ROUTLEDGE FOCUS

DIGITAL JOURNALISM AND THE FACILITATION OF HATE

Gregory P. Perreault

ROUTLEDGE Focus

Digital Journalism and the Facilitation of Hate

Digital Journalism and the Facilitation of Hate explores the process by which digital journalists manage the coverage of hate speech and "hate groups," and considers how digital journalists can best avoid having their work used to lend legitimacy to hate.

Leaning on more than 200 interviews with digital journalists over the past three years, this book first lays the foundation by discussing the essential values held by digital journalists, including how they define journalism; what values they consider essential to the field; and how they practice their trade. Perreault considers the problem of defining "hate" and "hate groups" by the media, acknowledging journalism's role in perpetuating hate through its continued ideological coverage of marginalized groups. Case studies, including the January 6 U.S. Capitol siege, the GamerGate controversy and the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, help to elaborate on this problem and illustrate potential solutions. *Digital Journalism and the Facilitation of Hate* draws attention to the tactics of white nationalists in leveraging digital journalism and suggests ways in which digital journalists can more effectively manage their reporting on hate.

Offering a valuable, empirical insight into the relationship between digital journalism and hate, this book will be of interest to students, scholars and professionals of social and digital media, sociology and journalism.

Gregory P. Perreault is Associate Professor of Digital Journalism at Appalachian State University, USA. His research extends to journalistic epistemology, hostility in journalism and digital labor.

Disruptions
Studies in Digital Journalism
Series editor: Bob Franklin

Disruptions refers to the radical changes provoked by the affordances of digital technologies that occur at a pace and on a scale that disrupts settled understandings and traditional ways of creating value, interacting and communicating both socially and professionally. The consequences for digital journalism involve far-reaching changes to business models, professional practices, roles, ethics, products and even challenges to the accepted definitions and understandings of journalism. For Digital Journalism Studies, the field of academic inquiry that explores and examines digital journalism, disruption results in paradigmatic and tectonic shifts in scholarly concerns. It prompts reconsideration of research methods, theoretical analyses and responses (oppositional and consensual) to such changes, which have been described as being akin to "a moment of mind-blowing uncertainty."

Routledge's book series, *Disruptions: Studies in Digital Journalism*, seeks to capture, examine and analyze these moments of exciting and explosive professional and scholarly innovation which characterize developments in the day-to-day practice of journalism in an age of digital media, and which are articulated in the newly emerging academic discipline of Digital Journalism Studies.

News Journalism and Twitter
Disruption, Adaption and Normalisation
Chrysi Dagoula

Digital Journalism and the Facilitation of Hate
Gregory P. Perreault

For more information about this series, please visit: www.routledge.com/Disruptions/book-series/DISRUPTDIGJOUR

Digital Journalism and the Facilitation of Hate

Gregory P. Perreault

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2023
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an Informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Perreault, Gregory P., 1983- author.
Title: Digital journalism and the facilitation of hate / Gregory P. Perreault.
Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York : Routledge, 2023. | Series: Disruptions: studies in digital journalism | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2022040401 | ISBN 9781032256856 (hardback) | ISBN 9781032256863 (paperback) | ISBN 9781003284567 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Online journalism. | Hate groups—Press coverage. | Sensationalism in journalism. | Journalists—Effect of technological innovations on. | Journalists—Interviews.
Classification: LCC PN4784.O62 P467 2023 | DDC 070.4—dc23/eng/20221114
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022040401

ISBN: 978-1-032-25685-6 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-032-25686-3 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-003-28456-7 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003284567

Typeset in Times New Roman
by codeMantra

Contents

Acknowledgments

Books are not taken on lightly. This book is a passion project, stemming from a deep concern about the nature of hostility in the world and the ways in which digital journalism can inadvertently amplify this hostility. This has informed my own view of the world—that our world is best when we all have a chance to speak into it. The people who informed this view most were sadly those who found me absent more frequently in the writing of this text: my wife and children.

My wife, Dr. Mimi Perreault, is a model of personal integrity, grace and passionate outreach. Despite so many of her own academic and personal obligations, she provided me with the space to complete this project and listened to me talk endlessly—and for years—about the ideas in this book. That we could all have the same grace! And my children inspire me. My daughter Evangeline (11) has a firm grasp on the need for justice in this world, explaining in exasperation as she learns the history of our world: slavery, segregation; "why would these terrible things exist in the first place?" Margery (8) is a model of kindness who teaches me constantly. She can always tell when someone is sad, needs to be encouraged or just needs to color a picture to "draw the angry away." Kyrie (5) and William (4) are still in the toddler age where they destroy everything, wrecking entire rooms while I'm editing a chapter and then appearing as angels when I walk through the doorframe. They require and insist on the grace from the rest of us. They're great kids, if I may say so—and I do!—and what inspires this book is my heartfelt desire for a better world for these kids.

I am also indebted to my family: my little sister, Edgerly, her husband David, my mother Candace and her partner Sheri, my father Jacques and his wife Rachel, my cousin Alex and my adorable 92-year-old grandma Barbara—they've all shown me so much kindness and guided me every step of the way. Also indebted to the kindness of

my in-laws: Will, Carri, Catelyn, Daniel, Sarah, Jon and gaggle of nephews (and two nieces!)

I'm thankful to my many collaborators who have informed my ideas, pushed me to rethink and reconsider and to consider in new light. Thanks to my advisor, collaborator and friend Tim Vos for encouraging me to pursue this book. Thanks to my many other great collaborators I can think of at the time of writing Mira Waits, Tom Mueller, Valerie Weiskamp, Pat Ferrucci, Folker Hanusch, Newly Paul, Volha Kananovich, Katie Montalbano, Phoebe Maares, Travis Bell, Daniel Nölleke, Emory Daniel, Samuel Tham, Valérie Bélair-Gagnon, Edson Tandoc, Jessica Fargen Walsh, Ruth Moon, Daniela Dimitrova, Brett Johnson, Jon Peters and Kaitlin Miller—and to all the others I'm inevitably forgetting.

I'm grateful to Appalachian State University for giving me a tenure-track job and providing me with the flexibility to undertake the scholarship that I do—while enjoying the beautiful Appalachian Mountain surroundings. Thanks to my department and my Dean Shannon Campbell for being supporters of this work as part of our institutional commitment to create a "sustainable future for all." Thanks also to my incredible journalism students who contributed through their questions, and their devotion to the field of journalism.

I'd like to acknowledge Fulbright Austria and the Botstiber Institute for Austrian-American Studies for giving me the space to think about many of the ideas in this book. The Fulbright Austria grantees from spring 2021 were a constant sounding board for many of my thoughts on the problems and potential solutions. Thankful in particular for Casey Hayes, Nick and Melanie Cullather, Peter and Karen Brummond, Jennifer Friedlander, Brenna Quinn, Viven Feng, Johnny DiBlasi, Bill Keaton, Yuliyana Lanina and my dear departed friend, Byron Marlowe.

Finally, I'd like to acknowledge the incredible openness of the many digital journalists interviewed in relation to this book over the past few years. Thank you for your participation in this project. I believe in journalism and the work of journalism—that this book may help in good work done in this field.

Introduction

The Problem of Hate

Introduction

A recent US journalism school graduate woke to an unpleasant story assignment from her newsroom; she'd been assigned to cover a white nationalist summit. White supremacists gathered from around the USA in a small town in Tennessee—approximately 40 miles from Knoxville. Stormfront, a far-right neo-Nazi forum, sponsored the event. At the time, Stormfront boasted more than 300,000 members (Al Jazeera, 2017). When the reporter arrived at the event, she was confronted by complete chaos. On the one hand, there were the "Nazis who look like Nazis" as she described it—wearing Schutzstaffel patches on their clothes and tattoos of swastikas. But there were also the "Nazis in suits"—leaders of the event in sweater vests and sports coats more akin to a TED talk. Additionally, there were the police presence, media presence and counter-protesters. The police worked to protect space between the white supremacists and the counter-protesters. Perhaps unremarkably, such an event attracted significant attention from journalists.

As the journalist was assessing this particular situation and trying to determine the best approach to covering the event, her newsroom called and reminded her that she had not yet delivered her required daily Facebook Live. She needed to go live on Facebook, they reminded her, to meet her newsroom expectations. She went live on Facebook, and as she described it, the crowd maneuvered her toward the center of the summit. Once there, one of the summit's top organizers—Billy Roper—took over her Facebook Live. According to the journalist, the way he talked and the words he used seemed reasonable and rational at face value. It was only as she watched the comments popping up that she began to realize what he was saying: it was Holocaust denial.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003284567-1

The journalist felt ashamed—she'd granted Billy Roper a platform for hate speech. Near the end of the day, in a smaller session, Roper pointed out her publication by name and offered his thanks for "finally giving my people a voice."

In recounting this story, the journalist I spoke to expressed shame. She told me that "my Papa fought these people in World War II," and she felt frustrated equally to see this same hate represented in small-town America and to be unable to cover it as well as she felt she could.

This is a situation that went wrong in a number of ways and should never have happened. This situation also illustrates perfectly the rationale for this book, which seeks to understand the ways in which journalism—and specifically digital journalism—has been complicit in facilitating hate groups and suggests ways, driven by the experiences of working journalists—to combat their influence. As a former journalist, I can say with confidence that very few journalists have actively promoted or encouraged hate groups. It is quite the opposite. Journalists are called to neutrality, clear-minded verification procedures and science-like precision.

