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**A study comparing the 1979 Iranian revolution
and the 2011 Egyptian Revolution in regards to
the interconnection between mainstream media
& small media and the use and change of
sources in news over time**

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Abstract

The rapid emergence of Web 2.0 is changing the news environment on a global scale. Amongst these changes are the roles of audiences which are becoming ever more important as popularity among participatory platforms increase. The establishment of online news has also meant that it's mandatory for traditional news organisations to hold a strong web presence as it becomes well trusted among users and omnipresent within our modern day society.

The internet has facilitated a surge in citizen journalism and the use of user generated content in news such as commentary, videos, photographs and use of sources. Through various channels the audience can consume and create news, but what 'small media' has introduced is a chance for citizens to break the news first and steer the agenda in certain situations.

Social media networks are upsetting the newsrooms as journalists are ethically and professionally tested in what they believe to be credible sources. As in recent events the media have been restricted in their reporting and so turn to these unregulated participatory sites for information not knowing what is to be truthful and what to be rumour.

Overall this thesis aims to reveal the relationship between traditional media institutions and small media in regards to the use of sources in news at the time of crisis. It will be comparing the 1979 Iranian Revolution and the 2011 Egyptian Uprisings. It wishes to find out whether journalists are now relying more on social media sites to find new leads and sources. Also whether online sources are considered to be credible sources today? And whether online media are becoming the dominant agenda setters compared to print media?

The first part of my thesis includes a variety of themes and theories, all of which are essential for understanding how online media is affecting traditional news. It firstly explains what small media is and how it has grown with the help of the internet. It goes on to discuss challenges within the newsroom in relation to the use of online sources in reporters' work; which is essential as it allows us to recognize the selection process of news and what affects the content. The theory of gatekeeping is also discussed in this respect. The paper then analyses the concept of online news credibility, finding blogs to be seen as the most trustworthy medium amongst journalists, which is also reflected in the results of this study. Other issues such as inter-media agenda setting and the gender of sources are also examined, as both relate to source preference in print media. An overview of the rise of social media in the Middle East is also given, as it's crucial to understand the technological climate of the areas in which this paper compares.

The second part of my thesis aims to answer my research questions by using content analysis, comparing news articles from the *New York Times* and *The Guardian* from distinct periods in both revolutions. It will primarily evaluate the types of sources used, reveal the gender of sources and discover whether social media influences news content in newspapers.

In conclusion what the primary research revealed was that yes social media sources and other participatory platforms are now being used in news but they are not as influential as first thought. Traditional elite sources prove still to be the most widely used sources and men are the dominating gender. Newspapers will continue to be the most powerful inter-media agenda setters for now.

Research Questions

RQ1 What types of sources are used and have they changed over time?

RQ2 Have online media affected the power of newspapers as the dominant inter-media agenda setter?

RQ3 Are small media sources classed as reliable sources?

RQ4 Is there more diversity today between the genders of sources?

Literature Review

Small media are no new phenomena; they have been used as a tool for generations as an alternative to state owned media institutions, and found to be very powerful in repressive and authoritarian regimes. Various scholars have tried to distinguish the term, but predominantly it connotes a participatory media form "controlled neither by big states nor big corporations" which is wholly a "public phenomenon" (Sreberny 1994, p20). In this sense 'big' and 'small' media can be differentiated by the way an instrument is handled and not in relation to its actual form or recognised audience type. What is meant by this is that firstly a medium can be used in several ways, and the way it's used determines whether it's classed as small media. Secondly it proves that small media is not just an online activity, we have proof of its use before the internet and social media networks were introduced. For instance it can take shape as any type of technology like videotapes and photocopied leaflets, which were popular forms of communication during the 1979 Iranian revolution.

Sreberny (1994) characterises small media as a proactive rather than passive form of communication which takes place on a horizontal platform between those involved who share a distinctive common goal. Earlier scholars have defined it as 'public communication' (Fathi 1979) which focuses on a self sufficient public sphere, where the public use accessible technologies to voice their opinion freely without state intrusion. Another example is 'the peoples voices' (Jankowski et al 1992) again which distinguishes public communication against private communication.

Participatory media platforms thrive in democratic states where freedom of expression is part and parcel of its functioning, but it also provides as an effective activist device which is continually used in differing nations worldwide. Past histories and recent revolutionary events have shown the sheer power of small media, firstly in their ability to influence mobilisation of mass societies and secondly in terms of the effect they have on mainstream media in influencing news agenda.

In today's society the internet has become a hub for new emerging participatory groups. They have taken shape in the form of weblogs, online news sites which welcome social journalism, social networks and much more. *The Huffington Post* and *OhmyNews International* are just two examples of the leading participatory news sites which have given citizens a platform to publish their work, discuss current issues and make the headlines. But what effect is this having on the newsrooms?

Social media are changing news organisations and the way they function, and more profoundly affecting the traditional methods journalists used to gather news. Harper (2010) claims that audiences now desire the freedom to select the news they consume whilst having the option to comment and contribute. A study by the Pew Research Centre (2010a) discovered that "news is becoming a social experience as people swap links in emails, post news stories on their social networking sites, highlight news stories in their tweets, and haggle over the meaning of events in discussion threads." We can see that mainstream media organisations are adapting to this as they are finding new ways to communicate with their audiences online and discuss them in their published work. Print media and news broadcasting have been largely criticised because "audience input has been too tightly restricted" (Stayner 2008, p210), hence why more people are browsing online for their news rather than sticking with older, more traditional media forms. Harper also suggests that social media will re-boot some of journalism's focal elements such as "transparency, honesty, and giving a voice to the person who doesn't have one" (2010, p1). This is essential as the present situation, predominantly in western societies like the United Kingdom and U.S.A, clearly shows a lack

of trust in the media, which might be a reason for why citizen journalism has taken such an upturn.

Particular challenges in the newsroom evolve around ethical issues in relation to the use of social media. Leach (2009) questions the trustworthiness & accuracy of user generated content and how that can be resolved in an arena of anonymous posts. As more journalists use these new tools on the internet for their work problems surrounding sourcing are cropping up more than ever, journalists need to verify a source found online is reliable and that the information they find is true. Betancourt (2009) states that "any type of social media source needs to be treated the same as any other and not taken at face value"; so even though a user source may seem genuine there may be a chance that it's not. It's been noted (Betancourt 2009; Leach 2009) that organisations are now altering their guidelines and policies regarding honourable reporting when using social media.

A study by Paulussen & Ugille (2008) reveals three main factors influencing the integration of citizen generated content in the newsroom. Firstly organisational structures, which segregate physically and mentally, print from online journalists and their online users. Secondly work practices, journalists in regards to their actions are highly institutionalised and "even in highly equipped and financial news organisations there is an enormous reliance on the news gathering of agencies and on a few prominent institutional sources," (Golding & Elliot 1979). The study found that most media professionals only use the internet to gain background knowledge due to reliability issues, however online journalists are more inclined to use less trusted sources and believe the online world is essential tool for finding newsworthy information. Other relating reasons for journalists not to adopt user generated content is because its not been distinguished as part of their daily routine and so therefore its not "structurally supported inside the newsroom" (Paulussen & Ugille 2008), but it is being acknowledged as an important feature of journalism. Thirdly professional attitudes towards the user, some journalists question the quality, trustworthiness and impartiality of citizen posts and so are cautious to use them in their work. Boczkowski (2004) comments that journalists' "representations of users is one of the main production factors shaping the adoption process of innovations in the newsroom".

It's widely known that print media use the internet to look for new stories and for collecting information, and it's a process that's growing rapidly as search tools have been created strictly for this purpose (Garrison 2003). Journalists like many others may find it hard to distinguish worthy information from the worthless due to the sheer amount of content available on the internet. A previous study led by Garrison in 2000 looked at online newsgathering problems which highlighted the main concerns newspaper journalists face. They included "verification of information, unreliable information, badly sourced information, and lack of website credibility" (Garrison 2003). In relation to social media specifically there is always going to be the issue of affirmation of sources, nevertheless during the protests in Iran 2009 this didn't seem to worry news organisations who took on a different attitude "publish first, ask questions later" (Stelter 2009). The online sites of the *New York Times* and *The Guardian* continually published unverified information submitted by citizens via social media sites (Stelter 2009). Due to the restriction of international press in Iran at the time editors had no other choice but to utilize these sources, so it would be fair to say that they became dependent on participatory journalism. Robert Mackey, blog editor for the *New York Times*, commented during the crisis that "although there have been some erroneous claims on sites like Twitter, there seems to be very little mischief-making...people generally want to help solve the puzzle" (Stelter 2009). A positive feature of the internet is that journalists can communicate with sources through various online forums, reach a younger audience and snap up potential leads (Wilson 2008).

