in coverage of negative reaction to the releases, use of ‘WikiLeaks’ as a singular modifier and selective use of agency contributes to distancing the work of the in-group in reporting on the leaks, and the out-group obtaining the trove of communiqués.

### 5.3.2 CHELSEA (NÉE BRADLEY) MANNING

As coverage of Manning increases around the time of the last release, the use of agency develops a different pattern of roles and identity, with Manning described with transactive agency for leaking the files to WikiLeaks, and lauded for doing so (G194, G197). His role as a whistleblower and as the original source is enhanced with repeated references to his “having **sent the files to** <transactive agency> WikiLeaks” (G194), and his motivation in leaking to instigate “worldwide discussion, debates, and reforms” (G194). Texts further identify WikiLeaks as an intermediate source, referring to cables, “**which were leaked to** <transitive> **the whistleblowers’ website** <technological theme> WikiLeaks” (G206)<sup>267</sup>, minimising WikiLeaks’ role through marginalisation against the more first act of leaking by Manning.<sup>268</sup>

The whistleblowing motivation of Manning is made stark at this stage: “Within weeks, **he** <Manning; subject> **had downloaded** <agency> **all the other material** <object> and **WikiLeaks** <subject> **was primed to make its name** <ignoble motivation> and so

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<sup>266</sup> Singular noun modifiers, as with “WikiLeaks documents” (G183), do not disappear, but they are often cross-referenced with the more active phrasing of “WikiLeaks has revealed” (G183).

<sup>267</sup> By Luke Harding, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>268</sup> In a minimising reference to Assange, Manning is quoted as saying, “he ‘developed a relationship’ with Julian Assange, the founder of WikiLeaks, but found him **elusive** <out-group descriptor>” (G194).

**cast** <agency> **Manning** <object> into **the fight of his life** <consequence; noble motivation>” (G194). The structure of this sentence, including its attribution of motivation, reinforces Manning as a ‘hero’, echoed later when Assange, “hailed the person responsible for leaking the diplomatic cables as ‘an unparalleled hero’” (G268) in an online Q&A. These further distinguish WikiLeaks’ role and motivations from a revelatory journalistic function, portraying it as attention seeking and “primed to make its name” (G268), drawing a distinction between the quiet nobility of Manning, and his plight, against the ‘spotlighted’ Assange and WikiLeaks.

On the same day as Manning’s account is given, articles on Assange’s legal woes further separate his challenges from the gravity of Manning’s, describing Assange as in “a buoyant mood” (G196)<sup>269</sup> despite possible espionage charges, and describes Sweden’s pursuit of him on sex crimes as “Assange’s most pressing headache” (G196).

This frames the pursuit of Assange as an inconvenience, a nuisance, while:

Bradley Manning will wake up today, at a military base in Virginia, to his 189th day in custody for the alleged leak of more than 250,000 diplomatic cables to WikiLeaks. (G194)

Later texts amplify this distinction, where Manning’s risks are distinct from WikiLeaks’: “primed to make its name” (G268). These examples also re-emphasise a conduit role for WikiLeaks, with Manning taking up the mantle of a source in the public interest and worthy of attention.

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<sup>269</sup> Co-authored by Luke Harding, also interviewed for this research.



### 5.3.3 DISTANCING IN-GROUP/OUT-GROUP CONNECTIONS

Stories built on the cables mention the newspaper/WikiLeaks partnership less frequently, instead referring to the information within the leaks. As an example, a story on Kazakhstan references “cables revealed by WikiLeaks this week” (G210) only once, in the second to last paragraph. When WikiLeaks is mentioned prominently, it follows the pattern of negative, specific, and personalised framing in coverage of negative reaction to the release, highlighting politics: “a united front against revelations in the WikiLeaks cable” (G211); or quoting a US ambassador saying ““we will get past the WikiLeaks problems”” (G211). Alongside diminished exposition around the collaborations, when the in-group members are referenced, their role is foregrounded through familiar lexical descriptors of journalistic identity. In a reaction story, the article begins with prominent in-group identity markers: “On Monday the *Guardian* **reported** <in-group> how a leaked diplomatic cable **revealed** <journalistic role>” (G213). Another article, detailing spying on UN diplomats, emphasises the in-group’s reporting in: “**The *Guardian*** <foregrounding> has **learned** <information authority>” (G242) in contrast to: “US diplomatic cables **obtained** <agency> by **the whistle-blowers’ website** <out-group; technological theme> WikiLeaks” (G242).<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Distinction is enhanced through the specific ascribing of journalistic agency to the in-group, and separating WikiLeaks with diminished agency, even as a source, describing it as an intermediary for whistle-blowers. The cables themselves continue to be released online, with the *Guardian* running synopses of “WikiLeaks cables latest” (G244). Occasionally references to information attribute agency “published by WikiLeaks” (G253), but by and large references are inactive with little or no journalistic agency, and no in-group qualifiers, as with: “One of the most embarrassing revelations to emerge from the WikiLeaks cables” (G244).

#### 5.3.4 LEXICON OF THE UNFAMILIAR: OUT-GROUP DESCRIPTORS

At this stage, there are two prominent forms of discourses distancing WikiLeaks from the journalistic in-group: language that excludes WikiLeaks, and in discourses that frame WikiLeaks' role within coverage of negative reactions.<sup>271</sup> Assange is the focal point of both condemnations and responsibility for the leaking, referred to as “his revelations” (G261). On the *Guardian's* Leader Pages, the actions of Assange and WikiLeaks due on occasion use the familiar language of journalistic roles (See Chapter 4.0, Section 4.3): informing people in parts of the world who cannot “criticise their governments” for which “the revelations about the private thoughts of their own leaders are important” (G261).<sup>272</sup> These appear alongside more forceful, resonant discourses of journalism's watchdog role in describing what WikiLeaks did: “If US diplomats come out of the WikiLeaks saga in good shape, some of the policies they help form do not” (G261). While in general such discourses praise Assange's activities, texts also refer to the affair as a “**saga** <out-group; drama>” (G261). An article the same day refers to the revelations as a “**parade** <out-group; drama>” (G263), while describing the overall impact as: “How WikiLeaks **altered** <agency> the way **we see the world** <news information role> in just a week” (G263). Considering previous descriptions of the WikiLeaks “**fiesta** <out-group; drama>”, these sorts of discourses cannot be separated from marginalising dynamics.

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<sup>271</sup> As an example, in praising the breadth and impact of the leaks it played a part in publicising, the *Guardian's* positively emphasises “whistleblowers” (G261), and chides politicians and observers to what WikiLeaks reveals for their duplicitous reactions:

[They] forget that when WikiLeaks exposed high-level corruption in Kenya, toxic waste in Africa and all manner of nefarious deeds in the former Soviet bloc, they applauded it. They hailed the whistleblowers as brave democrats. (G261)

<sup>272</sup> These examples echo the watchdog function journalism's in-group holds, and echo what Burns (R3) and Davies (R2) refer to as journalistic identity criteria: publishing information those in power would rather keep quiet, and exposing corruption (cf. Chapter 4.0).

These discourses suggest, if not a stark division, two dynamics of understanding WikiLeaks. While thus far the content produced during the WikiLeaks/in-group collaboration has been heralded as revelatory and a benefit to global society, WikiLeaks and Assange have been defined through minimised roles within a news-source hierarchy (Gans 1980, Manning 2001: 11). This minimises WikiLeaks' role as first as a source of information and later, once Manning had been identified, as an intermediary or conduit. Further, while WikiLeaks is framed as an asset for understanding the world, is in the context of the journalistic in-group's pre-existing investigative role, its public interest value, and its watchdog identity. In these same discourses, the in-group distances itself, omitting or downplaying its role when describing WikiLeaks as 'opaque', built on the persona of Assange, 'activist', and 'politically-driven'; ie: not 'professional', 'responsible', 'journalism'.

The previous chapter highlights the role of a familiar lexicon of belonging towards developing an in-group discourse community through lexical markers of journalistic ideals and traditions (Section 4.3), and these have emerged throughout texts foregrounding the in-group role and identity. Using decidedly unfamiliar terminology to describe WikiLeaks as 'not belonging' contributes a complementary process of out-group distancing. Terms such as "saga" and "parade" disconnect WikiLeaks from staid and professional journalistic processes, suggesting that the work of WikiLeaks builds on different motivations, and channels the language of drama, rather than the professional markers of journalism. Contributing to this is the repeated references to Assange as "founder" (G268), rather than his preferred title of editor. These position and amplify a

sense of WikiLeaks as an organisation, but also as a movement, and one that rests on a leader, rather than a structure.<sup>273</sup>

### 5.3.5 CONTINUING COVERAGE: CABLEGATE'S ROLLING RELEASES

The dynamics thus far continue throughout 'Cablegate' coverage. In the *Guardian*, WikiLeaks continues to be referred to as a "whistleblowing website" (G267), and Assange not an editor but as "founder" (G268). Increasingly, WikiLeaks is covered as a story, but outside a media metadiscourse. Rather, coverage focuses on the case in Sweden and negative backlash by governments. As the reactions and backlash continue to mount against WikiLeaks, its role is made more prominent within such coverage, as in: "a secret US diplomatic cable **released by WikiLeaks** <transitive agency>" (G270, G288). Where articles focus on revelations with high news value about censorship in China or arms deals, WikiLeaks' role is minimised, mentioned only in headlines to contextualise the source of stories on the cables, or only once or twice within an article (cf. G274, G285). Where the in-group is mentioned, its role is foregrounded as a contrast typical of Van Dijk's (1998a) 'Us versus Them' construct. The *Guardian* describes the distinction this way:

Although thousands of leaked cables are freely available **on the *Guardian* and other newspaper websites** <in-group association>, as well as the **whistleblower's website** <out-group distinction> itself, the Obama administration insists they are still classified and, as such, have to be protected. (G269)

Separating the in-group of the *Guardian* and newspapers and WikiLeaks, describing the former as 'newspaper websites' against 'as well as the whistleblower's website'.

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<sup>273</sup> A later story highlights this after Assange's arrest, saying, "the organisation must now find a way to operate without its founder" (G316), and as terms like "founder", "saga", and "parade" are used to describe WikiLeaks, a lexicon of the unfamiliar begins to emerge.

The retort to governments and corporations trying to close or try to shut down the WikiLeaks website is described as “**an outcry** <out-group; emotive> **from liberal bloggers** <out-group; political; technological theme>” (G269). Similar phrases describe WikiLeaks and its defenders in the same language as has been cast on Assange which highlight and amplify political or emotional antagonism, as in: “he appeared in **defiant** mood” (G271),<sup>274</sup> refer to Assange as a “**hacker** <technological theme>” (G59), and his supporters as “**bloggers** <technological theme>” (G269) and “**activists** <activist/political theme>” (G282), who see challenges to be “**fought** <antagonism>” (G269). Such discourses contrast the sober language and professional ethos appropriated by the in-group of journalism; language of methodical professionalism.

The technological theme, the marginalisation of WikiLeaks around its online role, and the association of WikiLeaks with other ‘hacktivist’ groups is emphasized when Anonymous, the hacking collective, used targeted Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS) operations on Amazon and financial companies who had cut ties with WikiLeaks. Discourses emphasise these as “attacks” by the “ephemeral” group, which has “gained notoriety” for its past use of DDoS methods (G319). These syntactical choices contribute to the isolation and grouping of WikiLeaks and hacktivist supporters engaged in, “a spate of online attacks last month in support of WikiLeaks” (G559). While the two are not explicitly linked, their actions are linked in a *Guardian* article titled, “The **pro-WikiLeaks** <out-group; WikiLeaks as movement> **hackers** <out-group; technological frame>: known unknowns: Anonymous hierarchy emerges” (G433) in

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<sup>274</sup> This treatment has been given other new media evolutions as well, and was strongly evident in references to the rise of political bloggers (Eldridge 2013b) and situated in the Contextual Analysis chapter that follows.

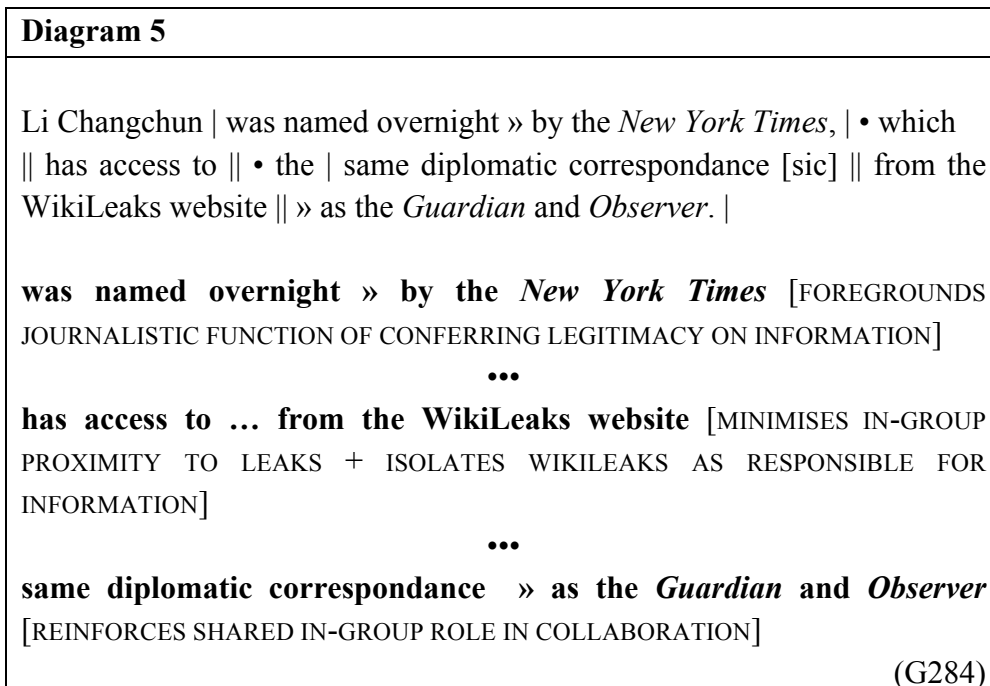
late 2010, and suggests a causal linkage between Assange’s call for support and Anonymous’ DDoS attacks:

WikiLeaks has no affiliation with Anonymous, and has neither endorsed nor condemned the online war being waged on its behalf. But Julian Assange this week urged his supporters to protect the site from “instruments of US foreign policy”, citing Visa, MasterCard and PayPal. Days later the group toppled the Swedish prosecutor's website as Assange faced a UK court hearing over rape charges in Sweden. (G433)

When the collaborative arrangement is mentioned with specificity, it is used to foreground the role of the in-group in its reporting through the ascription of agency to the in-group’s role in the collaboration, diagrammed below:

Li Changchun<sup>275</sup> was named overnight by the New York Times, which has access to the same diplomatic correspondance [sic] from the WikiLeaks website as the Guardian and Observer. (G284)

Diagrammed, this looks like:



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<sup>275</sup> A high-ranking Chinese official who was named by the *Times* and later the *Guardian* as responsible for coordinated an attack on Google.com.

China's blocking of WikiLeaks.org is also contrasted to the still-accessible news about the cables on the *Guardian's* site, distinguishing between an organisation's website and an in-group member's website. This distinction, while subtle, contributes to the myriad distinctions between news site and the more activist – later labelled “subversive” (G309) – WikiLeaks. Elsewhere the distinction is more stark, “**The *Guardian* revealed** <*in-group agency; journalistic role; information authority*> on Friday that diplomatic cables **released** <*agency*> by WikiLeaks **provide evidence** <*out-group; source role*>” (G291), framing WikiLeaks in an intermediary role.

### 5.3.6 THE SWEDEN CASE, US REACTIONS, AND FINANCIAL BLOCKADE

As 2010 winds down, articles based on the revelations in the diplomatic cables continue to be published. Stories based on information in the cables rarely mention WikiLeaks, and when referenced WikiLeaks is described as a website, Assange as its founder. News texts that do reference WikiLeaks do not incorporate any explicit references to in-group/out-group definitions. Alongside Cablegate stories, there is increasing coverage of WikiLeaks in the context of extradition to Sweden, accusations of espionage in the United States, and the financial and DDoS obstacles reinforce the ‘saga’ of the WikiLeaks story in polarising language that amplifies in-group/out-group polarised dynamics (Van Dijk 1998a: 44). Stories related to the allegations of Assange and sex crimes in Sweden provide a contrast to the US government's pursuit of WikiLeaks; “the biggest threat to WikiLeaks's [sic] ongoing freedom of information activism” is the Sweden case. Language positions the Sweden case as separate from reactions to WikiLeaks' activities: “an apparently unrelated **subplot** <*out-group; intrigue/drama*>” (G297), and assertions by Assange and his supporters of a US-led conspiracy are

marginalised, and dismissed as “conjecture among **conspiracy theorists** <out-group; intrigue/drama>”, “a kind of **Trojan horse** <out-group; emotive>”, and “**trumped up** <out-group; insincere>”, and a connection “strongly denied by one of the claimants” (G297). Assange is also framed in non-journalistic lexical markers, in tones of paranoia, and as: “out of sight in south-east London” (G297).

Around such coverage Assange and his legal challenges are described as harming the progress of WikiLeaks’ mission and political aims, which is identified in terms of its activism and its principles. Separating his personal challenges with the work of WikiLeaks, assertions that the charges are part of a conspiracy are discounted:

the fact that Assange is today in custody as an accused rapist means that the political, technological and moral culture wars that have been skirmishing for months around the website have reached a new pitch of vitriol, in which conspiracy theories, slander and misogyny have become every bit as central to the debate as high-minded principles of justice or freedom of information. (G315)

Further examples include: “The internet is awash with conspiracies, smears and rebuttal,” describes one *Guardian* Leader article (G309), reinforcing discourses of irrationality ascribed to the out-group, and in a column:

The best way of demonstrating that the charges have nothing to do with silencing WikiLeaks is to let it carry on leaking while Assange faces his accusers. (G309)

As coverage mentioning WikiLeaks continues to be peppered with information from “the **WikiLeaks** <singular noun modifier> revelation” (G317), the thrust of focused coverage is on the case in Sweden. The “**saga** <out-group; emotive>” (G261) is described as “the **already curious case** <out-group; drama/intrigue> of Julian Assange” (G318) with “**bizarre** <out-group; irrational>” twists, and celebrity backers who “were prepared to stake their reputation in his case” (G318) by funding his surety.



Again contributing to a lexicon of the unfamiliar, these examples amplify elements of risk, uncertainty, and a circus around Assange.<sup>276</sup>

### 5.3.7 *NEGATIVE PERSONALISATION, SPECIFICATION, AND CONFLATION*

In later coverage, and throughout the Cablegate stories, Assange's legal woes are given prominent placement within stories about the cable content:

The disclosure comes as WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange returns to court today in an attempt to secure bail following his arrest last week at the request of Swedish authorities who want to interview him over allegations of sexual assault. (G400)

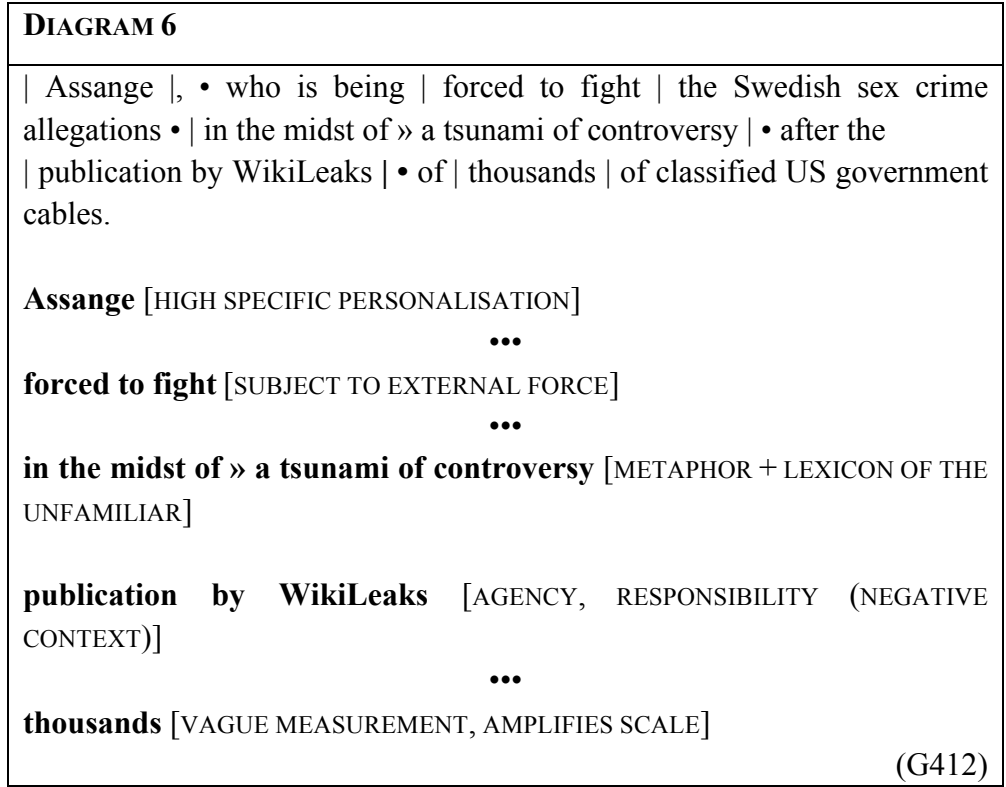
In drawing attention to the case, Assange is portrayed in a specific personalised negative light. This is raised in its inverse in a story on a hearing on the Swedish case where the distinction ties Assange's personal and WikiLeaks' organisational challenges as:

Assange, who is being forced to fight the Swedish sex crime allegations in the midst of a tsunami of controversy after the publication by WikiLeaks of thousands of classified US government cables. (G412).

The out-group distancing within this can be diagrammed as:

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<sup>276</sup> Even where these backers include in-group members, they are qualified, as in: "campaigning journalist John Pilger" (G323), discursively aligning his support with Assange's activist identity and WikiLeaks, later described as "campaigning" (G490). These further frame Assange through a lexicon of the unfamiliar as an activist, on a mission as a founder, and ultimately a politically driven actor rather than as a responsible editor, or a responsible journalistic patron of information.



Later again, in coverage of the on-going trial, headlines juxtapose the two ostensibly separate stories in a story lumping the embassy cables and Assange’s trials discursively: “The **US embassy cables Wikileaks [sic] <collaboration>: UK authorities, not Sweden, made decision to oppose bail for Assange <Sweden case>**” (G423). The repetition of raising the ‘the controversy’, on the one hand, or the Swedish accusations on the other, continue to associate Assange with controversy, and further enhance the dynamic of Assange and WikiLeaks as a story for journalism’s in-group to cover.

5.3.8 *DEVIANT CASE*

In one article titled “The prisoner: Assange put in segregation unit as lawyers aim for bail” (G355)<sup>277</sup>, Assange’s preferred title is used as: “Julian Assange, **the editor-in-**

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<sup>277</sup> Co-authored by Luke Harding, also interviewed for this research.

**chief of WikiLeaks** <familiar *lexicon of belonging*>” (G355).<sup>278</sup> As a hard news story that references Assange’s preferred title and self-identification, this is the only one using such in-group terms as “editor-in-chief” and other news texts in Phase III do not use the same familiar lexicon of belonging with in-group identifiers.<sup>279</sup> As a single reference, this use of “editor-in-chief” does little to realign the in-group/out-group dynamic, and in its rarity it enhances the findings of discursive enforcement of a concept of journalism through in-group/out-group labels and contributes to a familiar lexicon of belonging.

### 5.3.9 ANONYMOUS AND HACKTIVISM: TECHNOLOGICAL THEME

In a *Guardian* Leader article on the ‘hactivist’ collective Anonymous’ DDoS attacks, the distinction between the story of Assange and the overall benefit of the WikiLeaks releases is further drawn through the iconic and emblematic in-group descriptor: “WikiLeaks’ chief crime has been to **speak truth to power** <*in-group descriptor; journalistic role*>” (G349). Such phrasing is considered laudatory as it channels the idealised in-group identifier of ‘speaking truth to power’, consistent with a watchdog and Fourth Estate identity (Hampton 2010; Hanitzsch 2011). However, it is also rare within the context of WikiLeaks being grouped with hacktivist and other disruptive online entities that tend to amplify its technological nature.

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<sup>278</sup> In the article he is also described as, “the most famous inmate at Wandsworth prison”, and: “concerned that ‘people have unjustly accused [me] of inspiring cyber attacks” (G355). A later article reiterates these points, saying:

It emerged that Julian Assange had been transferred to the segregation unit in Wandsworth prison and had distanced WikiLeaks from cyber attacks on MasterCard, Visa, PayPal and other organisations. (G366)

<sup>279</sup> While texts analysed in columns and largely excluded from this analysis as they offer personal views also use this nomenclature, those references most often occur in mocking or dismissive language.

As hacktivists fuel the backlash to the backlash, and their online manoeuvres set out against websites of those perceived to be hunting Assange, they are described in irrational and dismissively out-group labelling as: “according to one **breathless blogger** <*out-group; dismissive/emotive*>, ‘the first **great cyber war**’ <*technological theme*>” (G343). Elsewhere, an Anonymous supporter says: ““The **major shitstorm** <*emotive; emotive/activist theme*> has begun”” (G343). Describing this backlash as a ‘war’, ‘shitstorm’, and the activity as “revenge” (G343) and for the “chaotic good” (G343), WikiLeaks is cast within an out-group that is also composed of an unrefined and iconoclastic online element. These references are mostly restrained to quotations, attributed in dismissive monikers such as those of a “breathless blogger” (G343) and outside the in-group’s discourse. This aligns WikiLeaks and Assange more specifically with an ever-morphing “ephemeral” (G343) collective of online activists, with listless motivations, picking up causes “whenever it **feels like it** <*opaque motivations*>” (G343, quoting), with “no real command structure” (G343), and “described as being ‘like a flock of birds’” (G343).<sup>280</sup>

As online reaction to Assange being charged and the strains of international attention and pressure intensify, discourses invoking journalistic identity are increasingly personalized and rely on the context of whistle blowing: “Overstretched whistleblower faces a crisis without its **figurehead** <*out-group association*>” (G316). In using ‘figurehead’ a lexicon of the unfamiliar is amplified, identifying Assange’s view of his centrality to WikiLeaks through language that further establishing a movement-oriented aura around of WikiLeaks:

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<sup>280</sup> This last descriptor is employed without specific attribution, muddying distinctions between how these groups see themselves, and how they are seen.

“I am the heart and soul of this organisation, its founder, philosopher, spokesperson, original coder, organiser, financier and all the rest,” Assange reportedly told a colleague who questioned his judgment in September. “If you have a problem with me, piss off.” (G316)

This strain is identified as a weakness of WikiLeaks’, highlighted as pulling it from a transparency focus towards more political activism (both being out-group associations):

Its inability to accept new material is already drawing criticism from others in the wider global transparency movement who believe that represents an abdication of the original aims. (G316)<sup>281</sup>

#### *5.4 PHASE IV: END OF COLLABORATION*

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In the final phase of textual analysis, coverage shifts from the collaborative publications between WikiLeaks and the news organisations towards more focused coverage of reactions to WikiLeaks, coverage of Assange, coverage of Manning, and articles on the reaction and impact of the publication. The leaked cables and the information they contain begin to shift from being the subject of coverage, to supporting or substantiating other stories, dropped in as added evidence of otherwise reported news. WikiLeaks’ role in coverage shifts towards one of artefact; as a cultural reference point that provides a means of comparison or contrast to separate in-group and out-group work. While at this stage the collaboration itself is mentioned less frequently in general news, when the in-group’s role is flagged, it is framed in discourses which rebut statements by Assange or others that equate the in-group with the out-group. Similarly, when Assange is the main

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<sup>281</sup> To Assange and to his supporters, these discourses constitute the smears that have isolated WikiLeaks from what should be natural alliances with the journalistic in-group (R5, R6). These discourses, along with assertions that the Swedish charges are conspiratorial, distance Assange and WikiLeaks as something ‘other’ than a news entity, built on the ego of Assange rather than the tenets of the in-group’s journalistic identity. Such positioning amplifies some actors as separate within the news-source dynamic, and further amplifies the technological threat perceived (Carvalho 2008, Örnebring 2009, Van Dijk 1998a: 44, Section 3.4.1.3)

focus of a story, the language describing him reinforces WikiLeaks' as non-journalism, as an out-group. This is the case through coverage of Assange's efforts to avoid extradition, the September 2011 release of all 251,000 diplomatic cables unredacted, his asylum bid, and various other publications built on WikiLeaks documents. Often Assange is discussed in critical tones, and WikiLeaks described as built on his personality and through his aura. When WikiLeaks is at the centre of a story, it is in the context of its impact, or of its organisational challenges, or to discuss its technological allegiances.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> In the late coverage of the Cablegate collaboration, and with increasing coverage of Assange and WikiLeaks as news subjects, a series of brief articles outlining the reaction to the cables by the partnered newspapers use strong in-group identifiers to foreground the idealised perceptions the press holds for its conception of journalism, while minimising WikiLeaks. While similar to the metadiscourse previously analysed, these are not explicit discussions of journalism and WikiLeaks, rather they are perspectives on the overall endeavour and reactions to the releases. *Le Monde* in France (G350) and the *New York Times* in the US (G351) both emphasise distinctions between their and WikiLeaks' roles, saying:

even the political classes recognised that the newspapers who had been working on these cables had behaved in a responsible way. They acknowledged that we had been doing our job of selecting the material in an expert way. (G350)

The use of "responsible", "selecting", and "expert" (G350) amplify the roles of value-adding, social responsibility, and editorial processes that have continuously been used by the in-group to distinguish its role from WikiLeaks; reinforcing a dominant vision of the unique roles of the journalistic field (Bourdieu 2005: 44). The rational and responsible actions of the press have, in fact, distinguished newspapers, sparing them from the pursuit of Assange and WikiLeaks:

[T]he people at the White House, state and defence have resisted the temptation to indulge in an orgy of press-bashing; they have engaged us in an effort to minimise the damage by excising information that could get people killed; and they have not exaggerated the impact. (G351)

These examples emphasise a context, value-adding role of newspapers added to the context of the WikiLeaks troves in their reporting (Schudson 2004); that they exercised editorial deference, analysis, and expertise in what they published; and that the in-group worked in the paradigms of social responsibility, their position as a Fourth Estate, and with truth-seeking elements to prevent harming those involved (see Section 2.2.1.3). This strong expression of the in-group's role and identity serves as a symbolic capstone to Phase III of analysis, and leading into the remaining weeks of 2010, provides the basis for a series of 'year end' articles.

#### 5.4.1 CABLEGATE: WANING COVERAGE

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In Phase IV, references to the leaked cables from the Cablegate collaboration become rather formulaic. Typical cases have information referred to as “according to leaked US cables passed to WikiLeaks” (G388), and the cables referred to as “the US diplomatic cables passed to WikiLeaks” (G389). As with previous coverage, WikiLeaks is framed as a whistleblowing website, and Assange as its founder. Political and international news is contextualised against the cables, noting when government or individuals seem to react to the news, describing reactions that “came as the latest batch of US embassy cables to be **published by <agency> WikiLeaks show that <revelatory role>:**” (G435), followed by synopses of those releases and a special supplement titled “After WikiLeaks” (G598) which incorporated a series of country-by-country reports titled: “At a glance: The embassy cables”. These reports summarise key information from the cables, and describe any actions or reactions that followed their publication (cf. inter alia G586, G587, G588, G589, G590, G591, G592, G593, G594, G595, G596, G597).

<sup>283</sup> However, some unique dynamics begin to emerge solidifying in-group/out-group discursive representations.

#### 5.4.2 IN-GROUP/OUT-GROUP

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Within covert discourses of belonging and non-belonging continuing to emerge in news coverage, references to WikiLeaks position WikiLeaks as separate from journalistic actors. For the journalistic in-group, its role is described as separate, sometimes subtly as in:

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<sup>283</sup> After the original run of releases, WikiLeaks continued to release new cables on its website, which were quickly spread to mirror sites and sent widely through peer-to-peer (p2p) networks and via torrents (file-sharing built on a de-centralised network structure).

The US backlash against the **website** <out-group; technological theme> founded by Assange continued yesterday as the US air force **blocked** <technological theme> employees from visiting **media websites** <in-group> carrying leaked **WikiLeaks documents** <out-group; source>, **including the Guardian and the New York Times** <in-group via contrast>. (G412)

Other news texts actively foreground the value-added and ‘source support’ WikiLeaks’ documents allow, portraying these within a news-source dynamic (Manning 2001). In a series called ‘The Palestine Papers’, a collaboration between *Al Jazeera* and the *Guardian* built on WikiLeaks cables is: “**supplemented** <out-group; source> by WikiLeaks cables, emanating from the US consulate in Jerusalem and embassy in Tel Aviv” (G544).<sup>284</sup> As cables are incrementally published on the WikiLeaks site, announcements of releases are summarised as: “The US embassy cables: Round-up” (G459). References to the collaborative publishing occur, they position the active role of publications as driven by journalistic actors, as in: “**revelations from WikiLeaks cables** <out-group source> **published in the Guardian** <in-group; news>” (G525).

#### 5.4.3 DISCOUNTING CLAIMS OF BELONGING

In coverage of Assange’s potential extradition to the United States and prosecution, the in-group/out-group dynamic becomes the focus of interviews and quoted individuals. Assange’s identification of WikiLeaks as journalism is restricted to (and emphasised as) self-claims: “**as it describes itself** <out-group; self-claim> on **its website** <technological theme>, and therefore should be protected from prosecution under the freedom of the press.” (G432). Part of that separation revolves around Assange’s motivations; here his motivations are treated as one and the same as WikiLeaks’:

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<sup>284</sup> Occasionally leaks are referred to as “as publicised by WikiLeaks” (G482), or “according to US diplomatic cables released by WikiLeaks” (G679), and stories tied to Cablegate return to singular noun modifier of: the ‘WikiLeaks release’.



“There has to be an element of bad faith<sup>285</sup> that is clearly absent with **the (New York) Times and, I presume, the Guardian** <in-group association>. That is a **debatable issue with Assange** <out-group association>,” Abrams said. (G432)

Beyond attributing further elements to the use of a non-journalism lexicon associated with WikiLeaks, this example speculates that Assange’s motivations are not aligned with the in-group, and remain opaque; quoting a former US official: “[Paul] Rosenzweig agreed: ‘Newspapers like the *Guardian* **add analysis and value** <value-adding role> to the enterprise. **WikiLeaks is just a compiler** <minimising role; out-group> or a **means of distribution** <out-group; intermediary/conduit>.’” (G432)<sup>286</sup>

Discourses separating the in-group from the out-group are enflamed when US politicians suggest WikiLeaks’ work is espionage, and refer to the in-group’s participation as an “act of bad citizenship” (G338, quoting US Senator Joe Lieberman). In articles referring to the in-group being caught up in Lieberman’s “widened net” (G338), the markers of journalistic identity that separate the in-group from WikiLeaks are again foregrounded<sup>287</sup>:

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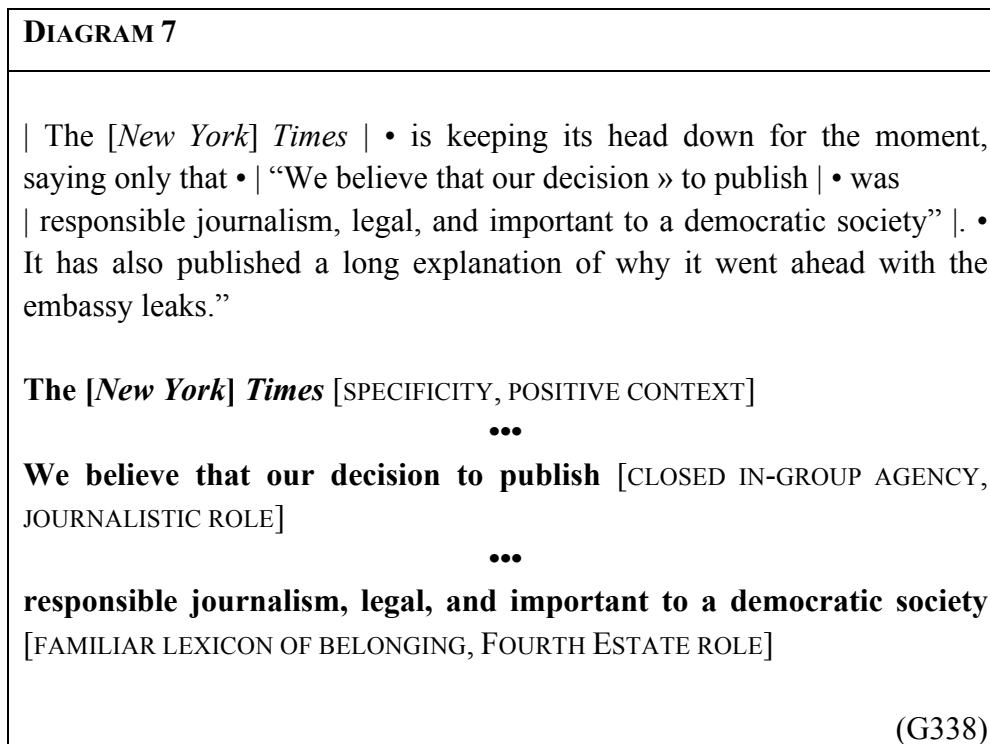
<sup>285</sup> The implication of ‘bad faith’ in the context of this article is that WikiLeaks’ motivations might be more disruptive, anarchic, or antagonistic, while the *Times* and *Guardian* are assumed to be carrying out their journalistic work with an eye towards social responsibility.

<sup>286</sup> This distinction is also made on the role and the function they play in both the collaborative endeavour, and more broadly.

<sup>287</sup> Beyond defending its participation, the exposition of its roles and identity as responsible, lawful, and integral to democratic society mirror the classic definitions of watchdog, Fourth Estate, and responsible patron of information that journalism defines its field by (Section 2.3.1) and echoes the responses given by all four journalists interviewed in the previous chapter (R1, R2, R3, R4). These texts identify how discursive definitions of roles and identities are made stark when contrasted with WikiLeaks activities, classed by financial companies as “acting ‘illegally’” (G340)<sup>287</sup> to justify their block of donations. While the distinctions drawn are not made with the same strength as in the overt discourses of journalism’s definitions, they are explicit in distinguishing between the self-professed identity of journalism, and through silences allowing WikiLeaks to be identified as part of an out-group.

The [*New York Times*] is keeping its head down for the moment, saying only that, “We believe that our decision to publish was responsible journalism, legal, and important to a democratic society”. It has also published a long explanation of why it went ahead with the embassy leaks.” (G338)

Diagrammed, this looks like:



#### 5.4.4 LEGAL CASES: DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN ASSANGE AND WIKILEAKS

The spectre of prosecution draws forward what Davies (R2), and Keller and Rusbridger (G989) have all specified: there is a classification of press or journalism that should be covered by the legal protection of speech, and it should be separate from one that informs the “everyday” (R2) definition of journalism. This relates to efforts to distinguish between attacks on WikiLeaks and Sweden’s efforts to investigate Assange for sex crimes. Tied to Carvalho’s (2008: 166) and Fairclough’s (1992) ‘silences’; the absence of a familiar lexicon of belonging and in-group identifiers when referring to

WikiLeaks and Assange widens the ‘Us versus Them’ portrayal of either belonging or not belonging to the journalistic identity (Van Dijk 1998).

Such discourses are present in reportage on the Sweden case, conferring legitimacy on information as with: “documents seen by the *Guardian* reveal” (G443)<sup>288</sup>, and balanced sourcing: “independently told the *Guardian*” (G443).<sup>175</sup> With minimal presence of references to the collaborative partnership, silences distance Assange from the collaborative effort and separate the accusations as against Assange, not against WikiLeaks:

The judge said some of those backing Assange were doing so because they supported the “human rights-orientated” work of WikiLeaks, and not because they had any idea he would honour his bail conditions. (G429)<sup>289</sup>

This distinction is reinforced in this headline:

**‘A priest of free speech <out-group> who wanted to reveal everything <out-group> except his own story’ <out-group; personal motivation>**: Esther Addley reports from Stockholm, where Julian Assange was **hailed as a hero of free speech <out-group; personality cult>**, then became **an object of suspicion <out-group>**. (G602)

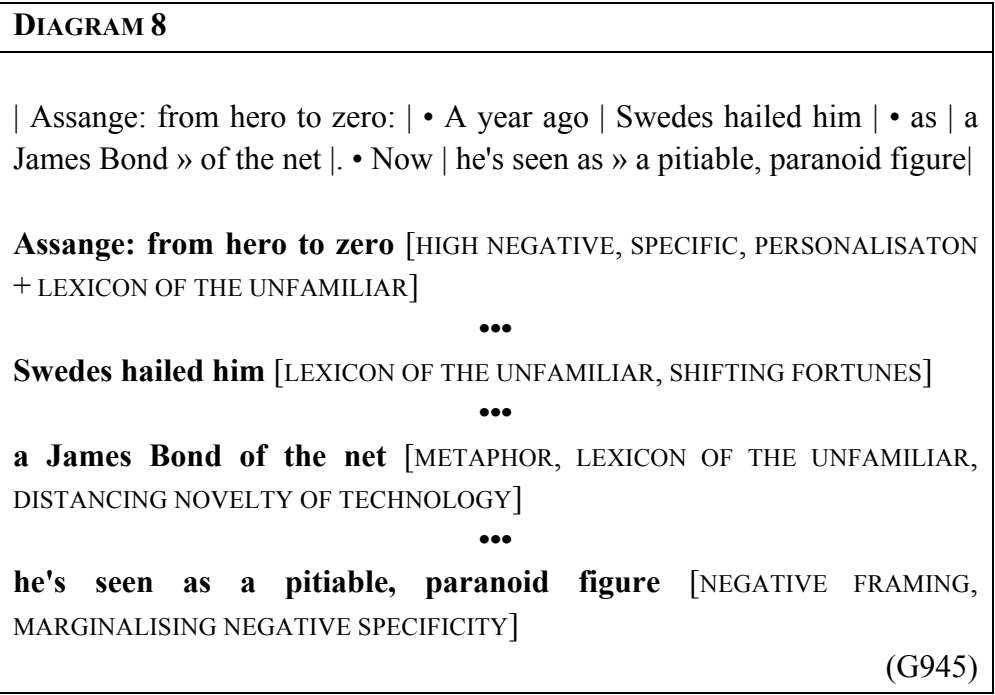
And: “Assange: from hero to zero: A year ago Swedes hailed him as a James Bond of the net. Now he's seen as a pitiable, paranoid figure” (G945)<sup>290</sup>, diagrammed as:

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<sup>288</sup> By Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>289</sup> The blurring of the lines is also drawn out in interviews by Harding (R1), who sees the combination as unfortunate as it detracts from the original mission of WikiLeaks.

<sup>290</sup> These texts are among those Assange and his supporters class as ‘smears’ discussed in Chapter 4.0. While they draw a distinction between Assange as head of WikiLeaks and champion of the large-scale leaks, and Assange as the accused, within a discursive framework they position the journalistic activities surrounding WikiLeaks as separate from the personal travails of Assange, de-personalising and thereby reasserting professional identity dimensions.



Quoting Assange when he refers to “decapitation attacks” (G428) places him as an out-group figure, stirring up language of ‘aura’ and descriptions of Assange as a ‘cult-like figurehead’ (See Section 5.4.6 below).<sup>291</sup>

**5.4.5 END OF COLLABORATION**

At the end of 2010, the collaboration between WikiLeaks and traditional journalistic outlets finishes. Previously coordinated, built upon access to the WikiLeaks documents within a small group of news outlets, reporting on the cables outside and following this

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<sup>291</sup> A news review on Assange’s speech from the Ecuadorian embassy, after he had sought asylum there, puts the distinction explicitly:  
 Mr Assange is not facing a show trial over the journalism of WikiLeaks; he is dodging allegations of rape. To confuse the two does no favours to the organisation he created, which has done so much excellent work. (G1085)  
 While notable for offering a suggestion there could be a “journalism of WikiLeaks” and therefore that WikiLeaks could be a part of some concepts of journalism, this discourse is strongest in its critique of confusing the two. That confusion, and its problematic conflation of Assange and WikiLeaks, fuelled the backlash from hacktivists (G840) who saw the Swedish case as representative of a larger anti-WikiLeaks push, with some fuelling DDoS attacks on the Swedish prosecutor’s website (G434).

arrangement is based on WikiLeaks' own release of the cables on its website, and subsequent reporting and contextualisation.<sup>292</sup> In terms of deviant cases, where Assange or WikiLeaks are given in-group identifiers, there is only one referring to Assange as "Editor-in-chief", and as "WikiLeaks chief" (G442). The article summarises cables and WikiLeaks efforts to "go on the offensive" (G442) and Assange is quoted accusing "the US of mounting an aggressive, illegal investigation against him" (G442) by prosecutors eager to make a name pursuing "famous cases" (G442), though this claim is described as his, or that of his supporters. The *Guardian* draws a clear line on 24 December 2010 between collaborative publication, and the coverage that follows, saying:

**WikiLeaks now plans** <out-group; Them> to begin sharing the cables with a wider group of regional news organisations. **Julian Assange says all future cables released by WikiLeaks** <out-group; Them> will either be redacted by other partner news organisations, or by WikiLeaks itself. **The Guardian and its partners in the project, the New York Times, Der Spiegel, El País and Le Monde,** <in-group; Us> will continue to share redactions <in-group; social responsibility> with WikiLeaks for any cables **they** <out-group; Them> publish in future. (G471)

As a distinction between stories published during the collaboration and those published afterwards, this amplifies the ideal-typical journalistic principles of the Fourth Estate, such as 'do no harm', act responsibly, and provide analysis. Reasserting these roles reinforces a perspective that the in-group has consistently expressed to distinguish its role in the collaboration, offering both a perspective on what has occurred and a point of contrast with future releases. The language used also separates the role of the news outlets, given agency in coordinating and contributing redaction and source protection:

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<sup>292</sup> Towards the end of its semi-exclusive publications, and in light of the size of the remaining document store, the *Guardian* solicits its readers' input, offering a quid pro quo of: "You ask, we search" (G437).

The *Guardian* is inviting readers to suggest subjects for further research in the many thousands of embassy cables not yet released by WikiLeaks. Send suggestions via Twitter to @gdncables or by email to newseditor@guardian.co.uk (G437)

All cables published by **the Guardian and the four other international news organisations** <in-group association> who had exclusive early access to the material have been **carefully redacted to protect sources** <social responsibility> who could be placed in danger, and the redacted versions have been passed to WikiLeaks. (G471)

Such language flags up the risk they took on with the previous coverage, and distances the initial group of in-group collaborators from future coverage; a *caveat emptor* for problematic stories by ‘other’ media. While not quite discursive absolution for any future fallout, these texts further define the parameters of the collaborative arrangement, and reinforces the in-group’s identification with the responsible in-group role it contributed to the endeavour; a responsibility that persists, even as the degree of specific control over it diminishes. When stories from here forward reference the collaboration, WikiLeaks’ agency is positioned in a secondary role as in: “In December, **the Guardian reported** <foreground; journalistic role> on US diplomatic cables **leaked by WikiLeaks** <out-group; source> which revealed” (G794), and “**the Guardian recently published** <foreground; journalistic role> leaked US embassy **cables obtained** <agency> **via WikiLeaks** <out-group; source/conduit>” (G571). In lesser investigative disclosures built on WikiLeaks files, reporting is explicitly described in language that foregrounds an journalistic role and shared belonging:

**The New York Times, which shared the files with the Guardian and US National Public Radio** <in-group association>, said it **did not obtain** <distancing> them from WikiLeaks. **A number of other news organisations** <vague; distancing> yesterday published reports based on files they had **received from WikiLeaks** <agency; source>. (G779)<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> These are further described with the familiar identity markers of responsibility, editorial selection, and information analysis and contextualisation that define journalism: The documents were obtained by the *New York Times* and shared with the *Guardian*, which is publishing extracts today, having redacted information which might identify informants. (G776)

#### 5.4.6 AURA/PERSONA: NEGATIVE, SPECIFIC, PERSONALISATION

As coverage focusing on the in-group/out-group dynamics of the Cablegate publication comes to a close, news texts continues to contain reactions to Cablegate, to WikiLeaks' activities, and to Assange, more specifically.<sup>294</sup> In this fourth phase of analysis, discourses amplify personality elements and critiques of Assange in distancing and isolating language. "The paradox for **anarchist groups** <out-group association> is always how to take power without becoming an anti-democratic or hierarchical operation" (G449) reads one article on the rise of anarchy. The article goes on to say: "one can see this very clearly now with the WikiLeaks **affair** <out-group; drama/intrigue>" (G449), aligning it with the out-group identifiers and describing this trend as "the sometimes blind allegiance to the **Wikicult** <out-group; personality cult>" (G449). The use of the term "cult", elsewhere in the article referred to as "the cult of Assange" (G449) and further references Assange as "egomaniacal" (G449), and a "**self-publicising prig with messianic** <high personalisation; negative> tendencies" (G926), contribute to the irrational language used to de-familiarise the out-group.

This personality-driven description of the 'saga' of WikiLeaks emerges in discourses with allusions to pop culture, "as if Julian Fellowes had been drafted in to finish a script begun by Stieg Larsson" (G448). This reference describing Assange's house arrest – jokingly referred to as "manor arrest"<sup>295</sup> (G416)<sup>296</sup> by one judge – and describes Assange as a movie villain and reinforcing the in-group/out-group dynamic:

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<sup>294</sup> In overt discourses of belonging outlined in the previous chapter, Assange's views on the collaboration and his personal political views were identified as damaging the ambitions to the collaborative process. Indeed, by the end of the Cablegate series of publications, Assange had fallen out with the *New York Times*, given access to the cable data by the *Guardian*. This led to a falling out, identified by Harding (R1) Davies (R2) with the *Guardian* tied to the coverage of his legal troubles in Sweden.

<sup>295</sup> While judicially under house arrest, Assange did not have a UK address to be held at. A supporter of his, Vaughan Smith, volunteered lodging at his house, a large manor in Norfolk, for

The **James Bond villain** <out-group; cultural reference> had stumbled into an Edwardian stately home **soap opera** <out-group; drama/intrigue>. A quick interview with Kay Burley before Carson announces dinner. It is nearly three weeks since **the Guardian and a handful of other news organisations** <in-group association> began publishing stories and selected US state department cables based on the 250,000 documents **passed to WikiLeaks** <out-group; intermediary>. (G448)

In coverage at the end of the collaboration and afterward, references to in-group and out-group roles serve as reminders of the in-group’s journalistic functions of “publishing” and of editorial selection. Emphasised by identifying news organisations separately from WikiLeaks, by distinguishing between their carrying out a role of publishing “based on” documents “passed to WikiLeaks”, language reinforces the out-group portrayal of WikiLeaks as an intermediary or conduit for information from Manning, rather than a source of information or a publisher. Even when Assange’s role in the endeavour is praised, it is hedged through discourses using out-group descriptors that resonate with previous lexica of the ‘unfamiliar’ and distance:

There is no question that **Assange has a missionary zeal** <out-group; cult of personality; aura>, **technical skill** <out-group; technological theme> and high intelligence, without which the whole WikiLeaks project would never have gained its present prominence and/or **notoriety** <out-group; fame/infamy>. (G448)

Foregrounding Assange’s “missionary zeal”<sup>297</sup> as a force that underpinned the “project”, while in a text that generally praises its outcomes, reinforces the distinction between journalism’s role and identity and that of WikiLeaks.<sup>298</sup> Amid allusions to an irrational, emotional, advocate-driven WikiLeaks – driven by ‘zeal’ – with Assange’s

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Assange. *New York Times* columnist David Carr later referred to this as Assange being held in a “gilded” cage (Carr 2011b).

<sup>296</sup> Co-authored by Luke Harding, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>297</sup> Burns (R3) uses the same term ‘missionary’ to describe an out-class of journalists who seek specific ends in their reporting, rather than the balanced, deliberative, and fair treatment that defines the in-group.

<sup>298</sup> Mentioned again in G609.



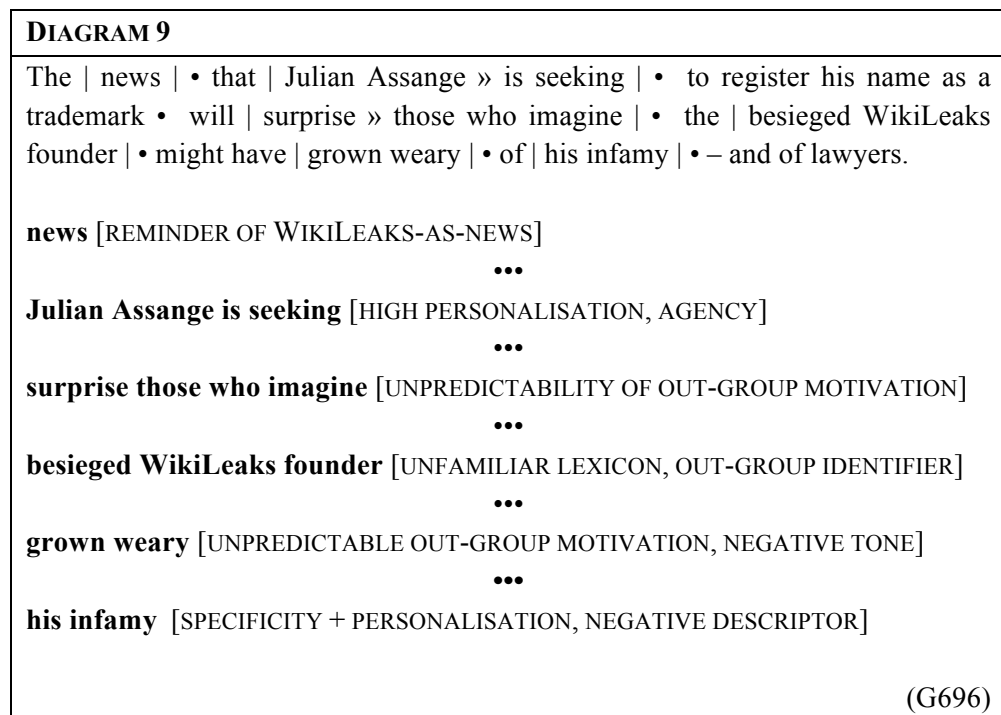
contribution as being “technical skill and high intelligence”, repeated frames of distancing come to the foreground.<sup>299</sup>

The ‘cult’ aspect of WikiLeaks does not dissipate as time goes on. His paranoia is raised in quoted accusations of a “‘Jewish’ **conspiracy** <out-group; paranoia> against **his** <specific personalisation> **whistleblowing website** <technological theme>” (G697).<sup>300</sup>

In contrast to his claims of conspiracy, Assange tries to register his name:

The news that Julian Assange is seeking to register his name as a trademark will surprise those who imagine the besieged WikiLeaks founder might have grown weary of his infamy – and of lawyers. (G696)

Diagrammed, this looks like:



<sup>299</sup> Specific for Assange remain confined to the out-group labels of ‘founder’, or more resonant with the aura and cult personality aspects, “figurehead” (G547) of WikiLeaks. Former WikiLeaks member Daniel Domscheit-Berg is quoted as saying “we need to set the record straight before Assange turns into a cult, a pop phenomenon” (G645).

<sup>300</sup> Later coverage reinforces that Assange: “believes he is the victim of a Jewish conspiracy to damage WikiLeaks” (G701).

This offers a dichotomy around the public characterisation of Assange; his *claims* lead one to “imagine” he would be “weary” of attention, presenting his trademarking as a contradiction and framing Assange as an ego-driven individual eager to capitalise on his renown – “his infamy”. Such criticisms are highly personal, and as such focus critique on Assange as on the fringe. This portrayal of Assange counters his claims of being a noble advocate of transparency, or a journalist, and through emphasising his ‘otherness’ (Hodge and Kress 1993), an Us v. Them discourse is reincorporated (Van Dijk 1998a). As an individual who would trademark his name, convinced of conspiracies the claim that he is “besieged” is left open-ended, as something that can be imagined but is not demonstrated.

Reinforcing the idea that Assange drives WikiLeaks’ work, its acolytes drawn to his ‘messianic’ aura, texts narrowly associate personality-driven activities with Assange as an individual echoes the technological theme and further locates WikiLeaks within “the **hactivist fringe** of the internet” (G434).<sup>301</sup>

#### 5.4.7 ARAB SPRING: COMPETING CLAIMS OF IMPACT

Beyond collaborative interaction, WikiLeaks continues to appear in news coverage, with references to WikiLeaks’ releases around revolutions in Northern Africa and the Middle East in 2011. At times, WikiLeaks’ work is referenced under the auspices of traditional journalistic activities – a source or conduit role in a news-source dynamic –

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<sup>301</sup> Beyond echoing distance, such identifiers classify WikiLeaks as ‘them’ in relation to the journalistic ‘us’ of the in-group. Further, the absence of in-group references to WikiLeaks’ role are clearly absent in the language of news texts, and the absence of a familiar lexicon of in-group identity markers further distinguish journalism from *interloper* claims of belonging.

while other times WikiLeaks is described with specific agency. Initially news texts note frame unrest in Tunisia as due to WikiLeaks' releases, followed by a moderation of causality, with texts finally discounting its role.<sup>302</sup> In the *Guardian*, the connection is described in a story on the disdain for Tunisia's ruling family, "**that revulsion** <effect> was **aggravated** <causal> by last month's **revelations** <cause; in-group revelatory role> on **WikiLeaks** <agent>" (G516). This is tempered slightly in subsequent coverage: "revelations of **US views of the regime** <cause> **in leaked** <intransitive> **WikiLeaks cables** <singular noun modifier> last month" (G517).<sup>303</sup>

Later, stories lessen WikiLeaks' more: "**despite the claims** <dismissive> of Tunisia being a **Twitter revolution – or inspired by WikiLeaks** <out-group; technological theme>– **neither played much of a part** <dismissive>" (G685). This is referred to as one of several "**lazy epithets:** <dismissive; hyperbole> **the WikiLeaks revolution, the Facebook uprising, the Twitter revolt** <out-group association; technological theme>" (G656),<sup>304</sup> weakening previous descriptions of revolution as "aggravated by" (G516) WikiLeaks or "inspired by WikiLeaks" (G685):

The **WikiLeaks pages** <out-group; technological theme> on Tunisian corruption, says Koubaa, **who with his friends attempted to set up sites where his countrymen could view them, were blocked as soon as they appeared** <out-group; technological theme> – and **anyway,** <minimising> the information **was hardly news** <out-group; dismissive> to Tunisians. (G685)

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<sup>302</sup> This claim was also made in an online advertisement criticising MasterCard's blockade of donations to its site, and on the Democracy Now radio programme (See: [http://www.democracynow.org/2011/7/6/wikileaks\\_founder\\_julian\\_assange\\_on\\_role](http://www.democracynow.org/2011/7/6/wikileaks_founder_julian_assange_on_role)).

