Narrative Frames and Framing Narratives – The Role of Non-Journalists in Narrative News Discourse

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Title:	Narrative Frames and Framing Narratives – The Role of Non-Journalists in Narrative News Discourse
Year:	2019
Version:	Publisher's PDF
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Please cite the original version:

Narrative Frames and Framing Narratives – The Role of Non-Journalists in Narrative News Discourse

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Narrativity and transparency in news journalism can be seen as responses to the changing mediascape where various actors compete for claims to truth. However, the relationship of narrativity, transparency, and truth, is complex, and there is a need for studying their relations from the perspective of narrative persuasion. This article explores a form of narrative persuasion through which non-journalist participants may affect news discourse by importing content from outside the primary "news frames" and cueing into culturally recognizable "framing narratives". It introduces a conceptual model for assessing narrative transparency and applies it to a case study of a political interview.

Keywords: framing narrative, imported content, narrative transparency, news frame, online news discourse

1 Introduction

In a television broadcast by the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE, available on Yle Areena website online (YLE 2015), journalist Thomas Wancke interviews European Commission Vice-President Jyrki Katainen, on the debt crisis in Greece. Apart from listing numeric facts on the recovering Greek economy and the recent economic growth before the elections, Vice-President Katainen emphasizes several times the role of the people of Greek and European citizens in the bailout processes and austerity measures, asking, for example: *"can the Greek government deliver on the promises that the Greek … that the people of Greece have made to the citizens of other European countries?"*

Katainen's argument may be considered unexpected. Had "the people of Greece", in fact, made such promises? The statement introduces a perspective that had not been evoked by the journalist in the news interview. It is a generalized argument that seems to escape any possibility of fact checking. Nevertheless, it may be argued to have effects on the unfolding news discourse and the meanings that readers take away from the interview.

In this paper, we set out to study Katainen's words as a form of subtle influence exercised by a non-journalist participant within news discourse. Our goal is to arrive at a theoretically informed interpretation of this kind of influence, to lay out its basic characteristics and working mechanisms, and examine its relations to other forms of journalistic influence and media manipulation.

In order to do that, we start by describing recent developments in news journalism as the context in which different forms of media influence and manipulation take place. We describe the possibilities and challenges brought about by the internet, social media, and digitalization, as well as the shift in professional journalistic ideals and practices from objectivity towards transparency and narrativity. Our review shows that while there are some studies that analyze the challenge of "false narratives" in news discourse (Kirkpatrick 2017) as well as fake news and media manipulation in online environments, there is still a need for studying subtle forms of narrative persuasion in both digital and more traditional forms of journalism.

Subsequently, we draw on literature of news frames (Gamson & Modigliani 1989), narrative frames (Johnson-Cartee 2005) and different levels of news content (Gamson 1989) to develop a conceptual model that offers a framework for analyzing the "narrative transparency" (Tuunanen, forthcoming) of news texts. We then apply the model to analyze the Yle news interview. The Narrative Transparency Model (NTM) specifies two theoretical aspects in news discourse: In first, it suggests the concept of *framing narratives* as a conceptual pair to narrative frames (Johnson-Cartee 2005). In second, it extends the classical dual model of news content defined by Gamson (1989) to a triple model including, apart from informational content and latent content, a level of *imported content*. We define both imported content and framing narratives as elements of news discourse that are launched by others than journalists. In short, imported contents function as cues guiding toward culturally available framing narratives, which open up new perspectives to and interpretations of news events. Furthermore, the paper suggests that imported content derives discursive power from penetrating into the level of the informational content and in this way benefitting from the institutional status of news journalism as well as the latent content and news frames provided by journalists.