New technologies created through the internet are altering news in the sense that it's now becoming a "shared social experience as people exchange links and recommendations as a form of cultural currency in their social networks" (Pew Research Centre 2010a). The news has transformed into a personal, social and participatory experience and so affects traditional journalism practices and the content they provide. Scholars, such as Dan Gillmore (2004), widely accepted the arrival of grassroots and citizen journalism and from seeing the effects some experts predicted the emergence of a new form, participatory journalism (Paulussen & Ugille 2008). Up until recently most studies have focussed on citizen journalism supplanting professional

journalism as it threatens the professional routines and societal roles of those in the field (Lowrey 2005, Singer 2005). What's now being discussed is the unity of the two practises and how "mainstream media are adopting user generated content in the process of news production" (Paulussen & Ugille 2008, p26).

Bowman & Willis (2003) describe participatory journalism as the "act of a citizen, or group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing and disseminating news and information". They go on to describe its purpose of which it's to "provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging and relevant information that a democracy requires." Here they are outlining an objective for participatory journalism whether it actually fulfils this is another question. There has been huge debate on the issue credibility of online news which may hinder that citizen journalism isn't doing this, but factuality and credibility are very different issues, so their comment is still a valid.

This new interactive style of journalism is changing the media ecosystem, acting as an unsettling force causing journalism to redefine itself in various ways (Bowman & Willis 2003). What's occurring is that the public are now extending the work of the mainstream media, finding new angles and adding to the discussion, whilst also sharing their own discoveries, which journalists can then pick up and use for themselves. This is true for some but many journalists ignore these new sourcing platforms as they see them as amateur and of a partisan nature. The everyday citizen is joining the watchdog patrol for their nation whilst questioning the mainstream news ensuring they are providing reliable information to the public.

Since the establishment of the World Wide Web and the online presence of news, contribution from citizens has been a primary ingredient which took shape in the form of mailing lists, newsgroups and bulletin boards (Bowman & Willis 2003). This later developed into more autonomous products like blogs, user generated content and social media networks, an arena where participatory journalism thrives, through the "interpersonal communication that takes place through e-mail, chat, message board and forums" (Bowman & Willis 2003, p21). Before the boom of social networking weblogs were the

focal point of discussion within the mainstream media in terms of public participation and are still hugely popular. Media elites often read and pull out information from political blogs and blogs written by familiar writers who have credible reputations because they can justify and trust these sources. What journalists sometimes find out from these professional blogs is that they've previously published the wrong information, and therefore would have misinformed the public (Drezner & Farrel 2004). Blogs can also be highly valuable tools for journalists as they provide free and fast information, knowledge on specialist issues, offer links to new sources and serve as local news instruments (Drezner & Farrel 2004). Lastly and very importantly information can be posted instantaneously on blogs after a major crisis or event before the press can react, and 'insider' sites or blogs may become more credible at these times than the traditional media themselves (Bruns et al 2009). Editors today understand the importance of blogs and the service they provide both to themselves and the public, hence why media organisations have set up their own blogs and asked popular bloggers to write articles specifically for them. They are beginning to be acknowledged as credible sources, especially for political material and so journalism is changing in order to accommodate this citizen generated content (Bruns et al 2009). In spite of this they do have various limitations for instance bloggers have restricted resources, time constraints, they are often biased accounts and as it's a voluntary activity it's not always up to date as new work can be submitted as and when the blogger pleases (Drezner & Farrel 2004).

Sites like Facebook and Twitter on the other hand are constantly updated every minute by users across the globe. It's a space for people to share, upload and follow news which has developed in to the reporting role of social media. Even before the uprisings broke out in the Middle East and North Africa social media had been producing "instantaneous accounts of breaking news events" (Pew Research Centre 2009b). These include reports on Hurricane Katrina in 2005, the terrorist attacks in Mumbai, India in 2008, the Fort Hood shootings in Texas in 2009 and the Iranian protests in 2009. What social media provided were eye witness accounts, detailed information and faster coverage and response by both journalists and the public, although possibly mixed in with some misinformation. What's also been recognised during these crises is the compliance of mainstream media in incorporating

online public accounts into their news coverage, whilst also creating their own Facebook and Twitter profiles for witnesses to post their comments and videos on (Pew Research Centre 2009b).

Justifying the credibility of online news sources is the predominant factor determining its use within the media. News organisations need the public's trust and belief in them, if not audiences will choose to ignore them (Johnson & Kaye 1998). Citizen trust in the media has fallen dramatically over the past thirty years, but attention is now turning to focus on source credibility rather than institutional credibility. As the internet is a free for all and lacks sociological restrictions content found can be false or subjective and therefore must be carefully selected and examined. Although even after verification rumours still find their way into the media and some are concerned that as the internet grows it will add to the untrustworthy content found within the mainstream press (Johnson & Kaye 2004).

As mentioned previously blogs are considered to be trustworthy amongst professional journalists and this use of online material is a strong pointer of internet credibility (Johnson & Kaye 2004), but what about social media sites? Recently social media, in particular Twitter have been ahead of the press in breaking the news, for example Tweets on Osama Bin Laden's death emerged first on the participatory site before the major news networks, and it also revealed that a plane crashed in the Hudson River in New York (Tedford 2011). In this sense it shows social media having the potential to become a trusted source, but as quickly as it can spread fact it can also spread misrepresentations (Tedford 2011).

Sociology of News

Previous findings show that there are various factors like professional routines and newsroom constraints which influence the content within the news media (Tuchman 1978; Fishman 1980). The first formal study of gatekeeping in the 1950's determined how journalists select news, but changes in the current media environment are threatening this role; "journalism finds itself at a rare moment in history where, for the first time, its hegemony as gatekeeper of the news is threatened not just by new technology and its competitors but,

potentially, by the audience it serves" (Bowman & Willis 2003, p7). With the internet providing unlimited sources and resources it destabilizes the idea of information passing through gates, and without them there can be no gatekeepers, giving citizens a chance to dispute and compete with the media (Williams & Carpini 2000). Even with the rise of social media and the myth & rumour that circulates around it, the gatekeepers who once "distilled the news, will play a similar role in social media" (Tedford 2011).

Journalists are subject to professional constraints, such as accuracy and objectivity, which affects the content they produce and sources they select for the news (Schudson 2002). They also have strong ties to elites and bureaucratic bodies of government which is where they receive the largest amounts of news. These sources are traditionally very reliable, informed and provide a constant flow of new information so it's easy to establish why journalists tend to stick with these same references. But if journalists are to fulfil their democratic role within society then they need to offer citizens "a wide variety of opinions and perspectives, not just the narrow spectrum of those who have attained political power" (Schudson 2002, p257), which includes the public's views as well. As Boczkowski (2004) has stated "the adoption of new technology in newsrooms can only be understood within the broader professional and social context in which the technology is to be used".

Inter-Media Agenda Setting

It's been previously researched that sources within the news have the power to sway the media's news agenda and on occasions can also operate as sources themselves for one another (Messner & Distaso 2008). But what they also do is influence each other. This influence in interchange of agenda between different media platforms is what's being described as a new 'source cycle' where "news content can be passed back and forth from media to media" (Messner & Distaso 2008, p447). This process is specifically called inter-media agenda setting which determines the extent to which the media influence each other (McCombs & Shaw 1976; Reese & Danielian 1989; Golan 2006), with the main idea being that "issue salience can be transferred across media" (Sikanku 2011, p3). There has been a wide array of research conducted looking at the relationship between different media types in search

of the biggest protagonists. Protes and McCombs (1991) discovered that traditional broadsheet newspapers have an inter-media agenda setting effect on local newspapers and broadcast news; Reese and Danielian (1989) also found similar results in their study on drug coverage in USA newspapers and the effect they had on television and the local press. On the whole, past research has found that print media generally have more agenda setting power than other media platforms (Lee et al 2005; Borah 2006). However, due to the fast changing new media environment and the mass expansion and significance of online news media it may develop into a contender for becoming an persuasive inter- media agenda setter.

As Sikanku (2011) explains, online outlets are now on occasion breaking the news first, potentially setting the approach and subject matter in newspapers. We can already see this occurring as social networks and blogs disseminate information which then hit the headlines in the mainstream media. Traditional media are also using participatory platforms and user generated content in their work especially at times of crisis, and so we can see these new media technologies becoming powerful agenda setters. Although, it's important to add that "newspapers, with their large staff of reporters, may have the means to access news first, leaving online services as amplifiers of agendas set by the newspapers" (Sikanku 2011, p2), which is likely to be true.

Research has also been conducted on the "selection of sources by news media and the impact sources can have on the constructions of news" (Messner & Distaso 2008, p449), which is especially important in a changing news environment. Powers & Fico (1994) believe that journalists favour sources that they deem are credible, well-informed and authoritative in relation to a given matter. Gans (2003) reveals that the choice of source is likely to be one that fits the mainstream status quo, and not one that challenges it, making it difficult for unconventional views to be heard. In relation to sources found online, some journalists may favour this process because they "may bring to the story a passion not found in every interview" (Shaw et al 1997, p233). This is certainly true for blogs which create hype around certain issues which is then copied and used in traditional media. Messner & Distaso's (2008) study found that print media regularly use weblogs as sources, this is then reported and the content is then used as

background information to write new blogs, hence a new source cycle has been developed. Information is constantly being passed on and updated.

