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Coronavirus and the use of Twitter amongst journalists: A mixed-method analysis

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Abstract

The coronavirus pandemic has had an enormous impact on humanity and news media has become dominated by coverage of the virus. This thesis examines the ways in which journalists have used Twitter during this time. Focus was placed on the journalistic roles that the journalists performed on Twitter. There are relatively few examples of previous research that has examined the performance of journalistic roles on social media, nor their performance during times of crisis. A mixed-methods analysis was undertaken into the Twitter feeds of six British and Swedish political journalists from varying organisations, utilising Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) journalistic roles in the domains of political life as a theoretical framework. What was found that whilst a large number of tweets were able to be categorised according to this framework, there remained a large deal of behaviours unique to crises and the coronavirus pandemic that were unable to be categorised. These were termed 'Journalism of Patriotism', 'Journalism of Hope', and 'Journalism of Collective Responsibility'. Moreover, the extent to which the journalists engaged in personalisation on their Twitter feeds was examined, which found a substantial incorporation of personal experiences of the coronavirus pandemic, as well as the inclusion of humour. In addition, it was found that the unique circumstances lead to increased sociability in the Twitter feeds of the journalists examined. The findings raise questions about the applicability of preconceived journalistic roles to the study of role performance during times of crisis.

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Journalism on Twitter in times of crisis

On January 4th, 2020, the homepage for the British newspaper The Guardian was dominated by coverage of the assassination of the Iranian general Qasem Soleimani. When readers visited the website, they were greeted by a section dedicated to the so-called 'US-Iran Crisis', with the headline story claiming that at Soleimani's funeral tears were mixed with 'vows of vengeance' against the United States (The Guardian, January 4th, 2020a). Nestled further down the page, past The Guardian's 'Weekend' feature articles and coverage of England's cricket test against South Africa, was an article from the Associated Press in Hong Kong. It described the city's reaction to a 'mystery virus' from the Chinese city of Wuhan that had revived fears of the 2002-3 Sars epidemic (The Guardian, January 4th, 2020b). At the time, authorities moved to a 'serious response' level in order to prevent the spread of a 'mysterious infection' that had possibly infected five Hong Kong residents with at least 44 people affected in Wuhan (The Guardian, January 4th, 2020b). Exactly four months to the day after The Guardian's initial article, the global death toll from this 'mystery virus' had surpassed 250,000 (John Hopkins, May 4th, 2020).

Coronavirus, as it has come to be commonly known[1], has been described by the UN Secretary General as 'the biggest threat to humanity since the Second World War' (BBC News, April 1st, 2020). Measures that would have previously been seen as draconian and extreme, such as nationwide lockdowns, have become a part of everyday life for a great deal of humanity. Indeed, in late April 2020 it was claimed that a third of the world's population was under a lockdown in which their movement was 'actively restricted and controlled by their respective governments' in order to control the spread of the virus (Statista, April 23rd, 2020). Additionally, governments have been forced to take unprecedented interventions in national economies. In Sweden, the government had by the middle of March presented a 'support package' totalling 300 billion Swedish Krona for companies impacted by the pandemic (SVT, March 16th, 2020). At the same time in the United Kingdom, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rishi Sunak, promised to guarantee 330 billion pounds worth of loans to businesses (The Guardian, March 17th, 2020). Figures from May 4th showed that a quarter of all British workers had been furloughed, with the government providing 8 billion pounds in wage subsidies (Reuters, May 4th, 2020).

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[1] This thesis will follow *The Guardian* and other media outlets in using 'coronavirus' as the preferred nomenclature for the disease Covid-19 and the virus SARS-CoV-2, and 'the coronavirus pandemic' for the accompanying global pandemic.

In contrast to January 4th, May 4th's Guardian homepage was almost entirely dedicated to the coronavirus pandemic. As well as headline stories from around the world, users had to scroll past sections such as 'Coronavirus Explained', 'Coronavirus Opinion', and 'Guardian Community', which contained stories submitted by readers on their experiences of the pandemic, before they were able to read any stories not related to coronavirus (The Guardian, May 4th, 2020). In their work on crisis journalism in 2007, Riegert and Olsson wrote that they were in an age in which crises are reported on as 'disaster marathons' (2007: 143). 13 years on, coverage of the coronavirus pandemic has taken this to the extreme, in that reporting seems to now be at the 'disaster ultramarathon' stage, with every media outlet across the world pushing increasingly dedicated coverage to coronavirus with no finish line in sight. Indeed, some news organisations such as Reuters have made the decision to highlight their non-coronavirus coverage, in an attempt to not allow important stories pass their readers by (Reuters, April 15th, 2020). Audiences however, are responding strongly to news media's reorientation to a form of coverage dominated by coronavirus. Data from early April has shown how in the UK the BBC's evening news bulletins reached a weekly audience of 20 million and Sky News' audiences had trebled, whilst Channel 4 News reached three times the number of people in March than at the same time the previous year (Press Gazette, April 8th, 2020). Nor has this been restricted to traditional media. Twitter announced in March that they were seeing a 'meaningful increase' in the people using the site, driven at least to some extent by the coronavirus pandemic (Reuters, March 23rd, 2020).

According to recent research, 73% of under-thirty-fives reach the news via a so-called 'side door', either through search, social media, or email (Hermida, 2019: 178). Studies have shown how 'incidental news consumption' on sites like Twitter has 'moved from the periphery to the center', particularly amongst younger people (Boczowski, Mitchelstein and Matassi, 2018: 3524). In 2019 in the United Kingdom, 14% of people used Twitter as a news source (Reuters Institute, 2019: 69). In Sweden, the figure was found to be 8% (Reuters Institute, 2019: 111). With the increase in Twitter users during the coronavirus pandemic, it's not unreasonable to expect that this to be higher in 2020. Highlighting the importance of Twitter during coronavirus was its decision to donate one million dollars to be shared between the Committee to Protect Journalists and the International Women's Media Foundation. Writing about the donation, Twitter executive Vijaya Gadde said that 'Right now, every journalist is a Covid-19 journalist', and that 'Journalism is core to our service and we have a deep and

enduring responsibility to protect that work' (Twitter, March 24th, 2020). Moreover, journalists have been offering their own experiences of how the coronavirus has impacted them and their work. One journalist interviewed said that whilst they had previously always been able to separate the story from their own feelings, with coronavirus 'it's the personal element' that makes it challenging for them (The Guardian, March 21st, 2020).

This belief that journalists are carrying out essential work during the coronavirus pandemic is visible across social media and news organisations' homepages, and is arguably held by journalists themselves. On May 7th the prominent British political reporter Robert Peston tweeted in support of a campaign by the UK-based Journalists' Charity, which said that lockdown without journalists was 'unthinkable' as they 'provide information, insight and challenge', urging the public to '#supportjournalism' in a time when many journalists have an uncertain future (Peston, May 7th, 2020). In Sweden, the sidebar of the homepage of the public broadcaster SVT has throughout the pandemic contained links to articles written by chief editor Charlotta Friborg. In these she responds to criticism of SVT's allegedly aggressive reporting during coronavirus, saying that 'accountability and critical investigation are linchpins of journalism' and that this should not decrease during a national crisis (SVT, May 6th, 2020).

The implicit narrative is that journalists during the coronavirus pandemic are not only acting as the disseminators of information but as the stereotypical 'watchdog', providing the public with a service in which they hold those in power to account. The key question is whether this principled yet somewhat idealistic narrative reflects reality. It is undeniable that during the coronavirus pandemic many organisations have investigated the conduct of those in power, such as in the UK where The Times provided a narrative of '38 days when Britain sleepwalked into disaster' (The Times, April 19th, 2020), and SVT's revelation that government authorities were pressured into toning down their demand for personal protective equipment (PPE) for workers in care homes (SVT, April 26th, 2020). What remains to be seen however is whether this narrative has been reproduced in the actions of individual journalists.

This thesis is therefore concerned with the actions and behaviour of individual journalists during the coronavirus pandemic. In taking the analysis beyond the posturing of organisations to journalists themselves, a deeper understanding of journalism during coronavirus is possible. There is arguably no better place for this analysis to occur than on Twitter, where it has been said that journalists allegedly 'can interact directly with their

audiences outside the purview of their editors' (Tandoc Jr., Cabañes and Cayabyab, 2019). Speaking in 2011, SVT's director general said that their aim was for all their journalists to be on Twitter and to use it as a 'journalistic tool' (Hedman, 2015: 279). Whilst levels of usage vary, a great deal of journalists have at least some form of Twitter profile, which can be used for promoting their own articles, interacting with readers, fellow journalists, or simply for sharing aspects of their personal life. Thus, in analysing the content of journalists' Twitter feeds during the coronavirus pandemic one is able to see how journalists have interpreted and performed their roles on a highly-public forum in a situation unlike anything the world has ever seen before. Furthermore, the complexity of the circumstances leads to the possibility that some journalists may behave differently than others. Health reporters reporting purely scientific developments may exist in a less contentious arena than political journalists reporting, explaining, and analysing the decisions of governments and official figures. Therefore, the focus within this study will be on political journalists actively using Twitter.

This thesis is primarily concerned with a number of intersecting issues. The first is the overarching issue of how journalists have utilised social media. One of the main questions regarding this is whether journalists have adapted themselves to sites such as Twitter, or whether they have 'normalised' Twitter so that it fits their traditional roles. This trend has been shown in how journalists previously normalised the blog format so that it enhanced 'traditional journalistic norms and practices' (Singer, 2005: 193). Whilst research has shown how certain journalists have retained their traditional values in their use of Twitter, a minority are 'transforming journalism' into a format with increased audience orientation, branding, and networking (Hedman, 2015: 293). The question of how journalist conceive their professional roles and perform them on Twitter is an important and necessary area of research but this importance is amplified during times of crisis. Academic research into crisis journalism has shown how decisions made during crises can go 'beyond traditional journalistic role conceptions' (Riegert and Olsson, 2007: 144). It is this intersectionality that becomes so crucial. The reporting of the coronavirus pandemic on Twitter becomes a scenario in which there exists two destabilising forces on 'traditional journalism', Twitter itself and the crisis situation of coronavirus. Related to this is the fact that coronavirus has impacted everyone in society, albeit unequally. This applies to journalists as well, and of interest are the ways in which journalists have incorporated their own experiences of coronavirus into their Twitter feeds and their reporting.

In examining how the coronavirus pandemic has impacted role performances on Twitter, a comparative study becomes useful. Previous comparative work, such as Hallin and Mancini's (2004) seminal research, has attempted to conceptualise and categorise different media systems that have been observed in certain countries. In their work, the authors identified three different media systems, the 'Polarized Pluralist' or 'Mediterranean' model, the 'Democratic Corporatist' or 'North/Central European' model, and the 'Liberal' or 'North Atlantic' model (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Whilst Hallin and Mancini did not claim that their models were monolithic, they did admit that they were useful 'for understanding patterns of relationship among media and political system characteristics' and as a way to more readily compare media systems of different countries (2004: 297). Whilst this thesis will not attempt to critically analyse the longevity of Hallin and Mancini's (2004) media systems, there is benefit in conducting a smaller scale study that explores what journalistic roles are performed on Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic.

There is precedent for utilising a comparative study to explore journalistic role performance, such as Hanitzsch's (2011) study that compared journalists' professional milieu, autonomy, and their conceptions of their roles in 18 countries. Thus, in an initial examination of how the coronavirus has impacted journalistic roles on Twitter, a comparison of Sweden and the United Kingdom can be conducted. There are a number of justifications for this. Firstly, according to Hallin and Mancini, The United Kingdom was seen as belonging to the 'Liberal' model where the government's influence on the media sphere is seen negatively, the media tends to target a wide mass audience, and its role is seen as providing information to citizen-consumers (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 299). Contrastingly, Sweden was seen as being part of the 'Democratic Corporatist' model, where the free flow of information is emphasised and the state's obligation is to promote that flow, as well as containing a 'culture of heavy consumption of information about public affairs' (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 298). Furthermore, Sweden's history of consensus democracy and proportional representation sits in opposition to the polarised nature of the United Kingdom's first-past-the-post voting system and Labour-Conservative dichotomy. Additionally, the United Kingdom and Sweden both took differing strategies regarding coronavirus, and have thus had widely different experiences of the pandemic. Finally, in the United Kingdom, the political standpoint of the paper and editorials are not necessarily separate from their news reporting, whilst this is not the case in Sweden. It has been argued that during the 20th century Swedish newspapers lost their overt party-political

connections for the most part when it came to news-reporting, and that this only remains in editorials (Weibull, 2006).

Therefore, in conducting a study with this comparison, it becomes clearer to see how journalism has been performed in different countries during the coronavirus pandemic. It thus becomes more apparent whether a homogenous form of journalism in Western Europe is coming into being, or whether national particularities and peculiarities remain, albeit through the unique situation of a global pandemic.

Aim

The aim of this thesis is to examine the ways in which political journalists in the UK and Sweden have utilised Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic. There exists a number of aspects within this overarching aim that this thesis will also focus upon. Primarily, this thesis will explore the concept of journalistic roles and how these roles are performed on Twitter. Previous research, such as Hanitzsch (2011), has explored how journalists have perceived their roles in different countries, but this thesis aims to examine how journalists actually perform said roles. In doing so, this thesis will attempt to examine the similarities and differences between how political journalists in the UK and Sweden have performed journalistic roles, as well as exploring the possible causal factors behind them. Additionally, this thesis aims to critically analyse the feasibility of applying previous research framework surrounding journalistic roles to the medium of Twitter.