2 The Changing Context and Ideals of Journalism

2.1 Changing Forms of Media Manipulation

Contemporary media environment can be defined as a complex discursive network with numerous known and unknown senders and redistributors of (dis)information. Several actors, apart from journalists, aim to define what is at issue in particular world events and news accounts. While the potential of social media to promote diverse voices and viewpoints is widely acknowledged and celebrated, there are also several problems and challenges associated with social media and their relation to professional journalism. Fake news, social and news bots, internet trolls, and echo chambers on social media platforms are catchwords related to disinformation campaigns and manipulation on public opinion in the current online news discourse. As a response, both civil society actors and research-

ers have engaged in finding ways to expose such manipulation. Crowdsourced fact checking of political and corporate discourse, and automated tracking of different kinds of biases in news journalism, are examples of such measures.

A rich body of knowledge exists on bots and fake news phenomena. Media scholars have developed taxonomies of fake news (Edson, Lim & Ling 2018) and typologies of news bots (Lokot & Diakopoulos 2016). In addition, scholars have researched the interconnection between advertising revenues and "personally and emotionally targeted news produced by algo-journalism" as part of "the economy of emotions" (Bakir & McStay 2018) as well as the political disinformation campaigns in social media (Ghosh & Scott 2018).

While these studies help us to identify many forms of contemporary media manipulation, they do not apply well to cases where manipulation takes place in the context of legitimate, institutionalized news media, and rests on ambiguity rather than overt lies. Few studies to date have focused on identifying more subtle forms of underlying biased and "false narratives" (Kirkpatrick 2017) and their role as discursive assets as a form of "narrative persuasion" (Forman 1999) in news discourse.

2.2 Changing Journalistic Ideals

It has long been argued that objectivity as a journalistic norm and practice alone does not serve as a best way to confirm truthful and comprehensive news discourse. Reporting verified facts from an impartial perspective is not enough as a wide range of media-savvy actors are actively sponsoring narratives that aim at guiding meaning making in multi-layered web-based news discourse. Instead scholars have advocated *transparency* as a new norm and practice for supporting trustworthy, accountable, and perceptible news discourse (Rupar 2006; Karlsson 2010; 2011; Hellmueller, Vos & Poepsel 2013;Vos & Craft 2017) as well as a principal element of journalistic ethics (Plaisance 2007; Allen 2008; McBride & Rosenstiel 2014).

Recently, transparency is being discussed also from the viewpoint of exposing the sponsorship of political disinformation campaigns on social media websites as well as the political economy of the online information markets as a whole (Ghosh & Scott 2018). As Ghosh and Scott emphasize, "we need to find creative ways to empower citizens to discern, expose, and discredit media manipulation" (2018: 4) by exposing the sponsorship and targeting parameters of online campaigns. In other words, recent discussions address the importance of increasing transparency for identifying the actors and sources of as well as means for distributing (fake) news and politically polarized information.

Karlsson (2010) discusses transparency by focusing on two dimensions: *disclosure transparency* and *participatory transparency.* The former concerns observability and openness

of journalistic production processes whereas the latter refers to inclusiveness and involvement of media audience in the news production processes. Hedman (2016) further defines *personal transparency* referring to ways in which individual journalists present their personal viewpoints and additional information concerning themselves.

This article draws attention on another type of transparency, narrative transparency (Tuunanen, forthcoming). Our aim is to increase knowledge on how the trustworthiness, comprehension, and intelligibility of news can be advanced by recognizing and assessing narrative devices and strategies in news discourse. This addition is timely, especially as narrative form has become increasingly common in news journalism and is often considered a vehicle for providing access to lived experience and experiential truth.

Narrative aims at convincing through "narrative necessity" (Bruner 1991) and coherence, creating a degree of independence from extra-textual *reality* (Bruner 1986; 1991). This kind of relative independence from *real* world outside the narrative itself, makes it worth careful attention in journalism (Tuunanen & Hirsto 2018). It can be said that whereas the fundamental aim of journalism is the verification of *truth* (Kovach & Rosenstiel 2001), *narrative truth* concerns specifically the internal coherence of narrative itself. Due to the lack of alignment regarding the essential aims of narrative and journalism, the discursive functions of narrative constructions in news is worth attention.