Sources & Gender

Previous studies looking at the gender of sources in news have time and again found that males are the dominant choice (Zoch & Turk 1998; Craft, Wanta & Lee 2003). Armstrong's (2004) research in particular found that male's were much more likely to be used as sources in newspapers, as well as being featured in them when compared to women. He goes on to mention that historically women have been "both underrepresented and misrepresented in media coverage" (Armstrong 2004, p139) presenting a false image of society. Scholars such as Tuchman, Daniels & Benet believe one explanation is due to a process called 'symbolic annihilation', where by the little presence of women in newspapers and on television reinforces male dominance. Berkowitz et al (1996) suggests that this inequality is due to intentional reporter bias or subconscious selection, and also due the fact that women are more restrained when it comes to fulfilling the role a journalist wants a source to portray. Other reasons may include "time pressures, availability of sources and news gathering routines" (Zoch & Turk 1998, p764) which are often very prominent factors influencing journalist source selection.

Another theory has also been established which suggests that the gender of the journalist may determine the gender of the sources they wish to include in their writings. It's been suggested that "female reporters may deliberately cite more female sources and feel more comfortable interviewing woman" (Freedman et al 2007, p60), and vice versa for men. Armstrong (2004) agrees with this but also adds that "gender similarities reflect reporters' networks of sources". Alternatively Powers & Fico (1994) found that "reporters judgments and opinions about sources were the main influence on news content", along with "source credibility, source accessibility, and time pressures over source gender" (Freedman et al 2007, p60).

Women are now taking on more significant roles in society for instance in government, politics, business, and in the media industry which should mean that they are equally referenced in news, but are they?

Social Media and the Middle East

Much of the Arab media environment was under strict governmental control up until the 1990's when cable & satellite was introduced in to the region. This rapid uptake also paved the way for the emergence of the internet allowing a "new media revolution" (Khamis & Vaughn 2011, p2) to take form. Many governments, such as the Egyptian government, primarily pushed internet usage in order to enhance their countries' economic situation, not knowing that it would backfire on them years later. This technological advance was a distinctive period in that it enriched the media scene creating a more diverse industry whilst allowing political debate and contrasting voices to be heard (Atia 2006, Khamis 2008). At this stage public opinion was beginning to grow.

Social media's popularity grew with the help of an increase in online usage and widespread mobile phone adoption, a recent study by Philip Howard (2011) shows that the Middle East currently has the fastest growing cellular phone uptake measured against all developing nations. The region also has the largest amount of new users joining Facebook (Mourtada & Salem 2011), the most popular social networking platform in the Middle East. Through blogs and social networking citizens were able to boycott their subjective national media and publish their personal work in the form of citizen journalism as an alternative. Howard (2011) states that this process of political discussion and debate will enable the development of autonomous communication which will promote democratisation, as the designed structure of social media is a key component threatening repressive governments.

Due to the recent demonstrations across the whole of the Middle East social media websites have soared in popularity. Records produced in spring 2011 show that there are now over 27 million Facebook users in the Arab region, which has almost doubled last years figure (Mourtada & Salem 2011). Twitter currently only has 1.5 million followers due to its language barriers, but its numbers are continuously growing. Social networks generally attract young and well educated demographics, and in the Arab region the average user is aged between 20- 30 years of age. These young users are the prime mobilisers driving the Revolutions (Khamis & Vaughn 2011), which was exactly the case in Egypt. In regards to gender and technology a Pew Research

Centre study (2010 C) announced that computer, cell phone and internet usage is fairly balanced between men and women in Egypt, however this can't be said for the majority of the other countries in the region.

Previous attempts in Egypt before 2011 have been made to try and rally against the government through social media; however efforts failed in mobilising the public on a large scale and didn't make a huge impact (Khamis & Vaughn 2011). However as the tool was already recognised as being a useful activist device where trusted peers can organise protests and share information instantly, it's no surprise it was used again to the run up of the recent revolution. Citizens used a collection of media formats to communicate both nationally and internationally in order to gain worldwide recognition, specifically targeting powerful specialist groups, like international human rights campaigners, who could help bring about change. Citizen journalism also played an important role during the protests as videos, personal accounts and photographs were posted online and on news sites which aided the media at times when reporting was restricted. "Citizen Journalists can be the most reliable and credible sources of news and information during these significant political events" (Khamis & Vaughn 2011, p17); they know their country better than any foreign reporter. Twitter also became a useful resource for the mainstream media and headline initiator as alerts and content developed here regardless of the original source (Khamis & Vaughn 2011).

Methodology

The becoming of social media as a source in traditional news could indicate a change in journalist reporting techniques. It could also signify the justification of social media as a credible news source. Previous study has mainly focussed on the use of small media in mainstream broadcasting organisations or newspaper online alternatives. This study will examine print newspapers and the types of small media sources they incorporate in their articles, discovering whether the types of sources used have changed over time. Research will also try to grasp who asserts power over the media agenda.

This Study will compare the Iranian Revolution 1979 and the recent Egyptian Uprisings 2011, as small media was an essential communication tool during

both these events. These two case studies are particularly important as they each use different small media technologies to carry out their main purpose which was to overthrow the regime. This analysis therefore will look at the use of small media sources within print news pre and post the digital era recognising any changes.

The sample chosen represents three defining moments within each revolution, each 'defining moment' will focus on 7 days of news coverage from 2 selected newspapers from when it first arose. The dates are as follows:

Iranian Revolution

Sample 1: 21st - 27th August 1978, Cinema Rex fire & 25th Anniversary of Coup

Sample 2: 4th – 10th September 1978, Mass demonstrations break out & Black Friday

Sample 3: 29th December – 4th January 1979, Shah steps down

Egyptian Revolution

Sample 1: 17th – 23rd January 2011, Abdo Hameed burns himself in front of parliament

Sample 2: 25th January – 31st January 2011, Day of Revolt & Shutting down of internet

Sample 3: 11th- 17th February, Mubarak steps down

The samples selected are of relatively equal measure when comparing each revolution, in hope that the results will be more accurate. News articles will be compared from two leading and widely read newspapers, the *New York Times* and *The Guardian*. The *New York Times* was determined to be appropriate for this study because its one of the most prestigious newspapers in America, having the largest circulation in New York City, as well as being the third largest newspaper in the USA, behind the *Wall Street Journal* and *USA today*. It was established in 1851 and is regarded as a reliable source within the industry. In addition this newspaper is very influential as its followed by the "elites and media gatekeepers who establish the agenda for other new coverage" (Newport 2005) and hence is suitable for agenda setting research as agreed by various scholars (Ku et al 2003, Reese & Denielian 1989).

The Guardian was selected as its well established within the UK and is regarded as being less subjective in comparison with salient right wing media in England. It was established in 1821 and has a certified average daily

circulation of 263,907 copies (April 2011, ABCs figures), the third highest of the dailies behind *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*. Both newspapers in this study are regarded as having liberal political biases, *The Guardian* maybe more so than the *New York Times*, and therefore should supply well rounded publications, using different and contrasting sources.

Further factors influencing the choice to study print media are that archives are more widely available and that newspapers tend to use more sources in their articles when compared to electronic media. In addition online media wouldn't have been a good comparable format as it was only commercialised in 1995. Overall print media is the easiest format to analyse using content analysis, my chosen research method. The Nexis database was used to look for each article using three key search words for each sample within its timeframe; 'Iran or Egypt', 'Protest', 'Revolution' and for the recent uprisings 'social media' as well.

The unit of analysis was every sourced fact, meaning a new piece of information presented as fact and connected to a specific source. Each news article was coded against specific source variables, first in a general category and then in a specific category, as shown on the coding sheet (Appendix 1). The coding sheet was pilot-tested and reviewed prior to the full collection of results to ensure that the variables selected were reliable and relative to the research questions of this study.

It's important to note the limitations of content analysis as these restrictions may affect the study's findings. Wimmer & Dominick (2006) state that "different researchers may use a different category system to find out similar information" meaning that a similar study may find different results. Another potential drawback of this research method is the "lack of information relevant to the research"; findings may be amongst a high level of irrelevant data. The two events being examined in this study were purposely chosen as they both attracted huge media attention and news coverage. However recognised trends in the media, in particular during a crisis event, may not be an accurate reflection of reality as they receive more coverage than less dramatic happenings.

Results

The main aim of this study was to establish whether the types of sources used in mainstream newspapers have changed over time due to the impact of the internet, in regards to social media networks and other forms of participatory journalism. Three weekly time frames were selected during the 1979 Iranian Revolution and 2011 Egyptian Revolution, and within that period 89 news articles from the *New York Times* and *The Guardian* were analysed. From those 89 news articles 417 sources were recorded; 159 from 1978/9 and 262 from 2011.

