

Stereotypes in Journalistic Practice

Introduction

Laura Navarro

PhD - Doctorado europeo en Comunicación Audio-visual
Universitat de València
España
launagar@yahoo.es

Karen Ross

Professor of Gender and Media
Newcastle University
Great Britain
karen.ross@newcastle.ac.uk

Eugénie Saitta

Maîtresse de conférences en Sciences de l'information et de la communication
Université de Rennes
Arènes (UMR 6051)
France
eugenie.saitta@univ-rennes1.fr



umerous studies have demonstrated how media content is often simplistic, caricatural or incomplete when addressing populations “subordinated according to essentialized attributes” (Martiniello, Simon, 2005: 7), including women, racialized minorities or populist groups.¹ This issue of *SLJ* adopts a sociological perspective of news production processes to highlight—upstream from the discourses and images conveyed by the media—how they create stereotypical representations of social reality. The sociology of journalism has demonstrated that journalistic practice is neither liberal nor individual and that it is in fact strongly constrained by the editorial apparatus (Schudson, 1989, Tuchman, 1978, Tunstall, 1971) and the professionalization of sources (Schlesinger, 1992). These studies have done little, however, to explore how stereotypes of class, ethnicity and gender operate within the constraining framework of routine interactions of journalists with their hierarchy, colleagues and sources. A fourth category can be added to this list; that of audiences, who are less real than perceived or imagined through marketing departments, readers’ studies, editors or the journalists themselves. This issue will examine news production processes through the lens of stereotypes in order to understand their place in everyday working relationships: the division of journalistic work (assignment of tasks and the decision-making process), news-gathering methods

Pour citer cet article

Référence électronique

Laura Navarro, Karen Ross, Eugénie Saitta, « Stereotypes in Journalistic Practice », *Sur le journalisme, About journalism, Sobre jornalismo* [En ligne, online], Vol 8, n°2 - 2019, 15 décembre - December 15 - 15 de dezembro.

URL : <http://www.surlejournalisme.com/rev>

(collaborative/competitive relationships with colleagues and sources) and principles and practices for selecting and prioritizing news (imaginaries and representations of audiences, social groups and topics covered).

THE RECRUITMENT PROCESS AND THE PROFILES OF JOURNALISTS

The issue of stereotypes cannot be addressed without first studying the producers of news and how closely their understanding of the world they actualize—their principles of “*vision and division of the world*” (Bourdieu, 1994: 22-23)—is linked to their primary and secondary socialization and their academic, marital and professional paths. These and other factors contribute to their perceptions, judgments and behaviors (Darmon, 2016). Given this, an ideal array of perspectives of current events, subjects, target groups, and social groups would hinge on the existence of a plurality of profiles among journalists, particularly from the point of view of where they are situated on the social spectrum.

Social homogenization

In that context, what are the social backgrounds of journalists? In France, studies of the “*social space of students*” (Lafarge, Marchetti, 2011) enrolled in recognized journalism programs² reveal social homogenization. The emphasis on competition to access journalism schools increases the likelihood of journalism students being selected along social lines and ultimately leads to a standardization of their biases and tastes. Hanna and Sanders (2012: 157-158) observed a similar situation in the United Kingdom. Noting an increase of journalism students with privileged backgrounds, the authors drew attention to what they describe as elitist recruitment³ and how apprentice journalists perceived the role of media: respondents with privileged social backgrounds attach more importance to the role of developing the intellectual and cultural interest of the public, while respondents from more modest social backgrounds are more likely to adhere to the belief that media should be a vehicle for ordinary people to express themselves on public affairs.