Journalists are trained to report all sides of a story. I remember vividly even as a sports reporter confronting a story about a little league baseball team that had won the Little League Baseball World Series amidst a controversial coaching experience. I submitted a story to the *Palm Beach Post* detailing the story from the parents and coaches—not enough, I was told: I had only presented one side of this controversial coach story. This was little league sports. But I have to admit that when the editor told me, I was immediately receptive. I did need to make sure everyone could speak into this story.

This call to journalistic neutrality does not negate the fact that journalists are also activists for an open and inclusive public sphere. Indeed, the profession is built upon reliance on an open public sphere, and it is perhaps here that the most obvious chink in journalism's armor lies for white nationalists—they would argue that their voice is as important, or more so, than many of the other voices journalists include in the story. Even when buried, journalists' own commitment to an open and inclusive public sphere can lead them to lend coverage to such groups. But it is those very groups who would most like to see the public sphere closed.

Hence, it is quite natural that in conversation with journalists you would generally expect to find strong opposition to hate groups. So, when I propose in this book that journalists have been complicit in facilitating hate, this is by no means a reflection of the active

ideology, identity or practices of journalists. Journalists would hope their practice reflects the opposite.

Chignecto

It is in the dark—unreported or underreported—that marginalized groups can most often find themselves victims of hate. As I approach this topic, I think it's essential to share that my own family story, which has a large Indigenous presence, has a stake not just in the results of hate but in journalists reporting on it.

My family is Acadian: this French-speaking culture once had its own nation in the modern-day US northeast and Canadian Maritime provinces and continues to maintain a close relationship with the Indigenous peoples of Canada. When the French settlers arrived in the region, they had little power to offer. Yet, they found friendship, aid and compassion with the Mi'kmaq—a First Nation people of those provinces. *Chignecto* was particularly essential. *Chignecto* was a place of reciprocity among the First Nation for millennia, and the Acadians were welcomed to this place for trade, co-existence and intermarriage.

This peaceful exchange of culture, ideas and blood proved threatening during the Seven Years' War and led to the Great Deportation: when the British deported most Acadians from their land and killed many others. Some, such as my family, found safety and protection with the Mi'kmaq at that time. The affinity and partnership of the Acadian and the Mi'kmaq is a beautiful story that makes me proud of my background. And yet, that experience of oppression persists. In my family, our heritage is not often discussed, and if considered closely, one would see that my family made *whiteness* a goal to be achieved. To acknowledge the nature of hate in our world is to acknowledge natively troubling issues of power: who wields power (those who are white) and who is powerless.

Marginalization still exists in these communities today, often emerging amidst issues of language politics and Indigenous fishing rights in Canada. For example, in 2020, a lobster fisherman of the Sipekne'katik (the second largest Mi'kmaq band in Nova Scotia) found himself trapped in a lobster storage facility as a rally of 200 commercial fishermen threw rocks at him and hurled racial insults (McKinley & McKeen, 2020).

As a journalist, it doesn't strike me as surprising that the Mi'kmaq and other First Nation tribes receive little news coverage and yet are overrepresented as victims of hate crime (Wang & Moreau, 2020).

I believe journalism plays an essential role in this story—journalism can call out injustice and can increase the scope of the *us* in a society. Too often, though, we in journalism can instead end up strengthening the power structures that exist and amplifying the marginalization of communities.

Hence, this is a topic that is important to me personally and motivates me to work toward a world more inclusive than my own or my ancestors have faced. So, consider this book, our *Chignecto*, the meeting place I offer to share what I have learned from the experiences in journalism and research that might work on the behalf of a more inclusive future.

My first encounter with the structural biases—the amoral biases that shape how much reporting occurs—in journalism came during my time as a sports reporter at the *Palm Beach Post*. As a sports reporter, any given day witnessed a deluge of press releases requesting me to report on one topic as opposed to another. As our newsroom made the move to digital, I found myself leaning on these press releases more rather than relying on my own original story development—press releases promised a guaranteed story and another weeks' paycheck in my pocket (this process, by the way, leads to what I will later discuss in this book as the problematic process of "churnalism"; Davies, 2011). I noticed, however, that an increasing amount of my press releases came from religious groups: evangelical softball associations, Jewish community centers offering yoga and the Catholic shuffleboard team. Then one morning, I read in the South Florida Sun-Sentinel—our competing newspaper—about a growing Muslim community in Palm Beach County (Soloman, 2008), and it occurred to me: I had never written about someone in the Muslim community, and I had never received a press release from the Muslim community. It was then I realized of course that the two were interrelated. A few searches through my news organization's database demonstrated what I suspected to be true: Muslims were nearly invisible in Palm Beach County—at least as measured by their presence in local news and press content. I was troubled by this, given what I'd just read, and this was my impetus to learn and study how journalists successfully (and unsuccessfully) worked toward creating a more equitable society.

Once I entered the academy, I conducted a few studies exploring issues of hate, but the impetus for the present book is of course the Capitol siege on January 6, 2021. As a scholar, I've studied a variety of topics related to journalists' uses of technology in the presentation of historically marginalized communities: digital journalism presentations of the Syrian refugee crisis, gaming journalists covering issues

of gender, live television reporting at the San Bernardino shooting and a variety of studies reflecting on technology and its implications. As a scholar in the field of journalism, I have published in some of the most highly rated publications in my field. At the time of writing, I'm currently serving as the Fulbright-Botstiber Visiting Professor of Austrian-American Studies at the University of Vienna, working on projects related to journalists' use of Instagram and how lifestyle journalists manage issues of hate. It's hard to study reporting on marginalized communities without running into the wall of hate—the groups that work very hard to restrain or decrease historically marginalized voices in our society. In short, this book you are reading is the product of more than six years of study, and thoughtful analysis that brings together the threads of many different studies conducted during that time.

The Capitol Riot of January 6

As I watched the riot unfold, I felt concern for US democracy. The supporters laid bare the blinding problem of hate in the USA as they entered the building with Confederate flags, shouted racist epithets and displayed Nazi symbols. It was like watching the attempted seizure of American democracy by a Who's Who of America's greatest threats—Confederates, Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan. Their behavior in the Capitol was both shameless and childish, with rioters putting their feet on the desks of Congress people, rifling through congressional memos, stealing laptops and defecating in offices. The National Guard eventually stepped in and forcibly removed the rioters from the premises.

For a period of about three years, I lived and worked in the inner city of Washington, DC—about six blocks from Capitol Hill. As anyone who has lived in inner-city DC will tell you, you never mess around near the Capitol. The Capitol police stood vigilant, pulling over anyone and everyone they deemed slightly suspicious and you certainly knew to never try to park near the Capitol building. And so, on January 6, 2021, as supporters of former president Donald J. Trump stormed the Capitol building, I felt a mix of shock, anger and fear. As a former Washingtonian, let me assure you—that should never have been able to happen. And, at the time of writing, it seems apparent it would *not* have happened if not endorsed to at least some degree by people in power.

That moment shone a spotlight on a significant problem in American society. As Marty Baron's character in *Spotlight* famously

says, "when the light gets turned on, there's plenty of blame to go around" (McCarthy, 2015). Some of that blame certainly falls on digital journalism.

Meredith Shriner, writing for the *New Republic*, on February 15 argued that the Capitol riots reflected on the problem of reporting as a "'view from nowhere'—in which 'objectivity' is performed by reporters as a 'he said, she said' dance without regard to either news value or truth" (Shriner, 2021).

> Republicans like Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell recognized years ago that "the view from nowhere" media doctrine could work to his advantage. With no lens of "right" or "wrong" imposed on political reporting—the entire idea of moral arbitration replaced with a meaningless array of horse-race or process coverage that treated both sides as equal regardless of who acted in good faith—he could manipulate the media into any outcome he wanted while avoiding critical skepticism.
>
> (Shriner, 2021)

Shriner (2021) of course points to one aspect of the problem—objectivity—that will be discussed in more depth, but there are numerous problems highlighted by digital journalists' coverage of hate.

Why Report Hate?

For such a seemingly dangerous field and amidst such increasing hostility toward journalists, it is remarkable to see journalists' willingness to cover it. As media law scholar Brett Johnson, and his team (2021) argue, journalists simultaneously "essentialize[] hate speech as a necessary phenomenon for the exceptional American tradition of free speech" (Johnson, Thomas & Kelling, 2021, p. 12). In other words, journalists report on hate because they know it's important.

There is less research than one might expect on the fraught topic of reporting on hate groups in the USA. But as one might suspect, this is a topic equally fraught in Europe, where there is a robust base of research.

Germany is often held up in many circles as a country, which has successfully confronted, reckoned with, and recovered from a white supremacist history. But similar to the current situation in the USA, Germany finds white supremacy increasingly reflected in its military and policing personnel. In 2020, a report in Germany noted more than 370 suspected cases of right-wing extremism among German security

and police; the military reported 477 cases. A key strategy in white supremacy is to infiltrate security and military personnel—a situation that allows for white supremacy to persist at a structural level (Meier, 2022, January 30).

One journalist, working for a hyperlocal news site in the rural USA, described uncovering a Ku Klux Klan leader who had moved to her community and was working to recruit members. She was only able to uncover the leader's identity once a close local police contact let her know that he was working to befriend members of the police force and fire department, and increasingly sharing some of his materials with them. She reported on his strategy, encouraging him to leave the community, but it does reveal that the strategy of white supremacy extends beyond individual acts to enacting structural change.

As Anna Meier, a foreign policy professor at the University of Nottingham, argues: "To view white supremacy in a structural sense means understanding it as a system of institutions and practices that position white people as the dominant group in society and make that positioning so natural as to be unremarkable" (Meier, 2022, January 30).