The first research question looked at the type of sources used within news articles and examined whether they have changed over time. Figure 1 shows in general categories the types of sources used in 1978/9 in comparison to 2011. Overall it's clear that journalists now use more sources in their work as all bar one category proves higher in 2011 compared to 1978/9. The most dramatic increase was the use of citizen sources and during coding all forms of referenced online citizen activity was counted in this category; including amateur blogs, social media comments and all other forms of citizen participation, which explains the increase in this category.

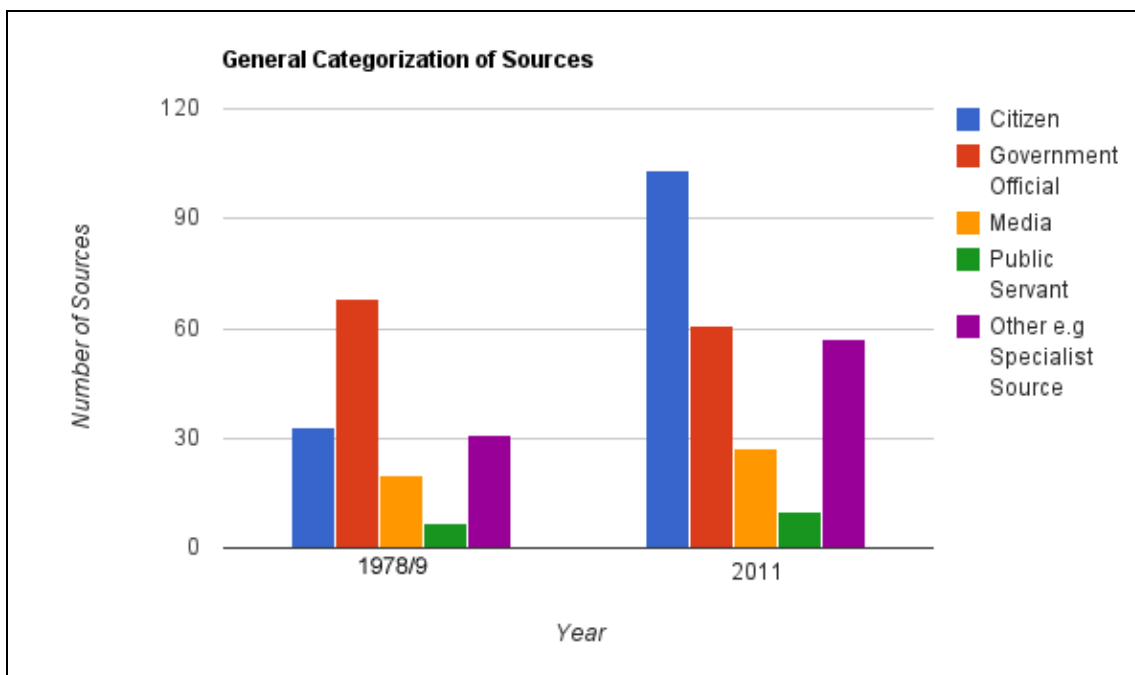


Figure 1 General Categorisation of Source

Figure 1 also shows that the use of media institutions as sources has also increased, in this study local media from the countries of unrest proved to be very useful for gaining more in depth information, and were regularly used as trusted sources, as well as news sites online. Military, police and health personnel which were listed under the public servant category were used considerably less compared to all others. This study found that the use of specialist sources has almost doubled since 1978/9; journalists are now seeking those who are academically acclaimed in a particular topic to receive reliable information, this might explain the slight decrease in the use of government sources over time. Government officials are the second highest sourced category in both revolutions as traditionally they are seen as trustworthy and knowledgeable references.

Figure 2 shows a comparison of online news sources, distinguishing the percentage of the sources recorded during coding and what it reveals is that online sources *are* now being used in news. At the time of the Iranian revolution obviously the internet had not yet been established and therefore online sources weren't an available option, and hence there is no data to show. During the Egyptian revolution 49.2 percent, nearly half of all online sources came from Twitter, followed by 28.6 percent from bloggers. Less popular platforms were Facebook, 11.1 percent of online sources came from here, online news sights equalled 7.9 percent and other online sources received less attention at 3.2 percent.

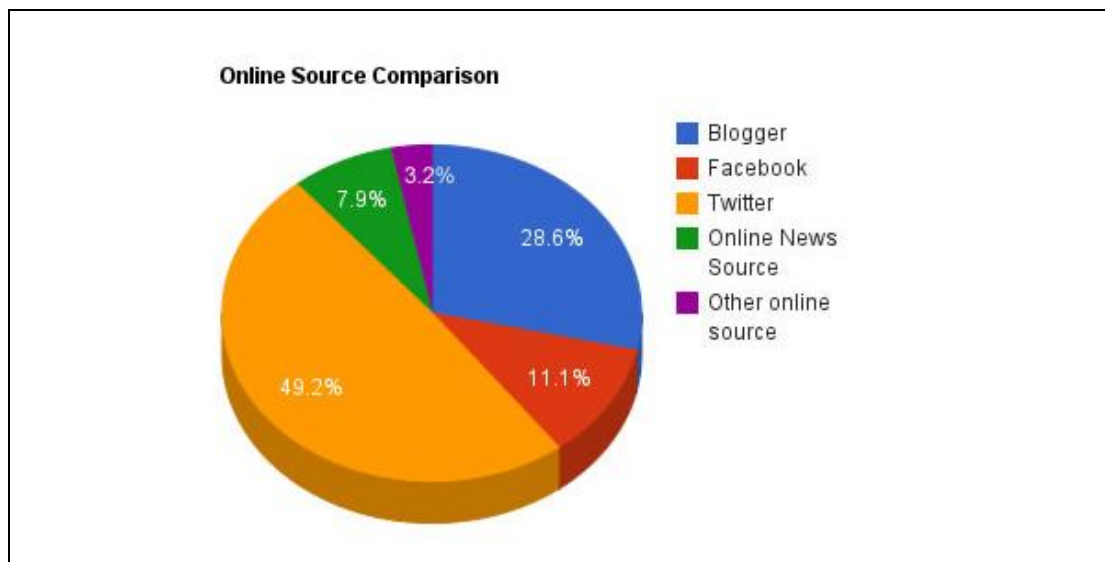


Figure 2 Online Source Comparison

Table 1 shows the different types of sources recorded during the periods selected in 1978/9 from the *New York Times* and *The Guardian*. The table ranks the specific categories in relation to their use within the news articles, both in number and percentage. Source types that received zero during coding have not been included in this table. In the overall sample citizens involved in the protest and government officials from the opposing party to that in power were sourced most often both representing 14 percent of the total amount of sources recorded at that time. This was followed by Iranian government officials at 13 percent, religious spokesmen at 12 percent and local news sources, USA government officials & the Shah Pahlavi all at 6 percent. Sources that featured the least all at 1 percent included NGO spokesmen, health representatives, President Jimmy Carter, Khomeini, Janshid Amouzegar, UK Government officials, New York Times representatives and United Press International news agency.

Source Type 1978/9	n	%
Citizen in Protest	22	14%
Other Political Party	22	14%
Gov Official Iran	20	13%
Religious Spokesman	19	12%
Local New in country of unrest	9	6%
Gov Official USA	9	6%
Shah Pahlavi	10	6%
Business/Political/ Specialist Source	8	5%
Citizen not in protest	6	4%
Military source	6	4%
Other news org.	5	3%
Police Source	4	3%
Royal Rep	4	3%
Reuters	3	2%
United Press International	2	1%
The New York Times Rep	1	1%
Gov Official UK	2	1%
Janshid Amouzegar	1	1%
Khomeini	3	1%
Jimmy Carter	1	1%
Health Source	1	1%
NGO Spokesperson	1	1%

Table 1 Source Use in the *New York Times* & *The Guardian* 1978/9
 Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

In comparison Table 2 shows the different types of sources recorded during the selected periods in 2011 from the *New York Times* and *The Guardian*. Similarly the table lists each specific category in number and percentage, and those sources which received zero in coding don't feature on the table. The type of source most used in 2011 is 'citizens involved in the protest', which mirrors the results from 1978/9, calculating at 18 percent of all sources recorded for 2011. This is followed by specialist sources at 13 percent, Twitter at 12 percent and Bloggers at 7 percent. Government official's from the USA and Egypt are highly used also.