Gender parity: halting and at a cost

Though a strong case can be made for the prevalence of the social homogenization of journalists, particularly in the so-called authoritative media, a parallel gender parity also appears to be becom-

ing a reality. In many countries, there is indeed a process of feminization of the journalistic profession which, however, is constrained by vertical (“glass ceiling”) and horizontal segregation dynamics (mainly in the “feminine” news sectors), with a disproportionate number of female journalists having a precarious employment status (“glass door”) (Byerly, 2013). In France, women have received more new press cards than men since 2001 (*Observatoire des métiers de la presse*). However, an analysis of this evolution from an intersectional perspective shows that gender parity at the “royal gateway” of the journalistic profession is accompanied by an increase in the mechanisms of class domination due to intensified professional competition. For example, several authors have noted an “ultra” feminization of media (Damian-Gaillard, Saitta, 2010; Lafarge, Marchetti, 2011; Sedel, 2010), whereby women have come to hold prestigious positions and acquired exceptional qualification profiles. Though gender parity shows every sign of being an authentic sociographic evolution that ensures a female presence in the various journalism professions, in some respects it also increases the social uniformity of journalists⁴.

Labelling and minoritizing of “other” journalists

The standing of racialized minorities among news producers has been identified as a public issue in several countries, whether by institutions acting as intermediaries between activist and professional organizations, as in Spain (Navarro, 2015), or associations working in the field of anti-racism and migrant journalists’ organizations, as in Italy (Saitta, 2015). This reality is corroborated by studies conducted in other countries where “ethnic” statistics are available, like the United Kingdom (Thurman, 2016: 11-12) or the United States, where Weaver (2019: 110), studying the demography of journalists since the 1970s, noted that racialized minorities remained largely under-represented in this profession, although their share has increased slightly over the past ten years (from 9.5% in 2002 to 10.8% in 2013). In France, the lack of ethnic classification statistics is an obstacle to determining the distribution of racialized minorities among the CSP (classification of socio-professional categories) and, more precisely, among journalists holding a press card. But the existence of various affirmative action measures and action plans can be read as an indicator of the reality of their under-representation. In 2004, France Télévision adopted the Positive Action Plan for Integration (PAPI), signing the Diversity Charter (a framework agreement with the State to promote diversity in recruitment), and implemented the Equal Pluralist Media project,

which includes an HR component with the objective of “restoring equal opportunities.” The Media and Diversity commission, set up by the Commissioner for Diversity and Equal Opportunities in 2009, aims to “*broaden the pool of journalists*” (Chupin, Soubiron, Tasset, 2016: 223). Under the impetus of the CSA, journalism schools are setting up “mechanisms for openness to diversity,” which also meet a strong demand from media companies in the audiovisual sector that believe that the presence of “visible minorities” on the screen meets their objective to broaden audiences. These measures ultimately lead to the integration of “*a minor diversity initiative*” (Chupin, Soubiron, Tasset, 2016: 229) in journalism schools, which can now counter criticism of elitist and discriminatory recruitment practices because of their efforts at “*small-scale compensation provided by diversification channels*” (Chupin, Soubiron, Tasset, 2016: 229).

Stereotypes, labelling and journalistic recruitment

The social homogenization of new journalists, “*partial and halting*” gender parity (Damian-Gaillard, Frisque, Saitta, 2010) of the journalistic profession, underrepresented admission into the profession of persons defined by their supposed ethno-racial origin... These observations depict the extent to which the plurality of the profiles of journalists outlined above has not been realized. Several macro-sociological phenomena are referenced in existing literature to explain changes in the recruitment of journalists, such as the professionalization of journalism and the occlusion of its professional borders; or the increase in competition for access to the professional journalistic labor market; or the deterioration of the economic conditions in the press and increased competition linked to the development of new media; or institutional injunctions in the context of a public debate highlighting the issue of diversity. But it would also seem essential to deploy a meso- and micro-sociological analysis to better understand how journalists are recruited (by both training institutions and the media) and the role of class, ethnic and gender stereotypes. For example, Chupin, Soubiron and Tasset (2016) demonstrate how the increasing dependence of journalism schools on media companies, particularly in the audiovisual sector, have led these schools to deploy “*diversification channels*” (p. 229) based on ethno-racial criteria through the so-called “apprenticeship tax” and dedicated competitions. Though the authors mention the vagueness of the criteria used to select these “diverse” students, they do not adequately discuss the conceptions, definitions and visions—often of an implicit, “common sense” nature—that are implemented