To understand that journalism serves as an institution necessitates a reckoning of the ways in which the practice of our field can be complicit in this situation. Research seems to reflect that is the case in Germany. Predominantly examining the pernicious dangers of anti-Semitism and growing anti-Muslim sentiment in Europe, this research has found that journalism's role in moderating such groups is vital, but in some cases unsuccessful. Baugut (2020), for example, found that Jews in Germany perceived that local journalism actually fostered anti-Semitism nearly a century after the fall of the Nazi regime. Baugut (2020) argues:

> Some 75 years after the Holocaust…German Jews considered several media including quality newspapers to be a contributing factor to ongoing antisemitism.
>
> From Jews' point of view, the selective perception and retention of "negative" or "threatening" characteristics of media coverage is arguably important for their safety; this seems to be particularly true for those who perceive high levels of antisemitism and consequently more strongly identify with their community…Plausibly, Jews' definition of unfavorable media coverage is shaped by their assumptions or experiences of the media's influence on [others] they perceive to be hostile.
>
> (Baugut, 2020, pp. 20–21)

However, as Baugut (2021) argues, German journalists seek to combat this through numerous role applications depending on the context of reporting, and furthermore, the "Journalists' personal perspectives as citizens may motivate them to act in line with their political convictions even when this requires deviation from what they perceive to be the general task of their profession" (p. 14). In other words, journalists may be willing to depart from their norms, in order to work more actively in the interest of targeted Jews. As with journalists elsewhere, the journalists in Baugut's (2021) study were committed to enabling an open public sphere.

When undertaken correctly, journalists can create a positive news agenda with their reporting. When journalists quote minority groups targeted by hate—as with Muslims in Austria, Germany and Switzerland—the likelihood that minority groups will be differentiated from the accusations against them (e.g. a link between Islam and terror) is significantly higher (Matthes et al., 2020). The stakes are quite high given that a survey of 15 countries across Europe indicated that the mere exposure to populist—a social identity developed in regard to a *dangerous other*—messaging had the ability to encourage support for populist ideas (Hameleers et al., 2021).

It is helpful, perhaps to consider hate group messaging a bit more like a virus, that journalists can inadvertently spread merely through encountering it and not through any poor intention. And this has certainly been a part of the strategy of hate groups.

Hate Groups and Their Strategy

Michael Edison Hayden of the Southern Poverty Law Center was interviewed in a 2019 podcast episode of "All About Journalism" concerning the challenges facing reporters who cover hate. He pointed to the mosque shooting in New Zealand, which was racially charged and informed by the ideals of white nationalism.

> These shooters are not just psychopaths. There are people who agree with them in our society and in our government…We're not going to have journalism at all if the fascists win. People don't realize the stakes sometimes. When you're embedded in it, you do understand…Once you understand the underlying fear of these groups it becomes a lot more clear that the worst way you can cover these mass shooting events for instance is to be "It's crazy! It's white supremacy!" but never think about how someone becomes a white supremacist.
>
> (O'Connell, 2019)

Most hate groups are linked to the concept of blood and soil. In America and Europe, this reflects the preservation of white ethnicity and often a white male dominance. The distinction between white supremacy and white nationalism is subtle but worth noting here. White supremacy aims to create a white ethnostate to rule over a given state, while white nationalism reflects the belief that the participants can create a separate white state (Hartzell, 2018). That said, in this book I will not distinguish strongly between the uses of the terms given that there is considerable overlap between hate groups with individuals who tend to float between the groups of Aryans, Ku Klux Klan and others. The demographic root of the problem of hate groups is located in young white males with research reflecting that the prototypical "recruit" for white supremacy is found among young white males who feel cast aside in society and have plentiful free time and with higher-than-average access to the internet. Propaganda from hate groups tripled during the first three years of the Trump presidency, 2016–2019 (Yellin, 2020). Historically, when a problem arises—young white men feeling powerless—it might seem reasonable to look to elites as the source of the problem but, in reality, disadvantaged groups tend to be targeted. In Charlottesville, throngs of people chanted "the Jews will not replace us"—perplexing and deeply troubling chants, given the state of the Jewish people and the relative historical proximity of the Holocaust. However, in white nationalist circles, narratively the Jews take on a powerful role in the upset of the white male-empowered status quo—they are perceived as *directing* actions taken by minority groups (Thompson, 2001).

In the 1990s, researchers argued that the USA would be at the forefront of a far-right revolution—a revolution motivated and promoted through digital means (Back, Keith & Solomos, 1998; Daniels, 2009). This argument came with some rationale. The Klan and Nazi groups had been pushed to the fringes of American society following the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Federal Bureau of Investigation counter-intelligence program and government hearings. Consequently, in spring 1984, Louis Beam Jr. created the Inter-Klan Newsletter and Survival Alert. This network was later shared with Aryan Nations as a way they could collaboratively avoid the ban on sending their publications through the US Mail. This network grew in the 1990s, eventually facilitating racist video gaming (Winter, 2019).

It's fair to say that hate groups were at the forefront of digital technology long before journalists. And, while this far-right revolution failed to materialize in the time frame suggested—with the exception of Klan leader Don Black's *Stormfront*—hate groups did find an impetus for growth in 2008 (Winter, 2019).

Historians note that the strategy of hate groups—especially white nationalists—shifted in the wake of the election of Barack Obama, who was the USA's first black president. This shift in strategy reflected various factors: (1) an acknowledgment that their prior strategies had proved ineffective if a black man could be elected president; (2) an acknowledgment that, based on current population trends, whites could be a minority population during the 21st century—a concept that exposes a great deal of fear in among some white populations; and (3) the need for a softer, more mainstream-friendly messaging in order to better appeal to white-collar Americans.

Perhaps the moment that best illustrates this change in strategy was captured in the Al Jazeera English documentary *White Power (USA)*. During the documentary, the videographers capture the former head of the National Socialism Movement (US Nazi Party) marching down the streets of Tucson, Arizona, trying to start a chant to expel blacks, Hispanics and Jews. The new leader of the movement swiftly corrected him and started a new chant: "U-S-A! U-S-A!"

This small moment is indicative of larger strategy shifts that aim to ride populist, American conservative movements in order to mainstream the essential ideals of a hate group. As SPLC's Hayden argues, hate groups have gone for a subtler look with more emphasis placed on the recruitment of white-collar workers in order to offer a more sophisticated message (O'Connell, 2019). Key to that strategy was seen to be translating that hate for online distribution. As Don Black, a prominent Klansman, told the Newhouse News Service: "Anyone can work to promote our ideas without being a member of any organization. I used to be annoyed by people who didn't join my organization, but I see the advantage now" (Southern Poverty Law Center, n.d.). Black points toward this new strategy—it's not just about official recruitment but about feeding the poison of the ideology into numerous aspects of American public life.

After the election of Barack Obama, the Tea Party was the first populist movement in America to see this strategy deployed (Zeskind, 2012). While the Tea Party was never, officially, a movement that dealt with race, it takes very little digging to see that the basic politics of the movement had a strong racial underpinning. Using the language of white disposition and arguing that "country" is an essentially "white nation" (often with phraseology such as Christian, European nation), the movement popularized slogans such as the need to "Take our country back." When such a phrase is employed, over throngs of cheering whites, it becomes clearer who a country needs to be taken back from. And it is exactly in this way that hate groups have begun operating

by focusing in particular on getting their message to the people and into national infrastructures, such as current members of the military, police officers, and firemen, and white-collar, middle-class Americans who are driven by fear.

Fear is key to the appeal of hate groups. As one white supremacist recruiter expressed it, the key to recruiting someone is to find that person's worst fear and "let it fester" (White Power USA, 2010). It may be that the recruit's girlfriend left him for a person who is black or that a person's job was taken away, with a new job given to someone who is Asian. Such moments can be latched onto by recruiters as an opportunity to scapegoat the race of a perceived beneficiary. The small anecdote from a person's life is made emblematic of a much larger campaign aimed at replacing whites in America. They build on subtle fears of immigration and rising birth rates of immigrants—nods to "Replacement Theory"—and make those issues personal to the new recruit (Jones, 2022). Using phraseology that is seemingly not race-based—such as "Take our country back"—allows these groups to sound as if they are simply speaking as a concerned, conservative voter and the implicit nature of the phraseology allows them to shrug off concerns as merely reading too much into their slogans.

White nationalists, for example, tend to use terms like "alt-right" as a way of providing a palatable, mainstreamed terminology (Berlet & Sunshine, 2019), and journalists, thus, have the unenviable task of explaining these nuances to their audiences without elevating them (Perreault & Meltzer, 2022). The term alt-right, short for "alternative right," was coined by Richard Spencer, the president of the National Policy Institute. Spencer is known for leading a rally in Washington DC following the election of Trump in which members "raised their arms in Nazi salutes and declared 'Hail, Trump'" (Greene, 2017, August 14). According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, the term refers to a "set of far-right ideologies, groups and individuals whose core belief is that 'white identity' is under attack by multicultural forces using 'political correctness' and 'social justice' to undermine white people and 'their' civilization" (Southern Poverty Law Center). The use of the term, alt-right, is contested among journalists in part because it grants white supremacists the power to name themselves and provides the veil of a new phenomenon to disguise long-standing racism (Mohajer, 2017, Aug. 14). The label alt-right is valuable to white nationalists—and they often insist on its use—given such labels help to shape how the audience contextualizes a group. The term alt-right serves as a rhetorical Trojan horse, designed to bring white nationalism into mainstream public discourse (Hartzell, 2018).