To sum up, transparency within journalism optimally concerns audiences' access to knowledge on how and why a news text becomes what finally gets distributed (Kovach & Rosenstiel 2001). Narrative transparency, more specifically, concerns the ways in which narrative constructions and formulations as well as their discursive functions can be assessed and identified in news discourse.

3 News Frames and Levels of Content

Journalism as a cultural form of communication concerns covering news for audiences about significant and current *events* of the world as well as *issues* of importance for contemporary society. Events in news discourse concern separate, temporally and geographically limited happenings. Issues in turn, involve subjects repeatedly reported in the news media (Shaw 1977; Johnson-Cartee 2005).

In reporting on major societal, economic, and governmental issues, part of journalistic work is to "determine the frames utilized to argue public issues and the key players involved" (Johnson-Cartee 2005: 61). These frames composed and applied by journalists can be seen as "interpretive packages that give meaning to an issue" (Gamson & Modigliani 1989: 3) and organize facts into a news account by building a coherent story line (Gamson 1989).

As a type of news frames, *narrative frames* (Johnson-Cartee 2005) refer to journalistic decisions on how to organize news content in a particular form applying frames such as confrontational frame, personalization frame, or gaming frame (Johnson-Cartee 2005). When applying the personalization frame, journalists build a storyline in news by emphasizing human participants acting based on their life situations, mental states, motives, and goals. Confrontational frame focuses on actors (re)acting on the opposite side of the conflict, whereas gaming frame refers to framing by presenting a news event particularly as a contested event. In other words, narrative frames concern the narrative orchestration of news realized by journalists, aiming at giving interpretive coherence to news.

Gamson (1989) notes that there are several actors involved in constructing the meaning of news, including journalists, but also other actors such as people interviewed for news. Similarly, there are more and less explicit levels of news content. Apart from the apparent, *informational content*, news entail *latent content*, which refers to the implicit frames in news, and consists of "metaphors, catchphrases, and other symbolic devices that provide a shorthand way of suggesting the underlying story line" (Gamson 1989: 158). In Gamson's dual model, latent content refers to verbal and visual cues guiding toward a particular story or narrative frame sponsored both by journalists and other agents participating in news discourse.

Apart from journalists, for example people in power and citizen activists with a voice that counts (Couldry 2010) often have an interest in managing the visibility of controversial issues. According to Hilgartner and Bosk (1988), they may strive to keep their preferred topics in headlines of the news media through "issue dramatization". Furthermore, it has been argued that "social problems that can be related to deep mythic themes or broad cultural preoccupations have a higher probability of competing successfully" (Hilgartner & Bosk 1988: 71). Thus, issue dramatizations can be related to wider cultural narratives, deriving a part of their discursive power from them.

In the current political arenas and news media environment mere dramatization seems to be increasingly replaced by strategic communication in a form of "narrative persuasion" (Forman 1999) and "media manipulation" (Marwick & Lewis 2017) implemented by media trained decision makers and political and ideological activists. Moreover, strategic information campaigns and manipulation on public opinion by actors such as political and ideological organizations, may utilize "false narratives" (Kirkpatrick 2017) that aim at building distorted or biased storyworlds around topics discussed in the news. These kinds of underlying narratives seek to guide media audiences to certain (mis)interpretations and opinions what is at stake in events reported by news media. In this article we call such discursive elements *framing narratives*, referring to "metaframes or subtexts that go beyond a single news story" (Gamson 1989: 159).

4 Narrative Transparency Model

With the aim of formulating a theoretically grounded interpretation of the type of "media manipulation" exercised by Vice-President Katainen in our opening example, and drawing from the literature discussed above, we compiled an analytical model that combines elements of transparency, narrativity, and levels of content. *The Narrative Transparency Model (NTM)* is based on theories on narrative (Bruner 1986; 1991; Abbott 2008), content and framing in news (Goffman 1974; Gamson & Modigliani 1987; Gamson 1989; Johnson-Cartee 2005), as well as transparency practices in journalism (e.g. Hedman 2016; Karlsson 2010). In order to be able to explain the sort of subtle persuasion that Katainen exercises, we suggest further elaboration of the theory of news frames and levels of content through introducing two new concepts: *framing narratives* and *imported content*. After introducing these concepts, we continue to describe the NTM and apply it to the Yle news interview.