by the various stakeholders involved in the recruitment process of candidates. What is a “diverse” candidate for these recruiters? What is the rationale behind the selection? Should the delineation of the boundaries of a “diverse” group itself become an object of analysis, to better understand who is included in this group and who is not? Who is encouraged to speak “on behalf of” or in the place of racialized minorities? How does their ethno-racial labelling occur and to what extent is it combined with other criteria such as gender (quota, parity) or social origin (scholarship recipients)?

The labelling process is particularly noticeable in recruitment aimed at favoring disadvantaged populations. For example, in a survey conducted at a monthly magazine devoted to “young people of Arab and/or Muslim origin”⁵ residing in Italy, Saitta (2015) demonstrated that the goal of the newspaper founders to provide those they designate as “the second generation” a forum to express themselves clashes with the reality of the composition of the group, which includes descendants of migrants, migrants and descendants of binational couples. Indeed, as defined by the founders of the newspaper, the notion of “second generation” tacitly implies integration—an integration reflected in the search for young Muslims representative of a “moderate” Islam, neither “resting against the mosque iwan” nor “indifferent to Muslim culture.” In the same vein, Berthaut (2013), working in “the suburbia of 8pm news programming,” demonstrated that French television newsrooms employ “fixers” from working class neighborhoods to facilitate reporters’ access to these places and selected protagonists. These fixers are not granted journalist status, their class habitus (Bourdieu, 1980: 75) being perceived as an obstacle.

These examples show how stereotypes can play a role in these labelling processes. Defined as “*a set of beliefs about a social group*” (Legal, Delouvé, 2015: 9), stereotypes are collective constructs transmitted and learned during socialization. They are based on the present or a history of relationships between individuals and contribute to the reproduction of categorical distinctions, negative relationships of interdependence between categories of individuals, and the legitimization of relationships of domination by essentializing the differences in status between these categories. Stereotypes thus contribute to the symbolic social categorization of groups and individuals and the essentialization of social relationships (Croizet, 2010). Stereotype as a concept was developed primarily within social psychology studies and seems to us to be particularly heuristic in the sociology of journalism in order to understand how stereotypes inform jour-

nalistic work on a daily basis—from recruitment to the organization of work, including the relationship with sources and audiences. How do stereotypes contribute to the perpetuation of relationships of domination in the exercise of the journalistic profession? Stereotypes are often internalized and wielded unconsciously, so to what extent are they also challenged, contained and diverted, especially by the people toward whom they are directed?

DISADVANTAGED JOURNALISTS AND NEWS PRODUCTION PROCESSES

When journalists belonging to disadvantaged populations exercise their profession, to what extent can they express a different vision—one that is a product of their socialization and career path?

Ranges and spaces of expression

A first question addresses what journalists belonging to disadvantaged populations are allowed to say: what spaces and ranges of expression are afforded them? On what criteria/principles are they assigned one task and not another? And what role do stereotypes play in this horizontal division of labor? Löfgren Nilsson (2010), for example, has shown how much, within Swedish public television, gender role expectations contribute to women being assigned “soft news” and men “hard news”: the former, perceived in an essentialist way by editors as passive, prudent and hesitant, were most often assigned documentary research, while the latter, perceived as active, reliable and assertive, and able to “*catch the ball and run with it*,” were generally sent into the field. In this respect, stereotypes both perpetuate and validate a “gendered order” in writing, with field journalism occupying a higher position in professional hierarchies than documentary journalism. The objective skills of women do not sway these perceptions and the resulting assignment of tasks. Men are therefore automatically solicited, without necessarily having to “*catch the ball and run with it*,” because of a marked preference of editors-in-chief for the “*old boys’ network*” or even a male “homo-sociality.” Similarly, Saitta (2016), analyzing the news production processes in the *Immigration* supplement of the Italian national daily La Repubblica, demonstrated that ethnicized perceptions of the (in)competency of writers lead to a horizontal segregation of tasks, whereby in-house writers, who also do managerial work and are largely composed of Italians without previous specialization in migration issues, focus on the coverage of “service” news (immigration legislation, work guides, economics, health, school, housing),