Furthermore, this thesis aims to explore the concept of journalistic roles in conjunction with crisis journalism. The exceptional situation of the coronavirus pandemic promises the potential for new advances to be made into studies within this field. This thesis will attempt to explore forms of reporting on Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic that cannot be satisfactorily analysed through preconceived journalistic roles, identifying trends and behaviour unique to crisis journalism. Through this, the aim of assessing the applicability of using existing research into journalistic roles when studying Twitter can be further examined.

Tangentially related to these aims is the issue of Twitter's effect on the journalistic persona. The coronavirus pandemic has created new possibilities for journalists to incorporate a greater deal of their personal lives into their Twitter feeds, from experiences of lockdown to light-natured humour regarding the coronavirus. Research has argued that certain journalists are 'reworking their norms' on Twitter to include humour, opinion and personality over purportedly pure objectivity (Holton and Molyneux, 2019: 444). Finally therefore, this thesis will aim to explore how personalisation amongst journalists relates to journalistic role performance and conceptions surrounding crisis journalism.
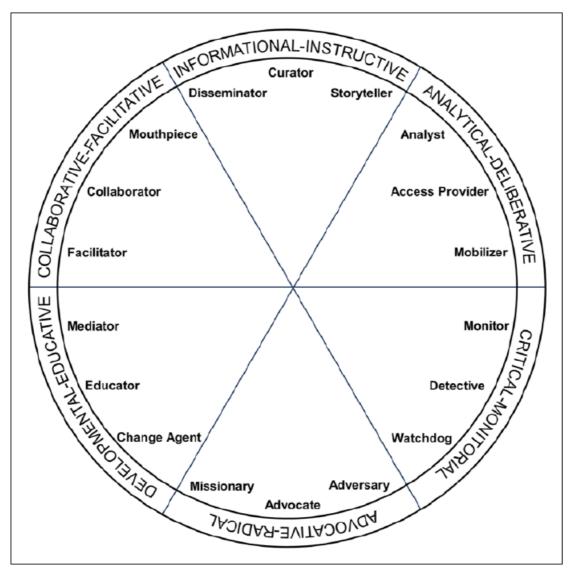
Literature Review

The usage of Twitter amongst journalists has been of great interest to academic research since Twitter's inception in 2006. This can be seen as following from Singer's (2005) research into how journalists were 'normalising' the blogging format to fit traditional ideals. However, much has been made of the 'destabilising' impact that Twitter has had on journalistic practices (Olausson: 2017: 78). There seems to be a consensus that Twitter has had something of a democratising effect, in that journalists now have to 'contend with other players, platforms and publics' (Hermida, 2019: 178). This has meant as well that journalism has now moved away from 'a finite story with the fixed endpoint of publication' to a continuous 'iterative process' (Hermida, 2014: 369). In addition to this, Twitter's almost simultaneous emergence alongside the concept of 'citizen journalism' provided a bounty of opportunities for the public to involve themselves in the news-making, news-reporting, and news-watching process. Indeed, Twitter is a platform in which the public 'oftentimes beats legacy media to sharing information and breaking news' (Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2017: 65).

In attempting to assess the effects that Twitter has had on journalism, one of the initial areas of research has been to study journalists' adoption of Twitter and their attitudes towards the service and social media in general. In Sweden, studies have shown how social media has been adopted into the journalistic process to the extent that it is 'now used on a daily basis' by most Swedish journalists (Djerf-Pierre, Ghersetti, and Hedman, 2016: 10). However, the same study also showed that the perceived usefulness of social media as a journalistic tool has dropped dramatically since its emergence (Djerf-Pierre, Ghersetti, and Hedman, 2016: 9). This would seem to suggest that whilst a large proportion of Swedish journalists are on social media, they are not always using it in a traditionally journalistic manner, such as researching news stories. Nevertheless, in a study that compared usage of and attitudes towards social media amongst journalists in Finland, Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom, it was shown that the use of microblogging sites like Twitter was most popular amongst UK journalists, and it was amongst UK journalists that the most positive attitudes were held towards social media in general (Gulyas, 2013). This is not to say that there does not exist a certain deal of ambiguity towards Twitter amongst certain journalists. Research into the use of Twitter in German newsrooms found that in 57% of the news departments surveyed, Twitter was used by less than a quarter of staff members (Neuberger, vom Hofe, and Nuernbergk, 2014: 348). Additionally, almost two thirds of German news departments surveyed found Twitter to be 'relatively unimportant' to their daily work (Neuberger, vom Hofe, and Nuernbergk, 2014: 348). It has

also been found that whilst the general use of social media amongst Swedish journalists is high, when it comes to Twitter only 22% use it daily and in fact 44% do not use Twitter whatsoever (Hedman, 2015: 8).

Research into journalistic roles has a long and rich history, impacted by studies such as Weaver (1998) which compiled surveys from 21 different countries between 1986 and 1996, exploring factors such as journalists working conditions, norms and levels of professionalisation. The author's later study built upon this, comprising of surveys of more than 29,000 journalists from 31 different countries (Weaver and Willnat, 2012). In Sweden, the Swedish Journalist Survey has been conducted by the Department of Journalism, Media and Communication at the University of Gothenburg since 1989 (JMG, 2011). Other international surveys, such as Hanitzsch (2011), attempted to more conceptualise and categorise the roles that journalists perform. In a comparison that spanned 18 different countries, four diverging professional milieus were identified that defined journalists as either 'populist disseminators', 'detached watchdogs', 'critical change agents', or 'opportunist facilitators' (Hanitszch, 2011). Research from fellow academics has also attempted to further conceptualise the different roles that journalists perform in their work. Mellado proposed six alternative 'dimensions of journalistic role performance' (2015: 602), not dissimilar to Hanitzsch's (2011). Over the past decade these dimensions have been continuously refined and conceptions of different journalistic roles have become increasingly stratified. This has seen Hanitzsch's (2011) four professional milieus evolve into six alternative 'dimensions' and 'functions' (Hanitzsch and Vos: 2018). Within these six domains and functions, Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) conceptualised 18 different roles that journalists could perform in the domain of political life. The 'functions' as described by Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) were 'Informational-Instructive', 'Critical-Monitorial', and 'Advocate-Radical'. The 'dimensions' put forth by Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) were 'Analytical-Deliberative', 'Developmental-Educative', and 'Collaborative-Facilitative'. Each of the 18 journalistic roles identified were thus categorised as belonging to one of these 'dimensions' or 'functions'. For the ease of clarity, these will hereafter be termed 'role categories'. The 'Informational-Instructive' category is essentially journalism's roles in providing citizens with information, whereas the 'Analytical-Deliberative' focuses on the roles which provide more explanation to citizens as well as helping them to engage in the public conversation (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 153-4). The 'Critical Monitorial' category embodies journalism's roles in holding power to account, whilst the 'Advocate-Radical' category contains roles that sees journalists as participants with ideological

bias (Hanitzsch, 2018: 154-5). Finally, the 'Developmental-Educative' category contains roles that are interventionist and aimed at social change, whereas the 'Collaborative-Facilitative' category contains arguably negative journalistic roles in which the journalist is paternalistic and defensive of authority (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 155-6).

Figure 1: Journalistic roles in the domain of political life. Taken from Hanitzsch and Vos (2018: 153).

Additionally, the researchers also conceptualised seven different journalistic roles in what they called the domain of everyday life, arguing that these 'map onto three interrelated spaces of everyday needs: consumption, identity, and emotion.' (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 157). Amongst these, journalists perform certain roles such as the 'connector', aimed at providing the public with a sense of belonging, and the 'mood-manager', who primarily contributes to the regulation and management of emotional well-being (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 159). Whilst these roles were not conceptualised with the idea of 'crisis journalism' in

mind, there is the potential that these may overlap with certain trends seen amongst journalists during times of crisis.

These roles and role categories have been developed as 'empirical constructs to study role performance in news content in different cultural contexts' (Mellado, 2015: 603). Subsequent studies have taken differing approaches to applying these constructs in empirical research. For instance, in a study on journalistic role performance on Twitter in the Phillipines, Hanitzsch's (2011) four journalistic milieus were used to categorise journalists' tweets based on their content (Tandoc Jr., Cabañes, and Cayabyab, 2019). There are however limitations in doing so, as the diverse content of journalists' Twitter feeds can make it difficult to be able to quantify every tweet into four relatively strict milieus, which can be to the detriment of the results. Others have therefore instead hybridised previous empirical frameworks in order to develop a methodology which is more suited to the specific sample at hand, seen in Tandoc Jr. and Takahashi (2014). Other studies clearly take inspiration from previous research, using terms such as 'disseminator', 'advocate', and 'interpreter', whilst not explicitly following one study's empirical constructs (Ojala, Pantti, and Kangas, 2018). Although this inductive method allows for the researcher to ensure that the roles discussed are those that are found in their sample, there is a greater flaw with this decision. By not investigating the applicability of previously conceptualised journalistic roles, the wider academic discussion becomes fragmented. Academics instead take parallel paths, existing in the same general field, rather than examining the suitability of previous research when applied to different contexts. More beneficial therefore would be to make the decision to take a study that has conceptualised journalistic roles, preferably something cumulative such as Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) six dimensions and functions and the 18 journalistic roles within these and apply these to a new context. In this way, the academic discussion is developed by critically analysing the suitability of these empirical constructs. Rather than conceptualising wholly new journalistic roles, domains, dimensions or functions in each study, focus needs to instead be placed on testing the replicability of previous definitions when put up against the complex dynamics of modern journalism.

One of the main issues when studying journalistic roles is the bridge between conception of roles and their actual performance. Academics have criticised the 'functionalist argument' that assumes that journalists' conception of their professional role influences the ways in which they write news (Hellmueller and Mellado, 2015: 5). However, some studies,

such as Hanitzsch (2011), interviewed journalists regarding their perceptions of journalism's function and conceived professional milieus based upon this. Obvious flaws however exist with a methodology that asks journalists to self-define their work and then come to conclusions based upon this. Journalists may see themselves as watchdogs on behalf of the people, but in reality may be much less stringent in their work than they believe. A study of Chilean journalists showed how there was a 'significant gap' between journalists' conception of their roles and the roles they were in fact performing (Mellado and Van Dalen, 2014: 872). Similarly, in a study of environmental journalists in the United States, it was found that there existed differences between journalists' perceived roles and the roles that their organisations valued (Tandoc Jr and Takahashi, 2014: 903). Key to studying journalistic roles is the understanding that performance may not necessarily reflect a journalist's personal beliefs but can instead be determined by pressure from the organisation the journalist finds themselves in. Indeed, research on journalists based on Washington DC found that 'routine influence', including factors such as deadlines, managers and fellow colleagues, 'is a stronger predictor of role enactments than role conceptions' (Tandoc Jr, Hellmueller and Vos, 2013: 551). A more comprehensive understanding seems to be therefore possible when studies regarding journalistic roles move beyond journalists' self-reported conceptions of their roles and includes journalistic output as well.

The role of journalism within times of crisis has long been of great interest to researchers. Studies on crisis reporting have often been focused on journalism's response during specific events, such as terrorist attacks or periods of national unrest. In Post-9/11 America, this saw researchers demonstrate how 'sheer patriotism' emerged amongst otherwise balanced journalists in periods in which the 'national community' was seen to be at risk (Waisbord, 2002: 206). This was again shown in analysis of the 'October 2000 Events' in Israel, where it was seen that Israeli journalists sense of belonging to the national community overpowered their membership of the professional community, particularly in the initial stages of the crisis (Zandberg and Neiger, 2005: 132). To compound this, research that compared journalists' and management's responses to terror attacks in the USA and Sweden showed how decisions of management groups 'went beyond traditional journalistic role conceptions' (Riegert and Olsson, 2007: 144). However, in this case this did not necessarily always translate to aforementioned 'sheer patriotism'. Instead, the researchers found that journalists may purposely take on roles as 'comforter, psychologist and co-mourner in times of crisis' (Riegert and Olsson, 2007: 147). Moreover, it was observed that previous research on journalistic roles

rarely discusses the unique roles that arise during times of crisis (Riegert and Olsson, 2007: 147).

In the context of social media, research into journalists' social media use during the 2011 Norway terror attacks found that not only did crisis reporting on social media disrupt 'traditional' professionalism, but that helping to cope with audience emotions became a key factor of journalistic work (Konow-Lund and Olsson, 2017: 1193). More recently, it has been claimed that having a 'strong and trusted elite media' remains important to a society's ability to manage its way through a crisis (Steensen and Eide, 2019: 947). Ultimately, this academic research into crisis journalism confirms that which was put forth by Hanitzsch (2004: 491), that journalists do not exist as some kind of outside observer, but are integrated into society and 'face the same constraints and temptations as other individuals in that society.' Moreover, if it is clear that Twitter has had a destabilising impact on journalistic practices, then it can also be agreed that journalism in times of crisis is equally destabilised. When these two are combined, then the expectation can be that not only are traditional journalistic practices thrown into question, but that journalists also begin to perform roles that may not be expected. In the context of coronavirus, a crisis situation that is somewhat unique in the sense that there is not one definitive 'event' and subsequent aftermath, one may anticipate a breakdown of traditional journalistic roles beyond what has been previously observed.