Introduction

Al Jazeera . (2017). White supremacists gather for annual Storefront summit. Al Jazeera. Available online: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/1/white-supremacists-gather-for-annual-stormfront-summit

Back, L. , Keith, M. and Solomos, J. (1998). Racism on the internet: mapping neo-fascist subcultures in cyberspace. In: J. Kaplan and T. Bjorgo (Eds.) Nation and race: The developing euro-american racist subculture (pp. 73–10). Boston: Northeastern University Press.1

Baugut, P. (2020). Perceptions of minority discrimination: Perspectives of jews living in Germany on news media coverage. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699020984759

Baugut, P. (2021). Advocating for minority inclusion: How German journalists conceive and enact their roles when reporting on antisemitism. Journalism Studies, https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1884120

Berlet, C. & Sunshine, S. (2019). Rural rage: The roots of right-wing populism in the United States. Journal of Peasant Studies, 46(3), 480–513. https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2019.1572603

Daniels, J. (2009). Cyber racism: White supremacy online and the new attack on civil rights. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Davies, N. (2011). Flat earth news: An award-winning reporter exposes falsehood, distortion and propaganda in the global media. Random House.

Deidentified Participant. (2019). Journalist. Interview conducted October 2019.

Fitzgerald, A. A. (2019). Letting the fascists speak for themselves: The enabling of authoritarians and the need for a partisan press. Journal of Communication Inquiry, 43(1), 70–92. https://doi.org/10.1177/0196859918786938

France24 . (2016). KKK rally: 'I, a Jewish man, protected a Klansman.' The Observers. https://observers.france24.com/en/20160301-video-klansman-kkk-protest-anaheim

Greene, L. (2017). Racist alt-right feeds off Trump rhetoric, has sinister links to White House staff. New York Daily News.

Hameleers, M. , Schmuck, D. , Schulz, A. , Wirz, D. S. , Matthes, J. , Bos, L. , & Andreadis, I. (2021). The effects of populist identity framing on populist attitudes across Europe: Evidence from a 15-country comparative experiment. International Journal of Public Opinion Research. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edaa018

Hartzell, S. (2018). Alt-white: Conceptualizing the "Alt-Right" as a rhetorical bridge between white nationalism and mainstream public discourse. Journal of Contemporary Rhetoric, 8(1/2), 6–25. http://contemporaryrhetoric.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Hartzell8_1_2_2.pdf

Johnson, B. G. , Thomas, R. J. , & Kelling, K. (2021). Boundaries of hate: Ethical implications of the discursive construction of hate speech in US opinion journalism. Journal of Media Ethics, 36(1), 20–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/23736992.2020.1841643

Jones, D. (2022). What is the 'great replacement' and how is it tied to the Buffalo shooting suspect? NPR. https://www.npr.org/2022/05/16/1099034094/what-is-the-great-replacement-theory

Lewis, J. , & Cushion, S. (2009). The thirst to be first: An analysis of breaking news stories and their impact on the quality of 24-hour news coverage in the UK. Journalism Practice, 3(3), 304–318.

Matthes, J. , Kaskeleviciute, R. , Schmuck, D. , von Sikorski, C. , Klobasa, C. , Knupfer, H. , & Saumer, M. (2020). Who differentiates between muslims and islamist terrorists in terrorism news coverage? An actor-based approach. Journalism Studies, 21(15), 2135–2153. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1812422

Mazower, M. (2009). Hitler's empire: how the Nazis ruled Europe. Penguin.
McCarthy, T. (2015). Spotlight [film]. Participant Media.
McKinley, S. & McKeen, A. (2020). 'The RCMP just stood there': Attack on Mi'kmaq fishery sparks tense standoff, condemnation. The Toronto Star. (Oct. 14, 2020). Available at https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2020/10/14/mikmaq-chief-slams-nova-scotia-fishery-violence-they-are-getting-away-with-these-terrorist-hate-crime-acts.html
Meier, A. (2022, January 30). Germany's White Supremacist problem—and what it means for the United States. LawFare. https://www.lawfareblog.com/germanys-white-supremacist-problem%E2%80%94and-what-it-means-united-states
Mohajer, S. T. (2017). It is time to stop using the term 'alt right.' Columbia Journalism Review. Available online. https://www.cjr.org/criticism/alt-right-trump-charlottesville.php
Nair, C. (2021). Racism in America should not take center stage in the global fight against white supremacy. Time. https://time.com/6082168/white-privilege/
O'Connell, M. (Host). (2019). SPLC reporter details challenges of covering hate groups. [Audio podcast episode]. All About Journalism. https://podcastone.com/episode/More-reporting-fewer-headlines-needed-when-covering-hate-groups
Perreault, G. , Johnson, B. , & Klein, L. (2022). Covering hate: Field theory and journalistic role conception in reporting on White nationalist rallies. Journalism Practice, 16(6), 1117–1133. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1835525
Perreault, G. , & Meltzer, K. (2022). Metajournalistic discourse and reporting policies on white nationalism. Journal of Communication Inquiry. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/01968599211072452
Russell, A. (2019). 'This time it's different': Covering threats to journalism and the eroding public sphere. Journalism, 20(1), 32–35. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918809245
Scharlott, B. W. (1988). The Hoosier journalist and the hooded order: Indiana press reaction to the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. Journalism History, 15(4), 122–131. https://doi.org/10.1080/00947679.1988.12066671
Seaman, A. (2017). Journalists should speak out against discrimination. Code Words: The SPJ Ethics Committee Blog (Aug. 15, 2017). Available at https://blogs.spjnetwork.org/ethics/2017/08/15/journalists-should-speak-out-against-discrimination/ (Accessed Apr. 19, 2020).
Shriner, M. (2021). The capitol riot killed "Both Sides" journalism. The New Republic. Available online: https://newrepublic.com/article/161361/capitol-riot-killed-both-sides-journalism
Soloman, L. (2008). An Islamic growth Spurt. South Florida Sun-Sentinel. Available online: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwi3krjerunvAhUiwAIHHVGcAmQQFjAAegQIBBAD&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.sun-sentinel.com%2Fnews%2Ffl-xpm-2008-02-16-0802150488-story.html&usg=AOvVaw0xQWQ29NANcXkYkRGP6dqT
Southern Poverty Law Center. (n.d.) . Stormfront. https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/stormfront
Thompson, K. C. (2001). Watching the Stormfront: White nationalists and the building of community in cyberspace. Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice, 45(1), 32–52.
Wang, J. H. & Moreau, G. (2020). Police-reported hate crime in Canada, 2020. Statistics Canada. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2022001/article/00005-eng.htm
White Power USA . (2010). Rowley, R. & Soohen, J. Al Jazeera English: People & power. www.aljazeera.com/program/people-power/2010/9/30/white-power-usa-2

Winston, B. , & Winston, M. (2020). The roots of fake news: Objecting to objective journalism. Routledge.
Winter, A. (2019). Online hate: From the Far-Right to the ‘Alt-Right’, and from the margins to the mainstream. Online othering: Exploring violence and discrimination on the web. In K. Lumsden , and E. Harmer (Eds.). London: Palgrave.
Yellin, D. (2020). Reports of white supremacist propaganda tripled in New Jersey last year, ADL says. USA Today. https://eu.northjersey.com/story/news/new-jersey/2020/02/12/report-white-supremacist-propaganda-tripled-nj-last-year/4738544002/
Zeskind, L. (2012). A nation dispossessed: The tea party movement and race. Critical Sociology, 38(4), 495–509. https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920511431852

(Digital) Journalism

Aitamurto, T. (2013). Balancing between open and closed: Co-creation in magazine journalism. Digital Journalism, 1(2), 229–251. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2012.750150
Baym, N. K. (2010). Personal connections in the digital age. John Wiley & Sons.
Bishop, S. (2019). Managing visibility on YouTube through algorithmic gossip. New Media & Society, 21(11–12), 2589–2606. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819854731
Borger, M. , Van Hoof, A. , Costera Meijer, I. , & Sanders, J. (2013). Constructing participatory journalism as a scholarly object: A genealogical analysis. Digital Journalism, 1(1), 117–134. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2012.740267
Burgess, J. , & Hurcombe, E. (2019). Digital journalism as symptom, response, and agent of change in the platformed media environment. Digital Journalism, 7(3), 359–367. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1556313
Carlson, M. (2015). The robotic reporter: Automated journalism and the redefinition of labor, compositional forms, and journalistic authority. Digital Journalism, 3(3), 416–431. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2014.976412
Carlson, M. (2019). News algorithms, photojournalism and the assumption of mechanical objectivity in journalism. Digital Journalism, 7(8), 1117-1133. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2019.1601577
Cheruiyot, D. , Baack, S. , & Ferrer-Conill, R. (2019). Data journalism beyond legacy media: The case of African and European civic technology organizations. Digital Journalism, 7(9), 1215–1229. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2019.1591166
Christian, A. J. (2012). The web as television reimagined? Online networks and the pursuit of legacy media. Journal of Communication Inquiry, 36(4), 340–356. https://doi.org/10.1177/0196859912462604
Christensen, C. M. , Raynor, M. E. , & Anthony, S. D. (2003). Six keys to building new markets by unleashing disruptive innovation. Harvard Management. EEUU.
Colon, A. (2000). The multimedia newsroom. Columbia Journalism Review, 39(1), 24.
Duffy, A. , & Ang, P. H. (2019). Digital journalism: Defined, refined, or re-defined. Digital Journalism, 7(3), 378–385. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2019.1568899
Eldridge, S. A. , Hess, K. , Tandoc Jr, E. C. , & Westlund, O. (2019). Navigating the scholarly terrain: Introducing the digital journalism studies compass. Digital Journalism, 7(3), 386–403. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2019.1599724
Eldridge, S. A. , & Franklin, B. (Eds.). (2019). The Routledge handbook of developments in digital journalism studies. London, UK: Routledge.