while freelance employees, mostly migrants or descendants of migrants, are mainly assigned current events in their home country and the lives of migrants in the host country. Based on an analysis of the dynamics underlying the distribution of themes, topics and headings, the author concluded that ethnocultural stereotypes feed into representations of assumed skills and competencies and therefore affect the division of labor.

These examples demonstrate how stereotypes feed role expectations, perceptions of (in)competencies, professional (dis)qualifications and inter-individual relationships between categorizers and categorized in the daily practice of the journalistic profession. These stereotypes thus help validate and perpetuate hierarchies between categories and relationships of domination within workspaces that have otherwise become egalitarian or at least more integrated.

Relationship to news sources

A second question concerns the relationship between disadvantaged journalists and news sources in the process of co-producing news that links these two stakeholders. Indeed, these journalists are the object of stereotypes that inform labor relations not only inside the newsrooms—as we have seen above—but also outside, in their relations with sources. Damian-Gaillard and Saitta (2018, 2019) analyzed the article entitled “*We, female political journalists and victims of sexism...*,” published on May 5, 2015 in the national daily newspaper *Libération* and signed by forty-one women, most anonymously. Indeed, female political journalists—like their male counterparts—seek, for news gathering purposes, to establish an intellectual kinship and a relationship of trust with their sources. But this quest may be undermined by the deployment by political actors of two forms of gender stereotypes: that of the supposed inferior competence of female political journalists; and, above all, that of the woman perceived as a sexual object which sexualizes the intellectual kinship. In the asymmetric and shifting power relations between political journalists and their sources, these stereotypes then serve to professionally disqualify women journalists. The increasing awareness of gender relations in the daily exercise of their profession incites many to refuse to spin gender stereotypes in their favor; for example, to play seductress to collect information from political professionals. In other instances, as Schoch and Ohl (2011) explain, female journalists in Switzerland use their alleged incompetence in the so-called “masculine” world of sports journalism to obtain more time with their interviewee under the pretext of needing more ex-

planation. Similarly, Lachover (2005) showed that Israeli women journalists adopt two tactics, “flirting” and/or “help me,” to flip in their favor their sources’ stereotypic perceptions of women as being sexual, weak and maternal objects.

Professional models and the rationales of their identification

Beyond the structural aspects of the homogenization of stereotyped journalistic content, what can be said of disadvantaged journalists’ identification and affiliation in light of the the roles assigned to them? How do some challenge these perceptions of stereotypical (in)competences? Through what channels, by what means, and in what forms? In what contexts are they able to put certain topics on the agenda? By analyzing the positions of contributors in *Repubblica’s Immigration* supplement, which has as its dual objective to promote “the integration of immigrants” and “interculturality” in Italy through a celebration of “models of success” (Rigouste, 2007), Saitta (2016) pinpoints different rationales of identification—journalistic, ethnic, militant, etc.—in order to promote the integration of immigrants, leading to a variety of discourses, from total acceptance to the strongest criticism, of the publication’s coverage of migration. The existence of these multiple rationales helps introduce heterogeneity into journalistic work and incites contributors to draw from records or sources that stand outside patterns dictated by an ethnicized vision of (in)competences. One respondent, for instance, used sources related to his political and union involvement. Damian-Gaillard and Saitta (2018, 2019) demonstrate that the public denunciation of the sexism of elected officials by female journalists, although constituting a professional risk (being “burned” by their sources), is only possible because (one) these women hold consolidated positions in the media; (two) the theme of gender inequality, discrimination and sexual violence has become legitimate in the public debate; and (three) they have become individually and collectively aware of gender discrimination in their daily work.