Source Type 2011	n	%
Citizen in Protest	46	18%
Business/Political/ Specialist Source	35	13%
Twitter	31	12%
Blogger	18	7%
Gov Official USA	15	6%
Gov Official Egypt	12	5%
Other Political Party	11	4%
Facebook	7	3%
Religious Spokesman	8	3%
Military source	7	3%
NGO Spokesperson	8	3%
Reuters	5	2%
Local New in country of unrest	5	2%
Other news org.	6	2%
Online news source	5	2%
Citizen not in protest	4	2%
Middle East Official	6	2%
Barak Obama	6	2%
Hosni Mubarak	6	2%
Associated Press	3	1%
Al Jazeera Rep	3	1%
Other online source	2	1%
Gov Official UK	3	1%
EU Official	3	1%
Police Source	3	1%
CNN Rep	1	0.5%
David Cameron	1	0.5%
Health Source	1	0.5%
UN Rep	1	0.5%

Table 2 Source Use in the *New York Times* & *The Guardian* 2011
 Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

When comparing the two tables it's clear that overall in 2011 there was a larger variety of different sources used within the news articles. There was more diversity in terms of the different types of citizen sources used, and a wider series of politician opinions were included. For example representatives from the Middle East and Europe were quoted, and also a higher number of NGO officials were sourced, 8 in 2011 compared to just the 1 in 1978/9. Iran and Egypt's culture evolve heavily around religion and therefore prestigious religious sources and Islamic brotherhood members were included in both analysed periods, however more so during the Iranian revolution due to the following and later leadership of Khomeini.

Table 3 shows the use of media sources in the news articles studied. During the Iranian revolution local news sources became the most widely referenced out of all media sources used, calculating at 45 percent, in 2011 local media totalled at 18 percent, which was the second most popular. The most dramatic difference is of course the use of online news sources which was also sourced at 18 percent proving to be a popular format among journalists today. High and similar results were also found in reference to Reuters (Iran = 15%, Egypt = 18%) and general other news organisations that weren't found under the main media organisations listed on the coding sheet (Iran = 25%, Egypt = 21%). *Al Jazeera* in 2011 featured to be the most referenced source in relation to all the large traditional outlets named on the coding sheet, which is no surprise as it's the most popular station and online site in the Middle East, with a growing status around the globe. However the result was still low in comparison to all sources. Lastly the *New York Times* and *The Guardian* rarely or never used their colleagues as sources.

Source Type	1978/9		2011	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Al Jazeera Rep	0	0%	3	11%
Associated Press	0	0%	3	11%
CNN Rep	0	0%	1	4%
Local New in country of unrest	9	45%	5	18%
Online News Source	0	0%	5	18%
Other News Organisation	5	25%	6	21%
Reuters	3	15%	5	18%
The New York Times Rep	1	5%	0	0%
United Press International	2	10%	0	0%

Table 3 News Agency Source Comparison

Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Figure 3 reveals the gender of sources found within the news articles from the *New York Times* and *The Guardian*. It shows the percentage of sources for each category which has been calculated for the two years separately. It's clear that male sources are chosen far more over female sources. In 1978/9 out of the total number of sources coded 52.8 percent were male and only 6.3 percent were female. However 31.4 percent of sources were coded as indeterminate primarily due to language barriers and lack of clear referencing, so the female calculation may actually be slightly higher than recorded. In 2011 men were still the dominant gender, with 60.3 percent of all sources being male, which is a huge gender imbalance. The use of female sources has increased to 19.1 percent, with indeterminate at 13.4 percent. Sourcing of mixed groups has stayed fairly constant at 6.3 percent in 1978/9 and 7.3 percent in 2011.

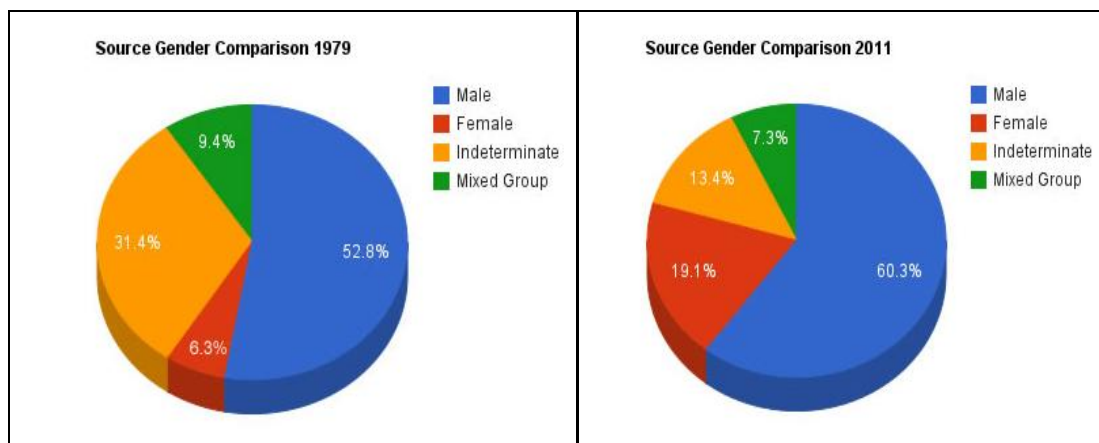


Figure 3 Source Gender Comparison

Figure 4 shows the gender of writers against the number of writers during the Iranian revolution and the Egyptian revolution. It's no surprise that men are the dominant gender again, tallying at over double of those journalists that are women. In 1978/9 this study found 28 males and 9 female journalists, with similar results from 2011 at 27 males and 7 females. Surprisingly there were less female writers recorded in 2011 than in 1978/9, however due to the increase of group work this may prove why. The large increase in the 'mixed' category shows that journalists are collaborating more today than they were previously, however this may be a reflection on international news in particular. A small amount of writers were indeterminate during both periods, in the

sense that they may have not been referenced clearly or due to language barriers, again this may have an effect on the tally of female journalists.

Figure 5 highlights where news stories in this study originated from. It shows the institution or person against a percentage of articles. It's clear that the majority of news was created by the journalists from the newspapers themselves; in 1978/9 93 percent of the total amount of articles was created by the *New York Times* and *The Guardian*. In 2011 this decreased slightly to 91 percent due to the introduction of participatory journalism in news. There was no form of participatory journalism in 1978/9 in this sense, however in 2011 4 percent of news articles originated from citizen journalists, 2 percent from bloggers and 2 percent from Twitter. In 1978/9 7 percent of articles came from News Agencies, however in 2011 no news articles originated from these institutions.