Another area which has been seen to erode journalistic norms is the concept of journalists engaging in branding on social media. This has been seen to have emerged in the aftermath of the 2007-8 Financial Crisis, which decimated news organisations. In this environment, individual journalists saw in social media an opportunity to 'shore up their own stock, whether by building an audience of their own that could follow them into a freelance career or by building a reputation that created value in the eyes of their employer' (Holton and Molyneux, 2019). This is perhaps most prevalent on Twitter, which has been said to be a very fast way for journalists to portray 'their legitimacy as news workers' (Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2017: 65). Somewhat paradoxically, this professional legitimacy can be strengthened by a move towards increased personalisation in journalists' presence on social media. However, these trends can contain conflict for the individual journalist, in 'tensions between disclosing personal information to be authentic' versus the maintenance of a professional authoritative presence (Molyneux, Holton, and Lewis, 2017: 1396). Nevertheless, there is a wealth of research that shows how 'celebrified journalists' do not

hesitate to blend their personal and professional life on social media (Olausson: 2018). This move towards creating a more 'authentic' online persona through personalisation in the midst of professionalism is therefore an observed trend amongst a great deal of journalists active on social media today. The question is to what extent these previously observed trends of personalisation can be seen in journalists' Twitter feeds during the coronavirus pandemic. The unique circumstances of the coronavirus have impacted an unprecedented proportion of humanity, including journalists. It is therefore of interest to examine how journalists have incorporated these personal effects, as well as opinions and impressions of the entire situation, into their online personas.

All these branches of interrelated research lead to the crux of this thesis, and the research questions that this thesis will try to answer. Whilst research into journalistic role performance is a crowded field, few studies have attempted to examine the performance of journalistic roles on Twitter. Those that have, such as Tandoc Jr, Cabañes, and Cayabyab (2019), have mainly used quantitative analysis, not allowing for the exploration of the content of individual tweets. Moreover, whilst comparison of different media systems is a well-researched area, little has been done to compare the performance of journalistic roles on Twitter. There is therefore ample room and justification to question the extent to which the performance of journalistic roles on Twitter differ between two countries, the first research question of this thesis. In addition to this, it has been demonstrated how research into journalistic roles has at times neglected the unique circumstances of crises. There is thus additional justification for exploring the journalistic roles that are performed on Twitter during a crisis situation, providing the second research question. By utilising previously conceived journalistic roles, the applicability of these on social media during a global pandemic can be assessed. Additionally, the emergence of roles that fall outside of that have been theorised can be more easily identified. Finally, the unique nature of the coronavirus pandemic has provided journalists with unprecedented opportunities at personalisation and authenticity in order to solidify their online personas. This provides the third research question that this thesis will focus upon. These three research questions can now be fully expressed as follows.

Research Questions

1. Which journalistic roles were performed by British and Swedish political journalists on Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic?
2. How and to what extent were roles that are unique to crisis journalism and fall outside of previous conceptions of role performance performed on Twitter by British and Swedish political journalists during the coronavirus pandemic?
3. How have British and Swedish political journalists engaged in personalisation on Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic?

Methodology

This study was conducted by conducting a mixed-method analysis of six different political journalists' Twitter feeds and the roles that they performed. In this way, it is possible to 'capture the best of both quantitative and qualitative approaches' (Creswell, 2003: 22). As Creswell explains in their explanation of the utilisation of mixed-methods, it is therefore possible to explore 'generally to learn about what variables to study' using quantitative analysis, and then study those variables through qualitative analysis (Creswell, 2003: 22). In this study, a quantitative analysis utilising Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) role categories and roles was utilised. This was then supplemented by qualitative analysis of the tweets in order to more closely examine role performance, as well as the other factors of interest to this thesis. Political journalists were selected due to the fact that they are reporting in a contentious arena in which they both must report at times controversial political decisions to their followers, whilst also providing explanation and analysis. Therefore, three journalists were selected from the United Kingdom and three were selected from Sweden.

The United Kingdom and Sweden were chosen for comparison for a number of reasons. Firstly, both were included in Hallin and Mancini's (2004) original comparison of media systems. In this, the United Kingdom was classified as belonging to the 'Liberal Model', whereas Sweden was seen as belonging to the 'Democratic Corporatist Model'. It therefore is of use to undertake a comparison of the two countries with Hallin and Mancini's (2004) media systems as initial reference points. We may expect to see British journalists espousing an ideology that stresses independence from state-control whilst providing information to so-called 'citizen-consumers' (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 299). In contrast, Swedish journalists

may attempt to provide more information about ongoing public affairs in an environment in which information flows more freely (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 299). More contemporarily, the decision to compare the United Kingdom and Sweden takes inspiration from the narrative of the coronavirus pandemic. Initially, the governments of both countries appeared to be seeking a strategy which aimed at so-called 'herd immunity'. However, the countries eventually took divergent paths, with the United Kingdom bringing in a nationwide lockdown on March 23rd, closing schools, businesses and shops. Contrastingly, Sweden came into focus around the world for its decision to attempt to keep its society open. Despite Swedish universities and high schools moving to distance-learning, bars, cafes and restaurants remained open alongside middle and elementary schools. The fact that the United Kingdom and Sweden took divergent paths makes the ways in which journalists reported on the situation in each country of interest. In choosing a strategy in which Swedish citizens were expected to make decisions in their everyday lives in order to prevent the spread of the virus, it is possible to see whether the type of reporting by Swedish journalists reflected that. Additionally, as England went into a government-imposed lockdown during the period focused upon, there is the potential to see how the roles performed by journalists reflected that.

The concept of 'matching pairs' was utilised, in that journalists from equivalent media organisations were selected. The decision was made to therefore select two journalists from public broadcasters, two from 'broadsheet' newspapers, and two from 'tabloid' newspapers. 'Broadsheet' and 'tabloid' here refer to the traditional British definition of newspapers. 'Broadsheet' refers to newspapers that were traditionally larger in size and focused on more serious analysis, such as The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph and The Financial Times, whereas in Sweden they include Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet. 'Tabloid' refers to newspapers that have tended to include more sensationalist reporting, as well as more focus on lighter issues and less serious analysis. In the UK, these papers include The Sun, The Daily Mail, and The Daily Mirror, whereas in Sweden they include Aftonbladet and Expressen.

This meant therefore that for public broadcasters, a journalist was chosen from the BBC in the UK and SVT in Sweden respectively. For broadsheet newspapers, a journalist was chosen from The Guardian in the UK and Dagens Nyheter in Sweden. For tabloid newspapers, a journalist was chosen from The Daily Mirror and Expressen. Editorially speaking, the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers chosen are to some degree left of centre or liberal. All the journalists chosen were currently actively working as some form of political reporter or

correspondent at the time of being chosen. Chosen from the BBC was senior political reporter and political editor Laura Kuenssberg, whereas chosen from SVT was domestic political commentator Mats Knutson. Chosen from The Guardian was political correspondent Kate Proctor, and from Dagens Nyheter chosen was political analyst Ewa Stenberg. Chosen from The Daily Mirror and Expressen were political reporters Oliver Milne and Maggie Strömberg. Although their respective job titles differ slightly, all journalists were observed to have similar working roles in order to ensure that they functioned as matching pairs. What was not taken into consideration when selecting the journalists was their activity level on Twitter or their follower count. Instead, more focus was placed on finding 'matching pairs' which could lead to more sufficient results rather than more active or more popular journalists that would not be suitable to compare. This meant that the follower levels amongst the journalists varied, from 1.2 million followers for the BBC's Laura Kuenssberg compared to approximately 4,300 for The Daily Mirror's Oliver Milne.

Table 1: Political journalists selected. Number of Twitter followers accurate as of 2020-05-28.

Political Journalist	Number of Twitter followers	Number of tweets sent during period examined
Laura Kuenssberg (BBC)	1,200,000 (approx.)	645
Mats Knutson (SVT)	94,200 (approx.)	80
Kate Proctor (The Guardian)	17,100 (approx.)	223
Ewa Stenberg (Dagens Nyheter)	9,127	161
Oliver Milne (Daily Mirror)	4,377	235
Maggie Strömberg (Expressen)	8,095	294

Tweets sent by the six journalists in question were retrieved from using the service AllMyTweets.net. This allows for the previous 3,200 tweets of any user with a public Twitter profile to be accessed in a simple text list. Tweets were collected that were sent by the journalists over an approximately six-week period, between March 1st 2020 and April 15th 2020. These were then collated into an Excel document and ordered by date. The data was cleaned in order to make it as legible as possible, before being coded based upon Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) role categories and roles in the domain of political life. As the author of this thesis was the only one coding each tweet, no test of intercoder reliability was conducted. However, the subjectivity in coding tweets must be acknowledged. Each tweet was coded based on its overarching dimension or function, as well as the role performed within that. If one of the 18 roles could not be seen to have been performed in the tweet then this section was left blank. In addition, each tweet was also coded as to whether it was related to the topic of

coronavirus or not, as well as based on what type of tweet it was; original tweet, organisational retweet, third party retweet or reply.

The study utilised Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) 18 roles in the domain of political life for a number of reasons. The broad range of roles that they put forth provides the largest potential that the vast majority of tweets could be satisfactorily coded. However, the motive was also to critically assess whether these roles could be applied to political reporters on Twitter in the context of coronavirus. In attempting to apply previously conceived roles the suitability of these roles in different aspects of political life becomes more apparent. Not utilised were Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) journalistic roles in the domain of everyday life. This was due to the fact that the journalists examined were political reporters reporting on the political context of the coronavirus, thus it seemed appropriate to streamline the analysis based on the roles put forth in the domain of political life. Nevertheless, the possibility of whether Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) roles in the domain of everyday life could have been applied will be discussed later in this thesis.

When the journalists' Twitter feeds were imported into excel, each journalist's feed was examined in turn. A reference guide to Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) was utilised in order to ensure that each tweet was categorised as accurately as possible. Context was taken into consideration as much as possible, and any external links were visited in order to ascertain their impact on the journalistic role performed. The original web version of the tweets was checked simultaneously in order to ensure the accuracy of the AllMyTweets service as well as helping to provide context in certain tweets, such as 'retweets with comment'. When it appeared that multiple roles were being performed, the role that best fit the tweet was used. The table below defines each of Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) journalistic roles as well as providing an example tweet that shows how the role was performed by the political journalists. Whilst this quantitative analysis was being undertaken, inductive reasoning was also utilised in order to identify certain trends that continued to occur. These included things such as support for healthcare workers, encouraging the public to follow guidelines, personalisation and humour. Notes were taken on the tweets which fit these trends so that they could then be analysed qualitatively.

Table 2: Definition of each of Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) journalistic roles with example tweet from study.

Journalistic Role	Keywords/definition	Example tweet
Informational-Instructive	**'information transmission'**	**N/A**
Disseminator	'detached bystanders' 'official minute taker'	Scale back of London tube from tmrw (LK, Mar 19, 2020)
Curator	'organizes, contextualizes and shares the most relevant content'	'Getting lots of messages about what should and shouldnt [sic] stay open – the fuller list is here' (LK, Mar 25, 2020).
Storyteller	'puts the world into perspective'	RT @Harry_Stevens: If you like bouncing balls explaining how to slow down #coronavirus, my latest story in the @washingtonpost is for you:… (ES, Mar 15, 2020)
Analytical-Deliberative	**'direct intervention in a political discourse'**	**N/A**
Analyst	'emphasis on subjectivity' 'tracing causes and predicting consequences	Johnson says "we are putting out arms around every single worker" #pmqs Now that's really a phrase you'll be held to, for years to come. #COVID19 (KP, Mar 25, 2020)
Access Provider	Provides audience 'with a platform'	Getting lots of messages from employees being told to go to work tomorrow who don't think their work should be seen as essential and are worried - let us know if that's affecting you - more in the morning (LK, Mar 24, 2020)
Mobiliser	'encouraging audience members to participate in the political domain'	BUDGET: Post-Grenfell there will be a new building safety fund worth £1bn to remove unsafe cladding of all types. Will this include timber? Thoughts @McrCladiators For buildings above 18m high. [Non-coronavirus related] (KP, Mar 11, 2020)
Critical-Monitorial	**'journalists voicing criticism and holding powers to account'**	**N/A**
Monitor	'responds to political misconduct' as journalists become aware of it	And of course as a journalist I have concerns about selective briefings from anonymous government sources when it comes specifically to a pandemic. It seems only fair on the public that everyone gets the right information at the same time and it's easy to understand. (KP, Mar 15, 2020)
Detective	'investigative practices'	RT @ProspectUnion: NEW: Our research shows that rights to sick pay if self-isolating because of coronavirus lag behind at least five other countries (OM, Mar 03, 2020)
Watchdog	'independent critique of society and its institutions'	*No tweet found in which this role was performed*
Advocate-Radical	**Journalists as 'participants' in political discourse**	**N/A**
Adversary	'countervailing force to political authority'	Since I know 2 ppl who have had their wages stopped immediately this wk, one ordered to take unpaid leave the other sacked, there has to be a solid deal tomo from the Chancellor for workers, not just employers. PM urging businesses not to fire staff doesn't feel like enough. (KP, Mar 19, 2020)
Advocate	'spokesperson for specific groups' – particularly socially disadvantaged	RT @benglaze: EXCL: @DailyMirror launches campaign to give our #NHS #coronavirus #COVID19 heroes a medal (OM, Mar 27, 2020)
Missionary	'engages in campaigns out of a personal motivation'	*No tweet found in which this role was performed*
Developmental-Educative	**Journalists 'get involved' and 'promote social change'**	**N/A**
Change Agent	Developing societies, 'advocates for social change' 'empowerment'	*No tweet found in which this role was performed*
Educator	'pedagogic function of journalism'	RT @MirrorPolitics: Your questions on UK lockdown answered - from playing golf to getting an MOT (OM, Mar 24, 2020)
Mediator	'social integration and reducing social tension'	RT @BBC: A message from all of us, to all of you. Together we'll get through. 'Don't Quit' read by @IdrisElba. (LK, Apr 11, 2020)
Collaborative-Facilitative	**'journalists acting as partners of government'**	**N/A**
Facilitator	Journalists 'feel it is their social responsibility to assist the government'	NEW: Boris Johnson says if anyone in your household has a cough or temperature they should isolate for 14 days. Don't go out for food and ask for help. Stop non-essential contact with others and stop unnecessary travel. Avoid pubs, clubs, theatres and other social venues. (KP, Mar 16, 2020)
Collaborator	Journalists as part of the 'state apparatus'	*No tweet found in which this role was performed*
Mouthpiece	Journalists draw on official sources to provide 'legitimacy' to the government	*No tweet found in which this role was performed*