News Frameworks and Mediatic “Common Sense”

It is only through and at the end of these processes, forming a triangulation between socialization, recruitment and production constraints, that the content of the news disseminated takes shape. The professional socialization that takes place through official journalism training channels, sometimes referred to as “formatting bodies” (Ruffin, 2003), and in media companies, as well as the growing importance of marketing and audience

research services that produce data on audience expectations and practices, constitute what Neveu (2000: 190) described as “*powerful social mechanisms contributing to the homogenization of writing styles*” and ways of seeing and processing news and models of journalistic excellence. And this raises a third question regarding the framing of news and the role played by the vision of media companies: How is the expression of the disadvantaged, if it has not been partly formatted by their passage through journalism school, affected by the multiple injunctions, direct and indirect, which are translated and take shape through the daily organization of work? In the end, how do stereotypes feed into the framing of news? Berthaut (2013) has demonstrated how much the common view of Paris ghettos fuels the typification (Tuchman, 1978) by journalists when representing these working-class neighborhoods in newscasts as drab towers and sprawling building blocks. Similarly, Navarro (2008), based on an analysis of the dominant Spanish media, showed how an orientalist (in Said’s sense) vision of the Arab world and Islam contributes to the relegation of many subjects such as the work of reformist Muslim intellectuals, Islamic feminists or social human rights movements in Arab countries.

Finally, by analyzing stereotypes at work in the processes of news production, this issue aims to contribute to the study of the mechanisms of domination that play a role in the maintenance of social order, while also reflecting on the mobilization, challenges and resistance to this system.

Translation: Helmut Obermeier

NOTES

^{1.} To cite just a few examples of a long list when applied internationally: Bertaut (2013); Coulomb-Gully (2012); Delthombe, Rigouste (2016); Navarro (2007); Olivesi (2012); Sedel (2013).

^{2.} There are 14 training courses recognized by the national collective agreement for journalists among some 30 programs offered in France.

^{3.} The authors identify three factors that contribute to this high social level of recruitment: financial barriers to access journalism education; precarity of the journalism labour market that must be complemented by sustained family support; and the preponderance of nepotism.

^{4.} To qualify this conclusion, it should be noted that women are also over-represented among the “invisible” members of journalism, that is, those who carry out and lay a claim to

journalistic activity without officially benefiting from the status sanctioned by a press card (Frisque, 2010). Because data on their social origin and level of education is unavailable, however, it seems risky to draw conclusions on a correlation between the feminization of precarity and standardization/social diversification through the lens of the instability of journalism jobs.