4.1 Our Additions to the Theory of News Frames and News Content

Framing narratives. This article proposes a notion of a conceptual pair, namely: framing narrative and narrative frame as a theoretical ground for analyzing discursive functions of the narrative assets in news discourse. Framing narratives are sponsored by non-journalists, and function as metaframes creating a wider narrative landscape that extends beyond a single news text. They are launched in the context of a specific piece of news by verbal and visual cues that refer to available cultural narratives. It can be said that both kinds of framings aim at guiding the ways in which news readers interpret news.

Triple Model of Content. Adopting the dual model of content discussed by Gamson (1989), this article builds on a triple structure of content. In addition to 1) informational content, news texts include 2) latent content referring to narrative frames constructed by the main senders, journalists. Our addition, 3) *imported content*, by contrast, refers to verbal and visual cues guiding toward underlying framing narratives. The fundamental difference between latent content and imported content concerns their sponsorship. Imported content are sponsored by non-journalist actors participating in a news story or interview. These non-journalist participants may be politicians, artists, corporations and civil society organizations, or other actors who are given voice in a news interview or discussion.

Framing narratives concern narratives outside the primary news story. They concern collective narratives with wider circulation. Similar to all narratives, they involve conflict, "drama, plot, explanation, and selective appropriation" (Somers & Gibson 1994: 62). Instead of building coherence, they tend to provide idiosyncratic perspectives to news. They concern underlying narratives reaching beyond the bounds of a particular news text (Gamson 1989), whereas the concept of imported content refers to fractions, to visual and

verbal cues guiding toward these cultural, institutional, or political framing narratives. We argue that underlying framing narratives aim at guiding audiences toward certain interpretations of news, supporting the objectives and viewpoints of the sponsor of a particular framing narrative.

Table 1 compares the features and discursive functions of narrative frames and framing narratives as narrative assets in news discourse.

Table 1. Narrative frames and framing narratives

	(Journalistic) Narrative frames	**(Non-journalistic) Framing narratives**
Sponsored by	Journalists, journalistic practices	Other news discourse participants, e.g. people interviewed, citizens participating in social media
Location	Within the news story, internal, part of the journalistic entity	Outside the primary news story, external, cultural, underlying structures
Functions/effects	Creates coherence within the news story	Challenges coherence of mainstream news narratives; provides idiosyncratic perspectives to news issues
Form of manipulation	Issue dramatization	Issue distortion and dramatization
Realized/manifested by	Story structure; storyline, story details, and storyworld constructed by journalists	Visual and verbal cues as imported content guiding toward underlying framing narrative
Examples/types	Personalization frame, gaming frame, confrontational frame	Abstracted, vague, ambiguous, fake references; false, contested, or exaggerating analogies
Potential risks with regard to narrative transparency.	Hides the journalistic process, equates informational content with narrative framing	Blurs or eclipses the connection to informational content; undermines ideas of specificity and accountability; manipulative/populist by nature
Ways to overcome these risks.	By making the journalistic process more visible	By exposing framing narratives in news discourse and identify how they function as discursive assets
Potential ways to identify such framings.	Conceptual tool for discovering narrative frames	Conceptual tool for discovering framing narratives

4.2 Elements of the Narrative Transparency Model

The NTM analysis model (Figure 1) divides news into two basic layers and the dimensions of content: the story layer and the narrative discourse layer as well as the dimension of content divided in three subdimensions. Thus, it divides the same way as narrative itself does, since according to narratologists, narrative consists of: 1) the story and, 2) the narrative discourse, the way in which the story is told (Abbott 2008).