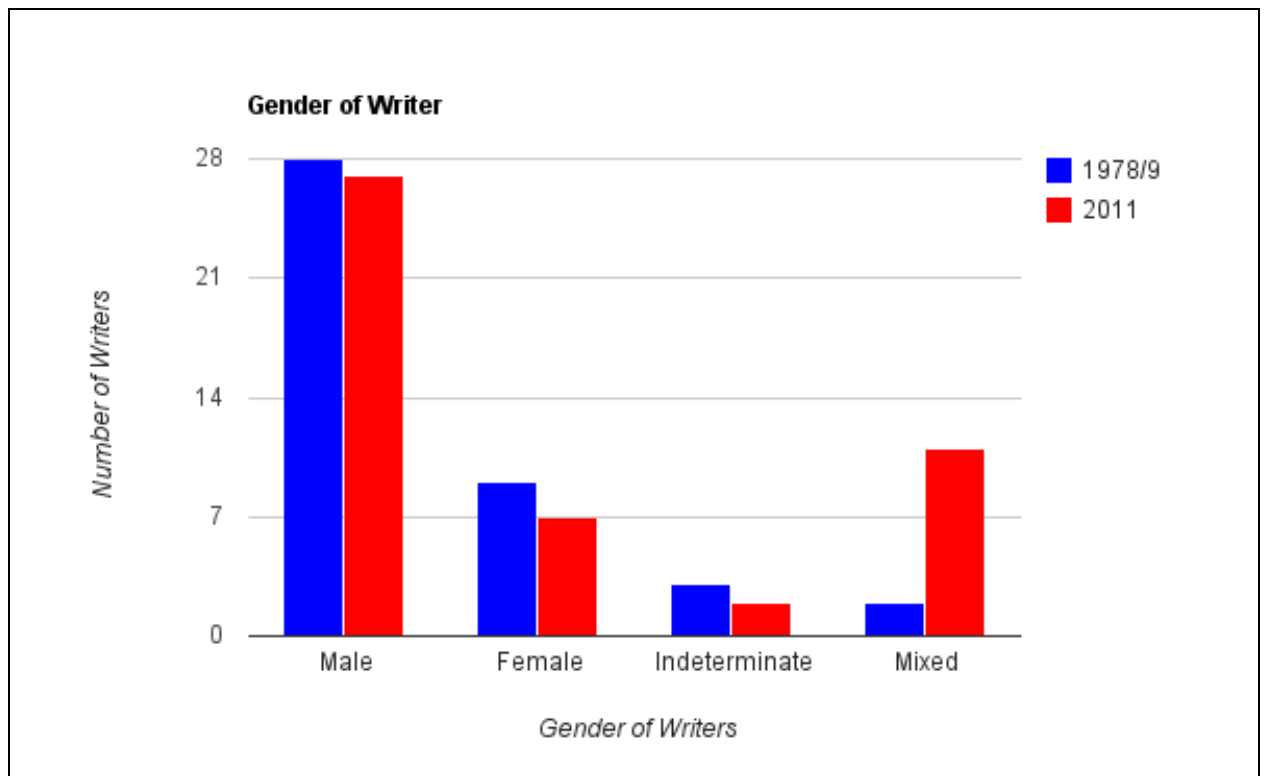


Figure 4 Genders of Writers

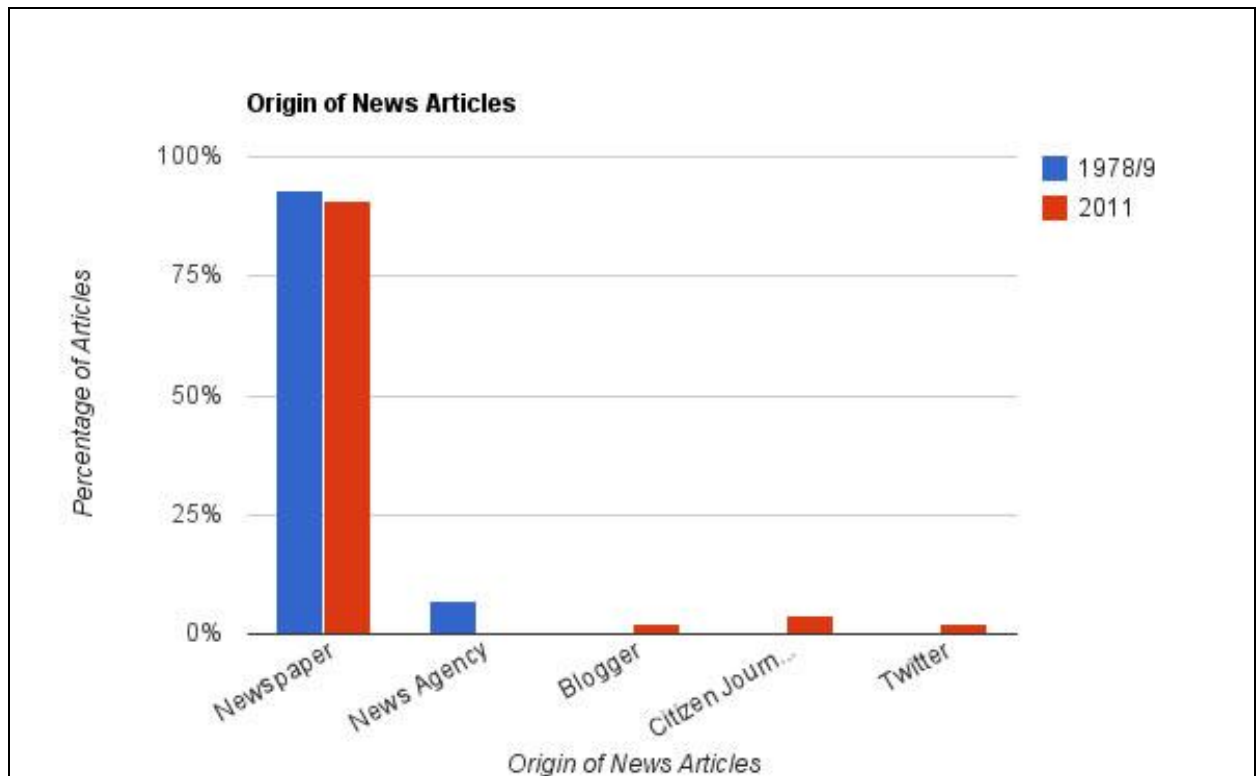


Figure 5 Origins of News Articles

Discussion & Limitations

What's clear from the findings is that sources within print media haven't dramatically changed over time. Of course not all the sources that were used are the same but key groups are still dominant choices amongst journalists. The presence of online news media, social media sites and participatory work is noticed in newspapers today, and of course this is the major difference between the two uprisings as the internet hadn't yet been established at the time of the 1979 Iranian revolution. But it's not used as often as one had previously thought, especially as the Egyptian revolution was organised and advertised on Twitter and Facebook, as well as being dubbed the 'social media revolution'.

Journalists are still very dependent on elite sources, for reasons begin that they are extremely reliable, factual and efficient. It's also due to the symbiotic relationship they have with government officials that were established many years ago. The results from this study proves this as during the Iranian revolution governmental sources were the most popular type of sources used, and in 2011 they were the second highest source category used, falling behind citizen sources due to the more current use of online sources.

However there is now also a huge demand for expert sources in news, which are added to provide reliable and intelligent information which back up journalist claims. It's believed that these expert sources can "add value to news stories... helps press fulfil objectivity values... and increases story credibility" (Freedman et al 2007, p59); and therefore an easy way for journalists to accomplish their professional requirements when writing a news piece. Like government officials, expert sources are classed highly in the "hierarchy of credibility" (Mencher 2000) and so both journalists, and more importantly the public tend to take what they say at face value. This increase in the use of knowledgeable sources may be a way for the print media to try and re-gain the public's trust, and whilst also using fewer governmental sources that the public tend to be sceptical of. As Gladstone & Garfield (2004) state, journalists revisit and use the same group of trustees time and time again, whom of which are more often than not male expert sources; this is also shown in the results of this study. The results show that expert or specialist sources' usage has grown hugely since 1979, during the Iranian revolution government sources were the dominant choice for reporters, but specialist sources were included a significant amount, on par with the ranking of citizen sources. Since then their importance and credibility has risen; in 2011 the results for the amount of expert sources used in news almost doubled, falling just behind government sources. With more people studying at higher levels at university, specialising in particular subjects, it allows journalists to trust their comments, whilst also easily accessing them; two essential factors in the news gathering process.

Citizen and eyewitness accounts have always been used in news in order to make a story more human, empathic and believable, and are very important elements within a news report. The use of citizen sources has increased over time, and the reason is due to the recent availability of information from social media websites and the internet, which reflects the results of this study. During the Egyptian revolution journalists were gathering information from witnesses on the streets of Cairo, as were they in 1979 in Iran, whilst simultaneously sourcing information from online sites, increasing their choice of sources and material to include in their work. There were incredible results in relation the use of Twitter and Blogs in 2011's results, proving to be the second and third most popular sources used at the time. But having said this

there wasn't as much variety of online material used as one had expected, especially compared with online articles previously looked at. During the research stage of this project a lot of online news material was studied to gather background information and within that there were far more references from a wide range of online sources. This has brought to my attention that it's likely that online news sites may use more online sources compared to print media, and are likely to be more lenient towards using them. This may be due to the need for instant updating, constant story progression, and lower status of online news compared to traditional print media. An added influence may be due to that fact that claims can be altered if found to be false or misleading online, whereas print media is fixed and can't be amended once printed. This is an area which needs further study, comparing online sights to print within the same organisation, so for instance *The Guardian* online in contrast to the printed newspaper.

What was also noticed when browsing at online news articles was that news topics evolved much more around social media, stories written about the Egyptian uprisings and were linked far more to social networks. Online news discussed more about the co-ordination of the protests, where as in *The Guardian* and *New York Times* much of the material was about the protests, but attention focussed more on politics, the actions of the Military and Government against its citizens, death toll and injury. Perhaps the dates selected in this study missed stories covered solely about Facebook and Twitter, and this could be seen as a limitation; next time maybe a larger sample should be examined. This wasn't the main focus of my study however; this was a theme that was picked up in the process. To further this, research on the *types* of stories covered during the revolution could be studied, which could then be linked to inter-media agenda setting.

The data analysed in this study was of course selected during the time of crisis, and like all disasters that gain attention from the media, those that were involved are the most sought after sources. So the use of public sources and eye witness accounts is increased during these events, more so than in normal situations, which is something that needs to be considered. To add, the fact that the Egyptian revolution was heavily involved in social media could also give a misleading result compared to normal situations within the

news. More Twitter and Facebook sources would have been used due to that fact that these were two of the main devices used for communication before and during the protests by those involved. Not only that, international debate also occurred on these social media sites so the press would be using them to find new leads and grasp public opinion. However this study was a comparison of the use of sources during times of crisis, so it's specific to this type of media attention, with the results clearly showing small media as a useful tool.

Twitter was the most highly sourced social media site when compared to Facebook, Blogs and other online websites. This may have been down to convenience and easy search methods on the site for journalists, but in terms of the number of users in the region Facebook is a far more popular network with a higher number of users. Pages and groups were created by the protest organisers and activist groups, and "many of the calls to protest in the Arab region were initially made on Facebook" (Mourtada & Salem 2011, p4). It's here journalists could have found an easy route to new sources; however the findings of this study show differently. One reason for this may have been that you can identify and contact people more readily on Twitter in order to verify sources. In order to go into more depth on this journalist's choice and professional habits would need to be considered in order to find out why Twitter was a more popular choice than Facebook in terms of sourcing.