^{5.} The way in which the founders of the newspaper categorize a group of individuals is problematic because it indicates a heterogeneity of affiliation: not all Arabs are Muslims and vice versa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Byerly, C., (ed.), 2013, *The Palgrave International Handbook of Women and Journalism*, Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Berthaut, J., 2013, *La banlieue du « 20 heures » ? Ethnographie de la production d'un lieu commun journalistique*, Marseille: Agone.
- Bourdieu, P., 1980, *Questions de sociologie*, Paris : Éd. de Minuit.
- Bourdieu, P., 1994, *Raisons pratiques*, Paris : Seuil.
- Cardon, V., Roharik, I., 2016, « Le déploiement temporel des inégalités de genre dans le monde du journalisme. Une analyse longitudinale », *Temporalités*, 23.
- Chupin, I., Soubiron, A., Tasset, C., 2016. « Entre social et ethnique: Les dispositifs d'ouverture à la "diversité" dans les écoles de journalisme en France ». *Terrains & travaux*, 29(2), pp. 217-236.
- Cottle. S., 1998, "Making ethnic minority programmes inside the BBC: professional pragmatics and cultural containment", *Media, Culture and Society*, n° 20, pp. 295-317.
- Coulomb-Gully. M., 2012, *Présidente : le grand défi – Femmes, politique et médias*, Paris : Editions Payot.
- Croizet, J., 2010, « Stéréotypes », in E. Benbassa (dir.), *Dictionnaire des racismes, de l'exclusion et des discriminations*, Paris : Larousse, pp. 1554-1561.
- Damian-Gaillard. B., Frisque. C., Saitta. E., 2010 : *Journalisme au Féminin. Assignations, inventions et stratégies*, Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Damian-Gaillard, B., Saitta, E., 2018, « Des femmes journalistes politiques dénoncent les effets de genre dans leur relation aux sources d'information », *Femmes / hommes dans les médias : mode d'emploi*, Collection Chercheurs § Journalistes, Alliance internationale de journalistes.
- Damian-Gaillard, B., Saitta, E., 2019, « Le genre comme ressource dans les rapports de pouvoir entre journalistes et représentants politiques », in C. Guionnet, B. Lechaux (dir.), *Lire la politique au prisme du genre. Petits accommodements du quotidien*, Bruxelles : Peter Lang, collection La fabrique du politique », pp. 69-85.
- Damian-Gaillard, B., Saitta, E., (à paraître), "When sexism in politics became a media issue in France. Mobilization of female political journalists", in S. Heifler, M. Topic (ed.), *Women in the Media: Who Creates the News?*
- Darmon, M., 2016, *La socialisation*, Paris : Armand Colin.
- Deltombe, T., Rigouste, B., 2016, « The Enemy Within : The Construction of The «Arab» in the media », in N. Bancel (dir.), *The Colonial Legacy in France (2005-2010-2015)*, Indiana University Press.
- Esser, F., 1998, "Editorial Structures and Work Principles in British and German Newsrooms". *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 13, n° 3, pp. 375-405.
- Ferrández Ferrer, A., 2012, "Sobre la experiencia laboral de los periodistas migrantes en un contexto de desregulación: entre la precariedad y la democratización del campo mediático", *Comunicación y Sociedad*, XXV(2), pp. 305-330.
- Gans, H., 1980, *Deciding What's News*, New York: Vintage.
- Goffman, E., 1974, *Stigmate : les usages sociaux des handicaps*, Paris : Editions de Minuit.
- Hanna, M., Sanders, K., 2012, "Perceptions of the News Media's Societal Roles: How the Views of U.K. Journalism Students Changed during Their Education", *Journalism & Mass Media Education*, 67(2), pp. 145-163.
- Husband, C., 2005, "Minority Ethnic Media as Communities of Practice: Professionalism and Identity Politics in Interaction", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 31, n° 3, pp. 461-479.
- Lachover, E., 2005, "The gendered and sexualised relationship between Israeli women journalists and their male news sources", *Journalism*, Vol. 6, n° 3, pp. 291-311.
- Lafarge, G., Marchetti, D., 2011, « Les portes fermées du journalisme. L'espace social des étudiants des formations "reconnues" », *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, Vol. 4, n° 189, pp. 72-99.
- Légal, J., Delouée. S., 2015, *Stéréotypes, préjugés et discriminations*, Paris : Dunod.
- Lester, L., 1980, "Generating Newsworthiness: The Interpretative Construction of Public Events", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 45, pp. 984-994.
- Löfgren-Nilsson, M., 2010, "Thinkings and Doings of Gender - Gendering processes in Swedish television news production", *Journalism Practice*, Vol. 4(1), pp. 1-16.
- Martiniello, M., Simon, P., 2005, « Les enjeux de la catégorisation. Rapports de domination et luttes autour de la représentation dans les sociétés post-migratoires », *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, vol. 21, n° 2, pp. 2-11.
- Matonti, F., 2018, *Le genre présidentiel. Enquête sur l'ordre des sexes en politique*, Paris, La Découverte, collection Genre et sexualité.
- Navarro, L., 2015, « Médias publics et politiques de la "diversité" en Espagne : entre les intérêts du marché et ceux des politiques d'immigration », in T. Mattelart (dir.), *Médias et migrations dans l'espace euro-méditerranéen*, Mare et Martin, collection MediaCritic.
- Navarro, L., 2015, "Televisión pública y diversidad cultural en España: el caso de los programas dirigidos a 'inmigrantes'", *Revista Migraciones*, dic, pp. 111-135.
- Navarro, L., 2008, *Contra el Islam: La vision deformada del mundo arabe en Occidente*, Almuzara Estudios S A.
- Navarro, L., 2007, *Interculturalidad y Comunicación. La representación mediática del mundo árabe-musulmán*, Departamento de Teoría de los Lenguajes y Ciencias de la Comunicación, Universitat de València, Valencia.
- North, L., 2009, *The Gendered Newsroom: How Journalists Experience the Changing World of Media*, Cresskill: Hampton Press.