<sup>303</sup> "Even Bill Keller, the former *New York Times* executive editor and an often harsh WikiLeaks critic, credits the release of the cables with shedding light on the corruption of Tunisia's ruling family and thus helping spark the Arab spring", (G958), writes Glenn Greenwald.

<sup>304</sup> Besides diminishing WikiLeaks' role, listing WikiLeaks together within a new media out-group of social media of Facebook and Twitter forms a balky categorisation as each functions in different ways, and WikiLeaks does not have a social media function (although such a platform was initiated and launched in 2012 as FoWL: Friends of WikiLeaks, that site is not operational).

Later still, WikiLeaks' role is contextualised and framed within the context of the *Guardian's*: “WikiLeaks and *Guardian* hailed as catalysts of Arab spring” (G802), going further to emphasise the in-group role in coverage, while minimising WikiLeaks’:

**the newspapers** *<in-group association>* **that pored over** *<value adding; journalistic role>* its **previously confidential government files** *<revelatory; journalistic role,* among them **the *Guardian*** *<positive specificity>*, as a **catalyst** *<change agent>* in uprisings against repressive regimes, notably the overthrow of Tunisia's president, Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali. (G802)

#### 5.4.8 WIKILEAKS AS A POINT OF CONTRAST OR CULTURAL MARKER

Throughout Phase IV of analysis, references to WikiLeaks project an increasingly consistent understanding of what WikiLeaks ‘is’. However, beyond reinforcing news-source dynamics or minimally referring to WikiLeaks as a singular noun modifier, the prominence of WikiLeaks and of Assange become a cultural artefact, and references to it are used to provide humour, irreverent asides, or commentary: “I'm not quite sure what to do with all this time on my hands. I could trawl through all 250,000 pages of the WikiLeaks US embassy cables” (G440); a radio call-in joke “One listener texted: ‘WikiLeaks reveals the name of baby Jesus’ real father: God. Joseph is devastated” (G357); a satirical email from US President Barack Obama (G394), and with Assange and his signature hair serving as a style icon:

As **fascinated as I am by the whole WikiLeaks story** *<dismissive>*, I cannot follow any of it because I am so distracted by one overwhelming question: **has Julian Assange made it trendy to dye one’s hair grey?** *<cultural reference; dismissive>* (G651)

In less jocular cases, WikiLeaks provides a point of contrast “In October a **blogger** *<technological theme>* got hold of the letter [regarding Scientology]; not **exactly up there with WikiLeaks** *<dismissive; technological theme>*” (G504), and WikiLeaks’ revelations are downplayed for their impact when they highlight celebrities:

WikiLeaks' most important revelation of the week, regarding Eva Longoria and Jennifer Aniston's hitherto unremarked-upon, but pivotal, role in the War on Terror. (G359)

The *Guardian's* readers' editor refers to WikiLeaks as a point of contrast to justify a feature: "A column devoted to giving readers an opportunity to talk about why they like the paper is **not the same as WikiLeaks**" (G746). Other coverage refers to WikiLeaks in passing without contextualisation: "Even before the WikiLeaks leak, the FSA's 12-sentence summary of its investigation looked too thin" (G410); and to describe a Russian whistleblower unaffiliated with WikiLeaks as: "a one-man WikiLeaks" (G682), with similar references made to: "a new Wikileaks-style site" (G864). This transition of WikiLeaks from a phenomenon requiring explanation to a widely understood singular noun-modifier maps onto the trajectory of increasingly distinct in-group/out-group divisions, made prominently in columns and straight-news texts.

In this fourth phase of analysis, the strong foregrounding of journalism's in-group identity and rules of belonging, and the separation of Assange's legal woes from WikiLeaks' draw a strong line between the in-group and out-group that represents the culmination of in-group/out-group identity building throughout the four phases of coverage. As a capstone to coverage, the positioning of the WikiLeaks and journalistic actors separately, the polarisation of their roles, and the ascription of familiar and unfamiliar lexical identifiers all contribute to an enhanced in-group/out-group dynamic. With language of distance emerging in each subsequent phase, and exposition around the phenomenon of WikiLeaks and the collaboration disappearing in the later phases, nuanced and covert language referring to WikiLeaks has developed the boundaries between the in-group and the out-group made explicit in prompted discourses. This

brings the four phases analysis to September 2011, when the strongest and most discrete language of difference between WikiLeaks and the in-group emerges.

### 5.5 FINAL TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

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On 1 September 2011, it was discovered that the full trove of unredacted cables was accessible online, subsequently published on the WikiLeaks site. This development was not well received by the traditional journalists involved, as they had always prioritised redaction in its exposition, a key justification for the publication of the leaks. Language in coverage presents a clear dynamic of in-group/out-group differentiation with little wavering, capping the long trajectory of in-group/out-group differentiation between the ordained group of journalism, and *interloper* entities.<sup>305</sup>

Coverage of this discovery uses explicit language to minimise WikiLeaks' role in previous publications, and treats the story as one of an online entity losing control of information, rather than as a metadiscourse of WikiLeaks and journalism: "**WikiLeaks has been releasing** <agency; responsibility> the cables over nine months by **partnering** <in-group/out-group boundary> **with mainstream media organisations** <in-group association; Us v. Them>" (G883). The role of harm minimisation (removing personal identifiers) is described as initiated by the in-group, reinforcing an in-group social responsibility identity, while emphasising value adding and editorial

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<sup>305</sup> While throughout coverage analysed there has been an ever-present cast of WikiLeaks and Assange as 'other', the strongest statements of difference come with the coverage of WikiLeaks release of the unredacted cables. In reporting this latest facet to the story, there is little confusion that it is one of the most aggravating to those involved. The in-group's identity as journalism is strongly foregrounded through outlining the protections it brought to the previous publishing endeavours, and defending its role against Assange's and WikiLeaks' accusations and decisions.

discretion: “selected cables have been published without sensitive information that could lead to the identification of informants or other at-risk individuals” (G883).

The resulting controversy is covered using language that distances WikiLeaks further, and enhances its non-belonging to the deliberative and responsible in-group. Discourses invoke the activist and iconoclastic identifiers ascribed to Assange, WikiLeaks, and hacktivists; the personality-tinged dynamics of WikiLeaks; and the distinction between the ways the in-group performs its role, and the way WikiLeaks operates. “WikiLeaks published a statement blaming the documents’ release on the Guardian’s book” (G884), reads one article. Assange’s claim of the *Guardian*’s responsibility is:

**A Guardian journalist** <in-group; specificity; Us. V. Them> has, in a previously undetected **act of gross negligence or malice** <accusation of irresponsibility>, and in violation of a signed security agreement with the **Guardian’s editor-in-chief Alan Rusbridger** <in-group; personalised; specificity>, disclosed **top secret decryption passwords** <technological theme> to the entire, unredacted, WikiLeaks Cablegate archive. (G884)<sup>306</sup>

However, within the *Guardian*’s coverage, Assange’s accusation is met with an equally strong retort:

**This is considered a basic security precaution** <technological theme; irresponsibility (WL); Us v. Them> when handling sensitive files. **But unknown to anyone at the Guardian** <in-group distinction; absolution>, the same file with the same password was republished later on BitTorrent, a **network typically used to distribute films** <technological theme>. This file’s contents were never publicised, nor was it linked online to WikiLeaks. (G884)<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>306</sup> In Assange’s statement, he uses the familiar lexicon of journalistic belonging to refer to a *Guardian* journalist and to Rusbridger. There is no identification of belonging on his behalf. Rather he reinforces distinctions between the two. Seemingly, this muddies his own claims of journalistic belonging, though it represents the duality with which Assange has always defined his in-group belonging (NY1, Rossi 2011, TED 2010).

<sup>307</sup> The *Guardian* goes on to express its social responsibility identification with the lexica of a noble, idealised, journalistic identity elements (Hampton 2010, Section 2.2) urging “WikiLeaks not to publish the unredacted documents or to release any further details pointing to where they might be found” (G884), and in a statement issued prior to the decision of WikiLeaks to publish the cables on its site, the *Guardian* refers to the plan as “grossly irresponsible” (G884). Further isolating Assange and his statement, the *Guardian*’s response critiques his account, describing contact between

Subsequent coverage distinguishes not only between WikiLeaks and the in-group, but in using strong negative personalisation and out-group identifiers frames the development as: “**WikiLeaks and its founder** <out-group>, **Julian Assange** <specific personalisation>, **parted company with mainstream opinion** <negative; irresponsible>” (G885), using personal, specific, negative agency to Assange (Van Dijk 1998a: 43-44). Negative consequences of the leak are also personalised and specific, “describing **his** <specific; personal> decision to release ‘cables that have been in **his hands** <specific; personal> since last year, **regardless of possible reprisals to named individuals** <out-group; irresponsible>” (G885); and his leadership is further described as “egocentric and completely irrational” (G885).

Members of the journalistic in-group unite in distancing themselves from WikiLeaks, as the move is “strongly condemned by the five previous media partners – the *Guardian*, *New York Times*, *El Pais*, *Der Spiegel* and *Le Monde*” (G886). Their statements describe past collaborations as working with: “**Assange’s** <specific; personal> **chaotic organization** <out-group; negative>” (G885). Journalistic in-group members refer to their role as: “**publishing** <journalistic role> **carefully selected** <editorial selection> and **redacted documents** <public interest; social responsibility>” (G886).

In the full statement, published in the *Guardian* this is detailed using in-group identifiers; a collective in-group of “we”:

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Rusbridger and WikiLeaks – “Rusbridger and Assange met on 4 August” – about future projects, “despite the site's claim that it had been aware of security concerns for at least that long” and referring to Assange’s accusation as “nonsense” (G884).



**We join** <in-group association> the *New York Times*, *Der Spiegel*, *Le Monde* and *El País* in condemning it. Many of our newspapers' **reporters and editors** <familiar lexicon> worked hard to publish material **based on** <value adding> the cables in a **responsible** <in-group; Fourth Estate ideals>, **comprehensible and contextualised form** <information contextualisation>. (G889)

Through foregrounding markers of responsibility, public interest, and the highlighting the editorial processes of analysis and contextualisation, this highlights the contributions of the journalism in-group, stressing: “The public interest in all acts of disclosure has to be weighed against the potential harm that can result” (G889).

The statement further associates those who would applaud the release as part of the “fringe”, as “devotees”<sup>308</sup> and as “absolutists” who do not fit the in-group’s identity:

Some WikiLeaks **devotees and extreme freedom of information advocates** <out-group; activist theme> will applaud this act. We don't. We continue to believe in the validity and benefits of **this collaboration** <in-group/out-group distinction> in transparency. But **we don't count ourselves in that tiny fringe of people who would regard themselves as information absolutists** <in-group/out-group distinction> – people who believe it is right in all circumstances to make all information free to all. (G889)<sup>309</sup>

A later synopsis of the collaborative publication endeavours details the distinctions as:

**The Guardian's involvement** <in-group/out-group distinction> began with the release of the Afghan war logs. In this, and the next two releases, **WikiLeaks co-operated with the Guardian**, <distinction of roles> which brought together **a group of papers** <in-group association>, including the *New York Times*, to assess and edit the material. By the time of the release of the final batch - the Guantanamo files - **the relationship between Assange and the Guardian and the NYT had foundered** <distancing> (G1063)<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> This echoes the prior examples of the cult-like WikiLeaks, and the lexicon of the unfamiliar.

<sup>309</sup> This defines the in-group as those who believe in transparency, with responsibility and contextualisation, against an out-group of who believe all information should be freely available without regard for potential consequences. James Ball, who had volunteered with WikiLeaks before joining the *Guardian*, wrote about this final disclosure in a column entitled “I support the principles, not the methods” (G887) which describes the resultant risk for sources who “should never have had to fear being exposed by a self-proclaimed human rights organisation” (G887).

<sup>310</sup> This statement goes on, to distinguish between Assange as the problematic facet of the endeavour, and WikiLeaks’ activities as worthy of support, defending its activities as legally journalistic, if not ‘everyday’ journalism (R2):

From this point through the end of the texts assessed and analysed, WikiLeaks is further minimised. References to the previous collaborations highlight the in-group's contribution through news-source hierarchies, and coverage Assange's extradition and eventual asylum are treated as discrete stories. The *Guardian's* role is succinctly identified as to: "edit, contextualise and report on the biggest leak of secret diplomatic and military documents in history" (G902).<sup>311</sup>

Sympathetic coverage around WikiLeaks is reserved for Manning. As the source of the documents, Manning is put forward as the victim worth noting: "of all the protagonists in the **WikiLeaks** <*singular noun modifier*> **melodrama** <*negative; out-group; aura/drama*>, it is **Manning** <*positive personal specificity*> (pictured far left) who has paid the highest personal price" (G920); as he has "been stripped naked, dehumanised and denounced as a traitor, yet thousands regard him as the **hero** <*positive*> of the **WikiLeaks saga** <*negative; out-group; aura/drama*>" (G960).<sup>312</sup> Coverage of Assange's news show on Russia Today (RT) is used to isolate both RT and Assange. RT is described as, "the television channel that has given voice to a thousand **anti-**

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Alan Rusbridger, the *Guardian's* editor-in-chief, still supports many of the principles of WikiLeaks and would support Assange in any attempt by the US to extradite him over the release of the cables. (G1063)

<sup>311</sup> WikiLeaks continues as a cultural reference point, or grouped with other new media entities, including a blog in Russia that revealed political secrets: "likened the trial to Russia's version of WikiLeaks (G948).<sup>311</sup> When referring to information in the cables, the cable is identified as substantiating other news. WikiLeaks' role is minimally referred to, although its contribution to understanding of global politics is foregrounded referring to information "which we only know courtesy of WikiLeaks" (G954).

<sup>312</sup> Foregrounding Manning also serves to reassert WikiLeaks in an intermediary role, and contextualising its information as leaked by Manning then, "published by WikiLeaks through an international group of newspapers including the *Guardian* in November 2010" (G962). This is further made in describing the charges against Manning as "the documents he is alleged to have dumped on WikiLeaks" (G1002). These discourses express an intermediary role for WikiLeaks, enhancing the portrayal of the documents as a 'data dump' (cf. G150, G169) only made useful with the addition of analysis provided by the in-group.

**western conspiracy theories** <out-group; negative>, while avoiding **criticism of the hand that feeds it** <out-group; negative; political>” (G987), and Assange as betraying his stated beliefs in signing on with RT, described as:

the Kremlin's **English-language propaganda arm** <out-group>, [which] has forged an unlikely partnership - with the **self-proclaimed** <dismissive> defender of truth and freedom **Julian Assange** <personalisation>. (G987)<sup>313</sup>

### 5.5.1 ASYLUM

Assange’s eventual decision to seek asylum from charges in Sweden in the Ecuadorian embassy is also identified as a contradiction to his values, a “dramatic” and “audacious” (G1047) move. Using information from the Cablegate leaks to cover this development, the *Guardian* highlights Ecuador’s poor free speech record to diminish Assange’s stated ideals (G1049, G1050). The decision to seek asylum and avoid charges in Sweden discursively isolates Assange, and the theme of WikiLeaks as driven by an irrational cult of personality is reinforced:

**a cantankerous troll-fest** <technological theme (online comments)>, with one side vaunting that **anybody with any anxiety at all about the possibility that Assange will be extradited from Sweden to the US** <out-group; conspiratorial> must therefore be pro-rape, **while the other side** <Us v. Them> **maintains the alleged rape victims must be lying**, <out-group; conspiratorial> because **the US is evil** <out-group; political/conspiratorial>. (G1083)

Assange specifically mentions journalistic identity claims in a speech from the embassy, referring to “foolish talk” (G1095) of pursuing charges against “media organisations,

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<sup>313</sup> In addition to the treatment of Assange’s seemingly contradictory decision against his stated ideals, the decision to join RT is panned by Harding (R1) who was expelled from Russia for his reporting in the *Guardian*. His departure is described, previously, as tied to his in-group function of “working on the team assessing and organising WikiLeaks material” (G637) and resonating with the journalistic identity of speaking truth to power:

Luke Harding's forced departure comes after the newspaper's reporting of the WikiLeaks cables, where he reported on allegations that Russia under the rule of Vladimir Putin had become a “virtual mafia state”. (G638)

mentioning **not only WikiLeaks but also the *New York Times***, *<in-group association>* a **paper Assange has previously bitterly criticised** *<minimise/discount sincerity>*” (G1095).<sup>314</sup>

These examples are again framed by assertions of their apparent hypocrisy, tied to Assange’s RT deal:

**Assange also called for the release of the Russian punk band Pussy Riot** *<out-group; political/activist>*. **His appeal might have had more credibility had Assange not worked for Russia Today** *<minimise/discount sincerity>*, the TV channel owned by the same Kremlin that put the band in jail. (G1093)

Additional references beyond coverage of Assange’s fight against extradition or Manning’s trial are scarce. There is a brief item entitled “Mmm . . . secrets” (G990) which notes Assange will play himself on ‘The Simpsons’, and an announcement on the *Guardian’s* Open Weekend promises visitors a view to “**what went on behind the scenes on leading stories** *<in-group; journalistic roles>* such as **WikiLeaks and phone hacking** *<out-group; WikiLeaks as story>*” (G994). A profile of UK campaigner and activist Carol Grayson identifies WikiLeaks as among “**a group of other global activists** *<out-group; activist theme>*” (G1001), and an article on hacktivists categorises WikiLeaks among “**hactivist groups such as Anonymous and LulzSec, Wikileaks [sic]** *<out-group; technological theme>* and the file-sharing site Megaupload.com” (G1028). In one deviant case where there is in-group identification,

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<sup>314</sup> The contrast between Assange’s speech and his previous critiques and actions is foregrounded and contextualised in additional coverage:

This is his traditional method of argument: to conflate a number of causes – big and small, international and individual – into one, so that Mr Assange is WikiLeaks, which is freedom of speech, which holds powerful states to account; and so on, ever upwards. (G1085)

This is immediately critiqued, “To confuse the two does no favours to the organisation he created, which has done so much excellent work” (G1085); the asylum manoeuvre is well-received by other members and this reinforces elements that have defined the out-group: “Assange’s supporters loved it. So did his celebrity backers” (G1093).

Assange is listed among a group of the web's most influential people as “**Julian Assange Editor-in-chief** *<in-group lexical marker>*, WikiLeaks”, in his role as the:

**The driving force** *<out-group lexical marker>* behind WikiLeaks, Assange has directed **the publication of secret documents** *<in-group; revelatory role>* on the Afghan and Iraq wars, Guantanamo Bay prisoner files, and 250,000 US diplomatic cables. (G1029)<sup>315</sup>

## 5.6 CONCLUSION: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

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This chapter has shown how news texts employing language that distinguishes the in-group of journalism from the out-group where WikiLeaks is classed. News texts present constant differentiation between the in-group and the out-group within their discourses. Coverage of news events and developments around WikiLeaks demarcate belonging to the journalistic field in nuanced ways, emphasising belonging and non-belonging through:

- The use of familiar lexical markers and language evocative of journalism's idealised 'Fourth Estate' identity and roles
- An emphasis of themes and frames that allocate WikiLeaks and journalists to separate spaces within society, particularly divining between 'technological' and 'journalistic' themes
- The ascription of minimal agency to WikiLeaks' role in positive coverage, but highly specific agency in negative coverage
- Discourses that dismiss, weaken, or minimise Assange's and WikiLeaks' role in reportage through 'unfamiliar' lexical markers
- Discourses which reject or minimise Assange's assertions of journalistic identity,
- Discourses which emphasise activist, movement-driven, or 'aura' dynamics of WikiLeaks' and its work.

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<sup>315</sup> WikiLeaks is mentioned in January, 2013 in language that asserts, again, the distinction between what the *Guardian* does as journalism, and what WikiLeaks does as an out-group member. In this example, Rusbridger writes about “the *Guardian* breaking two major stories: Wikileaks and the *News of the World* hacking scandal” (G1166), reconfirming WikiLeaks as a source, a story in its own right, and separate from in-group's role reporting that story, and “breaking” that news.

This chapter has show how outside sign-posted overt discourses of journalistic belonging, discourses enforce in-group and out-group boundaries and reinforce journalism's societal primacy. Such discourses serve to establish journalism as a distinct field, resonant of Bourdieu's (2005) observation that the journalistic field can only be defined and its boundaries maintained through constant articulation of the elements that distinguish its field from others in society; the specific journalistic *doxa*. News texts referencing WikiLeaks that simultaneously promote idealised definitions of journalism's professional roles in *contrast* to the personality-driven and antagonistic WikiLeaks provide such differentiation. Through conflating personas and organisations, and in reactive discourses that extend beyond definitional constructs (ie: the aura around Assange, the 'cult-like' WikiLeaks) discourses reinforce in-group/out-group dynamics of journalism's definitional boundary building in covert discourses of belonging.

This 'conflation' of personality and organizational factors also presents a contrast to the distinction drawn to explicate Assange's legal affairs in Sweden from the notable work of WikiLeaks. Through negative and highly specific critique of Assange and his legal woes as *distinct* from the work of WikiLeaks, the journalistic field can, at once marginalise Assange as an individual who continues to assert journalistic identity and belonging, while maintaining the value of their journalistic work driven by the information within the WikiLeaks releases. While references to WikiLeaks *the entity* form the core in-group/out-group *interloper* dynamic, negative and specific discourses tied to Julian Assange and his legal issues with Sweden and the US provide a strong point of contrast, contributing further to a constellation of measures that reinforce journalism's in-group/out-group dynamics. As the language emphasising journalistic belonging around an ideal-typical 'Fourth Estate' identity also calls on moralistic and

noble normative values (Hampton 2010: 10, Jacquette 2010), the role of personal specificity in negative coverage has emerged as an additional factor for in-group/out-group boundary building. In scoping the discursive creation of a non-journalism out-group, this chapter has also identified the ways a defensive posture reacting to new media entities that claim to belong to journalism have emerged in response to WikiLeaks' and Assange's claims of belonging. While throughout the coverage analysed there are examples of in-group/out-group discourses, distinct from Bishop's (1999) treatment of boundary maintenance, the divisions drawn in news texts emerge more slowly, and take place in nuanced and subtle references to the dynamics of the WikiLeaks story.

The analysis in this chapter has shown how news texts, first, reinforce an idea that WikiLeaks is 'interloping' in its claims of journalistic identity and explores its claims as a challenge to journalistic primacy. Second, texts show how through positioning, ascription of agency, personalisation and negative specificity, reactions to WikiLeaks marginalise its journalistic claims and distance its role from that of the journalists; these constitute *interloper media reactions*. For the journalistic field, reactions reinforce the core elements of its *doxa*, and further coalesce the field through the projection of outward facing identity discourses as a professional group, where discourses reflect control of its criteria of belonging (Bourdieu 2005, Hughes 1963, Section 2.2). Through constant articulation of these boundaries, journalistic actors present a unified, field representative of the normative ideals of a 'Fourth Estate', regardless of the specific realisation of these ideals (See: Section 2.3.2). In the next chapter these concepts will be broadened through comparative analyses that strengthen the concepts of *interloper media* and *interloper media reactions* being developed in this thesis.

## 6.0 DISCUSSION: COMPARISONS

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In this chapter, three points of comparative analysis will be explored to expand the analysis of reactions to WikiLeaks in the previous chapters within a broader context of journalism's in-group/out-group identity enforcement and definitional discourses. The first section draws a synchronic comparison of the textual analysis in the *Guardian* against identity-imbued discourses and reactions to WikiLeaks in the *New York Times* over the same time period and four phases as Chapter 5.0. This extends findings, strengthens analysis of identity discourses within news texts through triangulation and comparative support of the core textual analysis (Webb, et al. 1966). From there, a historical diachronic comparison against coverage of political news blogs in 2008 places the discursive treatment of WikiLeaks within a longer-term dynamic of discursive reactions to emerging and interloping media, highlighting reactions to other digitally-native new media and understanding WikiLeaks as part of a larger set of new media that have expressed and claimed aspects of ownership and belonging to the journalism in-group.<sup>316</sup> Finally, a second synchronic comparison will differentiate between boundary maintenance processes in *Guardian* news texts responding to phone hacking and *interloper media reaction* processes responding to WikiLeaks, thereby separating discourses that focus on inward policing of the in-group from those that serve to rebut claims of belonging made by an 'out-group'.<sup>317</sup> These three points of comparison draw on the same theoretical underpinnings of journalism's self-

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<sup>316</sup> The findings of this comparison have been published as:

Eldridge, S. A. II. 2013. Perceiving professional threats: Journalism's discursive reaction to the rise of new media entities. *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies*, 2 (2). DOI: 10.1386/ajms.2.2.281\_1

<sup>317</sup> The findings of this comparison have been published as:

Eldridge, S. A. II. 2014. Boundary Maintenance and Interloper Media Reaction: Differentiating between Journalism's Discursive Enforcement Processes. *Journalism Studies*, 15 (1) 1-16. Doi: 10.1080/1461670x.2013.791077



professional identity, criteria of belonging, against Bourdieu's (2005) field theory. Through these discussions, the appropriateness of narrow and broad conceptualisations of journalism in the face of challenges presented by emerging online entities can be discussed, while adhering to Carvalho's (2008) advice to strengthen textual through comparative evaluations.

### 6.1 SYNCHRONIC COMPARISON: NEW YORK TIMES AND WIKILEAKS

Along with the *Guardian*, the *New York Times* had an integral role in the collaborative publications with WikiLeaks and was the only other newspaper involved in all three collaborative endeavours. As the journalism of both *the Times* and *the Guardian* represent liberal, public service traditions (Donsbach 2010, Hallin and Mancini 2004, Hampton 2010, See: Section 2.2.1.3) expressions in language can be analysed similarly to see how they resonate with those journalistic milieus outlined in Hanitzsch (2011) and the quartet of criteria highlighted in Chapter 2.0 as:

- Information driven
- Publicly Interested
- Value Adding
- Watchdog/'Fourth Estate'

While preliminary analysis showed language imbued with in-group/out-group discourses also present in the *Times*, the full analysis developed here provides points of both comparison and contrast between the two newspapers.<sup>318</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> The contextual discussion expounded upon here will map onto the same four phases of textual analysis in the *Guardian*: Prior to and surrounding the 'Collateral Murder' release, during and surrounding the 'War Logs' releases, during and surrounding the 'Cablegate' release, and the tailing collaboration and a renewed focus on WikiLeaks.

### 6.1.1 PHASE I: EARLY YEARS AND 'COLLATERAL MURDER'

As with the *Guardian*'s coverage before the release of 'Collateral Murder' in April 2010, in early coverage in the *New York Times* WikiLeaks is frequently described as a web site, an organisation, and within an out-group structure unprovoked by overt and public claims of belonging. In the *Times*' first mention of WikiLeaks in February 2008, it is described within a technological theme: "a Web site that encourages posting of leaked materials" and elsewhere as "the organization Wikileaks [sic]"; its leaking "sharply criticized" by the US military (NY1). In coverage of efforts by the Julius Baer<sup>319</sup> bank to shut the site down, WikiLeaks is referred to as a "web site", while the case is presented as "a major test of First Amendment rights in the Internet era" (NY2).<sup>320</sup> As an example of early distinctions between legally protected publishing and daily definitions of journalism, a distinction Rusbridger, Keller, and Davies expressed in texts and interviews in the previous chapters, this example introduces a dynamic of WikiLeaks' as protected speech – "First Amendment rights in the Internet era" – while disassociating it from journalism's in-group using out-group lexical markers: "the organization Wikileaks [sic]". Other examples of this dynamic reference "fans of the site and its mission", reinforcing the lexicon of the unfamiliar and movement aspects of WikiLeaks. This is amplified by "how quickly Web communities will move to counter actions they see as hostile to free speech online" (NY2).

Terms like 'mission' and references to WikiLeaks' 'fans' further frame a reactive and activist mentality around WikiLeaks. Subsequent coverage of this same court case also

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<sup>319</sup> Also written as Julius Bär.

<sup>320</sup> The presence of the First Amendment press protections in the US is cited in both interviews (R2, R3) and written accounts of the WikiLeaks project (Leigh and Harding 2011) as a motivating factor for including the *Times* in the collaboration. This has since been cited as a reason for transatlantic collaboration with the NSA files leaked by Edward Snowden to the *Guardian*: <http://www.buzzfeed.com/bensmith/new-york-times-guardian-snowden>

provide distance, referring to releases as documents WikiLeaks “said to show” and couching conclusions on documents as “what it has called corporate waste and wrongdoing” (NY3). While not overt, these discourses establish a view of WikiLeaks as part of a digitally native community with a fan base.

Early texts present WikiLeaks’ potential impact through aligning its work with that of journalism, less polarised than other references (Van Dijk 1998a: 44). In an editorial describing: “The rise of Internet journalism has opened a new front in the battle to protect free speech”, later referring to WikiLeaks as “a muckraking Web Site” using a once-maligned, but now lauded label for investigative journalism (NY4).<sup>321</sup> Texts still marginalises WikiLeaks’ information as “claims” through personification of what “the site said”, existing within “the unsettled” (NY4) online landscape. Despite the presence of in-group/out-group difference, in-group lexical markers suggest a closer connection between journalism and the emerging WikiLeaks. That its rise focuses on the ambiguity of in-group/out-group distinctions is drawn clearer yet in an article headlined: “At the Uneasy Intersection of Bloggers and the Law” (NY5) that references WikiLeaks, but refers to it as a “Web site” (NY5) absent any in-group identifiers.

While the *Guardian’s* coverage foregrounds WikiLeaks’ role in releasing the Minton report (See Data and Analysis Chapter II, Phase I), the *Times’* coverage refers to the saga as “Twitter and a Newspaper Untie a Gag Order” (NY6). While both focus on the new media aspects of the case, the *Times* references WikiLeaks only as hosting the documents, with Rusbridger positioned as the key figure directing readers online. This

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<sup>321</sup> As Lule (2001) and Graber (2003) both discuss the mythologising around journalism, but it is Michael Schudson’s *Power of News* (1995) that identifies the way muckraking has been ‘reclaimed’ as a notable approach to journalism around the Watergate coverage of the 1970s.

frames an ostensibly new media story within a technological theme through the in-group's conference of importance and information primacy. In a separate story on WikiLeaks' efforts to create a journalistic safe haven in Iceland, WikiLeaks is described in close proximity but still dissimilar to the in-group, referring to Assange and Daniel Schmitt<sup>322</sup> through the activist out-group theme: "whose publish-nearly-anything ideology has given them personal experience with news media laws around the globe" (NY7). Further described as adept at "assisting" journalists, with dissimilarity from journalism enhanced in references to: "the Web site" and "the digital freedoms organization" (NY7), out-group technological descriptors.

In the weeks leading up to the 'Collateral Murder' release, coverage shifts towards the Pentagon's pursuit of sites such as WikiLeaks, referred to as: "Online Muckrakers" (NY8), with minimising language framing WikiLeaks as: "a tiny online source of information and documents that governments and corporations around the world would prefer to keep secret" (NY8). Its releases are described as "true to its mission", and its classification as "a non-profit organization" (NY8), WikiLeaks is not associated with the journalistic in-group beyond the headline reference to muckrakers. Some of its releases are described as "outdated, unclassified" information, and its analysis as sometimes "flawed". While acknowledging its receipt of an Amnesty International new media award, the article foregrounds WikiLeaks' shadowy nature and speculation it is a CIA cover (NY8).

With the release of 'Collateral Murder', the duality of Assange's self-professed in-group belonging and activist identity emerges in *the Times*. While coverage of the

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<sup>322</sup> Nom de guerre of Daniel Domscheit-Berg

release from a non-media angle refer to “the Web site Wikileaks.org”, texts also references how the video had been sought by Reuters described as “a news organization” (NY9). Subsequent coverage focused on WikiLeaks – “Iraq Video Brings Notice to a Web Site”, reads one headline (NY10) – begins to assess WikiLeaks within an overt and sign-posted discourse of journalism’s identity. Described as “a whistleblower Web site” and “once-fringe”, WikiLeaks is emphasised as antagonistic: “a thorn in the side of authorities” (NY10). Descriptions of WikiLeaks as “high-tech investigative journalism” only emerge in quoted statements by Assange, similar to the references to this self-claim in *Guardian* coverage. Described as “an Australian activist and journalist” (NY10), the identity labels Assange adopts as “Mr. Assange considered himself both a journalist and an advocate” (NY10), are placed in conflict with the professional in-group.<sup>323</sup>

In NY10, one of the first in-depth discussions of WikiLeaks, a focal point for discussions of in-group/out-group definitions of journalism is drawn:

By releasing such a graphic video, which a media organization had tried in vain to get through traditional channels, WikiLeaks has inserted itself in the national discussion about the role of journalism in the digital age. (NY10)

In provoking an assessment of journalism’s roles and structures online: “WikiLeaks exists in a digital sphere in which information becomes instantly available” (NY10). Its agility online emerges aside its “increasingly controversial” approach within a technological theme. While “many have tried to silence” WikiLeaks, these efforts are described as “ineffectual” (NY10).

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<sup>323</sup> See comments from Burns (R3) and Harding (R1) in the chapter: Data and Analysis I.

Discourses in the *Times* highlight the way WikiLeaks typifies *interloper* identification as an entity that purports to be journalism, expresses belonging, and forces discussion and determination around and about those definitions and identifiers and the in-group's primacy over information and authority to bar entry. As with the *Guardian*'s coverage of pre-collaborative releases, the *Times* refers to the video as "published" (NY12) and "released" (NY13) by WikiLeaks, ascribing agency to the site while framing them in markers of out-group motivations. Assange's personal motivation is emphasised as "to get maximum political impact – to do justice to our material", and as on a "publicity tour" with his "Colbert show gift bag in tow" (NY13), further defining WikiLeaks as out-group. WikiLeaks, in that regard, is described as one of a number of intermediaries in describing the online media roles in "'The First YouTube War'" (NY14), and discussed alongside sites such as LiveLeak.com, just with greater impact.

In this first phase of analysis, we can begin to see patterns similar to those found in the *Guardian*. Initially, the site is portrayed as a website, an organisation, overtly political, and uniquely digital. Where it garners in-group classification, it is restricted to legal definitions, distancing its "publish-nearly-anything ideology" (NY7) from the analytical work and "impact" (NY13) of the in-group's roles. Claims of belonging are limited to quotes by Assange, and his assertions are overtly defined as such. WikiLeaks main contribution to identity discourses of journalism are in its muddying of structures and processes pertaining to traditional journalism. As with the *Guardian*, discourses change as Assange's and WikiLeaks' profiles grow, and as the collaborative publications with the *Times*, *Guardian*, and *Der Spiegel* begin.

### 6.1.2 PHASE II: AFGHAN AND IRAQ WAR LOGS

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“In Disclosing Secret Documents, WikiLeaks Seeks ‘Transparency’” (NY15) reads the first article analysed under the Afghan War Logs collaboration in July 2010 (the Iraq logs come in October 2010). Immediately identifying WikiLeaks as “the online organization,” using its URL as its identifier, and foregrounding its advocacy of “transparency”, this article distinguishes between the in-group reporting on WikiLeaks and the out-group (NY15). Assange is referred to using the out-group lexical marker of “founder”, and agency is likewise contained in highly negative contexts, quoting those who see WikiLeaks as “among the enemies of open society because it does not respect the rule of law nor does it honor the rights of individuals” (NY15). Its previous releases are described with minimal agency, as information “WikiLeaks made public” (NY15), emphasizing a limited role.<sup>324</sup>

Later texts reference information on WikiLeaks similarly in discourses that limit agency and downplay WikiLeaks’ prominence, as in: “The documents made available by an organization called WikiLeaks” (NY16). Discourses foreground the role of the journalistic in-group immediately in the lede, referring to the three news organisations as having been “given access to the material several weeks ago”, distancing WikiLeaks through in-group agency and lexical markers of belonging: “WikiLeaks was not involved in the news organizations’ research, reporting, analysis and writing” (NY17). Further, WikiLeaks is described as “an organization devoted to exposing secrets of all kinds” (NY17), the use of the word “devoted” suggesting an out-group and non-journalistic dynamic. This contrasts with the *Times*’ role, described as re-asserting the

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<sup>324</sup> This article also highlights Manning as the alleged, but not confirmed, leaker of the information. This occurs without identity-imbued language but allows for a more substantial explanation of WikiLeaks in a conduit function or role.

public interest and social responsibility underpinning of the in-group's watchdog identity through: "weighing the risks and public interest, we sometimes chose not to publish", and adding "The *Times* has taken care not to publish information that would harm national security interests" (NY17). This article goes further to highlight the journalistic process and verification efforts of the in-group, referring to its efforts to "establish confidence" (NY17) and 'check' leaked reports against known incidents it had independently reported on.

As with Phase I of *Guardian* coverage, much of the coverage focuses on the collaboration defines roles, the leaked information "obtained by an organization called WikiLeaks" (NY18), then analysed by the in-group, explicitly foregrounding journalistic agency: "The *Times* has spent a month examining the data for disclosures and patterns and verifying the information" (NY18) and its "credibility" (NY18). In a Q&A, editors foreground their roles using typical in-group lexical markers, and distancing of WikiLeaks, as in this response by (then) Executive Editor Bill Keller:

First, the *Times* has no control over WikiLeaks – where it gets its material, what it releases and in what form. To say that it is an independent organization is a monumental understatement. (NY18)

Keller separates reactions to WikiLeaks from reactions to its publication: "The administration, while strongly condemning WikiLeaks for making these documents public, did not suggest that the *Times* should not write about them" (NY18). He goes on to say the White House thanked them for their "care" with the information. This resonates with treatment by the *Guardian* of negative and positive reactions, and reflects views expressed in interviews by journalists who perceived WikiLeaks as a story to be covered, rather than a partner in publication (R1, R2, R3). It also reflects the



response Keller gave in G351 when he described the way the press had been treated as distinct from WikiLeaks in political reactions to the releases.

In what might approach a deviant case (Potter 2000), Media columnist David Carr suggests a blurring in distinct in-group identity in an article titled: “Journalists, Provocateurs, Maybe Both” (NY19), describing “an increasingly common activist-journalist hybrid on the Web” (NY19), a duality Assange has previously expressed (NY10). However, Carr’s article identifies WikiLeaks’ as a case of how “non-traditional news sources can alter the news cycle in profound ways” (NY19). In framing WikiLeaks as a source, rather than as one of these activist-journalists, this article reinforces a sense of WikiLeaks within an out-group as a source.<sup>325</sup> This provides another representation of discursive separation of the in-group and out-group through expressions of journalism’s identities as distinct and separate from those of WikiLeaks.

Coverage of the war logs themselves avoids such blurriness. The information continues to be described as “released” (NY20) by WikiLeaks, “an organization devoted to exposing secrets” (NY20), and augmented by in-group processes, as in: “The *Times*’s report of the new documents” (NY20).<sup>326</sup> As with the *Guardian*’s coverage, in coverage of negative reactions to the leaks, WikiLeaks is both given agency and distanced from the in-group. However, while in the context of negative reactions the *Guardian*’s

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<sup>325</sup> Carr goes further to remind readers that traditional journalists as well as those politically oriented journalists online can act as provocateurs, when “while watching the world spin, they like to nudge it every once in a while” (NY19).

<sup>326</sup> A column at the same time refers to documents as “made public by the whistle-blower site WikiLeaks” (NY21), foregrounding editorial restraint in referring to documents “which were published in part” (NY21) by the in-group media entities. This particular column goes further to describe WikiLeaks’ activity as “ridiculous” for acting outside in-group analytical roles as it “dumps 92,000 new primary source documents into the laps of the world’s public with no context” (NY21). Finally, this column puts forward: “Mr. Assange says he is a journalist, but he is not. He is an activist, and to what end it is not clear” (NY21).

coverage largely omitted references to the collaboration, the *Times* foregrounds its role while emphasising how it is distinct from WikiLeaks' role. In an article (NY22) that details disclosure of names of Afghan informants on WikiLeaks.org, that action is separated from the collaboration:

A search by the New York *Times* through a sampling of documents released by the organization WikiLeaks found reports that gave the names or other identifying features of dozens of Afghan informants, possible defectors and others who were cooperating with American and NATO troops. (NY22)

This is positioned against the *Times*' own role, foregrounding responsibility and autonomy in its publishing:

The *Times* and two other publications given access to the documents – the British newspaper the Guardian and the German magazine Der Spiegel – posted online only selected examples from documents that had been redacted to eliminate names and other information that could be used to identify people at risk. The news organizations did this to avoid jeopardizing the lives of informants. (NY22)

Further describing Assange and WikiLeaks as “the recipient and disseminator of a leak” and “an Australian activist” (NY22), texts resonate and reflect findings in the previous chapter of negative critiques centred around WikiLeaks. This trend continues through the rest of Phase II, as when (then) US Defence Secretary Robert Gates “denounced the disclosure ... by the Web site WikiLeaks” (NY23), attributing negative tone and agency to WikiLeaks while foregrounding the *Times*' responsibility and independence, as it “has taken care not to publish information that would harm national security”, adding: “It also has not linked to the archives of raw material” (NY23). This emerges as a point of contention with Assange<sup>327</sup>, and discourses distance in-group members and the out-group of WikiLeaks. Texts again identify claims of WikiLeaks' in-group belonging through qualified attribution to Assange who, “has described the project as a form of journalism” (NY23), against others who see it as “recklessly endangering people in

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<sup>327</sup> According to both Burns (R3) and MacFadyen (R5).

order to satisfy its ‘need to make a point’.” (NY23). This continues in NY24, an article detailing the Army’s inquiry into the leak, limiting agency ascribed to the in-group, as: “given access to the documents, posted online only selected examples ... that had been redacted” (NY24).<sup>328</sup>

Subsequent coverage casts WikiLeaks as an out-group member reliant on in-group collaboration: “A Renegade Site, Now Working With the News Media” (NY26). Beyond identifying WikiLeaks through out-group lexical markers, such as a “renegade”, and as a “whistle-blower Web site”, this subjugates WikiLeaks as reliant on the in-group, now emerging out of “long periods of obscurity, mocking and, at times, hostility” (NY26). The contribution WikiLeaks relies on is described as the in-group members who: “devote hundreds of hours of reporters’ and editors’ time to analyzing and confirming the information” (NY26). Texts further diminish WikiLeaks as “retreating to the job of information procurer rather than information explainer” (NY26), reinforcing a perception of WikiLeaks as an intermediary that does not add value in the way the in-group does. In describing WikiLeaks’ rise as having “frequently served journalism” (NY26) as with the Minton report, it is still classified as an out-group member built on aura, merely “inching toward traditional media” (NY26).

Finally, for Phase II, a profile on Assange (NY27)<sup>329</sup> reflects the way highly specific personalisation of Assange further reinforces out-group distinctions, describing him as the “WikiLeaks Founder on the Run, Trailed by Notoriety” (NY27), and as someone who “moves like a hunted man” (NY27). Without the same overt markers of distance or

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<sup>328</sup> A column (NY25) at this point praises WikiLeaks for adding detail to the understanding of the wars, and for the likely scrutiny the Pentagon will face following the releases.

<sup>329</sup> Co-authored by John Burns and Ravi Somaiya, both interviewed for this research.

dismissal used by US officials, the language in this article refers to “his remarkable journey to notoriety” and “re-defining whistle-blowing” using out-group lexical markers such as “organization/organisation” and “Web site”, and describing his supporters not as colleagues but as “comrades” and “conspirators” and Assange as messianic, “casting himself as indispensable” (NY27). As the coverage moves towards the largest of the release with the diplomatic cables, the parallels with the *Guardian’s* coverage are evident, though distinctions between the journalistic field and WikiLeaks are drawn in sharper contrast within *Times* coverage.<sup>330</sup>

### 6.1.3 PHASE III: CABLEGATE

As the largest and last of the collaborative releases, coverage of Cablegate begins in November 2010, and features a continuation of previous discursive dynamics. The leaked information is still described as being “made available” to in-group members by WikiLeaks “an organization devoted to revealing secret documents” (NY28). Quoting the White House, the cables are referred to as “stolen” (NY28), and the article goes quickly to detailing information “sending shudders through the diplomatic establishment” (NY28). Highlighting the fractured relationship between the *Times* and WikiLeaks, the cables are described as “provided to The *Times* by an intermediary on the condition of anonymity” (NY28).<sup>331</sup> The article foregrounds in-group dynamics and Fourth Estate roles, through “consultations” with government sources to verify content, and documents being “withheld” to avoid harm (NY28). From there, as with the

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<sup>330</sup> This might be due to the *Times’s* coverage on US aspects of reaction to the leaks and its proximity to US officials in its coverage, though such conclusions are beyond both the scope of this study and the methodological approach endeavoured here.

<sup>331</sup> It should be noted that by most accounts, the *New York Times’s* inclusion in the Cablegate release and publication was due to the *Guardian’s* insistence that it would be included. To any degree this emerges in text, this further shows distinction between WikiLeaks’ and the in-group’s activities.

*Guardian*'s coverage, articles distance agency, through consistently referring to "cables, obtained by WikiLeaks and made available" to the in-group (NY29), while overall references to WikiLeaks are scarce.<sup>332</sup>

As with previous releases in both newspapers, there is a "Note to Readers" (NY30)<sup>333</sup> outlining the in-group's analytical role and social responsibility: "The *Times* has taken care to exclude, in its articles and in supplementary material, in print and online, information that would endanger confidential informants or compromise national security" (NY30). This foregrounds editorial processes and independence, and highlights the criteria of in-group identity. In one passage, this is expressed as: "The *Times* is forwarding the [US] administration's concerns to other news organizations and, at the suggestion of the State Department, to WikiLeaks itself" (NY30). The syntactic structure of this sentence separates and distances WikiLeaks from being considered one of "other news organizations", and is further marginalised as a concern and an organisation the State Department must "insist" on being informed. Distance is reinforced again in outlining how WikiLeaks has shared the information with a number of independent news outlets, though this amplifies the *Times* responsibility to report on the leaks, as: "to ignore this material would be to deny its own readers the careful reporting and thoughtful analysis they expect when this kind of information becomes public" (NY30). As with Phase II, the explicitness with which the *Times* refers to the in-group role of adding value to information and foregrounds its functions is more explicit than that of the *Guardian*'s, though it largely mirrors the more nuanced intent and effect

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<sup>332</sup> There are only two instances in nearly 65 paragraphs in NY29, and an article on North Korea that refers to information "obtained by WikiLeaks" (NY31) referencing 'WikiLeaks' specifically only once.

<sup>333</sup> Similar 'notes' can be found in the *Guardian*, such as Leading article G72, headlined: "The war logs: The leak: About the logs".

of in-group/out-group dynamics reinforced by foregrounding journalism's roles and functions in contrast to WikiLeaks.

Also similar to coverage in Phase II, references to information within the cables minimise their content for their “absence of any real skulduggery” (NY32), and information as supporting what: “The *Times* and other news media have already reported” (NY32). In covering negative reactions and recriminations, texts isolate WikiLeaks as the focus of negative backlash and of “calls to prosecute” (NY33), marginalising WikiLeaks' agency as an intermediary and conduit “who received information and passed it on” (NY33). In this case, Assange's self-identification as a journalist is limited as self-made, as he: “portrayed himself as a journalist, calling himself an editor” (NY33). Further coverage of efforts to arrest Assange use similar language, distancing the agency of WikiLeaks from the in-group of those who “published confidential documents obtained by WikiLeaks” (NY34)<sup>334</sup> or later “made public by WikiLeaks” (NY36). Texts go on to describe attacks on WikiLeaks website by “a diverse group of hackers” (NY35) using the same language of documents “obtained” by WikiLeaks and portraying an organisation in disarray, making “a mad dash” to direct users to mirror sites amid “a game of virtual dodgeball” (NY35). In contrast to coverage that aligns WikiLeaks with Anonymous' DDoS attacks in the previous chapter, this article details the same approaches being used against WikiLeaks.<sup>335</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> By John Burns, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>335</sup> It is not always clear where hacktivist groups stand with regard to WikiLeaks, as individual members sometimes claim to be acting on the group either in support of or against WikiLeaks, and while news texts lump hacktivists such as the Anonymous collective and LulzSec, these groups are not typically allied.

Against the clear distancing of much of the coverage, an article titled “WikiLeaks and the Perils of Oversharing” (NY37) includes language that, if not equating, suggests some closeness between the accepted in-group and the perceived out-group. The cables are described as released “by WikiLeaks, assisted by a coalition of news organizations” (NY37), more conciliatory language than most references and a syntax that places ‘core’, ‘positive’, ‘agency’ with WikiLeaks. However this article concludes by equating WikiLeaks revelations of government machinations to teenagers who share minute details of their lives online, diminishing proximity with the in-group and relating WikiLeaks to cultural and social phenomena, as also occurred in *Guardian* coverage (G448).

News texts echo similar treatment in the *Guardian* of WikiLeaks placed in a technological frame, as a case of digital phenomenon, rather than an entity radically adjusting journalism’s identity or field. In frequently identifying WikiLeaks as a website, in discussing its challenges with servers, DDoS attacks, and mirror sites (NY38), WikiLeaks is allowed to be seen as not an institution, but a tech start-up and part of “web communities” (NY2) who act according to a different set of motives and rationales. WikiLeaks’ infrastructure is bolstered by “activists” (NY38)<sup>336</sup> including the “informal but notorious group of hackers and activists” Anonymous (NY38). For WikiLeaks, language similarly describes an organisation and leader who would seek “refuge in a diffuse web of financial and Internet infrastructure” (NY38). This out-group identification is made more explicit in an article titled “Hackers Attack Those Seen as WikiLeaks Enemies” (NY40)<sup>337</sup>, equating WikiLeaks with hacktivist entities

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<sup>336</sup> By Ravi Somaiya, also interviewed for this research.

<sup>337</sup> Co-authored by John Burns and Ravi Somaiya, both interviewed for this research.

and “impassioned supporters around the world” (NY40), using out-group lexical markers to describe a “cyberwar” as in G343, and associating WikiLeaks with “cyberanarchists” (NY40), an equation drawn in G449 as well. This techno-centric language while, again, not wholly dismissive or drawing explicit boundaries, reinforces a perception of WikiLeaks as something ‘other’ than the in-group, enhanced when WikiLeaks is separated from “*The New York Times* and four other news organizations” (G39), and outlining where and how prosecutors might also distinguish the groups.

#### 6.1.4 PHASE IV: POST-CABLEGATE COVERAGE

As did the *Guardian*, in Phase IV the *Times* begins offering synopsis stories that foreground its own social responsibility, as in NY41 which details redaction techniques and distances WikiLeaks.org’s release of documents from those reported in the *Times* and elsewhere. Stories about foreign news – the arrest of a Jamaican drug kingpin (NY43), or implicating an American in deaths in Iraq (NY45, NY47), or China’s manipulation of inflation figures (NY50) – reference the cables as supporting material, as the *Guardian* did in its later coverage, but otherwise do not expound on the collaboration.

When the cables become available unredacted<sup>338</sup>, the *Times* also uses language that distances WikiLeaks, ascribing agency to WikiLeaks within coverage of the negative backlash: “WikiLeaks Prompts New Diplomatic Uproar” (NY44), “WikiLeaks is at it again” (NY44), adding that the unredacted leak makes public “more than six times the

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<sup>338</sup> They are described in news texts as ‘unredacted’, though as they had not been exposed to harm minimization processes ‘non-redacted’ might be a more accurate description.



total number published by WikiLeaks and news organizations over the past nine months” (NY44). The article refers to rumours that a trove of all the files might soon be made public, and distinguishes between what the *Guardian* had been told would happen with the file against WikiLeaks’ narrative of the release (NY44).<sup>339</sup> The article goes on to describe WikiLeaks in out-group lexical markers, as: “a magnet for controversy” (NY44), and former supporters as now: “estranged” (NY44).

This development is described as one that will “make meaningless past efforts by WikiLeaks and journalists to remove the names of vulnerable people” (NY44), allying the activity of responsibility with the in-group redacting, and syntactically separating WikiLeaks as out-group. Echoing the technological nature of WikiLeaks, the leak of unredacted cables is attributed to an “overwhelmed” WikiLeaks”, and quotes a US official describing the action as: “irresponsible, reckless and frankly dangerous actions” (NY44). The actual leaking is described as: “Made Available Online as WikiLeaks Splintered” (NY46), using out-group lexical markers – “splintered” – and emphasising the online nature of WikiLeaks. The leak is further described as the result of ““a chain of careless mistakes, coincidences, indiscretions, and confusion”” (NY46, quoting *Der Spiegel*). A later story looking at US-China relations describes how the unredacted cables now revealed confidential sources in China who had shared sensitive information with US diplomats.

As with coverage in the *Guardian*, the release of unredacted cables provides examples of some of the strongest distinctions between the in-group and the out-group. While in

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<sup>339</sup> This article published 31 August 2011 came two days before the *Guardian* reported the release of that cache.

Phases I, II, and III, the *Times* uses strongly distinguishing identity language, in this last phase the *Guardian's* discourses seem stronger than the *New York Times*.<sup>340</sup> However, throughout the four phases the parallels in discourses within coverage of WikiLeaks suggest that in both nuanced covert and sign-posted overt discourses of journalistic identity, language within the accepted in-group of journalism foregrounds traditional ideals and identity roles, separating and subjugating the function and role of emerging new media entities purporting to belong. As will be seen in the sections that follow, while this is a distinct process that differs from the language used to castigate and distance failed in-group members, as with phone hacking, it also resonates with reactions found in discourses of identity and belonging to emerging new media entities that precede the emergence of WikiLeaks and claimed journalistic roles.

## 6.2 HISTORICAL DIACHRONIC COMPARISON: BLOGGING & NEW MEDIA

The WikiLeaks collaborations are notable for the scale of the leaks, the dynamics of a multi-partnered collaboration, and the public persona of Julian Assange making explicit WikiLeaks' otherwise inherent challenge to traditional definitions of journalism. However, when compared to other dynamics of digitally-native media emerging to challenge journalism's primacy, the treatment of WikiLeaks as an entity can be seen as one instance on a continuum of reactions to emerging media entities. While admittedly amplified, the 'threat' perception underpinning reactions to WikiLeaks' emergence is similar to those previous new media. Juxtaposing discourses reacting to blogs in news texts during the 2008 US presidential campaign against the reactions to WikiLeaks, a

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<sup>340</sup> This could be due to *Guardian* editors being accused by Assange of allowing the leak.

broader understanding of emerging online media claiming journalistic functions as *interlopers* can be developed. This comparison reveals not only a presence of definitional discourses, but a high similarity of in-group/out-group dynamics to those found in references to WikiLeaks, including similar language dismissive of WikiLeaks' claims, out-group classification, and foregrounding of in-group roles and dynamics. In developing this comparison, WikiLeaks can be seen as another in a series of new media entities that have provoked in-group/out-group dynamics from the traditional profession of journalism.

This comparison expands understandings of *interlopers* to a much broader context of how journalism defines itself discursively in news texts through in-group/out-group language and in prompted and non-prompted discourses reacting to new media and change. Through language of personalisation, portraying blog content as reactive and described as having questionable, fad-driven, or hype-focused motivations, and using familiar in-group/out-group identity markers, these similarities become clearer.<sup>341</sup> In looking at language referring to blogs in traditional media in the 2008 election campaign, this comparison draws on analysis of journalism's metadiscourse in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, through a similar methodology and selection criteria as advanced in this thesis and published in Eldridge (2013) (see Section: 3.4.2). By 2008 both newspapers had their own blogs devoted to political coverage, a dynamic that further enhances the aspects of interloper crossovers and blurred distinctions of journalistic primacy. While blogs had existed for many years prior (Blood 2003) and played a role in the previous election (Scott 2007), the predominant 'novelty' of the

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<sup>341</sup> Broadening understandings further, these discourses represent the way traditional news media have long perceived emerging technologies as presenting a threat of radical change, albeit with certain aspects of traditional continuity (Eldridge, *Forthcoming*, 2014).

2008 campaign was the role of several independent news blogs in coverage of the campaigns, the increase in ‘amateur’ political blogs, and the emergence of traditional media blogs run by newspapers and broadcasters. Claiming to provide more nuanced political analysis and commentary, blogs in the ’08 campaign competed with traditional media at least in terms of ‘scoops’ and breaking news. However in language of in-group/out-group dynamics, their place in the media landscape was often subjugated and dismissed in traditional news media texts. This enabled comparison of texts for elements of a perceived ‘digital threat’ within identity imbued language.

### 6.2.1 IN-GROUP/OUT-GROUP LANGUAGE & BLOGS

For discussions of WikiLeaks, analysis of discursive reactions to blogs contributes another facet of understanding how identity-imbued language at moments of obvious and public change reflects journalistic identity and differentiation. Comparing reactions to blogs in 2008 and WikiLeaks in recent years situates both within similar frames of new media ‘threats’ and *interloper* challenges to primacy of the perceived journalistic in-group. As with references to WikiLeaks, language referring to blogs incorporates dismissive, marginalising, and catchall categorisations that frame both the entities and the content of blogs as an out-group. Texts promote a view of blogs as distanced from the rational and deliberative editorial processes, often described as amateur and therefore non-professional, eventually framed as ‘non-journalism’. Language describes blogs as publishing commentary and content based on waves of fervour, rather than on analysis or expertise. Comparable to use of ‘hactivist’ and other activist and technological themes in referencing WikiLeaks, the frequent use of the term ‘blogosphere’ and associating content on blogs with ‘left-wing’ and ‘right-wing’ camps

minimises blog content collectively. Using the same dynamic, vague phrasing and definitions are paired with non-agency language, information appearing ‘on’ blogs, rather than published or reported by blogs.