Ferrucci, P. (2017). Exploring public service journalism: Digitally native news nonprofits and engagement. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 94(1), 355–370. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699016681968
Ferrucci, P. (2018). Networked: Social media's impact on news production in digital newsrooms. Newspaper Research Journal, 39(1), 6–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739532918761069
Ferrucci, P. , & Perreault, G. (2021). The liability of newness: Journalism, innovation and the issue of core competencies. Journalism Studies, 22(11), 1436–1449. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1916777
Ferrucci, P. , & Vos, T. (2017). Who's in, who's out? Constructing the identity of digital journalists. Digital Journalism, 5(7), 868–883. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2016.1208054
Foucault Welles, B. , & Jackson, S. J. (2019). The battle for# Baltimore: Networked counterpublics and the contested framing of urban unrest. International Journal of Communication, 13, 1699.
Fröhlich, R. , Koch, T. , & Obermaier, M. (2013). What's the harm in moonlighting? A qualitative survey on the role conflicts of freelance journalists with secondary employment in the field of PR. Media, Culture & Society, 35(7), 809–829. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443713495076
Hanusch, F. , Hanitzsch, T. , & Lauerer, C. (2017). 'How much love are you going to give this brand?' Lifestyle journalists on commercial influences in their work. Journalism. 18(2), 141–158. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884915608818
Hedman, U. (2015). J-Tweeters: Pointing towards a new set of professional practices and norms in journalism. Digital Journalism, 3(2), 279–297. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2014.897833
Hermida, A. , & Young, M. L. (2019). From peripheral to integral? A digital-born journalism not for profit in a time of crises. Media and Communication 7(4), 92–102. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v7i4.2269
Kawamoto, K. (Ed.). (2003). Digital journalism: Emerging media and the changing horizons of journalism. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Lewis, S. C. , & Usher, N. (2013). Open source and journalism: Toward new frameworks for imagining news innovation. Media, Culture & Society, 35(5), 602–619. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443713485494
Mari, W. (2019). A short history of disruptive journalism technologies: 1960–1990. Routledge.
Nelson, J. L. (2018). The elusive engagement metric. Digital Journalism, 6(4), 528. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1445000
Noble, S. U. (2018). Algorithms of oppression. New York University Press.
Oboler, A. (2008). The rise and fall of a Facebook hate group. First Monday.
Pavlik, J. V. (1997). The future of online journalism: A guide to who's doing what'. Columbia Journalism Review, 36(2), 30–38.
Perreault, G. , & Bélair-Gagnon, V. (2022). The lifestyle of lifestyle journalists: How reporters discursively manage their aspirations in their daily work. Journalism Practice. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2022.2111697
Perreault, G. , & Bell, T. R. (2022). Towards a "digital" sports journalism: Field theory, changing boundaries and evolving technologies. Communication & Sport, 10(3), 398–416. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167479520979958
Perreault, G. , & Hanusch, F. (2022a). Field insurgency in lifestyle journalism: How lifestyle journalists marginalize Instagram influencers and protect their autonomy. New Media & Society. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221104233
Perreault, G. , & Hanusch, F. (2022b). Normalizing Instagram. Presented at the 2022 International Communication Association conference. Paris, France.

Perreault, G. , & Stanfield, K. (2019). Mobile Journalism as Lifestyle Journalism? Field theory in the integration of mobile in the newsroom and mobile journalist role conception. Journalism Practice, 13(3), 331–348. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2018.1424021

Perreault, G. P. , & Ferrucci, P. (2020). What is digital journalism? Defining the practice and role of the digital journalist. Digital Journalism, 8(10), 1298–1316. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1848442

Perreault, G. , & Vos, T. (2020). Metajournalistic discourse on the rise of gaming journalism. New Media & Society, 22(1), 159–176. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819858695

Schulte, S. R. (2013). Cached: Decoding the Internet in global popular culture. NYU Press.

Scott, B. (2005). A contemporary history of digital journalism. Television & New Media, 6(1), 89–126. https://doi.org/10.1177/1527476403255824

Siegelbaum, S. , & Thomas, R. J. (2016). Putting the work (back) into newswork: Searching for the sources of normative failure. Journalism Practice, 10(3), 387–404. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2015.1025415

Silva, M. F. S. , & Eldridge, S. A. (2020). The ethics of photojournalism in the digital age. Routledge.

Singer, J. B. (2003). Who are these guys? The online challenge to the notion of journalistic professionalism. Journalism, 4(2), 139–163. https://doi.org/10.1177/146488490342001

Singer, J. B. (2011). Journalism and digital technologies. Changing the News: The Forces Shaping Journalism in Uncertain Times, 213, 214.

Spyridou, L. P. , Matsiola, M. , Veglis, A. , Kalliris, G. , & Dimoulas, C. (2013). Journalism in a state of flux: Journalists as agents of technology innovation and emerging news practices. International Communication Gazette, 75(1), 76–98. https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048512461763

Steensen, S. , & Westlund, O. (2021). What is digital journalism studies? (p. 136). Taylor & Francis.

Tandoc Jr, E. C. , & Ferrucci, P. R. (2017). Giving in or giving up: What makes journalists use audience feedback in their news work?. Computers in Human Behavior, 68, 149–156. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2016.11.027

Thurman, N. (2018). Newspaper Consumption in the Mobile Age: Re-assessing multi-platform performance and market share using “time-spent.” Journalism Studies, 19(10), 1409–1429. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1279028

Vos, T. P. , Craft, S. , & Ashley, S. (2012). New media, old criticism: Bloggers’ press criticism and the journalistic field. Journalism, 13(7), 850–868. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911421705

Vos, T. P. , & Perreault, G. P. (2020). The discursive construction of the gamification of journalism. Convergence, 26(3), 470–485. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856520909542

Usher, N. (2010). Goodbye to the news: How out-of-work journalists assess enduring news values and the new media landscape. New Media & Society, 12(6), 911–928. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809350899

Waisbord, S. (2019). The 5Ws and 1H of digital journalism. Digital Journalism, 7(3), 351–358. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1545592

Weischenberg, S. , Malik, M. , & Scholl, A. (2006). The prompts of the media society. Report on the journalists in Germany. Constance: UVK, 204.

Williams, D. (2003). The video game lightning rod. Information Communication & Society, 6(4), 523–550. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118032000163240

Wired Staff (2009). Cutthroat capitalism: The game. Wired Magazine. https://www.wired.com/2009/07/cutthroat-capitalism-the-game/

Wolfgang, J. D. (2018). Cleaning up the “Fetid Swamp” examining how journalists construct policies and practices for moderating comments. Digital Journalism, 6(1), 21–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1343090
Zelizer, B. (2019). Why journalism is about more than digital technology. Digital Journalism, 7(3), 343–350. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2019.1571932

The Problem of Audience Orientation

About Us . (2021). Christian Today. https://www.christiantoday.com/aboutus
Banjac, S. (2021). An intersectional approach to exploring audience expectations of journalism. Digital Journalism, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1973527
Banjac, S. , & Hanusch, F. (2022). A question of perspective: Exploring audiences’ views of journalistic boundaries. New Media & Society, 24(3), 705–723. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820963795
Baugut, P. (2021). Advocating for minority inclusion: How German journalists conceive and enact their roles when reporting on antisemitism. Journalism Studies, 22(4), 535–553. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1884120
Bélair-Gagnon, V. , Bossio, D. , Holton, A. E. , & Molyneux, L. (2022). Disconnection: How measured separations from journalistic norms and labor can help sustain journalism. Social Media+ Society, 8(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051221077217
Blassing, S. & Esser, F. (2021). The “audience logic” in digital journalism: An exploration of shifting news logics across media types and time. Journalism Studies. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.2000339
Bradley, M. S. (2007). Symbolizing hate: The extent and influence of organized hate group indicators. Journal of Crime and Justice, 30(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/0735648X.2007.9721224
Carlson, R. (2009). “Too Human” versus the enthusiast press: Video game journalists as mediators of commodity value. Transformative Works and Cultures, 2 (online resources).
Casti, T. (2014). Women play video games. Can we cut the sexist crap now. Huffington Post, 27 (online resources).
Chess, S. , & Shaw, A. (2015). A conspiracy of fishes, or, how we learned to stop worrying about# GamerGate and embrace hegemonic masculinity. Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 59(1), 208–220. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2014.999917
Coddington, M. , Lewis, S. C. , & Belair-Gagnon, V. (2021). The imagined audience for news: Where does a journalist’s perception of the audience come from? Journalism Studies, 22(8), 1028–1046.
Cote, A. C. (2018). Writing “Gamers” the gendered construction of gamer identity in Nintendo power (1994–1999). Games and Culture, 13(5), 479–503. https://doi.org/10.1177/1555412015624742
Craft, S. & Davis, C. N. (2016). Principles of American journalism: An Introduction. Routledge.
Craft, S. , Vos, T. P. , & Wolfgang, J. (2016). Reader comments as press criticism: Implications for the journalistic field. Journalism, 17(6), 677–693. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884915579332
Ellis, P. L. , Voakes, P. S. , & Bergen, L. (2021). News for us: Citizen-centered journalism. Cognella.