The story layer, the core of the news account, refers to elements of the story as it unfolds in real life, divided into two parts: 1) The sequence of constituent and supplementary events, i.e. acts and happenings, and 2) Human actants engaging in acts and non-human entities constructing the storyworld of the news account.
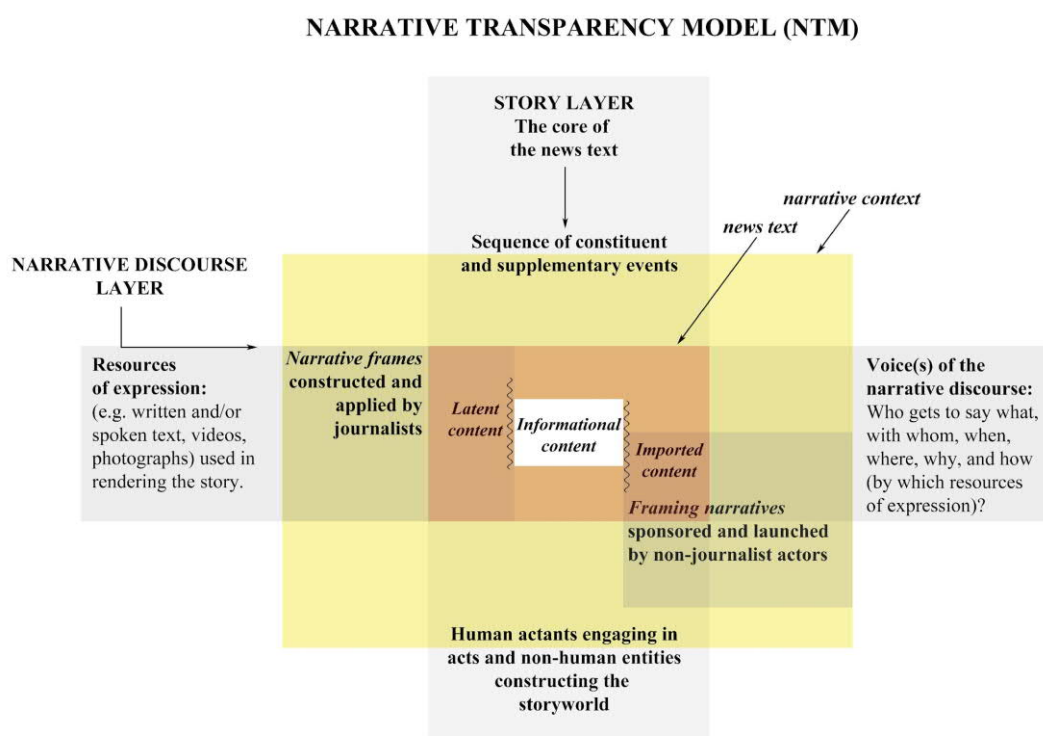
NARRATIVE TRANSPARENCY MODEL (NTM)

Figure 1. The Narrative Transparency Model (NTM)

The narrative discourse layer concerns by who and how the story is told; how the story is composed into a narrative by journalists. It includes 1) the resources of expression (e.g. written and/or spoken text, videos, photographs) that are being used in rendering the story, and 2) voices(s) of the narrative discourse, that is, who gets to say what, with whom, when, where, why, and how.

The narrative discourse layer also includes implicit, underlying framing narratives. Thus, it concerns both journalistic narrative frames, and non-journalistic framing narratives. As discussed above, narrative frame is constructed by the main senders, journalists aiming at creating interpretive coherence into the news text (e.g. gaming frame, personalization frame, and confrontational frame). By contrast, framing narratives are sponsored by others than journalists such as interviewees. They are present in news discourse typically in various forms of verbal, visual, and auditive cues directing toward underlying framing narratives, suggesting certain interpretations of news texts and world events.

The dimension of content is situated in the crossroads of the story layer and narrative discourse layer, and divided into three subdimensions: 1) informational content, 2) latent content, that is, narrative frames constructed and applied by journalist for building interpretive coherence into the news text, and 3) imported content. Imported content refers to verbal and visual cues that evoke framing narratives, which work as vehicles of narrative

persuasion, goading the interpretations and opinions of media audiences. Imported content is offered by actors having a voice in news, such as interviewees, and aim to penetrate the informational content of news.