Inherent in the coding process is the element of subjectivity. This became apparent in a series of events that fell outside the chronological scope of this study, but go some way in showing the limitations of a quantitative analysis when it comes to role performance. On May 22nd, The Daily Mirror released an exclusive story in collaboration with The Guardian which claimed that the UK government's chief advisor, Dominic Cummings, had been investigated by the police after travelling 250 miles to the Northeast of England during the nationwide lockdown. In the immediate aftermath of this tweet, the BBC's Laura Kuenssberg tweeted a reply to the Mirror journalist, Pippa Crerar, who had released the story:

> *'@PippaCrerar Source says his trip was within guidelines as Cummings went to stay with his parents so they could help with childcare while he and his wife were ill - they insist no breach of lockdown' (LK, May 22, 2020)*

Whilst at first glance Kuenssberg's reply seems fairly innocuous, its context led to widespread outrage on Twitter and showed the subjective nature of classifying journalistic role performance. Outwardly, the tweet can be seen to embody a number of roles. It is possible to see that Kuenssberg was acting as a disseminator, in that she provided an update on an ongoing event. It could perhaps even be seen that she performed the 'detective' role, by attempting to authenticate material provided by a secretive external 'source'. However, the widespread derision with which this tweet was received highlights the limitations in applying quantitative analysis to something that requires an understanding of context and subtext. Kuenssberg's response to a fellow journalist was mocked by the wider journalistic community on Twitter, with some questioning whether the source in question was in fact Cummings himself. Novara Media's Ash Sarkar questioned why a BBC journalist was sharing 'uncritical information from an anonymous source, rebutting another journalist who published a difficult story for the government' (Sarkar, May 22nd, 2020). The Guardian's Owen Jones went a step further, tweeting:

> *The BBC's political editor is now doing rebuttal on behalf of the government's chief spin doctor. Welcome to our completely healthy normal functioning democracy! (Jones, May 22nd, 2020)*

Both of the aforementioned tweets received thousands of retweets and likes, demonstrating the fact that there were a large number that agreed with the sentiment. This case exemplifies the

difficulty in determining the journalistic role that is performed in individual tweets, when subjective interpretation of polarising events can make clearly identifying the role performed problematic. It could be argued therefore that the role conceptions utilised in this study do not provide sufficient explanation for tweets such as this. More likely however, is the conclusion that journalistic roles performed can be both overt and covert. In this context, Kuenssberg was overtly performing the role of 'disseminator', sharing the information that she had on this ongoing story. Covertly however, the subjective interpretation held by many on Twitter was that Kuenssberg performed the role of 'collaborator' or even 'mouthpiece', in which she defended the government and provided legitimacy to them (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 156). Not only does this show the limitations of Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) journalistic roles, but it demonstrates the importance of a mixed-method analysis which supplements overall quantitative trends with more in-depth qualitative analysis.

There are a number of ethical considerations to take into account when conducting research using Twitter. Foremost is the degree of privacy that individuals and indeed journalists can expect when using the service. All the journalists in this study had Twitter accounts which were 'public', in that one does not have to be accepted as a follower in order to view their Twitter feed. Additionally, all the journalists mentioned their job title and their related media organisation in their Twitter 'bio', implying that they were happy to be viewed as a journalist on their Twitter profile. The ultimate implication is that these journalists would be to some degree aware that anyone would have the ability to view, and perhaps indeed analyse, the content of their Twitter feeds.

What follows therefore is a presentation of the quantitative and qualitative results, followed by a discussion of the findings.

Table 3: Journalistic roles performed in tweets from all journalists sampled (percent with number of tweets included in brackets).

Journalistic Role	Total	UK	Sweden
Informational-Instructive	**69.0**	**70.9**	**62.4**
	(661)	**(525)**	**(136)**
Disseminator	28.7	27.7	32.1
	(275)	(205)	(70)
Curator	39.8	42.7	29.8
	(381)	(316)	(65)
Storyteller	0.5	0.5	0.5
	(5)	(4)	(1)
Analytical-Deliberative	**24.8**	**23.8**	**28.4**
	(238)	**(176)**	**(62)**
Analyst	22.1	20.7	27.1
	(212)	(153)	(59)
Access Provider	2.6	3.0	1.4
	(25)	(22)	(3)
Mobiliser	0.1	0.1	0.0
	(1)	(1)	(0)
Critical-Monitorial	**2.0**	**1.6**	**3.2**
	(19)	**(12)**	**(7)**
Monitor	1.5	1.5	1.4
	(14)	(11)	(3)
Detective	0.5	0.1	1.8
	(5)	(1)	(4)
Watchdog	0.0	0.0	0.0
	(0)	(0)	(0)
Advocate-Radical	**2.2**	**2.2**	**2.3**
	(21)	**(16)**	**(5)**
Adversary	0.1	0.1	0.0
	(1)	(1)	(0)
Advocate	2.1	2.0	2.3
	(20)	(15)	(5)
Missionary	0.0	0.0	0.0
	(0)	(0)	(0)
Developmental-Educative	**1.5**	**0.9**	**3.2**
	(14)	**(7)**	**(7)**
Change Agent	0.0	0.0	0.0
	(0)	(0)	(0)
Educator	0.8	0.5	1.8
	(8)	(4)	(4)
Mediator	0.6	0.4	1.4
	(6)	(3)	(3)
Collaborative-Facilitative	**0.5**	**0.5**	**0.5**
	(5)	**(4)**	**(1)**
Facilitator	0.5	0.5	0.5
	(5)	(4)	(1)
Collaborator	0.0	0.0	0.0
	(0)	(0)	(0)
Mouthpiece	0.0	0.0	0.0
	(0)	(0)	(0)
Total Tweets Categorised	**958**	**740**	**218**

Note: The above table is not a representation of the journalists' entire Twitter feeds, but instead those tweets that could be categorised based on Hanitzsch and Vos (2018).

Role Performance

If we begin by initially grouping the results from the six journalists, then a general impression of the roles performed by them on Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic becomes visible. Over two-thirds of tweets (69%) that were able to be categorised based on Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) journalistic roles saw the journalists acting within the 'Informational-Instructive' category. According to their research, in this category journalism engages in the transmission, redistribution and collation of information (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 152). In approximately 40% of tweets categorised, this 'Informational-Instructive' role category saw journalists act as what Hanitzsch and Vos described as 'curators' (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 153). The prominence of this role has followed the rise of social media and sees journalists 'identify, organize, and repackage information into deliverable packages and make it available for their users' (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 153). In the context of Twitter, this for the most part saw journalists 'retweeting' tweets that they had seen on their own feeds for the benefit of their followers. In doing so, journalists could on the one hand retweet directly to their followers, with the implicit understanding that their followers would comprehend why they had decided to retweet it. This could for example be a retweet from an official account at their own organisation, such as the BBC's Laura Kuenssberg retweeting @BBCBreaking, the organisation's Twitter account for breaking news, when Prince Charles tested positive for coronavirus (LK, Mar 25, 2020). Alternatively, journalists could provide clarification for their followers as to why they had retweeted, by doing so 'with comment'. This was often necessary when journalists retweeted from third parties outside of their own organisation in which the reasoning behind the retweet was not clear and clarification was needed. This was demonstrated in The Guardian's Kate Proctor retweeting to her followers, with perhaps a hint of dry humour, that 'The scientist who led the modelling on coronavirus [is] showing symptoms…' (KP, Mar 18, 2020). However, it also found journalists in a 'curating' role in which they responded collectively to readers, such as when Kuenssberg retweeted information to her followers on the day the UK lockdown started, clarifying which businesses could continue to remain open. In this role as a 'curator', Kuenssberg directed her followers to the relevant information, saying

'Getting lots of messages about what should and shouldnt [sic] stay open – the fuller list is here' (LK, Mar 25, 2020).

The next most common role performed by the journalists analysed was that of the 'disseminator'. According to Hanitzsch and Vos (2018: 153), in this role the journalists 'report things as they are', whilst depending 'on official sources, serving society in the capacity of an "official register" or "minute taker"'. Almost 29% of tweets fell into this category, and on the whole they were relatively uniform in their content. As political reporters, this role saw almost all the journalists examined reporting on the words and actions of politicians. The coronavirus pandemic has been the era of the daily press conference, allowing the names of scientific figures, such as Chief Medical Adviser Chris Whitty in the UK and state epidemiologist Anders Tegnell in Sweden, to become household names. A large proportion of tweets in which the role of 'disseminator' could be identified came from these press conferences and media appearances, such as when Dagens Nyheter's Ewa Stenberg informed her followers of Social Minister Lena Hallengren's message for everyone who could to work from home (ES, Mar 13, 2020). Unique to the 'disseminator' role is that there is often an underlying implication that the followers of the specific journalist would have been unlikely to have yet seen the information. This seems to lead to a form of 'Twitter shorthand', in which the journalist tweets well below the 280 character limit, seemingly in order to get the information out as quickly as possible. This was seen in Kuenssberg informing her followers of the decision to decrease the service of the London Underground in order to restrict the spread of coronavirus, by simply tweeting:

'Scale back of London Tube tmrw' (LK, Mar 19, 2020).

The next most common, accounting for almost 25% of tweets, was the 'Analytical-Deliberative' role category, where journalists make 'direct intervention in a political discourse' through actions such as political commentary (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 154). Within this overarching category, the majority of tweets to be classified as 'Analytical-Deliberative' were those in which the journalist performed the role of 'analyst', in which focus is placed on 'providing analyses of events in the news…tracing causes and predicting consequences' (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 154). These tweets accounted for 22% of the total number of tweets categorised. A key aspect of the 'analyst' role according to Hanitzsch and Vos (2018: 154) is that of subjectivity, in other words attempting to provide an opinion for their readers as to the causes and consequences of events. Coronavirus has arguably created heightened levels of uncertainty in society and in some form or other all the journalists in this study stepped into the role of 'analyst' in order to try provide explanation for their followers. Seemingly due to Twitter's character limit, some journalists such as SVT's Mats Knutson made the decision to

link externally to long-form articles in which they provided analysis on political developments during the coronavirus pandemic. However, most journalists attempted to provide analysis within the confines of Twitter's character limit. For the Daily Mirror's Oliver Milne, this amounted to a subjective reading on reports of FTSE traders 'defying the virus'. Milne tweeted his personal opinion, saying:

'Some really weird language about FTSE traders 'defying the virus' doing the rounds. This isn't patriotism or Blitz spirit. They just think the mass panic has left things undervalued and they are getting in before everyone else notices' (OM, Mar 13, 2020)

For others such as Expressen's Maggie Strömberg, performance of the role of 'analyst' meant retweeting with comment Queen Elizabeth's speech to the UK and explaining to her followers the historical significance of why it was so moving to her (MS, Apr 05, 2020).

The roles of 'curator', 'disseminator' and 'analyst' made up almost 91% of the tweets that were able to be categorised according to Hanitzsch and Vos (2018). One might argue that these are primary roles which constitute what we traditionally consider journalism. However, according to Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) theory there remains 15 different journalistic roles which we may be able to find the journalists performing on Twitter. However, several roles did not arise whatsoever in this research, as was to be expected. These include the 'collaborator' role, in which journalists are 'propagandists' who are part of 'state apparatus' (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 156). Likewise, there was no sign of journalists performing the 'missionary' role in which the journalist does not 'act on behalf of others but engages in campaigns out of personal motivation' (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 155).

Nevertheless, the journalists analysed did perform a number of supplementary roles during the coronavirus pandemic, despite their relative infrequency compared to the roles already discussed. Most prevalent amongst these was the role of 'access provider', also within the 'Analytical-Deliberative' role category, which 'aims at engaging the people in public conversation' (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018: 154). The performance of this role accounted for 2.6% of all tweets, the next most common after the role of 'analyst'. In the context of Twitter, this translated into journalists encouraging their followers to involve themselves in the conversation surrounding coronavirus, offer their own personal experiences and get answers to their questions and concerns. The BBC's Laura Kuenssberg was the biggest proponent of the

'access provider' role, encouraging her followers to submit their questions to the BBC's dedicated coronavirus podcast, or if they had anything they'd like to ask official figures. Kuenssberg acknowledged the high levels of audience engagement, tweeting:

'We have been getting a huge volume of Qs in last few days - Govts top doctor will answer as many as possible on TV soon' (LK, Mar 18, 2020)

For some journalists such as The Guardian's Kate Proctor and Expressen's Maggie Strömberg, performance of the 'access provider' role aligned more strongly with the use of Twitter as a journalistic tool, seen when Proctor asked for perspectives from key workers left without childcare (KP, Mar 24, 2020) and when Strömberg retweeted a colleague asking for 'tips' on the current situation in hospitals (MS, Mar 21, 2020). This role of providing a 'platform' for the public was most explicitly expressed by Kuenssberg in the immediate aftermath of the UK government's decision to impose a nationwide lockdown, when she tweeted:

'Getting lots of messages from employees being told to go to work tomorrow who don't think their work should be seen as essential and are worried - let us know if that's affecting you' (LK, Mar 24, 2020).