### 6.2.2 VAGUENESS AND GROUPING

Particularly salient for understanding journalism’s in-group identity, discourses that use the term ‘blog’, ‘blogger’, and particularly ‘blogosphere’ are frequent, and texts referring to blogs do not employ in-group journalistic identifiers or the familiar lexicon of belonging to discuss bloggers as journalists or blogs as news outlets. In referring to then-Vice Presidential candidate Sarah Palin’s popularity, it is described as: “Palin continues to reign supreme over the blogosphere” (*Washington Post*, 12 October 2008). Phrases such as “reign supreme” and the “blogosphere” provides minimal context, couch the value of content on blogs as reactive, and use lexical markers to suggest a malleable and impressionable media space. Elsewhere, the non-professional, and iconoclastic “gatecrashing” new media is foregrounded in contrast to in-group dynamics and traditional means of reporting and mediating information:

The numbers are changing the game. Old media have often (not always) regarded bloggers and their ilk as fleas on the dog. If newspapers and networks didn't break the story, the gatecrashers wouldn't have anything to write about. (*New York Times*, September 1, 2008)

Emphasising the distance between old and new media, while also describing blogs dismissively as “fleas on the dog”, defines the in-group as those ordained to “break the story”, while blogs are parasitic (fleas) that would not exist without the in-group’s content. While blogs’ reliance on traditional media content is evidenced in Walejko and Ksiazek (2008), to describe this relationship as one of “fleas on the dog” resonates with

the way WikiLeaks is described as a conduit or intermediary for the in-group, reliant on newspapers to garner “maximum political impact” (NY13). Such discourses foreground a value adding role and one of contributing analysis to data that might be ‘dumped’ by WikiLeaks, or contextualising rumours that would be spread on blogs. These sorts of discourses emphasise the in-group’s contribution of expertise through professional knowledge by denying any similar descriptions on the perceived *interloper* out-group of blogs, or WikiLeaks.

### 6.2.3 DIMINISHING AND MINIMISING LANGUAGE

Similar to the way texts hedge statements by WikiLeaks and Assange as ‘claims’, content on blogs in 2008 is referred to in language that also qualifies the value of their information. Sometimes this qualification dismisses value entirely, such as references to “cyberwhispers”, and isolating rumours as “largely confined to liberal blogs” (*New York Times*, 13 October 2008). Within these dismissive phrases, there is little or no agency and with blogs, more so than with WikiLeaks, information is referenced without any attribution to a specific blog or blogger.<sup>342</sup> In this, the closest like comparison would be catch-all references in language grouping hacktivists and WikiLeaks. This vague or absent attribution to ‘blogs’ or ‘the blogosphere’ provides distance from any

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<sup>342</sup> The sample analysed for the Eldridge (2013) and for this thesis was analysed using the methodological framework detailed in Chapter 3.0. The same sample formed one of three components of texts analysed for the 2008 Master’s Thesis by Eldridge, analysed using a different methodology. Analysis under that study shows, quoting Eldridge (2013), that: “Across the 2008 study, in references to independent blogs, the Times is specific in 58 per cent of cases, the Post in 59.5 per cent. However, when looked at both specificity and markers of credibility, the Times refers to blogs vaguely and critically in 76.5 per cent of its references, and the Post is vague and critical in 94.1 per cent. When references are specific, these relationships persist, with the Times specific and critical in 78.1 per cent, and the Post at 93.8 per cent.”

responsibility for false information, while also subjugating all blogs regardless of the strength of their content into one broad grouping.

The grouping of new media entities such as blogs and WikiLeaks pairing political motivation, references with minimal agency, and questionable information contributes to an out-group classification of non-journalism. This emerges in patterns of language that emphasise reactive motivations, following hype, and treating new media as digital phenomena. With blogs, language suggests, information need not be verifiable – a tenet of the professional in-group – before being used to inform a post or story:

Whether the story is true is still unknown, but it didn't take long for the right-wing blogosphere to embrace it. How delicious for them, if true, that her accommodations are not up to the standards to which her nephew has become accustomed. (*Washington Post*, October 31, 2008)

This is reflected in similar language around early releases of WikiLeaks that emphasise information as purported to be authentic, but not verified as such until the in-group had performed its value-adding role (G72, NY18). Blogs' information is cast in this light when described as factually spurious details: “delicious, if true”, and quickly dismissed as irrelevant or entertainment, rather than a substantive contribution to society: “For one thing, many Alaskans don't care what bloggers or late-night television joke writers think.” (*New York Times*, September 17, 2008). Other texts couch questionable information on blogs in oblique language as in: “Some bloggers suggest that Palin did not properly educate her daughter about sex” (*Washington Post*, September 3, 2008) and using the lexical markers of the unfamiliar, describing the language of blogs: “Only four days into her reign as John McCain's ‘soul mate,’ or ‘Trophy Vice,’ as some bloggers are calling her” and, “The announcement came after a swirl of rumors by liberal bloggers that the governor's fifth child, who was born in April, was in fact her

daughter's" (*New York Times*, September 3, 2008). Other references to bloggers use similar out-group lexical markers, as they "gleefully zapped" candidates (*New York Times*, October 26, 2008), amid the online "commotion" (*New York Times*, October 14, 2008). Language that foregrounds newspaper treatment of information against what blogs do further emphasises discrete in-group/out-group belonging, as with this reference in the *Post*:

From the barking heads to the boisterous bloggers, from the Beltway elite to the heartland newspapers, a grand consensus quickly emerged about Sarah Palin's debate performance: She wasn't awful. (*Washington Post*, October 4, 2008).

Similar to WikiLeaks/hacktivist pairings (ie: grouping entities through their online novelty) blogs and their reliance on rumours or opinion results in pairings with pundits as non-journalists, syntactically separated in the above example from the in-group of both national and local newspapers (Scott 2007). Similar examples include "bloggers and conservative commentators" (*New York Times*, September 30, 2008), and: "24-hour cable and the blogosphere at full tilt" (*New York Times*, October 24, 2008). This emphasises the fervour of language and blogs – not dissimilar to the language describing WikiLeaks and its supporters – described as "lit up" (*The Washington Post*, September 19, 2008) and news that "ricocheted across liberal blogs" (*New York Times*, October 23, 2008).

The frequent association with blog content as rumour, innuendo, and whispers, allows the in-group to distance a whole subset of new media from its own work, even as it begins to adopt and produce content on its own in-group blogs. This overlap provides another point of similarity with WikiLeaks as it creates at least an arm's-length relationship with the emerging forms – the blog and the whistleblowing conduit – then diminished in the language used to refer to both. Distancing blogs as fervour-swept and



reactive followers of the in-group's content, as operating under groupthink, and as amateur or unreliable, sets them apart from rational professional journalism regardless of any nuanced discussion of possible journalistic roles or revelatory content.

#### 6.2.4 CONTEXTUALISING BLOGS & WIKILEAKS

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The reaction to 'threats' posed by new media entities, with blogs and later WikiLeaks, provide opportunity for contextualising the way discourses define and distinguish between an in-group of the journalistic field, and those perceived as non-journalistic; the out-group. These reactive discourses revolve around identifying both the identity claims made by a media and projected discourses of identities placed on *interlopers* and unpacking the ways distinctions between the in-group and out-group are drawn discursively. Despite similarities between *interlopers* and the in-group in embracing revelatory roles, and the presence of analysis and context, discourses focus on outlining aspects of non-belonging, focusing on language, 'amateurism', the role of rumour and enthusiasm, and technological themes. With WikiLeaks, that positionality is amplified in discourses responding to explicit claims of belonging alongside the political reactions to its activities, however dynamics of distancing and diminishing of content held by both blogs and WikiLeaks show clear parallels.

While WikiLeaks' extant claims challenge the projected identity of 'source' or 'conduit' that seems obvious for many involved (R1, R2, R3, R4), this projected identity conflicts with the identity professed by Assange (Assange, 2011; Obrist & Assange, 2011; TED, 2010), as well as those projected on WikiLeaks by his supporters, including John Pilger (2011, 2013), Trevor Timm (R6) and Gavin MacFadyen (R5) that repeatedly articulate

support for a definition of journalism that includes WikiLeaks, built on the actions of WikiLeaks considered as journalism. Just as references to blogs refer to a “liberal” and “conservative” “blogosphere”, caught up in “rumour” and “whispers”, references to WikiLeaks refer to “volunteers”, “followers”, and “comrades”, Assange as a “founder”, and an “organization/organisation”, within a “hacktivist” grouping. These appear against references in newspapers using a familiar lexicon of belonging to describing the work of “journalists”, “reporters”, and “editors”, acting in the public interest, using caution, expertise, analysis, and social responsibility to inform their work.

These competing claims and the discursive dismissal of emerging media entities exacerbate debates about journalism defined as that which is produced by journalists – an argument where the in-group is the creator and disseminator of journalism – and definitions of journalism which defines journalists through the action of producing journalism, regardless of any structural in-group/out-group criteria of belonging. This inverse of the prominent in-group definition and self-defined rules of belonging defines journalism through what Lasica (2003) and Timm (R6) refer to as “acts of journalism”, built on content regardless of the actors.

This comparison and its parallels connects discussions in 2013 around WikiLeaks as the core definer of *interloper media* to those in 2008 found within the in-group reactions to the emergence of blogs. Herring, et al (2005) describe blogs as a “bridging genre”, Wall (2004) uses the term “black market journalism”, and while both are apt in instances, when looking at the discursive reactions, the conceptualisation of *interloper media* and subsequent *interloper media reactions* advances understanding of blogs with regard to journalism. Blog activity, and the close proximity of political news blogs to major

events and their influence on reporting news, reflect the challenges to in-group primacy that define *interloper* criteria, and the reactions to their emergence are reflective of the same ‘out-group’ rebuttals found with language referring to WikiLeaks.

### 6.3 SYNCHRONIC COMPARISON: PHONE HACKING AND WIKILEAKS

This thesis posits in Chapter 2.0, and develops in Chapters 4.0 and 5.0, that the discursive reaction to *interloper media* differs from that of traditional boundary maintenance processes. While analysis of discourses of both boundary maintenance and *interloper media reactions* explores definitions of journalism in discourses that distinguish its role, this final comparison will highlight how the in-group/out-group processes of *interloper media reactions* can be better understood as a unique form of boundary work.

Boundary maintenance processes draw points of differentiation between upstanding members of the in-group and those that have failed standards of belonging. These include reactions to objectivity and plagiarism (Cecil 2002), faux-journalists that have been foisted upon the in-group (Bishop 2004), and those that isolate the in-group from fallout and scandal (Bishop 1999).<sup>343</sup> However, when the reactive discourses are juxtaposed, and when analysis extends beyond sign-posted discussions of journalism, it becomes clear that boundary maintenance in journalistic texts is largely restricted to immediate and overt language directed towards repairing the in-group, while language

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<sup>343</sup> Discursive treatment of WikiLeaks has similarly been addressed through boundary maintenance (Coddington 2012; Wahl-Jorgensen 2013).

in texts reacting to *interlopers* differentiate belonging in nuanced, covert, and long-term outwardly directed discourses (Eldridge 2014). Boundary maintenance, for example, polices the in-group in referring to those that have failed while still employing a familiar lexicon of belonging, and expressions of the ideals and standards that have been transgressed as inherent criteria of belonging. In contrast, *interloper media reactions* seek to minimise claims of belonging through isolating emerging entities as non-journalism, using lexical markers of unfamiliarity against a positive in-group identity, familiar lexical markers, and foregrounded journalistic roles. These subjugate *interlopers* to supporting or passive roles, and within news/source hierarchies (Eldridge 2014). This section will explore these distinctions further, establishing the need for the nuanced textual analysis and findings adopted in this study to better understand definitional discourses of journalism.

### 6.3.1 DISTINGUISHING BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE

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In a comparative analysis of the *Guardian's* coverage of phone hacking presented and developed separately in Eldridge (2014), language references reporters, journalists, editors, and specific newspapers involved in phone hacking. Through pairing in-group identifier with boundaries “created in order to be seen” (Bishop 1999: 92), overt language clearly articulates dynamics of ‘good’ journalism in sign-posted discussions of journalistic belonging. Through foregrounding the *Guardian's* revelatory function and public interest role, ‘good’ journalism is set against overt admonishment of *News of the World* and its journalist’s failure to uphold the same tenets, reinforcing the boundaries between ‘journalism’ and ‘failed journalism’ (Bishop 1999: 91). Beyond mere

‘reinforcement’ these discourses rebuild the parameters of the institution of journalism, repairing the tarnish brought by the phone-hacking scandal.

Coverage of phone hacking achieves this rebuilding by first isolating and identifying the offending journalism of *News of the World* against the standards of belonging in clear and unequivocal language. This emerges in headline language such as “Tabloid hacking scandal” and “Tabloid dirty tricks”, with the term “dirty tricks” in three additional headlines. Second, texts refresh and repair perceptions of journalism by promoting positive aspects of their own adherence to in-group belonging. Across the first days of coverage, this occurs with the *Guardian* foregrounding its positive role and agency in uncovering the scandal, often paired with negative specific personalization of those implicated, as in: “Revealed: Murdoch’s £1m for hiding dirty tricks” (*Guardian*, July 9, 2009). Third, through incorporating a high level of personalization with specification, individuals are isolated as falling short of journalism’s rules of belonging, thereby bordering their offenses from the larger in-group. This frequently focuses on Murdoch in his leadership of the newspapers being boundaried, as in:

Three inquiries launched into hacking claims as new victims emerge: MPs summon Murdoch chief over dirty tricks: Targeted public figures consider suing tabloid: Scotland Yard refuses to reopen tapping probe. (*Guardian*, July 10, 2009)

Beyond personal references to Murdoch, specific references identifying *News of the World* and News International employees, sometimes vaguely, also isolate failed in-group members. “Revealed: Murdoch’s £1m for hiding dirty tricks: Tory PR chief under fire over tabloid hacking: Politicians and celebrities among victims” (*Guardian*, July 9, 2009). In 12 separate articles, specific individuals from News International are named in headlines, emphasising a dynamic of negative personalisation within boundary maintenance. In the body text of articles, language emphasises the illegality of

phone hacking; its extent is both amplified in terms of wrongdoing, and isolated in terms of those actors involved, as with this excerpt:

In 2007 a *News of the World* reporter, Clive Goodman, was jailed for illegally hacking into the mobile phones of three members of staff in the royal households. (*Guardian*, July 10, 2009)

Boundary maintenance processes are indicated when negative agency and highly specific personalisation (reflected in the naming of Goodman) the use of a familiar lexicon of belonging (referring to him as a “reporter”) and distancing negative actions (qualifying them as “illegal”) emphasise negative agency that warrants isolation. In the full range of references, similar language is used to isolate Andy Coulson, Rebekah Brooks, and Les Hinton – all News International and *News of the World* figures at the time – along with Murdoch, who is explicitly, negatively, and frequently personalised as the figurehead of the scandal, with “tentacles” across British society (*Guardian*, July 9, 2009). As with the contrast of “revealed” and “hiding” separating the *Guardian* from the *News of the World*, specific mentions of Murdoch create a singular focus for the isolating role of boundary maintenance discourses. Replicating what Bicket and Wall (2007) refer to as “circling the wagons,” this casts a villain and amplifies a sense of a rogue acting against professional standards.

While distancing, texts continue to employ a familiar lexicon, using journalistic identifiers such as “reporter”. Further evidence of boundary maintenance is found in the isolating and negative discourses of “systematic corporate illegality by News International”, portrayed through terms such as “accomplice” and “tactics” to describe phone hacking. That these negative portrayals appear alongside the familiar lexicon of journalistic identifiers provides distance in terms of positive/negative descriptions of hacking, while also emphasising that the distance is towards those falling short of in-

group standards of belonging. Texts referring to actors in terms of journalistic identity, they do so while referencing familiar standards and values. This is particularly noticeable around rebuttals of claims of public interest, repeatedly cited as the rationale given for hacking in five separate articles. This claim is diminished as false, and rebutted: “Specifically, there is no public interest defence for anybody caught breaking RIPA [Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act]” (*Guardian*, July 9, 2009). The repeated use of a familiar lexicon of belonging to the profession, at once familiar and accepted within the in-group of journalism, reflects an important criterion of the self-policing and inward-looking dynamic of boundary maintenance.

### 6.3.2 ACTIVE/PASSIVE LANGUAGE AND AGENCY

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The ascription of agency around out-group actors emerges in a fashion similar to personalisation, and discourses isolate ‘failed’ members of the in-group and ascribes agency to their actions. Quoting: “It’s one thing to see paparazzi at the Ivy. But I was finding them at Pizza Hut. There they were, even if it [the visit] had been arranged at the last minute” (*Guardian*, July 10, 2009). The use of statements foregrounds the negative reaction to hacking, and in referring to “paparazzi” language closely mirrors Bishop’s (1999) research focusing on the differentiation between ‘quality’ press and ‘tabloid’ work of paparazzi. Phone hacking activities are further elaborated as “obtained illicitly”, and portrayed as being done by those who have “systematically pried into the lives of people in rather repellent ways” (*Guardian*, July 9, 2009).

The dominant defining features of boundary maintenance, explicit, immediate, and highly specific language that identifies a failed member of the in-group all occur with

the strength needed to distinguish between ‘members in good standing’ of journalism’s in-group, and those who have failed belonging. While language serves to disassociate, to excoriate these failed or faulty members, it does so from within. Through using isolating language alongside a familiar lexicon of belonging, boundary maintenance establishes internally directed, isolating boundaries built on inherent criteria of belonging. This differs from interloper media reactions in the way a prison differs from a border fence, the former isolating miscreants from within, while the latter endeavours to keep out those who do not belong.

While coverage of phone hacking continues over several years, these clear distinctions can be located within the earliest days of coverage in 2009. It is that immediacy and clarity, along with the use of a familiar lexicon of belonging and the overt sign-posted evaluation of journalism that separates these processes from reactions to *interloper media* claims of belonging. In contrast, early discourses of *interloper* reactions are focussed on novelty, enthusiastic emergence, and curiosity, only later resulting in pronounced discourses of journalistic belonging and, even then, these discourses do not focus on adherence to norms, but rather the presence or embodiment of journalism’s identity and roles.

### 6.3.3 DIFFERENTIATING INTERLOPER MEDIA REACTIONS

Across analysis of reactions to WikiLeaks in this thesis, language has been found framing WikiLeaks through its digital novelty, as an unfamiliar entity outside of journalism’s in-group, as politically imbalanced, and generally outside of the tenets of belonging to the journalistic field; its identity criteria and *doxa*. Similar to boundary



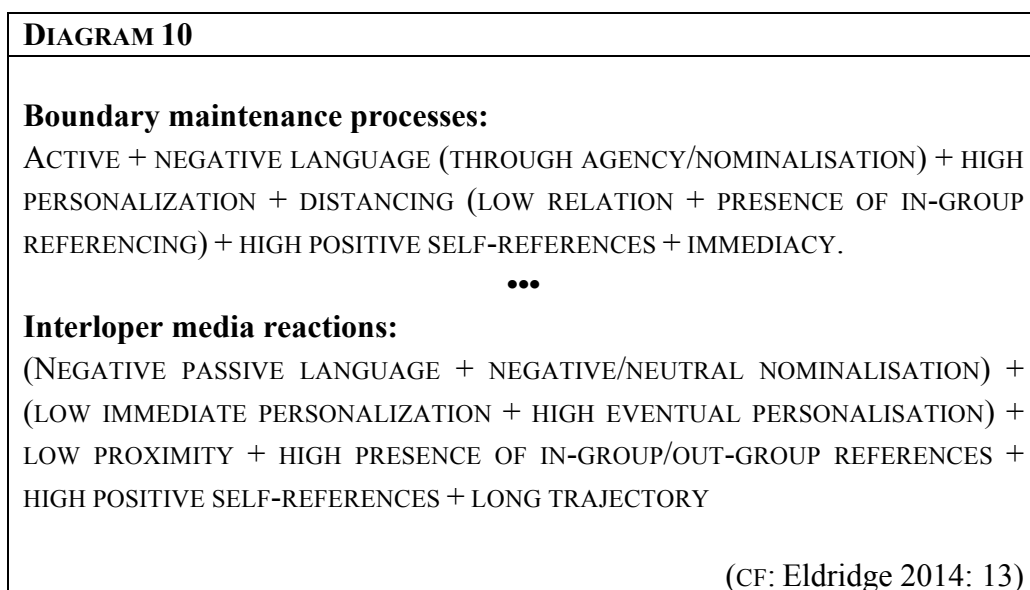
maintenance processes, in *interloper media reactions* to WikiLeaks the *Guardian* foregrounds its own role with positive agency as a responsible patron of information, expressing idealised roles of journalism and value-adding analysis, as in referring to “the newspapers that pored over its previously confidential government files” (G802), and emphasises where “even the political classes recognised that the newspapers who had been working on these cables had behaved in a responsible way” (G350).

Explored through the analyses of these references, discursive markers of journalism’s in-group identity are also woven into texts through identity-imbued language. Such discourses, which utilise expressions of traditional ‘Fourth Estate’ ideals to reflect belonging as well as out-group non-journalistic language to project non-belonging on *interlopers*, develop boundaries of distinction over course of coverage of WikiLeaks. As more and more distinct boundaries are drawn, the four phases of coverage analysed in this thesis show framing of WikiLeaks as an out-group member first as a transparency advocate and website run by a former “hacker” (G59), then as a conduit for whistleblowers (G131)<sup>344</sup>, and eventually as an “irresponsible” (G884) actor, betraying the principles of responsibility expressed by the journalistic in-group. While individual texts hint at such distinctions, it is in their accumulation that boundaries between the in-group and out-group can be located. As language used to define WikiLeaks with regard to the in-group of journalism becomes more and more distancing, the effect projects strongly a perception of an in-group of journalistic belonging against which an out-group of non-belonging is projected onto *interlopers*. These distinctions rarely blur to allow any sort of in-group belonging for WikiLeaks.

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<sup>344</sup> Co-authored by Nick Davies, also interviewed for this research.

This emerges in contrast to boundary maintenance processes, where discourses of upholding or falling short of in-group standards revolve around presumably ‘shared’ identities and roles and where discourses identify failures to uphold these standards internally are established swiftly. In contrast to the boundary work within phone hacking coverage, WikiLeaks’ external challenge, its claims of belonging, and its transient identity claims broaches new areas of interaction. However, as the analysis in the previous chapters shows, WikiLeaks’ iconoclastic nature, its overt challenge to journalistic authority and primacy, its challenging rhetoric, and its opaque structures and practices, have prompted discourses of belonging by traditional journalists. As WikiLeaks’ continued to hold prominence in the news spotlight remains clear, and Assange’s claims of ‘being’ journalism persist (cf. Chapter 1.0), distinctions are increasingly focused and discourses of belonging and non-belonging extend beyond media texts and can be found in subtle language throughout coverage. This added dimension results in the eventual overt and explicit boundary distinction of *interloper media reactions*. The difference in the two processes can be mapped in this diagram, emphasising aspects and elements unique and shared with each:



The three points of comparison discussed in this chapter allow the assessments of reactions to WikiLeaks in the previous two chapters to be situated within a broader context of discursive expressions of journalism's in-group/out-group identity. First, comparison with *New York Times* coverage shows a set of reactive discourses to WikiLeaks' journalistic claims that, while unique in aspects, largely resonate with those in the *Guardian*. Second, comparative analysis shows that, while the rise of WikiLeaks has been unique in many ways, it is more than an isolated phenomenon and a broader study of journalism's self-identification in reactions to new media entities evaluates discourses of journalism's definition at various points of challenge. Third, through comparing cases where expressions of identity and belonging present outward facing discourses reflecting elements of journalism's identity and self-defined professional in-group, these differ when directed towards peer members of the journalistic field and when they are directed towards perceived out-group members asserting belonging; *interlopers*. Evaluating identity discourses in non-prompted responses to such challenges extends our understanding of how journalism defines its roles beyond those expressed when prompted, as with the overt discourses of belonging of boundary maintenance (cf. Data & Analysis I), expanding the conceptualisation of *interloper media reactions* as a specific form of boundary work in reaction to these claimants. This enables a more thorough understanding of how journalism defines its societal role within traditional constructs, and how this is expressed in the outward-facing discourses of news texts. This has shown how when confronted by new entities claiming belonging, traditional journalistic actors present 'journalism' through ideal-typical and valorised projections of a journalistic identity and a profession of journalism, uniting as a journalistic field against the claims of belonging made by emerging online entities.

## 7.0 CONCLUSION:

# JOURNALISM'S EXCLUSIVITY PROBLEM

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This thesis set out to address questions about journalism and journalism's reaction to change. Exploring discourses reacting to WikiLeaks, this research has presented an exploration of concepts of journalism and how they manifest in the expressions of journalistic identity towards developing, enforcing, and maintaining an exclusive journalistic field. This research has explored how discourses invoke traditional definers of journalism to promote journalism's unique societal roles and criteria in the face of challenges posed by WikiLeaks and *interloper media* claiming journalistic belonging. This has expanded our understanding of discourses as both expressions of what journalism *is*, and as a form of boundary work against new media actors. As journalistic actors promote a sense of their journalistic belonging within an in-group/out-group binary, this ideal-typical version of journalism reflects the dominant vision of the journalistic field, invoking identity traits as criteria of that belonging. While this thesis develops understanding of these dynamics in specific reactions to WikiLeaks, through that prism it has broadened understanding of the way new media actors are perceived and has identified means and methods for analysing utterances of the journalistic *doxa* within news texts as discursive constructions of the journalistic field.

To unpack these dynamics, adopted an overarching research agenda defined by these three questions:

**Q1:** What is journalism, and how is an idea of journalism communicated in news discourses?

**Q2:** Is WikiLeaks journalism?

**Q3:** Can traditional concepts of journalism be re-assessed to account for emerging news media dynamics?

To refine this agenda for analysis of news texts referring to WikiLeaks, this agenda was narrowed to address news texts as they referenced and reacted to the rise of WikiLeaks.

The specific research questions are:

**RQ1:** How do news texts refer to WikiLeaks and Julian Assange?

**RQ2:** How are traditional concepts of journalism and journalistic identity expressed within news texts?

**RQ3:** Do news texts referring to WikiLeaks and Julian Assange reflect on WikiLeaks' claims of journalistic belonging?

The analyses and discussion in the previous three chapters have answered these questions in several aspects. Chapter 4.0 and Chapter 5.0 address the first question, **RQ1**, and detail the ways that journalistic texts refer to WikiLeaks and Julian Assange. Furthermore the analyses within these chapters show how, within texts, language foregrounds a journalistic identity that represents the speaking media as an in-group profession of journalism towards a journalistic field, enhanced through contrast in their projection of an out-group, non-journalistic identity on WikiLeaks. Chapter 6.0 draws out this dynamic, looking at the way this polarisation distinguishes between the speaking journalistic media as an in-group and a perceived out-group of new media actors, expanding the concept of *interloper media* to these emerging actors.

Expanding on **RQ1** and addressing **RQ2**, this thesis has shown that despite WikiLeaks' claims of journalistic belonging, within the discourses of news texts the performance of any ideal-typical journalistic functions and claims of journalistic identity are marginalised. This is reinforced by the projection of an out-group identity framed in discursive themes that reinforce a technological, activist, and problematic identity. This marginalisation differs from discursive reactions found in other forms of boundary

work, though similar to these other forms, *interloper media reactions* centre on the articulation of an idealised and normative vision of what journalism 'is'.

To **RQ2**, asking how the in-group expresses this identity, analysis has show how this manifests in lexical markers of journalistic ideals and norms, standards and values, and traditional journalistic roles, thereby reinforcing the exclusivity of the in-group journalistic field in contrast to the out-group projection of identity on *interlopers*. With regard to **RQ3** these in-group/out-group identity discourses present a 'dominant vision' of the journalistic field, and analysis has explored how elements of journalism's *doxa* are made salient in news texts as a discourse of the core criteria of belonging. This reinforces the journalistic field's own perception of holding a unique set of societal roles and through emphasising its perceived-as-unique criteria of belonging in contrast to the differences of the perceived out-group members, discourses minimise *interloper* claims and dismiss their claims to the journalistic field.

While in the first instance this has allowed analysis to locate the ways a self-perceived in-group of journalism coalesces as a profession, it has also shaped the development of a concept of *interloper media* to categorise new actors claiming similar belonging. Through this concept and the subsequent conceptualisation of *interloper media reactions*, the relationship between a self-perceived field of journalism and new media actors that adopt journalistic identity and ideals is better understood. However, these discursive interactions also revealed cracks in the way an idealised profession of journalism is maintained, cracks which reveal opportunities and a need to re-examine how journalism is understood in the face of modern media realities and the claims and roles performed by new media actors.

### 7.1 CONTRIBUTIONS: GOING FORWARD

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Journalism has a problem: in the face of new media and *interlopers* specifically, its exclusive place in society is being challenged. For years built upon the expression of a unique societal role, reinforced as a self-perceived and enforced profession of journalism, a valorised self-perception of journalism as a unique field built on an agreed-upon set of ideals, institutionalised roles, and societal functions – the Fourth Estate – now finds those same ideals being adopted by new media actors that have emerged claiming journalistic belonging. This challenge and reactions to the journalistic field have exposed fractures in the case for journalism’s primacy over field belonging and has provoked a demonstration of its societal distinction, and has brought into focus a discussion over how journalism is understood and whether new actors can also fulfil an idea of what journalism ‘is’.

For western society, concepts of journalism have always been a bit vague: journalism is something ‘we know when we see’ (Donsbach 2010: 38), and this research has shown how such a concept of journalism is still placed on a pedestal, even when its core ideals are more idealised than realised (Hampton 2010). Defined through ideal-typical criteria and maintaining belonging as self-enforced, emerging media actors have nevertheless been able to upset a relatively stable idea of journalism. Benkler (2011: 311) describes journalism, in the face of these changes, as “susceptible”, and in the discursive reactions to *interlopers*, such susceptibility seems clear. Unwilling to yield its ideal-typical Fourth Estate identity or open belonging to the journalistic field, the journalism in-group has identified new media entities claiming journalistic identity as challenges to its primacy, and through emphasising exclusivity it has defined the parameters of

journalism around a shared ideology held by a few and integral to the function of society. In other words, it has reinforced an in-group/out-group construct of the journalistic field, reinforcing societal distinction by emphasising a distinguished place in society; not only separate, but also in a higher societal space.

In outlining the ways reactions to WikiLeaks have reflected back on the held identity of an in-group of journalists, this thesis has contributed further understanding to the ways we can a) assess concepts and notions related to journalism and the journalistic field through the language of news texts, b) broaden our understanding of how these emerge as identity criteria which reinforce boundaries of a sense of journalism and a journalistic field, and finally c) consider how reactions to emerging media adopting a journalistic identity reflect on the polarised nature of the journalistic field. In doing so, it opens opportunities for scholarship to not only approach these new entities as perceived *interlopers* made clear through *interloper media reactions*, but also to ask whether these dynamics are representative of a too-traditional and normative idea of journalism, and whether there is cause to revisit these concepts in light of evolving news media and changing dynamics of journalism.

As an idealised concept of a journalism as an exclusive journalistic field has persisted, so too have the claims of *interloper media* asserting belonging to that journalistic field. Challenging the ‘know it when we see it’ sense of what journalism is, and amplified by explicit claims of journalistic identity, *interloper* claims have been augmented by an embrace of journalistic roles and a prominent media presence. The in-group’s response to these *interloper* claims has also been somewhat predictable: journalists have doubled-down on their exclusivity and emphasised the non-belonging of *interlopers*,



WikiLeaks chief among them. Paradoxically, in discourses reacting to *interloper* claims, vulnerability over journalism's exclusive ownership of its prevailing norms has also been revealed and the in-group has been hard pressed to fully distinguish its work from that of *interloper media*, resulting in tautological defences and ideal-typical descriptors of a 'Fourth Estate' (Hampton 2010). The implications of this challenge and the vulnerability it exposes are binary; either journalism can continue as is, articulating exclusivity and discounting new entities that claim journalistic belonging, or the internally held and projected vision of journalism can adapt to account for emerging actors. But, for journalism to adapt, it first requires a re-imagining of the ways journalism is built around exclusive concepts of belonging, and both journalism and journalism studies must openly explore alternatives previously unseen.

They must, in so many words, make room for *interlopers*.

## 7.2 JOURNALISM'S EXCLUSIVITY PROBLEM: SUSCEPTIBILITY

Where Benkler writes of a susceptible professional journalism (2011: 311), Bourdieu's description of the journalistic field's struggle to project its "dominant vision" of a unique societal space (2005: 44) and resultant "complicities" – smoothed over differences to promote that dominant vision (ibid.: 36) – are reflected in the findings of this research. Specific in reactions to WikiLeaks, extending to reactions to other *interloper media*, discourses serve as utterances of journalism's *doxa* reinforcing that dominant vision of the field. These emerge with such consistency that an understanding of how the in-group perceives and emphasises its societal place around traditional and idealised roles of journalism forms, allowing analysis to locate the dominant vision being projected to shore up against alternative claims. However, as the in-group seeks

to distance *interlopers* adopting the same ideals, it also becomes clear that a narrow sense of journalism built on traditional ideals may no longer be fit for modern media dynamics.

In the face of change, narrow concepts of journalism are rife for critique and myopic towards modern news media actors, and yet they persist as definers of journalism. While journalism has envisaged for itself a distinct societal role as a Fourth Estate, new media actors have taken advantage of the increased access to the esoteric knowledge and means of production that had underpinned the profession's exclusivity (Hughes 1963, Moore 1978). The tenor of discourses emerging in the face of *interlopers* signal the contested landscape of journalism; language around WikiLeaks and blogs previously is distancing, while acknowledging revelatory roles. It is also marginalising and dismissive, even as it nods at their impact. Such discourses suggest the nature of the field might warrant revisiting to address lingering questions and contradictions. To begin with, new actors adhering to journalism's identity dimensions can independently communicate their work to a public, and whether looking at the work of WikiLeaks or at news blogs, the previously distinct set of journalistic ideals can be found, shared, across a new landscape of actors (Singer 2003). When considering how the roles being performed by these new media actors making public information in the public's interest, serving as a watchdog, and with an emphasis on facts and context, the findings in this research asks whether new actors could at least be seen as sharing belonging to a journalistic field.

While such change can be seen as posing a challenge to journalism's unique societal primacy, revisiting the immovable boundaries of the field opens an opportunity for a

more reflective approach to understanding journalism built upon shared possession of ideals and performance of functions. Such an approach calls for an abandoning of understanding journalists as those who fit squarely within a narrow journalistic field, and reimagines journalistic identity and the journalistic field as resonant both with the dominant vision of the in-group and with the expressed belonging of *interlopers* and other new media actors.<sup>345</sup>

This work has shown reactions to WikiLeaks as an *interloper* through the in-group's projection of non-belonging on two main points of disassociation. The first of these is a failure to adhere to peer belonging and attune messages to fellow members (Bell 1991; Schudson 1995, 2003), and the second point of disassociation focuses on an activist identity that countervails professionalism (Overholser 2004; Tuchman 1972). To the first of these, Assange's falling out with the in-group builds around his assertion that journalism has failed to adhere to its own ideals, further irritated by his non-traditional methods and activism. This is elevated as grounds for his out-group categorisation: "I think actually he's not a journalist because if he were a journalist, first of all he wouldn't have fallen out with all the journalists, which he has done," said Luke Harding (R1). To the second point, the transient activist-journalist identity Assange and WikiLeaks hold (NY10, TED 2011) is described as further proof that he is not of the

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<sup>345</sup> Before continuing to redress an exclusive profession of journalism, it should be noted the picture of journalism painted in this research is not all negative. This study has also shown that, when approximated as professional journalism, the field of journalism reflects a fulsome embrace of the ideals of public interest, watchdog, social responsibility, and value-adding functions that emerging actors wish to ascribe to. Seen in Donsbach's (2010) Public Service Tradition, or Siebert, et al.'s (1956) Social Responsibility model, these ideals present a noble idea of journalism. Such idealism falters when it carries on to suggest only a narrow group of professional journalists can truly fulfil those roles, and further suggest *interlopers* are but bit players in that process as sources, amateur commentators, or intermediaries. To that end, the research in this thesis has developed a competing argument as such *interlopers* not only claim similar functions, but have also emerged to perform arguably journalistic acts.

journalistic in-group; what Burns (R3) refers to as “a missionary zeal”, and Jack Shafer (2011) describes as ‘bedevilling’; Assange as an “agent provocateur”.<sup>346</sup>

Both of these points of differentiation defend an understanding of journalism institutionalised as a profession around traditional dynamics of power, authority, and primacy over its legitimising role in society, but also as a field to which you either belong or do not. While these idealised notions of the journalistic field serve as *de facto* articulations of a profession of journalism built on exclusive belonging, as definers they falter when WikiLeaks and *interlopers* appear to embody the same roles, and further when professional journalists fail to (See: Section 6.3).<sup>347</sup>

This returns to the quote from Lisa Lynch highlighted in Chapter 2.0, noting that WikiLeaks is:

part of a broader conversation about how the profession of journalism might tread the line between absorbing and institutionalizing organizations who do not fit comfortably into journalism’s boundaries, or alternately working to reshape those boundaries to develop a more flexible notion of what twenty-first-century journalism might become. (Lynch 2013: 327)

Taking up Lynch’s question, this chapter will contextualise the findings of this thesis within a broader and forward-looking discussion of journalism facing change and will

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<sup>346</sup> While Shafer’s writing does not reflect an idea WikiLeaks as journalism, his view of the personality rifts between Assange and the in-group is succinctly put in a 2010 piece: “if you want to dismiss him just because he’s a seething jerk, there are about 2,000 journalists I’d like you to meet” (Shafer 2010).

<sup>347</sup> These identity claims are more than lip service, and the WikiLeaks ‘problem’ is less one of understanding its values or its benefits and more one of accepting *interlopers* who offer non-traditional approaches to journalism. Were WikiLeaks not to claim journalistic belonging, it would not present a challenge to these aspects of journalism. It would remain a challenge to governments and corporations, but even in this WikiLeaks is not so unique. Rather, it is WikiLeaks’ embrace of the most idealised of journalistic criteria – a watchdog on the government, an information-driven communicator, and revealing content in a public interest – that substantiates its challenge.

offer a conceptual model of journalism that accounts for new actors claiming journalistic identity and reflecting journalistic criteria. In doing so, it will advance from Bourdieu's vision of an immovable journalistic field to articulate a concept of journalism that allows for transience, and that values the journalistic work of media actors that might not fit traditional definitional constructs.

### *7.3.1 JOURNALISM'S EXCLUSIVITY*

Early in this thesis, a definition of journalism was put forward to contextualise the otherwise-abstract ideals of journalism's projection of being a coherent in-group. Parsed in discourses of journalistic roles and identities, this definition reflects the in-group/out-group exclusivity that journalism has operated under and projects outwardly, and continuously articulated so as to reinforce a dominant vision of the journalistic field:

**JOURNALISM**

A distinct field in society self-identified by its members' expressed adherence to idealised traits and roles that underpin the transmission of facts as information to a public in their interest; further defined by a provision of context and analysis, built on expertise, and as integral to democratic societies.

This definition builds on the assumption of a set of criteria that have gained strength through repetition and widespread adoption, and the expression of those criteria as defining 'journalism'. With many of its paradigmatic values and standards tied to twentieth century conceptions of journalism (See Section 2.2), its engagement with civic public interest roles emerging only in the nineteenth century (Conboy 2004: 122), this definition of journalism reflects a particular form of communicative media developed in the context of modernity. Nevertheless, this definition reflects

journalism's sense of definitional exclusivity; amplified when emerging entities are perceived as threats.<sup>348</sup> Resonant with expressions of belonging, then found in news texts, this definition presents a *status quo* of how the profession of journalism sees itself, and how it sees its societal space and power. In this definition, there is no leeway for emerging claimants to join the field of journalism, and in practice the expression of an exclusive journalistic identity reinforce the resolute dimensions of this construct. This chapter will now revisit this exclusivity of journalism to posit a new conceptualisation of journalism with utility across past, current, and potential forms, one that applies to journalists who see their work through both traditional and atypical forms, practices, and organisations. In doing so, this achieves what both journalism and journalism studies need to remain viable in a modern, digital, era: It makes room for *interlopers* and reflects modern news media dynamics.

### 7.3.1 INTERLOPERS AS JOURNALISM: A REVISED UNDERSTANDING

For journalism confronting *interloper media*, the awkward balance between journalist and non- often rests on an inarticulate distinction between legal and everyday definitions. This difference, raised by Nick Davies, Alan Rusbridger, Bill Keller, and others in Chapters 4.0 and 5.0, reflects the tension between static conceptualisations of

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<sup>348</sup> To this 'modern' journalism, *interloper media* and the change they call for could be seen a nudge towards a post-modern conceptualisation of journalism, but in light of the findings of this research, efforts to articulate such a model seem strident (Anderson, et al. 2012). Rather, as the nomenclature suggests, *interloper media* move us towards a conceptualisation of journalism that accounts for the journalism of modernity as it persists (the dynamics of traditional media that are 'known' as journalism) along with entities such as *interloper media* that edge towards post-modern journalism, those that have and continue to emerge. Still, even for aspects of journalism wedded to modernity, it has been clear the definition above is not wholly reflective of journalism's entertainment, opinion, or commercial aspects. Nevertheless, its tenets emerged in the way in-group members perceive and then project their dominant vision of journalism in reaction to *interloper* claims (cf. Chapters 4.0, 5.0, and 6.0), and as a definition it aptly describes the *idea* of journalism as it has been conceived as a profession and field.

journalism and exposes further problems with purely conceptual definitions of journalism, tautological definitions, and exclusively legal definitions. None of these definitions sufficiently reflect journalism's societal understanding, and each presents a concept of journalism that is either too diffuse, too single-purpose, or too narrow. While occasional references ascribe journalistic belonging to WikiLeaks, as Rusbridger did: "[Assange] was, in many respects – more, perhaps, than he welcomed – in a role not dissimilar to that of a conventional editor" (Leigh and Harding 2011: 4), these emerge alongside discourses that also portray WikiLeaks as a source: "'There's a really interesting collaboration between the three news organizations. But Julian, he's a source,' says Davies" (Hendler 2010). Caught in a precarious balance between praising WikiLeaks' embodiment of journalistic values in discourses while stopping short of identifying WikiLeaks as journalism, such *interlopers* become subsumed under news-source paradigms and traditional power dynamics.

The complexity of any re-evaluation starts with how the traditional journalistic in-group has secured a societal appreciation for its performance of journalistic roles; as Donsbach (2010), Jacquette (2010), and Hampton (2010) refer to. The dividing lines identified in this research around which journalists perceive belonging can be described as: objective and non-activist, balanced and professional, critical without being acerbic, and ultimately coherent with in-group peers. However, when traditional in-group journalists take up campaign journalism, media criticism, social advocacy, and opinion writing, these are held up as resonant with its ideals. While these examples reflect weaknesses in the polarised, binary construct of journalistic belonging as overly exclusive and flawed in addressing journalism's many forms and traditions, it is not so simple as to say such conceptualisations are without societal merit.

One approach that has been made to break out of narrow constructs is to define journalism defined by its ‘acts’<sup>349</sup>, an approach not dissimilar to expanding ideas of journalism towards many ‘journalisms’<sup>350</sup> which might encompass the adoption of *interlopers* and WikiLeaks’ brand of ‘scientific journalism’ as one of these (Lynch 2012). However, neither of these approaches negate the counter-claims to *interlopers* made by journalism’s in-group, nor do they resolve in-group superiority over emergent journalisms and their claims. The way exclusivity and field dynamics have persisted to define journalism analysed in this research further reflect this challenge, and adopting any change towards an advanced concept of journalism will likely struggle to upend the persistence of traditional constructs that have enforced what journalism *is*. Such is the way with paradigmatic societal concepts (Kuhn 1962 [1996]), though the call for change should not be dismissed for its complexity.

For a balance of traditional dynamics within a distinct field and openness to new definitions needs to be struck. Revisiting Beckett and Ball’s (2012) articulation of WikiLeaks vis-à-vis journalism provides a useful prompt:

Those who argue that WikiLeaks is not ‘journalism’ are defining the term to exclude forms of news mediation that they do not wish to give an official stamp. Those who argue that WikiLeaks easily fits into their definition of journalism are in danger of ignoring how it challenges the validity of those categories. (26)

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<sup>349</sup> For some, legal debates such as those over reporters’ privilege assessed by Peters (2011) can be alleviated by defining journalism through acts, and journalists as those who commit ‘acts of journalism’. This is what Timm (R6) and the Freedom of the Press Foundation advocate, as others have. However, broadening definitions to be based on acts of journalism a) does not account for aspects of societal primacy and legitimation that would remain embedded in the journalistic field, b) neglects the way journalism’s in-group marginalises new actors, regardless of legal recognition (See Section 2.3.2.4), c) compounded by the legal versus ‘everyday’ distinction Davies or Keller express, and d) would remain reliant on traditional concepts to define what constitutes a journalistic act. For coverage of US Shield Law legislation, See: *The Los Angeles Times* (12 September 2013).

<sup>350</sup> Such as those argued by Deuze (2003) and van Zoonen (1998).



The following sections will revisit ideas of journalism to develop a model with utility across shifting media realities, acknowledging a place for antagonistic and iconoclastic media such as WikiLeaks. This model is referred to as a ‘multi-sphere’ model, and defines journalism through similarities across various media actors that claim journalistic identity, and incorporating a structure that accounts for journalism’s past, present, and potential future dynamics.

#### *7.4 A MULTI-SPHERE MODEL OF JOURNALISM*

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Combining the identification of journalistic belonging with the performance and the possession of criteria of a journalistic field, a reconceptualised model of journalism can be developed by approaching mediated communicators who, when adopting field criteria, can be considered journalism. In developing a multi-sphere model respective of both traditional and emerging journalistic identities, Bourdieu’s work is adopted to posit spheres of journalism. Through ‘elevating’ media actants to actors, entities previously ‘acted upon’ under traditional dynamics of journalism as sources or conduits to a heightened status of news media actors. This adopts Greimas’ (1971) semiotic description of actants in narrative structures, and Latour’s (1994, 2003) description of actants as applied to social structures of journalism within a network of actors (Schmitz Weiss and Domingo 2010). This allows a conceptualisation of journalism that is meaningful in its specificity while retaining utility for a range of entities when they perform journalistic roles. For journalism and *interlopers*, this elevates the regard of WikiLeaks with respect to the in-group from one of service, as a source, towards its own identification as a newsmaker. This is reflected in a model of journalism with utility for past, current digital and multi-modal media, defined as:

**A MULTI-SPHERE MODEL OF JOURNALISM:**

The label 'Journalism' is applied to those in society who embrace criteria of being journalism around a quartet of information-driven, publicly-interested, value-adding, and watchdog/'Fourth Estate' criteria, with a necessary intention and identity of performing a journalistic act, alongside independent mediated public communication.

**THREE NECESSARY COMPONENTS:**

SELF-CLAIM OF JOURNALISTIC IDENTITY AND INTENTION

+

RECOGNISABLE PRESENCE OF FIELD CRITERIA

+

INDEPENDENT (AUTONOMOUS) MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

The conceptualisation of journalism reflected in this definition is termed 'multi-sphered' because it can be mapped onto prominent spheres of communicative media that each, with various permanence, reflect attributes and mediation that can be considered journalism. These spheres are outlined as broad categories within which existing and emerging entities are defined as journalism. These spheres include activist journalism and professional journalism as well as entertainment and opinion/commentary journalism, each as distinct spheres. This also grants allowance for other unspecified spheres.<sup>351</sup>

Key to the conceptualisation of this model is identity, as it requires an individual or entity to associate their work with journalism before being considered as such, and also does not project belonging onto those who do not claim to be journalists. It further does not value certain mediated forms over others, and recognises how identification with journalism is sometimes transient, such as a citizen journalist or blogger who does not

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<sup>351</sup> Further research might determine that a list of Professional, Activist, Opinion/commentary, and Entertainment spheres does not exhaust the potential of this model, though these four spheres capture a significant space of what claims and is considered to be journalism.

*always* consider their work journalism, a commentator who separates their journalistic opinion work from their other writing, as a polemicist or essayist might, or WikiLeaks, which performs its journalistic role alongside advocacy and activist work. This conceptualises journalism around a structure with a necessary component of identity that does not also necessitate such identity as static bound, traditional, or professional. In this model, all of those who can some points be considered a journalist, at other times might not. The concept of *interloper media* reflected in the contestation of belonging under current concepts of journalism, therefore, becomes not a set sphere, but rather a means to describe those whose work and identity transition from sphere to sphere.

As an approach to understanding journalism that is apt for modern media realities and myriad media forms, this model locates journalism in the work of members of a sphere when their work coheres with a majority of the quartet of field criteria and allocates journalistic belonging to those members in those moments. Put differently, this definition allows an entity to be considered as journalism when it possesses these attributes:

**SELF-CLAIM OF JOURNALISTIC IDENTITY AND INTENTION:**

It claims to be performing journalism, identifying that work performance with journalistic belonging

+

**RECOGNISABLE PRESENCE OF FIELD CRITERIA:**

Its work presents recognisable watchdog functions, in the public interest, based on information as facts

+

**INDEPENDENT (AUTONOMOUS) MEDIATED COMMUNICATION:**

Its work is disseminated through its own channels (Such as print or broadcast avenues, or through autonomous websites or social media accounts)

Conceptualising the traditional journalism in-group as professional journalism and as one of several spheres of journalism moves definitions beyond the current immovable structures which dictate who is allowed to grant legitimacy to information, and who is ordained to perform this legitimation (Van Leeuwen 2007), a structure enabled when journalism is defined around strict in-group/out-group dynamics. The challenges presented by *interlopers* reinforce how such an immovable polarised belonging of journalism prevents new entities from being considered journalism, even when their mediated contributions fit in-group criteria; this addressed by the multi-sphere model.

#### 7.4.1 EMBRACING SIMILARITIES

To begin addressing the tension between a narrow concept of professional journalism and an open idea of journalism that welcomes external entities claiming belonging, we need to locate similarities in the aspects of journalistic identity and role fulfilment. This starts with revisiting the four criteria outlined below and previously in Section 2.2.4, which serve as a test of ‘role fulfilment’ for those claiming a journalistic identity. This returns to the previous diagram of the concept of journalism as:

**Journalism:**

A distinct field in society self-identified by its members’ expressed adherence to idealised traits and roles that underpin ① **the transmission of facts as information** to a ② **public in their interest**; further defined by a provision of ③ **context and analysis, built on expertise**, and as ④ **integral to democratic societies**.

•••

- ① **Information driven**
- ② **Publicly Interested**
- ③ **Value Adding**
- ④ **Watchdog/’Fourth Estate’**

Approaching these criteria as a test, WikiLeaks' releases seem to fit key criteria, as do other *interlopers* including the sorts of blogs identified in Chapter 6.0. If we further accept disseminating information for public rather than private consumption within criteria of journalism, then WikiLeaks and such *interlopers* fulfil another common role. While the criterion of providing context and analysis is disputed by in-group members, WikiLeaks' use of structured databases and releases, its editorial work with 'Collateral Murder', and its statements around each release, belie assertions that it is merely dumping its data on the world (R1, R2, R3, G169, G1002).<sup>352</sup>

In each of these aspects, there are clear commonalities where WikiLeaks' fulfilment of journalistic roles adheres to the in-group's sense of its profession and matches a journalistic field, even as the particular mediated forms differ. This argument can be transposed onto blogs and other *interlopers* (Carlson 2007, Eldridge 2013, Robinson 2006, Singer 2005). For the profession, to reconceptualise journalism by allowing *interloper* entities access to the field necessarily weakens its ability to claim unique ownership of its societal place, but does not discount its own belonging. Rather, this can be addressed through a multi-sphere model that sees the profession as strongly reflective of field criteria and less transient than other media actors, positioned alongside, rather than above, other spheres.

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<sup>352</sup> To some, including Tambini (2013), this was clearer in releases preceding the collaborations when political and financial strains on WikiLeaks' operations were lesser, but to MacFadyen (R5), it remains a consistent feature in WikiLeaks' means of dissemination.

#### 7.4.2 ELEVATING ACTANTS

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The development of a multi-sphere model of journalism draws on two approaches to the notion of actants; the first from narrative semiotics relates to journalism's discursive representation of society, the second from sociology to address role performance. In the work of Algirdas Greimas (1971), actants are described as the binary opposites of actors and necessary foils in narratives, such as hero and villain; reflected in the journalism/*interloper* relationship. For Bruno Latour (1994, 2003) actants are independent and supportive components of social processes, sometimes as supportive or confirmatory, other times with greater agency.

In Greimas' work, he adopts the term to describe archetypal narrative roles. In his actantial model Greimas identifies six forms of actants (sender, object, receiver, helper, subject, opponent), but it is his focus on the binary nature of the sender and opponent actants, with each being defined in part by its opposite, that is resonant with the way journalistic identity is defined. As this thesis has explored, it is *through* differentiation around actors (journalists/news) against actants (sources/*interlopers*) that the field asserts its primacy. Returning to the allegorical description of *interlopers* from Saki's short story (1969), the contrast of the legal landowner and the man claiming belonging follows this understanding of actants. In the actantial model, these binaries can be found in hero/villain dynamics, for example, that easily reflects the in-group/out-group dynamics explored in this thesis, and further reflects the way journalism through its own discourses mediates its societal role. Such discourses serve as symbolic societal structuration and expressions of primacy, authority, and legitimation (Bourdieu 1994; Van Leeuwen 2007).

Drawing on the traditional imbalance of journalism journalistic ‘actors’ – the in-group – are elevated against subordinated ‘actants’ – the out-group – the binary dynamic of actants developed by Greimas is clear. In this view, the existing dynamics of journalism’s field would identify the traditional in-group as ‘media actors’ perceiving their work as the role of ‘actors of newsmaking’, while *interlopers*, when involved in newsmaking, would be perceived as lesser ‘actants’; necessary, but unequal, and often through a similar moral positioning as the hero/villain binary. To address this imbalance and to incorporate new forms of journalistic mediation, the multi-sphere conceptualisation elevates actants to the level of actors acknowledging autonomous mediation approached through journalistic ideals. In other words, as both actor and actant can perform roles of information gathering, verification, contextualisation, and dissemination, they are not perceived in a relationship of actor/actant, but rather as actor/actor.

To this, Latour’s (1994, 2003) actantial work adds further context. In Latour’s discussion of actants, he begins by not predicating any agency on actant roles, and separates the resulting act (in this case ‘acts of journalism’) from being the work of an primary actor (journalist) or a predicated system (an in-group of journalism). For a multi-sphere journalism, the in-group/out-group construct reflective of Greimas’ actantial model is evaluated with regard to Latour’s approach, to disconnect journalism from set systems or specific actors and rather emphasises the end process and result: journalists defined by acting to perform journalism, rather than journalism defined by the acts of journalists.

A multi-sphere approach benefits from drawing on both of these perspectives of ‘actors’ and ‘actants’, further reflected in Bourdieu’s (1994, 2005) expressed differentiation and expressed affiliation. This focuses on developing a concept of journalism that necessitates a) an assessment of the action achieved, and b) the action endeavoured, alongside c) identity claims, as criteria of belonging. This focuses the task of reconceptualising journalism within a definition that has broader, but not diffuse, parameters. Finally, this provides a conceptualisation of journalism that accounts for actors who sometimes dip in and out of their journalistic roles. This does not disregard the imbalance of ‘weight’ (Benson and Neveu 2005), and prominent media will still have greater reach than emerging journalistic actors. Rather, it acknowledges societal contribution from all journalistic actors, regardless of scope or scale.

#### 7.4.3 IDENTITY IN A MULTI-SPHERE MODEL

Journalistic identity continues to provide a prime indicator of being journalism, and the aspects of identity coalesce in what Deuze refers to as journalism’s occupational ideology (2005: 442). Further enforced through an identity of ‘us’ versus ‘them’, journalism’s ideology and belonging is heavily wed to individual and organisational embrace of a journalistic identity (Van Dijk 1998a, 1998b). As such, identity underpins a journalistic ideology and informs the way journalism’s in-group defines its role as unique, but is also foundational to *interlopers’* implicit claims of belonging and explicit assertions of being journalism. Identity is found in traditional journalism carried out by journalists with a journalistic identity, and can also be found in the work of others when *intentionally* performed to be journalism. This intentionality dismisses the idea of ‘unintentional’ or ‘accidental’ journalism, which posits information becoming



journalism after it is relayed publicly, regardless of journalistic intention or belonging. Accidental journalism when seen as citizen witnessing (Allan 2013), combined with public dissemination, demonstrates that intentionality and journalistic identity. Such witnessing can be evaluated as journalism if further aspects of field criteria are present (public interest, watchdog, information-driven, etc.). This identity criterion incorporates the act of journalism, but provides structure to this concept so as to not dilute the conceptualisation.<sup>353</sup>

Identity also allows entities that might appear journalistic to disassociate their work from the performance of a journalistic act if they do not adopt such an identity for themselves. To expand on this, while WikiLeaks claims and seeks to be recognised as journalism, when Daniel Domscheit-Berg was later developing a similar whistleblower operation called OpenLeaks, he did not. Rather, he saw his project as a service for journalism's use.<sup>354</sup> Similarly Cryptome, a site dedicated to transparency that predates WikiLeaks, explicitly states it is not journalism or journalistic: "We do not consider Cryptome to be a journalistic endeavour and do not claim protection as journalists. We call ourselves public scholars."<sup>355</sup> An understanding of journalism that necessitates the presence of a claim of being journalism also separates those who claim to be doing journalism from those who see their work as non-journalistic commentary, satire, or

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<sup>353</sup> This component keeps definitions from being so diffuse as to lack meaning by discounting any media entities or individuals that either explicitly claim not to be journalism, or do not explicitly claim to be journalism.

<sup>354</sup> See: <http://techpresident.com/blog-entry/wikileaks-openleaks-knight-news-challenge>, where Domscheit-Berg describes the service as a localized tool for news media, similar to the Freedom of the Press Foundation's Secure Drop service designed by the late Aaron Swartz, See: <https://pressfreedomfoundation.org/securedrop>

<sup>355</sup> See: <http://cryptome.org/0003/wikileaks-stoned.htm>

comedy.<sup>356</sup> As such, those who do *not* identify their work as journalism are *not* evaluated for adherence to the field's criteria of belonging, nor to the journalistic field's unique societal roles and standards.

Finally, as any group or individual could claim to be journalism as a defence mechanism against prosecution or to gain privileged access, a journalistic identity is only considered valid in conjunction with other definitional criteria. Adding a focus on specific shared competencies to the multi-sphere conceptualisation addresses this. Within Donsbach's (2010: 45) framework, there are several areas of commonality that can inform reconceptualised journalism definitions. He outlines these as:

a grasp of relevant history, current affairs, etc.; a specialised subject expertise; a scientific understanding of communication processes; a mastery of journalistic and reporting skills; and finally, working as a professional within professional ethical norms. (Donsbach 2010: 45).

In legal frameworks presented by both Peters (2011), who found WikiLeaks not covered by US reporters privilege laws, and by Tambini (2013) looking at the same dynamics for the United Kingdom and associating WikiLeaks with several criteria. To revisit the conceptual definition of the 'status quo' of journalism from Section 2.2, the multi-sphere conceptualisation also incorporates the quartet of criteria of belonging, and the functions of the journalistic field, while loosing the strictures of hierarchy or ordained belonging.

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<sup>356</sup> This places individuals and outlets such as Jon Stewart's satirical news program The Daily Show, or satirical news such as The Onion or The Daily Currant, from making definitions of journalism too diffuse.