4.3 A Case Study Applying the NTM Model

To illustrate the potential of the NTM analysis model especially in identifying framing narratives and their potential interrelations with the dimensions of content, this paper analyses a current affair case, an interview of European Commission Vice-President Jyrki Katainen, broadcast on television in 2015, and available online on the website of the Finnish Broadcasting Company Yle (YLE 2015).

In the program, journalist Nicholas Wancke interviews Katainen, among other things, on the sovereign debt crisis in Greece. The interview was made on March 15th, 2015, a few months after the Greek election, when the largest party after the elections, the left-wing Syriza and Alexis Tsipras had formed a coalition government. During the election, Tsirpas had promised to roll back austerity measures imposed by the international lenders, particularly "the Troika" of the European Commission (EC), European Central Bank (ECB), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In his comments, Katainen clearly and consistently proposes that the negotiations and promises concerning the bailout processes and the austerity measures needed, would have been made between the *citizens* of Greece and other European citizens, not just between institutions. In reality, neither the members of the public in Greece, nor the citizens of other European countries, had any part in the negotiations, requests, promises, or contracts made concerning the bailout packages and austerity measures related to the debt crisis in Greece.

Example 1 shows the part of the YLE interview (YLE 2015: 13:25-15:38 min.) that concerns the sovereign debt crisis in Greece (translated verbatim).

(1)   Wancke: Let's talk a moment about Greece. It seems to be this kind of, a topic for eternity. How much has Greece been messing up the game and causing irritation up there in the corridors of Brussels?

Katainen: Well yes, it has increased uncertainty. Greece was still at the turn of the year in a situation where its primary surplus… that is, where government spending without interest on government debt was lower than government revenue. So, the surplus in Greece was about 1,5 % of the GDP, which may be the biggest in Europe at this time. The economic growth was about 3 % and unemployment was coming nicely down. Many problems still, but in any case, the situation was on a reasonably good track, but after the election all this has unfortunately changed and…

Wancke: How much bad blood it has awakened?

Katainen: It has rather raised frustration, in there, that the member states, the citizens of the member states, have been prepared to help the people of Greece. And, through hard sacrifices, Greece was already getting into the situation, where it would have just been able to make it on its own. But the result of the election then, and the change in politics that it brought with it, unfortunately messed up this pattern. And now the good question is, whether the new government will be

	able to brin… to restore the confidence in the future of Greece and, under what conditions one can…
Wancke:	The next moment of fate for Greece will be then in the summer. That is, if this frustration affects there, what will happen?
Katainen:	Well, actually. It is important to keep one's head cool. No matter how frustrating it would be, one has to look at the realities of the economy. But it all depends purely on the Greek government. Can the Greek government commit to the re-organization of its economy, and in this way, can the Greek government deliver on the promises that the Greek… that the people of Greece have made to the citizens of other European countries? The question is not that the government…
Wancke:	So, it is that what the next bailout package depends on?
Katainen:	The question is not about merely about a discussion between the institutions, the European Commission and the Greek government, but this is about the people of Greece having needed help from other citizens. Other European citizens have been willing to help…
Wancke:	Thank you very much, thank you very much.
Katainen:	… and the promises must be kept.

The story layer: The main story concerns the debt crisis in Greece. Analysis of the story level can draw on several sources, and strives to create an impression of the emerging "big picture" or dominant interpretation of the key events and actors based on different media accounts. In the Greek debt crisis, the "establishment story" (Žižek 2010) this far has concerned primarily negotiations and power play between economic institutions and the Greek governments, while citizens have been represented mainly in the role of pro-testors and rioters opposing austerity measures (e.g. Tuunanen & Hirsto 2018). The emerging, overall story layer works as a frame of reference when analyzing a particular narrative version of the story.