The final role that could be identified as being performed on Twitter that shall be covered now is that of the 'advocate', within the 'Advocate-Radical' role category. According to Hanitzsch and Vos (2018: 155), the 'advocate' sees themselves as a 'spokesperson for specific groups of people and their causes'. This role seemed to take on a special significance during the coronavirus pandemic. For The Daily Mirror's Oliver Milne, this role manifested itself in support for the homeless and those made homeless by coronavirus, such as when he tweeted a link to his story on The Daily Mirror's website where he reported on how hygienic advice on hand-washing was inapplicable to the realities of life for the homeless (OM, Mar 06, 2020). The Guardian's Kate Proctor tweeted a number of times in support of NHS workers, tweeting 'Thanks to every single one x' accompanied by a picture of immigrant NHS doctors who had died from coronavirus whilst working during the pandemic (KP, Apr 12, 2020). She also tweeted anecdotal evidence of a pregnant friend working as a doctor who had seen an asymptomatic patient with coronavirus, included below.

'Pregnant GP friend saw a patient with coronavirus last week. He wasn't displaying symptoms at the time but she also had no PPE to wear for any face to face that day. She and her husband, a surgeon, now both have symptoms and he is due on call on Mon. We must test NHS workers.' (KP, Mar 20, 2020)

Nor was this 'advocate' role for healthcare workers limited to the UK. In Sweden, Expressen's Maggie Strömberg retweeted an article from Svenska Dagbladet which spoke of a 'forgotten group', those that work in elderly care homes (MS, Apr 09, 2020). Interestingly, although the sample size was relatively small, it seems as though journalists from organisations with a more overtly political stance, such as the left-wing Daily Mirror, were more likely to perform the role of 'advocate'. This saw Oliver Milne at the Daily Mirror tweet in the role of 'advocate' twice as many times as any other journalist.

What is now possible to do with the results from the analysis of the journalists' Twitter feeds is examine them so that a comparison can be made between journalists in the UK and in Sweden. In this way it possible to more sufficiently attempt to answer the first of the research questions in this thesis. The most glaring difference between the roles performed by journalists in the UK and Sweden is the numerical difference between the two. For the UK journalists, 740 tweets were able to be categorised from a total of 1103. In other words 67% of the tweets that the British journalists sent on Twitter saw them performing some type of journalistic role. For Swedish journalists, there were only 218 tweets in which journalistic roles could be seen to be performed, out of a total of 535. This totalled only 41% of their entire Twitter feeds. This points towards Swedish journalists' Twitter feeds containing a greater deal of content that cannot be seen to fall into Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) journalistic roles.

Overall, Swedish journalists' Twitter feeds were more heavily weighted towards the 'Analytical-Deliberative' roles than their British counterparts were, with Swedish journalists likewise performing less 'Informational-Instructive' roles than British journalists. Additionally, British journalists were much more likely to perform the role of 'access provider' for their followers, encouraging them to get involved on a total of 22 occasions across the three journalists' Twitter feeds. This was in comparison to just 3 times for the Swedish journalists. Reflected in percentages of total tweets, British journalists were seen to perform the role of access provider in 3% of tweets categorised, compared to 1.4% of tweets categorised for

Swedish journalists. Although the percentages are small, this shows that British journalists performed the role of access providers twice as often as their Swedish counterparts.

Perhaps the most glaring disparity between the roles performed by Swedish and British journalists were in fact the amount of times they could be seen to be performing a role. Out of a total of 1,103 tweets sent by British journalists in the period examined, journalistic roles were seen to be performed 67% of the time. In contrast, out of a total of 535 tweets sent by Swedish journalists, they were only seen as performing roles in 41% of them. This also shows how much more active the British journalists were on Twitter in comparison to the Swedish journalists. However, there were certain anomalies. The BBC's Laura Kuenssberg was the most active amongst the journalists examined, with a total of 645 tweets. However, the next most active was a Swedish journalist, Expressen's Maggie Strömberg, who tweeted a total of 294 times. Far behind this was SVT's Mats Knutson who only tweeted 80 times during the period examined. It calls into question the current state of SVT's social media policy that their most senior political reporter was found to tweet so little in comparison to their BBC equivalent. Nor was the performance of roles equal over the different journalists. This was the case for SVT's Mats Knutson, who was in fact seen to be performing journalistic roles 95% of the time. The BBC's Laura Kuenssberg's Twitter feed also contained a relatively high percentage of tweets which were seen to perform roles, a total of 75%. This was in contrast to Expressen's Maggie Strömberg, who was found to only be performing roles 22% of the time. Her 'matching pair' from a 'tabloid' newspaper in the UK, Oliver Milne, was also found to perform journalistic roles in only 49% of his tweets. Both journalists, as well as to a lesser extent those working for 'broadsheet' newspapers, engaged in behaviour that could not necessarily be seen as embodying one of Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) roles. This included interactions with both the public and fellow journalists, tweets which included aspects of their everyday life, as well as humoristic observations on coronavirus. These tweets that could not be categorised using Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) shall be discussed more qualitatively later in this thesis.

Outside of this however, the results show that when journalists can actually be seen to be performing roles, that cumulative differences between Swedish and British journalists are in fact negligible. The remaining journalistic roles performed by Swedish and British journalists do not occur with enough frequency to be able to demonstrate a marked difference between the two countries. These quantitative results now can again be reframed in favour of

different types of media organisations, to examine the possibility that this may provide starker differences between the journalists than an international comparison does.

Table 4: Journalistic roles performed in tweets based on the type of media organisation the journalist is employed at (percent with number of tweets in brackets).

Journalistic Role	Public Service	Broadsheet	Tabloid
Informational-Instructive	**77.9** **(436)**	**59.7** **(129)**	**52.7** **(96)**
Disseminator	33.4 (187)	33.3 (72)	8.8 (16)
Curator	44.1 (247)	25.5 (55)	43.4 (79)
Storyteller	0.4 (2)	0.9 (2)	0.5 (1)
Analytical-Deliberative	**21.3** **(119)**	**31.9** **(69)**	**27.5** **(50)**
Analyst	17.5 (98)	30.6 (66)	26.4 (48)
Access Provider	3.8 (21)	0.9 (2)	1.1 (2)
Mobiliser	0.0 (0)	0.5 (1)	0.0 (0)
Critical-Monitorial	**0.4** **(2)**	**3.7** **(8)**	**4.9** **(9)**
Monitor	0.4 (2)	3.7 (8)	2.2 (4)
Detective	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.7 (5)
Watchdog	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Advocate-Radical	**0.2** **(1)**	**2.3** **(5)**	**8.2** **(15)**
Adversary	0.0 (0)	0.5 (1)	0.0 (0)
Advocate	0.2 (1)	1.9 (4)	8.2 (15)
Missionary	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Developmental-Educative	**0.4** **(2)**	**0.9** **(2)**	**5.5** **(10)**
Change Agent	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Educator	0.0 (0)	0.9 (2)	3.3 (6)
Mediator	0.4 (2)	0.0 (0)	2.2 (4)
Collaborative-Facilitative	**0.0** **(0)**	**1.4** **(3)**	**1.1** **(2)**
Facilitator	0.0 (0)	1.4 (3)	1.1 (2)
Collaborator	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Mouthpiece	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Total Tweets Categorised	**560**	**216**	**182**

Note: The above table is not a representation of the journalists' entire Twitter feeds, but instead those tweets that could be categorised based on Hanitzsch and Vos (2018).

Although the dominance of the 'Informational-Instructive' role category remains, a marked difference in the results can be observed when the comparison is moved from the nation state to the type of media organisation that the journalist finds themselves in. This is in fact most visible in the 'Informational-Instructive' function. Those journalists working for public service media were seen to engage in this function to a greater extent than 'broadsheet' and 'tabloid' journalists. For BBC's Laura Kuenssberg and SVT's Mats Knutson, they were found to perform 'Informational-Instructive' functions 78% of the time, in comparison to broadsheet and tabloid journalists who performed these functions 60% and 53% of the time respectively. This being said, both public service and broadsheet journalists were found to perform the 'disseminator' role the same amount, accounting for a third of tweets in which a role could be identified. However, this role featured much less in the Twitter feeds of tabloid journalists, occurring in only 9% of tweets. Whilst this can indicate the ways in which journalists from different media organisations perform their roles during the coronavirus pandemic, it could also be explained by the working roles of the journalists studied. For example, some journalists might be sent to daily press conferences and expected to tweet as 'disseminators' whereas this may not be a part of other's job descriptions.

Nevertheless, both broadsheet and tabloid journalists were seen to perform the 'analyst' role to a greater extent than public service journalists. This lends credence to a general perception that public service journalists are there to 'report the facts as they are' to the public, whereas non-public service journalists are able to provide a greater degree of subjective interpretation. Indeed, the results also show how broadsheet journalists, perceived to some extent to provide more 'serious analysis', perform the role of 'analyst' more often than their tabloid counterparts. What was also visible, despite the relatively small sample size, was broadsheet and tabloid journalists performing 'Critical-Monitorial' roles more often than those in public service media. Perhaps surprisingly, this also saw those tabloid journalists perform 'Critical-Monitorial' roles twice as often than broadsheet journalists. This may reflect the previous result regarding the role of 'advocate', in that those journalists from organisations with a more outright political standpoint are more likely to perform roles that are in opposition to those in power. For The Daily Mirror's Oliver Milne, performing 'Critical-Monitorial' roles meant retweeting for his followers an investigation from a trade union that showed how sick pay if self-isolating due to coronavirus lagged behind five other European countries (OM, Mar 03, 2020), as well as retweeting The Daily Mirror's report that Boris Johnson had joked that the drive to produce more ventilators for the NHS should be called 'Operation Last Gasp' (OM,

Mar 17, 2020). In the Twitter feed Expressen's Maggie Strömberg, a 'Critical-Monitorial' role manifested itself in a link to her own long form article, which gave readers an 'undercover' insight into conflict between the Swedish government and opposition in attempting to come together to attempt to resolve the crisis caused by coronavirus (MS, Apr 10, 2020). That this was expressed more explicitly by the British tabloid journalist likely reflects differences between the culture of newspapers in the United Kingdom and Sweden. A stronger culture of parallelism in the United Kingdom between journalists and their parent newspapers can be seen as a factor in encouraging Milne to more explicitly perform the 'advocate' role on Twitter.

Crisis Journalism

The second research question of this thesis is that of the extent to which roles unique to crisis journalism were performed by the journalists examined. It has already been shown how in times of crisis journalists have been seen to offer comfort and reassurance to their readers. Whilst this was observed in the context of coronavirus as well, a number of other forms of reporting were also identified. These overlap to a certain extent with the performances of Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) journalistic roles that have already been presented. However, an exploration of the use of Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic utilising previous research not 'designed' for Twitter analysis can only take one so far. Thus, presentation of the results moves away from the theoretical perspective of Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) to an inductive examination of the practical reality. This study has termed the three forms of crisis journalism identified as 'journalism of patriotism', 'journalism of hope', and 'journalism of collective responsibility'.

'Journalism of patriotism' can be seen as tweets which contain a degree of uncritical pride for the home nation of the journalist. This aligns to some degree with Hanitzsch and Vos' 'Collaborative-Facilitative' role category, in which journalists are seen as acting as 'partners of the government' (2018: 156). However, rather than uncritical support for the government, as is implied by Hanitzsch and Vos (2018), this is instead expressed in pride for the imagined community of the nation state. Stereotypical images of the nation and historical ideology are brought together in order to evoke a specific brand of 'benevolent nationalism'. 'Journalism of hope' can also be seen to somewhat overlap with previously conceived journalistic roles, such as the 'connector' and the 'mood manager', as theorised by Hanitzsch and Vos (2018: 159). However, the specific circumstances of the coronavirus pandemic lend credence to the

argument that this is instead examined through the lens of crisis journalism, rather than it being a role 'in the domain of everyday life', as Hanitzsch and Vos (2018: 158) described them. 'Journalism of hope' can be seen in those tweets in which the journalist simultaneously acknowledges the crisis situation whilst also providing a sense of optimism and a belief that the situation will improve. In this, journalists are seen to most strongly fulfil 'psychological needs such as comfort and "working through" [the crisis]' (Riegert and Olsson, 2007: 155). The final form of journalism identified in this study has been termed 'journalism of collective responsibility'. Again, Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) identified certain factors in their journalistic roles that this form of journalism contains. These include the 'facilitator' role, in which journalists feel it is their responsibility to assist the government in their goals of social and economic development of the country (Hanitzsch and Vos: 156). Additionally, it can be argued that the 'mediator' role embodies this, where journalists attempt to forge 'commonality of values'. However, the nuances of a crisis situation such as the coronavirus pandemic mean that categorisation using these previously conceived roles is not a satisfactory explanation. 'Journalism of collective responsibility' can be therefore seen as the ways in which journalists encourage the public to recognise their position in society and the societal obligations that they have during a crisis.