- Olivesi, A., 2012, *Implicite sexiste ? Genre, politique et discours journalistique*, Toulouse : Presses Universitaires du Midi.
- Padioleau, J., 1976, "Système d'interaction et rhétoriques journalistiques", *Sociologie du travail*, Vol. 3, pp. 256-282.
- Rigouste, B., 2007, « La construction médiatique du corps intégré. Promouvoir pour bannir dans la cité post-coloniale », in I. Rigoni (dir.), *Qui a peur de la télévision en couleurs ? La diversité culturelle dans les médias*, Aux Lieux d'Être, pp. 109-129.
- Ross, K., de Bruin, M., 2004, *Gender and Newsroom Practice*, Cresskill: Hampton Press.
- Ross, K., 2001, "Women at Work: Journalism as an engendered practice", *Journalism Studies*, Vol. 2 (4), pp. 531-544.
- Saitta, E., 2015, « Médias et immigration en Italie : émergence d'un problème public », in T. Mattelart (dir.), *Médias et migrations dans l'espace euro-méditerranéen*, Mare et Martin, coll. MediaCritic, pp. 265-280.
- Saitta, E., 2015, « Les médias de minorités ethniques en Italie : rupture et continuité avec les pratiques et discours dominants. Une analyse comparée de *Yalla Italia* et de *Stranieri in Italia* », in T. Mattelart (dir.), *Médias et migrations dans l'espace euro-méditerranéen*, Mare et Martin, pp. 283-314.
- Saitta, E., 2016, « Logiques de production et de représentation d'une identité de groupe. Le cas des médias produits par ou avec des minorités ethniques en Italie ». In *Emulations* [en ligne], 29 avril 2016. Disponible sur : <http://www.revue-emulations.net/archives/16-medias-et-identites/logiques-de-production-et-de-representation-dune-identite-de-groupe>
- Schlesinger, P., 1992, « Repenser la sociologie du journalisme. Les stratégies de la source d'information et les limites du médiacentrisme », *Réseaux*, n° 51, pp. 75-99.
- Schoch, L., Ohl, F., 2011, "Women Sports Journalists in Switzerland: Between Assignment and Negotiation of Roles", *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 28(2), pp. 189-208.
- Schudson, M., 1989, "The sociology of news production", *Media, Culture and Society*, n° 11, pp. 263-282.
- Sedel, J., 2010, « Une reconfiguration des spécialisations professionnelles au Monde ? », in B. Damian-Gaillard, C. Frisque, E. Saitta (dir.), *Le journalisme au féminin : assignations, inventions et stratégies*, Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes, pp. 153-168.
- Sedel, J., 2013, *Les médias et la banlieue*, Lormont, INA/ Le bord de l'eau.
- Thurman, N., & al, 2016, *Journalists in the UK*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Tuchman, G., 1978, *Making News. A study in the Construction of Reality*, New York: The Free press.
- Tunstall, J., 1971, *Journalists at work*, London: Constable.
- Weaver, D. H. & al, 2019, "The American Journalist in the Digital Age: Another Look at U.S. News People", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 96(1), pp. 101-130.