#### 7.4.4 MULTI-SPHERE JOURNALISM: VISUALISED

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To develop this concept and model of journalism further requires addressing the distinctions drawn to distance WikiLeaks from journalism, evaluating how the activism of a news organisation differs (if at all) from that of an *interloper* if revelatory journalistic roles are still embraced, and whether such roles supersede its journalistic functions? This builds on Benkler's (2013a) view of WikiLeaks as having multiple identities, only one of which might be journalism:

These two [journalistic and transparency organisations] are not mutually exclusive. You can have the same organization commit acts of journalism or acts of movement building and movement participation. The two are not, they're different, they're not mutually exclusive... I think there's a difference between activism and journalism. Although again there are activists who also perform journalism, and when they perform journalism they're doing journalism. (131-132)

Drawing these points, with a strong consideration of identity and an embrace of the quartet of criteria of belonging, a conceptual definition of journalism can be scoped that a) seeks consistency with field theory, b) provides a meaningful expression of a unique communicative activity and those who perform it, and c) allows flexibility for emerging, perhaps iconoclastic, entities and d) can be applied to past, modern, and entities that may yet emerge claiming to be journalism.

In this model, the professional sphere with stricter adherence to idealised criteria holds a close allegiance with the field, almost fully overlapping the field; a visualisation that reflects the centrality of field criteria, and the relative immobility of the profession from that identity construct. The professional sphere demonstrates its adherence, first, through a consistent adoption of the criteria of that field and, second, a strong journalistic identity that further *tends* to represent traditional entities. However, even within the professional sphere there are moments where the product of newspapers and

broadcasters could be located outside the highly civic and political dimensions that underpin field criteria. In this case, that work would be placed in the white crescent at the outer edge of the sphere. Key to this model, spheres are not conceptualised as static, and the points at which spheres overlap can change. The only requirement for the output of a sphere to being considered journalism, and for the actors to be considered classified as journalism, is for an overlap with the blue area denoting the field criteria based on the three components outlined above; journalistic identity, autonomous mediation, and adherence to the quartet of criteria.

To move to other spheres, opinion writers or commentators who might not always see their work as journalism placed within the area overlapping the field criteria when commenting on matters of the day that could be termed ‘public interest’ or ‘watchdog’ commentary.<sup>357</sup> The entertainment sphere would also seem largely outside the field, and in Görke and Scholl’s (2006) systems work it would be. In instances these too offer publicly interested insights on cultural, societal, or political discussions, and when doing so they transition towards the overlapping field to be considered journalism.<sup>358</sup>

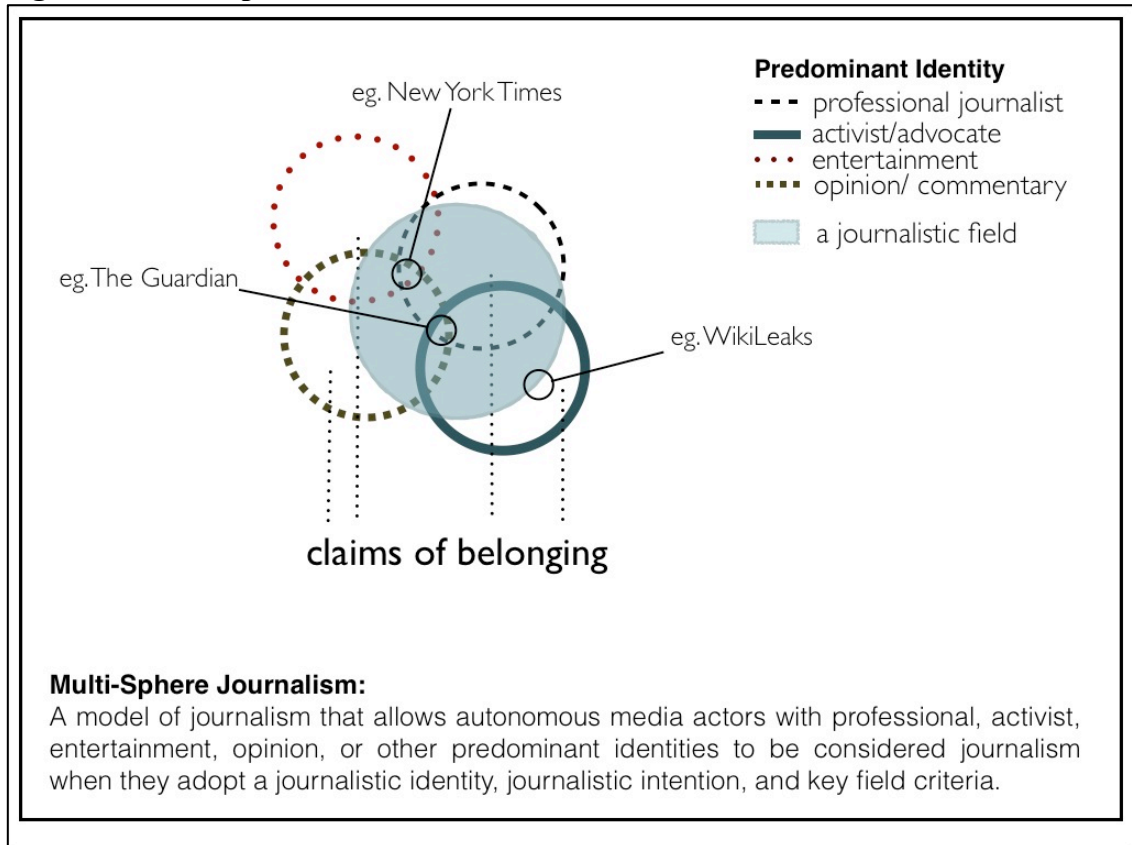
This is illustrated on the following page.

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<sup>357</sup> Highlighted in Conboy’s (2013) definition of journalism.

<sup>358</sup> One could foresee a fashion magazine that is, broadly, seen as non-journalism, but in instances engage with the quartet of criteria of belonging to the field in an evaluation of fashion and labour rights in clothes manufacturers in Bangladesh, for instance. Equally, sports broadcasters often bridge that divide between entertainment – the presentation of the athletics – and commentary or analysis or contextualisation on societal, cultural, or political aspects, such as the issue of LGBT rights in Russia, or concussions in the US football league.

**Figure 1: Multi-Sphere Journalism**



In this model, the large spheres denoted by the dashed, dotted, and solid lines reflect different forms of autonomous media. Examples (*The New York Times*, *Guardian*, and *WikiLeaks*) are identified through small spheres as outlets that a) express a journalistic identity and intention, b), possess field criteria, and c) communicate through autonomous media. Overlapping with the blue sphere reflects where mediated communication aligns with traditional field criteria. Field criteria are still embraced as a component of this conceptualisation, valuing the informative roles of communicative media in society, while also allowing the concepts of journalism to apply to varied actors who perform that societal role. In other words, those who intend to do journalism, produce content that matches a field of journalism, are valued and considered as journalism.

In the example of *WikiLeaks*, elements of transience are evident through it being fully incorporated into an activist/advocate identity, with overlaps into the field. This acknowledges *WikiLeaks*' various activities for their individual attributes. As a second example out of this research, in this conceptualisation, a blogger, for instance, could fit any of the spheres, including professional. Equally, those who identify their traditional media work as journalism can drift outside of field criteria towards commentary, for instance. This is developed further in Figure 2 below.

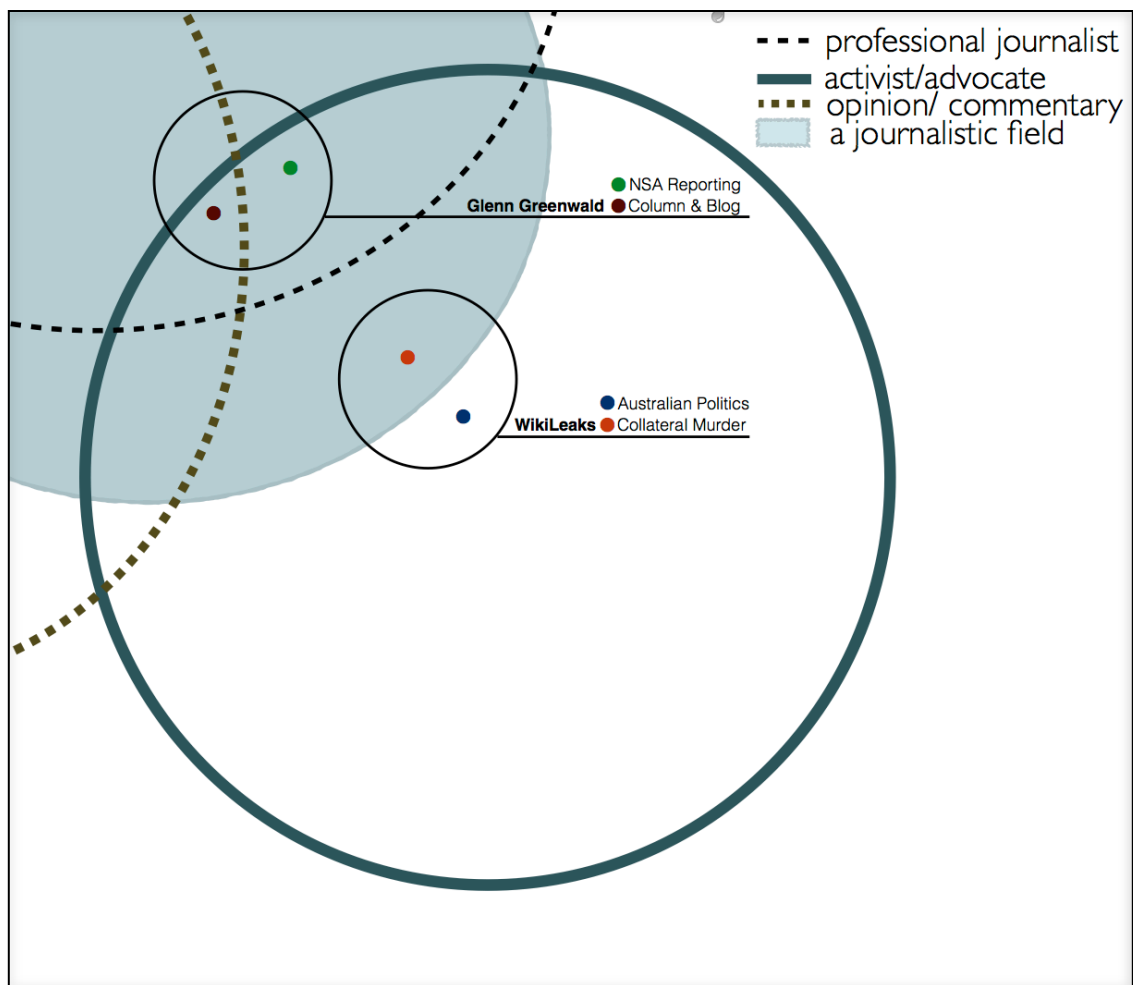
#### 7.4.4.1 TRANSIENT IDENTITIES

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To the cases of WikiLeaks and other *interloper media*, the multi-sphere model allows entities to have transient identification with journalism and with the journalistic field. WikiLeaks and Assange have always adopted dual (at least) identifications of activism and journalism, and this model recognises this. In instances, WikiLeaks' work is strongly identifiable as in a public interest, performing a watchdog role, and contextualising information-driven content. In those moments WikiLeaks' work adheres more closely to the field's criteria of belonging, and is considered journalism. In other instances, when campaigning for instance, it does not. While often dual in identities, when WikiLeaks adopts a journalistic identity, it makes clear the presence of intent and identification as performing a journalistic act.

The multi-sphere model does not see WikiLeaks', or another media actor's activist work as diminishing their journalistic work, rather it locates different aspects of an entity's work where different spheres overlap. As each sphere is separate from the others, even when overlapping, the differentiation of systems theory (Luhmann 1977) is reflected in this conceptual model to envisage spheres as operating autonomously even as actors move from sphere to sphere. It further does not demand all members carry dual identities within their specific spheres, nor does it demand that members of any sphere adopt journalistic ideals if other members choose to (ie: not all mediated activism needs to adopt journalistic criteria). This can be seen in the illustration on the following page, where each dot denotes a different activity within a sphere (as above), each performed by a different actor (WikiLeaks, referring to both 'Collateral Murder and its 2013 political campaign in Australia, Glenn Greenwald; each denoted by black circles):

**Figure 2: Multi-Sphere Journalism (enhanced)**



In this model, the individual activities of journalistic actors are identified as coloured points. This reflects the valuation within the multi-sphere model of individual acts of journalism (ie Glenn Greenwald’s NSA reporting) for where they map onto different mediated communication and predominant identities.

Each solid black sphere represents a media actor that claims journalistic identity with its work. For WikiLeaks, the difference between its ‘Collateral Murder’ release as ‘journalistic’ is illustrated by placing it in the overlap with the shaded space of field criteria. Locating the blue dot representative of WikiLeaks’ political activity outside the field denotes the non-journalistic identity expressed in that work, including Assange’s pursuit of a seat in the Australian parliament. This reflects the multi-sphere model’s acknowledgement that individual actors or entities can, at moments, be journalistic while, at other moments, are more activist-oriented. It does not presuppose an allegiance to journalistic criteria within the activist activities, or vice versa.

For Glenn Greenwald’s work, his NSA reporting and his *Guardian* and *Slate.com* columns and his independent blog all map onto the criteria of the journalistic field. However, the opinion work in his column and blog fit within

an opinion/commentary sphere, and his NSA reporting is more closely aligned with the dimensions of the advocacy sphere, and both fit within the dimensions of the professional sphere. These differences are illustrated by placing the dot denoting each act within the overlapping dimensions of these spheres.

Under this model the sometimes-paradoxical defence of a legally broad sense of journalism worthy of protection alongside a narrow ‘everyday’ journalism is resolved by separating professional journalism as one of several spheres that can overlap with field criteria and be considered journalism. Within the professional sphere, there is a strong coherence of practice and peer accountability all mapped onto the quartet of criteria of belonging with scarce variance.<sup>359</sup> Building on the traditions of objectivity and a balanced array of voices, this sphere embraces the organisational weight of the traditional forms of professional journalism (Donsbach 2010), with the profession’s uniformity in defining the journalistic field (Bourdieu 2005: 44). This multi-sphere model allows a definition of journalism that acknowledges a valued profession of journalism, without giving that sphere sole ownership of being journalism and valuing emerging voices for their journalistic functions in society.

This returns to the way this model emphasises a necessary criteria of identification within the performance of acts of journalism. By necessitating an intention of ‘performing a journalistic act’, it draws on the societal function of a Fourth Estate by emphasising the importance of such journalism. Finally, within this conceptualisation the critiques of traditional journalism found in the work of Assange (See 2.2.7) and Greenwald (see below) do not lessen Assange’s or Greenwald’s own journalistic work, but rather allows both to exist as components of the overall work of each. In other words, it reflects the array of identities that are adopted with varying permanence by

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<sup>359</sup> This is resonant in many of the discourses of belonging and non-belonging analysed in this thesis.



new media actors that fall outside traditional structures of journalism. Finally, it should be said that rather than seeing this definition as a means of shoehorning definitionally troublesome entities into a concept of journalism, this multi-sphere definition provides a conceptual basis that keeps the field distinct in a society composed of fields (Bourdieu 1968, 1984, 1994). As perceived-as out-group actors have emerged to perform journalistic roles, and will likely continue to do so, an approach to understanding journalism that addresses these entities is necessary. The multi-sphere conceptualisation developed here has the utility to embrace new forms hitherto unimagined when adopted by the in-group as well as new entities who perform roles adherent to the field's criteria.<sup>360</sup>

#### 7.4.5 WHY THE INTERLOPER CONCEPT MATTERS

Notable contradictions have emerged in the final stages of this PhD research that call into question the utility of understanding journalism along in-group definitions and field exclusivity, particularly those drawn along professional/activist lines. For example, in defence of the *Guardian's* Glenn Greenwald's and Laura Poitras' reporting on the extent of US NSA spying activities and Alexa O'Brien's reporting on the Manning trial, the marriage of 'activist' and 'journalist' is not only allowed but is promoted (*The New York Times*, 30 June 2013). This weakens the distancing of Assange and WikiLeaks on the same criteria. Through lauding Greenwald's and Poitras' work, the juxtaposition of activist and journalist is described as inherent to investigative reporting, including by

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<sup>360</sup> One need only look at the ways the previously excoriated blog formats, or the 140 character messages of Twitter, have been embraced by some of the most identifiable entities within the in-group to locate dynamics where this utility is purposeful for both traditionally in-group and traditionally out-group members (Artwick 2013, Thurman and Walters 2013, Vis 2013).

UK Business Minister Vince Cable: “What they [the *Guardian*] did was, as journalists, entirely correct and right”.<sup>361</sup> Margaret Sullivan, the *New York Times* public editor, writes of Greenwald and Poitras as “proud, rather than apologetic, about their passionate advocacy on matters of civil liberties” (*New York Times*, 26 October 2013). Contrasting the way reactions to WikiLeaks are articulated, a negative backlash to Greenwald and Poitras is condemned by media commentators from within the in-group, and such backlash was portrayed as attacking a critical role of journalism.<sup>362,363</sup>

To expand on this paradoxical ordination of activism from within the in-group while decrying it from without, when NBC’s David Gregory challenged Greenwald’s work as risking US national security reactions reflected archetypal boundary maintenance processes in their overt, episodic, and internal reinforcement of journalistic criteria (Eldridge 2014). These boundary processes clearly defended Greenwald as living up to journalism’s ideals, while excoriating those within the profession who suggested otherwise (See: Chapter 6.0, Section 6.33, Diagram 9).<sup>364,365</sup> As Greenwald’s work could be seen as legitimated by nature of its appearing in the *Guardian*, or by Poitras and Barton Gellman in the *Washington Post*, with a defence of their work in the *Times*, reactions differ in part from *interloper media reactions*. However, there is a further dimension to their treatment. Prominently raised in reactions to Greenwald, his work is

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<sup>361</sup> Accessible at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/30/nsa-files-edward-snowden-gchq-whistleblower>. Cable goes on to distinguish between the Guardian’s journalism and Snowden’s leaking (praising the former, critiquing the latter). Structurally, this compares to condemnations of Manning’s leaks by those who saw his actions as threatening national security. In that, it offers an avenue for seeing WikiLeaks’ activities as separate reporting from Manning’s leaking.

<sup>362</sup> See: <https://twitter.com/davidfolkenflik/status/343812592952827905>

<sup>363</sup> Interestingly, both Greenwald and O’Brien have supported Assange’s claims of WikiLeaks-as-journalism.

<sup>364</sup> See: <http://www.mediaite.com/tv/howard-kurtz-and-cnn-panel-shred-david-gregory-over-greenwald-interview-outright-unfairness/>

<sup>365</sup> This embrace of Greenwald’s activist-journalist identity could be short-lived, as he has since left the *Guardian* for a nascent online news outlet funded by EBay founder Pierre Omidyar.

constantly qualified as that of a blogger, and therefore something different than the journalism norm. In defining his current journalistic contributions through his previous work as a blogger, both independently and for *Salon.com*, his credentials as a journalist are lessened. Sullivan, in an earlier column, takes the dynamic of dismissive language a step further:

Is Mr. Greenwald a “blogger,” as a *Times* headline referred to him recently? That headline was atop a profile that did not use the word journalist to describe the columnist for The Guardian United States, the New York-based Web site associated with the British newspaper. At the time, I wrote (on Twitter) that I found the headline dismissive. There’s nothing wrong with being a blogger, of course – I am one myself. But when the media establishment uses the term, it somehow seems to say, “You’re not quite one of us.” (And that might be just fine with Mr. Greenwald, who has written disparagingly of some media people, whom he calls “courtiers of power.”) (*New York Times*, 29 June 2013)

Of course, Sullivan’s stance comes from that of an editor whose role is to consider such aspects and reflect on them. In that, she has the scope to provide a full-throated endorsement, as well as an evaluation of the blogger/journalist distinction. Found within her critique of marginalised terminology, the findings within this thesis that journalists perceive and describe other actors in media against their self-perceptions of *being* journalism are supported. Still, these are not quickly settled dynamics, and Sullivan’s column highlights how even when working for traditional in-group entities, digitally native actors are at risk of their work being marginalised and their identity as journalists discounted.<sup>366</sup> Sullivan’s critique, however, offers optimism for the idea that online actors can indeed be journalists, and can fit within a concept of journalism. It is that concept that is addressed in this conclusion, presented as a re-evaluation of journalism’s exclusivity around an overly narrow understanding of its field.

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<sup>366</sup> This resonates with Eldridge’s (2013) work on marginalising language referring to independent political blogs in 2008.

These paradoxes are not merely reflective of anxiety around the ‘new’, but can also be understood as embedded in journalism’s other crises (Siles and Boczkowski 2012), manifest in news discourses as a crisis of identity. On top of a crisis of profitability, and a crisis of losing audiences, is a crisis of primacy over the value of the traditional idea of journalism as audiences turn to online and alternative forms of journalism. What these crises share, to return to the theoretical foundation of field theory, is the way they strike at a vulnerable journalism facing the perception that its challenges impinge on the field’s ability to articulate societal distinction. As a more diffuse array of actors seek recognition of their work as journalism, and as more people see their work as journalism, this articulation crisis is enhanced (Chung et al. 2007, Johnson and Kaye 2004, Lowrey 2006, Robinson 2006). In this, the crises of commercialism and audiences are tied to the crises of journalism’s identity, made salient as media technologies present new means of communicating, accessing, disseminating, and verifying knowledge in a public interest, all performed by new actors with greater access to the esoteric knowledge that previously grounded the profession’s exclusivity (Eldridge, *Forthcoming*, 2014).

Out of crisis, a reinvigorated professional journalism identity has become a familiar retort (Örnebring 2010a). As a response to crises that exist first on arguing value, second on marginalising *interlopers*, this again seems evident. The question emerging from that reinvigoration, though, continues to beg whether this is useful, and whether a conceptualisation of journalism with greater utility might offer a path out of an identity crisis and beyond assertions around self-defined parameters. While constant communication of belonging and unique societal placement is a necessary part of field differentiation, with journalism this has taken place through retrenchment around a

narrow ideal type. Ultimately this presents a highly restrictive definition of journalism, constrained in such a way that it risks becoming outmoded by its own strict criteria as technologies advance, new forms of journalistic actors emerge, and societal interactions with information change.

The broader exploration of *interloper media* makes clear that, without a reflexive engagement with the utility of these narrow and traditional concepts of journalism, the same marginalisation WikiLeaks and blogs have faced will return anew as new forms of *interloper media* emerge. Here lies the impetus for a broader discussion of how journalism might be re-conceptualised with regard to *interloper* and other emergent media. The reactions to WikiLeaks and blogs provide an avenue through which narrow concepts of journalism can be revisited that reconfigure understandings of journalism, and broaden the field beyond the way it has been bounded in traditional, hierarchical, and exclusive dimensions of belonging.

### 7.5 FINAL REFLECTIONS

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The innovative contributions of this research can be found in several aspects. Its analysis of covert and overt discourses of belonging provide a methodological approach to understanding how journalism's in-group defines its place in society based on exclusivity. Through developing *interloper media* as a categorisation of non-traditional entities that claim to be doing journalism and *interloper media reactions* as a discursive boundary-building process, it has contributed a theoretical advancement to explain the in-group/out-group dynamics of the journalistic field. Throughout this analysis, there

was a steady undercurrent of explanation seeking to address what journalism ‘is’, and to unpack how concepts of journalism are articulated and defined through marginalisation of new entities.

The multi-sphere model put forward in this conclusion has emerged out of a critique of the more rigid definitions of journalism that have been explored in this research as the way *a* concept of journalism is projected, and is offered as a response to encourage further reflection as to whether such rigidity is at all useful in a digital era with emerging entities adopting the profession’s identity and claiming ownership of ‘journalism’. While this thesis has carried a recognition – indeed an appreciation – of the role of professional journalism in societies and in communicative spaces, within that regard there is an unavoidable need to steer away from a narrow view of professional journalism as ideal or as the actualisation of a journalism which all media are progressing towards. This has allowed this work to conceptualise journalism in forms beyond the traditional, and with an active embrace of the ability of professionally delimited entities to perform journalistic roles with an enthusiastic vigour, has argued a recontextualisation of journalism that acknowledges emerging actors who *also* perform laudable journalism.

The multi-sphere model resulting from this recontextualisation appreciates how *interlopers* have upset the complacency of traditional constructs, acknowledging the discomfort of a staid journalism profession as a positive. Rather than approaching the challenge of these new entities as admonishment, the findings of this work have recognised the way *interloper media* have prompted a reinvigoration of elements of journalism’s specific *doxa* and in facing these challenges, a strong articulation of

journalism's traditional ideals (Conboy and Eldridge 2014). In addition to making salient a metadiscourse of its definitional criteria within news texts, *interloper media* have also identified ways in which multiple actors can contribute to the societal functions that journalism as a field adopts, emboldening the ways communicative media inform a public, in its interest, while casting a vigilant eye towards those in power.

What the findings of this research wholly reject is a sense of inherent primacy over the ability to belong to a field of journalism. In its concluding statements, this thesis has embarked on a remodelling of journalism that seeks to locate journalism with greater utility for changing dynamics and flexibility for many journalistic entities, but still within a structure that is not so porous as to be meaningless. It offers parameters where shared criteria outweigh exclusive dimensions of belonging and, without going so far as to agree with the view that nowadays everyone is a journalist<sup>367</sup>, it agrees with the supposition that many entities and individuals *can be*. And when these actors and entities are journalism, they warrant both the appreciation and the critical evaluation that this thesis has paid to the in-group/out-group dynamics facing WikiLeaks and *interloper media*.

This thesis began with a brief description of Saki's (1969) 'The Interlopers', detailing the short story as a fight between an ordained landowner and a man who also claimed ownership of that land. The allegory of *interloper media* built on this conflict, and was a useful means to describe the way WikiLeaks claims belonging to journalism, and eased descriptions of the ordained in-group's resistance to such *interloping* claims. What was left out of that entrée to Saki's tale was its conclusion. As the story develops, and the

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<sup>367</sup> Popularly attributed to Dan Gillmor's work 'We the Media' (2004).

two men eventually encounter each other in the contested wood, a tree branch falls on top of them, pinning them together underneath its weight. Now the two men, trapped and helpless and with little else to do, speak at length and resolve their dispute, each agreeing that when their comrades arrive, they will tell them to accept a truce. Alas, when they hear a sound from the wood just beyond where they are trapped it is not an ally of either, but rather a pack of wolves. Their truce came too late, and their resolution is rendered meaningless.

While it would lean dangerously towards hyperbole to map this onto dynamics of journalism, this final act of ‘The Interlopers’ provides one final allegorical lesson: If the in-group and the *interloper* can recognise the merits of each of their claims of belonging, perhaps the field of journalism and its unique role in society can be resolved for a digital era. Bereft of divisive dynamics of exclusivity, such a view of journalism would embrace the benefits offered by both traditional and emerging actors, and could reinvigorate the societal contributions found in the work of both traditional and emerging, and *interloping media*.



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## 9.0 APPENDIX A

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All *Guardian* articles analysed, cited as (G + Article #).

Shaded entries represent overt discourses of journalistic belonging within media-centric texts, including media columns, Leader articles and editorials, and similar discourses as described in Chapter 4.0.

Article: G	#	Date	Author	Headline
	1	31/08/2007	Xan Rice	The looting of Kenya: Leak of secret report exposes corrupt web More than £1bn moved to 28 countries Property in London, New York, Australia
	2	01/09/2007	~	International: At a glance
	3	01/09/2007	Xan Rice, Duncan Campbell, and Michael White	International: UK attacks Kenya over role in search for missing £1bn: Foreign Office says Nairobi spurned offer of help: More close allies of Moi suspected of corruption
	4	17/09/2007	Jenny Kleeman	G2: Shortcuts: Wikileaks - whistleblowing made easy
	5	16/11/2007	Ewen MacAskill	Leaked rules detail rewards and penalties at Guantanamo
	6	19/02/2008	Jemima Kiss	Whistleblowing website vows to defy court gag
	7	23/02/2008	David Leigh and Jonathan Franklin	Whistle while you work: From government to big business, if you have a dirty secret, Wikileaks is your worst nightmare. David Leigh and Jonathan Franklin on the site a US court has tried to muzzle: Whistle while you work
	8	03/03/2008	Dan Glaister	United States: Judge reverses ruling on closure of leaks website
	9	10/07/2008	Charles Arthur	Technology: The right to peer inside your iPod: An agreement on intellectual property rights to be ratified by the G8 heads of government highlights conflicts between ownership and privacy, says Charles Arthur
	10	19/09/2008	Bobbie Johnson	USA: Race for the White House: FBI on the trail of hackers after Palin's emails made public: Photos, messages and address book made public: Claims that candidate broke transparency rules
	11	18/12/2008	Charles Arthur, Jack Schofield, Vic Keegan, Aleks Krotoski, Keith Stuart, Greg Howson, Mike Anderiesz and Michael Cross	Technology: 100 top sites for the year ahead: Two years after we last picked the web's cream of the crop, our latest selection finds that location-based services, work anywhere collaboration and video are prominent
	12	13/02/2009	David Leigh, Felicity Lawrence, Nick Davies, Richard Brooks, Rob Evans, Afua Hirsch and Ian Griffiths	National: Special report: Tax gap: Isles of plenty: The Caymans: a Caribbean paradise ... operated in secret. A top Swiss banker turned whistleblower says he has the evidence
	13	06/03/2009	Peter Beaumont	Intelligence failures crippling fight against insurgents in Afghanistan, says report: Leaked analysis condemns US for lack of co-operation: Senior officers' criticisms also cover Iraq campaign
	14	17/03/2009	~	Comment: The secret documents: Barclays and tax
	15	27/03/2009	Felicity Lawrence and David Leigh	Front: How a Lib Dem peer told their lordships what we couldn't
	16	27/03/2009	David Leigh and Felicity Lawrence	Financial: US banks pull out of \$11bn Barclays tax avoidance partnerships: Bank of America and BB&T repay loans early: Project Knight meant to generate £100m next year
	17	02/04/2009	Chris Williams	Technology: Inside IT: Caught in the act: Personal data is posted on an activism website. A man is arrested under the Serious Crime Act - but his involvement was minimal
	18	06/04/2009	Felicity Lawrence and David Leigh	Financial: Barclays denies whistleblower was forced out: Dismissed banker calls for inquiry by Revenue: Bank says job lost through nor-mal redundancy plan
	19	12/06/2009	Charles Arthur	Technology: Newly asked questions: When will BT start its next ad-serving trial with Phorm?
	20	17/06/2009	Jonathan Watts	International: China backs down on plan to put censor program on computers
	21	24/06/2009	Hugh Muir	Comment & Debate: Diary : I am who I am. But I'm not who you think I am. Definitely not
	22	26/06/2009	David Leigh	National: Intelligence: Wikileaks ban: MoD seeks to block access to whistleblowing site
	23	04/08/2009	Simon Bowers	Confidential Kaupthing corporate loan details leaked on the internet: Risks it was taking weeks before collapse revealed: Large exposures to those with major shareholdings
	24	03/09/2009	Charles Arthur	Technology: OS business model costs leaked: A document outlining estimates for free data and hybrid models appears online at Wikileaks site
	25	10/09/2009	Charles Arthur	Technology: Free our data: Don't write it down: OS kept no notes of talks with 'expert'
	26	24/09/2009	Charles Arthur	Technology: Newly asked questions: Was the Royal Mail's database leak a good or bad thing?
	27	17/10/2009	David Leigh	National: Trafigura: Revealed at last, the Trafigura-commissioned study into the toxic waste dumped in Africa: Guardian can publish after five week legal battle: Injunction banned any word of report's existence
	28	17/10/2009	Staff Reporter	National: Trafigura: The battle: Victory for press, MPs and internet
	29	21/10/2009	Robert Booth. Helen Pidd and Simon Rogers	Far Right: Leaked data: Party membership spreads beyond Essex, East Midlands and Pennines
	30	21/10/2009	Robert Booth	Far Right: BNP insists 'member list' is hoax: Army chiefs condemn hijacking of historic images: Griffin claims party is subject to 'state attack'
	31	21/10/2009	~	The super-injunction revealed
	32	21/10/2009	Hugh Muir	Comment & Debate: Diary: This is all very well and all very nice, but wheres the street fighter? Where's Bob?
	33	22/10/2009	~	Leading article: In praise of... Wikileaks
	34	24/10/2009	~	Saturday: This week: Guardian's most read
	35	29/10/2009	~	Technology: Wisdom of the crowd: Do friends let friends hack extremist websites?
	36	12/11/2009	~	Technology: Wisdom of the crowd: What should you do with that email full of salaries?
	37	19/11/2009	Charles Arthur	Technology: A new landscape unfolds: Free our data: Landmark proposal on OS mapping and postcode area data is victory for campaign

38	26/11/2009	Ed Pilkington	Front: 'Plane has hit WTC. Pls call, love your wife.' Chaos of 9/11 captured in 570,000 messages: Wikileaks reveals archive of pager communications: Files give new insight into trauma of day's events
39	10/12/2009	Jack Schofield, Bobbie Johnson, Charles Arthur, Stuart O'Connor, Mercedes Bunz, Vic Keegan, Keith Stuart, Greg Howson, Chris Salmon and more	Technology: The 100 essential websites: Here we go again ... our latest Top 100 list sees short attention spans, the rise of Twitter, more browser wars and celebrity gossip sites setting the news agenda
40	17/12/2009	Simon Bowers	SFO to investigate failed Icelandic bank: Inquiry into push for UK savers by Kaupthing arm Focus will be on possible misrepresentation
41	23/01/2010	David Stubbs, Alison King and Ali Catterall	The Guide: Thursday January 28th: Television: pick of the day
42	29/01/2010	David Stubbs, Will Hodgkinson, Rebecca Nicholson, Martin Skegg	G2: Television:: Watch this
43	06/02/2010	Ali Catterall, Jonathan Wright and Phelim O'Neill	The Guide: Television: Saturday 6: pick of the day
44	13/02/2010	Mark Tran	International: Iceland plan to become haven for free speech: Focus on free press and investigative journalism: Wikileaks whistleblower site backing initiative
45	15/02/2010	Julian Assange	Media: WikiLeaks
46	15/02/2010	Afua Hirsch	Media: Who's shooting for reform?: As the John Terry case highlights the chilling effect of British libel law, Afua Hirsch gathers an expert panel to debate legal reform, below, while WikiLeaks' editor applauds warmer attitudes to free speech in Iceland
47	24/02/2010	~	National: MPs' report: Regulation: Gagging the Guardian: How big companies used law to curb reporting
48	22/03/2010	Charles Arthur	Media: What's left of Digital Britain?: The digital economy bill may be law by the election and could dramatically affect media in the UK. What should you know about it?
49	06/04/2010	Chris McGreal	Secret video shows US air crew gunning down Iraqi civilians: Dozen people died in 2007 Apache helicopter strike Web whistleblower angers Pentagon by disclosure
50	07/04/2010	~	G2: Pass notes No 2,758 WikiLeaks
51	09/04/2010	Charles Arthur	Internet provider defies digital bill: TalkTalk will refuse to help combat file-sharing Campaigners describe proposals as draconian
52	10/04/2010	~	Saturday: This week: Guardian's most read
53	10/04/2010	Chris McGreal	Saturday: Who watches WikiLeaks?: This week, a classified video of a US air crew killing unarmed Iraqis was seen by millions on the internet - including Haifa Zangana, right. But for some, the whistleblowing website itself needs closer scrutiny
54	24/04/2010	~	Corrections and clarifications
55	08/06/2010	Chris McGreal	Hacker blows whistle on US army analyst over WikiLeaks video
56	12/06/2010	Chris McGreal	International: Pentagon hunts WikiLeaks founder in bid to gag website: Thousands of diplomatic cables leaked by soldier: US authorities say release may harm national security
57	17/06/2010	Chris McGreal	WikiLeaks to release video of deadly US Afghan attack
58	17/06/2010	Chris McGreal	WikiLeaks to release video of deadly US Afghan attack
59	22/06/2010	Ian Traynor	WikiLeaks man breaks cover but will avoid the US
60	07/07/2010	Chris McGreal	US private charged with leaking Iraq killings video: Film shows airstrike that killed 12 and crew laughter Analyst accused of trying to bring discredit on forces
61	12/07/2010	Gill Phillips	What are the pros and cons?: Our expert panels verdict: Gill Phillips, hewad, GNM legal department
62	12/07/2010	Mark Stephens	What are the pros and cons?: Our expert panels verdict: Mark Stephens, lawyer, Finers Stephens Innocent
63	12/07/2010	Afua Hirsch	Media: Opinion: It's audacious and it's risky
64	12/07/2010	Afua Hirsch	Media: A 'modern media' place
65	12/07/2010	Afua Hirsch	Media: Shall we all go to Iceland?: A nation dogged by bad press wants to reinvent itself as the home of free speech. As the UK plans a major libel review, Afua Hirsch investigates the need for such a haven and assesses its chances of success
66	14/07/2010	Stephen Moss	G2: 'I'm an information activist': This man has been warned never to travel to America. It is said that he never spends more than two nights in one place. And why? Because he runs a little website called WikiLeaks . . . Stephen Moss tracks down the elusive Julian Assange
67	19/07/2010	John Plunkett	Jobs unseats Google founders at top of media power list: 'Game-changing' products earn Apple chief No 1 spot Murdoch resurgent as industry watches paywalls
68	19/07/2010	John Plunkett	Media: Media Guardian 100 2010: 58. Julian Assange
69	19/07/2010	John Plunkett	Media: Media Guardian 100 2010: Digital rises as press power wanes: Political change provides a boost for social media and TV but adds to uncertainty for others. And which Murdoch is on top this year?
70	26/07/2010	~	Leading Article: The war logs: Afghanistan: the unvarnished picture
71	26/07/2010	Nick Davies	The war logs: The leak: An individual, uncompromising rebel - with a website to match: Profile Julian Assange
72	26/07/2010	~	The war logs: The leak: About the logs
73	26/07/2010	Nick Davies	The war logs: The leak: Secret files, a Brussels cafe and the biggest leak since Vietnam: The whistleblower: Steely resolve to get to the truth of an ugly war and the carefully orchestrated operation to make it public

74	26/07/2010	Nick Davies and David Leigh	Massive leak of secret files exposes true Afghan war: Hundreds of civilians killed by coalition troops: Covert unit hunts leaders for 'kill or capture': Steep rise in Taliban bomb attacks on Nato
75	27/07/2010	Jim McCulskey	Letter: Secrets, lies and this dirty war
76	27/07/2010	Chris Nineham	Letter: Secrets, lies and this dirty war
77	27/07/2010	Geoff Simons	Letter: Secrets, lies and this dirty war
78	27/07/2010	Ewen MacAskill, Saeed Shah, and Jason Burke	The war logs: Reaction: Recriminations fly over alleged Pakistani support for Taliban: Neighbours Leaked documents show hand of ISI behind insurgency, say officials in Afghanistan and India
79	27/07/2010	David Leigh and Matthew Taylor	Front: Coalition hid civilian deaths, war logs reveal: White House says leak of secret files poses 'very real threat' to US forces
80	27/07/2010	Peter Galbraith	Comment: Round table: The leaks that change the game: To some, they are a gift to the Taliban. To others, a chance to be honest about the mess that is the war in Afghanistan
81	27/07/2010	Richard Kemp	Comment: Round table: The leaks that change the game: To some, they are a gift to the Taliban. To others, a chance to be honest about the mess that is the war in Afghanistan
82	27/07/2010	Eric Joyce	Comment: Round table: The leaks that change the game: To some, they are a gift to the Taliban. To others, a chance to be honest about the mess that is the war in Afghanistan
83	28/07/2010	Tim Hancock	Letter: Afghan casualties
84	28/07/2010	Saeed Shah	Afghanistan: ISI: 'Godfather of the Taliban' pleads for his life in new kidnap video
85	28/07/2010	Ewen MacAskill	Afghanistan: Washington: Obama: details revealed in leaks show why we changed Afghan strategy
86	28/07/2010	Jon Boone and Ali Safi	Afghanistan: Villagers accuse Nato of deliberate attack on civilians: Afghan government says missile killed 52 people Governor's spokesman casts doubts on allegations
87	28/07/2010	Patrick Wintour and David Leigh	Parliament to investigate Afghanistan civilian casualty claims in war logs: Parliament to investigate casualty claims
88	28/07/2010	Simon Jenkins	Comment: A history of folly, from the Trojan horse to Afghanistan: By recording failure in meticulous detail, the leaked war logs bear devastating witness to our incompetence
89	29/07/2010	Michael Kalmanovitz	Reply: Letter: Failing to learn the lessons of Afghan history
90	30/07/2010	Nicholas Watt	Cameron abroad: An innocent abroad? Plain-talking PM alarms Foreign Office veterans: Cameron's 'open and honest' approach has angered Israel and Pakistan and stirred EU debate over Turkey on his foreign trip
91	30/07/2010	Jon Boone	Al-Qaida 'planned 9/11 style attack on Kabul'
92	30/07/2010	Tariq Ali	Comment: It's no secret what Pakistan's been doing with the Taliban: All sides know what's been going on since Afghanistan was first occupied. It's also clear that this war can't be won
93	30/07/2010	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary: Hugh Muir
94	31/07/2010	Mark Vernon	Comment: Face to faith: We must apply the just war tradition to our analysis of the conflict in Afghanistan, says Mark Vernon
95	31/07/2010	David Leigh	National: US claims WikiLeaks 'has blood on its hands': Leaked Afghan war logs 'potentially dangerous': 'Loose' intelligence policy in US army to be reviewed
96	02/08/2010	Peter Preston	Comment: Islamabad's storm clouds: Cameron can't blunder on Pakistan. Its troubles and role in terror make Afghanistan a sideshow
97	02/08/2010	Oliver Burkeman	G2: Shortcuts: All the president's emails
98	02/08/2010	Professor Alan Alexander	Reply: Letter: Oiling the change of government
99	02/08/2010	David Leigh	Media: 'A transformative moment': Three of the world's biggest newspapers spent weeks working with WikiLeaks on a journalistic effort that broke new ground
100	02/08/2010	Jay Rosen	Media: How others saw the Wikileaks collaboration: Jay Rosen, NYU professor of journalism
101	02/08/2010	Alexis Madrigal	Media: How others saw the Wikileaks collaboration: Alexis Madrigal, a senior editor for TheAtlantic.com
102	02/08/2010	Farhad Manjoo	Media: How others saw the Wikileaks collaboration: Farhad Manjoo, Slate's technology columnist
103	02/08/2010	Jeff Jarvis	Media: How others saw the Wikileaks collaboration: Jeff Jarvis, from buzzmachine
104	02/08/2010	David Leigh and Ed Pilkington	Rights campaigners try to force MoD to court for review of Afghan killings: Move follows disclosure of shootings on WikiLeaks Calls for investigation as 'suspected war crimes'
105	03/08/2010	Simon Tisdall and Patrick Wintour	Pakistan vows to 'educate' PM on terror threat: President will warn Cameron to be 'more careful' over remarks on region
106	03/08/2010	Simon Tisdall and Patrick Wintour	Pakistan vows to 'educate' PM on terror threat: President will warn Cameron to be 'more careful' over remarks on region
107	03/08/2010	Chris McGreal	Obama hails end of US combat operations in Iraq and pays tribute to 1m troops who served: Campaign promise to be fulfilled by end of month 'Sacrifice not over', as transitional force remains
108	03/08/2010	Andrew Dickson and Melissa Denes	Review: Theatre: Powerful, immediate and timely - the Afghan epic updated: The Great Game: Afghanistan Tricycle, London 3/5
109	04/08/2010	Priyamvada Gopal	Comment: Not another morality tale: Time magazine's cover is the latest cynical attempt to oversimplify the reality of Afghan lives
110	06/08/2010	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary: Hugh Muir
111	06/08/2010	David Batty	Pentagon increases pressure on WikiLeaks to return military files
112	09/08/2010	Chris Elliott	Comment: Open door: The readers' editor on... the moral and legal implications of publishing the war logs

113	11/08/2010	Matthew Weaver	War logs: WikiLeaks urged to edit out names of vulnerable Afghans
114	12/08/2010	Alexandra Topping	Pakistan ambassador says Cameron's comments have hindered aid
115	21/08/2010	~	Weekend: SOLUTIONS
116	21/08/2010	Jemima Kiss	Saturday: Caught in the web: This week Google's Eric Schmidt suggested we may need to invent new identities to escape embarrassing online pasts - while Facebook launched a tool to share users' locations. So does technology pose a threat to private life?
117	22/08/2010	Jamie Doward and Tracy McVeigh	Front: WikiLeaks founder hits out at rape smears as Swedish warrant for arrest is withdrawn
118	23/08/2010	David Leigh	WikiLeaks founder in web furore over Swedish rape claim: False allegation spreads across internet after leak Story garners 1m hits before prosecutor steps in
119	24/08/2010	Nick Davies and Marie Louise Sjolie	Prosecutors may decide today on charges against WikiLeaks founder
120	27/08/2010	David Batty and agencies	Leak of war logs 'will lead to free speech ruling'
121	28/08/2010	Chris McGreal	International: Bin Laden is a CIA agent, says Castro
122	30/08/2010	Chris Elliott	Comment: Open door: The readers' editor on ... 'peacetime', and a new way of defining the current era
123	16/09/2010	Chris McGreal	Campaign to free soldier who leaked Afghan war logs
124	04/10/2010	Padraig Reidy	Media: Dispatches: Press freedom Wikicensors
125	15/10/2010	David Leigh Rob Evans	US accused of financial war after WikiLeaks account 'closed'
126	23/10/2010	David Leigh	Gunship crew asked lawyer if they could kill surrendering insurgents: Helicopter raids US military legal adviser gave go ahead to take out 'valid targets'
127	23/10/2010	Jonathan Steele	Killing civilians: Twice in four days gunships strafed unarmed Iraqis
128	23/10/2010	Nick Davies Jonathan Steele David Leigh	See no evil: secret files show how US ignored Iraq torture: Massive leak reveals serial detainee abuse: 15,000 unknown deaths in war: Inside Unique 8-page pullout on the secret record of a disastrous conflict >= The story of the biggest leak in intelligence history >= How Apaches rained death from the air >= The real toll of Iraq's five years of carnage: See no evil: US ignored torture
129	23/10/2010	David Leigh	The war logs: Death from the air: Gunship crew asked lawyer if they could kill surrendering insurgents: Helicopter raids US military legal adviser gave go ahead to take out 'valid targets'
130	23/10/2010	Jonathan Steele	The war logs: Death from the air: Killing civilians: Twice in four days gunships strafed unarmed Iraqis
131	23/10/2010	Nick Davies Jonathan Steele David Leigh	Front: See no evil: secret files show how US ignored Iraq torture: Massive leak reveals serial detainee abuse: 66,000 civilian deaths in war
132	25/10/2010	David J Lobina	Reply: Letter: WikiLeaks reveals the stark reality of Iraq
133	25/10/2010	Jonathan Steele	The war logs: Lost amid the rubble: 22 dead women and children: The US military reports obtained by WikiLeaks reveal the true civilian toll of the American troops' battle against insurgents
134	25/10/2010	Jim Duffy	Comment: The truth for Hanaan: The stomach-churning torture revealed by the war logs is our problem as much as America's
135	25/10/2010	David Leigh and Maggie O'Kane	Front: US turned over captives to Iraq torture squads: War logs Clegg calls for answers to 'extremely serious' abuse reports
136	25/10/2010	Dhiraj Joti	Reply: Letter: WikiLeaks reveals the stark reality of Iraq
137	25/10/2010	Carla Ferstman	Reply: Letter: WikiLeaks reveals the stark reality of Iraq
138	25/10/2010	Tahrir Abdul Samad Numan	Reply: Letter: WikiLeaks reveals the stark reality of Iraq
139	25/10/2010	Jon Moran	Reply: Letter: WikiLeaks reveals the stark reality of Iraq
140	26/10/2010	Daniel Ellsberg	Comment: Like my Pentagon papers, the Iraq logs can't be buried: There is no security risk in revealing the scale of torture and killing. Far more damage was done by trying to suppress it
141	26/10/2010	Ian Cobain	Front: Humiliate, strip, threaten - the British way to interrogate: Exclusive Training methods may be breach of international law
142	26/10/2010	Sam Wollaston	G2: Television: Last night's TV: Enemies have hacked into MI5's computers. Just as well Spooks had a spare bomb
143	26/10/2010	~	Leading Article: Iraq war logs: When torture becomes routine
144	27/10/2010	Rob Evans Richard Norton-Taylor David Leigh	Front: British forces exposed over Afghan attacks: Exclusive MoD links three military units to bulk of civilian casualties
145	27/10/2010	Martin Chulov	Saddam's deputy Aziz sentenced to death by hanging: 74-year-old could be put to death 30 days after appeal Son says decision revenge for WikiLeaks revelations
146	27/10/2010	~	War logs: British engagements: In their own words: how &#8202;British forces fired on Afghan civilians: Ministry of Defence reveals casualties in skirmishes with suspected insurgents
147	27/10/2010	Sam Jones	War logs: Fox News view: 'These leaks are an act of political warfare against the United States'
148	29/10/2010	Dr Toby Dodge	The war logs: Expert view: What should we look for? Bad policy, not bad eggs
149	29/10/2010	Philippe Sands	The war logs: Expert view: What should we look for? Bad policy, not bad eggs
150	29/10/2010	Anthony Cordesman	The war logs: Expert view: What should we look for? Bad policy, not bad eggs
151	29/10/2010	Ken Gude	The war logs: Expert view: What should we look for? Bad policy, not bad eggs
152	29/10/2010	Martin Chulov, Enas Ibrahim	The war logs: Wolf Brigade: A police force given licence to torture
153	29/10/2010	David Leigh	The war logs: Iraqi man killed in custody days after British handover: Western authorities aware of abuses by police, war logs show
154	29/10/2010	Martin Chulov, Chris McGreal, Lars Eriksen and Tom Kington	The war logs: World reaction: Questions over leaders, contractors and the fate of translators

155	02/11/2010	Malalai Joya	Comment: Any hope I had in the ballot box bringing change is gone: If Karzai's re-election was a fraud, Obama's surge of troops brought just more violence. For Afghans he is now the 'second Bush'
156	03/11/2010	Michael Billington	Review: Theatre: Palace of the End Arcola, London 4/5
157	18/11/2010	Simon Tisdall	Comment: Tell us that we're special: Europe and America still need each other. This weekend Obama needs to show he believes it
158	19/11/2010	Matthew Weaver and Caroline Davies	Interpol seeks Wikileaks chief Julian Assange over rape case
159	22/11/2010	Charles Arthur	Media: Bye-bye brown envelopes in smoky bars?: Journalists are going to have to get better and quicker at analysing data if they want to break scoops in the future, says the father of the world wide web, Tim Berners-Lee
160	27/11/2010	Patrick Wintour	US envoy briefs Cameron on potential WikiLeaks disclosures
161	27/11/2010	Staff	No 10's warning to editors over WikiLeaks files
162	29/11/2010	Timothy Garton Ash	Comment: A banquet of secrets: A diplomat's nightmare is a historian's dream - a feast of data that deepens our understanding
163	29/11/2010	Simon Jenkins	Comment: The job of the media is not to protect the powerful from embarrassment: It is for governments - not journalists - to guard public secrets, and there is no national jeopardy in WikiLeaks' revelations
164	29/11/2010	Jackie Ashley	Comment: To see how fascism can be throttled, look at Barking: Housing and benefit fraud drive xenophobia here and across Europe. Politicians must listen to people's real concerns
165	29/11/2010	David Leigh	Front: 250,000 leaked files that lay bare US view of world: Washington engulfed by global diplomatic crisis: Dispatches reveal US officials told to spy on UN
166	29/11/2010	David Leigh	The US embassy cables: The leak: One tiny memory stick, one big headache for the United States: From a computer screen in a military base outside Baghdad to the world's media: the story of the leaks
167	29/11/2010	~	The US embassy cables: The leak: Editor's note
168	29/11/2010	~	The US embassy cables: The leak: Where are the Wikileaks cables from?
169	29/11/2010	~	Leading Article: WikiLeaks: Open secrets
170	30/11/2010	Jacob Ecclestone	Reply: Letter: WikiLeaks restores trust in journalism
171	30/11/2010	Dr Kailash Chand	Reply: Letter: WikiLeaks restores trust in journalism
172	30/11/2010	Matt Scott	Sport: Digger: Lack of clarity in Owls rescue
173	30/11/2010	Greg Wood	Racing: Commentary: Racing's rulers should vet the vets if no one else will
174	30/11/2010	Laura Barton	G2: The view from a broad
175	30/11/2010	Ian Black, Harriet Sherwood, Saeed Kamali Dehghan	The US embassy cables : Iran: leaks are just US psychological warfare: Middle East
176	30/11/2010	Robert Booth and Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables: Reaction: United Nations: US diplomats are just that, envoy tells security council
177	30/11/2010	Ian Black, Harriet Sherwood, Saeed Kamali Dehghan	The US embassy cables: Reaction: Iran dismisses Arab worries as psychological warfare: Middle East reaction
178	30/11/2010	Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables: Reaction: White House hits back at 'criminal act and attack on US': Nothing laudable or brave about leaks, says Clinton Review of security under way to stop future breach
179	30/11/2010	Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables: Reaction: White House hits back at 'criminal act and attack on US': Nothing laudable or brave about leaks, says Clinton Review of security under way to stop future breach
180	30/11/2010	Simon Tisdall	Front: China 'ready to abandon North Korea': Files reveal impatience with Kim: Official says ally is 'spoiled child': Clinton: leak attacks whole world
181	30/11/2010	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
182	30/11/2010	Heather Brooke	Comment: The revolution has begun - and it will be digitised: The web is changing the way in which people relate to power, and politics will have no choice but to adapt too
183	30/11/2010	Isabel Hilton	Comment: Beijing's lost patience leaves Pyongyang with little to lose: The revelation that China might accept the idea of reunification under South Korea could make an unstable situation worse
184	30/11/2010	Abbas Edalat	Comment: Tarnishing of Tehran: Arab leaders may paint Iran as the main threat to regional peace but their own people disagree
185	30/11/2010	Jonathan Powell	Comment: Leaks happen. But on this industrial scale, whose interests are served?: The embassy cables will make diplomats blush, but also put lives at risk. Human affairs are run on secrecy and confidences
186	01/12/2010	Mako Abashidze	Reply: Letter: Fallout from the WikiLeaks files
187	01/12/2010	Benedict Birnberg	Reply: Letter: Fallout from the WikiLeaks files
188	01/12/2010	Gerard McMullan	Reply: Letter: Fallout from the WikiLeaks files
189	01/12/2010	Allan Baker	Reply: Letter: Fallout from the WikiLeaks files
190	01/12/2010	Allan Solomon	Reply: Letter: Fallout from the WikiLeaks files
191	01/12/2010	Stefan Simanowitz	Reply: Letter: Fallout from the WikiLeaks files
192	01/12/2010	Tania Branigan, Simon Tisdall	The US embassy cables North Korea: Exasperated China hints at unification - with Seoul as capital: North Korea
193	01/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables Behind the leak: Security review
194	01/12/2010	Robert Booth Heather Brooke Steven Morris	The US embassy cables Behind the leak: The young hacker who faces 52 years in prison: Troubled soldier was arrested after apparently confessing to the leaks online
195	01/12/2010	Luke Harding Afua Hirsch Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables Behind the leak: Julian Assange: WikiLeaks founder avoids spotlight as legal threats mount
196	01/12/2010	Luke Harding Afua Hirsch Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables Behind the leak: Julian Assange: Interpol puts WikiLeaks founder on wanted list as legal threats mount



197	01/12/2010 ~	The US embassy cables Behind the leak: 'This belongs in the public domain': Bradley Manning, in his own words
198	01/12/2010 David Leigh	Front: US fears over Pakistan's nuclear arsenal
199	01/12/2010 David Leigh	Front: US fears over Pakistan's nuclear arsenal
200	01/12/2010 Polly Toynbee	Comment: Mervyn King's hawkish dogma has been exposed: We now know the Bank of England governor's central role in pushing an agenda of harsh cuts on successive governments
201	01/12/2010 Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
202	01/12/2010 Max Frankel	Comment: Shared with millions, it is not secret: My experience in re-leasing the US Pentagon papers taught me that a wise government should avoid secrecy for its own sake
203	02/12/2010 Luke Harding	The US embassy cables Russia: FBI's most wanted: Fugitive profits from EU gas deal
204	02/12/2010 Rob Evans and David Leigh	Front: UK secretly allowed US to keep cluster bombs at base
205	02/12/2010 Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables World reaction: Amazon pulls plug on WikiLeaks: Whistleblower cut adrift after political pressure Calls in America for site's founder to be executed
206	02/12/2010 Luke Harding	Front: Inside Putin's 'mafia state': Leaked cables allege rampant corruption: Claims Russian state linked to organised crime: Putin 'has amassed massive secret fortune'
207	02/12/2010 Seumas Milne	Comment: These leakers are holding US global power to account: The WikiLeaks avalanche has exposed floundering imperial rule to scrutiny - and its reliance on dictatorship and deceit
208	02/12/2010 Paul Hayward	2018 World Cup bid: Nobody spins it like Beckham. England plays its ace: Slick, smiling, persuasive. Paul Hayward sees former England captain mature into his off-field role
209	02/12/2010 Simon Hoggart	Simon Hoggart's sketch Answers - but no questions
210	02/12/2010 Tom Parfitt	Energy: Fifty years on Kazakhs remember horror of atomic tests, but brace for a nuclear future: Country rich in uranium flaunts its wares as nations queue up to exploit reserves
211	02/12/2010 Declan Walsh Julian Borger	The US embassy cables World reaction: Pakistan: Suspicion and mistrust reign amid US fears of nuclear theft
212	02/12/2010 Patrick Wintour	The US embassy cables World reaction: Labour MPs suspicious of King's role in coalition talks: Calls for Bank governor to give evidence before Commons select committee
213	02/12/2010 ~	The US embassy cables World reaction: Spies not like us: 'Diplomats are diplomats, not intelligence assets'
214	02/12/2010 Mark Townsend	The US embassy cables World reaction: Julian Assange: UK police circulate details of website founder after Interpol request
215	02/12/2010 Luke Harding	The US embassy cables Russia: Power games: Medvedev 'plays Robin to Putin's Batman'
216	02/12/2010 Luke Harding	The US embassy cables Russia: Chechnya: Wedding bash, showers of cash and man with a golden gun
217	02/12/2010 Luke Harding	The US embassy cables Russia: Doing Moscow's dirty work: the gangs 'backed by the Kremlin': Activities of government and organised crime groups indistinguishable, Spanish prosecutor told US officials
218	02/12/2010 Luke Harding	The US embassy cables Russia: 'Murky' world of corruption: Welcome to Moscow: a sleazy, crime-ridden kleptocracy
219	02/12/2010 ~	Front: Cables latest
220	02/12/2010 Agnes Poirier	Comment is free Sarkozy and WikiLeaks: Here is a president who wants to be a celebrity
221	02/12/2010 Pierre Haski	Comment is free Sarkozy and WikiLeaks: How Sarko l'Americain loved and lost America
222	02/12/2010 Pankaj Mishra	Comment: The rotting of New India: A scandalous collusion involving politicians and the media has exposed the nation's ethical deficit
223	02/12/2010 Jon Boone	The US embassy cables: Afghanistan: Profile: Hamid Karzai: 'Paranoid and weak ... a stranger to the basics of nation building'
224	03/12/2010 Simon Jenkins	Comment: In this World Cup sewer, we reptiles of British journalism hold our heads high: Let Fifa's murk be cleared. As WikiLeaks has shown, disclosure is all we have when audit is polluted and politicians are cowed
225	03/12/2010 Simon Goodley	Sovereign wealth: Court documents allege 'corrupt' Kazakh regime's link to FTSE firms: President has seized control of nation's investments, claims exiled politician
226	03/12/2010 ~	Corrections and clarifications
227	03/12/2010 David Conn	World Cup votes: Too late now to claim we don't like how Fifa works
228	03/12/2010 Anne Rothschild	Reply: Letter: Diplomatic games and realpolitik
229	03/12/2010 Jonathan Kent	Reply: Letter: Diplomatic games and realpolitik
230	03/12/2010 ~	Leading Article: US and Russia: Cosa Putina
231	03/12/2010 Alexander Chancellor	G2: I feel the slight exhilaration I felt in the US midwest when, in longjohns and earmuffs, I braved the biting winds
232	03/12/2010 Alexis Petridis	G2: Lost in Showbiz: The Prince of Mirth and the Alamo survivor
233	03/12/2010 John Crace	G2: Westminster digested
234	03/12/2010 Rob Evans, Luke Harding and John Hooper	The US embassy cables Italy and Russia: Berlusconi's 'secret deals' with friend Putin: Italian leader may be 'profiting personally and handsomely' from Russian contracts, US envoys believe
235	03/12/2010 Luke Harding and Tom Parfitt	The US embassy cables Italy and Russia: Litvinenko murder: Cables confirm Putin authorised poisoning, says widow
236	03/12/2010 Ian Black	The US embassy cables: Diplomacy: Tension in Lebanon
237	03/12/2010 Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables: Diplomacy: Clinton soothes Ban Ki-moon