Table 5: Forms of crisis journalism engaged in by British and Swedish journalists (number of tweets)

	United Kingdom	**Sweden**
Journalism of Patriotism	17	0
Journalism of Hope	23	0
Journalism of Collective Responsibility	31	6
Total Tweets	1103	535

Journalism of Patriotism

Beginning with the tweets identified as embodying 'journalism of patriotism', this manifested itself most strongly in tweets in support of healthcare workers. This was most evident in Britain, where the National Health Service (NHS) is widely seen as 'one of the proudest achievements of the UK' (Atun, 2015: 917). All three British journalists examined in this study engaged in this form of journalism in their Twitter feeds during the coronavirus pandemic. For the BBC's Laura Kuenssberg, this meant retweeting on a number of occasions compilations of the so-called 'Clap for Our Carers', in which members of the public stood on their doorsteps and balconies every Thursday at 8pm in order to 'show their appreciation for NHS and care workers fighting the coronavirus pandemic' (LK, Mar 27, 2020). For The Guardian's Kate Proctor, journalism of patriotism amounted to providing a weekly barometer of her own neighbourhood's 'Clap', saying after the second time:

> *'Our street's second #ClapForTheNHS was even better, louder, more heartfelt than the first. Well done again #clapton' (KP, Apr 02, 2020).*

Taking journalism of patriotism to almost jingoistic levels was The Daily Mirror's campaign to 'give our #NHS #coronavirus #COVID19 heroes a medal', something that Oliver Milne retweeted in support of (OM, Mar 27, 2020). Interestingly, the Swedish journalists examined did not engage in journalism of patriotism to the same degree. Whilst they tweeted in regards to Sweden's healthcare workers, it was more often in the sense of ensuring those in power provided protection to them, rather than a congratulatory, nationalistic pride. Therefore, for example, Ewa Stenberg retweeted a doctor that raised concerns about the serious situation in Stockholm's hospitals, without feeling the need to add her own thoughts on the work that healthcare workers were doing (ES, Mar 12, 2020). Perhaps highlighting the relatively British nature of this form of patriotism was the fact that both British and Swedish journalists retweeted and commented positively on the Queen's speech to the British people (MS, Apr 05, 2020 and OM, Apr 05, 2020). When one discusses patriotism and the creation of some sense of 'positive nationalism' then the maternalistic image of Queen Elizabeth II is perhaps the epitome of this unique form of jingoism. Pointedly, no mention was made by any of the Swedish journalists of Carl XVI Gustaf's speech to the Swedish people, which took place mere hours before the Queen's.

Journalism of Hope

The second form of crisis journalism that has been identified in this study is 'journalism of hope'. In these, the journalists were seen to channel a sense of optimism and hope in their tweets, in which they seemed to try and simultaneously ensure their followers understood the gravity of the coronavirus pandemic whilst attempting to provide a sense of hope and a belief that the situation would get better. Included as well in this type of tweets were links to and mentions of news that whilst still related to coronavirus were much more light-hearted. This was found again to be a phenomenon that the British journalists engaged in whereas the Swedish journalists did not seem to partake in this form of journalism. Interestingly, the journalist to engage in this the most was the BBC's Laura Kuenssberg. This was, for example, seen in her retweeting a montage video and poem from the BBC's main account entitled 'Don't Quit', read by actor Idris Elba encouraging the British public to retain hope during the pandemic (LK, Apr 11, 2020). Light-hearted content was also tweeted by Kuenssberg, such as a story of mountain goats 'taking over' a Welsh town as no people were out to scare them away during lockdown (LK, Mar 31, 2020). A more poetic journalism of hope was expressed by Kuenssberg when she retweeted a video of a trumpet player on their balcony in London's lockdown, encouraging her followers to help her find them for the BBC's corona podcast and saying 'This is just beautiful to hear in these weird times' (LK, Apr 07, 2020). The Guardian's Kate Proctor also retweeted the video of the 'lone trumpeter' to her followers, presumably also to provide a notion of optimism and hope (KP, Apr 08, 2020). Kuenssberg tweeted in this regard to a much greater extent than any other journalist studied. The Daily Mirror's Oliver Milne did not tweet in this way to the same extent as Kuenssberg but did, for example, tweet rousing quotes from public figures that showed a sense of optimism during the pandemic. This could be seen when he tweeted a quote from Chancellor of the Exchequer Rishi Sunak, speaking of the compassion that had to be shown during the pandemic, which Milne described as 'the best line of any UK politician responding to this crisis' (OM, Mar 20, 2020). Milne later tweeted and added his opinion to a quote from the Queen's speech to the nation, seen below:

> *'What a line this was: "Those who come after us will say that the Britons of this generation were as strong as any. That the attributes of self-discipline, of quiet good-humoured resolve and of fellow-feeling still characterise this country."' (OM, Apr 05, 2020)*

Whilst tweeting quotes from politicians and public figures is in itself journalistic, to specifically tweet those quotes that are rousing, positive and encouraging shows a decision to create a narrative that is not continually mired in negativity, but instead provides readers and followers with a narrative that retains optimism and hope. It is perhaps not a coincidence that these decisions were made during the coronavirus pandemic, and it raises questions as to how journalism evolves not only on Twitter but during crises such as these.

Journalism of Collective Responsibility

The third form of crisis journalism identified was those that this termed 'journalism of collective responsibility'. Admittedly, one of Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018: 156) roles is 'facilitator', in which 'journalists feel it is their social responsibility to assist the government in its efforts to advance the social and economic development of the country'. However, implicit in Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) is the idea that the role of 'facilitator', and the related roles of 'collaborator' and 'mouthpiece', are conceptualised for non-democratic countries and developing democracies. Additionally, there seems to be a somewhat negative connotation in the description of Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018: 156) 'Collaborative-Facilitative' roles that they are less a form of independent journalism and may instead be forced onto the journalists through 'coercion'. It is therefore important to analyse these tweets which aid in fostering a sense of 'collective responsibility', assisting the government's motives, but come from seemingly independent journalists in the Western, liberal tradition. The very nature of coronavirus and the way in which it spreads through society has led to the importance of the individual taking responsibility for ensuring that they do not contribute to its spread. In this sense, journalists have arguably become vital to governments across the world in disseminating information regarding public health and the way in which populaces should behave during the global pandemic. This in turn has seen journalists who would otherwise offer a critical perspective on governments behave differently due to the crisis. Something that was visible in the results of this study was a move from third-person language, with terms such as 'the public', to language that promoted inclusion, togetherness, and personal responsibility, utilising first and second person terms such 'we' and 'you'. For example, when discussing the implementation of the UK's lockdown, the BBC's Laura Kuenssberg wrote:

> *'Suspend all hype and superlatives - this introduces a very different way of life for a while for everyone and calls on **all of us** to make very very significant changes to **our***

lives right now - a 'moment of national emergency'' [Emphasis added] (LK, Mar 23, 2020)

As well as writing:

*'**You** can only leave home to shop for basic necessities, once a day for exercise, for medical need or to care for someone else, or to go to work only if it's absolutely necessary and **you** can't work from home' [Emphasis added] (LK, Mar 23, 2020)*

This language of speaking directly to the reader marks a change from how it would perhaps otherwise be written, swapping out terms like 'the public' or 'the British public' for 'our' and 'you'. Similar inclusionary language was used by The Guardian's Kate Proctor, who disseminated information from Boris Johnson regarding socially isolating, saying 'if anyone in your household has a cough or temperature they should isolate for 14 days. Don't go out for food and ask for help' (KP, Mar 16, 2020). Not only does this speak directly to the reader as Kuenssberg also tweeted, but the use of imperatives such as 'don't' and 'ask' blurs the lines between a journalism that informs readers to one that uses imperatives and tells readers what to do. In Sweden, this type of journalism was also apparent in the tweets of Dagens Nyheter's Ewa Stenberg. When replying to a comment on her story about less testing in Stockholm that questioned why the number of people infected was being 'hidden', she said 'you do not want to hide it, you have to manage with resources such as sampling kits, personnel and protective equipment. There is a shortage' (ES, Mar 12, 2020). Implicit is the notion of collective responsibility, that the public must accept less knowledge about 'true' infection levels for the sake of sustaining the healthcare system. Fostering a sense of collective responsibility in a less serious sense was The Daily Mirror's Oliver Milne's decision to retweet a fellow Mirror journalist who called those ignoring the government's social distancing guidelines in the days before lockdown as 'astonishingly stupid' (OM, Mar 22, 2020). Again is the implicit notion that the British people should be following the government's advice in this context, in this case those that do not are shamed as 'stupid'. These results show how the ways in which journalists have behaved on Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic fall outside the realms of Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) journalistic roles, or at least cannot be fully explained through utilising them. The implications of this will be discussed later in the thesis.

Personalisation

Addressing the third research question of the thesis, the question of to what extent the journalists investigated engaged in personalisation on Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic, a number of results were found. These factors have been seen as part of a wider branding movement from certain journalists that blurs professional and personal identity, and moves away from the 'traditional professional identity' of journalists (Olausson, 2017: 63). Branding and personalisation can be seen to be aspects of the 'celebrification process' amongst certain journalists, almost paradoxically allowing their followers a 'peek behind the curtain' into their working processes, whilst still remaining aloof and exceptional (Olausson, 2018: 2395). During coronavirus, the journalists examined were identified to have engaged in personalisation in three different ways which at times overlapped with one another. The first of these was sharing with their followers their own personal experiences of coronavirus. Secondly was the utilisation of humour in their tweets. Finally was sociability, in which journalists engaged with fellow journalists and members of the public.

Personalisation in general was found to only arise in the Twitter feeds of those journalists who worked for private media, where their Twitter feeds were more able to incorporate aspects of this personal life. The total lack of personal content on Laura Kuenssberg's Twitter feed is perhaps explained by the BBC's decision to manage the Twitter accounts of certain correspondents, where they are regarded as BBC news output and are supposed to avoid 'personal interests' (Belair-Gagnon, 2015: 72). Likewise, SVT's Mats Knutson's Twitter feed, itself already much less active than Laura Kuenssberg's, contained no tweets that could be considered as attempts at 'personalisation'. Whilst Dagens Nyheter's Ewa Stenberg did not engage in behaviour that incorporated aspects of her personal life or humour, she was seen to engage in sociability and interacted with both fellow journalists and members of the public. This was in contrast to her 'matching pair' Kate Proctor from The Guardian, who was seen to express her own experiences of coronavirus, humour, as well as interacting with others on Twitter.

Table 6: Forms of personalisation engaged in by British and Swedish journalists (number of tweets)

	United Kingdom	Sweden
Personal Experiences	**16**	**11**
Humour	**16**	**9**
Sociability	**126**	**234**
Total Tweets	**1103**	**535**

Personal Experiences

Nevertheless, amongst the remaining journalists there emerged distinct patterns of personalisation during the coronavirus pandemic which can be developed upon in future research, and deepen our understanding of how journalists bring their own experiences to the fore during a crisis. Coronavirus has impacted every single human living on the planet today. It is in this context that the situation of journalists engaging in personalisation during coronavirus is so unique. Unlike previous crises, journalists are in the position to be able to genuinely portray to their followers and readers that they are in a similar situation. Taking Olausson's (2018: 2395) concept of 'peeking behind the curtain', journalists can now show their followers that 'the curtain' is no longer a high-profile event but that they are instead experiencing coronavirus just as their readers are. With some journalists, this was seen in what Olausson (2018: 2391) described as 'the public display of casual friendships'. For The Guardian's Kate Proctor, this meant replying to an editor at another newspaper responding to a checklist of things that they had done during lockdown, saying:

> '@MarkCasci Done all apart from growing tomatoes and meditation! Oh and the sourdough. I'm not a complete wanker 😆' (KP, Apr 05, 2020).

Although previously followers would have had to follow both users in order to see this interaction, Twitter's revamp of its feed means that people can now occasionally see people they follow reply to tweets of those they do not follow. It is not unreasonable to expect therefore that Proctor would have been aware that her followers would have seen this interaction, so the decision to swear on an account that is ostensibly journalistic is a telling inclusion. In the case of British journalists in particular, the experience of lockdown provided an opportunity to construct a narrative of shared experience. For The Daily Mirror's Oliver Milne, this translated itself into asking his followers for recommendations for a 'stay at home film festival' (OM, Mar 29, 2020) as well as sharing a screenshot of a new Star Wars TV series saying 'Silver lining of not being able to leave the house' (OM, Mar 24, 2020). This notion of a shared experience is solidified with the mention of cultural references that are familiar to followers, seen in Proctor's comment on a popular livestreamed morning sports class for schoolchildren in lockdown:

> *'On a more optimistic note this morning PE with Joe Wicks, which was being streamed round the world, looks set to become the nation's favourite. What a nice idea.' (KP, Mar 23, 2020)*

Whilst Sweden did not experience a national lockdown in the same way that the United Kingdom did, the changed living and working situation for many still allowed Swedish journalists to contribute to a shared conversation. This meant for Expressen's Maggie Strömberg tweeting of how she had not spoken to her parents this much in the past 20 years (MS, Apr 05, 2020) and how her life was now 99% devoted to the dishwasher (MS, Apr 13, 2020).

> *'Mitt liv består till 99% av att plocka i och ur diskmaskinen.' ('My life consists of 99% packing and unpacking the dishwasher') (MS, Apr 13, 2020)*

That the impact of coronavirus forced many to work from home, including journalists, created a situation in which the mundanity of everyday life became the new norm. Rather than 'celebrified' journalists tweeting images and anecdotes from political conferences, common frustrations with domestic life became the new way for journalists to create a rapport with their followers. Indeed, it seemed from the research that the inherent irony of this situation became something that journalists could utilise in making themselves more relatable. Implicit was the

undertone that this was not the life that the journalists normally lead, but that coronavirus placed them and their followers on the same level.