Ferrucci, P. (2017). Exploring public service journalism: Digitally native news nonprofits and engagement. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 94(1), 355–370. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699016681968
Ferrucci, P. , Nelson, J. L. , & Davis, M. P. (2020). From “public journalism” to “engaged journalism”: Imagined audiences and denigrating discourse. International Journal of Communication (19328036), 14.
Foxman, M. H. , & Nieborg, D. B. (2016). Between a rock and a hard place: Games coverage and its network of ambivalences. Journal of Games Criticism. https://doi.org/10.7916/D89P31GJ
Golding, D. (2015). Game over for# gamergate. Metro Magazine, (183), 124–126.
Greene, L. (2017, 14 August). Racist alt-right feeds off Trump rhetoric, has sinister links to White House staff. New York Daily News.
Herek, G. M. , Berrill, K. T. , & Berrill, K. (Eds.). (1992). Hate crimes: Confronting violence against lesbians and gay men. SAGE.
Herek, G. M. , Gillis, J. R. , Cogan, J. C. , & Glunt, E. K. (1997). Hate crime victimization among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults: Prevalence, psychological correlates, and methodological issues. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 12(2), 195–215.
Howard, K. (2017, 26 October). Nikole Hannah-Jones on reporting about racial inequality: What drives me is rage. Nieman Storyboard. https://niemanstoryboard.org/stories/nikole-hannah-jones-on-reporting-about-racial-inequality-what-drives-me-is-rage/
Johnson, B. G. , Thomas, R. J. , & Kelling, K. (2021). Boundaries of hate: Ethical implications of the discursive construction of hate speech in US opinion journalism. Journal of Media Ethics, 36(1), 20–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/23736992.2020.1841643
Kananovich, V. , & Perreault, G. (2021). Audience as Journalistic boundary worker: The rhetorical use of comments to critique media practice, assert legitimacy and claim authority. Journalism Studies, 22(3), 322–341. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1869912
Kaplan, S. (2014). With #GamerGate, the video-game industry’s growing pains go viral. The Washington Post, 12 September. Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/09/12/with-gamergate-the-video-game-industrys-growing-pains-go-viral/
Kyle, J. , & Gultchin, L. (2018). Populism in power around the world [Report]. Tony Blair Institute for Global Change.
Lewis, S. C. , & Westlund, O. (2015). Actors, actants, audiences, and activities in cross-media news work: A matrix and a research agenda. Digital Journalism, 3(1), 19–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2014.927986
Litt, E. , & Hargittai, E. (2016). The imagined audience on social network sites. Social Media+ Society, 2(1), https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116633482.
Lowery, W. (2020, 23 June). A reckoning over objectivity, Led by Black Journalists. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/23/opinion/objectivity-black-journalists-coronavirus.html
Lynch, T. , Tompkins, J. E. , Van Driel, I. I. , & Fritz, N. (2016). Sexy, strong, and secondary: A content analysis of female characters in video games across 31 years. Journal of Communication, 66(4), 564–584.
Miller, K. C. (2021). Hostility toward the press: A synthesis of terms, research, and future directions in examining harassment of journalists. Digital Journalism, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1991824
Miller, K. C. , & Lewis, S. C. (2022). Journalists, harassment, and emotional labor: The case of women in on-air roles at US local television stations. Journalism, 23(1), 79–97. https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849198990

Massanari, A. (2017). # Gamergate and the fappening: How Reddit's algorithm, governance, and culture support toxic technocultures. New Media & Society, 19(3), 329–346. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815608807
Mohajer, S. T. (2017, August 14). It is time to stop using the term 'alt right.' Columbia Journalism Review. Available online. https://www.cjr.org/criticism/alt-right-trump-charlottesville.php
Molyneux, L. , Lewis, S. C. , & Holton, A. E. (2019). Media work, identity, and the motivations that shape branding practices among journalists: An explanatory framework. New Media & Society, 21(4), 836–855. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444481880939
Nelson, J. L. (2018). And deliver us to segmentation: The growing appeal of the niche news audience. Journalism Practice, 12(2), 204–219.
Nelson, J. L. (2021). Imagined audiences: How journalists perceive and pursue the public. Oxford University Press.
Noah, T. (2016, Sept. 21). Jordan Klepper fingers the pulse-Conspiracy theories thrive at a Trump Rally. The Daily Show. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eFQhw3VVToQ
Perreault, G. & Hanusch, F. (2022a) Field insurgency in lifestyle journalism: How lifestyle journalists marginalize Instagram influencers and protect their autonomy. New Media & Society. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221104233
Perreault, G. & Hanusch, F. (2022b) Normalizing Instagram. Paper presented at the 2022 International Communication Association Conference. Paris, France.
Perreault, G. & Meltzer, K. (2022). Metajournalistic discourse and reporting policies on white nationalism. Journal of Communication Inquiry. Advanced online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/01968599211072452
Perreault, G. , Johnson, B. , & Klein, L. (2022). Covering hate: Field theory and journalistic role conception in reporting on White nationalist rallies. Journalism Practice. 16(6): 1117–1133. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1835525
Perreault, G. , & Miller, K. (2022). When journalists are voiceless: How lifestyle journalists cover hate and mitigate harassment. Journalism Studies, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2022.2135583
Perreault, G. , Moon, R. , Walsh, J. F. , & Perreault, M. F. (2022). "It's Not Hate but…": Marginal categories in rural journalism. Journalism Practice, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2022.2075782
Perreault, G. , & Paul, N. (2019). Narrative framing of the Syrian refugee crisis in British Religious News. Journal of Religion, Media and Digital Culture, 8(2), 276–297.
Perreault, G. P. , & Vos, T. P. (2018). The GamerGate controversy and journalistic paradigm maintenance. Journalism, 19(4), 553–569. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916670932
Perreault, G. , & Vos, T. (2020). Metajournalistic discourse on the rise of gaming journalism. New Media & Society, 22(1), 159–176. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819858695
Saturday Night Live . (2019, May 5). War reporter: Chaos in Tripoli (feat. Mikey Day). NBC. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y9MOl9Amtk0
Schmalzbauer, J. (1999). Between professional and religious worlds: Catholics and evangelicals in American journalism. Sociology of Religion. 60(4), 363–386. https://doi.org/10.2307/3712021
Schudson, M. (2001). The objectivity norm in American journalism. Journalism, 2(2), 149–170. https://doi.org/10.1177/146488490100200201
Southern Poverty Law Center. Alt-Right . https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/alt-right

Syrian Arab Republic (2021). About OCHA Syria. OCHA: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. https://www.unocha.org/syria
Tandoc Jr, E. C. (2013). Web analytics, social media, and the journalistic doxa: The impact of audience feedback on the evolving gatekeeping process. University of Missouri-Columbia.
Tandoc, E.C. , Hellmueller, L. and Vos, T.P. (2013). MIND THE GAP: Between journalistic role conception and role enactment. Journalism Practice 7(5), 539–554. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2012.726503
Torres, H. (2015, Oct. 21). Muslim migrants call Austrian women 'Christian whores' as they leave behind 'orgy of garbage and feces.' Christian Today. https://www.christiantoday.com/article/muslim-migrants-call-austrian-women-christian-whores-as-they-leave-behind-orgy-of-garbage-and-feces/68309.htm
Vos, T. P. (2012). 'Homo journalisticus': Journalism education's role in articulating the objectivity norm. Journalism, 13(4), 435–449. https://doi.org/10.1177/146488491143137
Vos, T. P. , Craft, S. , & Ashley, S. (2012). New media, old criticism: Bloggers' press criticism and the journalistic field. Journalism, 13(7), 850–868. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911421705
Williams, D. (2003). The video game lightning rod. Information Communication & Society, 6(4), 523–550. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118032000163240

The Problem of Churnalism and Being First

Agarwal, S. D. , & Barthel, M. L. (2015). The friendly barbarians: Professional norms and work routines of online journalists in the United States. Journalism, 16(3), 376–391.
Almgren, S. M. (2017). Undoing churnalism? Users sharing local news on Facebook. Digital Journalism, 5(8), 1060–1079. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1343089
Borgida, E. , & Nisbett, R. E. (1977). The differential impact of abstract vs. concrete information on decisions 1. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 7(3), 258–271. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1977.tb00750.x
Bormann, E. G. (1972). Fantasy and rhetorical vision: The rhetorical criticism of social reality. Quarterly Journal of Speech, 58, 396–407. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335637209383138
Bourdieu, P. (1977). Outline of theory of practice. Cambridge University Press.
Bostdorff, D. M. (2004). The internet rhetoric of the Ku Klux Klan: A case study in website community building run amok. Communication Studies, 55, 340–361. https://doi.org/10.1080/10510970409388623
Chung, D. S. , & Nah, S. (2013). Media credibility and journalistic role conceptions: Views on citizen and professional journalists among citizen contributors. Journal of Mass Media Ethics, 28(4), 271–288. https://doi.org/10.1080/08900523.2013.826987
Daniels, J. (2016). White lies: Race, class, gender, and sexuality in white supremacist discourse. Routledge.
Davies, N. (2008). Churnalism has taken the place of what we should be doing: Telling the truth. Press Gazette, 1.
Daniszewski, J. (2016, 28 November). "Writing about the 'alt-right'." The Associated Press. https://blog.ap.org/behind-the-news/writing-about-the-alt-right
Douglas, K. M. , McGarty, C. , Bliuc, A. , & Lala, G. (2005). Understanding cyberhate: Social competition and social creativity in online white supremacist