The narrative discourse layer: In the YLE news interview, the acts and happenings of Greece are rendered in narrative and discursive form. The modalities of this particular narrative discourse include both visual and auditive sensory modes, i.e. video and sound (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001), as well as different modes of signification including visual imagery, body language such as gestures, postures, and expressions, and spoken lan-guage. This analysis focuses merely on the auditive mode and spoken language, that is, what Katainen and Wancke say in words during the interview.

In the narrative level, the crisis takes place on several sceneries: 1) in the government and streets of Greece as well as 2) all around the Europe and, 3) in the corridors of Brussels. The first and the second settings, according to the narrative launched by Katainen seem to be the constituent scenery for the events, and the latter more as the supplementary one. Characters engaging in the acts in this narrative are 1) people of Greece, 2) citizens of other European countries, 3) decision makers in Brussels, 4) institutions and governments (EC, the governments of Greece, and implicitly other institutions). The main non-sentient entities in the narrative are: 1) the economic situation in Greece, 2) bailout negotiations, processes and contracts concerning the debt crisis in Greece, 3) requests and promises allegedly made by the people of Greece to citizens of other European countries, 4) the sentiment in Brussels.

The main voices of the narrative discourse in the YLE news interview are those of journalist Wancke, and the interviewee, European Commission Vice-President Katainen. In addition, Wancke evokes implicitly the voices of politicians working in the European Commission, through referring to the "corridors of Brussels". Katainen, in turn, evokes the voices of the citizens of Greece, and the citizens of other countries in Europe, through referring to "promises that the Greek … that the people of Greece have made to the citizens of other European countries".

The three dimensions of content: The informational content of the news interview concerns, in the broad sense, everything that is said through language and other modes of signification with the intention of providing information or conveying explicit meanings that have informative value. The news interview includes, for example

- numeric facts about the economy of Greece (brought up by Katainen)
- the fact that the electoral result has brought about a change in Greek politics (discussed by Katainen) and created uncertainty (introduced by Wancke and discussed by Katainen)
- the notion of the forthcoming bailout negotiations during the following summer, (brought up in a question by journalist Wancke and discussed by Katainen).

Looking at the dimension of latent content from the viewpoint of narrative frames, it may be noted that the journalist Wancke uses the personalization frame and the confrontational frame ("irritation in the corridors"; "frustration affecting the results of the negotiations"; "how much bad blood it has awakened") as well as the gaming frame ("Greece messing up the game…"). The personalization frame may partly derive from the nature of the interview as a whole, since it begins with discussion about Katainen's recent new post as European Commission Vice-President and his personal experiences starting to work in the EC after being the Prime Minister of the Government of Finland during 2011–2014. Nevertheless, the personalization frame seems to give a possibility for the interviewee Katainen to be the main interlocutor; to mobilize his personal experience and opinions as the main voice in news. In this way, Wancke's narrative frame paves way for Katainen to propose his preferred framing narrative into to the issue discussed in the interview.

The imported content in this interview concerns the way in which Katainen, twice, explicitly remarks that the people of Greece have asked help from, and made promises to citizens of other European countries, who then, have been willing to help. This imported content activates a framing narrative that has not been prompted by the journalist and is not part of the (journalistic) narrative frame. In this narrative, the focal actors are not financial and political institutions but simplified ideas of European countries and their citizens. It may be argued that by means of imported content, Katainen not only shifts responsibility away from political actors to the less manageable domain of "people", but also points towards the cultural narratives and stereotypes of, for example, (responsible) North and (reckless) South, that were already widely circulating in the media during the

crisis (Tuunanen & Hirsto 2018). In our view, the narrative he proposes cannot be interpreted as a mere issue dramatization, since it is clearly built on (asserted) *facts* that just are not true. Importantly, the cues guiding toward the false narrative are presented along with the numeric and other facts about the Greek economy as part of the informational content of the news text. Interlacing these two dimensions of content may be seen as Katainen's attempt to domesticate the informational content and to unsettle the journalistic narrative frame that foregrounds political decision-makers and institutional actors.