238	03/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables: Diplomacy: Clinton soothes Ban Ki-moon
239	03/12/2010	Robert Booth	The US embassy cables: British politics: Julian Assange: Sweden issues fresh arrest warrant for WikiLeaks founder
240	03/12/2010	Patrick Wintour	The US embassy cables: British politics: 'Greeted with a yawn': how embassy dismissed the PM: US indifference to Brown
241	03/12/2010	Nicholas Watt	The US embassy cables: British politics: US view of Brown: 'Lurching to disaster at helm of sinking ship': Blair's heir failed to impress embassy officials and was written off as PM
242	03/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill and Robert Booth	The US embassy cables: Diplomacy: CIA drew up intelligence wishlist on UN: Agency gave its priorities to Clinton's department: Diplomats were also told to get biometric data
243	03/12/2010	Paul Hayward	Front: Cheer up Becks, at least England didn't go out on penalties
244	03/12/2010	~	Front: WikiLeaks cables latest
245	03/12/2010	Paul Hayward	Front: Cheer up Becks, at least England didn't go out on penalties
246	03/12/2010	Martin Kettle	Comment: Openness against secrecy has a rich history of struggle: A needless war, a distrust of governments and diplomats, and a desire for greater transparency - we've been here before
247	03/12/2010	Sherard Cowper-Coles	Comment: The Afghans simply want to know who will be in charge: The WikiLeaks cables show that US diplomats miss the point: without a political strategy, all this bloodshed is for nothing
248	03/12/2010	Alan Dershowitz	Comment: The fallout may be grave: The disclosure of Arab views on Iran's nuclear plans makes a military strike more likely
249	03/12/2010	Phillip Inman	Europe's head banker moves to calm investors: Bond markets backed by behind-the-scenes support: Unlimited liquidity for banks well into next year
250	04/12/2010	~	Corrections and clarifications
251	04/12/2010	Lucy Mangan	Saturday: This week: Whack a mole: Julian Assange
252	04/12/2010	Lucy Mangan	Saturday: This week: Guardian's most read
253	04/12/2010	Susanna Rustin	Saturday: Pistols at dawn... a right royal battle: The conversation That wedding and Prince Andrew's Wikileaks cameo have put the role of the royal family under scrutiny. Historian David Starkey is pitted against writer Bidisha. Susanna Rustin watches the sparks fly
254	04/12/2010	Harry Pearson	Football: TV: Weekend at a glance
255	04/12/2010	Simon Hoggart	Simon Hoggart's week Thank goodness we didn't win
256	04/12/2010	Adam Foulds	Review: AUTHOR, AUTHOR
257	04/12/2010	Fanoulla Argyrou	Saturday: Letter: WikiLeaks shows how UK courts contempt
258	04/12/2010	Jim McCulskey	Saturday: Letter: WikiLeaks shows how UK courts contempt
259	04/12/2010	Dr Alan Lafferty	Saturday: Letter: Some of the crowd are on the pitch ...
260	04/12/2010	~	Leading article: Westminster vice and virtue: Members of parliament
261	04/12/2010	~	Leading Article: Wiki witch-hunt: US embassy cables
262	04/12/2010	~	The Guide: THE POPULIST: THE COLUMN THAT'S AS DIPLOMATIC AS PRINCE ANDREW
263	04/12/2010	Robert Booth	Front: The US embassy cables: The week: How WikiLeaks altered the way we see the world in just a week: Superheroes, binoculars, parties and 5kg of gold. Leaders in living colour
264	04/12/2010	Robert Booth and Haroon Siddique	Front: The US embassy cables: The week: How WikiLeaks altered the way we see the world in just a week: A torrent of information was released, leading to howls of protest from leaders and WikiLeaks being hounded offline
265	04/12/2010	~	Front: The US embassy cables: The week: How WikiLeaks altered the way we see the world in just a week
266	04/12/2010	Sam Jones	Front: The US embassy cables: The whistleblowers: WikiLeaks founder hails person who leaked cables as 'unparalleled hero': Defiant Q&A session as police said to be moving in Shot fired at Amazon over first amendment
267	04/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill and Josh Halliday	Front: The US embassy cables: The whistleblowers: United States: Clamour to close site down 'threat to freedom of speech'
268	04/12/2010	Sam Jones	Front: The US embassy cables: The whistleblowers: Online Q&A: Assange hails whistleblower as an 'unparalleled hero'
269	04/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill and Josh Halliday	Front: The US embassy cables: The whistleblowers: US federal workers told: your PC will be 'sanitised' if you view WikiLeaks: Library of Congress joins ban on staff accessing site Calls for Amazon to resist pressure from Lieberman
270	04/12/2010	Rob Evans Richard Norton-Taylor	Front: The US embassy cables: Reaction: Foreign Office accused of misleading public over expelled 'Man Fridays'
271	04/12/2010	Mark Townsend	Front: The US embassy cables: The whistleblowers: Police trail: Swedes in new attempt to force extradition
272	04/12/2010	Ben Quinn Jon Boone Ian Traynor	Front: The US embassy cables: Reaction: World fallout: Clinton begins effort to limit damage with apology to UK
273	04/12/2010	~	Front: The US embassy cables: Yemen: What have we found out so far?
274	04/12/2010	David Leigh	Front: Tories promised to run a 'pro-American regime': WikiLeaks Commitment to buy arms from US if elected, cables reveal: Yemen president struck secret deal
275	04/12/2010	Roma Tearne	Saturday: Comment is free WikiLeaks worldwide: A salutary reminder of the tragedy in Sri Lanka
276	04/12/2010	Annalisa Piras	Saturday: Comment is free WikiLeaks worldwide: Berlusconi's people react with comic hysteria
277	04/12/2010	Petina Gappah	Saturday: Comment is free WikiLeaks worldwide: Tsvangirai is a protest choice, not a real one
278	06/12/2010	Chris Elliott	Comment: Open door: The readers' editor on... why we were right to publish the WikiLeaks material

279	06/12/2010	John Peach	Reply: Letter: Bismarck to Bagpuss
280	06/12/2010	Charlie Booker	G2: By 2022, there'll be a naked photo of everyone on the planet lurking somewhere in the interverse
281	06/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables: The leak: US reaction: Students told job prospects will be harmed if they access cables
282	06/12/2010	Charles Arthur	The US embassy cables: The leak: Technology: #imwikileaks - how the net hit back at attempts to shut website
283	06/12/2010	Sam Jones and agencies	The US embassy cables: The leak: We're being watched, say lawyers for WikiLeaks founder: State department accused of flouting UN rules on attorney-client protocol
284	06/12/2010	Dan Sabbagh	The US embassy cables: The leak: Censorship: Propaganda chief behind great firewall of China ordered hacker attacks on Google
285	06/12/2010	Dan Sabbagh	The US embassy cables: The leak: Censorship: China's spin chief ordered Google hacker attacks
286	06/12/2010	Rory Carroll	The US embassy cables: The leak: Brazil: Lula 'denied terror threat to protect image'
287	06/12/2010	Ian Black	The US embassy cables: Middle East: Lebanon: West 'stunned' by discovery of Hezbollah telecoms network funded by Iranians
288	06/12/2010	Robert Booth	Front: The US embassy cables: Qatar accused of using al-Jazeera as 'bargaining chip' for foreign policy: Cables reveal how Middle East broadcaster became 'useful tool' for government's agenda
289	06/12/2010	Robert Booth	Front: The US embassy cables: Qatar accused of using al-Jazeera as 'bargaining chip' for foreign policy: Cables reveal how Middle East broadcaster became 'useful tool' for government's agenda
290	06/12/2010	John Bolton	Comment: Imperilled by the president: WikiLeaks harms the US. But Obama's refusal to acknowledge the threats we face is a bigger danger
291	07/12/2010	Suzanne Goldenberg and John Vidal	US anger at aid claims
292	07/12/2010	Polly Curtis, Camp Bastion, Afghanistan and Richard Norton-Taylor	We can succeed in Helmand, Cameron tells troops on visit: Soldier's friendly fire death mars PM's trip: Afghans able to take over by 2014, says army chief
293	07/12/2010	Richard Norton-Taylor	Soldier killed by US friendly fire, says MoD
294	07/12/2010	Sasha Simic	Reply: Letter: In search of a press with flavour, credibility and strength
295	07/12/2010	~	Leading article: Iran: Keep talking
296	07/12/2010	Elisabeth Mahoney	G2: TV and Radio: Radio review
297	07/12/2010	Robert Booth	The US embassy cables: Julian Assange: Pressure mounts on WikiLeaks - as net tightens around founder: After eight days of leaks, old allegations have come back to haunt Assange
298	07/12/2010	Robert Booth	The US embassy cables: Arms dealing: Weapons trade from eastern Europe booms: US warning to former Soviet states fails to stem flow of arms to Middle East regimes and terror groups
299	07/12/2010	Afua Hirsch	The US embassy cables: Julian Assange: Expert view: Legal team will fight extradition
300	07/12/2010	Robert Booth	Front: Kick it up your junta: Burma's Man Utd plan: Burma wanted to buy Man Utd
301	07/12/2010	Owen Bowcott	Front: Police to question WikiLeaks founder over extradition bid: Lawyers receive Swedish arrest warrant: Assange expected in court today: Police question WikiLeaks founder
302	07/12/2010	Owen Bowcott	Front: WikiLeaks founder to face police: Assange expected in court today as European arrest warrant sent to UK
303	07/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill and Sam Jones	The US embassy cables: Reaction: World pressure: Swiss and US move against WikiLeaks
304	07/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill and Sam Jones	The US embassy cables: Julian Assange: World pressure: Swiss and US move against WikiLeaks
305	07/12/2010	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
306	07/12/2010	John Naughton	Comment: Live with the WikiLeaks world or shut down the net. It's your choice: Western political elites obfuscate, lie and bluster - and when the veil of secrecy is lifted, they try to kill the messenger
307	07/12/2010	Harry Ferguson	Comment: Advantage Moscow: MI5's decision to expel an alleged Russian agent could rebound on the UK's intelligence services
308	08/12/2010	Ben Fogle	Reply: Letter: I was duped by FCO over Chagos Islands
309	08/12/2010	Editorial	Leading Article: WikiLeaks: The man who kicked the hornet's nest
310	08/12/2010	Hadley Freeman	G2: Stropmy students, strikes, snow, spies - returning to England feels like journeying back to the 70s
311	08/12/2010	Ewen Macaskill and Ian Black	The US embassy cables Middle East: Saudis asked for US and Nato air power to help Arab force destroy Hezbollah: Cable shows 2008 plan to intervene in Lebanon Envoy doubts feasibility of foreign minister's proposal
312	08/12/2010	Ian Black	The US embassy cables North Africa: Tunisia: Repressive regime blocks US account of president's corrupt lifestyle
313	08/12/2010	Ian Black	The US embassy cables North Africa: Gaddafi's eccentricity provokes fascination and fear: Cables reveal how 'mercurial' Libyan leader, plagued by phobias, is viewed with real mistrust in parts of Africa
314	08/12/2010	~	The US embassy cables Assange and WikiLeaks: Reaction to the arrest
315	08/12/2010	Esther Addley	The US embassy cables Assange and WikiLeaks: Public accusations: Conspiracy, slander and misogyny: how rape claims sparked an information war
316	08/12/2010	Robert Booth	The US embassy cables Assange and WikiLeaks: Future of WikiLeaks: Overstretched whistleblower faces a crisis without its figurehead
317	08/12/2010	Polly Curtis	The US embassy cables British reaction: Cameron and Karzai try to mend relationship after 'embarrassing' leaks

318	08/12/2010	Helen Pidd	The US embassy cables Assange and WikiLeaks: Celebrity supporters: Khan, Loach and Pilger lead way in offering sureties
319	08/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill and Josh Halliday	The US embassy cables Assange and WikiLeaks: As Assange remanded in custody, Washington turns up the heat: White House suspected of co-ordinating revenge operation: Big firms sever WikiLeaks ties, but 'mirror sites' multiply
320	08/12/2010	Charles Arthur	The US embassy cables Assange and WikiLeaks: Lesser evils?
321	08/12/2010	Charles Arthur	The US embassy cables Assange and WikiLeaks: Cloudburst
322	08/12/2010	Afua Hirsch	Front: No fixed abode Lack of UK ties hits bail plea
323	08/12/2010	Caroline Davies Sam Jones Afua Hirsch	Front: Cables reveal Megrahi threats as WikiLeaks founder denied bail: Lawyer for Sweden details sex crime charges: Judge fears WikiLeaks boss 'could abscond': Visa stops all payments to Assange's website
324	08/12/2010	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
325	09/12/2010	~	Corrections and clarifications
326	09/12/2010	Richard Norton-Taylor	Blair summoned back to Iraq inquiry over conflicting evidence: Recall follows new information on legality Former PM backed Bush despite contrary advice
327	09/12/2010	David Lewin	Reply: Letter: Rape claims, WikiLeaks and internet freedom
328	09/12/2010	Professor Philip Stenning	Reply: Letter: Rape claims, WikiLeaks and internet freedom
329	09/12/2010	George Lewis	Reply: Letter: Rape claims, WikiLeaks and internet freedom
330	09/12/2010	Jim McCulskey	Reply: Letter: Rape claims, WikiLeaks and internet freedom
331	09/12/2010	Hugh Davies	Reply: Letter: Rape claims, WikiLeaks and internet freedom
332	09/12/2010	Katrin Axelsson	Reply: Letter: Rape claims, WikiLeaks and internet freedom
333	09/12/2010	Ian Black, Ewen MacAskill	Middle East talks stall as Israel snubs US offers: Netanyahu refuses to back down on settlement freeze Palestinian leader says peace process is 'in crisis'
334	09/12/2010	Catherine Bennett	G2: Mrs Cameron's Diary I so want to be a protester
335	09/12/2010	~	G2: Pass notes No 2,895 Joe Lieberman
336	09/12/2010	Vikram Dodd	The US embassy cables Assange rape case: Legal action: Sweden 'faces uphill struggle' to extradite Assange
337	09/12/2010	Amelia Gentleman	The US embassy cables Assange rape case: 'What these women are going through is unfair and absurd. This isn't a conspiracy': Amelia Gentleman meets the lawyer of the two women whose allegations of sexual assault have led to Julian Assange's arrest
338	09/12/2010	Ed Pilkington	The US embassy cables War over WikiLeaks: American reaction: Amid swirl of extreme threats, Obama administration adopts temperate tone
339	09/12/2010	Luke Harding and Tom Parfitt	The US embassy cables War over WikiLeaks: Visa and MasterCard: US lobbied Russia to protect card firms from new laws
340	09/12/2010	Luke Harding and Tom Parfitt	The US embassy cables War over WikiLeaks: Visa and MasterCard: US lobbied Russia to protect card firms from new laws
341	09/12/2010	~	The US embassy cables War over WikiLeaks: Reaction around the world
342	09/12/2010	Esther Addley and Charles Arthur	The US embassy cables War over WikiLeaks: Companies block WikiLeaks - and feel the backlash: Corporations under pressure
343	09/12/2010	Esther Addley and Josh Halliday	The US embassy cables War over WikiLeaks: Cyber war erupts as WikiLeaks supporters join fray: MasterCard and other sites disrupted on day of concerted online 'revenge attacks'
344	09/12/2010	~	Front: War over WikiLeaks
345	09/12/2010	David Smith	Front: Cables reveal Shell's grip on Nigerian state: Oil firm executive boasts it has staff placed in 'every relevant ministry'
346	09/12/2010	Timothy Garton Ash	Comment: The foreign correspondent is dead. Long live the foreign correspondent: The de luxe life satirised in Evelyn Waugh's Scoop has gone for good, but we can still preserve the best of a necessary craft
347	10/12/2010	Rajeev Syal	Moscow warns of tit-for-tat expulsions over spying row: Russia says Zatuliveter's detention is a diversion Legal challenge launched against deportation order
348	10/12/2010	~	Letter: Support for Assange
349	10/12/2010	~	Leading article: Cyber attacks: Payback time
350	10/12/2010	~	France Le Monde
351	10/12/2010	~	United States The New York Times
352	10/12/2010	~	The five most read stories on guardian.co.uk/embassycables
353	10/12/2010	~	After 12 days of leaked cables, the world looks on US with new eyes: Reaction across the globe ranges from indifference to bitterness and anger
354	10/12/2010	~	Spain El Pais
355	10/12/2010	Vikram Dodd and Luke Harding	The prisoner: Assange put in segregation unit as lawyers aim for bail
356	10/12/2010	Amelia Gentleman	Arrest row: Swedes deny political pressure led to demand for extradition
357	10/12/2010	Elisabeth Mahoney	Radio review: The Christian O'Connell Breakfast Show
358	10/12/2010	John Pilger	G2: Why was this event reported as a bloodless victory welcomed by all Iraqis?: The public needs to know the truth about wars, says John Pilger. So why have journalists colluded with governments to hoodwink us?
359	10/12/2010	Alexis Petridis	G2: Shortcuts: Lost in Showbiz How Eva Longoria is beating the terrorists &#10026; Hands off that whale! &#10026; Alex Reid: he knows Hollywood: The real heroes in the fight for hearts and minds
360	10/12/2010	Phil Daoust	G2: What you thought of G2 this week . . . Charmed by Grace's love letter to Corrie, embarrassed by Alistair's cultural road to Damascus
361	10/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill	China losing patience with Burma, and US scathing of Aung San Suu Kyi's opposition: Beijing says junta is making a bad situation worse Pro-democracy movement lacks unity, cables disclose
362	10/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill	Nuclear claim North Korea link
363	10/12/2010	Simon Tisdall and Ian Traynor	Ratko Mladic: Russia 'may know' fugitive's whereabouts

364	10/12/2010	Ian Traynor	Wary US fears Europe will allow Serbs to split Kosovo: Pressure for partition could bring a return to violence, diplomats warn
365	10/12/2010	Ian Traynor	Croatia concern
366	10/12/2010	Sarah Boseley	Cables reveal drugs giant used dirty tricks to avoid clinical trial payout: Cables reveal drugs giant's dirty tricks
367	10/12/2010	Peter Bradshaw	Film & Music: The War You Don't See 4/5 Directors: John Pilger, Alan Lowery 96 mins, no cert
368	10/12/2010	Louis B Susman	Comment: Reckless disclosure: The cable whistleblowers seem indifferent to the damage they've caused. We cannot be so sanguine
369	10/12/2010	Libby Brooks	Comment: This 'rape-rape' defence of Assange will help nobody: An alliance of leftwingers and online misogynists denouncing his accusers is as troubling as attacks on WikiLeaks itself
370	11/12/2010	Wadah Khanfar	Saturday: Comment: They bombed my staff. Now the US is after our integrity: Al-Jazeera reporters have been tortured and killed in defence of their values. That's why the WikiLeaks story must be challenged
371	11/12/2010	Heather Brooke Andrew Brown Robert Booth	Front: Pope's offer to UK Anglicans 'risked violence': British ambassador warned Vatican move could threaten Catholics' safety: Archbishop was put in 'impossible situation', causing crisis in relations
372	11/12/2010	Heather Brooke	The US embassy cables: The Vatican: Child abuse: Embassy reveals anger in Rome at summons to Irish inquiry
373	11/12/2010	Heather Brooke and Andrew Brown	The US embassy cables: The Vatican: Vatican hostility to Turkey joining EU came directly from the pope: Ratzinger made a personal plea against accession in 2004 despite the Holy See's officially neutral position
374	11/12/2010	Graham Snowden	The US embassy cables: World reaction: Online trade: Credit card attacks hit sales
375	11/12/2010	Josh Halliday	The US embassy cables: World reaction: Anonymous attackers declare online war ... from their bedrooms: Shadowy group targets big US websites for 'infowar' Companies helpless in face of anarchic onslaught
376	11/12/2010	Robert Booth	The US embassy cables: World reaction: Overview: The week the US ran scared and a folk hero was born
377	11/12/2010	Declan Walsh	The US embassy cables: World reaction: Pakistan: Cables were fables, hoaxed newspapers forced to admit
378	11/12/2010	~	The Guide: internet: What we learned on the web this week
379	11/12/2010	Rajeev Syal and Luke Harding	'Russian spy' researcher used MP's email and controlled his computer: Zatuliveter was 'flirty and intimate' with Hancock Intern complained about her to party whips' office
380	11/12/2010	Ben Goldacre	Bad Science A migraine-inducing libel case
381	11/12/2010	Susanna Rustin	Saturday: What now for the web?: The conversation As hackers join the battle between WikiLeaks and the US government, Conservative blogger Iain Dale and open access campaigner Jim Killock go head to head. Susanna Rustin moderates
382	11/12/2010	~	Saturday: This week: Guardian's most read
383	11/12/2010	Lucy Mangan	Saturday: This week: People: Naughtie words: James Naughtie
384	13/12/2010	Nicholas Watt and Owen Bowcott	Front: The US embassy cables: MI5 offered to give up Ulster murder files: Leaked cables could pave way for inquiry into shooting of Pat Finucane
385	13/12/2010	Nicholas Watt and Owen Bowcott	Front: The US embassy cables: MI5 offered to give up Ulster murder files: Leaked cables fuel call for full inquiry into 1989 shooting of Pat Finucane
386	13/12/2010	Tom Kington	The US embassy cables Reaction: Vatican hits back at claims that it is out of touch
387	13/12/2010	Nicholas Watt	The US embassy cables Ireland: Celtic Tiger: IRA took advantage of economic boom to diversify
388	13/12/2010	Nicholas Watt	The US embassy cables Ireland: Sinn Fein leadership aware of plan to rob bank, cables claim: Adams and McGuinness 'would have known in advance' of plot
389	13/12/2010	Owen Bowcott	The US embassy cables Ireland: Pat Finucane: Murder of lawyer that fuelled distrust and suspicions of collusion
390	13/12/2010	David Leigh	The US embassy cables Central Asia: Kazakhstan: British tycoon said to be agent in oil bribes scandal
391	13/12/2010	David Leigh	The US embassy cables Central Asia: A president, his 'hated' daughter, and why the US keeps them sweet: Uzbekistan a nation of 'rampant corruption' Crucial military supply line runs through country
392	13/12/2010	Luke Harding	The US embassy cables Central Asia: Tajikistan: 'Cronyism and corruption' from the president to the police
393	13/12/2010	Jane Bussmann	G2: How to make an audience of MPs laugh? Well, the story about where all their Ugandan aid money went is pretty funny
394	13/12/2010	Owen Bowcott	G2: Shortcuts: All the president's emails
395	13/12/2010	Roy Greenslade	Media: And a happy new year?: Press
396	13/12/2010	Richard Sambrook	Media: Foreign reporting: Local know-how, digital skills and great care can help shrink our world
397	13/12/2010	Dan Sabbagh	Media: Opinion: Using the net to fish for profit will be next year's big challenge
398	13/12/2010	Steve Hewlett	Media: Opinion: Steve Hewlett on television and new media: Out with the old? Not while TV's still king
399	14/12/2010	Afua Hirsch	Comment: The mockery of extradition: Thousands of people are being flown out to face charges which wouldn't warrant arrest in the UK
400	14/12/2010	Ben Quinn	Front: The US embassy cables: UK police 'developed' case against McCanns: British police 'developed' McCann case
401	14/12/2010	Ben Quinn	Front: The US embassy cables: UK police 'developed' case against McCanns
402	14/12/2010	Nicholas Watt Richard Norton-Taylor	Front: The US embassy cables: Drive to tackle Islamists made little progress, US cables claim: Diplomats' secret verdict on efforts to reach Muslim communities after 7/7

403	14/12/2010	Nicholas Watt Richard Norton-Taylor	Front: The US embassy cables: Drive to tackle Islamists made 'little progress': Diplomats' secret verdict on efforts to reach Muslim communities after 7/7
404	14/12/2010	Charles Arthur	The US embassy cables Hacking: The hackers: 'Anonymous' is like Fight Club - you don't say that you're in it
405	14/12/2010	Josh Halliday and Charles Arthur	The US embassy cables Hacking: Q&A: How a million users' details got gawked at
406	14/12/2010	~	The US embassy cables Financial crisis: Reaction from around the world: From Brazil to Tajikistan
407	14/12/2010	Vikram Dodd	The US embassy cables Assange hearing: Assange in court today to appeal for release: Sweden's bail refusal to be tested at UK court today Baroness Kennedy joins website founder's defence
408	14/12/2010	Declan Walsh	Pakistani journalist sues CIA for drone strike that killed relatives
409	14/12/2010	Ed Pilkington Josh Halliday	The US embassy cables Hacking: Revenge is tweet: media site Gawker falls victim to the hackers: Twitter feed used to taunt 'arrogant' victim and call for support of WikiLeaks
410	14/12/2010	Nils Pratley	Viewpoint Wikileaks leaves another red face
411	14/12/2010	George Monbiot	Comment: These astroturf libertarians are the real threat to internet democracy: As I see in threads on my articles, the sabotaging of intelligent debate seems organised. We must fight to save this precious gift
412	15/12/2010	Vikram Dodd and Sam Jones	Front: The US embassy cables: Swedish prosecutors fight to keep Assange in prison: Appeal lodged against bail decision: US air force blocks media websites
413	15/12/2010	Vikram Dodd and Sam Jones	Front: The US embassy cables: Sweden fights to keep Julian Assange in jail: Appeal lodged against decision to free WikiLeaks founder on bail
414	15/12/2010	Charles Arthur	The US embassy cables Assange: The philosophy: A spy who has all the answers or just a 'naive libertarian'?
415	15/12/2010	Richard Adams	The US embassy cables Assange: Access denied
416	15/12/2010	Luke Harding and Sam Jones	The US embassy cables Assange: From prison van to stately home: Assange offered rural bail haven: WikiLeaks founder granted bail after former soldier offers him a UK home
417	15/12/2010	~	The US embassy cables Assange: Backing Julian Assange
418	15/12/2010	Luke Harding	The US embassy cables Assange: Ellingham Hall: Escape to the country and a slice of Georgian splendour
419	16/12/2010	Nils Pratley	Viewpoint RBS report must lay bare the full details
420	16/12/2010	Ian Traynor	Europe in crisis: Year of bullying, bluff and bailouts leaves euro fighting for its life: After 12 months of euro trauma, Angela Merkel will dominate today's EU summit. But will she kill or cure the patient?
421	16/12/2010	Neil Clark	Comment: Kosovo - as wrong as Iraq: Terror, murder, abuse, drug trafficking: now we know the true story of Tony Blair's 'good' war
422	16/12/2010	Luke Harding	The US embassy cables Wikileaks: Paying the price: Court costs put founder's finances under strain
423	16/12/2010	Vikram Dodd	The US embassy cables Wikileaks: UK authorities, not Sweden, made decision to oppose bail for Assange
424	16/12/2010	Josh Halliday	Time honoured Zuckerberg named person of the year
425	16/12/2010	~	The truth about Christmas parties: WikiLeaks latest The BP blowout you didn't hear about This section Page 6-9
426	16/12/2010	~	Corrections and clarifications
427	17/12/2010	Richard Flanagan	Comment: How Australians became complicit in the horror of Christmas Island: The myth that we must be protected from hordes of refugees is a weeping sore at the heart of my country's public life
428	17/12/2010	Vikram Dodd	Front: Assange free for now, but judge says he is likely to be extradited
429	17/12/2010	Vikram Dodd	Front: Assange free for now, but judge says he is likely to be extradited
430	17/12/2010	Jason Burke	Front: The US embassy cables: India accused of systematic use of torture: Cables show US was secretly briefed on abuse of civilians in Kashmir
431	17/12/2010	Esther Addley and Luke Harding	The US embassy cables: Assange: Solitary confinement to media glare: Assange freed on bail: After a final five-hour delay, WikiLeaks founder emerges from high court and is driven away to backer's country estate
432	17/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables: Assange: Moves by America: US lawyers explore extradition routes
433	17/12/2010	Josh Halliday and Charles Arthur	The US embassy cables: Assange: The pro-WikiLeaks hackers: Known unknowns: Anonymous hierarchy emerges
434	17/12/2010	~	The US embassy cables: Assange: Solitary confinement to media glare: Assange freed on bail
435	17/12/2010	Heather Brooke	The US embassy cables: Assange: Bradley Manning: Fears for health of man held in US over leak of cables
436	17/12/2010	Nicholas Watt, Mark Tran and Jason Burke	The US embassy cables: Asia: Sri Lanka: Defence secretary cancels private trip amid claim of Colombo complicity in war crimes
437	17/12/2010	~	The US embassy cables: Asia: The embassy cables online
438	17/12/2010	~	Corrections and clarifications
439	17/12/2010	~	Corrections and clarifications
440	18/12/2010	Isabel Hilton	Saturday: Comment: The Dalai Lama is right: For Tibet, climate change is a far more urgent issue than independence - its very survival is at stake
441	18/12/2010	Chris Hall	Family: What to do when they have gone: With his girlfriend and children away for two months, Chris Hall celebrates being solo once more ...
442	18/12/2010	Afua Hirsch	Front: Sudan leader 'stashed \$9bn in UK banks': Cables reveal claim against president: WikiLeaks chief goes on the offensive

443	18/12/2010	Nick Davies	The US embassy cables: Julian Assange: 10 days in Sweden: the charges that triggered a global storm: Unseen police documents provide the first complete account of the allegations against the WikiLeaks boss
444	18/12/2010	Afua Hirsch	The US embassy cables: 'An irritant': the US view of Europe's rights standards: Cables claim Council of Europe is overambitious Officials annoyed by EU stance against rendition
445	18/12/2010	Rory Carroll	The US embassy cables: Global round-up: Castro revealed as Obama fan
446	18/12/2010	Charlie Booker	The Guide: NIGHT OF THE LIVING CLEGG: What with the coalition government, 3D entertainment overload and volcanic ash filling the skies, is it any wonder Charlie Booker is still reeling from 12 months lost down the rabbit hole that was 2010?
447	18/12/2010	Miriam Elder, Luke Harding	'Bizarre' Belarussian leader heads for fourth poll win: Lukashenko is 'disturbed', US diplomats say in cables Opposition claims vote will be rigged - again
448	18/12/2010	~	Leading Article: Julian Assange: WikiLeaks: the man and the idea
449	18/12/2010	Suzanne Moore	Saturday: Anarchy rules! But it's about a lot more than just lobbing things at police
450	18/12/2010	Lucy Mangan	Saturday: This week: Guardian's most read
451	20/12/2010	Phillip Hall	Reply: Letter: WikiLeaks, secrecy and extradition
452	20/12/2010	Robin Clarke	Reply: Letter: WikiLeaks, secrecy and extradition
453	20/12/2010	Mike Powell	Reply: Letter: WikiLeaks, secrecy and extradition
454	20/12/2010	Miriam Elder	Violent clashes in Belarus after thousands turn out in protest at alleged vote-rigging: 'Dictator' Lukashenko claims to have won by 79% Opposition leader beaten and detained after riots
455	20/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill	The US embassy cables: Julian Assange: WikiLeaks founder is a hi-tech terrorist, says Biden
456	21/12/2010	James Meikle	Chief justice gives nod to tweets and texting of court proceedings
457	22/12/2010	Lucy Mangan and Tim Dowling	G2: The battle of pud and evil: The meeting of Snow White and Prince Heimlich of Manoeuvria is not only a recipe for disaster - but also for death-defying first aid. So, grab a cup of coffee, sit back and enjoy G2's annual Christmas panto, brought to you by Lucy Mangan and Tim Dowling
458	22/12/2010	Richard Norton-Taylor and Rob Evans	The US embassy cables: Chagos islands: Mauritius launches legal action against UK
459	22/12/2010	Ian Black	The US embassy cables: Round-up: Iran UK wanted to curb state broadcaster
460	22/12/2010	Adam Gabbatt	The US embassy cables: WikiLeaks founder: 'If I go to Sweden I will be gagged,' says Assange
461	22/12/2010	Fariha Karim and Ian Cobain	Front: The US embassy cables: Bangladeshi 'death squad' trained by UK government
462	22/12/2010	Tim Webb	BP restarts production at Azerbaijani oil platform hit by safety fault
463	23/12/2010	Ian Black	Saudis focus on succession as ageing king leaves hospital
464	23/12/2010	Ewen MacAskill	UN to investigate treatment of jailed leaks suspect
465	23/12/2010	Adam Gabbatt	WTF? CIA WikiLeaks team gets bad name
466	23/12/2010	John Crace	G2: THE QUIZ OF THE YEAR: WikiLeaks
467	23/12/2010	~	G2: THE QUIZ OF THE YEAR: Fingers on buzzers
468	23/12/2010	~	G2: THE QUIZ OF THE YEAR: How well did you do?
469	24/12/2010	Jonathan Watts	Rising tension: North Korea threatens 'holy war' on South: Nuclear arms warning as tension at 50-year high Neighbour defends show of military force at border
470	24/12/2010	Luke Harding	If the Americans come for me, the British people can prevent extradition - Assange: WikiLeaks founder says his fate will rest in Cameron's hands if US charges him
471	24/12/2010	Luke Harding	If the Americans come for me, the British people can prevent extradition - Assange: WikiLeaks founder says his fate will rest in Cameron's hands if US charges him
472	24/12/2010	Ian Cobain	Legal challenge for UK over Bangladesh 'death squad': Rapid Action Battalion accused of torture: Paramilitaries say 600 deaths were 'crossfire'
473	24/12/2010	Tom Parfitt	Medvedev welcomes arms reduction pact
474	24/12/2010	Luke Harding	If the Americans come for me, the British people can prevent extradition - Assange: WikiLeaks founder says his fate will rest in Cameron's hands if US charges him
475	24/12/2010	Ian Cobain	Torture claims: Legal challenge for UK over Bangladesh 'death squad': Rapid Action Battalion accused of torture Paramilitaries say 600 deaths were 'crossfire'
476	24/12/2010	David Smith and agencies	China hails booming trade with Africa as force that will help transform continent: Demand for raw materials creates trade worth £75bn Critics point to failure to assist African economies
477	24/12/2010	Tom Parfitt	Medvedev welcomes arms reduction pact
478	24/12/2010	~	Coming up: Most read: Today's picks from the website
479	27/12/2010	Paul Lewis	Assange to use publishing deal for legal battles
480	27/12/2010	Tom parfitt	Khodorkovsky trial shows how Kremlin eliminates enemies with impunity, says US: Leaked embassy cables reveal criticism of courts: Verdict in jailed oligarch's case due to begin today
481	28/12/2010	David Smith	Tsvangirai faces possible Zimbabwe treason charge: Talks with US diplomats revealed by WikiLeaks Lawyers to examine PM's comments on sanctions
482	28/12/2010	Simon Tisdall	World briefing Is Putin heir to Russia's tyrant tradition?
483	28/12/2010	Tom Parfitt	Khodorkovsky found guilty as protests flare up against Putin and 'charade' trial: Extended term expected for jailed former oil tycoon Supporters cite Kremlin influence in political trial
484	29/12/2010	Mark Lawson	Review Time moves on, but this William is just so: Just William BBC1 3/5
485	29/12/2010	Mehdi Hasan	Comment: US drone attacks are no laughing matter, Mr Obama: The president's backing of remote-controlled, indiscriminate slaughter can only encourage new waves of militancy

486	30/12/2010	Julian Borger	Crackdown threat in Tunisia after graduate protests: Two die in demonstrations against unemployment President warns rioters but promises more jobs
487	30/12/2010	Tom Meltzer	G2: 2010 Review: WikiLeaks glossary
488	30/12/2010	Alex Rayner	G2: 2010 Review: Super bribe me! A year of alleged backhanders
489	31/12/2010	Paul Lewis	Journalists deny cover-up over WikiLeaks boss and accused US intelligence officer
490	31/12/2010	Simon Tisdall	So you thought 2010 was tough ...: After a year in which WikiLeaks changed the face of diplomacy, sabres rattled in North Korea and Iran, and peace initiatives founded, Simon Tisdall fears worse could be in store for 2011
491	31/12/2010	Polly Curtis	Front: The US embassy cables: Ministers must 'wise up not clam up' after leaks
492	01/01/2011	Mark Lawson	Preview Archer fans wait for anniversary episode which will Shock Ambridge to the Core
493	01/01/2011	David Smith	Hackers target Mugabe over WikiLeaks
494	04/01/2011	Ewen MacAskill	United States: WikiLeaks: Right pushes for inquiry to target Assange
495	04/01/2011	Chris McGreal	United States: Five flashpoints Republicans pick their battles
496	04/01/2011	John Vidal	Front: US diplomats called for sanctions against Europe in GM crops row
497	05/01/2011	Tom Phillips	Brazil: 'I was told I'd be killed' - the anti-drug judge under 24-hour protection: Narcotics officials in firing line for taking on organised crime and traffickers
498	05/01/2011	Xan Rice	Ballot box: I will accept secession vote, says Bashir: President calls for unity but seems resigned to loss Referendum expected to divide Sudan in two
499	06/01/2011	Nicholas Watt	Front: Quango chief's dilemma: how to spend a spare £1m?
500	06/01/2011	~	Corrections and clarifications
501	06/01/2011	Naomi Wolf	Comment: The morality of anonymity: Those accusing Assange of sex crimes deserve to be named, not protected by a Victorian ideal
502	07/01/2011	John Vidal	US-Japan whaling deal 'targeted activists'
503	07/01/2011	Chris Salmon	Film & Music: Rock & pop reviews: Film & Music: New year, new noise: Click to download: Christmas has been and gone, but there are still lots of new musical presents yet to be unwrapped
504	07/01/2011	Cath Clarke	Film & Music: 'You have to question your beliefs': It took time, but Paul Haggis is now one of the US's most respected directors. He talks to Cath Clarke about being serious, being stupid, and being a Scientologist
505	08/01/2011	Dominic Rushe	WikiLeaks supporter fights US Twitter demand: Justice department seeks Icelandic MP's messages Move could be part of case against Assange
506	10/01/2011	Dominic Rushe	Iceland calls in US envoy over Twitter check
507	10/01/2011	Dan Sabbagh	Media: Opinion: To succeed be creative, commercial, and collaborative
508	12/01/2011	Esther Addley	Front: Assange faces US death penalty, lawyers claim
509	12/01/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
510	13/01/2011	Timothy Garton Ash	Comment: We've seen America's vitriol. Now let's salute this US pioneer of global civility: For all its shortcomings Wikipedia, now aged 10, is the internet's biggest and best example of not-for-profit idealism
511	14/01/2011	Ed Pilkington	Leak suspect's legal fund gets £9,500 from WikiLeaks
512	14/01/2011	Ed Pilkington	G2: How democracy slipped through the net: Evgeny Morozov's doubts about the web's ability to bring change to oppressive regimes are inspiring a new generation of cyber-sceptics. Ed Pilkington meets him
513	14/01/2011	Simon Jenkins	Comment: Free speech cannot exist unchained. US politics needs the tonic of order: If America is to speak in a way that heals, as Obama wishes, it needs the curbs and regulations that make freedom of expression real
514	15/01/2011	~	Saturday: This week: Guardian's most read
515	15/01/2011	Ian Black	Front: Tunisia: The Wiki connection
516	15/01/2011	Ian Black	Front: Tunisia: The ousted president
517	15/01/2011	Angelique Chrisafis, Ian Black, Kim Willsher	Front: Popular revolt in Tunisia forces president to flee: End of one of the most repressive Arab regimes, but what next?
518	17/01/2011	Mona Eltahawy	Comment: The first Arab revolution: I will always cherish the day Tunisia's dictator was toppled: in a true popular uprising, and not a coup
519	17/01/2011	Owen Bowcott	Stronger UK cyber defences will not deter hackers, says OECD
520	17/01/2011	Adam Sherwin	Media: Television 10 O'Clock Live launch: 'Comedy can be usefully used to scrutinise politics': David Mitchell is the grand inquisitor on C4's new satirical comedy show. But there'll be no Paxo-like stuffings on this UK-style Daily Show.
521	17/01/2011	John Kampfner	Media: What next after WikiLeaks?: The genie cannot be put back into the bottle, however hard authorities try. The information relationship has shifted, but the power relationship has not. The democracy recession is gathering pace.
522	17/01/2011	~	Leading Article: Tunisia's Jasmine revolution: A flower that could be crushed
523	17/01/2011	David Smith	Special report Nigeria: 'I only pray God protects us.' Life and death in a city fearful of elusive Islamist gunmen: In the final part of his series, David Smith reports from the city of Maiduguri on the dangerous rise of the radical Muslim sect, Boko Haram
524	18/01/2011	Ian Cobain and Fariha Karim	Special report: The secret building where Britons were taken to be tortured: Even though Bangladesh was known to carry out torture the UK struck a security deal with the country. But what were its consequences? Ian Cobain and Fariha Karim investigate
525	18/01/2011	Angelique Chrisafis, Ian Black	Tunisia: A first step towards calm as government of unity is formed: Opposition politicians and folk-hero blogger are included in the new regime, but the old guard is still well represented
526	18/01/2011	Rory Carroll, Kim Willsher	Front: After earthquake and cholera, Baby Doc picks his moment for a return to Haiti: Notorious playboy and dictator exiled in 1986 Suspicions raised by visit following 25 year absence
527	19/01/2011	Chris Cole	Reply: Letter: Drone inquiry call



528	19/01/2011	Paul Harris	Damage from WikiLeaks is limited - state department
529	19/01/2011	Kim Willsher	G2: Shortcuts: International politics: Meet the Lady Macbeth of Tunisia
530	19/01/2011	Chris Cole	Reply: Letter: Drone inquiry call
531	19/01/2011	Paul Harris	Damage from WikiLeaks is limited - state department
532	19/01/2011	Kim Willsher	G2: Shortcuts: International politics: Meet the Lady Macbeth of Tunisia
533	20/01/2011	David Batty	Switzerland: Banker rearrested over WikiLeaks data release
534	21/01/2011	Katrin Axelsson	Reply: Response Rape cannot be disentangled from the wider campaign for justice: Julian Assange should not become the target for expressions of fury over sexism
535	21/01/2011	Julian Borger	Iran 'has the technical ability' to build a nuclear bomb, leaked US cable claims: Tehran 'can now produce highly enriched uranium' But not all western powers share US conclusion
536	21/01/2011	John Crace	G2: To Obama, with love from...: Washington has released a register listing a curious array of gifts given to the US president. Can you guess who gave him these?
537	21/01/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
538	22/01/2011	~	Saturday: This week: Guardian's most read
539	22/01/2011	Nicholas Wroe	Review: A LIFE IN MUSIC: Mark-Anthony Turnage: A 19th-century courtesan is grist to the mill of opera composers. But because Anna Nicole died in 2007 it makes people uncomfortable: Photograph by Philip Gatward
540	22/01/2011	Peter Preston	Review: NON-FICTION: Capital offences: A study of the world of international finance depresses Peter Preston: Treasure Islands: Tax Havens and the Men Who Stole the World by Nicholas Shaxson 329pp, Bodley Head, £14.99
541	24/01/2011	Rebecca MacKinnon	Media: Response: Don't thank WikiLeaks
542	24/01/2011	~	Media: Response: Don't thank WikiLeaks
543	24/01/2011	Chris Elliott	Comment: Open door: The readers' editor on... keeping our headlines truthful and trash-free
544	24/01/2011	Seumas Milne and Ian Black	Front: The Palestine Papers: East Jerusalem: Secret papers reveal how Middle East peace was lost: Massive new leak lifts lid on negotiations: PLO offered up key settlements in East Jerusalem: Concessions made on refugees and holy sites
545	25/01/2011	~	Front: The Palestine papers Reaction: What they said
546	25/01/2011	Seumas Milne and Ian Black	Front: The Palestine papers The Americans: Washington veto: US would not allow change in Palestinian leadership
547	26/01/2011	Damon Wise	Film review Paper's movie debut is not worth holding front page for
548	26/01/2011	Richard Adams	US 'cannot link Manning and Assange'
549	26/01/2011	~	Front: The Palestine papers The British connection: What the papers said yesterday
550	26/01/2011	Ian Black	Front: The Palestine papers Security cooperation: The security men 2. Mohammed Dahlan
551	26/01/2011	Ian Black	Front: The Palestine papers Security cooperation: The security men 1. Shaul Mofaz
552	26/01/2011	Ian Black and Seumas Milne	Front: The Palestine papers Security cooperation: 'Why don't you kill him,' the Israeli defence chief said: Israel killed Hassan al-Madhoun, but his death had already been discussed with the Palestinians
553	26/01/2011	Jonathan Freedland	Comment: A taboo has been broken. Now the arguments for peace can be open: The Palestine papers show how much ground their negotiators were willing to concede. This isn't craven. It's admirable
554	27/01/2011	Amelia Hill	Orde warns of 'more extreme' policing
555	27/01/2011	Ian Cobain	Bangladesh 'death squad' back in business as PM visits UK
556	27/01/2011	Peter Beaumont	Egypt: Police crackdown as protesters defy ban and take to streets: Hundreds rounded up on second day of violence in capital
557	27/01/2011	Seumas Milne and Ian Black	The Palestine papers Goldstone, Iran and the envoy: Gaza: Palestinians co-operated with US over Goldstone war crimes report
558	28/01/2011	Selma James	Reply: Letter: US blocking Aristide return to Haiti
559	28/01/2011	Josh Halliday	Five arrested over attacks in support of WikiLeaks
560	28/01/2011	Simon Tisdall	Middle East: Political dynasties: From father to son, the next in line: Across the Arab world, the scions of various political dynasties are looking on in fear. Simon Tisdall profiles the men who would be king
561	28/01/2011	Simon Jenkins	Comment: As secrecy and privacy become things of the past, media ethics are in a mess: A journalist's job is to get the story, but electronic surveillance and the internet demand a new map of the boundaries
562	29/01/2011	Martin Wainwright	Woodlands selloff: 'This could be Cameron's poll tax' - gentry get ready to fight for forests: Thousands to march against privatisation as alliance of protesters grows wider
563	29/01/2011	Steven Poole	Review: NON-FICTION: Superhighway to nowhere: Steven Poole on why the internet might not set the human race free: The Net Delusion: How Not to Liberate the World by Evgeny Morozov 409pp, Allen Lane, £14.99
564	31/01/2011	Adam Sherwin	Media: Interview: Paul Staines: 'I pummel them until they beg for mercy': As Guido Fawkes, his blog has become the bane of British politicians. But is he more than just the Joker in Westminster's Gotham City? He talks to Adam Sherwin about Smeargate, WikiLeaks and what lies ahead
565	31/01/2011	Richard Vine	G2: They've been framed: Disappointed that there were no images for the day's big news story? No problem - watch the animation. Richard Vine talks to the studio that turns the headlines into outlandish cartoons
566	31/01/2011	Barry Miles	G2: Arts: Underground arts special: The 60s rebel
567	31/01/2011	David Leigh and Luke Harding	The War on Secrecy: The teenage hacker who became an insurgent in the information war: David Leigh and Luke Harding on the colourful lives and experiences that shaped underground rebel Julian Assange on the road to WikiLeaks luminary: Teenage hacker to insurgent in the war of information

568	31/01/2011	Alan Rusbridger	The War on Secrecy: Emails, a meeting and the birth of a new transparency: Extracts from a Guardian book on the unique collaboration with WikiLeaks reveal how Julian Assange dressed as a woman to evade his pursuers amid the US embassy cables furore
569	31/01/2011	David Leigh and Luke Harding	Front: Deals, disputes, and disguises: WikiLeaks book reveals all: Guardian book reveals hacker's 'old lady' outfit: Fraught negotiations included rows with editor
570	31/01/2011	David Leigh and Luke Harding	Front: Deals, disputes, and disguises: WikiLeaks book reveals all: Guardian book reveals hacker's 'old lady' outfit: Fraught negotiations included rows with editor
571	01/02/2011	Tim Webb	Financial: Oligarchs' revenge over BP's Arctic deal: BP-TNK board votes to withhold \$1.8bn dividend: Rosneft row undermines Dudley's vision for future
572	01/02/2011	Tim Webb	Financial: US embassy cables: UK firm's partner 'wanted Peru to curb priests in mine conflict areas': US embassy cables: BHP Billiton associate urged removal of teachers and clergy, according to leaks
573	01/02/2011	Michael White	Comment: Diary: Michael White
574	01/02/2011	David Leigh, Luke Harding	International: The War on Secrecy: Strained relations, accusations - and major revelations: Extracts from a Guardian book on the unique collaboration with WikiLeaks reveal a fraught and sometimes acrimonious atmosphere before the publication of the US embassy cables
575	01/02/2011	David Leigh and Luke Harding	International: The War on Secrecy: Israel Shamir: Holocaust denier in charge of handling Moscow cables
576	01/02/2011	Jon Boone	International: From the cables
577	02/02/2011	Ed Pilkington, Chris McGreal, Steven Morris	Front: US soldier accused of leaking secrets is a British citizen
578	02/02/2011	Helen Pidd	Leaks change German language
579	03/02/2011	Timothy Garton Ash	Comment: If this is young Arabs' 1989, Europe must be ready with a bold response: What happens across the Mediterranean matters more to the EU than the US. Yet so far its voice has been inaudible
580	03/02/2011	Michael White	Comment: Diary
581	03/02/2011	~	Corrections and clarifications
582	04/02/2011	John Vidal	Oil: Shell in Africa: Blackened image clings like spilt crude:
583	04/02/2011	Simon Bowers	The Friday interview: French firebrand fights on: Long the scourge of corrupt boardrooms, lawyer Eva Joly could carry on the battle as president of France: Portrait by Gerard Julien/AFP
584	04/02/2011	Ian Black	Front: Egypt: The army: 'Old friends' in the military may persuade president to go - but only when it is in their interest
585	04/02/2011	Simon Jenkins	Comment: Whitehall's zest for data is pointless. They know so much, and do so little: Theresa May's crime map joins school league tables in its statistical fatuity. The information geeks need holding to account
586	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Pakistan
587	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Egypt
588	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Germany
589	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: India
590	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Iran
591	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Israel & the Palestinians
592	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Kenya
593	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Russia
594	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Saudi Arabia
595	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Sudan
596	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Tunisia
597	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Vatican
598	05/02/2011	Chris McGreal	After WikiLeaks: Hi-tech terrorism or nothing but hype? Washington can't decide: Chris McGreal reports from the American capital on how embarrassed government officials and US intelligence agencies have reacted to the leaks
599	05/02/2011	Luke Harding and Tim Dowling	After WikiLeaks: Our favourite diplomats: Who were the most interesting, passionate, funny and infuriated US diplomats? Here's our pick of the best
600	05/02/2011	Patrick Kingsley	After WikiLeaks: Wider world: From Palau to Mongolia, the loneliness of the distant envoy
601	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: World reaction
602	05/02/2011	Esther Addley	After WikiLeaks: 'A priest of free speech who wanted to reveal everything except his own story': Esther Addley reports from Stockholm, where Julian Assange was hailed as a hero of free speech, then became an object of suspicion
603	05/02/2011	Ed Pilkington	After WikiLeaks: Manning: The alleged source held in 'punitive' conditions
604	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: World reaction
605	05/02/2011	Ian Katz	After WikiLeaks: The big chill - pioneering collaboration ended in distrust and legal threats: Ian Katz recounts how coordinating five newspapers and an information insurgent felt like a cross between an EU committee and The Bourne Ultimatum
606	05/02/2011	Evgeny Morozov	After WikiLeaks: The age of the vigilante geek is over - it is time to choose a path: Evgeny Morozov explains why Assange and his nascent transparency movement cannot simply continue in its current form
607	05/02/2011	Simon Rogers	After WikiLeaks: Data difficulties
608	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: The US cables in numbers
609	05/02/2011	David Stubbs	The Guide: Television: Monday 7: pick of the day: Dispatches: Tabloids' Dirty Secrets; Wikileaks - The Secret Story: Panorama, 8pm, Channel 4; 8.30pm, BBC1
610	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Afghanistan
611	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Zimbabwe