groups. Social Science Computer Review, 23, 68–76. https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439304271538
Douglas, C. (2018). Religion and fake news: Faith-based alternative information ecosystems in the US and Europe. The Review of Faith & International Affairs, 16(1), 61–73. https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2018.1433522
Eddy, K. A. (2021). Faith in the white house: Examining the language and performance of spiritual leadership in the US presidency. Journal of Media and Religion, 20(4), 173–194. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348423.2021.1996999
Fenton, N. (2012). De-democratizing the news? New media and the structural practices of journalism. In Handbook to global online journalism. Wiley.
Ferrucci, P. , & Perreault, G. P. (2018). God and sport: Orientalism in sports illustrated coverage of religion. Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies, 7(2), 371–386.
Ferrucci, P. , & Perreault, G. (2021). The liability of newness: Journalism, innovation and the issue of core competencies. Journalism Studies, 22(11), 1436–1449. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1916777
Ferrucci, P. , & Vos, T. (2017). Who's in, who's out? Constructing the identity of digital journalists. Digital Journalism, 5(7), 868–883. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2016.1208054
Franklin, B. (2014). The Future of Journalism: In an age of digital media and economic uncertainty. Journalism Studies 15(5): 481–499. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2014.930254
Gerstenfeld, P. B. , Grant, D. R. , & Chiang, C. (2003). Hate online: A content analysis of extremist internet sites. Analysis of Social Issues and Public Policy, 3(1), 29–44. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1530-2415.2003.00013.x
Gormly, E. K. (1999). The study of religion and the education of journalists. Journalism & Mass Communication Educator, 54(2), 24–39.
Hafez, K. (2019). The staging trap: Right-wing politics as a challenge for journalism. Journalism, 20(1), 24–26. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918807352
Hanitzsch, T. , & Vos, T. P. (2017). Journalistic roles and the struggle over institutional identity: The discursive constitution of journalism. Communication Theory, 27(2), 115–135. https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12112
Hanitzsch, T. , & Vos, T. P. (2018). Journalism beyond democracy: A new look into journalistic roles in political and everyday life. Journalism, 19(2), 146–164. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916673386
Hiskes, J. (2007, September 18). Woodward: 'Journalism is not stenography.' The Media School Report. https://mediaschool.indiana.edu/news-events/news/item.html?n=woodward-journalism-is-not-stenography/
Hoover, S. (1998). Religion in the news: Faith and journalism in American public discourse. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
Kristensen, N. N. (2018). Churnalism, cultural (inter) mediation and sourcing in cultural journalism. Journalism Studies, 19(14), 2168–2186. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1330666
Lee, E. , & Leets, L. (2002). Persuasive storytelling by hate groups online: Examining its effects on adolescents. American behavioral scientist, 45(6), 927–957. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764202045006003
Lewis, J. , Williams, A. , & Franklin, B. (2008). Four rumours and an explanation: A political economic account of journalists' changing newsgathering and reporting practices. Journalism Practice, 2(1), 27–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512780701768493
Maares, P. & Hanusch, F. (2020). Exploring the boundaries of journalism: Instagram micro-bloggers in the twilight zone of lifestyle journalism. Journalism, 21(2), 262–278. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918801400

Marwick, A. , Clancy, B. , & Furl, K. (2022). Far-right online radicalization: A review of the literature. The Bulletin of Technology & Public Life. https://citap.pubpub.org/pub/jq7l6jny

Mason, D. (2012). Religion news coverage between 1930 and 1960. In The Oxford handbook of religion and the American news media (pp. 65–79). OUP USA.

McNamee, L. G. , Peterson, B. L. , & Peña, J. (2010). A call to educate, participate, invoke and indict: Understanding the communication of online hate groups. Communication Monographs, 77(2), 257–280.

McQuail, D. (2000). Television news research: Retrospect and prospect. In K. Rensckstorf , D. McQuail , & N. Jankowski (Eds.) Television news research: recent european approaches and findings (pp. 397–417). Quintessens.

Moon, R. (2021). When journalists see themselves as villains: The power of negative discourse. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 98(3), 790–807. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699020985465

Nord, D. P. (2004). Faith in reading: Religious publishing and the birth of mass media in America. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Okrent, D. (1999). Raising kids online. Time, 153(18), 38–46.

Papacharissi, Z. (2015). Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politics. Oxford University Press.

Perreault, G. , & Bell, T. R. (2022). Towards a “digital” sports journalism: Field theory, changing boundaries and evolving technologies. Communication & Sport, 10(3), 398–416. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167479520979958

Perreault, G. P. , & Ferrucci, P. (2020). What is digital journalism? Defining the practice and role of the digital journalist. Digital Journalism, 8(10), 1298–1316. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1848442

Perreault, G. , Johnson, B. , & Klein, L. (2022). Covering hate: Field theory and journalistic role conception in reporting on White nationalist rallies. Journalism Practice, 16(6), 1117–1133. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1835525

Perreault, G. & Meltzer, K. (2022). Metajournalistic discourse and reporting policies on white nationalism. Journal of Communication Inquiry. Advanced online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/01968599211072452

Perreault, G. , Moon, R. , Walsh, J. F. , & Perreault, M. F. (2022). “It’s Not Hate but…”: Marginal categories in rural journalism. Journalism Practice, 1–20. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2022.2075782

Perreault, G. & Montalbano, K. (2022). Covering religion: Field Insurgency in U.S. religion reporting. Journalism. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849211073220

Perreault, G. , & Stanfield, K. (2019). Mobile journalism as lifestyle journalism? Field theory in the integration of mobile in the newsroom and mobile journalist role conception. Journalism Practice, 13(3), 331–348. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2018.1424021

Perreault, G. , Stanfield, K. , & Luttman, S. (2019). “Why the h** l is There a White house correspondents’ dinner?” Boundary work in political journalism. Journalism Practice, https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2019.1685901

Perreault, G. , Kananovich, V. , & Hackett, E. (2022). Guarding the firewall: How political journalists distance themselves from the editorial endorsement process. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, https://doi.org/10.1177/10776990221084609

Perreault, G. (2021). Reporting Religion: Narrating religion in gaming journalism. Journal of Media and Religion. 20(1). 38–52. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348423.2021.1875669

Phillips, A. (2011). Transparency and the ethics of new journalism. Changing Journalism (pp. 149–162). Routledge.

Saridou, T. , Spyridou, L. P. , & Veglis, A. (2017). Churnalism on the rise? Assessing convergence effects on editorial practices. Digital Journalism, 5(8), 1006–1024. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1342209
Schafer, J. A. (2002). Spinning the web of hate: Web-based hate propogation by extremist organizations. Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture, 9, 69 88.
Shinbaum, M. (1996). Q & A on The Turner Diaries. Anti-Defamation League.
Slater, M. D. , & Rouner, D. (1996). Value-affirmative and value-protective processing of alcohol education messages that include statistical evidence or anecdotes. Communication Research, 23, 210–235. https://doi.org/10.1177/009365096023002003
Slater, M. D. , & Rouner, D. (1997, May). The processing of narrative fiction containing persuasive content about alcohol use: Effects of gender and outcome. Paper presented to the International Communication Association, Montreal, Canada.
Standaert, O. , Hanitzsch, T. , & Dedonder, J. (2021). In their own words: A normative-empirical approach to journalistic roles around the world. Journalism, 22(4), 919–936. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919853183
Tandoc, E.C. , Hellmueller, L. and Vos, T.P. (2013). MIND THE GAP: Between journalistic role conception and role enactment. Journalism Practice, 7(5), 539–554. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2012.726503
Van den Bulck , H., & Hyzen, A. (2020). Of lizards and ideological entrepreneurs: Alex Jones and Infowars in the relationship between populist nationalism and the post-global media ecology. International Communication Gazette, 82(1), 42–59. https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048519880726
Weaver, D. H. , & Wilhoit, G. C. (1996). The American journalist in the 1990s: US news people at the end of an era. Psychology Press.
Weng, E. , & Wake, A. (2021). Blessed be the educated journalist: Reflections on a religious literacy gap in the field of journalism. Australian Journalism Review, 43(1), 81–97. https://doi.org/10.1386/ajr_00058_1
Wilcox, C. & Robinson, C. (2018). Onward Christian soldiers? The religious right in American politics. Routledge.

The Problem of Definition Makers

About Us . (n.d.). Retrieved November 05, 2020 , from https://www.splcenter.org/about
Act Now: Stop the FBI from Obscuring White Supremacy. (2022). Media justice. https://mediajustice.org/action/demand-the-fbi-stop-hiding-the-threat-of-white-supremacy/
Anti-Defamation League: Circumcision Resolution “Targets Europe’s Jewish Citizens.” (2013, October 4). Press release. Anti-defamation league. https://www.adl.org/resources/press-releases/adl-circumcision-resolution-targets-europes-jewish-citizens
Carlson, M. (2016). Metajournalistic discourse and the meanings of journalism: Definitional control, boundary work, and legitimation. Communication Theory, 26(4), 349–368. https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12088
Carlson, M. (2019). “Boundary work.” The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies, 1–6.
Carlson, M. , & Lewis, S. C. (Eds.). (2015). Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation. Routledge.