Thus, in this illustrative case, the ways in which the interviewee, European Commission Vice-President Katainen, gives cues to the false framing narrative, story about citizens of Greece making requests from citizens of other countries and then, making promises to other citizens in Europe, operates simultaneously on several fields highlighted in the NTM. The framing narrative is activated by the imported content aiming to domesticate the manifest content and made possible by the way journalist Wancke uses personalization, gaming and confrontational frames in the news text. In addition, the personalization frame applied by journalist Wancke allows the interviewee to obtain the role of the main interlocutor of the narrative and to import his own distorted content while also being the source of hard facts in the interview.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

In this article, we set out to develop a theoretical groundwork and an initial conceptual model for analyzing and supporting narrative transparency (Tuunanen, forthcoming) in news discourse. Our special focus lied in analyzing the role of non-journalist participants in affecting news discourse. The paper contributes to discussion on framing and levels of content within news discourse (Gamson 1989; Gamson & Modigliani 1987; Johnson-Cartee 2005) in several ways. First, the article proposes the notion of *framing narrative* as a conceptual pair to narrative frame in news discourse. Narrative frames refer to "previously determined narrative structures" (Johnson-Cartee 2005: 159) constructed and applied by journalists in news accounts. Correspondingly, building on the idea on underlying narratives as "metaframes or subtexts that go beyond a single news story" (Gamson 1989: 159), the article defines framing narrative as a discursive asset sponsored by non-journalists within news discourse. These actors may include representatives of institutional organizations, political leaders, citizens or corporate executives, who are interviewed for a news story. They can activate framing narratives through verbal or visual cues that we call *imported content*. The notion of imported content expands Gamson's (1989) dual model that distinguishes between informational and latent content.

Building on these discussions, the paper introduces a conceptual tool for analyzing and supporting narrative transparency, titled *Narrative Transparency Model (NTM)*. We applied the model to analyze a broadcast interview, with a specific focus on an unexpected choice of perspective by the interviewee, a prominent politician. In the media text selected

as a case study for the article, a journalist interviews European Commission Vice-President Jyrki Katainen on the debt crisis in Greece. By his comments Katainen consistently evokes a framing proposing that the requests and promises concerning the bailout processes and the austerity measures would have been made between the citizens of Greece and other European citizens, while in reality, no such negotiations or agreements between the members of the public ever took place. Our analysis illustrated how the politician imported content – themes and perspectives realized as specific wordings and categorizations – from outside the proposed narrative frame to cue the audience toward a (false) framing narrative in a way that was consequential for the interpretation of the news story. Hence, the analysis sheds light on a subtle form of "media manipulation" that is available for media-trained politicians and other actors who are given voice and have skills to use it within news discourse. Obviously, such manipulation can be used for better or worse, depending on the viewpoint. Optimally, well-informed interviewees may import content that evokes novel and interesting framings to institutionalized and non-questioned "truths". Suboptimally, powerful actors may import content to divert attention from their role in social and political processes and to dilute responsibility for their actions.

Based on the analysis, it may be concluded that the Narrative Transparency Model helps to theorize and demonstrate how framing narratives may be imported into news stories to compete with or unsettle the frames provided by journalists, and how imported content, such as vague or misplaced references, may yield discursive power through mobilizing framing narratives. The article thus indicates that the model bears significant potential for investigating and enhancing narrative transparency, and in this way, for supporting news discourse skills among both media audiences and practitioners. On a more general level, the article draws attention to narrative transparency as a journalistic ideal, discursive practice, and analytical approach to news discourse. Overall, the research program on narrative transparency aims at increasing knowledge on how the trustworthiness, comprehension, and intelligibility of news can be advanced by recognizing and assessing the narrative frames and underlying framing narratives in news. Since these kinds of discursive assets aim at directing meaning making and may distort the interpretation of news, recognizing and understanding their forms and working mechanisms is essential for both critical news literacy and responsible news production.

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