612	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Venezuela
613	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Brazil
614	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Mexico
615	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Italy
616	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Ireland
617	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Iraq
618	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Canada
619	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Argentina
620	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: US
621	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: The UN
622	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: South Africa
623	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: Nigeria
624	05/02/2011	~	After WikiLeaks: At a glance: The embassy cables: UK
625	05/02/2011	John Crace	After WikiLeaks: Digested read: Who would've thought it? Diplomacy is a madhouse: John Crace discovers that international relations are as gossip-rich as we'd imagined
626	05/02/2011	Geraldine Proudler	After WikiLeaks: The law It's a radical expansion of the public domain: WikiLeaks has driven a coach and horses through confidentiality laws,
627	05/02/2011	Clay Shirky	After WikiLeaks: The war on secrecy that changes how we all see our governments: The internet The whistleblowing site has created a new media landscape: Web thinker Clay Shirky believes WikiLeaks has begun a publishing trend that no regime can stop
628	06/02/2011	John Naughton	Review: Discover: TECHNOLOGY: How Twitter engineers outwitted Mubarak in one weekend
629	06/02/2011	Nick Cohen	COMMENT: At last, Islam's appeasers may be on the run
630	06/02/2011	Carole Cadwalladr	COMMENT: Fatherhood is not in the DNA - it's in the love
631	07/02/2011	John Plunkett and Josh Halliday	Media: Is this a revolution in world news?: Thanks to its coverage of the Egyptian protests, al-Jazeera English has new-found global popularity, write John Plunkett and Josh Halliday - a further sign that the west may be losing its grip on international news
632	07/02/2011	David Stubbs	G2: Television: Watch this: Dispatches: Tabloids' Dirty Secrets; WikiLeaks - the Secret Story: Panorama, 8pm, Channel 4; 8.30pm, BBC1
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634	07/02/2011	~	G2: Television: Watch this: Dispatches: Tabloids' Dirty Secrets; WikiLeaks - the Secret Story: Panorama, 8pm, Channel 4; 8.30pm, BBC1
635	08/02/2011	Esther Addley	Lawyer pursuing Assange 'malicious feminist': Swedish prosecutor biased against men, hearing told Wikileaks founder fighting extradition in sex case
636	08/02/2011	Esther Addley	Lawyer pursuing Assange 'biased against men': WikiLeaks founder fights extradition over sex claims Personal insults fly on opening day of hearing
637	08/02/2011	~	Leading article: Press freedom: Retreat from Moscow
638	08/02/2011	Dan Sabbagh	Front: Guardian journalist expelled from Russia
639	09/02/2011	Esther Addley	Assange's lawyer says women sent texts discussing revenge: Messages from accusers 'contradict their claims' Extradition hearing runs over into an extra day
640	09/02/2011	Dan Sabbagh Allegra Stratton Miriam Elder	Call to halt Russian's UK visit as Guardian journalist expelled: British government asked to rescind invite to Lavrov Moscow reverses decision to deport correspondent
641	09/02/2011	Afua Hirsch	Taylor's lawyer storms out of court in protest: Barrister refuses to return after rejection of summary Griffiths cites WikiLeaks cable of US anti-Taylor bias
642	09/02/2011	~	G2: Pass notes No 2,924 Radical feminists
643	09/02/2011	John Vidal	Saudi oil running out, US cables reveal: Prices likely to go out of control as reserves dry out Global production could start to decline next year
644	10/02/2011	Dan Sabbagh	Russia backs down on deportation
645	11/02/2011	Helen Pidd	Assange was obsessed by power, former insider claims
646	11/02/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
647	11/02/2011	Mark Weisbrot	Comment: This time, Haiti may win: The US has overthrown Aristide twice. But now it will encounter a new reality in the Americas
648	12/02/2011	Lucy Mangan	Saturday: This week: Guardian's most read
649	12/02/2011	Esther Addley	Assange lawyer makes graphic defence during extradition hearing: 'Any resistance by alleged victim was unarticulated': QC says WikiLeaks head vilified by Swedish PM
650	14/02/2011	Tim Glanfield	Media: Let me entertain you: The story of a digital media startup: Our publicity coup fails to impress Mrs TV
651	14/02/2011	Hadley Freeman	G2: Ask Hadley: The mystery of Sex and the City's enduring appeal. Plus, has Julian Assange made it trendy to dye one's hair grey?
652	14/02/2011	Ian Birrell	Comment: We help the big men steal: Hideous despots like Mubarak rip off their people, and the UK helps them hide their plunder
653	14/02/2011	Tim Glanfield	Media: Let me entertain you: The story of a digital media startup: Our publicity coup fails to impress Mrs TV
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656	15/02/2011	Jack Shenker, Angelique Chrisafis, Lauren Williams, Tom Finn, Giles Tremlett, Martin Chulov	The Arab world: The protesting generation: For young Arabs, change can't come fast enough
657	16/02/2011	~	Corrections and clarifications
658	16/02/2011	Ewen MacAskill	US extols internet freedom - within limits: Clinton praises web role in Middle East revolutions But US in court row over Twitter and WikiLeaks
659	16/02/2011	Dan Sabbagh	Clinton's speech: An important argument, with shades of hypocrisy
660	16/02/2011	Ian Black	Analysis: Sectarian fault lines unnerve neighbours
661	16/02/2011	Jonathan Freedland	Comment: A better way to push democracy, but the west's love-bombing has risks too: The pressing question is what those outside the Middle East can do if they want to see reform spread across the region
662	17/02/2011	~	G2: Pass notes No 2,929 Handbags
663	17/02/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
664	17/02/2011	Timothy Garton Ash	Comment: Listen to this message of hope from Europe's Arabs - and this warning: Spain is closer to north Africa than any European country, but it has no better policy than the rest of the EU
665	17/02/2011	Richard Wachman	BHP Billiton calms talk of big takeovers after huge profit rise: Mining firm to concentrate on existing projects Rising asset prices make acquisitions less attractive
666	18/02/2011	Abdullahi Alazreg	Reply: Letter: Sudan and the west's relations with Africa
667	18/02/2011	Karen McVeigh	Murdered Ugandan activist 'mocked at UN debate': Organiser sniggered at David Kato, said diplomat: Cables show deteriorating climate ahead of election
668	18/02/2011	Ian Black	Middle East unrest: Libya: Protests met by regime's bullets and loyalists
669	18/02/2011	Abdullahi Alazreg	Letter: Sudan and the west's relations with Africa
670	18/02/2011	Karen McVeigh	Murdered Ugandan activist 'mocked at UN debate': Organiser sniggered at David Kato, said diplomat: Cables show deteriorating climate ahead of election
671	18/02/2011	Ian Black	Libya: Protests met by regime's bullets and loyalists
672	19/02/2011	Esther Addley	WikiLeaks: Australian envoy seeks assurances over Assange
673	19/02/2011	~	Review: BESTSELLERS: The top 10 bestsellers through the Guardian Bookshop this week
674	19/02/2011	Giles Tremlett	Morocco: King's power in spotlight as desperate youth prepare to test Morocco's claims to liberalism: Mohammed VI is outwardly revered but rage against his cronies' greed is growing
675	19/02/2011	Rob Evans	Barclays: Confidentiality: How the Guardian was gagged from revealing tax secrets
676	19/02/2011	Hisham Matar	Middle East unrest: Terror and bribery are blunt tools now
677	21/02/2011	Ian Black	Middle East unrest: Libyan analysis: 'For Gaddafi it's kill or be killed. Now he's gone straight for the kill'
678	22/02/2011	Ian Cobain Amelia Hill Kartik Mehta	Front: Libya: Leader's LSE-educated son no longer a man the west can do deals with: University distances itself from Saif al-Islam Gaddafi He had role in nuclear talks and release of Megrahi
679	22/02/2011	Ian Black	Front: Libya: A family of black sheep: Gaddafi's dysfunctional clan: The leader of the Libyan revolution presides over a "famously fractious" family that is powerful, wealthy, dysfunctional and marked by internecine struggles, according to US diplomatic cables released by WikiLeaks. The documents shed light on how his eight children - among whom rivalries have sharpened in recent years - his wife and Gaddafi himself lead their lives.
680	23/02/2011	Ian Black	Libya: Inner circle: Brutal enforcer: Gaddafi's most trusted aide and right-hand man
681	23/02/2011	Jonathan Freedland	Comment: We owe the internet for changing the world. Now let's learn how to turn off: Twitter can help bring down Middle Eastern dictators - but being forever online disrupts our lives for the worse
682	24/02/2011	Miriam Elder	Russian's risky mission to jail 'the untouchables': Whistleblower raises £1.8m in donations Volunteers examine state tenders for evidence
683	24/02/2011	Nicholas Watt	Cameron plans link-up with US and France for new sanctions on Iran: UN and EU failing to deter Tehran's nuclear ambition PM seeks coalition to tackle 'pariah state'
684	24/02/2011	James Ball	UK blocked \$60m arms deal over fears of Iran link: Firm refused licence for sale to Swaziland in 2008 WikiLeaks cable spells out possible destinations
685	25/02/2011	Peter Beaumont	G2: Friends, followers and countrymen: The uprisings in Libya, Tunisia and Egypt have been called 'Twitter revolutions' - but can social networking overthrow a government? Peter Beaumont reports from the Middle East on how activists are really using the web
686	25/02/2011	Esther Addley	Front: What happens next?
687	25/02/2011	Esther Addley	Front: 'Make this case bigger than me': Assange to appeal after losing extradition battle: Judge says WikiLeaks chief must answer sex charges Court dismisses fears over fair trial in Sweden
688	25/02/2011	David Leigh	Comment: A tizzy that bamboozles: The WikiLeaks founder should keep quiet about his private life and let his work speak for itself
689	26/02/2011	~	Front: Double scoop as Guardian receives 17 nominations for 2011 Press Awards
690	26/02/2011	Ian Cobain and Fariha Karim	British-trained paramilitaries 'tortured MP'
691	28/02/2011	Miriam Elder	Libya: Bitter pill: Gaddafi's nurse flees country
692	28/02/2011	Chris Elliott	Reply: Open door: The readers' editor on... the ethics of publishing stories that may endanger a life
693	01/03/2011	Dominic Rushe	Libya: Financial pressure: US Treasury blocks \$30bn in assets held by Gaddafi and his officials
694	01/03/2011	Josh Halliday	WikiLeaks: Julian Assange applies to trademark his own name
695	02/03/2011	Ian Black	Front: Libya: Islamists: Leader plays on fears of al-Qaida terror in bid to win back support

696	02/03/2011	Patrick Barkham	G2: What's in a nameTM?: What can Julian Assange gain from trademarking his name?
697	02/03/2011	Ben Quinn	Row over Assange 'Jewish conspiracy' comments
698	03/03/2011	John Kampfner	Comment: Assange and the big picture: Working with him has been like treading on eggshells. But he really has changed the world
699	03/03/2011	Xan Brooks	Front: WikiLeaks: the Movie - Spielberg buys screen rights to Guardian book
700	03/03/2011	Declan Walsh	Front: Pakistan shooting: A rattle of guns, and another voice against Pakistan's extremists dies: Christian member of government warned he would be a Taliban target after speaking out against blasphemy laws. Yesterday his prediction came true
701	03/03/2011	Jonathan Freedland	G2: The hatred that refuses to go away: John Galliano's antisemitic diatribes and a glut of recent claims that there is a Jewish conspiracy will be dismissed as eccentric outbursts. But they are, in fact, symptoms of a deeper, more worrying malaise, argues Jonathan Freedland
702	03/03/2011	Ed Pilkington	US soldier accused of supplying WikiLeaks may face death penalty: 'Aiding the enemy' is among 22 new charges Bradley Manning held in solitary confinement
703	03/03/2011	~	Corrections and clarifications
704	04/03/2011	Jeevan Vasagar and Rajeev Syal	Front: LSE boss quits over Gaddafi cash scandal: Director resigns over links to Libya: PR firm admits errors over lobbying: LSE boss quits over Gaddafi cash scandal
705	04/03/2011	James Meikle	Assange starts appeal against extradition to Sweden
706	04/03/2011	James Meikle	Assange starts high court appeal against extradition to Sweden
707	04/03/2011	James Meikle	Assange lodges appeal against extradition
708	05/03/2011	Robert Booth	Front: Andrew hosted dictator's son-in-law at palace: Exclusive Controversial Tunisian was guest of honour months before uprising
709	05/03/2011	Becky Barnicoat	Saturday: This week: Good to meet you Antony Barlow
710	05/03/2011	Robert Booth	Anglo-Arab relations: How royal Mr Fixit opens doors for big business: Controversy surrounds duke as he courts the great but not always good
711	07/03/2011	Hadley Freeman	G2: Ask Hadley: Is it OK to buy Dior? No, it's not acceptable to wear clothes designed by a person who has expressed love for Hitler
712	07/03/2011	Ed Pilkington	Guards accused of humiliating WikiLeaks suspect
713	09/03/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
714	11/03/2011	Ed Pilkington	Front: Stripped naked every night, Bradley Manning tells of prison ordeal
715	11/03/2011	Ed Pilkington	Front: 'The determination to strip me of all of my clothing every night is without justification': Alleged WikiLeaks source cites demeaning routines: Prisoner 'punitively' placed on suicide watch
716	11/03/2011	Esther Addley	Assange police investigator 'a friend' of sexual assault accuser
717	12/03/2011	Simon Bowers	Kaupthing Bank: Politics: How Icelandic bank's clients filled the Tory party's coffers Clinton aide attacks Manning's treatment: Crowley says Pentagon behaviour is ridiculous Split over treatment of alleged WikiLeaks source
718	12/03/2011	Ed Pilkington	Clinton aide attacks Manning's treatment: Crowley says Pentagon behaviour is ridiculous Split over treatment of alleged WikiLeaks source
719	12/03/2011	Simon Bowers	Kaupthing Bank: Politics: How Icelandic bank's clients filled the Tory party's coffers Clinton aide attacks Manning's treatment: Crowley says Pentagon behaviour is ridiculous Split over treatment of alleged WikiLeaks source
720	12/03/2011	Ed Pilkington	Clinton aide attacks Manning's treatment: Crowley says Pentagon behaviour is ridiculous Split over treatment of alleged WikiLeaks source
721	14/03/2011	Ed Pilkington	Clinton spokesman quits over Manning: Crowley called handling of WikiLeaks suspect 'stupid' Remarks force Obama to address issue directly
722	14/03/2011	Nigel Wilmott	Comment: Open door: The letters editor on... 'open letters' and opening up more room for letters
723	14/03/2011	~	Media: Response: Rupert Murdoch at 80
724	15/03/2011	~	Leading article: Bradley Manning: Cruel and unusual
725	15/03/2011	Roger Hallam	Reply: Letter: Noxious silence on treatment of Manning
726	15/03/2011	Matt Scott	Sport: Digger: Fifa challenger flattered by anti-Blatter chatter
727	15/03/2011	John Vidal and Damian Carrington	Front: Disaster in Japan: Front: Disaster in Japan: Echo of Chernobyl: Experts say Japan is following 'pattern of denial' over radiation
728	15/03/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
729	15/03/2011	George Monbiot	Comment: We won't trouble Saudi's tyrants with calls to reform while we crave their oil: Unrest will be seen as destabilising for western governments too until our dependency on Riyadh's tap is curbed
730	16/03/2011	Patrick Kingsley	The internet is a dictator's best friend, says Assange
731	16/03/2011	Ed Pilkington	Military doctors accused over Manning: WikiLeaks suspect treated cruelly, says rights group: US psychiatrists 'violating ethical duties as doctors'
732	16/03/2011	Ed Pilkington	Military doctors accused over Manning: WikiLeaks suspect treated cruelly, says rights group: US psychiatrists 'violating ethical duties as doctors'
733	16/03/2011	David Leigh	G2: 'Why are you doing this to me? Why am I being punished? I have done nothing wrong': US soldier Bradley Manning is being held in inhuman conditions in military prison, accused of passing secrets to WikiLeaks. Every other week his friend from Boston goes to visit him.
734	17/03/2011	Duncan Campbell	Comment: An ignoble extradition: New clear evidence of hacker Gary McKinnon's Asperger's must persuade parliament to protect him
735	18/03/2011	Jeff Jarvis	Expert view Stupidity and sock puppetry
736	18/03/2011	Jason Burke	Indian government tried to buy votes, says WikiLeaks cable: Official of ruling Congress party 'told US of bribe plan' Opposition calls on prime minister to stand down
737	18/03/2011	Patrick Kingsley	G2: The Wu master: The internet as a model of free speech and access is coming to an end, web expert Tim Wu tells Patrick Kingsley

738	18/03/2011	Phil Daoust	G2: The readers' room: What you thought of G2 this week . . . Defending video games, attacking Bradley Manning, and a moving encounter with clowns on a children's ward
739	21/03/2011	Dominic Rushe	Google accuses Beijing of sabotaging email service: Attacks 'are designed to appear like service failure': Chinese activists thought to have been targeted
740	21/03/2011	Jemima Kiss	Media: SXSWSI: does bigger always mean better?: The main theme of this year's event in Texas was the influence of consumer web technology on everything from the Arab Spring to how we deal with our digital legacy
741	21/03/2011	Dominic Rushe	Mexico: US envoy resigns over WikiLeaks cables row
742	22/03/2011	Mark Rice-Oxley	The WikiLeaks view: Feared and reviled as the 'iron fist'
743	25/03/2011	Alecander Chancellor	G2: The bonanza of kickbacks and corrupt deals between Libya and the west have helped Gaddafi cling on to power
744	26/03/2011	~	The Guide: THE POPULIST: THE COLUMN THAT'S THROWING WIKILEAKS CONFETTI
745	26/03/2011	Jose Manuel Fernandes	Comment: Portugal needs its sleeping king now more than ever: The abrupt departure of Jose Socrates is another chapter in the story of my country's economic and political decay
746	28/03/2011	Chris Elliott	Reply: Open door: The readers' editor on... contributions that are published in good faith
747	29/03/2011	Ben Quinn, James Ball and Mark Tran	Special investigation: MoD payouts show Afghans' growing catalogue of suffering: Special investigation: UK forces paid £1.3m last year in compensation - and in one case just £542 after a girl was killed in a fire started by a rocket
748	29/03/2011	Dominic Rushe	Crowley: I stand by my remarks on Manning
749	30/03/2011	Declan Walsh	G2: Pakistan's dirty secret: In the past eight months more than 100 corpses have turned up in Balochistan, among them lawyers, students and farm workers. So why is no one investigating and what have they got to do with the bloody battle for Pakistan's largest province? Declan Walsh reports
750	31/03/2011	Duncan Campbell	Obituary: Leonard Weinglass: Leading US defence lawyer and civil rights campaigner
751	31/03/2011	Jason Deans	Ronnie Wood up for rising star award - at 63: Rolling Stones star's show put forward for Sony prize Multiple nominations for Skinner and Derbyshire
752	31/03/2011	Ian Cobain	Front: Challenge to Cameron over torture claims: Alleged terrorist says he was taken to Uganda and interrogated by MI5
753	31/03/2011	Timothy Garton Ash	Comment: The leaking game is altered for good. Secrets must be fewer, but better kept: For whistleblowers, government and press, the age of digileaks cries out for new rules on what to hide - and reveal
754	01/04/2011	Nick Hopkins, Ian Black, Severin Carrell, Richard Norton-Taylor	National: Libya: Moussa Koussa: From 'envoy of death' to MI6 contact
755	01/04/2011	Peter Beaumont, Nicholas Watt, Severin Carrell	Front: Revealed: Gaddafi envoy in Britain for secret talks: Exclusive: Aide met officials amid hints regime wants exit strategy: Gaddafi envoy in Britain for secret talks
756	05/04/2011	Pankaj Mishra	Comment: Behind 'Rising India' lies the surrender of national dignity: From the prime minister down, the rotten state of the world's largest democracy has been exposed for all to see
757	06/04/2011	Esther Addley and David Leigh	Britain's 'concern' over treatment of Manning: Embassy in new approach to state department Soldier held in WikiLeaks case has Welsh mother
758	06/04/2011	Ben Quinn	Front: Triumph for the Guardian at the Press Awards: Global impact of WikiLeaks scoop helps win Newspaper of the Year award
759	06/04/2011	Richard Wachman	Tokyo nuclear power company turns toxic: Firm behind Fukushima crisis could be nationalised with bills of up to £74bn
760	07/04/2011	Keith Flett	Reply: Letter: Neighsayers
761	07/04/2011	~	Front: The British Press Awards
762	08/04/2011	David Leigh and James Ball	Israeli intelligence WikiLeaked
763	08/04/2011	Timothy Garton Ash	Guardian Weekly: Comment: The leaking game has changed for good: For whistleblowers, government and press, the age of digileaks cries out for new rules on what to hide, and reveal
764	09/04/2011	Alexandra Topping	Saturday: This week: Good to meet you Luka Ivanovic
765	09/04/2011	Jonathan Haslam	Review: NON-FICTION: The biggest leak in history: Jonathan Haslam on a breach of secrecy that will never be repeated: WikiLeaks: Inside Julian Assange's War on Secrecy by David Leigh and Luke Harding 352pp, Guardian Books, £9.99 Inside WikiLeaks: My Time with Julian Assange at the World's Most Dangerous Website by Daniel Domscheit-Berg 304pp, Jonathan Cape, £9.99 WikiLeaks and the Age of Transparency by Micah Sifry 176pp, Yale, £9.99
766	09/04/2011	Iain Aitch	The Guide: events: Wordfest Cambridge
767	11/04/2011	Ed Pilkington	Front: US legal scholars voice outrage at treatment of Manning
768	12/04/2011	Ewen MacAskill	Front: Top UN official reprimands US for blocking Manning visit
769	14/04/2011	Esther Addley	Manning needs British consular visit, mother tells Hague
770	16/04/2011	Jane Hill	Review: LETTERS: The big picture
771	16/04/2011	Polly Toynbee	Saturday: The Saturday interview: 'Human beings want to be free': Aung San Suu Kyi's house arrest ended five months ago, but just how free is she? The political campaigner talks about rebuilding the National League for Democracy, the revolutionary power of social media and her love of The Grateful Dead
772	20/04/2011	Ed Pilkington	WikiLeaks suspect to be moved to Kansas jail: Prison transfer for Bradley Manning after protests Campaigners fear move may not improve access
773	21/04/2011	John Kampfner	Comment: An inquiry into press practice will be good for free speech: Though the timing may be opportunistic, Ed Miliband is right. Libel reform, privacy and media standards need looking at

774	<b>21/04/2011</b>	Esther Addley	Bradley Manning moved to 'more open' military prison
775	<b>22/04/2011</b>	Saeed Kamali	Ahmadinejad's successor? The hardliners hope not: Aide being groomed for presidency in 2013 Nationalist unpopular with Ayatollah Khamenei
776	<b>25/04/2011</b>	David Leigh Ian Cobain James Ball Jason Burke	Front: Behind the wire - leaked files lift lid on Guantanamo regime: Exclusive Secret dossiers on 759 captives held at notorious US camp
777	<b>25/04/2011</b>	David Leigh	Front: The Guantanamo files: The British Connections: What are these files?
778	<b>25/04/2011</b>	Ed Pilkington	From Mubarak to Murdoch, protesting goes global: Activism network Avaaz turns fire on media mogul US-based group unites 'idealists of the world'
779	<b>26/04/2011</b>	Declan Walsh, David Leigh, Jason Burke, Ian Cobain	Front: Al-Qaida 'assassin' worked for MI6, secret files claim: Guantanamo papers link UK to Algerian militant: 123 prisoners incriminated by one informer
780	<b>27/04/2011</b>	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
781	<b>29/04/2011</b>	Ian Black	Arab uprising: Anatomy of a regime: Six key men who helped Assad keep iron grip after father's death
782	<b>29/04/2011</b>	Ed Pilkington	United States: WikiLeaks suspect no longer held in solitary
783	<b>02/05/2011</b>	Jackie Ashley	Comment: Few would weep for Gaddafi, but targeting him is wrong: In war, international law is all we have. If we cast it aside there'll be nothing left but might is right, arms, oil and profits
784	<b>02/05/2011</b>	Chris Elliott	Comment: Open door: The readers' editor ... on WikiLeaks and the release of sensitive information
785	<b>03/05/2011</b>	Simon Jenkins	Comment: Osama bin Laden is dead - but not al-Qaida or its cause: Ten years of 'war on terror' have devastated Afghanistan. All its people want is peace. Will they get it at last?
786	<b>03/05/2011</b>	Ewen MacAskill	Front: Death of Bin Laden: UK reaction: Guantanamo clue
787	<b>03/05/2011</b>	Rajeev Syal	Front: Death of Bin Laden: UK reaction: Muslim community: Worshippers voice support and disbelief
788	<b>03/05/2011</b>	Jason Burke	Front: Death of Bin Laden: The long hunt: How the net finally closed on America's most-wanted man: After 9/11 Osama bin Laden was a key target for the US - but no one knew where to find him. Jason Burke traces the decade-long search that led to Abbottabad
789	<b>03/05/2011</b>	Geoff Simmons	Reply: Letter: Osama bin Laden and wild-west justice
790	<b>04/05/2011</b>	James Ball	Front: Death of Bin Laden: Missed opportunities
791	<b>05/05/2011</b>	Tariq Ali	Comment: End of the golden goose: Pakistan is in the grip of a fierce debate about who knew what. The military won't come out of it well
792	<b>05/05/2011</b>	Ed Pilkington	Manning held under better conditions ahead of trial
793	<b>05/05/2011</b>	~	Leading article: 190 years: work in progress: The Manchester Guardian, born 5 May 1821
794	<b>10/05/2011</b>	Fariha Karim	UK-trained police 'torture and kill'
795	<b>10/05/2011</b>	Fariha Karim	Bangladeshi force trained by UK police 'allowed to kill and torture'
796	<b>10/05/2011</b>	Declan Walsh	Pakistan: US struck secret deal with Pakistan 10 years ago to allow Bin Laden swoop: Pact agreed in wake of 9/11 that ally would 'put up hue and cry' but not stop incursion
797	<b>12/05/2011</b>	Mehdi Hasan	Comment: Obama needs a challenge from the left, not from Palin: If the president had a Democratic opponent in the primaries it might stop him repeatedly triangulating to the right
798	<b>12/05/2011</b>	Declan Walsh	G2: Under attack: It has been accused of supporting al-Qaida and double-dealing with the CIA. At the same time the ISI, Pakistan's powerful intelligence service, is being targeted by extremists. So whose side is it now really on, asks Declan Walsh
799	<b>12/05/2011</b>	Dominic Rushe	Cat and mouse: US to spend \$30m fighting web censorship
800	<b>13/05/2011</b>	Terry Macalister	US signals it is ready for Arctic oil battle: Environmentalists fear carve-up of resources: WikiLeaks cables raise spectre of new cold war
801	<b>13/05/2011</b>	~	A tangled family tree: Bin Laden's wives and children
802	<b>13/05/2011</b>	Peter Walker	WikiLeaks and Guardian hailed as catalysts of Arab spring
803	<b>13/05/2011</b>	Peter Walker	WikiLeaks and Guardian hailed as catalysts of Arab spring
804	<b>14/05/2011</b>	Marina Hyde	Saturday: Comment: Zac and Jemima's posturing - who'll superinjunct that?: Watching the gazillionaire Goldsmiths trying to justify their illogical and self-serving stance on privacy is excruciating
805	<b>16/05/2011</b>	John Kampfner	Media: A question of judgment: Privacy decisions can't just be left to the judges and politicians - it is time for an independent review, argues John Kampfner. But first it has to be decided who is entitled to privacy and what constitutes public interest
806	<b>16/05/2011</b>	Polis, online	Media: Opinion: Response: Sweden shows the way
807	<b>17/05/2011</b>	Ewen MacAskill	US calls on its Nato partners to help resist cyber-attacks: 'Threat to one is a threat to all' treaty cited in report Open net versus privacy analysis omits WikiLeaks
808	<b>17/05/2011</b>	Ian Black	Front: Libya: Profile Abdullah Senussi: 'Executioner' blamed for the bloody repression of Benghazi rebels
809	<b>17/05/2011</b>	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
810	<b>20/05/2011</b>	Sam Jones	Special report: Chagos Islands: A land neglected and decaying, but it's still our home: Islanders forced out by the British government tell Sam Jones that they will never give up the fight to return
811	<b>24/05/2011</b>	Polly Toynbee	Comment: How the rightwing media makes the political personal: They moralise about privacy, but our press barons' real agenda is to spread the poison of envy, anger and hatred
812	<b>25/05/2011</b>	Robert Booth	Front: Obama in Britain: MP's alarm at Obama remark on Manning: President: soldier charged over data leak 'broke law' Clwyd describes comment as 'amazing thing to say'
813	<b>25/05/2011</b>	Simon Rogers	Media: Guardian.co.uk wins two awards for digital news

814	26/05/2011 ~		Front: Four awards for the Guardian
815	27/05/2011	Mark Brown	Bradley Manning's life in Wales inspires new work for theatre group
816	27/05/2011	Alison Rourke	From cables to stage: actors set for WikiLeaks play
817	28/05/2011	David Leigh	Cables reveal Saudi clashes over female drivers
818	28/05/2011	Maggie O'Kane, Chavala Madlena, Guy Grandjean	Special investigation: The beaten, bullied outsider who knew US military's inner secrets: Exclusive Having been on the brink of discharge from the US army, Bradley Manning was posted to a desolate Iraq base where secret intelligence was the TV entertainment
819	28/05/2011	Maggie O'Kane, Chavala Madlena, Guy Grandjean	Front: Bradley Manning 'was mentally unfit' to serve in Iraq
820	01/06/2011	Declan Walsh	Pakistan: Hamid Gul: Taliban organiser? Windbag provocateur? Ex-spy chief hogs limelight
821	01/06/2011	Declan Walsh	Pakistan: Spy agency accused of killing reporter who claimed military are in talks with al-Qaida: Shahzad's body found by canal days after story Journalists and Human Rights Watch blame ISI
822	02/06/2011	Declan Walsh	In the shadow of Bin Laden: Pakistan still reeling from raid that killed al-Qaida chief: One month on, crises stack up for beleaguered military Generals under attack from inside and outside country
823	03/06/2011	Ed Pilkington	Front: The Times they are a changin': after 160 years Gray Lady appoints woman editor: Abramson takes top job at US media institution Digital strategy could be defining test of leadership
824	03/06/2011	Ed Pilkington	Front: The Times they are a changin': after 160 years Gray Lady appoints woman editor: Abramson takes top job at US media institution Digital strategy could be defining test of leadership
825	06/06/2011	Dominic Rushe	Nintendo becomes latest victim in global wave of cyber-attacks
826	07/06/2011	Ed Pilkington	Front: Up to a quarter of US hackers are secret service informers
827	08/06/2011	Ed Pilkington	G2: 'I'm a battle- scarred veteran': The New York Times has just appointed its first woman editor. Jill Abramson tells Ed Pilkington why she got the job, how she'll handle the shift to a digital world - and why her tattoo matters to her
828	09/06/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
829	10/06/2011	Ben Dowell	Obama 'toughest on whistleblowers'
830	15/06/2011	Daniel Ellsberg	Comment: Don't make my mistake - if you can halt a war, do it now: I wish I had leaked the Pentagon Papers sooner. Mired as we now are in more conflict, those in the know must speak out
831	16/06/2011	Haroon Siddique	Assange lunch comes at a price
832	16/06/2011	Alison Flood	Writers in revolutionary mood at Edinburgh books festival: Authors from 40 countries to attend literary event Alasdair Gray and AS Byatt to unveil latest work
833	17/06/2011	Patrick Kingsley	G2: Danger: hackers at work: Google, Sony, CitiBank and even the CIA . . . they've all been victims of increasingly audacious cyber attacks. Is it coincidence or part of a wider campaign? Patrick Kingsley reports
834	18/06/2011	Giles Tremlett, Agencies	Arab protests: Morocco: King bows to pressure and allows reform
835	22/06/2011	Ewen MacAskill	Republican's kind words for Obama hit candidacy hopes: WikiLeaks cables reveal views while China envoy Huntsman's climate stance also likely to hurt chances
836	22/06/2011	Vikram Dodd, Josh Halliday, Charles Arthur	Front: Hunt for hackers of US government sites leads police to Essex teenager's bedroom: Police believe Ryan Cleary, 19, had 'significant role' LulzSec thought to have attacked CIA and Senate
837	23/06/2011	James Ball	Bitcoins: LulzSec affiliate suspected over theft of \$9m in online currency
838	23/06/2011	Alex Needham	G2: A change of scene: From Gilbert & George to Stella McCartney, Central Saint Martins has trained the country's coolest artists and designers - but now the college is moving out of Soho, can it retain its radical edge, asks Alex Needham
839	24/06/2011	Simon Rogers	Media: Guardian website wins data journalism award
840	25/06/2011 ~		Special report: Hacktivists LulzSec and its opponents
841	25/06/2011	Ryan Gallagher and Charles Arthur	Special report: Leaked chats shine first light on inner world of secretive hackers: The group behind attacks on Sony and CIA are anxious over anonymity but thrive on publicity, chatroom logs show
842	28/06/2011	Tom Phillip and Virginia Lopez	Venezuelan tribes pray for ailing Chavez to regain health
843	30/06/2011	Declan Walsh	Special report: Saudi Arabia: Pakistan link: Educating orphans or raising extremists?
844	30/06/2011	Jason Burke	Front: Revealed: Saudi's secret nuclear warning to Nato on Iran
845	02/07/2011	Suzanne Moore	Saturday: A world with too much freedom is better than one with not enough
846	02/07/2011	Suzanne Moore	Saturday: A world with too much freedom is better than one with not enough
847	04/07/2011	Gary Younge	Comment: Ask Haitians whether voters or big business chose their singing president: The economic crisis has intensified the implosion of democratic legitimacy. Multinationals, not nation states, now rule
848	06/07/2011	James Ball and agencies	Anti-war navy medic detained for refusing rifle training
849	06/07/2011	Tania Branigan	G2: Stepping out of her brother's shadow: It's unlikely Yingluck Shinawatra, set to be Thailand's first female prime minister, would be in her job if it weren't for her powerful brother Thaksin. But for women in Asian politics, family can be everything. Tania Branigan reports
850	07/07/2011	Esther Addley	Front: Misery lit: unhappy Assange changes mind on memoirs
851	08/07/2011	Libby Brooks	Comment: Britain's own child soldiers: A third of army recruits are under 18. Is it right to target the young and the underachieving poor?
852	09/07/2011	Sarah Churchwell Steven Poole John Dugdale	Review: THE WEEK IN BOOKS: Americans' favourite British authors; Zizek meets Assange; and the writer as artist



853	11/07/2011	John Kampfner	Media: Phone-hacking fallout: This scandal offers a chance to reinvent our media culture: The search for a way to regulate the press in the wake of the past week must balance privacy against public interest - the worry is, fearless investigative reporting could be crushed
854	13/07/2011	Robert Booth	Front: My lips are sealed: Assange attempts new strategy in court fight to beat extradition: Sexual encounters were 'disturbing but not illegal' WikiLeaks founder claims arrest warrant is invalid
855	14/07/2011	Robert Booth	Arrest warrant under fire in Assange appeal: Swedish counsel outlines unlawful coercion claims Lawyer for WikiLeaks' founder hits back at 'slur'
856	15/07/2011	Ryan Gallagher	G2: 'Revolution: the big guy': is bringing down: Hacker group LulzSec gained notoriety when it attacked the CIA, multi-nationals and government websites. But what was the point - and what happened next? Ryan Gallagher talks to one of its founders
857	16/07/2011	Suzanne Moore	Saturday: Bawdy tittle-tattle has always been part of our press - let's not lose it
858	16/07/2011	Stuart Jeffries	Review: A LIFE IN WRITING: Slavoj Zizek: Let's speak frankly, no bullshit, most of the left hates me even though I'm supposed to be one of the world's leading communist intellectuals: Photograph by Christian Sinibaldi for the Guardian
859	16/07/2011	Luke Harding	Review: NON-FICTION: Faltering steppes: Luke Harding on a trip across troubled Russia: White Fever: A Journey to the Frozen Heart of Siberia by Jacek Hugo-Bader, translated by Antonia Lloyd-Jones 336pp, Portobello, £16.99
860	16/07/2011	Tariq Ali	Comment: The rocky AmPak affair: While US threats to hold back aid mean little, its hunting on Pakistani soil is heightening tensions
861	19/07/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary
862	21/07/2011	Mehdi Hasan	Comment: Karzai's grip has slipped: Incompetent, unpopular, weak and seen as a stooge. It is time for the Afghan president to step down
863	22/07/2011	Stephen Bates	Prince Andrew to end role as trade envoy
864	25/07/2011	Charles Arthur	
865	25/07/2011	~	Media: Media Guardian 100: 43 Jemima Khan
866	25/07/2011	~	Media: Media Guardian 100: 37 Alan Rusbridger
867	25/07/2011	~	Media: Media Guardian 100: 32 Julian Assange
868	26/07/2011	Mark Townsend, Helen Pidd	Front: Norway killer says he is surprised he was not stopped
869	28/07/2011	Josh Halliday, Charles Arthur, James Ball	Teenager arrested in Shetland over 'LulzSec' cyber attacks
870	12/08/2011	David Smith	Pfizer pays out to families of drug trial victims: Nigerian claimants win 15-year fight over deaths Company 'had no consent' to use experimental drug
871	13/08/2011	Nick Barley	Review: AUTHOR, AUTHOR: Nick Barley reflects on the challenges of organising the world's biggest book festival in Edinburgh
872	19/08/2011	Nour Ali	Middle East: Deceit in Damascus
873	19/08/2011	John Ashton	G2: The Lockerbie bomber I know: Two years ago Abdelbaset al-Megrahi was controversially released on the grounds he was about to die. But this shadowy figure has survived to become a pawn in the Libyan conflict. John Ashton, who has long believed in his innocence, describes the man behind the myth
874	20/08/2011	Skye Sherwin	The Guide: exhibitions: We Have Our Own Concept Of Time And Motion London
875	22/08/2011	Jason Burke	Kashmir unmarked graves hold thousands of bodies
876	25/08/2011	Heather Brooke	G2: Computer hackers are frequently maligned thanks to destructive attacks by 'pimpily' digital pranksters. But some are now finding they have the power to change the world for good. Heather Brooke separates the hackers from the 'crackers'
877	26/08/2011	Luke Harding	Front: Gaddafi's desperate bid to save regime revealed: Tripoli feared full US invasion: Libyan PM's letter to Obama: Fresh battles in heart of capital
878	26/08/2011	Charles Arthur	Hacking: Student charged over Anonymous attacks
879	26/08/2011	Jonathan Watts	Animal cruelty: Tourist at tiger centre was diplomat in disguise
880	26/08/2011	Jonathan Watts	China's cheap nuclear plants 'increase risk': Warnings in US cables released by WikiLeaks Reactors to be left with century-old technology
881	27/08/2011	Jonathan Watts	China accused of failing to measure worst air pollutants
882	30/08/2011	Hamit Dardagan	Comment: The toll Nato didn't count: The justification for the bombing of Libya was to protect civilians. So why aren't casualties recorded?
883	01/09/2011	James Ball	Security breach puts full WikiLeaks cables online
884	02/09/2011	James Ball	WikiLeaks: Assange poised to publish full cable cache: Twitter users polled on fate of unredacted US files Guardian denies security breach over password
885	02/09/2011	~	WikiLeaks: Analysis: A wish realised - regardless of the possible reprisals to informants
886	03/09/2011	James Ball	National: WikiLeaks risks exposing secret sources after publishing unredacted cables: US embassy cables: Full cache of 251,000 messages go online: Media partners condemn move by Assange
887	03/09/2011	James Ball	National: A former Wikileaker writes: 'I support the principles, not the methods'
888	03/09/2011	Steven Poole	Review; ET CETERA: Steven Poole's non-fiction choice
889	03/09/2011	~	Leading Article: Julian Assange and WikiLeaks: No case, no need
890	03/09/2011	Ewen MacAskill	International: WikiLeaks cable reopens Iraqi inquiry into alleged execution of family
891	05/09/2011	Jemima Kiss	Media: Interview Andy Carvin: The man who tweets revolutions: NPR's social media strategist compares himself to a Twitter DJ who samples and verifies breaking news from sources across the globe. Interview by Jemima Kiss
892	05/09/2011	Severin Carrell	Front: Libya: Lockerbie: Darling rejects claims Megrahi freed due to UK fears of reprisal
893	05/09/2011	Severin Carrell	Front: Libya: Lockerbie: Darling rejects claims Megrahi freed due to UK fears of reprisal

894	05/09/2011	Jemima Kiss	Media: Interview Andy Carvin: The man who tweets revolutions: NPR's social media strategist compares himself to a Twitter DJ who samples and verifies breaking news from sources across the globe. Interview by Jemima Kiss
895	05/09/2011	Severin Carrell	Front: Libya: Lockerbie: Darling rejects claims Megrahi freed due to UK fears of reprisal
896	05/09/2011	Jemima Kiss	Media: Curriculum vitae: The man who tweets revolutions: Interview Andy Carvin: NPR's social media strategist compares himself to a Twitter DJ who samples and verifies breaking news from sources across the globe. Interview by Jemima Kiss
897	05/09/2011	Severin Carrell	Lockerbie: Darling rejects claims Megrahi freed due to UK fears of reprisal
898	05/09/2011	Severin Carrell	Front: Libya: Lockerbie: Darling rejects claims Megrahi freed due to UK fears of reprisal
899	10/09/2011	Jonathan Watts, Nanyang; Additional reporting by Cecily Huang	International: No jobs, no land, no choice: 'patriotic' victims of China's great water project: Nearly 350,000 uprooted for river diversion plan that many fear is doomed to fail
900	13/09/2011	Seumas Milne	Jordan PM backed secret supercasino despite denial: Multimillion-dollar pact prompts street protests Government faces £890m fine if deal is terminated
901	17/09/2011	Peter Preston	Review: NON-FICTION: WikiLeaks is just the beginning: Peter Preston salutes a feisty dispatch from the digital battlefield: The Revolution Will Be Digitised by Heather Brooke 272pp, Heinemann, £12.99
902	17/09/2011	Alan Rusbridger	National: Your Guardian: Editor-in-chief Alan Rusbridger explains the cover price changes for the Guardian's print editions
903	19/09/2011	Alan Rusbridger	Front: Your Guardian: Editor-in-chief Alan Rusbridger explains the cover price changes for the Guardian's print editions
904	21/09/2011	Ian Black, Luke Harding	Surprise resignation of al-Jazeera chief raises fears for channel's independence: Wadah Khanfar's approach transformed Arab media Member of Qatar's ruling dynasty takes control
905	22/09/2011	Esther Addley	Front: The leaker leaked: autobiography released against Assange's wishes
906	23/09/2011	David Leigh, James Ball, Esther Addley	Julian Assange and the strange tale of the memoir he didn't want printed: Autobiography looked set to make publisher and WikiLeaks founder a fortune - then the arguments started:
907	23/09/2011	Ian Black	Former Libyan PM held in Tunisia after being captured near border
908	23/09/2011	Alexander Chancellor	G2: The 'unauthorised autobiography' of Julian Assange seeks to portray him as simply the victim of women scorned
909	24/09/2011	Luke Harding	Weekend: There could be no doubt: someone had broken into my flat. Three months after arriving in Russia as the Guardian's new Moscow bureau chief, I returned home late from a dinner party. Everything appeared normal. Children's clothes lying in the corridor, books piled horizontally in the living room, the comforting debris of family life. And then I saw it. The window of my son's bedroom was wide open...
910	24/09/2011	Jamie Byng, Max Saunders, John Dugdale	Review: THE WEEK IN BOOKS: Assange in print; Ford on television; and writers on stamps
911	24/09/2011	Foreign Staff	International: UK and US keep quiet over Russian spies' campaign against diplomats: Agency uses psychological techniques to harass staff: Book details break-ins, buggings and surveillance
912	27/09/2011	Luke Harding	G2: The action man returns: It is virtually inevitable that Vladimir Putin will next year become Russia's president again. What will that mean for Russia, the world, and indeed the man who just can't seem to give up power?
913	27/09/2011	John Crace	G2: Digested read: John Crace 27.09.11: Title The Unauthorised Autobiography Author Julian Assange Publisher Canongate Price £20
914	28/09/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary: Hugh Muir
915	29/09/2011	Alison Flood	Books: Assange autobiography sells just 644 copies
916	01/10/2011	David Leigh	Review: NON-FICTION: When the world won't listen: An unfinished draft of his life story does the WikiLeaks founder no favours, finds David Leigh: Julian Assange: The Unauthorised Autobiography 339pp, Canongate, £20
917	01/10/2011	Dominic Rushe, Chris McGreal, Jason Burke, Luke Harding	International: Death of Anwar al-Awlaki: Reaction: Details of operation sketchy as low-key US response reveals fears over fallout
918	01/10/2011	Nosheen Iqbal	The Guide: CAPITAL GAINS: RIOTS ON THE STREETS, A NOSEDIVING ECONOMY AND A PM IN TROUBLE: THE BBC'S NEW CONSPIRACY THRILLER HIDDEN COULDN'T BE MORE TIMELY. NOSHEEN IQBAL JOINS STARS PHILIP GLENISTER AND THEKLA REUTEN ON SET IN LONDON
919	05/10/2011	Richard Norton-Taylor, Rob Evans	Special report: Afghanistan: 10 years on: Shot, shelled, bombed. Afghans pay a high price for conflict: Official files obtained by the Guardian reveal some of the tragic incidents that have allegedly left 72 civilians killed or injured by UK troops since 2005
920	06/10/2011	~	Nobel Peace Prize: In a momentous year for freedom, who will earn the ultimate accolade?: Bradley Manning
921	06/10/2011	Luke Harding	Nobel Peace Prize: In a momentous year for freedom, who will earn the ultimate accolade?: Julian Assange
922	06/10/2011	~	In a momentous year for freedom, who will earn the ultimate accolade
923	06/10/2011	Luke Harding	Nobel Peace Prize: In a momentous year for freedom, who will earn the ultimate accolade?: Julian Assange
924	07/10/2011	Declan Walsh	Special report: Afghanistan: 10 years on: Time is running out for a peaceful solution - and the Taliban know it: The headlines of the past decade in Afghanistan have been about the bloodshed, but behind them lies political failure at every level. Declan Walsh reports from Islamabad
925	08/10/2011	~	Review: CRITICAL EYE: Beyond the caricature

926	12/10/2011	David Smith	'Branson in on Mugabe exit plan'
927	12/10/2011	Nour Ali, Esther Addley	Special report: Syria: 'It's a mafia': Assad family closes ranks as grip on power weakens: Secretive and ruthless, close but riven with rivalries, Syria's ruling clan have become increasingly brutal in their determination to put down protests, write Nour Ali and Esther Addley
928	12/10/2011	Angelique Chrisafis	G2: 'I will do everything to protect this baby': Carla Bruni keeps publicly asserting how discreet she wants to be about her baby, due any day now. But will she and her husband really be able to resist using their child in this incredible political soap opera, asks Angelique Chrisafis
929	13/10/2011	Martin Chulov	Washington bomb plot: Key players: Soldiers, spies and a car salesman
930	14/10/2011	Jason Burke	National: Liam Fox: Sri Lanka: Drinks on the terrace with diplomats, the minister - and his friend
931	15/10/2011	Susanna Rustin	Saturday: The Saturday interview: 'Be patient with the Arab world': Wadah Khanfar had one of the best jobs in the world. As director-general of al-Jazeera, he was at the heart of the Arab spring. Then three weeks ago he unexpectedly quit. Here he describes what happened, his dreams for new democracies and what's next for him
932	15/10/2011	Susanna Rustin	Saturday: The Saturday interview: 'Be patient with the Arab world': Wadah Khanfar had one of the best jobs in the world. As director-general of al-Jazeera, he was at the heart of the Arab spring. Then three weeks ago he unexpectedly quit. Here he describes what happened, his dreams for new democracies and what's next for him
933	18/10/2011	Dr David Hookes	Reply: Letter: Lobbying, cronyism and questions of trust
934	21/10/2011	Uki Goni	International: New dynasty looms as 'Queen Cristina' amasses huge lead in Argentina election: Polls put first ever female president on 55% of vote: Critics say easy re-election will forge one-party state
935	22/10/2011	AD Miller	Review: NON-FICTION: Kleptocrats and spooks: AD Miller on a startling first-hand account of life in Putin's Russia: Mafia State by Luke Harding 320pp, Guardian Books, £20
936	25/10/2011	Esther Addley	National: Financial blockade by banks could kill WikiLeaks - Assange
937	25/10/2011	Esther Addley	National: Financial blockade by banks could drive WikiLeaks out of existence, says Assange: Founder claims website deprived of 95% of funds: Whistleblower suspends publishing to fight back
938	25/10/2011	David Smith	G2: Mugabe is unlikely to share Gaddafi's fate. His real enemy is not an army of rebels but failing health
939	26/10/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary: Hugh Muir
940	29/10/2011	Shiv Malik	National: Occupy London: A-list attitudes: From MC Hammer to Thom Yorke, celebrities lend their support
941	01/11/2011	Declan Walsh	Imran Khan banks on street power: Ex-cricket captain fires up 100,000 at Lahore rally Political outsider attacks government corruption
942	03/11/2011	Ewen MacAskill, Harrit Sherwood	Iran: United States: Pressure from Netanyahu may force Obama to act
943	03/11/2011	Robert Booth	Front: Assange's options narrow as high court rules he must face Swedish rape claim: Judges reject appeal against extradition WikiLeaks founder 'may not have cash to fight on'
944	03/11/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary Hugh Muir
945	03/11/2011	Karin Olsson	Comment: Assange: from hero to zero: A year ago Swedes hailed him as a James Bond of the net. Now he's seen as a pitiable, paranoid figure
946	08/11/2011	Luke Harding	G2: The epic battle of the oligarchs: Roman Abramovich and Boris Berezovsky are locked in a bitter \$5bn case at the high court. So what have we learned so far? Luke Harding reports
947	18/11/2011	Hugh Muir	Comment: Diary Hugh Muir
948	21/11/2011	Luke Harding, Miriam Elder	Court battle of the oligarchs enthralled Russia: London litigation affords a rare insight into the lifestyles of the mega-rich
949	22/11/2011	Ed Pilkington	Front: Manning to face military panel over whistleblower allegations: Hearing is first step on road to soldier's full trial Supporters welcome start of court martial process
950	06/12/2011	Esther Addley	Assange can request hearing at supreme court: Judges rule WikiLeaks founder can seek appeal Extradition case 'raises important issue'
951	06/12/2011	Ed Pilkington	Manning trial lawyer seeks to call Obama and Clinton
952	08/12/2011	Saeed Shah	Aides insist Zardawi will not quit over heart scare: Pakistan leader flown to Dubai amid coup rumours He is under pressure over 'memo-gate' scandal
953	08/12/2011	Seumas Milne	Comment: War on Iran has begun. Act before it threatens all of us: Escalation of the covert US-Israeli campaign against Tehran risks a global storm. Opposition has to get more serious
954	09/12/2011	Jon Boone	G2: 'They did the cruellest thing possible': Insurgents are growing ever more sadistic in their attacks on civilians in Afghanistan, as this week's suicide bombing of pilgrims in Kabul showed. But could that be exactly what the US war machine wants? Jon Boone reports
955	10/12/2011	Susanna Rustin	Saturday: Is war with Iran inevitable?: The conversation Former UK foreign minister Malcolm Rifkind fears Iran wants to develop nuclear weapons. Not so, says campaigner Abbas Adalat, who thinks western hawks want war
956	10/12/2011	~	The Guide: the planner: Catch up and download
957	15/12/2011	~	Iraq: Air strikes to exit, in eight years
958	15/12/2011	Glen Greenwald	Comment: A medal for the accused: The prosecution of the whistleblower Bradley Manning is an exercise in intimidation, not justice
959	16/12/2011	Ed Pilkington	Front: I think of him daily, says hacker who betrayed Manning
960	16/12/2011	Alex Needham	Whistleblower's Welsh years inspire play
961	17/12/2011	Owen Bowcott and Rob Booth	Assange appeal: Seven judges to rule on extradition

962	17/12/2011	Ed Pilkington Matt Williams	Finally in court, the soldier accused of largest leak of US state secrets in history: Defence goes on attack, saying Bradley Manning is being set up for plea bargain that will nail WikiLeaks
963	19/12/2011	~	Corrections and clarifications
964	19/12/2011	Matt Williams and Ed Pilkington	United States: Security lapses revealed at Manning's unit in Iraq
965	19/12/2011	Ed Pilkington Matt Williams	Computer expert links Manning to cable leaks: Agent tells court how he reconstructed searches Testimony likely to prove central to any court martial
966	19/12/2011	Matt Williams and Ed Pilkington	Officer tells of lax security at Manning unit
967	20/12/2011	Dominic Rushe, Matt Williams	Bradley Manning 'emailed Assange,' hearing told
968	20/12/2011	Justin McCurry	North Korea: Profile Kim Jong-un: Surprise rise to power of inexperienced 'great successor' who has a Swiss education and a love of basketball
969	24/12/2011	~	Review: Quiz: Who said ... ?
970	24/12/2011	Ed Pilkington, Dominic Rushe	Manning's curious week in the spotlight: US army tries to show he gave secrets to WikiLeaks Makeshift court throws light on analyst's life
971	24/12/2011	~	Review: Who said ... ?
972	24/12/2011	Ed Pilkington, Dominic Rushe	Manning's curious week in the spotlight: US army tries to show he gave secrets to WikiLeaks Makeshift court throws light on analyst's life
973	28/12/2011	Robert Booth	Front: Security firm steps up protection after hackers target credit cards: Group says it diverted \$500,000 to charities Attack driven by anger at Bradley Manning case
974	31/12/2011	Decca Aitkenhead	Weekend: Rise up, rise up: Police stood by as Britain rioted, popular protests changed the face of the Middle East, European governments fell apart -- and so did Fleet Street's reputation. 2011 has been an extraordinary year, writes Decca Aitkenhead
975	07/01/2012	Luke Harding, agencies	International: Jamaica will vote to become a republic, PM vows: Landslide win opens door to change in constitution: But respect for Queen may derail plan to get rid of her
976	07/01/2012	Luke Harding, agencies	International: Jamaica will vote to become a republic, PM vows: Landslide win opens door to change in constitution But respect for Queen may derail plan to get rid of her
977	07/01/2012	Mark Cook	The Guide: Theatre: Man In The Middle London
978	09/01/2012	Alex Needham	G2: Arts: Theatre: 'You're looking at a true genius': In Australia, a play about Julian Assange was called Stainless Steel Rat and had lots of sex. Why was it rewritten for Britain? By Alex Needham
979	09/01/2012	Ed Pilkington, Richard Norton-Taylor	Front: Hackers leak British officials' email details
980	11/01/2012	Richard Norton-Taylor, Ian Cobain	Shaker Aamer: Mystery of why last British inmate remains in limbo
981	11/01/2012	Richard Norton-Taylor, Ian Cobain	Guantanamo: Shaker Aamer: Mystery of why last British inmate remains in limbo
982	13/01/2012	Ed Pilkington	Manning moves a step closer to full court martial
983	14/01/2012	Andy Beckett	Review: BOOK OF THE WEEK: The revolution will be digitised: Andy Beckett admires an urgent analysis of the recent global protests: Why It's Kicking Off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions by Paul Mason 237pp, Verso, £12.99
984	17/01/2012	Michael Billington	Review: Theatre: Snazzy, fast-paced play fails to crack the enigma of Assange: Man in the Middle Theatre503, London 3/5
985	18/01/2012	Ed Pilkington and Adam Gabbatt	The Guardian profile: Ron Paul: Maverick libertarian making a play to be the future of the Republican party
986	19/01/2012	~	Leading Article: Good riddance: The Gibson inquiry
987	26/01/2012	Miriam Elder	Kremlin TV to broadcast Assange shows
988	27/01/2012	Luke Harding	Grateful Dead lyricist John Perry Barlow tells James Ball about his plans for a system to fund activists hit by corporate blockades
989	31/01/2012	Esther Addley	WikiLeaks: What next for Julian Assange?: The secrets spiller-turned-chatshow host weighs up life after WikiLeaks as extradition battle enters last round
990	01/02/2012	~	G2: Shortcuts: Shorter cuts
991	02/02/2012	Robert Booth	Swedish arrest warrant for Assange is 'invalid', court told: WikiLeaks founder takes appeal to UK's top court Defence team cites legal code dating back to 376AD
992	02/02/2012	Robert Booth	Assange arrest warrant 'invalid'
993	02/02/2012	Giles Tremlett	\$500m treasure trove must be sent to Spain, court rules: US firm loses bid to keep haul from sunken galleon 594,000 coins were lost off Portuguese coast in 1804
994	02/02/2012	Alan Rusbridger	Announcing the first ever Guardian Open Weekend
995	03/02/2012	Robert Booth	National: Assange case centres on Swedish prosecutor's role
996	04/02/2012	John Dugdale	Review: THE WEEK IN BOOKS: What would Dickens do? De Waal goes back to the clay; and another war on Parnassus
997	14/02/2012	Colin Burke	Reply: Letter: Arms trade fuels violence in Syria
998	14/02/2012	Tania Branigan	The Guardian profile: Xi Jinping: A 'princeling' with a big personality: world awaits China's heir apparent: Tania Branigan Beijing: Illustration by Alexander Wells
999	16/02/2012	Lyn Gardner	G2: Arts: Stolen island: The people of Diego Garcia, a British colony in the Indian Ocean, were thrown off their island to make way for a US military base. Lyn Gardner on how their story made it to the stage
1000	21/02/2012	Tom Finn	New president steps out of the shadows: Clout in doubt: Saleh's successor lacks power base
1001	23/02/2012	Martin Wainwright	With Oscars approaching, can this nurse go from a ward to an Academy Award?: Blood scandal changed Carol Grayson's life, and led to a fight against cover-ups
1002	24/02/2012	Karen McVeigh	Manning defers plea on charge that he aided the enemy
1003	03/03/2012	Indra Sinha	Comment: We will carry the torch of Bhopal to London's games: Why is Dow Chemical being allowed to sponsor this year's Olympics, when there are so many unanswered questions?