Humour

Irony points towards the second way in which journalists engaged in personalisation on Twitter during coronavirus. This was through the use of humour. In this way the journalists examined 'made their content more approachable while also casting themselves as relatable' (Holton and Molyneux, 2019: 442). Humorous experiences of the coronavirus were thus tweeted about in a seeming attempt to come across as relatable to followers whilst again reinforcing the narrative of a shared experience. Thus in early March when the British public were allegedly engaged in so-called 'panic buying', The Guardian's Kate Proctor tweeted an image of a bar of soap on an empty shelf in a supermarket saying 'No one wants him 🥴' (KP, Mar 10, 2020). This theme of humorous experiences of panic buying even found itself in SVT's Mats Knutson's tweets. Whilst it's debatable whether it was an attempt at coming across as humorous or authentic, Knutson's decision to retweet the press officer of a toilet paper company saying that there was no need to hoard toilet paper shows at least an awareness of an ongoing humorous discourse (MK, Mar 23, 2020). Engaging in more explicitly humoristic tweeting were again Expressen's Maggie Strömberg and The Daily Mirror's Oliver Milne. Strömberg in particular allowed a specific personality to come through in her Twitter feed, one that was sarcastic, self-deprecating and rife with social observations. This was seen in her response to the aforementioned dishwasher tweet, saying that everyone should go back to the office soon because the exceptionally high levels of engagement with the tweet were unreasonable (MS, Apr 14, 2020). Comedic social observations were made in regards to coronavirus as well, with Strömberg saying that the move towards table service in Swedish bars and restaurants during the pandemic would make Sweden a more sophisticated country, where people would now say excuse me when they bumped into each other on the Stockholm subway (MS, Mar 24, 2020).

> *'Tror bordsservering kommer göra oss till ett mer sofistikerat land. Snart kommer folk börja säga ursäkta när de stöter i en på tunnelbanan.' ('Think table service is going to turn us into a more sophisticated country. Soon people will start to say excuse me when they bump into you on the underground') (MS, Mar 24, 2020)*

Strömberg also utilised self-aware melodrama when she tweeted on a Friday evening that she had had to have the tough conversation with her children that the store had sold out of sweets (MS, Mar 13, 2020). Again, it was this utilisation of humour in combination with social and cultural reference points that their followers would understand that featured so significantly in branding amongst certain journalists in this study. Milne on the other hand incorporated humoristic aspects of his personal interests into his Twitter feed during the pandemic, such as tweeting that he was enjoying the new Animal Crossing game so much that he wouldn't need to go back outside when the lockdown was over (OM, Apr 04, 2020). However, Milne also utilised observational humour that also utilised certain references, in this case historical, when he retweeted a critique of people's self-assuredness of the right course of action during the pandemic, saying 'It'll be over by Christmas I hear' (OM, Apr 01, 2020). This was a reference to a widely-held belief that in 1914 the British public thought that the First World War would be 'over by Christmas'. In this context whilst the journalist makes an observation that others can understand, it is also some form of an 'inside joke' that creates a 'sense of belonging' (Olausson, 2018: 2391) for followers who 'get the joke'. The observational comedy could instead however be more explicit, such as Milne tweeting to his followers:

> *'If you all keep sunbathing after the Queen tells you to cut it out then you can't be stopped' (OM, Apr 05, 2020).*

Another result worth noting was the use of humour to comment on current events that could otherwise be done in a journalistic sense. This was seen when The Guardian's Kate Proctor commented on Donald Trump mistakenly saying that Seoul's population was 38 million when what he had in fact read was that Seoul's elevation was 38 metres above sea level. Proctor stated that the mistake would be 'Funny, if he wasn't the leader of the United States' (KP, Mar 31, 2020). Proctor also commented on Trump when she retweeted a video of him making light of the fact that journalists at White House press conferences had to socially distance, tweeting simply and sarcastically 'Helpful' (KP, Mar 24, 2020). The Daily Mirror's Oliver Milne simultaneously utilised humour whilst arguably performing an 'analyst' role when he tweeted about the hypocrisy from those MPs who wanted daily press conferences for the public, but still felt they should get the information beforehand. In doing so he tweeted:

> *'MPs: "Hold daily press conferences" Also MPs "Wait don't tell them things at it before you've told us"' (OM, Mar 17, 2020).*

The third trend observed was that of sociability, seen here by journalists interacting with fellow journalists as well as members of the public. Certain journalists were extremely active in this regard, such as Expressen's Maggie Strömberg. This goes some way in explaining why only 22% of her tweets were seen to contain the performance of a journalistic role. All four of the 'tabloid' and 'broadsheet' journalists were found to engage in this sociability. These tweets often fell outside of the context of coronavirus. This was seen in Dagens Nyheter's Ewa Stenberg replying to a tweet in which she provided advice on a plant and the best way in which to care for it (ES, Apr 13, 2020). The Daily Mirror's Oliver Milne utilised humour in his reply to another user, again in reference to his experiences of the new Animal Crossing game, engaging in a humoristic debate over whether Animal Crossing was 'capitalist propaganda' (OM, Apr 15, 2020). However, sociability was also seen in reference to the coronavirus pandemic. The Guardian's Kate Proctor responded to another public figure who was asking whether others were also experiencing strange symptoms, saying:

> '@tarajaneoreilly Woken up in the night I had such a bad headache but everything fine today. Other random sore throats and tickly chests, but possibly also in my mind.' (KP, Mar 26, 2020)

Replies were also used as a way in which journalists supported one another and the work that they were doing during the coronavirus. Through this a form of journalistic solidarity seemed to emerge, in which positive messages of support were exchanged between journalists. For example, Strömberg replied to another journalist at a different newspaper who said that they were working 24 hours a day, reading new research on coronavirus whilst also attempting to write news articles on it, and were unable to keep up. Strömberg tweeted her support, saying:

> '@aminamnzr Så bra jobb! Pausa ibland, vi behöver dig länge.' (Such a good job! Take a break sometimes, we need you for a long time') (MS, Mar 18, 2020)

Kate Proctor at The Guardian also engaged in this form of reply in which support was shown for other journalists. On a number of occasions she was found to tweet colleagues in different media organisations discussing the stress and pressure they were under, encouraging them to rest as well as referencing her own workload:

'@breeallegretti I'm off from Friday. I can't wait to check out mentally!' (KP, Mar 28, 2020)

These types of sociability which the journalists engage in point to a number of trends. Firstly, there is the type of interaction which allow Twitter followers to see that the journalist is a real person. As previous research has shown, 'humorous interactions and friendly small-talk appear to offer authentic glimpses of the people behind the personas' (Olausson, 2018: 2391). However, what is perhaps more interesting are the signs of journalistic solidarity forming during the coronavirus pandemic. The immense pressures and workloads that journalists are under, particularly those reporting on and analysing political decisions, cannot be understated. Moreover, the remote working situation caused by coronavirus has moved journalists away from their usual physically close relationship with their colleagues, perhaps providing another explanation as to why this behaviour has emerged.

Both of the journalists from public service media did not engage in these forms of personalisation. Nevertheless, the remaining journalists examined engaged in behaviour that allowed their followers an insight into their personal lives whilst also at times including humorous observations. Additionally, public interactions with colleagues and members of the public helped them to be perceived as 'real' individuals. Intent is difficult to prove when it comes to these concepts, but the decision from at least some of the journalists to tweet on current events in a non-journalistic manner concurs with previous research about the destabilising impact of Twitter on journalistic practices. In the context of coronavirus, one could argue that the inclusion of humour has a similar motive to the previously discussed 'journalism of hope'. In this, the journalists seemed to attempt to encourage their followers and avoid 'corona fatigue' by mixing serious journalism with what were at times genuine attempts at comedy. Additionally, the inclusion of personal experiences of the coronavirus can be seen as a reinforcing process occurring alongside the aforementioned concept of 'journalism of collective responsibility'. Intertwined alongside stricter tweets in which followers are encouraged to follow government guidelines there exists a lighter narrative which reminds followers that they are also experiencing the same thing. Ultimately, tweets encouraging collective responsibility and tweets including personal experiences of coronavirus constitute a two-pronged approach which helps to facilitate the government's aims of stopping the spread of the virus, whilst tempering this with personal experience and humour.

Conclusion and discussion

The empirical results that have been presented have shown that the journalists examined in this study performed a wide variety of roles during the coronavirus pandemic on Twitter. The most common of these roles saw journalists performing the function that Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) termed 'Informational-Instructive'. In the context of coronavirus, this included providing updates from daily press conferences, as well as quickly disseminating information about upcoming changes in society that they decided their readers would want to be aware of. The next most common were those roles within the 'Analytical-Deliberative' role category. This saw the role of 'analyst' performed most often, in which journalists provide outwardly subjective interpretation and prediction on news events, for example the effects that government lockdowns would have on national economies. Also seen in this dimension was the role of 'access provider', in which journalists provided a platform for the public to engage in the coronavirus conversation. Interestingly, this role was performed to a much greater extent by British journalists than by their Swedish counterparts. Analysis of roles performed by journalists also found certain journalists engaging in the role of 'advocate' for those disproportionately impacted by the coronavirus, such as healthcare workers and the homeless.

The first research question in this thesis was concerned with the ways in which British and Swedish journalists differed in the roles that they performed on Twitter during coronavirus. Somewhat surprisingly, the general picture showed that Swedish and British journalists performed similar roles on Twitter. However, it was found that British journalists tweeted to a much greater extent than their Swedish counterparts. This result should not be ignored and aligns with previous research that has been conducted in this field. In 2016 it was argued that amongst Swedish journalists the 'hype' around social media may be coming to an end (Djerf-Pierre, Ghersetti, and Hedman, 2016: 10), and the lower activity of the Swedish journalists in this study goes some way in confirming this. In the six-week period examined, SVT's Mats Knutson tweeted only 80 times. This was in comparison to Expressen's Maggie Strömberg, who tweeted a total of 294 times. This in fact made her the second most active journalist on Twitter that was examined in this study, only less than the BBC's Laura Kuenssberg who tweeted a total of 645 times. Again, this supports previous research into Swedish journalists' use of Twitter, which has argued that it is the young metropolitan journalists, which Strömberg can be defined as, that are by far the most active on Twitter (Hedman, 2015: 293). However, Strömberg was also one of the journalists with the fewest proportion of tweets in which a journalistic role could be seen to be performed. Of a total of 294 tweets sent during the period

examined, only 22% were judged to have seen Strömberg performing a journalistic role. Therfore, whilst it was clear that Strömberg was active on Twitter, it seems that only a very small proportion of this was in the capacity of an active journalist.

In the question of journalistic role performance, British journalists' Twitter feeds contained a greater proportion of tweets performing the 'Informational-Instructive' function than Swedish journalists. It was the opposite for tweets in the 'Analytical-Deliberative' dimension, where Swedish journalists' Twitter feeds contained a greater proportion. Nonetheless, the remaining results showed a level of journalistic homogeneity between the two countries. When the results were reframed to show the differences between different media organisations, it was there that clear differences began to emerge. These showed how public service journalists were more likely to act as 'disseminators' and 'curators', whereas their so-called 'broadsheet' and 'tabloid' counterparts were more likely to perform the role of 'analyst'. Additionally, it showed how private media journalists, in particular those 'tabloid' journalists, were far more likely to perform the role of 'advocate' than those in public service. This can be seen as due to the more explicit political stances of these newspapers, particularly The Daily Mirror in England.

Had this study only used a quantitative analysis that had taken Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) journalistic roles and categorised the journalists' Twitter feeds based upon those, then the conclusion would have been a resounding confirmation that there was little difference in the ways in which British and Swedish journalists used Twitter. There were some differences that could be observed in a quantitative analysis, such as the greater extent to which British journalists tweeted, and did so more often in a journalistic capacity, compared to Swedish journalists, and the fact that British journalists performed the role of 'access provider' much more often. However, in a purely quantitative sense, the differences became much starker when the results were reframed to instead compare the journalists differentiated by the type of media organisation they were based in. If the analysis had been purely quantitative therefore, and purely based on Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) roles, this thesis might conclude with a presumption that a degree of homogeneity existed between Swedish and British journalism. This concurs to some degree with Hallin and Mancini's (2004) tentative conclusion that homogeneity between media systems was gathering pace. However, there are a number of limitations in applying conceptions of journalistic role performance to Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic that must not be ignored.

What could be seen when analysing the journalists' Twitter feeds in the context of crisis journalism and outside of the framework of Hanitzsch and Vos (2018), is a clear lack of homogeneity between journalists from the two nations. This helps answer both the first and second research questions of this thesis. A number of types of tweets were discovered that could be forced into Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) roles, such as the 'facilitator' role within the domain of political life, and the 'connector' and 'mood manager' within the domain of everyday life. However, their uniqueness in crisis journalism and the coronavirus pandemic meant that a more satisfactory solution was instead to analyse them qualitatively. This lead to a move away from at times caricatured journalistic roles to an exploration of 'forms' of journalism instead.