Blogs were the second most popular form of participatory journalism used as sources in the newspaper articles studied; this is no surprise as research tells us that they are the most trusted form of citizen journalism found online at present. Blogs are very useful to journalists as they can read up on specialist issues and find expert sources. Blogs are also extremely convenient for journalists as they are free to use and easy to locate. The fact the journalists are now quoting material from blogs highlights change; sourcing online material is becoming more conventional, and journalists are becoming less sceptical and more trustworthy of the internet. In the near future as journalists incorporate these new sourcing outlets into their daily professional routines questions surrounding online credibility will fade. Blogs were introduced in 1999 and over time they have become more credible, and hence are being used more in the news. Social media sites may become more reliable as time

passes, but this I doubt as much as they are gossip led and rumour driven, and when compared to blogs have no academic skill involved in what they produce. Opinions aside, in this study Twitter proved to be the third most widely used source during the Egyptian revolution, which proves that clearly they must be reliable.

Additional proof to show changes within the industry due to the internet and small media can be seen when you look at where news articles originate from and who wrote them. It's no surprise that most of the news pieces were created and written by the journalists from the *New York Times* and *The Guardian*, but today new creators are getting their work published. During the Iranian revolution the press were fairly reliant on News Agencies, in particular Reuters and United Press International, who gave them additional material and photographs to print in their papers. Higher dependence back then is likely to be related to limited access to some areas of conflict and limited communication resources, unlike the present environment. Today these big News Agencies are still important when it comes to international news, but it seems these papers now rely less on them. Institutions are likely to have more correspondents abroad and due to technological advancements, in particular the internet, information is more widely available. That being said in 1979 the newspapers stated whether the information was produced by a News Agency, in the newspapers studied in 2011 there was no reference to whether the article had been created in a similar way. What's more some articles may have been governmental press releases for example and one is not to know. News Agencies aside, in 2011 this study found articles created by bloggers, twitter users and citizen journalists which were published in the newspapers. These results may have been fairly low, but it indicates the growing importance of small media. Media institutions are recognising the importance of citizen input and opinion, and its beginning to show in their products. Now these participatory platforms are becoming more credible journalists may see them as less amateur and more professional and resourceful.

When comparing the two revolutions the use of Non-Governmental Organisation sources increased fairly significantly. Issues surrounding human rights and freedom of expression are focal topics around the globe and are becoming further established in less developed parts of the world. In society

today there are more non-profit organisations battling for citizen rights than there were 30 years ago and governments not treating their people fairly are very much frowned upon by other nations. NGO's efforts and opinions are widely respected and hence are referenced more in the media. To add, many NGO's are online companies and so can be located and sourced efficiently by journalists. During the 2011 uprisings various non-profit organisations and activists helped advertise the protests through social media sights when the internet was banned by the government in Egypt, which is also another explanation for their popularity of source choice.

Religion is a huge part of the Egyptian and Iranian culture, and during both revolutions it played its part. Journalists often valued the opinion of religious figures in their writing and they were cited a considerable amount in the newspapers. These religious sources were used more so during the Iranian revolution due to the fact that Muslim leaders were trying to take over from the Shah. Furthermore video cassettes of Khomeini were played in the mosques engaging the public to protest against the government; religious leaders played a huge role in making the revolution succeed in 1979. Towards the end of the Egyptian uprisings there was discussion about the Muslim brotherhood group coming into power, in spite of this there was surprisingly no negative coverage in the newspapers articles analysed in this study. *The Guardian* take a more liberal stance compared to the *New York Times*, who lean a little more to the right, so if there had been some scepticism or Islamophobic references this would have been no shock; especially as anti-Islam been a reoccurring theme in the news in recent years. One needs to consider that if this study had been based on a country with little religious commitments then the figures would have been different. In the UK religion doesn't dominate our lives and culture and so if a crisis was to break out its highly unlikely that journalists would turn to religious sources for information. Hence this study again is relative to the Middle East.

Local news was found to be an important source for the journalists during both uprisings. Obviously local news in any disaster or crisis is a useful tool as they will know the area, where and who the best interviewees are, and write in-depth accounts of events occurring in that particular location. The local press speak the native language and have less or if any restrictions compared

to foreign journalists; who many officials dislike. During the Egyptian revolution there were international press bans and internet shut down which meant the foreign media couldn't access new information with ease, hence journalists turned to local press. Here they could find new leads, updates and sources, along with personal experiences from local people who perhaps couldn't speak up due to the banning of the internet or because they had no access to the internet what so ever due to poverty. The benefit of the internet also means that you can access local news online as well, a tool that journalists reporting on the Iranian revolution didn't have. It may be that reporters in 2011 found and sourced information found online rather than in person. Blogs can also prove to be very useful for finding out local information and insider material. Further study could be done in relation to inter-media agenda setting between the local press and international press at the time of crisis, and could examine whether the local news were influencing the topics being reported. This may have been more prominent during the Iranian revolution as there were less media influences in contrast with today.

The use of large media institutions and online news sites as sources appeared very little in the news articles compared to other sources, news agencies and local media were a more popular choice during both revolutions. Smaller European and Middle Eastern media organisations were used occasionally but they weren't internationally recognisable names. Al Jazeera, which is hugely influential in the region and now globally both online and on television, was only used three times as a source during the whole study. This was unexpected as it is largely influential and reflects public opinion, however in spite of this, it was the most popular source compared to all other media organisations in the study.

In relation to online news sites, again no big names were sourced just those relevant to the particular topic at hand. In spite of the little inclusion, they *were* used, which again proves that online facilities are becoming more credible and more widely accepted as sources, which is a major breakthrough.

The more reporters include these online and participatory outlets in their work the more trusted these new sources will become, the main issue journalist's face is finding the facts amongst the rumours.

For many years now traditional newspapers have been the most powerful in leading media agenda, influencing television news (Reese & Danielian 1989), smaller newspapers (Lopez-Escobar et al. 1998) and the local press (Protest & McCombs 1991). But as the internet has expanded, along with online news sites and participatory journalism, it has increased its influential power against other media forms and is changing the inter-media agenda setting landscape. Previous examples show, as already highlighted in this paper, how social media sites such as Twitter have publicised events first, which traditional press then replicate and turn into headlines the following day. These participatory platforms are breaking news first, updating it first and are obtaining more in-put and discussion than any media organisation could ever receive, and it's all due to citizen participation. Citizens today play a huge part in the news, especially in relation to the internet. For instance during the Egyptian revolution citizens were posting videos, photographs, comments, creating awareness, updating blogs and posting personal stories, all of which journalists could use and access at their disposal. Not only does this make light work for a reporter but it also shows how important citizen journalism has become; everyone wants their opinion heard to create awareness for better or for worse. Small media also enables the public to access other forms of news and read unconventional views which may not be presented in mainstream newspapers. It allows the public to search for views similar to their own and ensure they are not being subjected to biased material in their own countries.

In this study citizen journalism publications were included on some occasions, as well as blogs and social media comments, but it wasn't clear whether these online small media sites were influencing the newspapers to a large extent. Obviously we can see that it has occurred before on breaking news events but as for an on-going crisis they didn't seem as powerful. Stories involving civilians and activities in local areas may have been more influential on journalists as they looked for information and personal sources online. But in regards to politics and hard copy the newspapers will always be in the know how due to their tight governmental ties and professional duties; in this category small media can't win the agenda setting battle. I believe that online news sites are likely to be more accustomed into following news on participatory sites due to the nature of gathering online news. It's faster paced, needs constant updates and needs new sources. Another important

difference between online and traditional news is that online news sites attract younger audience and hence media organisations want to appeal to them so include more references from these sites and may turn to them more for new leads.

One of this studies aims was to reveal whether online media have affected the power of the newspapers in regards to inter-media agenda setting. However in order to receive true results this study would have needed to look at Twitter, Facebook and participatory trends and topics online as specific times to see if there was a correlating effect between the two. Sadly this wasn't possible due to lack of expertise and software in finding these results. But what was obvious from the content analysis was that small media wasn't in control of determining the content of the newspapers as there was little referencing towards it, but they were used as tools which helped journalists to find information and new sources. The presence of small media is growing at a considerable pace and only time will tell whether they, along with online media become the inter-media agenda setters.

There is ongoing debate about whether online sources are classed as credible sources; some believe so and others do not. However it's really down to the reporters' beliefs as they are the ones controlling who's referenced in their writings and where they receive their information from. Previous research has found that many journalists use the internet purely for background information. It's also been noted that online journalists are much more inclined to use online information due to their newsroom practices. The same applies to print journalists, online sourcing was never part of their daily routine and hence why some choose not to, or find it difficult to include. In this study it's assumed that reporters from the *New York Times* and *The Guardian* do class online sources as credible as many were included in their work during the Egyptian revolution. Blogs were a very popular source during the upheaval and those that were referenced were either specialist blogs written by academics or those written by citizens affected by the protests who wanted to share their experiences. As mentioned before, it's no surprise that blogs were a popular type of source as they are the most widely trusted online source within the media industry, which this research confirms. Twitter and Facebook, which many see as dubious, were also used as sources a considerable

amount, which again shows proof that reporters are beginning to see them as trustworthy sources. Even though journalists working on articles during the Egyptian revolution may have been attracted to use social media sources more than normal due to the circumstances, the overriding fact is that firstly they are being used and secondly that they are seen as reliable. If the journalists didn't think the sources were credible they wouldn't have included them in their work. Like all sources, if properly verified and checked then there should be little issues of concern.