1004	<b>07/03/2012</b>	Josh Halliday	Cyber crime: Profile Sabu: 'Genius' caught out by schoolboy error
1005	<b>07/03/2012</b>	James Ball	Cyber crime: How the FBI got their man - to help them get others: Super-hacker turned mole to help bring federal case Alleged Anonymous and LulzSec members exposed
1006	<b>07/03/2012</b>	James Ball	Cyber crime: Know your hackers
1007	<b>07/03/2012</b>	Dominic Rushe	Allen Stanford: cricket benefactor, power player - and now, convicted fraudster: Texan found guilty over \$7bn investment fraud 'Sir Allen' used Antigua as base for financial scheme
1008	<b>07/03/2012</b>	Charles Arthur, Dan Sabbagh, Sandra Laville	Front: King of hackers unmasked as FBI informant: LulzSec leader helped US authorities bring charges against five others
1009	<b>10/03/2012</b>	Ed Pilkington	National: Rusbridger wins US journalism award
1010	<b>10/03/2012</b>	John Pilger	Comment: The dirty war on WikiLeaks: Media smears suggest Swedish complicity in a Washington-driven push to punish Julian Assange
1011	<b>14/03/2012</b>	Seumas Milne	Comment: Massacres are the inevitable result of foreign occupation: The latest slaughter in Afghanistan is part of a decade of savage civilian killing: until Nato leaves, it is certain to continue
1012	<b>17/03/2012</b>	Steven Morris	National: Bradley Manning drama debuts at his Welsh school: Theatre company explores roots of US soldier at the heart of the WikiLeaks saga
1013	<b>17/03/2012</b>	Ben Arnold	The Guide: Television: Wednesday 21: pick of the day: WikiLeaks: The Secret Life Of A Superpower 9pm, BBC2
1014	<b>19/03/2012</b>	David Smith	Profile: Part thug, part spin doctor
1015	<b>20/03/2012</b>	Simon Tisdall	Analysis: Silence greets attack on Eritrea
1016	<b>21/03/2012</b>	Ben Arnold	G2: Television: Watch this: WikiLeaks: The Secret Life Of A Superpower
1017	<b>23/03/2012</b>	Julian Borger	National: Special report: Iran: Doubts surface over nuclear inspector's tough line on Iran: Julian Borger reports that some ex-officials fear the International Atomic Energy Agency's approach risks another WMD mistake
1018	<b>24/03/2012</b>	Andrew Mueller	The Guide: Television: Wednesday 28: pick of the day: WikiLeaks: The Secret Life Of A Superpower
1019	<b>28/03/2012</b>	Andrew Mueller	G2: TV and Radio: Watch this: WikiLeaks: The Secret Life of a Superpower 9pm, BBC2
1020	<b>06/04/2012</b>	Lisa O'Carroll	National: Assange attacks PCC over sex case coverage
1021	<b>06/04/2012</b>	~	G2: Shortcuts: Shorter cuts
1022	<b>11/04/2012</b>	Helen Pidd	G2: Shortcuts: Advertising: Why diet is a four-letter word in Germany
1023	<b>11/04/2012</b>	Helen Pidd	G2: Shortcuts: Advertising: Why diet is a four-letter word in Germany
1024	<b>16/04/2012</b>	Oliver Burkeman	Battle for the internet: Digital diplomacy: Inside Washington's high risk mission to beat web censors: In the first part of a week long series on the struggle to control the internet, Oliver Burkeman finds out why the US is spending millions to help activists communicate
1025	<b>18/04/2012</b>	Luke Harding	Review: Julian Assange's 'explosive' TV debut fails to ignite: The much-hyped interview show may have been tame, but what can you expect from the secretive Russia Today, asks Luke Harding
1026	<b>19/04/2012</b>	Dominic Rushe	Battle for the internet: Copyright control: 18 January 2012: the day web users challenged Hollywood - and won: Collapse of US legislation means media firms are finding it ever more difficult to protect their content from piracy. But new legal moves show they are far from giving up the fight
1027	<b>20/04/2012</b>	Michael Billington	Review: Viscerally exciting - but Manning story needs more wikifacts: The Radicalisation of Bradley Manning Cardiff High School 3/5
1028	<b>21/04/2012</b>	James Ball	National: Hacktivism: 'The internet is our most liberating tool, and the best for surveillance': As opposing sides fight to control the web, Grateful Dead lyricist John Perry Barlow tells James Ball about his plans for a system to fund activists hit by corporate blockades
1029	<b>21/04/2012</b>	James Ball	National: Hacktivism: The Guardian Open 20: The web's most influential people and groups
1030	<b>21/04/2012</b>	Heather Brooke	Comment: We should all be hacktivists: In the state-orchestrated grab for cyber-territory our freedom to share data must be enshrined in law
1031	<b>23/04/2012</b>	Elena Landriscina	Reply: Letter: Conspiracies and the legacy of empire
1032	<b>23/04/2012</b>	David Snoxell	Reply: Letter: Conspiracies and the legacy of empire
1033	<b>23/04/2012</b>	Saad Hammadi, Jason Burke	Bangladeshi police fire on demonstrators as outrage grows over missing activist: Disappearance raises fears of intimidation campaign Blast devices in Dhaka in worst violence for months
1034	<b>28/04/2012</b>	Ian Black	Review: NON-FICTION: The Brother Leader's bloody end: Ian Black surveys first-person accounts of Gaddafi's deposition: Sandstorm: Libya in the Time of Revolution by Lindsey Hilsum 320pp, Faber £17.99
1035	<b>30/04/2012</b>	Jason Burke	Front: Bin Laden's links to Taliban chief revealed: Even in last days, al-Qaida leader was planning joint attacks against Nato
1036	<b>04/05/2012</b>	Lyn Gardner	Review: Theatre: Tenet Gate, London 3/5
1037	<b>17/05/2012</b>	Ian Cobain	International courts: Rendition: German citizen 'abducted, tortured and dumped'
1038	<b>18/05/2012</b>	Angelique Chrisafis	National: G8 summit: US-French relations: New style, same substance from Hollande
1039	<b>23/05/2012</b>	Owen Bowcott	MPs secretly vet judges for role at European court of human rights: Veteran of war crimes tribunals is frontrunner Election for top legal post to be held on 25 June
1040	<b>30/05/2012</b>	Owen Bowcott	Courts: Judges to rule if Assange must face trial in Sweden
1041	<b>31/05/2012</b>	C Delgado Parets del Valles	Europa Generation: Spain: Patents turn blood into Grifols products at jobs oasis coveted by US
1042	<b>31/05/2012</b>	Owen Bowcott and Esther Addley	Legal challenge: Parliament 'misled' on arrest warrants

1043	<b>31/05/2012</b>	Joshua Rozenberg	The final judgment ... delayed again. How Assange's lawyer foxed the supreme court: He lost his appeal, but quick thinking by the WikiLeaks founder's barrister made legal history yesterday, says Joshua Rozenberg
1044	<b>02/06/2012</b>	Dorian Lynskey	National: Music: No future? Punk is still the sound of youth rebellion the world over: Nostalgia alone can't explain its survival, 35 years on from its own annus mirabilis
1045	<b>12/06/2012</b>	Jo Tuckman	US cables back Mexican TV bias claims
1046	<b>13/06/2012</b>	Owen Bowcott	National: Courts: Supreme court asked to reopen Assange appeal
1047	<b>20/06/2012</b>	Esther Addley, Beatrice Woolf	Front: Assange seeks refuge at Ecuador's embassy
1048	<b>20/06/2012</b>	Beatrice Woolf	Drama at the embassy - Assange claims asylum in last effort to avoid extradition: Ecuadorian government considering request WikiLeaks founder risks losing £240,000 bail
1049	<b>20/06/2012</b>	James Ball	Cables: WikiLeaks on Ecuador
1050	<b>20/06/2012</b>	James Ball	Chosen destination: Cables paint chequered picture of country
1051	<b>21/06/2012</b>	Esther Addley, Robert Booth, Stephan Kuffner	Assange trapped in embassy deadlock: WikiLeaks founder faces immediate arrest on exit Surprise move leaves his friends in bail quandary
1052	<b>22/06/2012</b>	David Batty	National: Assange has 'no idea' if asylum bid will succeed
1053	<b>22/06/2012</b>	Trevor Mostyn	Obituary: Crown Prince Nayef bin Abdul-Aziz Al Saud: Heir to the Saudi throne and a shrewd interior minister
1054	<b>23/06/2012</b>	Esther Addley	National: Ecuador president treads carefully in Assange political minefield: WikiLeaks founder faces wait over asylum appeal: Correa says he 'holds Britain in deep regard'
1055	<b>23/06/2012</b>	Deborah Orr	Saturday: Do you think you'd be a perfect parent if you were on the breadline?
1056	<b>26/06/2012</b>	Alan Travis	Analysis: Pressure mounts on May over 'lopsided' treaty
1057	<b>27/06/2012</b>	~	Corrections and clarifications
1058	<b>29/06/2012</b>	Conal Urquhart	National: Assange rejects Met police request to surrender for breaking bail terms: WikiLeaks founder to stay at Ecuadorean embassy US has secret extradition plans, he tells BBC
1059	<b>29/06/2012</b>	Sam Jones and agencies	National: Extradition: Assange ordered to report to police station today
1060	<b>30/06/2012</b>	Tania Branigan	International: China blocks website for revealing Xi family assets
1061	<b>30/06/2012</b>	Owen Bowcott	National: Assange to sit out stand-off over extradition at embassy
1062	<b>02/07/2012</b>	~	G2: Shortcuts: Shorter cuts
1063	<b>02/07/2012</b>	Chris Elliott	Open door: The readers' editor on... reporting Julian Assange's extradition battle
1064	<b>11/07/2012</b>	Simon Jenkins	Comment: For the digital revolution, it's the Robespierre moment: Total disclosure means the onset of a new terror, a retreat to a kind of sofa government beyond freedom of information
1065	<b>21/07/2012</b>	Ian Pindar	Review: Paperbacks: Non-fiction: Ghosts of Afghanistan: The Haunted Battleground, by Jonathan Steele (Portobello, £9.99)
1066	<b>26/07/2012</b>	Giles Tremlett	Top human rights investigator to lead Assange's legal team
1067	<b>26/07/2012</b>	Giles Tremlett	Top human rights lawyer joins Assange fight against extradition
1068	<b>27/07/2012</b>	Paul Lewis	National: Ecuador tries to save Assange from the 'evil' of US extradition: Reports that Washington plans spy trial cause alarm: Diplomats say threat of life sentence is unacceptable
1069	<b>01/08/2012</b>	Laura Barton	G2: Shortcuts: Health: A breath of fresh air for Julian Assange
1070	<b>03/08/2012</b>	Alex von Tunzelman	Film & Music: THE CHALLENGE FROM THE EAST: Despite having a huge budget, global aspirations and Christian Bale, the harrowing Chinese film The Flowers of War bombed in the US. Will the setback deter China's ambitious film-makers?
1071	<b>14/08/2012</b>	Charles Arthur	United States: CCTV face recognition used to predict crime
1072	<b>15/08/2012</b>	Irene Caselli	Assange will be granted asylum here, say Ecuadorian officials
1073	<b>15/08/2012</b>	Ben Quinn	London 2012: 'Missing' athletes: Eritrea's flag-carrying runner seeks asylum to flee repressive regime
1074	<b>15/08/2012</b>	Irene Caselli	Ecuador will grant asylum to Assange, say officials
1075	<b>16/08/2012</b>	Damien Pearse	Assange's fate in the balance as Ecuador claims UK threatened to storm embassy: Quito expected to decide on asylum request today Foreign Office says it is simply clarifying position
1076	<b>17/08/2012</b>	Mark Weisbrot	Comment: Head to head: Asylum for Assange - is it ethical or ab-surd?: Correa's decision was right
1077	<b>17/08/2012</b>	Karin Olsson	Comment: Head to head: Asylum for Assange - is it ethical or ab-surd?: He has few fans left in Sweden
1078	<b>17/08/2012</b>	~	Leading Article: Assange case: Stay patient and do the right thing
1079	<b>17/08/2012</b>	Peter Beaumont	National: Julian Assange: Analysis: Mission impossible: Britain in a catch-22
1080	<b>17/08/2012</b>	Vikram Dodd	National: Julian Assange: Four ways to flee?
1081	<b>17/08/2012</b>	Rajeev Syal and Lizzy Davies	National: Julian Assange: From Stockholm to Knightsbridge: next stop Ecuador?: Britain and Sweden both protest at asylum decision: Media and police surround embassy in west London
1082	<b>17/08/2012</b>	Rajeev Syal, Lizzy Davies, Irene Caselli	Front: UK and Ecuador go head to head over Assange: WikiLeaks founder is granted asylum but Hague says he must not leave
1083	<b>18/08/2012</b>	Zoe Willieams	National: Julian Assange: Can't live with him - but how to ensure they live without him?: Saturday sketch: The debate outside Ecuador's embassy is heated but friendly, writes Zoe Williams
1084	<b>18/08/2012</b>	Sam Jones and Rajeev Syal	National: Julian Assange: Ecuador 'willing to co-operate' with Foreign Office over extradition: Pledge on protection from US could lead to deal: Embassy complains of intimidating police
1085	<b>20/08/2012</b>	~	Leading Article: Julian Assange: The balcony defence

1086	<b>20/08/2012</b>	Dan Collyns and Irene Caselli	Asylum row: Ecuador: President revels in high-profile role but brings spotlight on freedoms at home
1087	<b>20/08/2012</b>	Luke Harding	Asylum row: Assange ends two-month silence with raspberry for William Hague: Luke Harding witnesses a triumph for the WikiLeaks founder and his Ecuadorean backers, delivered as police pursuing him wait feet away
1088	<b>20/08/2012</b>	Ben Quinn and Matt Williams	Asylum row: The speech: Words reveal world according to Julian: Julian Assange's address yesterday was a mixture of personal and global concerns. Ben Quinn and Matt Williams examine the details
1089	<b>20/08/2012</b>	Luke Harding and Ben Quinn	Front: Assange takes aim at US as row deepens: Speech from em-bassy balcony calls on Obama to end WikiLeaks 'witch-hunt'
1090	<b>20/08/2012</b>	Afua Hirsch and John Vidal	Front: Shell pays millions to Nigerian security forces, data finds
1091	<b>20/08/2012</b>	~	Leading Article: Julian Assange: The balcony defence
1092	<b>20/08/2012</b>	Dan Collyns and Irene Caselli	Asylum row: Ecuador: President revels in high-profile role but brings spotlight on freedoms at home
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1096	<b>20/08/2012</b>	Afua Hirsch and John Vidal	Front: Shell pays millions to Nigerian security forces, data finds
1097	<b>21/08/2012</b>	Robert Booth	Galloway has disturbing attitude to rape - campaigners
1098	<b>21/08/2012</b>	~	G2: Pass notes: Pass notes No 3,232 Rafael Correa
1099	<b>21/08/2012</b>	Hugh Muir	Diary: Diary Hugh Muir
1100	<b>21/08/2012</b>	Atilio Boron	Comment: View from the Americas: On the Assange affair the UK is a mere pawn in US imperial strategy to get what it wants
1101	<b>22/08/2012</b>	Hadley Freeman	G2: Hadley Freeman: If everyone's talking about rape, why do so few of these commentators appear to have the first clue what it actually is?
1102	<b>22/08/2012</b>	Sam Jones and Josh Halliday	Front: Galloway condemned by party over rape views
1103	<b>22/08/2012</b>	Seumas Milne	Comment: Don't lose sight of why the US is out to get WikiLeaks: Ecuador is pressing for a deal that offers justice to Assange's accusers - and essential protection for whistleblowers
1104	<b>23/08/2012</b>	Sam Jones	Forbes list: Return of the Iron Lady (not that one): Merkel still 'most powerful woman', with the Queen and JK Rowling in top 100
1105	<b>23/08/2012</b>	Jonathan Watts	Correa: Assange must respond to rape claims
1106	<b>24/08/2012</b>	Luke Harding	National: Assange can stay in embassy for 'centuries', says Ecuador
1107	<b>25/08/2012</b>	Oliver Laughland	Saturday: The conversation: Should Assange be extradited?: The author and playwright Bonnie Greer and Lisa Longstaff, from the advocacy group Women Against Rape, debate the fate of the WikiLeaks boss
1108	<b>25/08/2012</b>	~	Weekend: The son The saviour The fugitive The friend The man Julian Assange by the people who know him best
1109	<b>25/08/2012</b>	Jonathan Watts	International: Correa defends record on press freedom and denies hypocrisy over Assange: President claims Ecuador media were too powerful: Watchdog reports rise in assaults on journalists
1110	<b>25/08/2012</b>	Jonathan Watts	International: Ecuadorean president denies hypocrisy and defends record on press freedom: Correa turns on critics of Assange asylum decision: Watchdog reports rise in assaults on journalists
1111	<b>25/08/2012</b>	Damien Pearse	International: Police let plan slip
1112	<b>26/08/2012</b>	~	Leading article: PRINCE HARRY: The royal family has been left exposed in the digital age
1113	<b>28/08/2012</b>	Damien Pearse and James Meikle	Galloway in fresh row over 'window-licker' tweet
1114	<b>29/08/2012</b>	Miriam Elder	Palaces, yachts, planes, a \$75,000 toilet ... Putin's 'galley slave' lifestyle revealed: Critics' report lists perks of being Russian president Role gives access to nearly two dozen official homes
1115	<b>31/08/2012</b>	Ed Pilkington	United States: Date set for WikiLeaks suspect's court martial
1116	<b>04/09/2012</b>	Nicholas Watt	Politics: Hague gives Assange extradition assurances
1117	<b>05/09/2012</b>	Clare Allan	Society: It's my life: Galloway has no respect for disability
1118	<b>05/09/2012</b>	Shiv Malik and agencies	WikiLeaks founder's backers have lost £200,000
1119	<b>06/09/2012</b>	Ian Black	Abdullah al-Senussi: Gaddafi's spy chief sent back to Libya: Feared and hated: the head of security behind regime's crimes Described as a ranting thug and by Gaddafi's side for 40 years, Senussi is the most important figure to yet face justice, writes Ian Black
1120	<b>12/09/2012</b>	Ben Quinn	Respect leader resigns from party
1121	<b>15/09/2012</b>	Steve Rose	The Guide: Film: Take One Action Film Festival Edinburgh, Glasgow
1122	<b>17/09/2012</b>	John Plunkett	Media: Media Guardian 100 2012: In a year dominated by the Leveson inquiry, many once-mighty figures have fallen, and others have seized their chance. From global players to the best bloggers, here is MediaGuardian's annual snapshot of the industry's 100 most powerful people
1123	<b>21/09/2012</b>	Tom Peter	International: Afghanistan: Helmand: Karzai ousts important UK ally from governor's post
1124	<b>22/09/2012</b>	Aida Edemariam	Saturday: The Saturday interview: George, me and the end of an era: Salma Yaqoob has been one of the most refreshing political voices in recent times. Last week she suddenly resigned as leader of the Respect party. In her first interview, she explains why she left, what comes next - and her thoughts on George Galloway

1125	<b>29/09/2012</b>	Julian Borger	National: Diplomacy: Ecuador 'would protect Assange if he fell ill'
1126	<b>01/10/2012</b>	James Meikle	Briton and Australian rescued from kidnappers in Ecuador
1127	<b>03/10/2012</b>	Hugh Muir	Diary: Diary Hugh Muir
1128	<b>04/10/2012</b>	Robert Booth	Asylum row: Assange supporters ask to keep bail money
1129	<b>04/10/2012</b>	Peter Beaumont	Bitcoin fans try to salvage the good name of online currency
1130	<b>04/10/2012</b>	~	G2: Shortcuts: Shorter cuts
1131	<b>06/10/2012</b>	Louis Pattison	The Guide: Radio: Saturday 6: pick of the day
1132	<b>06/10/2012</b>	Louis Pattison	The Guide: Radio: Saturday 6: pick of the day
1133	<b>06/10/2012</b>	Robert Booth	WikiLeaks: Lady Gaga dines with Assange at embassy
1134	<b>13/10/2012</b>	Martin Wainwright	Obituary: Major Roy Bates: Buccaneers prince of a disused sea fort which he dubbed the free state of Sealand
1135	<b>13/10/2012</b>	Xan Brooks	National: Review: Bond shakes us, stirs us, but then loses focus: Skyfall General release 3/5
1136	<b>15/10/2012</b>	Helen Pidd	G2: Losing respect in Bradford: Respect was jubilant at winning the Bradford West byelection last March. But then came George Galloway's rape gaffe and now, with claims of misogyny and bullying, both the party and city seem riven with dissent. Helen Pidd reports
1137	<b>16/10/2012</b>	John Pilger	Comment: Gillard is no feminist hero: She has been praised for standing up to sexism but Australia's prime minister is also rolling back rights
1138	<b>17/10/2012</b>	Hugh Muir	Diary: Diary Hugh Muir
1139	<b>17/10/2012</b>	Hugh Muir	Diary: Diary Hugh Muir
1140	<b>25/10/2012</b>	Reuters	Ecuador raises concerns over Assange's health
1141	<b>27/10/2012</b>	Tania Branigan	National: China: Beijing censors US news reports on \$2.7bn fortune of premier's family: New York Times story 'blackens China's name': Huge wealth at odds with Wen's cultivated image
1142	<b>02/11/2012</b>	David Cox	G2: Film & Music: WHY SO SERIOUS: Remember when every new Bond film used to be a bit of a lark? Now things have got so gloomy that 007 can barely manage a flippant putdown. Is this new solemnity a sign of our times, wonders David Cox
1143	<b>09/11/2012</b>	Ed Pilkington	Manning admits he handled WikiLeaks material
1144	<b>12/11/2012</b>	Shiv Malik	BBC in crisis: Bureau of Investigative Journalism: Non-profit organisation is facing fight to survive
1145	<b>23/11/2012</b>	Sandra Laville	Cyberattacks cost web firm £3.5m, court told: Man denies leading online campaign by Anonymous Hacking 'was revenge for treatment of WikiLeaks'
1146	<b>23/11/2012</b>	Sandra Laville	Crime: Cyberattacks cost web firm £3.5m, court told
1147	<b>28/11/2012</b>	Ed Pilkington	Soldier questioned on 'torture' of WikiLeaks suspect: Manning stripped and put in solitary confinement Treatment 'was a response to his erratic behaviour'
1148	<b>28/11/2012</b>	Ed Pilkington	Manning gets ready to address WikiLeaks hearing: Soldier to speak publicly for first time since arrest Crucial pre-trial stage in runup to full court martial
1149	<b>30/11/2012</b>	Ed Pilkington	After 917 days in army captivity, WikiLeaks suspect gives evidence: Manning speaks of trauma at hands of US military Court hears admission that he leaked information
1150	<b>30/11/2012</b>	Robert Booth	Leveson report: Judge addresses Guardian's story on hacking of Milly Dowler's phone: Report praises paper's public interest journalism NoW probably did not delete voicemail messages
1151	<b>01/12/2012</b>	~	Leading article: Bulgaria: Rotten politics, rotten tomatoes
1152	<b>01/12/2012</b>	Ed Pilkington	WikiLeaks suspect was suicidal, court told: Court shown noose made by Manning from sheet Defence claims treatment was unlawful punishment
1153	<b>01/12/2012</b>	Glenn Greenwald	Comment: Liberty lost in America: The US fails to punish Wall Street fraudsters or war criminals, yet would lock up a whistleblower
1154	<b>06/12/2012</b>	Timothy Garton Ash	Comment: A global battle for freedom puts Leveson in perspective: There's no reason ethical standards have to slip online. The real challenge for journalism is how to make the internet pay
1155	<b>07/12/2012</b>	Sandra Laville and agencies	National: Hacker convicted of part in Anonymous cyber-attacks
1156	<b>08/12/2012</b>	Decca Aitkenhead	Weekend: 'It would be nice to go for a walk in the woods': Julian Assange has been trapped in the Ecuadorian embassy for nearly six months, a fugitive from the Swedish courts. In a rare interview, Decca Aitkenhead asks the WikiLeaks founder about reports of illness, paranoia - and whether he'll ever come out
1157	<b>13/12/2012</b>	Cass Jones	International: Australia: Assange plans to run for Senate seat at home
1158	<b>14/12/2012</b>	Esther Addley	National: Litvinenko was MI6 agent, inquest told: Ex-KGB man gave details of Russian mafia to Spain He was killed by Russian government, coroner told
1159	<b>17/12/2012</b>	~	Five things to watch out for this week
1160	<b>21/12/2012</b>	Conal Urquhart	National: WikiLeaks: Assange promises 1m new secret documents
1161	<b>01/01/2013</b>	Research by Nina Hymans; Foresight News	National: The world in 2013: Now that we've survived the doomsday predicted by the Mayans, what will 2013 bring? From political events to sports, culture and anniversaries, these are the events we can foresee
1162	<b>05/01/2013</b>	~	Review: Bookmarks: The return of Bridget Jones and James Bond, and the Beatles at 50. There's new fiction from Dave Eggers, Stephen King, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie and posthumous works from Eric Hobsbawm and WG Sebald ... What to read in 2013
1163	<b>09/01/2013</b>	Ed Pilkington	Manning jail term reduced by 112 days for harsh treatment
1164	<b>09/01/2013</b>	Ed Pilkington	Manning chose leaks that would not harm US, lawyer says
1165	<b>12/01/2013</b>	Bernard Porter	Review: NON-FICTION: The secret history: What role has elite arrogance played in government secrecy? By Bernard Porter: Classified: Secrecy and the State in Modern Britain by Christopher Moran 464pp, Cambridge, £25



1166 12/01/2013 Alan Rusbridger

Review: Facing the music: Could an amateur pianist conquer Chopin's Ballade No 1 in G minor, Op 23, one of the hardest pieces in the repertoire? Alan Rusbridger set himself 20 minutes a day for a year, and discovered an oasis of satisfaction amid the turbulence of WikiLeaks and phone hacking

# 10.0 APPENDIX B

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All *New York Times* articles analysed, cited as (NY + Article #).

Shaded entries represent overt discourses of journalistic belonging within media-centric texts, including media columns, editorials, and similar discourses as described in Chapter 4.0.

Article: NY + #	Date	Author	Headline
1	04/02/2008	Eric Schmitt and Michael R. Gordon	Leak on Cross-Border Chases From Iraq
2	19/02/2008	Adam Liptak and Brad Stone	Judge Orders Wikileaks Web Site Shut
3	20/02/2008	Adam Liptak and Brad Stone	Judge Shuts Down Web Site Specializing in Leaks
4	21/02/2008	Editorial	Stifling Online Speech
5	15/07/2008	Jonathan D. Glater	At the Uneasy Intersection of Bloggers and the Law
6	19/10/2009	Noam Cohen	Twitter and a Newspaper Untie a Gag Order
7	22/02/2010	Noam Cohen	A Vision of Iceland as a Haven for Journalists
8	17/03/2010	Stephanie Strom	Pentagon Sees a Threat from online Muckrakers
9	05/04/2010	Elisabeth Bumiller	Video Shows U.S. Killing of Reuters Employees
10	06/04/2010	Noam Cohen and Brian Stelter	Iraq Video brings Notice to a Web Site
11	06/04/2010	Tim Arango and Elisabeth Bumiller	For 2 Grieving Families, Video Reveals grim Truth
12	07/04/2010	Benedict Carey	Psychologists Explain Iraq Airstrike Video
13	18/04/2010	Noam Cohen	What Would Daniel Ellsberg Do With the Pentagon Papers Today?
14	23/05/2010	Noam Cohen	Through Solders' Eyes, 'The First YouTube War'
15	25/07/2010	Eric Schmitt	In Disclosing Secret Documents, WikiLeaks Seeks 'Transparency'
16	25/07/2010	Mark Mazzetti, Jane Perlez, Eric Schmitt and Andrew W. Lehren	Pakistan Aids Insurgency in Afghanistan, Reports Assert
17	25/07/2010	~	Piecing Together the Reports, and Deciding What to Publish
18	25/07/2010	~	The War Logs Articles
19	25/07/2010	David Carr	Journalists, Provocateurs, Maybe Both
20	26/07/2010	~	Pakistan's Double Game
21	26/07/2010	Andrew Exum	Getting Lost in the Fog of War
22	28/07/2010	Eric Schmitt and Charlie Savage	U.S. Military Scrutinizes Leaks for Risks to Afghans
23	29/07/2010	Charlie Savage	Gates Assails WikiLeaks Over Release of Reports
24	30/07/2010	Elisabeth Bumiller	Army Broadens Inquiry Into WikiLeaks Disclosure
25	31/07/2010	Mitchell LaFortune	Learning From WikiLeaks
26	01/08/2010	Noam Cohen	A Renegade Site, Now Working With the News Media
27	23/10/2010	John F. Burns and Ravi Somaiya	WikiLeaks Founder on the Run, Trailed by Notoriety
28	28/11/2010	Scott Shane and Andrew W. Lehren	Leaked Cables Offer Raw Look at U.S. Diplomacy
29	28/11/2010	David E. Sanger, James Glanz and Jo Becker	Around the World, Distress Over Iran
30	28/11/2010	~	A Note to Readers: The Decision to Publish Diplomatic Documents
31	29/11/2010	David E. Sanger	North Korea Keeps the World Guessing
32	29/11/2010	~	WikiLeaks and the Diplomats
33	01/12/2010	Charlie Savage	U.S. Weighs Prosecution of WikiLeaks Founder, but Legal Scholars Warn of Steep Hurdles

34	01/12/2010	John F. Burns	Interpol Called for Arrest of WikiLeaks Founder
35	03/12/2010	Ashlee Vance	WikiLeaks Struggles to Stay Online After Attacks
36	04/12/2010	James Glanz and John Markoff	Vast Hacking by a China Fearful of the Web
37	05/12/2010	Noam Cohen	WikiLeaks and the Perils of Oversharing
38	05/12/2010	Ravi Somaiya	Hundreds of WikiLeaks Mirror Sites Appear
39	07/12/2010	Charlie Savage	U.S. Prosecutors Study WikiLeaks Prosecution
40	08/12/2010	John F. Burns and Ravi Somaiya	Hackers Attack Those Seen as WikiLeaks Enemies
41	19/06/2011	~	A Selection From the Cache of Diplomatic Dispatches
42	31/08/2011	Scott Shane	WikiLeaks Prompts new Diplomatic Uproar
43	31/08/2011	Joseph Goldstein	Jamaican Kingpin Pleads Guilty in New York
44	01/09/2011	Scott Shane	Spread of Leaked Cables on Web Prompts Dispute
45	01/09/2011	Richard A. Oppel Jr.	Cable Implicates Americans in Deaths of Iraqi Civilians
46	01/09/2011	Robert Mackey, Jacob Harris, Ravi Somaiya and Nicholas Kulish	All Leaked U.S. Cables Were Made Available Online as WikiLeaks Splintered
47	02/09/2011	Michael S. Schmidt	Iraq Calls for New Inquiry on Deaths in 2006 U.S. Raid
48	03/09/2011	Ray Rivera and Abdul Waheed Wafa	Troops Kill Man Linked to Al Qaeda and Attacks
49	04/09/2011	Michael Wines	Leaked Cables offer Glimpses Into Relations of U.S. and China
50	08/09/2011	John Foley and Martin Hutchinson	China's Flawed Inflation Figures

# 11.0 APPENDIX C

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Ethical considerations and approval on file with:

Department of Journalism Studies  
University of Sheffield  
18-22 Regent Street  
Sheffield S1 3NJ

Next pages:

Ethics Approval.

Consent forms on file for Luke Harding, Nick Davies, John Burns, Ravi Somaiya, Gavin MacFadyen, Trevor Timm.

All respondents agreed to be recorded, and quoted by name.

John Burns asked and was granted the right to see and approve of his quotes (correspondence available on request).

Ravi Somaiya stipulated his responses were to be considered general, and any comments on WikiLeaks in specific were discounted (correspondence available on request).

# University Research Ethics Application Form For Staff and Postgraduate Researchers

Tick as appropriate

Complete this form if you are a member of staff or a postgraduate research student who plans to undertake a research project which requires ethics approval via the University Ethics Review Procedure.

or

Complete this form if you plan to submit a 'generic' research ethics application (i.e. an application that will cover several sufficiently similar research projects).

This form should be accompanied, where appropriate, by all Information Sheets / Covering Letters / Written Scripts which you propose to use to inform the prospective participants about the proposed research, and/or by a Consent Form where you need to use one.

Further guidance on how to apply is at: [http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/gov\\_ethics\\_grp/researchethics/approval-procedure/review-procedure](http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/gov_ethics_grp/researchethics/approval-procedure/review-procedure)

Once you have completed this research ethics application form in full, and other documents where appropriate email it to Mrs Margaret Holder [m.holder@shef.ac.uk](mailto:m.holder@shef.ac.uk) and provide her with a hard copy.

I confirm that I have read the current version of the University of Sheffield Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue, as shown on the University's research ethics website at: [http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/gov\\_ethics\\_grp/researchethics/index.html](http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/gov_ethics_grp/researchethics/index.html)

## Part A

**A1. Title of Research Project:**

**A2. Contact person** (normally the Principal Investigator, in the case of staff-led research projects, or the student in the case of supervised-postgraduate researcher projects):

Title: **Mr.** First Name/Initials: **Scott A.** Last Name: **Eldridge II**  
 Post: **PhD Candidate/PGR** Department: **Journalism Studies**  
 Email: [s.eldridge@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:s.eldridge@sheffield.ac.uk) Telephone: **+44(0) 758 775 8681**

**A2.1. Is this a postgraduate researcher project? Yes**

If yes, please provide the Supervisor's contact details:

**Dr. Jairo Lugo-Ocando, [j.lugo-ocando@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:j.lugo-ocando@sheffield.ac.uk)**

**A2.2. Other key investigators/co-applicants** (within/outside University), where applicable:

Please list all (add more rows if necessary)

Title	Full Name	Post	Responsibility in project	Organisation	Department

**A2.3 Is this project funded by the ESRC?**  
(please answer yes in the case of ESRC funded studentships)

YES  NO

**A3. Proposed Project Duration:**

Start date: Sept. 2011

End date: September 2014

**A4. Mark 'X' in one or more of the following boxes if your research:**

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	involves direct contact with participants
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves adults with mental incapacity or mental illness
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves prisoners or others in custodial care (e.g. young offenders)
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves children or young people aged under 18 years

It is recommended that you familiarise yourself with the University's Ethics Policy before completing the following questions. Please note that if you provide sufficient information about the research (what you intend to do, how it will be carried out and how you intend to minimise any risks), this will help the ethics reviewers to make an informed judgement quickly without having to ask for further details.

**A5. Briefly summarise:**

**i. The project's aims and objectives:**

The aim of this project is to research the ways new media entities, such as WikiLeaks, are perceived by traditional news media. Towards that objective, this research aims to identify the ways news texts use language that conveys their perceptions of online media entities as it relates to an idea of 'journalism'. The overall aim is to better understand the ways online news media are perceived and reacted to by traditional news media

**ii. The project's methodology:**

The primary methodological approaches for this research are a) discourse analysis and b) content analysis of news texts. These analyses will involve analysing news texts and the language of news articles that refer to WikiLeaks for indicators of how the news media perceive WikiLeaks. Additionally, the methodological approach will incorporate c) elite interviews with journalism practitioners and experts (reporters and editors, primarily) for their perceptions of WikiLeaks and new media more broadly. The interviews are designed to augment the analyses of news texts.

**A6. What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm / distress to participants?** None.

**A7. Does your research raise any issues of personal safety for you or other researchers involved in the project?** (especially if taking place outside working hours or off University premises) No.

If yes, explain how these issues will be managed.

**A8. How will the potential participants in the project be:**

**i. Identified?** Participants will be selected based on their involvement either directly or indirectly with stories related to WikiLeaks, or within WikiLeaks and its media partners (*The Guardian* in the UK, *The New York Times* in the U.S., and *Der Spiegel* in Germany).

ii. **Approached?** In most instances, interviews will be pre-arranged via email or telephone. In certain instances, interviewees will be approached in person. In any case, interviewees will be fully informed of their rights as participants, the purpose of the research will be outlined, and an informed consent form will be secured.

iii. **Recruited?** No recruitment will be conducted as part of this research.

**A9. Will informed consent be obtained from the participants?**

(please note that informed consent is required for all research that involves interviewing people)

YES  NO

**If informed consent or consent is NOT to be obtained please explain why.**

Further guidance is at: [http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/gov\\_ethics\\_grp/researchethics/policy-notes/consent](http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/gov_ethics_grp/researchethics/policy-notes/consent)

**A9.1.** This question is only applicable if you are planning to obtain informed consent:

**How do you plan to obtain informed consent? (i.e. the proposed process?):**

Informed consent will be obtained either by email (as an attached document to be signed and returned) or in person (to be signed in the researcher's presence) or, as outlined on the Informed Consent Form, if the interview is conducted via telephone, the form will be asked the pertinent questions, and the form signed by the researcher. As a follow-up measure in the case of telephone interviews, the participant will be sent a copy of the consent form for their records

**A10. What measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data, where appropriate?**

Documents containing any personal data will be scrubbed or redacted before being published or disseminated. In cases where the interviewee requests anonymity, all audio files and personal descriptors will be maintained in encrypted files kept separate from any files included in publications or disseminated materials.

**A11. Will financial / in kind payments (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? No.**

**A12. Will the research involve the production of recorded media such as audio and/or video recordings?**

YES  NO

**A12.1.** This question is only applicable if you are planning to produce recorded media:

**How will you ensure that there is a clear agreement with participants as to how these recorded media may be stored, used and (if appropriate) destroyed?**

Audio recordings of interviews will be made during the interviews, after which they will be transcribed for use in the research. Audio files will never be included in any dissemination, and will be maintained separately. In the event of an interviewee withdrawing their consent after the interview has been conducted, all audio files, transcripts and any backups will be deleted from the researcher's files.

Guidance on a range of ethical issues, including safety and well-being, consent and anonymity, confidentiality and data protection are available at:

[http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/gov\\_ethics\\_grp/researchethics/policy-notes](http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/gov_ethics_grp/researchethics/policy-notes)



# University Research Ethics Application Form

## Part B – The Signed Declaration

**Title of Research Project:** WikiLeaks: A case study of how traditional news media react to the rise of new media entities (working title).

I confirm my responsibility to deliver the research project in accordance with the University of Sheffield's policies and procedures, which include the University's 'Financial Regulations', 'Good Research Practice Standards' and the 'Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue' (Ethics Policy) and, where externally funded, with the terms and conditions of the research funder.

**In signing this research ethics application form I am also confirming that:**

- The form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.
- The project will abide by the University's Ethics Policy.
- There is no potential material interest that may, or may appear to, impair the independence and objectivity of researchers conducting this project.
- Subject to the research being approved, I undertake to adhere to the project protocol without unagreed deviation and to comply with any conditions set out in the letter from the University ethics reviewers notifying me of this.
- I undertake to inform the ethics reviewers of significant changes to the protocol (by contacting my academic department's Ethics Administrator in the first instance).
- I am aware of my responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data, including the need to register when necessary with the appropriate Data Protection Officer (within the University the Data Protection Officer is based in CiCS).
- I understand that the project, including research records and data, may be subject to inspection for audit purposes, if required in future.
- I understand that personal data about me as a researcher in this form will be held by those involved in the ethics review procedure (e.g. the Ethics Administrator and/or ethics reviewers) and that this will be managed according to Data Protection Act principles.
- If this is an application for a 'generic' project all the individual projects that fit under the generic project are compatible with this application.
- I understand that this project cannot be submitted for ethics approval in more than one department, and that if I wish to appeal against the decision made, this must be done through the original department.

**Name of the Principal Investigator (or the name of the Supervisor if this is a postgraduate researcher project):** Dr. Jairo Lugo-Ocando (supervisor)

**If this is a postgraduate researcher project insert the student's name here:**

**Scott Anthony Eldridge II**

**Signature of Principal Investigator (or the Supervisor):**

**Date:**

14.2.12

Email the completed application form and provide a signed, hard copy of 'Part B' to [m.holder@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:m.holder@sheffield.ac.uk) (also enclose, if relevant, other documents).

**INFORMED CONSENT FORM – to be filled in by interviewee, or (in the case of telephone interviews, the participant will be asked the same questions and the form signed by the researcher).**

PROJECT DESCRIPTION: An examination of news texts referencing WikiLeaks as a case study of how new media entities are perceived by traditional news media.
RESEARCHER: <b>Scott A. Eldridge II</b> , The University of Sheffield, Department of Journalism Studies.

Please tick box

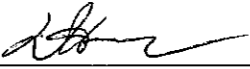

- 1 I confirm that I understand the purpose of this research and have had the opportunity to ask questions
- 2 I understand that my/our participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reasons
- 3 I agree to take part in the above study

Yes No

- 4 I consent to being audio recorded
- 5 I understand that the audio record will be transferred to the researcher's hard drive and not stored on any other device. My personal details will not be stored alongside the audio record.

Please choose one of the following options

- 6 I consent to the use of attributable quotes/information
- I consent to the use of anonymised quotes/information
- I consent to the use of background information being used in the research but not to quotations

Name(s) of participant(s): Luke Harding	Signature(s) 	Date 14-2-12
Name of researcher: Scott Eldridge II	Signature 	Date: 14-2-12

**INFORMED CONSENT FORM – to be filled in by interviewee, or (in the case of telephone interviews, the participant will be asked the same questions and the form signed by the researcher).**

PROJECT DESCRIPTION: An examination of news texts referencing WikiLeaks as a case study of how new media entities are perceived by traditional news media.
RESEARCHER: <b>Scott A. Eldridge II</b> , The University of Sheffield, Department of Journalism Studies.

Please tick box

- 1 I confirm that I understand the purpose of this research and have had the opportunity to ask questions
- 2 I understand that my/our participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reasons
- 3 I agree to take part in the above study

Yes No

- 4 I consent to being audio recorded (NA - EMAIL)
- 5 I understand that the audio record will be transferred to the researcher's hard drive and not stored on any other device. My personal details will not be stored alongside the audio record.

Please choose one of the following options

- 6 I consent to the use of attributable quotes/information
- I consent to the use of anonymised quotes/information
- I consent to the use of background information being used in the research but not to quotations

Name(s) of participant(s): <i>NICK DAVIES</i>	Signature(s) <i>VIA EMAIL</i>	Date <i>20.3.12</i>
Name of researcher: Scott Eldridge II	Signature <i>[Handwritten Signature]</i>	Date: <i>20.3.12</i>

**INFORMED CONSENT FORM** – to be filled in by interviewee, or (in the case of telephone interviews, the participant will be asked the same questions and the form signed by the researcher).

PROJECT DESCRIPTION: An examination of news texts referencing WikiLeaks as a case study of how new media entities are perceived by traditional news media.

RESEARCHER: **Scott A. Eldridge II**, The University of Sheffield, Department of Journalism Studies.

Please tick box

- 1 I confirm that I understand the purpose of this research and have had the opportunity to ask questions
- 2 I understand that my/our participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reasons
- 3 I agree to take part in the above study

*\* WITH QUOTE APPROVAL PRIOR TO*

Yes No

- 4 I consent to being audio recorded
- 5 I understand that the audio record will be transferred to the researcher's hard drive and not stored on any other device. My personal details will not be stored alongside the audio record.

Please choose one of the following options

- 6 I consent to the use of attributable quotes/information
- I consent to the use of anonymised quotes/information
- I consent to the use of background information being used in the research but not to quotations

Name(s) of participant(s): <i>JOHN F. BURNS</i>	Signature(s) <i>VIA TELEPHONE</i>	Date <i>28/1/12</i> <i>(4/2/12)</i>
Name of researcher: Scott Eldridge II	Signature <i>[Handwritten Signature]</i>	Date: <i>4/2/12</i>

**INFORMED CONSENT FORM** – to be filled in by interviewee, or (in the case of telephone interviews, the participant will be asked the same questions and the form signed by the researcher).

PROJECT DESCRIPTION: An examination of news texts referencing WikiLeaks as a case study of how new media entities are perceived by traditional news media.

RESEARCHER: **Scott A. Eldridge II**, The University of Sheffield, Department of Journalism Studies.

Please tick box

- 1 I confirm that I understand the purpose of this research and have had the opportunity to ask questions
- 2 I understand that my/our participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reasons
- 3 I agree to take part in the above study

*\* WITH EXCEPTION OF STORY-SPECIFIC, ON-GOING STORIES.*

- |  | Yes                         | No                       |
|--|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 4 I consent to being audio recorded  | NA <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 I understand that the audio record will be transferred to the researcher's hard drive and not stored on any other device. My personal details will not be stored alongside the audio record. | NA <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Please choose **one** of the following options

- 6 I consent to the use of attributable quotes/information
- I consent to the use of anonymised quotes/information
- I consent to the use of background information being used in the research but not to quotations

Name(s) of participant(s): <b>RAVI SOMAIYA</b>	Signature(s) <b>(VIA CORRESPONDENCE)</b>	Date <b>22.1.13</b>
Name of researcher: Scott Eldridge II	Signature <i>[Handwritten Signature]</i>	Date: <b>22.1.13</b>

(VIA SKYPE)

**INFORMED CONSENT FORM** – to be filled in by interviewee, or (in the case of telephone interviews, the participant will be asked the same questions and the form signed by the researcher).

PROJECT DESCRIPTION: An examination of news texts referencing WikiLeaks as a case study of how new media entities are perceived by traditional news media.

RESEARCHER: **Scott A. Eldridge II**, The University of Sheffield, Department of Journalism Studies.

Please tick box

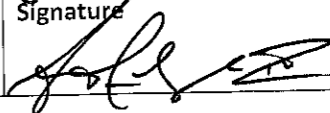
- 1 I confirm that I understand the purpose of this research and have had the opportunity to ask questions
- 2 I understand that my/our participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reasons
- 3 I agree to take part in the above study

Yes No

- 4 I consent to being audio recorded
- 5 I understand that the audio record will be transferred to the researcher's hard drive and not stored on any other device. My personal details will not be stored alongside the audio record.

Please choose **one** of the following options

- 6 I consent to the use of attributable quotes/information
- I consent to the use of anonymised quotes/information
- I consent to the use of background information being used in the research but not to quotations

Name(s) of participant(s): <b>TREVOR TIMM</b>	Signature(s) <b>(AS AGREED)</b>	Date <b>4.6.2015</b>
Name of researcher: Scott Eldridge II	Signature 	Date: <b>4.6.13</b>

**INFORMED CONSENT FORM – to be filled in by interviewee, or (in the case of telephone interviews, the participant will be asked the same questions and the form signed by the researcher).**

PROJECT DESCRIPTION: An examination of news texts referencing WikiLeaks as a case study of how new media entities are perceived by traditional news media.

RESEARCHER: **Scott A. Eldridge II**, The University of Sheffield, Department of Journalism Studies.

Please tick box

- 1 I confirm that I understand the purpose of this research and have had the opportunity to ask questions
- 2 I understand that my/our participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reasons
- 3 I agree to take part in the above study

Yes No

- 4 I consent to being audio recorded
- 5 I understand that the audio record will be transferred to the researcher's hard drive and not stored on any other device. My personal details will not be stored alongside the audio record.

Please choose **one** of the following options

- 6 I consent to the use of attributable quotes/information
- I consent to the use of anonymised quotes/information
- I consent to the use of background information being used in the research but not to quotations

Name(s) of participant(s): <i>GAVIN MAC FADYEN</i>	Signature(s) <i>[Signature]</i>	Date <i>5.28.13</i>
Name of researcher: Scott Eldridge II	Signature <i>[Signature]</i>	Date: <i>24.5.13</i>

## 12.0 APPENDIX D

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Full text versions of:

ELDRIDGE, S. A. II. 2014. Boundary Maintenance and Interloper Media Reaction. *Journalism Studies* 15 (1), 1-16.

ELDRIDGE, S. A. II. 2013. Perceiving Professional Threats: Journalism's Discursive Reaction to the Rise of New Media Entities. *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies* 2 (2), 281-299.





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## Boundary Maintenance and Interloper Media Reaction

Scott A. Eldridge II

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# BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE AND INTERLOPER MEDIA REACTION

## Differentiating between journalism's discursive enforcement processes

Scott A. Eldridge II

*In his fictional story "The Interlopers", Saki tells of two men fighting over the rights to a wooded hunting land. While both have long claimed the right to the land, one holds the legal right and the other—the interloper—claims to belong (Saki 1930). This story forms the allegorical locus of this paper, examining the way a self-defined in-group of traditional journalism protects its perceived professional identity against entities—Interloper Media—who claim belonging. This is achieved through distinct processes that echo but diverge from traditional boundary maintenance. This paper argues subtle and nuanced language in news texts referring to WikiLeaks serves to invalidate WikiLeaks' extant and persistent claims of "being" journalism. These processes differ from boundary maintenance processes related to phone hacking, which serve as inwardly focused self-policing of the profession.*

KEYWORDS boundary maintenance; Interloper Media; phone hacking; professional identity; WikiLeaks

### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The rapid foregrounding of WikiLeaks in 2010 and 2011 and its claims and self-expressions of belonging to the in-group of journalism drew both practitioners and observers into a debate over whether or where WikiLeaks fits into a concept of journalism (Baack 2011; Beckett and Ball 2012; Peters 2011). In addition to its own challenge to journalism's primacy, WikiLeaks' new-found prominence came about after the July 2009 exposé into patterns of phone hacking by journalists and news organisations in the United Kingdom, compounding attention to journalism in the United Kingdom already under scrutiny, and challenging the definition and identity of journalism at a time when these topics were being publicly examined (Keeble and Mair 2012). While vastly different in their specific characteristics, both episodes prompted discourses of differentiation through reactions to the internal and external threats to journalism's authority, and both provide opportunities for analysing expressions of journalism's professional identity.

Now treated as common knowledge, the July 2009 coverage in *The Guardian* was the first major exposure of phone hacking. Hopkins (2012) traces the origins of phone hacking in the United Kingdom to 2000, with the July 2009 *Guardian* package of articles exposing the breadth of the practice, and cresting in July 2011 with parliamentary and special inquiries. "Hacking" consisted of monitoring voicemail accounts of celebrities, politicians, and other news figures by reporters at the *News of the World*. *The Guardian's* exposé made clear the scale of hacking, and the awareness of editors and executives of

News International, the newspaper's parent company headed by Rupert Murdoch (Keeble 2012; Rusbridger 2012).

For WikiLeaks, it was the April 2010 release of the "Collateral Murder" video that brought its first semblance of prominence, following several years of lesser-noticed releases. A noteworthy departure from WikiLeaks' origin as a website and conduit for whistle blowers, the video showed an edited version of a US military helicopter attack in Iraq that killed civilians and two Reuters journalists. Later that summer, the coordinated publishing with *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, and *Der Spiegel* secured WikiLeaks' place in terms of both public awareness and scrutiny. Blurring the news/source boundaries with its overt claims of being journalism, WikiLeaks openly confronts definitions of journalism, and challenges traditional roles as it purports to provide a "better" form of journalism (Beckett and Ball 2012, 42). Furthermore, as WikiLeaks became more widely known, the question of journalism's primacy became more evident in its extant claims of belonging to a journalistic identity, particularly in terms of information primacy and legitimacy (McBride 2011; Pilger 2013; Thomaß 2011).

The conceptual definition of Interloper Media builds around this challenge of journalism's primacy and legitimacy by external actors claiming belonging—WikiLeaks—and is further defined through reactions to those entities and the ways they differ from reparative discourses of internal faults and failings—as with phone hacking. Interlopers, in this dichotomy, claim both the mantle of antagonist to the primacy and in-group/out-group dynamic of journalism's profession, and claim belonging to the in-group. Distinct from boundary maintenance, which occurs in very overt ways, Interloper Media processes occur through more nuanced and subtle reactions, woven into texts that are neither explicitly media-focused, nor occurring with the same intensity and immediacy that Bishop (1999) and Berkowitz (2000) scope in boundary maintenance and paradigm repair.

### Boundary Maintenance Versus Interloper Media Reaction

Similar to the treatment of plagiarists and paparazzi, phone-hacking coverage can be understood through analysing boundary maintenance. At their simplest, journalistic boundary maintenance processes employ overt and explicit discourses to define demarcations within a professional group, such as distinguishing between quality and tabloid newspapers, or photojournalists and paparazzi (Bishop 1999). Boundaries are maintained through overt discourses within news texts addressing perceived and public failings of journalistic standards, values, and professional norms. This is an inwardly focused self-policing of the profession of journalism by associated in-group members. In recent history the clearest example of boundary maintenance came with the public distancing of paparazzi from "good" journalism after the 1997 death of Princess Diana (Bishop 1999; Berkowitz 2000), with reporting around the falsified "Downing Street Memo", and with the plagiarism of Jayson Blair at *The New York Times* (Bicket and Wall 2007). In each of these cases, boundaries are: "created in order to be seen" (Bishop 1999, 92).

In these instances, sign-posted and visible discourses distance those involved in the failures from those who uphold the in-group and professional standards of belonging (Bicket and Wall 2007). Beyond castigating paparazzi and plagiarists, boundary maintenance also addresses "faux" journalism, as with the decision by ABC to have the actor

Leonardo DiCaprio interview former US president Bill Clinton for a news program (Bishop 2004). Boundary maintenance, then, examines the activities and actors that are considered members of an in-group understood to be journalism—newspapers, broadcast, etc.—or those imposed from within these structures. These processes go further to define a sense of journalism, and distinguish good journalism and bad journalism by isolating and identifying the “bad” and making clear where and how the “good” differ.

Whereas authors such as Coddington (2012) approach WikiLeaks through the lens of boundary maintenance and paradigm repair, that approach struggles as it glosses over an acceptance of WikiLeaks as possessing either inherent or imposed belonging to the in-group of journalism, and draws distinctions based on norms and institutionality. While these are meaningful distinctions, in focusing on boundary maintenance, sign-posted discourses of these distinctions are given priority over more nuanced discourses of identity and ideology. Further, while boundary maintenance processes excoriate the imposition of a non-journalist into a journalistic role, as ABC News did with DiCaprio, WikiLeaks differs in its external encroachment. Expressed simply: Julian Assange and WikiLeaks claim the title of journalist and journalism though it is not widely granted, and DiCaprio does not. Furthermore, while boundary maintenance discourses take place in texts where journalism is both subject and object—journalistic pieces *about* journalism—discourses rebutting WikiLeaks as an interloper occur in texts where journalism is an ancillary or absent topic, as in texts that deal with information in the WikiLeaks releases, but are not about WikiLeaks *per se*. While both processes emphasise in-group belonging, the differences and distinctions are critical and warrant understanding.

### Journalism’s Professional Identity

Researching journalism as a profession and analysis of professional identity has been approached primarily through the listening to journalists and non-journalists, using ethnographic study, surveys, and interview methodologies. In terms of identifying the in-group/out-group elements of journalism, these approaches rely on prompted discourses of identity and focus on elements of belonging expressed when requested (Hanitzsch 2011; Örnebring 2009, 2010; Waisbord 2012). Textual analysis augments these approaches by looking at the outward-facing expression of journalistic identity; analysing markers of belonging against expressions contained within the prompted discourses of surveys and interviews.

Focusing on *The Guardian’s* coverage explores facets of professional identity within a public service tradition, distinguished from both the commercial tradition of tabloids, and the *passé* subjective tradition (Donsbach 2010). This categorisation invokes and evokes ideals and standards that revolve around tenets of social responsibility, speaking truth to power, and providing expert analysis. Beset with aspirational roles and responsibilities, expressions of this identity rely on a familiar lexicon of idealised societal roles and functions, as intermediaries between governments and publics. Professional identity is expressed as a “Fourth Estate”, with watchdog, analytical, and advocacy roles, all contributing to an overarching concept of journalism’s professional identity (Hanitzsch 2011). Even accepting this familiar sense of “being” journalism, idealised expressions of what journalism “is” remain contested. Classifying journalism as a profession is not without its challenges, and in instances these resolve in an abstract concept of what

society *seems to know* as journalism (Donsbach 2010, 38). As this offers a fleeting and spurious understanding of journalism, a focal point of identity moves the argument further, addressing ever-shifting formats of journalism more uniformly. Differences can be further assuaged by honing in on journalism's reinvigoration of professionalism in identity terms, as a response to a simultaneous de-professionalisation in structural terms (Örnebring 2010).

Professional identity as in-group/out-group belonging, then, is maintained by enforcing adherence to an array of values, standards, practices, and paradigms, and by decrying non-adherence, regardless of structural differences. This approach can also be applied across varied concepts of journalism—culture, tradition, practice, trade, and profession—through shared foregrounding of specific elements of belonging, and backgrounding non-belonging and non-compliance to standards of shared identity. As its own arbiter of professional belonging, the in-group expresses corrections when its members fail, and also clarifies the requirements of belonging to rebut external claims of belonging from members of the out-group (Aldridge and Evetts 2003; Deuze 2005; Örnebring 2009).

### *Media-to-media Discourses of Belonging*

Analysing news texts in the two cases here as expressions of belonging addresses not only explicit expressions of belonging and non-belonging, but also more nuanced media-to-media conversations within texts. As Schudson states:

A news story may be a complex construction that communicates one message to one audience and, by irony and innuendo, a very different message to a more sophisticated audience. (1995, 174)

This in-group communication reflects dynamics of peer accountability, and expressions of adherence to journalism's identity and belonging. Bell echoes this: "Mass communicators are interested in their peers, not their public. Fellow communicators and co-professionals are their salient audience" (1991, 90). Accordingly, journalistic texts can be interpreted as attuned messages of a self-preferred and self-perceived definition of identity, and the boundaries of that identity.

This media-to-media discourse also applies to texts regarding WikiLeaks. As WikiLeaks poses a confrontation with traditional media, requiring the in-group of journalism to reinforce their defined profession through exclusion:

[T]he WikiLeaks episode forces us to confront the fact that the members of the networked fourth estate turn out to be both more susceptible to new forms of attack than those of the old, and to possess different sources of resilience in the face of these attacks. (Benkler 2011, 311)<sup>2</sup>

News texts reinforce this in-group/out-group dynamic, incorporating discourses of subtly encoded belonging, interlaced in word choice and syntax, and in a manner that emphasises both belonging and exclusion (Fairclough 1995, 18). Criteria for evaluating journalism's in-group focus on an inherent "socially-shared" ideology that informs the professional identity of journalists, located within overt and covert discourses (Van Dijk 1998a, 26). Analysing the implicit as well as the explicit identifications of belonging reinforces the way journalism, through texts, divides those who are spoken to or spoken about as out-group, and those with the authority to convey information as in-group.

### *Bourdieu's Habitus*

This paper utilises the qualitative methodology of discourse analysis, and addresses the power dynamics encoded within news texts. Philosophically, this develops from Bourdieu (1990, 1991) who sees discourse and language as emerging from a socialised space, *habitus*. As such, texts can be interpreted as discourses amid an array of contested and competing claims and power dynamics. While this approach allows texts to be viewed as originating from socialised spheres, it does not purport to subsume individual voices into a monolith. Rather, analysis as engaged with in this study approaches texts as emerging from socialised spaces and their respective identities, through which group and identity contestations can be better understood.

Fairclough (1995) and Fowler (1991) underscore these dynamics through analysis of word choices as decisions that represent the ways language construction in media involves choices from an array of other possible choices and constructions. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* provides an underpinning for analysis of texts as media-to-media discourses, originating from and existing within social and power structures of journalism's profession, and analysed for their implications on and reflections of that space. Bearing this in mind aids in addressing the questions:

- RQ1:** How does language within journalistic news texts reinforce journalistic belonging when directed towards other members of the journalistic in-group?
- RQ2:** How does language within journalistic news texts reinforce journalistic belonging when directed towards members of the journalistic out-group who claim to belong?

### **Methodology**

This research studies *The Guardian's* coverage of its phone-hacking investigation and exposé in July 2009, and texts were selected from the coverage during the first days of the exposé. This resulted in analysis of 34 articles, commentaries, and editorials from 8 to 10 July 2009. With regards to WikiLeaks, texts were selected from the initial coverage of its coordinated publication with WikiLeaks beginning 26 July 2010. It then proceeds to explore a structured sample of coverage of WikiLeaks ranging from the April 2010 release of "Collateral Murder" (preceding the coordinated publishing) to the autumn 2011 release by WikiLeaks of its full trove of diplomatic communiqués un-redacted. This second phase incorporates a preliminary analysis of 1444 *Guardian* texts that mention WikiLeaks between April 2010 and November 2011, and a thorough analysis of 288 articles. The sub-set of 288 was chosen after dividing the corpus into sets of 10 articles, and analysing every fifth set.

Rather than seeking articles that only react negatively, Potter's (2000) call for deviant case analysis was adhered to, and both typical and atypical mentions of WikiLeaks were analysed to:

[I]dentify significant debates, controversies, and silences, and possibly suggest specifications and amendments to initial research goals and questions. (Carvalho 2008, 166)

In conducting this initial reading of the overall corpus with flexibility towards the research approach and questions, patterns and outliers of in-group/out-group professional identity general frames within which specific discourses take place are identified (de Vreese 2005). From there, a closer analysis of grammatical, syntactical, and associated

elements was endeavoured. The framework being applied incorporates the Textual and Contextual analysis outlined in Carvalho (2008) as well as elements of discourse analysis in van Dijk (1988, 1998a, 1998b), Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2003), Fowler (1991), and Hodge and Kress (1993).

### *Discursive Arenas and Themes*

This study approaches news discourse as providing elements of “showing” and “calling attention to”, rather than “telling” or discerning motivations (Carvalho 2008, 169). Instead, Textual Analysis and Contextual Analysis allow for comparison of texts at a moment through analysing initial coverage, and over time, allowing for cross-comparison and tempered findings to analyse the differences in process and dynamics between boundary maintenance and Interloper Media reactions.

Subsets of discourse addressed in this paper include: personalisation; active/passive language, including nominalisation and agency; proximity/distance language; presence of identity belonging; presence of self-referencing; and immediacy. Within these categorisations, identification of the way “ideologies typically organise people and society in polarized terms” (van Dijk 1998a, 43) are explored. Key elements of “Us v. Them” dynamics appear through: Specification, Generalisation, Example, or Contrast that “cognitively and discursively . . . may be realised by various forms of polarisation (48–49). These incorporate elements of modality, hedging and vagueness, and elements of strength and weakness (52–53).

Under personalisation, the presence or absence of personal identifiers creates a more pronounced “Us v. Them” polarisation. When framed in positive language, personalisation can indicate a closeness and recognition of belonging, while in negative language it distinguishes between “good” and “bad” media. Analysing use of active and passive language, including the nominalisation of certain activity and the foregrounding or backgrounding of agency, incorporates analysis of rhetorical language. Active language carrying a negative tone demonises and distances individuals, creating a focus of the distancing language and cementing otherwise abstract boundaries. At the same time, passive language, including nominalised verbs and low-agency qualifiers, restricts the role of the spoken-about media. These elements inform the “constitution of identity of the subject through discourse” (Carvalho 2008, 170) and can be used to give the actors particular power, or inversely deny power.