The concept of 'journalism of patriotism' is not something that can be adequately explained purely in terms of journalistic roles. Previous research on crisis reporting has shown how 'sheer patriotism' emerges when the 'national community' is seen to be threatened (Waisbord, 2002: 206). Rather than this 'patriotism' manifesting itself in opposition to a human threat, such as in research done on Israeli journalists (Zandberg and Neiger, 2005), the very nature of coronavirus has meant that this patriotism is instead much more self-reflective. Moreover, this form of journalism cannot be adequately explained through previously conceived journalistic roles. It would misrepresent the behaviour of the journalists examined here to try and claim that they were defending the government and performing roles within the 'Collaborative-Facilitative' dimension by praising the efforts of healthcare workers. Additionally, it somewhat simplifies the complexity of the situation by determining that the journalists were performing an 'advocate' role. Essential to the advocate role, according to Hanitzsch and Vos (2018: 155), is the identification with the group that the journalistic acts as the advocate for. Purely quantitative classification of journalists in this role neglects the multitude of beliefs and ideologies at work in the 'construction' of the modern journalist. Indeed, in the context of coronavirus it would seem possible that a journalist could show support for healthcare workers without necessarily 'identifying' with them and considering themselves a spokesperson, as Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018: 155) 'advocate' role necessitates.

Re-examining the first research question of this thesis, this patriotism appeared to be a particularly British phenomenon that Swedish journalists did not engage in. Journalism of patriotism revolved very strongly around the National Health Service in the United Kingdom,

from journalists acting as proponents for the 'Clap for Our Carers' to levels of jingoism in the idea that NHS staff should get medals for their 'service' during the pandemic. This sense of patriotism was exemplified by journalists tweeting positively about the benevolent figure of the Queen in her speech to the nation. The fact that individual journalists in the United Kingdom have engaged in this form of journalism aligns with emerging observations about the UK's response to coronavirus. It has been argued that the NHS 'has become entangled with a host of other national British icons, many of which hark back to the second world war' (Davies, 2020). This narrative was both expressed by the British journalists themselves, as well as observed by Swedish journalists, such as when Expressen's Maggie Strömberg noted the poignance of the Queen's reference to the generation of Second World War evacuees in her speech (MS, Apr 05, 2020). This British obsession with the Second World War has also been noted in studies surrounding Brexit, in regards to how antipathy towards Europe was expressed using terminology and reference points from the time (Stratton, 2019). During the coronavirus pandemic this again resurfaced, strengthened by the 75th anniversary of VE day and the achievements of Captain Tom Moore, the 100-year-old veteran of the Second World War who raised 33 million pounds for the NHS by completing laps in his garden. British journalists readily engaged with this narrative during the coronavirus pandemic, arguably in a much more uncritical way than they may have otherwise.

Billig (2017: 314) has described how feelings of nationalism within country can be 'heating' or 'cooling' during certain events, and that this can be expressed in the nation's press. It can be observed that during the coronavirus pandemic therefore that British, although perhaps more accurately English, nationalism is going through a heating process. However, this study has not termed this nationalism, instead opting for the perhaps more benevolent term 'patriotism'. This is due to the fact that the coronavirus pandemic does not see the nation engaged in an ideological struggle against a human enemy. The 'invisible' and universal nature of the coronavirus was seen to destigmatise the idea of patriotism, in comparison to 'nationalism', amongst journalists. It thus became more acceptable to show unequivocal praise for one's country, particularly in the context of ideologically positive institutions such as the NHS. The lack of Swedish war experience could be one factor that explains why this form of 'patriotism' did not emerge amongst Swedish journalists. The 'Clap for Our Carers' in the United Kingdom did have its Swedish equivalent (see Göteborgs Posten, March 16th, 2020), but it did not gain traction in the same way that it did in the UK and thus did not emerge in the reporting of Swedish journalists. Moreover, patriotism in Sweden is arguably linked more

strongly to right-wing political parties, such as the Sweden Democrats, where Sweden 'is polarized between a minority attracted to the party [and its brand of nationalism] and a majority that dislike the SD more than any other party' (Hellström, Nilsson, and Stoltz, 2012: 204).

A number of questions however remain when discussing the results which show the performance of 'journalism of patriotism'. Firstly, Swedish debates have spoken of a trend towards 'folkhälsonationalism' (public health nationalism), something similar to the British examples of praising the NHS previously discussed. Whilst the debate surrounding public health nationalism in Sweden does indeed exist (see Pallas, 2020), the question is why this has not been seen in the results of this study. Admittedly the sample size in this study was not large, but the fact that no Swedish journalists in this study were seen to engage in this provokes questions. One answer may be that the Swedish journalists retained a higher degree of professionalism and impartiality than their British counterparts. However, this is negated by the fact that journalists such as Maggie Strömberg were seen to incorporate a large degree of non-journalistic content in their Twitter feeds. Another possible explanation is the degree of parallelism between political journalists and their parent organisations in the United Kingdom, in comparison to Sweden. British journalists may have felt more comfortable in expressing 'patriotism' or 'public health nationalism' than their Swedish counterparts as they were aware that this was in line with their parent organisations' ideological perspectives. Another possible explanation could lie in the different strategies that the United Kingdom and Sweden undertook in the coronavirus pandemic. For the United Kingdom, a nationwide lockdown in which 'hero' nurses and doctors put their lives on the line created a much more defensive ideology. To take another reference from the second world war that has been utilised in the British media, it created a 'Blitz Spirit' in which journalists felt comfortable in engaging in a journalism of patriotism. In contrast, Sweden's decision to retain as much normality as possible in everyday life did not create an equivalent situation. In this context, Swedish journalists may not have felt the need or indeed ability to engage in such unequivocal patriotic journalism that the British journalists were observed to have done.

Outside of interviewing the Swedish journalists directly and asking why they did not engage in this form of reporting during the coronavirus pandemic, only tentative conclusions can be made. However, it is clear that there is something that ensured that the Swedish journalists did not engage in this 'journalism of patriotism'. What the exploration of this shows is that previously conceived journalistic role conceptions do not allow for the degrees of nuance

that a complex issue such as this contains. Crisis situations do have a destabilising impact on traditional journalistic roles, but it cannot merely be said that journalists therefore are performing alternative roles instead. It has been shown how journalists can perform both overt and covert roles, such as Kuenssberg's reporting on the Dominic Cummings controversy, so it is also true that roles contain nuances unique to the situation in which they are performed. This therefore again calls into question the applicability of applying journalistic role conceptions that are theorised without consideration for the unique circumstances of crises.

The concept of 'journalism of hope' was also something that could not be satisfactorily explained within the framework of previously conceived journalistic roles. What was seen was that during coronavirus British journalists in particular were seen to temper their reporting on serious issues with tweets that attempted to provide 'hope' for their followers, in addition to also offering light-hearted news stories. This concurs with research within crisis journalism that has shown how during times of crisis journalists step outside of traditional roles and can act in a comforting role for the public (Riegert and Olsson, 2007; Konow-Lund and Olsson, 2017). Like the trend of 'journalism of patriotism', this was something that British journalists engaged in to a much greater degree than Swedish journalists. Again, this can potentially be explained by differing experiences of coronavirus. As of May 29th, 2020, Sweden has one of the highest death rates from coronavirus per 100,000 people in the world, a figure of 41.89 (John Hopkins, 2020). However, due to the size of Sweden's population, counts of daily deaths from coronavirus never reached the same amounts as they did in the United Kingdom. On April 21st 2020, the United Kingdom officially recorded a peak daily increase in deaths from coronavirus of 1,172 (GOV.UK, 2020). In contrast, Sweden's peak did not reach anywhere near this total, a figure of 185 deaths were recorded on Sweden's 'deadliest' day, coincidentally the same date as the United Kingdom's (SVT, April 21st, 2020). The proximity to a much higher daily increase in deaths from coronavirus may be one reason behind the need for British journalists to engage in journalism and tweeting that was aimed at giving their followers hope. Moreover, the different governmental strategies that were undertaken in the United Kingdom and Sweden may have led to British journalists seeing their role as 'comforters' to a greater extent than those in Sweden. As the numbers were reaching their peak in the United Kingdom, the British public were in an enforced lockdown, cut off from their social contacts, and reminded in a multitude of ways that any relaxing in their behaviour would lead to an even higher death toll. In contrast, whilst the situation in Sweden was serious, daily life could

proceed with a relative degree of normality. Swedes were able to meet their friends, visit restaurants, and their children remained in school for the most part.

It is perhaps due to this that the British journalists engaged in this more overt 'journalism of hope', whereas the Swedish journalists did not. For the British people, their lives were completely transformed whilst hundreds of people were dying on a daily basis. British journalists may have engaged in this 'journalism of hope', perhaps not intentionally, but with a feeling that in their visible position and with an ability to reach a large number of people that they could provide a sense of optimism in an exceptionally difficult time for the British people. Again, this observation could be clarified further with qualitative research interviews in the aftermath of the coronavirus pandemic.

Perhaps the most extraordinary of these forms of journalism within crisis journalism was that of what this study labelled 'journalism of collective responsibility'. The results showed how the language used in tweets from journalists moved from collective nouns such as 'the public' or 'the British people' to a language that utilised not only 'you' but 'we' and 'our'. In this, the journalists moved from being 'detached bystanders', bringing not only the audience into the story but themselves as well. Whilst this did not reach the degree that one could call them 'mouthpieces' or 'collaborators' for the government (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018), there is definitely an argument to say that they acted to some extent as 'facilitators'. However, once again this does not do justice to the complexity of the situation, which is why this study has termed this 'journalism of collective responsibility' rather than coming to the conclusion that the journalists acted as 'facilitators' or 'collaborators'. What this study found was that journalists do not ever perform just one role, and as complex individuals and indeed members of society they cannot be easily classified with theoretical labels. Instead, this study found that journalists could simultaneously act as 'detached bystanders' or as scrutinisers of political and governmental conduct, whilst also assisting the government in ensuring that members of the public follow guidelines that have been laid out to combat the coronavirus pandemic.

One point of interest that is worth noting is that whilst this form of journalism was seen in both Swedish and British journalists, it was again more prevalent in the United Kingdom. However, it might have been expected that Swedish journalists engaged with it more. This is because the United Kingdom had clearly stated guidelines regarding lockdown, to not leave

the house unless for work that could not be done from home, to buy food, or exercise for up to one hour close to home once a day (GOV.UK, March 23rd 2020). Sweden, in contrast, had guidelines which required the individual to use their own personal judgement. Swedes were able to continue with their everyday lives with a large degree of normality if they so pleased, and government issued guidelines required them to use their common sense in situations in order to avoid contributing to the spread of coronavirus. One may have therefore expected Swedish journalists to more greatly engage with a form of reporting on Twitter which encouraged the Swedish public to use their judgement and act wisely. The question as to why Swedish journalists were not found to perform 'journalism of collective responsibility' to a larger extent is at risk of being poorly answered by national clichés rather than pure fact. Nevertheless, there is an emerging argument that Sweden's 'success' in not imposing a national lockdown is due to Swede's greater level of social and institutional trust (The Guardian, April 21st, 2020), and this may go some way in explaining why Swedish journalists did not feel the need to repeat government guidelines in an arguably patronising way to their followers.

Finally, there is the question of how the British and Swedish journalists engaged in personalisation on Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic. It was found that the majority of journalists incorporated their own personal experiences of coronavirus into their Twitter feeds, as well as humour and interactions with other users on the site. Much of what was discovered concurs with previous research, in that journalists utilised Twitter to 'promote themselves as individual professionals' rather than necessarily as employees of media organisations (Olausson, 2018: 2379-80). However, the unique circumstances of the coronavirus pandemic changed the ways in which this personalisation was expressed. Rather than sharing with followers behind the scenes insight into high-profile political events, journalists instead replaced this with the mundanity of domestic life. In doing so, rather than the journalists creating a culture of 'celebrification' (Olausson, 2018), they instead presented themselves as personable and relatable to their followers. The journalists portrayed themselves as undergoing the same experiences as their followers, making themselves more approachable and at least to some degree making it seem to their followers that they were open to interaction. This cannot necessarily be defined as a journalistic role, rather it is a behaviour that can exist alongside those that have been presented by Hanitzsch and Vos (2018). What this behaviour further demonstrates is that journalists are complex individuals and exist on Twitter as professionals but also as normal human beings. Attempts at conceptualising journalistic roles and creating a diagram in which the majority of journalists are seen to exist helps with initial analysis and

creates a broad picture of the types of roles journalists perform, but they should also not be relied upon too heavily.

Ultimately, this thesis has found that when it comes to the performance of journalistic roles on Twitter, there exists a broad spectrum of roles that journalists perform and behaviours that they engage in. Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) must be commended for conceptualising a framework which can be applied to the study of the roles journalists have performed on Twitter during the coronavirus. This provided the general impression through which more qualitative analysis was able to be performed. What became clear was that journalists engage in far more forms of journalism and types of behaviour that cannot be fully explored through the at times restrictive framework of journalistic roles. The coronavirus pandemic is a more transformative force than any political movement of the last 50 years, and its ramifications for society as a whole, let alone journalism, will be felt for many years. Nevertheless, what was found in this study was that there existed a great deal of variety in the roles journalists performed on Twitter during the pandemic. However, in moving away from a strict framework, more differences became apparent in the ways in which British and Swedish journalists utilised Twitter during the coronavirus pandemic.

Further research can explore in more depth the 'forms of journalism' identified in this study that seem to exist outside of previously conceived journalistic roles. Additionally, of interest in particular would be an exploration of how British journalists reported on the death tolls in Italy at the start of the pandemic compared to how this was reported on when similar death tolls were being reported in the United Kingdom. Likewise, the ways in which the Swedish experience of coronavirus was reported on within Sweden and from afar would be illuminating. Finally, the extent to which media coverage became dominated by coronavirus can be explored, and the criteria in which it was possible for more traditional stories to become 'headline news' in a time in which coverage of coronavirus dominated the public discourse.

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