Within the media industry males have always dominated the scene, and this is also true for the gender of sources used in news. Past research shows that men have been the dominant gender in regards to source choice compared to women, and this clearly shown in the results of this study. In both revolutions men overshadowed women dramatically, with results calculating at well over half. It's somewhat shocking to see that the diversity in source gender in this day and age is still hugely imbalanced, reinforcing male power and gender stereotypes. In this study a vast amount of governmental sources were recorded, politics again being a profession which is largely male, which would have added to the imbalance of the results. Also in the Middle East women are more suppressed than those in more democratic states in the west, which would have had a determining impact on the results. Journalists may have had fewer opportunities to approach and interact with woman compared to men; what's more fewer women would have been working and involved in the protests. Woman who are very religious may be restricted in who they can talk to, especially men of other faiths. Muslim woman in Egypt are prohibited from certain jobs, for instance police, military and presidency, which again adds to the imbalance of gender representation as they aren't able to hold authoritative positions. However during the 1979 Iranian revolution women were strong participants, as they were in Egypt, and its after the Shah stepped down and the religious leader Khomeini came into power they were "crushed into a system of gender apartheid" (D. Hughes 1998), so it seems there is less reasoning for their misrepresentation. If this study was conducted in England or any other westernised country where women rights are equal to men the results may have been more level; women are in high-powered jobs, they are all well educated and there are no technological differences in terms

of users on the internet so there would have been more diversity for journalists to choose from.

There are much fewer women registered to Facebook and Twitter in Egypt compared to men, another factor reinforcing the dominance of male sources in news. At the end of 2010 only 33.5 percent of all Arab Facebook users were women, much lower than the global percentage of 61 percent (Mourtada & Salem 2011, p9). If there are less women online then there is less chance of reported including them in their work. However if a journalist had a choice between a handful of sources, it would be politically correct to include a variety of both genders one would think. Various studies have been conducted showing that the gender of the journalists also impacts the gender type they include in their work; so men choosing male sources and women choosing female sources (Craft, Wanta & Lee 2003). This study shows huge imbalances between male and female writers; men writers appearing more, and so according to Craft, Wanta & Lee (2003) would also have had an impact on source gender. Over all the news represents those in power and therefore advertises "inequality in power between men and woman, which creates a system where woman 'lose their voices' and in effect become 'invisible'... perhaps invisible to reporters too" (Zock & Turk 1998, 765).

What one needs to consider is if the study was conducted analysing a different news event in a different country with more technological penetration would the results have differed in relation to the inclusion of small media sources in news; the answer being perhaps. Riots that took place across the UK in August 2011 were organised through Blackberry Messenger and social media sites and due to this there was huge debate in national news. There was such debate because these technological devices are so widespread and embedded within our society, and so we have now become extremely dependent on them in our daily lives. Hence why the government were discussing issues about these online sites and phone applications, which meant the press were also. In Egypt, Mubarak rarely commented on Facebook and Twitter and what they had enabled citizens to do in his country, and so it may not have been as an important feature within Egyptian society. What the British riots did reveal again, as in Egypt, was the power of small media in mobilising the public to rebel and unite against elites.

Conclusion

Small media is clearly becoming a useful and trusted tool for journalists and this study shows proof of this in two traditional western newspapers. Both the *New York Times* and *The Guardian* are prestigious newspapers in the UK and the USA, and if they are presenting online sources as fact then its likely that the tabloids are following suite, as well as broadcast and online news.

The relationship between print media and small media is one that is growing in confidence as time passes, it will take time for professional attitudes to change in favour of sourcing information on the internet as well as first hand. Old fashioned organisational structures in the newsroom and newsgathering techniques will limit the growth of online sources in news, but as younger technophiles enter the media workforce this is bound to change as years pass. What's this research has shown is that the media environment is changing as the results prove dramatic use of small media sources in news, in particularly at the time of crisis. Obviously journalists don't want to produce work which includes misinformation and hence why they are more sceptical when using online sources as they can't always take them at face value, due to the fact that much of the information on the internet is misleading.

The types of sources that journalists include in their work haven't changed that considerably over time, elite sources are still highly respected in the media and these professional networks will be the first port of call for new leads and important information. Citizen input is of huge importance today in western media as news has become an interactive experience and not one that's passive. Citizens want to share their thoughts and write their own opinions which the media have picked up on and are now including in their work. Small media has enhanced communication between the media and its audiences and in certain situations lead the way in setting news agenda, which shows just how powerful small media can be. Participatory journalism is only going to keep on growing, much of which will assist journalists in creating more rounded news pieces, especially in international news.

In order to maintain a healthy democratic society the press need to include a wide variety of opinions; of those public opinion needs to be accounted for.

Participatory sites are essential for keeping public debate alive and also ensuring that the media live up to their watchdog role, not subjecting audiences to biased or false information. The power of social media is immense, so powerful that not only can it mobilise huge populations but it can help overthrow autocratic regimes and beat the press in what they are trained in doing... providing the news first.

Appendix 1: CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SHEET

Standardised coding sheet for studying the type of source used in print media

Unit of analysis is every sourced fact: A new piece of information presented as fact and connected to a specific source

Name of Article: _____

		9. Blogging
V1 Newspaper		
1. New York Times	V9 Salience	10. Social media in General
2. The Guardian (UK)	1. Lead story, front page	11. Small Media
	2. Long article, front page	12. Technology
V2 Day	3. Short article, front page,	13. Stepping down of leader
	4. Long article, page 2/3	14. Oil/Economy
V3 Month.....	5. Short article, page 2/3	15. Other
	6. Other	
V4 Year of Publication		
1978/1979	V10 Author of Article	V13 Number of clearly distinct Sources
2011	1. Male	1. 0-5
	2 Female	2. 6-10
V5 Page	3. Indeterminate	3. 11-15
1 (Front Page)	4 Mixed group	4. 16-20
2		5. 21-25
3	V11 Predominant embedded bias of article	6. 26-30
Other	1. More sympathetic with Government	7. 31+
	2. More sympathetic with protestors	
V6 Genre	3. Neutral/ Not determined	V14 Source Type (General)
1. News Story		1. Citizen
2. Editorial		2. Government official
3. Press Release		3. Media
		4. Public servant
V7 Topic Scope	V12 Overall Topic	5. Other <i>eg. Specialist source</i>
1. National angle	1. Socioeconomic probs.	
2. International angle	2. Activities relating to protest	
	3. Civil rights	V15 Source Type (Specific)
V8 Source of Story	4. Foreign Policy	1. Reuters
1 Staff of newspaper	5. Religion	2. Associated Press
2 News Agency	6. Islamaphobia	3. United Press Internat.
3 Twitter	7. Facebook	4. Freelance Journalist
4 Facebook	8. Twitter	5. Photographer
5 Blog		
6 Citizen journalist		

6. *The Guardian* Rep.
 7. *New York Times* Rep.
 8. BBC Representative
 9. CNN Representative
 10. *Al Jazeera* Rep
 11. Local news in country of unrest
 12. Other news org.
 13. Blogger
 14. Facebook
 15. Twitter
 16. Online news source.
 17. Other online source
 18. Citizen in protest
 19. Civilian not in protest
 20. Volunteer
 21. Gov. Official UK
 22. Gov. Official USA
 23. Gov. Official Egypt
 24. Gov. Official Iran
 25. Other political party rep.
 26. European Official
 27. Middle Eastern Official
 28. David Cameron
 29. Barak Obama
 30. Hosni Mubarak
 31. Shah Pahlavi
 32. Jamshid Amouzegar
 33. Khomeini
 34. James Callaghan
 35. Jimmy Carter
 36. Religious spokesperson
 37. Military source
 38. Police source
 39. Health source
 40. Political/ Specialist source
 41. NGO spokesman
 42. NATO Rep.
 43. United Nations Rep.
 44. Royal Rep.
- V16 Gender of Source**
1. Male
 2. Female
 3. Indeterminate
 4. Mixed (group)
- V17 Source Bias**
1. Pro Reigning Gov.
 2. Pro Protestors
 3. Pro other political pty.
 4. Anti-Government
 5. Anti-Protestors
 6. Neutral/Not determined
- V18 Dependence on source to develop story**
1. Very Dependent
 2. Slightly dependent
 3. Not dependent
- V19 Key Issue/Topic of Source**
1. Socioeconomic matters
 2. Disaster & Suffering
 3. Death/ injury
 4. Assistance and Coordination in protest
 5. Politics
 6. Civil rights
 7. Foreign Policy
 8. Religion
 9. Westernisation
 10. Islamaphobia
 11. Facebook
 12. Twitter
 13. Social media in general
 14. Small Media
 15. Technology
 16. Pro Government
 17. Anti-Government
 18. Pro other political party
 19. Anti-other pol. Party
 20. Violence
 21. Stepping down of leader
 22. General comment
 23. Unrelated comment to uprising
 24. Other...

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