Proximity refers directly to the in-group/out-group dynamics under study here. Distancing language referring to members of the in-group relates to the inward processes of boundary maintenance within journalism. These devices identify both the speaking media and the subject through discourses of legitimisation. Distancing language referring to the out-group reinforces standards of belonging to the in-group, while reinforcing the power and primacy of journalism’s self-declared societal role and information primacy. The presence of familiar labels and a shared lexicon of belonging to the profession bestows an understanding of the accepted “in-group”, their absence indicating a rebuffing of Interloper Media claims. With regard to boundary maintenance, this can include referring to offending members of the media using typical and classical labels: journalist, editor, publisher, etc. With regards to Interloper Media, the absence of these labels and the use of vague or functional labels such as “website”, distances the Interloper Media as a passive source, conduit, or a non-transactive participant (Hodge and Kress 1993).

## Findings and Analysis: Boundary Maintenance

**RQ1:** How does the language within journalistic news texts reinforce journalistic belonging when directed towards other members of the journalistic in-group?

Across articles referring to phone hacking, there are clear and archetypal elements of journalistic boundary maintenance. Under classical boundary maintenance frameworks, news texts first isolate and identify the offending journalism as failing to uphold the standards of belonging in clear and unequivocal language. Second, texts refresh and repair perceptions of journalism by promoting positive aspects of the speaking media's professionalism.

*The Guardian's* package fires its opening salvo in headlines across coverage, using the lead-ins of: "Tabloid hacking scandal" in eight articles and "Tabloid dirty tricks" in six. Outside these lead-ins, the term "dirty tricks" is repeated in three additional headlines, including:

Revealed: Murdoch's £1m for hiding *dirty tricks*: Tory PR chief under fire over tabloid hacking: Politicians and celebrities among victims. (*The Guardian*, July 9, 2009)

and

Three inquiries launched into hacking claims as new victims emerge: MPs summon Murdoch chief over *dirty tricks*: Targeted public figures consider suing tabloid: Scotland Yard refuses to reopen tapping probe. (*The Guardian*, July 10, 2009)

As headlines set the preferred reading for the text, these elements are key. In particular, use of the term "tabloid", as opposed to "newspaper", casts a negative pall over the subsequent text. Four headlines use the terms "victims" and "hacks", including "Time to Rein in Murdoch's Hacks", and "spies" as in "Press and Privacy: Secrecy Spies", which enhance the polarised dynamics of wrongdoing.

### *Personalisation*

Personalised references are mostly restricted—though not entirely—to negative mentions of the *News of the World* and News International, and to individuals involved in hacking. Fewer texts refer to *The Guardian* explicitly. Rather, references to *The Guardian* are made implicitly in headlines and texts such as: "Revealed: Murdoch's £1m bill for hiding dirty tricks" (*The Guardian*, July 9, 2009), which foregrounds *The Guardian* as "revealing", without specifically naming it.

Towards Murdoch, personalisation is negative, apparent, and explicit, and such headlines perform dually. Primarily, they foreground emphasis on Rupert Murdoch as individually tied to the phone hacking. Additionally, use of "hiding dirty tricks" attributes further negative, transactive, agency to Murdoch. Finally, this unequivocal personalisation is inversely related to the *Guardian's* positive journalistic role in: "revealed". In 12 separate articles individuals from News International are specifically named in headlines, further emboldening aspects of negative personalisation and boundary maintenance.

Commentaries and diaries can pose challenges for analysis as evaluations within them are perceived as subjective opinion, and must incorporate consideration of the tongue-in-cheek approach they sometimes take. In one such diary, the *News of the World's* "detachment" is used ironically, incorporating personalisation:



“Police probe Murdoch paper hacking claims” it says. Further down the page, an ad. “We’ll buy your old mobile phone for cash.” Just don’t erase the messages. (*The Guardian*, July 10, 2009)

Nonetheless, the discourses of difference contained within commentaries provide and complement other discourses of difference and derision. Straight news examples are not as problematic, though the use of personalisation is no lesser, as in this excerpt:

In 2007 a *News of the World* reporter, Clive Goodman, was jailed for illegally hacking into the mobile phones of three members of staff in the royal households. (*The Guardian*, July 10, 2009)

As with many of the texts, there are several elements under study utilised here: personalisation, in the naming of Goodman; in-group referencing, in referring to him as a “reporter”; distancing, in qualifying his “hacking” as “illegal”; and negative active agency, in “illegally hacking”. In the full range of references, the contextualisation within articles provides essential elements for outlining boundary maintenance. References to Andy Coulson, Rebekah Brooks, and Les Hinton—all current or former News International and *News of the World* executives at the time of the report—are frequent, but the most explicitly and frequently personalised is Murdoch, cast as the figurehead behind the scandal, with “tentacles” across British society (*The Guardian*, July 9, 2009).

#### *Proximity/Distancing Language*

As with the contrast of “revealed” and “hiding”, mentions of Murdoch further create a singular focus for the isolating role of boundary maintenance discourses. Replicating what Bicket and Wall (2007) refer to as “circling the wagons,” these dynamics identify and isolate a villain by amplifying a sense of a “rogue operator” acting against professional standards. While distancing, these texts still employ a familiar lexicon, using journalistic identifiers such as “reporter”. Further evidence of boundary maintenance is found in the description of “systematic corporate illegality by News International”, and through use of terms such as “accomplice” and “tactics” to describe phone hacking.

Clearly negative and isolating, juxtaposing negative descriptors with the in-group lexicon of journalistic identifiers provides distance in terms of positive/negative descriptions of hacking, but does so within the profession. These texts refer not only to the actors in terms of a journalistic identity, but also reference standards and values, particularly public interest. The phrase “public interest” is repeatedly cited as the rationale given for hacking in five separate articles, though it is diminished as a false claim: “Specifically, there is no public interest defence for anybody caught breaking RIPA [Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act]” (*The Guardian*, July 9, 2009). This repeated use of a familiar lexicon of belonging to the profession, at once familiar and accepted within the in-group of journalism, resonates with the self-policing and inward-looking dynamic of boundary maintenance.

#### *Active/Passive Language: Nominalisation and Agency*

The role of active and passive language operates in a fashion similar to personalisation. Active negative language allows the speaking media to identify and

isolate offending members of the in-group, while ascribing agency to its actions. In a particularly resonant example, the use of quotes from hacking victims who refer to the journalists at *News of the World* as “paparazzi”, closely mirrors Bishop’s (1999) work in both its functional and its thematic substance. Quoting:

“It’s one thing to see paparazzi at the Ivy. But I was finding them at Pizza Hut. There they were, even if it [the visit] had been arranged at the last minute.” (*The Guardian*, July 10, 2009)

These activities are elaborated on to refer to information “obtained illicitly” and in explaining how “some of the same newspapers have systematically pried into the lives of people in rather repellent ways” (*The Guardian*, July 9, 2009). By using: “obtained illicitly” and “systematically pried into”, the activities of those implicated in phone hacking are framed as active, transactive, and committed by individuals who can be isolated. This reflects attributes of Murdoch’s “hiding” analysed above.

### *Conclusive Boundary Maintenance*

*The Guardian’s* coverage of the phone-hacking scandal typifies the elements of boundary maintenance laid out in Bishop (1999), Cecil (2002), and Bicket and Wall (2007). Through pronounced “to be seen” discourses, texts clarify good journalism, up-fronting *The Guardian’s* revelations, and admonish failed journalism, foregrounding News International’s “systematic corporate illegality”. From the first article referring to phone hacking, texts immediately delineate between those maintaining the standards of the in-group, and those who have fallen out of favour. In consistently and immediately referring to those involved as journalists, reporters, and editors, and in naming them, the coverage draws clear distinctions between members of the profession in good standing, and those “tabloidised” members who ignore these values. These discourses identify, isolate, and differentiate between those who uphold and those who fail to uphold in-group standards, maintaining the professional boundaries through foregrounded aspects and definitions of journalism’s identity.

### **Findings and Analysis: Interloper Media Reactions**

**RQ2:** How does the language of journalistic news text reinforce journalistic belonging when directed towards members of the journalistic out-group who claim to be “journalism”?

Across references to WikiLeaks, language distinguishes WikiLeaks as an enigmatic and undefined facet of the overall story, and *The Guardian* as a responsible patron of information. However, these distinctions occur more subtly than the distinctions drawn regarding phone hacking. *The Guardian’s* distinctions of belonging tie to standards of journalism’s in-group, and through subtle language enforce and reinforce in-group primacy and belonging to the profession of journalism. These unfold across a longer trajectory, but nevertheless distinguish WikiLeaks’ out-group status as such. While individual texts provide indications of these distinctions, cumulatively they make distinctions between the in-group and out-group stark.

*Personalisation*

In the days that followed the 25 July 2010 coordinated publication of the Afghan War Logs between WikiLeaks and *The Guardian*, there is a dearth of specific references to WikiLeaks or Assange.<sup>3</sup> As WikiLeaks was—ostensibly—a prime driver of the activity, this was an unexpected finding. It also serves as one of the indicators that a subsequent phase of analysis was necessary to understand differences between Interloper Media reactions and boundary maintenance.

In the initial set, only one headline refers to Assange: “The War Logs: The Leak: An Individual, Uncompromising Rebel—With a Website to Match: Profile Julian Assange” (*The Guardian*, July 23, 2010), and none refer to WikiLeaks explicitly. Compare this to the exploration of phone hacking, where 12 headlines specifically name individuals tied to hacking, and the lack of personalisation is evident. This seems to indicate distancing between *The Guardian* and WikiLeaks. Emphasising the information within the leak, rather than Assange’s or WikiLeaks’ role in the publishing efforts, further distinguishes between the in-group and the out-group.

*Passive/Active Language: Nominalisation and Agency*

In instances, the strength of agency and activity varies from paragraph to paragraph, but primarily texts refer to WikiLeaks passively, and to leaked information as a mere product of WikiLeaks’ technological purpose and conduit function. In the initial analysis, there are no instances where Assange or WikiLeaks are described as within journalism’s in-group, though they have long expressed that identity. Coverage of Assange in *The Guardian* prior to this foray describes him as a co-founder of WikiLeaks in an article that describes WikiLeaks as a “site” (*The Guardian*, July 9, 2009), but never as a journalist or editor-in-chief or WikiLeaks as journalism.

Within texts, references that specifically identify WikiLeaks are also low, and regardless of article length, the majority of specific references only occur once or twice. In a few articles WikiLeaks is mentioned prominently—in the lede or headline—but more often than not it is referenced late in the article, and in a limited functional role as a “mechanism” that transmitted the leaks, or as a non-transactive descriptor—“the WikiLeaks disclosure”. This bears out in more pronounced ways in later texts analysed below. In other instances, the role is more explicit and active, saying WikiLeaks “obtained” the documents. This ascribes active agency and responsibility to WikiLeaks and to Assange, though this use of agency vacillates. Still, between July and December 2010, increasingly negative, passive, non-transactive language emphasises distance and isolation from the in-group and journalistic roles.

*Proximity and Distance*

Developing on personalisation dynamics, there are explicit and clear examples of language minimising and lessening Assange’s and WikiLeaks’ role. Most explicitly language reading: “WikiLeaks was not involved in the preparation of the *Guardian’s* articles” (*The Guardian*, July 26, 2010) wholly distances WikiLeaks from *The Guardian*. References highlight the cautious nature of the reporting to eliminate anything that could cause harm to informants, and stronger yet, saying: “the three [newspapers] have

published excerpts from the documents which do not pose a risk to informants or military operations" (*The Guardian*, July 27, 2010).

In one article, a later (updated) version includes a statement by Assange where he takes credit for implementing "harm minimisation" policies, re-emphasising the contestation over journalistic identity, social responsibility, and the questions over these dynamics within these endeavours. Further, texts consistently highlight *The Guardian's* expertise and analysis of the raw documents. In these instances, the in-group's value-adding and analysis roles are emphasised as a differentiating feature between journalism and WikiLeaks.

The impact and role of WikiLeaks and Assange is lessened, and even condemned, in several opinion pieces which use descriptors including: "hubristic", and "treasonable", and delegitimising WikiLeaks' and Assange's statements as "suggestions" and "claims". While these instances—written in columns and letters—cannot be strongly associated with *The Guardian*, they cannot be entirely disconnected either as they represent editorial selections and reflect a recognition that *The Guardian's* audience could be receptive to them (Tuchman 1978). These dynamics further foreground the positive attributes of *The Guardian's* role, and backgrounds WikiLeaks and Assange.

### *Positive Self-references*

While WikiLeaks is often presented in either a pure-neutral or negative light, when it comes to foregrounding the role of *The Guardian*, the language is dramatically positive. As with the coverage of phone hacking, and the most potent statements against WikiLeaks, specific laudatory language is mostly restrained to comments made by non-members of *The Guardian* in letters and columns. Equally, the strongest condemnations—mostly emphasising a risk to security of troops and inciting further violence, and one referring to the documents as a weapon for terrorists—are made by non-employees of *The Guardian*.

### *Subsequent Analysis*

Following the above analysis of the initial coverage of WikiLeaks, articles extending through 2011 were analysed to allow for more robust analysis of the initial trends. As coverage shifted from stories tied to additional leaks, and then to Assange's legal issues with Sweden, and to the spectre of extradition to the United States, his claims of belonging to the in-group of journalism are more acutely discussed:

One argument that Assange and WikiLeaks could make is that it is a news organisation, *as it describes itself on its website*, and should be protected from prosecution under the freedom of the press. It could be argued that if Assange were to be prosecuted, why not the *New York Times* and the *Guardian*? (*The Guardian*, December 17, 2010, emphasis added)

Assange's claim is minimised through qualifying it as self-described. The article further refutes the claim through this quote:

Rosenzweig agreed: "Newspapers like the *Guardian* add analysis and value to the enterprise. WikiLeaks is just a compiler or a means of distribution. As for Assange's character, he seems likely not to be well received by an American jury if he ever goes in front of one." (*The Guardian*, December 17, 2010, emphasis added)

As the references become more explicitly distancing in straight news, mentions of WikiLeaks become less and less personalised, and more and more nominalised. In an article on 25 April 2011, WikiLeaks is not mentioned until the 17th of 19 paragraphs. In later instances, positive references to *The Guardian* and its reporters are foregrounded and WikiLeaks' role is minimised, or absent: "A *Guardian* team has been spending months combing through the data" and "As on previous occasions, the *Guardian* is removing information likely to cause reprisals against vulnerable individuals" (*The Guardian*, November 29, 2010); and, in a second article that day: "With the leaking to the *Guardian*"; "The *Guardian* can disclose"; and "obtained by WikiLeaks". These three quotes distinguish responsibility, with WikiLeaks in a transactive role, delivering information to *The Guardian*.

Describing the leaks as information that "came into the hands of a *Guardian* reporter", removing any journalistic role or agency on WikiLeaks or Assange's part, the same article refers to Assange's "circle" as "freedom of information activists" and labels Assange a "former hacker", a label he bristles at (Assange 2011). These examples cast *The Guardian* in a responsible frame of professional journalism, while placing the burden of obtaining classified documents, with all its legal implications, on the "hacktivist" WikiLeaks (Lindgren and Lundström 2011). This dichotomy is emphasised again in an article exploring WikiLeaks' activities in Russia and Belarus, where its identity as a "left-wing enterprise" and Assange as a "buccaneering fighter for free speech" is challenged. This and similar articles emphasise the divisions between responsible members of journalism's in-group, and rogue activists as the out-group, are made salient (*The Guardian*, January 2, 2011).

As the coverage moves into 2011, WikiLeaks is increasingly described in a purely functional, and often-nominalised, role of hosting or fronting a website, or as a convenient source of colour in coverage of the royal wedding: "WikiLeaks revealed that a US diplomat described him [Prince Andrew] as cocky and rude" (*The Guardian*, March 6, 2011). In later texts, WikiLeaks is used as a punch line, a joke, or a point of contrast justifying the running of a column: "A column devoted to giving readers an opportunity to talk about why they like the paper is not the same as WikiLeaks" (*The Guardian*, March 28, 2011). In this way WikiLeaks' role is de-emphasised and limited to being a passive intermediary (van Dijk 1998b, 32–33).

In exploring deviant cases, there is one notable example, a straight-news article by two *Guardian* reporters (December 10, 2010) where Assange is described as editor-in-chief in the opening line, and later referred to as "the most famous inmate in the Victorian jail." This language is not only supportive in positioning and rhetoric, but uses Assange's self-title. In every sense this example is isolated among the analysed texts, though it may indicate a more uncertain, contested, or at least ill-defined guide towards describing WikiLeaks. However, across the 288 articles reviewed in the second set, this is the most explicit instance of a news text, written by members of the in-group, describing WikiLeaks with in-group identifiers.

As a point of comparison, one column mocks these same identifiers in a "nomination" for Editor of the year:

Julian Assange, of WikiLeaks, more for emptying a sackload of secrets than for editing anything—but still contriving to seduce at least three women a week. (*The Guardian*, January 2, 2011)

While language a year on emphasising the in-group/out-group distinction is broadly consistent with prior analysis, it comes across most strongly in September and October 2011, when articles and commentaries present an unequivocal condemnation of WikiLeaks' publishing of un-redacted cables, citing journalism's public-interest standard:

Some WikiLeaks devotees and extreme freedom of information advocates will applaud this act. We don't. We join the *New York Times*, *Der Spiegel*, *Le Monde*, and *El Pais* in condemning it . . . The public interest in all acts of disclosure has to be weighed against the potential harm that can result. (*The Guardian*, September 3, 2011)

On the same day, the headline: "I support the principles, not the methods",<sup>4</sup> draws an unequivocally distinct line between the in-group and out-group, demonstrated again on 26 October 2011 in a column describing Assange as "desperate". These come at the tail of the analysis, and finalise the trajectory of distancing WikiLeaks as an out-group member, separate and distinct from the in-group criteria of belonging to the profession of journalism.

### **Conclusion: Differentiating Interloper Media Reactions and Boundary Maintenance**

The range of analysis here demonstrates the differences in discourses of distance employed in boundary maintenance processes between members within journalism's in-group when compared to reactions to Interlopers and the discourses used to maintain in-group/out-group dynamics.

These findings allow for understanding journalistic boundary maintenance as developing along a certain set of criteria that differ from the ways texts surrounding WikiLeaks enforce professional in-group/out-group dynamics. These distinctions occur in terms of both the immediacy with which boundary maintenance occurs, and regarding the explicitness of the processes. Whether by design or default, the speed with which distinctions between "good" and "bad" journalism and journalistic belonging are drawn provides a point of comparison with Interloper Media reactions. While both employ identity-imbued language, distancing occurs with different speed, pace, and strength in each case. Those differences can be put in this way:

- *Boundary maintenance*: Active + negative language (through agency/nominalisation) + high personalisation + distancing (low relation + presence of in-group referencing) + high positive self-references + immediacy.
- *Interloper Media reaction*: (Negative passive language + negative/neutral nominalisation) + (low immediate personalisation + high eventual personalisation) + low proximity + high presence of in-group/out-group references + high positive self-references + long trajectory.

This analysis indicates a need for alternative approaches and theoretical understandings of media-to-media discourses of belonging and exclusion, of self-policing, and of professional defence. The differences between discursive responses to differing threats support the need for a framework of Interloper Media reactions on two points: first, the analysis of WikiLeaks and the broader references to WikiLeaks show that even absent overt signifiers of a discourse of journalism's professional identity journalistic in-group belonging is expressed in news texts; second, emerging entities that challenge traditional

understandings of journalistic primacy require a flexible, long-term, and nuanced analysis that differs from boundary maintenance.

What is evident from this paper and the larger research associated with it is that the language and the directness with which traditional texts refer to failures in their accepted in-group differs from the language and the directness with which they deal with problematic interlopers. While boundary maintenance does well as a theory for analysing and explaining occasional and episodic failures of the criteria for belonging to the in-group of journalism, it is ultimately inward looking. In terms of rebutting claims of belonging, boundary maintenance is ill suited to explore reactions to interlopers. In these instances, the slower pace and nuanced rebuke contrasts with processes of boundary maintenance, employed rapidly and overtly to counteract failings of the professional in-group.

This separates theories of boundary maintenance from Interloper Media reactions; the latter process being more protracted, more covert, and subtler, and in its cumulative effect enforcing a sense of “being” journalism. While Interloper Media offer demonstrable value—privity information—their enigmatic missions and purposes and interpretations of being journalism pose a challenge to the in-group. The findings of this study support the initial approach and call for a more nuanced theoretical framework to analyse the relationship between traditional journalism and emerging entities such as WikiLeaks properly—an approach that has been developed here as Interloper Media Reaction Theory.

## NOTES

1. This paper, and the research within it, develop out of a much larger PhD study exploring elements of journalism’s identity and ideology in reaction to WikiLeaks.
2. Both Benkler, and Pilger cited elsewhere in this paper, are listed as WikiLeaks supporters on the WikiLeaks.org website.
3. While there has been a well-documented falling out between WikiLeaks, Assange, and *The Guardian* and *New York Times* (cf. the 2011 Channel 4 documentary *WikiLeaks: Secrets and Lies*), by most accounts there was no such falling out leading up to the launch of the Afghan War Logs. Instead, the relationships devolved over the course of subsequent publications, with Assange objecting to coverage in the *New York Times* and *Guardian*, and differing views as to who was responsible for releasing files un-redacted.
4. Written by *Guardian* reporter and ex-WikiLeaks member James Ball.

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# Perceiving professional threats: Journalism's discursive reaction to the rise of new media entities

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*Researching what Silvio Waisbord (2013) calls the ambiguities of the profession of journalism requires confronting changes and challenges to journalism, addressing the self-proclaimed assertions of those who see themselves as journalists, and doing so with an eye to changing landscapes. To understand journalism's professional identity in a digital era requires an equally agile approach, one that assesses professional adherence and identifies ways these aspects of identity translate and transpire in traditional understandings and forms, and how they relate to digitally native forms of mediated communication. Steeped in reflexive approaches born out of critical enquiry, this article advocates textual analysis and a discourse analysis methodology for analysing this identity, and posits that evaluating discourses of professional identity in texts serves as a gauge of journalism's 'threat perception' towards new entities in the digital era. Pairing this approach with an engaged discussion of concepts of journalism allows for a broader understanding of how journalism's professional identity is performed. First, this method better utilizes the way identity serves as a point around which tenets of 'being' journalism can be explored and, second, it engenders a more nuanced understanding of perceived threats to journalism's primacy in the digital era. For educators, exploring how 'different answers to journalistic problems are emerging in the online environment' (Singer 2005: 180), reflexive analysis assuages disputes over journalism's ambiguous professionalism, and moves towards a view of digital possibilities that discount threats, and advance understandings towards a more reflexive space that better addresses the nexus between traditional concepts of journalism and new media opportunities.*

*Keywords: professional identity; blogs; WikiLeaks; hacktivism*

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Definitions of 'journalism' rarely go uncontested, and settling the debate over 'what is journalism' has not been made any easier in the digital era. Emerging digital forms are framed as threats to the business model of traditional journalism (Kaye and Quinn 2010), or otherwise as threats to trust and authority (Carlson 2007), and derided as 'amateur' or 'non-professional' (Lasica 2003). While the emergence of digitally native news media has challenged business dynamics, and these challenges have affected journalism practices and production, in terms of journalism's professional identity the threat perception is more closely tied to idealized notions. These notions contribute to a self-perceived and self-defined profession, one that is expressed in pronounced ways in response to emerging media entities (Benkler 2011).

Expressions of identity manifest within what H. Örnebring (2010a) calls a reinvigoration of professionalism around identity, paralleling organizational de-professionalization. These simultaneous processes see journalists uniting around traditional professional roles and identities, which run against the de-professionalization of structural measures of professionalism, including changes in business dynamics and work patterns, multi-skilling and non-specialist reporting. Strong expressions of professional identity, then, serve to rebut claims that in a digital era everyone is (or can be) a journalist (Gillmor 2004; Palvlik 2001) by enhanced expression of definitional elements of professional identity. These discourses prompt professional differentiation, portraying new media as a threat even as traditional media accept digital forms – websites, blogs and social new media. This can be identified in discursive expressions of journalistic roles when referring to emerging and contested digital entities.

Still, in terms of professional identity, journalism remains an unclear profession. S. Waisbord's use of 'ambiguous' resonates with M. Deuze's (2005) and W. Lowrey's (2006) self-defined and 'taken for granted' sense of professional ideology. It is predicated on competing claims of identity as an in-group/out-group construct (Eldridge 2013), and has long been the product of processes of re-evaluation and assessment that require consistent reinforcement (Bell 1991; Schudson 2003). When confronted by new media entities, this process foregrounds discursive restatements of professional criteria of identity through marginalization of digital entities. As digital technologies continue to bring about new permutations of communicating news and information, successive rounds of assessment take place, and reinforcements of previously 'settled' definitions are engaged. Amateur journalism, citizen journalism, blogs, social media; the emergence of each in their own way has prompted a reinvigoration of these evaluations and assessments. In instances, this has led to technologies being subsumed and integrated into pre-existing paradigms and understandings of professional journalism, as with blogs (Deuze 2010). In other instances, the threat dynamic is more pronounced and lasting. Exploring this dynamic at different stages and with differing media fosters an approach where professional identity can be used to address concepts of journalism reflexively by exploring fractious and threat-centred discourses.

Advocating a reflexive, threat-deprived, approach to journalism's identity in the face of digital and technological development and change is seen as a way forward. Perceiving digital technologies through their effect on journalism, rather than as

augmentation or opportunity, returns discussions to reflexivity (Bourdieu 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Engaging with P. Bourdieu's advocacy of reflexivity, this approach explores discourses of positionality of traditional and emerging media with an appreciation of the relationship between *habitus* and discourse. In exploring news texts as a emerging from a journalistic *habitus* of sorts provides an opportunity for assessment of expressions of journalism's identity. These expressions, when referencing digital entities, can be seen as both arriving to and originating from socialized spaces, beset with competing claims of journalistic authority, and often placing traditional journalism and digital new media as oppositional. Rather than addressing these changes as polar: tradition versus emergence; reflexive understandings of identity provide a greater flexibility towards sense-making of change, and can be more adaptive than 'silo-ed' and sectorized understandings of journalism.

As Chung et al. (2007) show, this disconnect affects the relationship between practice and research, and has broader implications for change if instilled within successive generations of journalists. Further, W. Lowrey and W. Anderson (2005) find that strongly entrenched and retrenched professional expressions represent a vision of journalism that audiences have moved beyond. In a digital era, with myriad engagement opportunities, audiences seek a blend of traditional and non-traditional journalism, and are more actively inclined to seek out news. While this has prompted traditional journalism to engage more fully with the opportunities wrought by the emergence of the Internet, the engagement in identity terms warrants understanding. Absent a reflexive engagement, stubborn differentiation between new and traditional journalistic forms ignores shifts in visions of journalism in a digital era (Lowrey and Anderson 2005).

### Advocating textual analysis of identity

Expressions of the identity and of non-identity of journalism in news texts are emblematic of the performative function of identity building and news texts (Herring et al. 2005). Through foregrounding held definitions and conceptions of journalism and projecting a self-perceived role of journalism in society, journalism's identity as a gatekeeper of information, expert and authority, and as the determiner of information primacy within a social and democratic function, is 'performed' (Baum and Groeling 2007). Promoted as a counterbalance to the perceived encroachment of new media threats, these elements also promote identity through their inverse, by identifying new media as less professional and amateur, or even dangerous as with WikiLeaks and 'hacktivists'. Reacting to perceived threats on journalistic identity, these dynamics coalesce around seemingly agreed-upon definitions, core questions and roles, even as these elements are rarely codified or concrete (Waisbord 2013: 89).

Waisbord's rich overview of the veins of theory and research that have been applied to the profession of journalism summarizes the debates comprehensively, but it is his focus on 'ambiguity' that speaks to professional identity and the perception of threats and change in the digital era. This ambiguity is composed of the raft of approaches to defining journalism as culture, practice, culture, trade, vocation and profession.

Engaging with Waisbord, this research also approaches the tenets T. Hanitzsch (2011) identifies through global surveys and interviews with journalists, interrogating understandings of journalism as a profession thoroughly from the journalist's perspective. These assessments help to explore journalism through prompted responses, whereas focusing on textual analysis approaches journalism's identity through non-prompted discourses and outward facing expressions of that identity within news texts.

In this approach, the analysis will develop upon the four encompassing professional milieus Hanitzsch identifies: populist disseminators, detached watchdogs, critical change agents and opportunist facilitators. These milieus echo elements of the Liberal media system (Hallin and Mancini 2004), social responsibility theory of the press (Nerone 2004; Siebert et al. 1956), as well as public service traditions, outlined in W. Donsbach (2010). Broadly speaking, these elements include public interest, democratically oriented journalism – the 'Fourth Estate'; with identity roles of analysis and expertise, and an emphasis on facts and truth telling. Looking at news texts for discursive reactions to new entities discerns the ways traditional journalism uses language to openly or subtly diminish the role and value of new entities based on these marks and milieus (Cooper 2006).

### Change as threat

Perceiving technological change as a threat is often phrased as the ways technology 'changes' the practice of journalism, what Örnebring refers to as the ascription of independent agency to technology (2010b). In these instances, technology is given the quality of a change agent by journalists who attribute the change in their patterns as 'due to' the technology, or in stronger responses: 'caused by'. In moments, this has also occurred with multi-skilling, or with changes to content management systems, and other technological aids and integrations into the newsroom. To G. Ursell (2004), this extends even further back to the prevalence of newsroom telephones, and to many the shift by News International to Wapping in the 1980s is cited in this perception of multiskilling and change as a threat (McNair 2009). With its effect on reporting patterns, including diminished 'beat' coverage, and increased reporting from within the newsroom, change and threats – or the perception of change and the perception of threats – have informed the expression of journalism's identity. Ascribing the power of independent agency to technology, besides being seemingly misplaced, speaks to changes within contexts of reporting – change to newsrooms, change to newsgathering, change to news practices – rather than changes to concepts of journalism as a product produced by journalists.

### Blogs to Hacktivists: Understanding new 'news' media

In introducing what is often referred to as 'citizen' or 'amateur' journalism, blogs have posed a complex challenge. Despite confronting traditional formats and organizational norms, blogs engage with content and commentary in a manner that embraces

the analysis role of professional journalism. With an engagement made feasible by the low-capital, easily accessible format of the weblog, blogs adoption of roles of news and media commentators has challenged the primacy and authority of traditional news organizations. While there is a significant body of research that shows the interwoven relationship between blogs and the traditional media they ostensibly challenge (Walejko and Ksiazek 2008), this emergence was first viewed as threatening, and between and within traditional media and new media there has been a perceptible threat reaction to their rise (Chung et al. 2007).

Indeed, the inter-reliance of blogs and traditional media has prompted some to see blogs as a reinforcement of traditional journalism's primacy, particularly in viewing new entities as 'justifying' traditional journalism's societal role (Cooper 2006: 255). Over time sites that emerged as iconoclastic, or as more distinctively citizen media, morphed into more traditionally journalistic structures, securing similar professional status as near mimics of Traditional Media practice. *The Huffington Post* is a prime example of this, moving from a strongly blog-oriented outlet to a digitally native news organization, bearing a likeness to Traditional Media entities, even having a reporter accepted into the White House press corps (Newman 2009). This inter-reliance has developed a journalistic landscape where new media *can* provide an opportunity for journalistic organizations to improve their public position through transparency and credibility building (Johnson and Kaye 2004).<sup>1</sup> Engaging with these opportunities, however, requires understanding of lingering differentiation processes.

As journalistic new media became more commonplace, seemingly ensconced in journalism landscapes, discursive processes of differentiation have persisted, and have remained particularly salient towards more problematic challenges such as WikiLeaks and 'hacktivist' organizations (Lindgren and Lundstrom 2011). Through extant claims of 'being' journalism, WikiLeaks has prompted a reinvigoration of the threat perception of new media, and even as new media becomes commonplace, forces a discussion of journalism's professional identity anew. Distinct in its type, WikiLeaks engagement with traditional journalism, and its enhanced expression of journalistic roles echoes the early challenges of blogs claiming watchdog and advocacy roles and journalistic identities.

In exploring these discourses, the argument for a reflexive approach to addressing new media entities that challenge traditional constructs of what is and what is not 'journalism' is endorsed. Engaging with journalistic texts as representations of identity can better inform how journalism is envisaged and defined in the profession and the academy. As distanced and dismissive as some of the interaction between traditional media and blogs in the mid-to-late 2000s was, the rise of WikiLeaks (and to a degree the prominence of even more problematic organizations such as Anonymous and LulzSec) has seen a re-emergence of this confrontational tone, and a return to strongly dismissive language. Making sense of these differences helps to drive discourses of journalism's identity in a digital era beyond the casual 'anyone can be a journalist' construction, and forces an evaluation of claims on journalism's ambiguous professional identity.

New entities also provide pivot points around which journalism can exert difference and draw contrasts. As with contrasting blogs to more traditional journalism, so-called

hactivist organizations that fall further outside traditional newsgathering paradigms prompt deeper evaluations. Further, while blogs might be colloquial or casual in their content, they provide commentary, criticism and analysis within discursive arenas that journalism can adopt for its own formats. Hactivist entities, on the other hand, often employ methods that are in instances illegal or ethically questionable, and contravene traditional paradigms. While traditional journalism has adopted the blog format, even as that embrace seems tentative at moments, WikiLeaks, Anonymous and others, pose confrontational and as-yet-unsettled challenges. Through their more overt challenges to journalism, their encroachment on traditional media as 'gatekeepers', and questions around the provenance of information disclosed by hactivist organizations, these entities in their practices and pronouncements prove to be irksome and provocative to a degree that prompts reactive discourses of professional identity. It is through reflexive engagement with this interplay between journalism and new media ecologies that research addressing and assessing journalism's professional identity can be advanced.

### Journalism pedagogy

Identity has also been at the core of journalism training and teaching, and enters into these dynamics in an interesting way. As staked out above, professional journalism in the liberal media systems of the United Kingdom and United States exists in an ill-defined space. It is neither mandatory, nor institutionalized. Even with the strength of organizations like the National Union of Journalists in the United Kingdom, and Society for Professional Journalists in the United States and accreditation courses and exams from organizations such as National Council for the Training of Journalists in the United Kingdom, there is little to concretely define the field of professional journalism. In real terms, societal belonging and accreditation is an institution-centric qualification, with individual outlets prioritizing belonging to professional member groups, and governments incorporating their own standards of recognition to be labelled a professional journalist. Determining factors can be as varied as belonging to a recognized news organization, to metrics of earnings and taxable income (Beaujon 2013). In the United States these variations fluctuate between individual states and the federal government. In the UK, national and regional entities place differing emphasis on the role of accreditation or professional belonging (Cole 1998; Franklin 1998). As such, negotiations and articulations of belonging to the professional identity and counteracting threats take place through articulations of elements of belonging. As no standard measure of belonging is consistently enforced, elements of identity and belonging become the metric by which journalism as a profession can be defined.

### Methodology

This article compares media-to-media references, both vague and specific, by traditional media towards blogs and then WikiLeaks. This focuses on references in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* to blogs in the run up to the 2008 US election, and

references in *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* to Julian Assange and WikiLeaks since 2010. These cases, while discrete, provide points to analyse the discursive representations of professional identity in different 'threat' frameworks. With blogs, 2008 marked the point at which they were active and prominent in coverage of the US campaigns, having initially emerged in the 2004 race. Blogs in 2008 had also become more commonplace in newspapers, offering a tacit endorsement of the form as a viable arena for political news coverage.<sup>2</sup> This also draws forward the interactivity between traditional newspapers and new media and resonates with the later interaction between newspapers and WikiLeaks.

The tentativeness of that adoption manifests through the persistence of gatekeeping, hierarchies, and traditional structures that persist within the contexts of media convergence (Singer 2005). As journalists work outside of traditional roles and structures, particularly hierarchies and organizational structures imbedded within the forms of press and broadcast media, previous standards of professional knowledge and primacy are challenged within the new media environment (Matheson 2004). As traditional paradigms remain, traditional media blogs emerged as quasi-independent forms, mixing traditional reporting structures with digitized opportunities and the casual and conversational format of blogs, though the 'extent mainstream media will allow complete expression of opinions and meaningful audience participation is unclear' (Wall 2004: § 5).

With WikiLeaks, the threat frame re-emerges as a dynamic of uncertainty and trepidation with WikiLeaks' external and persistent challenges of primacy, and its iconoclastic definitions of journalism (Beckett and Ball 2012; Benkler 2011). Responses to WikiLeaks, in identity terms, go beyond the language of 'amateur' allocated to blogs to emphasize distinctions drawn between 'hactivist' organizations and journalism's professional milieu (Hanitzsch 2011). However, comparing reactions to blogs and reactions to WikiLeaks allows for the exploration of a number of examples of discursive expressions of journalism's professional identity in response to the perception of threats from digitally native new media, each with unique attributes that collectively contribute to a broader understanding of how professional identity has been demonstrated in a digital era.

### Study samples

In analysing the case of blogs and traditional media in the 2008 election campaign, analysis focuses on the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, both of which had adopted the blog format in their political coverage. This article develops a discourse analysis on 397 newspaper texts, based on a previously gathered sample of 1266 newspaper and blog texts. From those 397 newspaper texts, a random 10 per cent of articles were further analysed. In the second set, a random 10 per cent of 1206 newspaper texts in *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* referring to WikiLeaks are fully analysed. These papers were chosen because of their involvement with WikiLeaks, and the texts are sampled from a corpus of all texts referring to WikiLeaks through 2013 in



*The Guardian* and 40 articles in *The New York Times* analysed for synchronic comparative analysis address the perception of WikiLeaks as a digital threat to journalism (Carvalho 2008).<sup>3,4</sup>

Texts were analysed according to a framework combining elements of A. Carvalho's (2008), T. A. Van Dijk's (1998) and B. Hodge and G. Kress' (1993) methodological frameworks for discourse analysis. Analysis assessed tone, credibility, specificity, proximity and reference patterns using frameworks of discourse analysis as advanced in Van Dijk (1998). Intensive analysis using Carvalho's (2008) framework for textual and contextual analysis allowed for comparison of texts that reflect the 'digital threat' allowing for cross-comparison and tempered findings. Carvalho articulates categories of: Personalization; Active/Passive Language, including nominalization and agency; Proximity/Distance language; Presence of identity belonging; Presence of self-referencing; and Immediacy. As for analysis of digital 'threats', analysis focuses on how language reinforces identity through polarization, specification, modality, hedging and vagueness (Carvalho 2008: 52–53), as well as transactivity and transitivity (Hodge and Kress 1993).

These cases, while instructive, are not intended to demonstrate conclusively the identity of professional journalism, nor the full spectrum of journalism's professional identity when it comes to the emergence of digitally native new media. Instead, the argument put forward here is that textual analysis, with a discourse analysis framework, can be instructive to understand the ways in which texts as the outward facing product of a profession of journalism illuminate conceptions of journalism. Further, thorough analysis and understanding of the performative functions of news texts towards definitions of journalism can identify areas where understanding and researching journalism's new possibilities can be engaged with reflexively, rather than reactively. The cases explored here offer a means by which to evaluate and examine the strengths or weaknesses of the perception of a digital threat through the evaluation of reactions and responses to that perception, or to that threat.

### Findings: References to blogs

The first phase of analysis explores coverage of the US presidential campaign in 2008 between Barack Obama and John McCain. This analysis focuses on reactions to blogs as outsiders, in the midst of journalism's tentative embrace of the blog form. The analysis shows that despite blogs rising in prominence within newspapers, there is a distancing of external, independent blogs. This distancing is made clearer yet by focusing on the larger content analysis this phase of the study is based on. Within the content analysis of 1266 news and blog texts, and 3168 individual 'media-to-media' references, of 397 references to media entities in newspaper articles, 49 refer to blogs run by newspapers, and 123 to Independent Blogs (the remainder refer to various traditional media entities). In looking beyond newspaper texts, *Times* and *Post* blogs refer to traditional media 921 times, 321 times to traditional media blogs, and only 89 times to independent blogs. These numbers echo G. Walejko and T. Ksiazek's

(2008) findings of the inter-reliance of new media and traditional media, and provide a launch point for further analysis.

These broad quantitative patterns help locate the analysis of discourses of identity at points of change, and in the face of new media 'threats'. Within the above figures, the references made by newspaper texts towards blogs provide the focus of the first phase of this article, and textual analysis explores the reactions to these entities. While the quantitative data is illustrative, and provides a basis upon which to research deeper, it is the discursive execution of professional identity that provides the more nuanced data. The examples below highlight trends within that referencing.

### Discourses of professional and non-professional identity

When referring to blogs, traditional media sources in 2008 use dismissive, marginalizing, and catchall categorization to refer to both the voices of and content within journalistic blogs. The pattern of phraseology denotes a view that blogs are something distanced and amateur, non-professional and unrefined, and operate on waves of fervour, rather than expertise. The frequent use of terms such as 'blogosphere'; and referring to content on blogs as from the 'left-wing' or 'right-wing' diminishes the content contained on blogs and emerging from blogs, and further group blogs under uniform descriptors. Linguistically, vagueness is paired with non-agency qualifiers and intransitive phrases, placing information 'on' blogs, but not transmitted by blogs. In terms of personalization, there is almost none, with specification further diminished across the references.

#### Vagueness and grouping

Particularly salient for aspects of professional identity are the ways in which the terms 'blog', 'blogger' and particularly 'blogosphere' are used. These terms, which bear similarity to later references to WikiLeaks as a 'hacker' or 'activist' assessed later, are effective as discursive devices to allocate non-professional identity. In one example (*The Washington Post*, 12 October 2008), Vice Presidential candidate Sarah Palin's popularity on new media sites is referenced: 'Palin continues to reign supreme over the blogosphere'. The use of 'reign supreme' over the 'blogosphere' provides minimal analysis of what 'the blogosphere' is, while suggesting it is a discursive space that can be dominated through popularity. Though the text goes on to cite metrics of blog popularity, it does little to parse the informative function of blogs. An equally illustrative example frames the dichotomy between the non-professional, and the 'gatecrashing' new media:

The numbers are changing the game. Old media have often (not always) regarded bloggers and their ilk as fleas on the dog. If newspapers and networks didn't break the story, the gatecrashers wouldn't have anything to write about.  
(*New York Times*, 1 September 2008)

This example addresses several categories under study here: The dynamic between 'old' and new media, describing the reaction to blogs 'fleas on the dog', differentiates

between newspapers and networks that 'break the story', and blogs as parasitic (fleas) reliant on that content. While this relationship has born out the findings of Walejko and Ksiazek (2008), the discursive polarity shown here and the superior/inferior dynamic being expressed is potent and goes beyond the quantitative measures.

#### *Diminishing and minimalizing*

Similar to vagueness, content on blogs is frequently referred to in ways that disqualify its information, including references to 'cyberwhispers' (*The New York Times*, 13 October 2008) in an article that refers to persistent false rumours surrounding Obama's background. The agency of these whispers is minimal, with 'cyberwhisper' used to modify 'campaign', and relating investigations into the rumours as 'largely confined to liberal blogs' (*The New York Times*, 13 October 2008). In this second reference, the term 'liberal blogs' and non-transactive phraseology – investigations appearing on blogs, rather than investigations conducted by blogs or bloggers – further minimizes blogs as non-journalism. Similar turns of phrase rely on language of irrationality, suggesting that by blog standards, information need not be true or verifiable in order to be cited:

Whether the story is true is still unknown, but it didn't take long for the right-wing blogosphere to embrace it. How delicious for them, if true, that her accommodations are not up to the standards to which her nephew has become accustomed. (*The Washington Post*, 31 October 2008)

In this example, the professional identity of journalism defined around concepts of truth-telling, serving as a watchdog on power, and holding itself as a fourth estate, is contrasted as blogs described as absent these tenets. Positioning the rumours within blogs' 'embrace' elevates rumours as something they spread around, despite being factually spurious: 'delicious, if true'. These terms rank information as akin to 'cyberwhispers', to be repeated on blogs unverified. In more explicit comparisons, bloggers are equated to comedians, their content as comedic: 'For one thing, many Alaskans don't care what bloggers or late-night television joke writers think' (*The New York Times*, 17 September 2008).

#### **Polarity, partisanship and irrationality**

Besides deriding the role and information of blogs, language is also used to create polarity (Van Dijk 1998). This polarity – say good things about us, say bad things about them (Van Dijk 1998) – emphasizes the difference between how newspapers see information and how blogs do, as in this media column in *The Post*: 'From the barking heads to the boisterous bloggers, from the Beltway elite to the heartland newspapers, a grand consensus quickly emerged about Sarah Palin's debate performance: She wasn't awful' (*The Washington Post*, 4 October 2008). This example positions cable television pundits – cast as non-journalists (Scott 2007) – alongside blogs, and opposite both national and local newspapers. Further examples, as above, show how

blogs are consistently treated both vaguely, and alongside partisan qualifiers: 'bloggers and conservative commentators' (*The New York Times*, 30 September 2008), or linked with emotive and irrational activity: '24-hour cable and the blogosphere at full tilt' (*The New York Times*, 24 October 2008). Full tilt, or in other instances 'lit up' (*The Washington Post*, 19 September 2008) or content being 'ricocheted across liberal blogs' (*The New York Times*, 23 October 2008), weakens the information and content on blogs and made by bloggers.

In other cases references to blogs position them as foils, and use of the weasel words construct of 'some say'. News texts attribute questionable information or language to blogs obliquely as in: 'Some bloggers suggest that Palin did not properly educate her daughter about sex' (*The Washington Post*, 3 September 2008, emphasis added), which leave unqualified who those bloggers are. The *Times* is no less inclined to vague references: 'Only four days into her reign as John McCain's "soul mate," or "Trophy Vice," as some bloggers are calling her' and, 'The announcement came after a swirl of rumors by liberal bloggers that the governor's fifth child, who was born in April, was in fact her daughter's' (*The New York Times*, 3 September 2008, emphasis added). This allows dismissive and 'non-professional' terminology to be distanced from the public service, responsible and professional language journalism is expected to use. However, it also uses a linguistic device, logical fallacy, that is difficult to either verify or dismiss, and goes uncontested.

In classifying blogs as operating under groupthink, traditional media define journalism and non-journalism through a false dichotomy: journalism as rational professional, blogs as amateur unreliable, applicable to any argument, and without nuance (Engel 1994). Across the 2008 study, in references to independent blogs, *The Times* is specific in 58% of cases, *The Post* in 59.5%. However, when looked at both specificity and markers of credibility, *The Times* refers to blogs vaguely and critically in 76.5% of its references, and *The Post* is vague and critical in 94.1%. When references are specific, these relationships persist, with *The Times* specific and critical in 78.1%, and *The Post* at 93.8%. These sorts of references include bloggers that 'gleefully zapped' candidates (*The New York Times*, 26 October 2008), and described as creating a 'commotion' (*The New York Times*, 14 October 2008). Still, the impact of political blogs on coverage could not be ignored as the campaigns engaged with 'blogs that did not exist four years ago' (*The New York Times*, 4 November 2008).

The language, dismissive and distancing, reinforced professional and non-professional definitions and perspectives as expressed through journalism. Juxtaposed against quantitative referencing patterns, discourses referring to blogs broaden understandings of how traditional media refer to digital entities perceived as a threat. As these discourses refer to news blogs that had previously been marginal, texts carry expressions of professional identity through defining entities that do not share that identity: blogs. These dynamics continue to evolve, as blogs become integral parts of traditional journalism's output (Thurman and Walters 2013). Use of terms such as 'blogosphere' persist, with seventeen instances in *The New York Times* in the two months leading up to the 2012 US presidential election. Accordingly, discourses traditional journalism

uses when referring to blogs as they posed a 'threat' can help understand discourses related to other cases of emerging digital 'threats'.

### Findings: References to WikiLeaks

Threats posed by new media entities, as outlined above with blogs, provide opportunities for defining and distinguishing between those with a professional identity, and those allocated a non-professional identity. Looking at the case of WikiLeaks, this positionality takes a different tact than with blogs. WikiLeaks only emerged as a threat to journalism's identity in 2010 with the disclosures coordinated with *The Guardian*, *The New York Times* and *Der Spiegel* around the Iraq and Afghanistan War Logs, and Cablegate, with US diplomatic communiqués. As this information was leaked to WikiLeaks, and then relayed to the newspapers and news magazine, it would seem natural to define WikiLeaks as a news source, or as a conduit for a whistle blower. However, in several statements WikiLeaks' founder Julian Assange (Assange 2011; Obrist and Assange 2011; TED 2010), and supporters, including John Pilger (2011, 2013), persistently claim WikiLeaks as journalism. This has challenged the construct of WikiLeaks as mere source. These extant claims confront staid definitions of journalism, and reignite discussions and debates that also existed with blogs. With references to WikiLeaks this distinction revolves around foregrounding aspects of belonging (elements of journalistic professional identity) in the 'speaking' media, and backgrounding WikiLeaks' role through negative description and non-transactive structures as being 'spoken about'.

#### Agency

In terms of transactivity and agency, references can be described as 'present: positive/negative', where agency is attributed in either a positive or negative tone, or 'absent: positive/negative', where the absence of agency serves a positive or negative tone. In multiple instances the transitive phrasing of: 'According to a diplomatic cable from 2007 released by WikiLeaks' (*The Guardian*, 3 August 2012) is used. This places responsibility for risk, actively, with WikiLeaks for the leaked information. Similarly, 'There was immediate criticism from governments and individuals when the logs were published in print and on the WikiLeaks website' (*The Guardian*, 9 August 2010) show a presence of agency, but surrounds it with negative and critical language. In this example there is also a specificity given to WikiLeaks' role, but involved newspapers are only vaguely referenced as 'in print'. In other instances, the releases are referred to as 'WikiLeaks releases' (*The Guardian*, 1 December 2010) placing vague and non-transactive agency with WikiLeaks. Absent any active language, these remove any sense of a role of reporting, sourcing, publishing or analysing the information, and use 'WikiLeaks' as a passive descriptor.

#### Countering claims

The self-defined journalistic identity laid claim to by WikiLeaks and Assange are also frequent devices of journalistic identity, and non-identity. The positioning of descriptors of traditional media as journalism, and WikiLeaks as 'claiming' to be

journalism is overtly applied in ways that reflect descriptions of blogs analysed above. This can happen in more or less straightforward instances, as comparing these *New York Times* references:

Mr. Assange had portrayed himself as a journalist, calling himself an editor who received unsolicited information and made decisions about how to publish it. (1 December 2010)

And: 'the Justice Department has never tried to prosecute a journalist – which Mr. Assange portrays himself as being' (7 December 2010). Both couch Assange's claims in minimalizing language regarding journalistic identity, and qualifying his claims as self-identification – 'portrays himself as' – rather than an objective or ordained status.

### *Irrational*

As with blogs, references to WikiLeaks include descriptors that associate Assange and his organization with the fringes. In some aspects, use of 'portrays' as above to qualify Assange's claims of being journalism are delimiting in this manner, but stronger uses exist. These include referencing conspiracies, as here:

The latest subscriber to that centuries-old canard may turn out to be Julian Assange who, according to Private Eye, believes he is the victim of a Jewish conspiracy to damage WikiLeaks. (*The Guardian*, 3 March 2011)

A further reference stating: 'but few, apart from WikiLeaks' Julian Assange perhaps, would want everything exposed' (*The Guardian*, 24 May 2011) enhances elements of non-identity and distance of Assange and WikiLeaks from the accepted journalistic identity. This may not be intrinsically wrong, as Assange would likely rebuff being described as 'mainstream', but in terms of journalistic identity, and in weakening Assange's role as a journalist, this use of language distances WikiLeaks from the identity of journalism. It also serves a cautionary role, providing journalists with a news-source construct that disassociates WikiLeaks from the traditional journalism identity.

### *Trend, fashion, hype*

Distance also translates through references to WikiLeaks describing it as 'trendy', akin to the ways blogs, social media, and other new media are spoken about in terms of 'fads' or 'fashion'. In a *Guardian* text, both the trend and the impact of WikiLeaks are put in these terms: 'After all, that is ever-so-trendy at the moment, and the US media did claim that what they insist on calling "the WikiLeaks dump" would change everything' (8 December 2010). Besides being a non-transactive descriptor, this referencing pattern frames WikiLeaks as a blip, a thing of fashion, and one that is more about hype – with the use of 'insist' – than of substance. It also engages with concepts of the hype around the actual content, which frames WikiLeaks' long-term effect as

diminished or diminishing. This enhances the treatment of WikiLeaks as a fleeting phenomenon, rather than a lasting fixture.

Explicitly and implicitly, the structure of a news story also conveys a non-journalism identity to WikiLeaks, in examples that incorporate references to newspapers (journalism) versus organizations (non-journalism):

There must be no more 'foolish talk' about seeking to put on trial organisations such as WikiLeaks and the *New York Times*, he said. That newspaper – along with the *Guardian* – was one of the media outlets that first published documents put out by WikiLeaks. (*The Guardian*, 20 August 2012)

And:

Although the *Guardian*, *Telegraph* and *Times* all have data teams who aim to find stories in big datasets, such as the *Guardian's* geotagged coverage of the Wikileaks documents from Afghanistan and Iraq, or the *Telegraph's* analysis of the London Bike Hire scheme, 'Most of the innovation is happening outside news organisations,' Bradshaw says. (*The Guardian*, 22 November 2010)

Finally, linguistic devices that reflect hubris – WikiLeaks the Internet-driven endeavour defeated by technology – are used to de-professionalize and minimize its successes or role: 'His [Assange's] attempt to give an interview to Sky News via Skype was thwarted yesterday by a faulty Internet connection' (*The Guardian*, 1 December 2010).

#### *Foregrounding journalistic identity*

However, these implicit and woven references are merely suggestive of intention of distance; it would betray the reflexivity this research articulates and advocates to suggest otherwise. However, juxtaposed with positive references of process and role to the *accepted* profession further grounds this research. These references include:

Leveson cited the *Guardian's* wider investigative work, including [...] the WikiLeaks files, where 'it played a central part in ensuring that hundreds of thousands of documents which might have been dumped "raw" on the Internet were carefully analysed first and redacted to avoid exposure of vulnerable sources'. (*The Guardian*, 30 November 2012)

The emphasis on *The Guardian's* role as 'ensuring' safety, careful analysis, and redaction to avoid exposing 'vulnerable sources' echo with the tenets of socially responsible and publicly interested journalism. A second reference in *The Guardian* (9 August 2010) emphasizes the role journalist Nick Davies played as someone who 'brokered' the deal. The piece highlights the caution and public interest defense of *The Guardian*,

which: 'has received only two complaints from readers who believed we were wrong to publish' (8 December 2010). Davies' journalistic identity and role is outlined in a quote (from Davies):

[T]wo issues: one, there may be nothing of interest here, and two, there must be a risk that publication would put people on the ground at risk. Each document was read from top to toe with the conscious aim of excluding anything that might harm people on the ground. (8 December 2010)

This is also referred to in articles in *The New York Times*, which foreground its role in removing information that would put individuals at risk, and how journalism entities (*The Times*, *The Guardian*, *Der Spiegel*, *El Pais* and *Le Monde*) ensured these safety measures:

*The Times*, after consultations with the State Department, has withheld from articles and removed from documents it is posting online the names of some people who spoke privately to diplomats and might be at risk [...] also withholding some passages or entire cables whose disclosure could compromise American intelligence efforts. [...] WikiLeaks posted only 220 released and redacted by *The Times* and several European publications. (*The New York Times*, 28 November 2010)

These sorts of references define difference. They upfront the role of socially responsible, analytical, expert-driven journalism, and when contrasted with otherwise minimizing and negating language, reflect a professional identity construct. When references to WikiLeaks refer to 'volunteers', 'staff', an 'organization' and 'source' (*The Guardian*, 8 December 2010) and references to newspapers refer to journalists, reporters, public interest, caution, analysis and social responsibility, the professional identity/non-identity divide is enhanced. Other instances parallel these expressions of difference immediately, such as in *The Times*, which refers to 'WikiLeaks and journalists' (1 September 2011) separately. These further show the resonance with how blogs were first addressed as threats, how difference was used to delineate between blogs and professionally identified journalism, and how similar discursive expressions of identity stand against the way WikiLeaks has posed a 'threat', and are interwoven into journalism's response.

### Conclusion: Discourses and identity and digital threats

This article has outlined the textual elements of identity put forward in the context of perceived threats brought about by changes, pressures, and shifts in communicative media in a digital era. Through textual analysis, and exploring discourses of professional identity, it has shown the ways the perceived threat of digital mediation has



led to differing reactions to differing media entities and genres, but has consistently emerged as a discourse of difference through expressions of journalism's professional identity. Understanding these elements is critical for a robust and reflexive approach to changing dynamics that confront journalism as digital means of mediated communication persist. This analysis shows the ways this engagement emerges towards new media genres, such as news blogs and WikiLeaks, and how even as they were tacitly integrated into traditional mediation, the reaction to these perceived threats was both isolating and diminishing.

Elements of strengthened positioning statements, such as those made by *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* in relation to WikiLeaks show an enhanced 'threat' perception of change. In the discourses within references to WikiLeaks and Assange, the difference proactively identifies the role of journalism in society, countering WikiLeaks' provocation. In doing so, journalistic identity is enhanced for *The Guardian* and *The New York Times*, describing their work through markers of social responsibility, public interest, and 'fourth estate' journalism that form the core of journalism's professional identity conception.

Beyond parsing expressions of journalistic identity, this article emphasizes the need for reflexive thinking, nuanced research, and grounded approaches for exploring the nexus between traditional and new media. Further, it advocates discourse analysis and textual analysis as a way of evaluating the expression of journalism's identity in a way that can step beyond new media hype, technological determinism, or ascription of change to technology. While engagement with new entities is rarely straightforward or unproblematic, grouping new entities under a 'threat' label is equally uneasy. Approaching changing media landscapes from a reflexive position, and exploring change through reflexive analysis offers an engagement with risks and opportunities, as well as similarities and the differences, all brought about through emerging digital forms. This research emerges at a time when journalism has a tenuous and sometimes fractious relationship with new formats. These challenges are enhanced by the profession's own processes of negotiation and evaluation of its self-prescribed and self-enforced definitions of 'journalism', but through reflexive engagement with change, these concepts and processes can be better understood.

## Notes

1. For the purposes of this study, the complications presented by blogs as news aggregators, seen as obfuscating information sourcing, has been set aside (Matheson 2004).
2. The persistence of newspaper blogs to this day further enhances this argument, though a fuller engagement of this convergence is outside of the scope of this article.
3. The data referenced here emerges from a larger research project by the author and on file at the University of Hamburg as: Eldridge (2009). The data referring to WikiLeaks is part of an ongoing Ph.D. study by the author at The University of Sheffield, England.
4. To guard against bias, 5 per cent of the articles were selected using a random integer generator, with the remaining 5 per cent selected by alternating between the article prior to, and the article following the randomly selected text.

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