Connolly, G. (2021, March 3). White supremacists on par with ISIS as ‘top threat,’ FBI director says at Capitol riot hearing. The Independent. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/wray-senate-hearing-capitol-riot-white-supremacists-b1810615.html

Ferrucci, P. , & Vos, T. (2017). Who’s in, who’s out? Constructing the identity of digital journalists. Digital Journalism, 5(7), 868–883. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2016.1208054

Gieryn, T. F. (1983). Boundary-work and the demarcation of science from non-science: Strains and interests in professional ideologies of scientists. American Sociological Review, 781–795. https://doi.org/10.2307/2095325

Greer, J. D. (2003). Evaluating the credibility of online information: A test of source and advertising influence. Mass Communication and Society, 6(1), 11–28.

Griner, D. (2013, January 9). How KKK rally image found new life 20 years after it was published. Poynter. Retrieved November 02, 2020 , from https://www.poynter.org/newsletters/2013/how-kkk-rally-image-found-new-life-20-years-after-it-was-published/

Hare, K. (2020, October 01). This Portland photojournalist found a little hope in the haze. Retrieved November 02, 2020 , from https://www.poynter.org/locally/2020/this-portland-photojournalist-found-a-little-hope-in-the-haze/

Hate Beyond Borders . (2019). The internationalization of white supremacy. Report. Anti-defamation league. https://www.adl.org/resources/report/hate-beyond-borders-internationalization-white-supremacy

Hate Group . (2017, May 3). Anti-defamation league. https://www.adl.org/resources/glossary-terms/hate-group?gclid=CjwKCAjwo_KXBhAaEiwA2RZ8hH5tl7REH6sxKQqm_-1TvAGOtELk7n5VbcjrpXS44ZK5G4mPXCkuCBoCwpgQAvD_BwE

Hate in Europe: August 2018 . (2018). Southern poverty law center. https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/09/05/hate-europe-august-2018

Johnson, B. G. , Bent, L. , & Dade, C. (2020). An ethic of advocacy: Metajournalistic discourse on the practice of leaks and whistleblowing from Valerie Plame to the trump administration. Journal of Media Ethics, 35(1), 2–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/23736992.2020.1731314

Kananovich, V. , & Perreault, G. (2021). Audience as journalistic boundary worker: The rhetorical use of comments to critique media practice, assert legitimacy and claim authority. Journalism Studies, 22(3), 322–341. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1869912

Katz, R. (2022, March 14). Neo-Nazis are exploiting Russia’s war in Ukraine for their own purposes. The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2022/03/14/neo-nazi-ukraine-war/

Marwick, A. , Clancy, B. , & Furl, K. (2022). Far-right online radicalization: A review of the literature. The Bulletin of Technology & Public Life. https://citap.pubpub.org/pub/jq7l6jny

Mbakwe, C. (2017). White-supremacy threat demands its own beat reporters. Columbia Journalism Review. https://www.cjr.org/criticism/white-supremacy-beat.php

McGarrity, M. , & Shrivers, C. (2019, June 4). Confronting White Supremacy. Statement before the House Oversight and Reform Committee, Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties. Federal Bureau of Investigation. https://www.fbi.gov/news/testimony/confronting-white-supremacy

Methodology: How hate groups are identified and categorized . (2020). Southern Poverty Law Center. https://www.splcenter.org/news/2020/03/18/methodology-how-hate-groups-are-identified-and-categorized

Moon, R. (2021). When journalists see themselves as villains: The power of negative discourse. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699020985465

Moser, B. (2019). The Reckoning of Morris Dees and the Southern Poverty Law Center. The New Yorker. Retrieved November 02, 2020 , from https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-reckoning-of-morris-dees-and-the-southern-poverty-law-center

Narayana, U. , & Kapur, P. (2011). Indian media framing of the image of Muslims: An analysis of news coverage of Muslims in English newspapers of India. Media Asia, 38(3), 153–162. https://doi.org/10.1080/01296612.2011.11726895

Ordway, D. (2019, July 17). Not sure if you should call something racist? Here's AP's guidance. Retrieved November 02, 2020 , from https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2019/now-that-the-ap-says-its-ok-heres-a-guide-for-using-the-terms-racist-and-racism/

Our History . (n.d.). Retrieved November 05, 2020 , from https://www.splcenter.org/about-us/our-history

Ordway, D. M. (2019). Not sure if you should call something racist? Here's AP's guidance. Poynter. https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2019/now-that-the-ap-says-its-ok-heres-a-guide-for-using-the-terms-racist-and-racism/

Pearce, M. (2019). Southern Poverty Law Center fires co-founder Morris Dees. Los Angeles Times. https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-splc-morris-dees-20190314-story.html

Perreault, G. P. , Duffy, M. , & Morrison, A. (2017). Making a Mormon?: Peacemaking in US Press coverage of the Mormon Baptism for the Dead. Journal of Media and Religion, 16(4), 141–152.

Perreault, G. P. , & Ferrucci, P. (2020). What is digital journalism? Defining the practice and role of the digital journalist. Digital Journalism, 8(10), 1298–1316. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1848442

Perreault, G. , Johnson, B. , & Klein, L. (2022). Covering hate: Field theory and journalistic role conception in reporting on White nationalist rallies. Journalism Practice, 16(6), 1117–1133. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1835525

Perreault, G. , & Meltzer, K. (2022). Metajournalistic discourse and reporting policies on White nationalism. Journal of Communication Inquiry. Advanced online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/01968599211072452

Perreault, G. , Perreault, M. F. , & Maares, P. (2022). Metajournalistic discourse as a stabilizer within the journalistic field: Journalistic practice in the Covid-19 pandemic. Journalism Practice, 16(2–3), 365–383. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1949630

Perreault, G. , Peters, J. , Johnson, B. , & Klein, L. (2021). How journalists think about the first amendment vis-à-vis their coverage of hate groups. International Journal of Communication, 15, 18.

Perreault, G. , & Vos, T. (2020). Metajournalistic discourse on the rise of gaming journalism. New Media & Society, 22(1), 159–176. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819858695

Robinson, N. (2019) The Southern Poverty Law Center is everything that's wrong with liberalism. Curaffairs.

https://www.congress.gov/116/meeting/house/109266/documents/HHRG-116-JU00-20190409-SD022.pdf

Sanborn, J. (2020, February 26). Confronting the rise in Anti-Semitic Domestic Terrorism. Statement before the House Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Intelligence and Counterterrorism. Federal Bureau of Investigation. https://www.fbi.gov/news/testimony/confronting-the-rise-in-anti-semitic-domestic-terrorism

Sanaullah, N. (2022, February 14). Europe can no longer ignore the far-right ideas governing France and attacks on civil society. European Network Against Racism. https://www.enar-eu.org/europe-can-no-longer-ignore-the-far-right-ideas-governing-france-and-attacks-on-civil-society/
Satija, N. , Lowery, W. , & Reinhard, B. (2019, April 5). Years of turmoil and complaints led the Southern Poverty Law Center to fire its founder Morris Dees. Retrieved November 02, 2020 , from https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/years-of-turmoil-and-complaints-led-the-southern-poverty-law-center-to-fire-its-founder-morris-dees/2019/04/05/58717bfc-50fa-11e9-8d28-f5149e5a2fda_story.html
Schlozman, D. (2019, April 02). How SPLC's co-founder Morris Dees and the conservative Richard Viguerie changed American politics. Retrieved November 02, 2020 , from https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/04/02/how-splcs-cofounder-morris-dees-conservative-richard-viguerie-changed-american-politics/
Schudson, M. (1982). The politics of narrative form: The emergence of news conventions in print and television. Daedalus, 111(4): 97–112.
Silverstein, K. (2000). The Church of Morris Dees. Harpers Magazine.
Sun, Y. (2017, October 17). Media struggles to develop strategies for covering hate incidents. Retrieved November 02, 2020 , from https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2017/media-struggles-to-develop-strategies-for-covering-hate-incidents/
SWC to EU Baroness Ashton: "Return Anti-Semitism Definition Document to EU Fundamental Rights Agency Website ." (2013, November 6). Press Release. Simon Wiesenthal Centre. http://www.wiesenthal.com/site/apps/nlnet/content.aspx?c=lsKWLbPJLnF&b=8776547&ct=13381863
Vos, T. P. (2016). Journalistic fields. The Sage handbook of digital journalism, 383–396.
Vos, T. P. , & Perreault, G. P. (2020). The discursive construction of the gamification of journalism. Convergence, 26(3), 470–485. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856520909542
Wamsley, L. (2019, March 14). Southern Poverty Law Center Fires Morris Dees, Its Co-Founder. Retrieved November 02, 2020 , from https://www.npr.org/2019/03/14/703526235/southern-poverty-law-center-fires-morris-dees-its-co-founder
Wang, S. (2017, January 23). ProPublica is leading a nationwide effort to document hate crimes, with local and national partners. Retrieved November 02, 2020 , from https://www.niemanlab.org/2017/01/propublica-is-leading-a-nationwide-effort-to-document-hate-crimes-with-local-and-national-partners/
Year in Hate & Extremism . (2021). Report. Southern Poverty Law Center. https://www.splcenter.org/presscenter/southern-poverty-law-center-releases-annual-year-hate-extremism-report-when-hate-goes
Zelizer, B. (2015). Terms of choice: Uncertainty, journalism, and crisis. Journal of Communication, 65(5), 888–908. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12157

Conclusion

About Us . (2021). The Narwal. https://thenarwhal.ca/about-us/
Beckett, C. , & Deuze, M. (2016). On the role of emotion in the future of journalism. Social Media & Society. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116662395
Bélair-Gagnon, V. , Bossio, D. , Holton, A. E. , & Molyneux, L. (2022). Disconnection: How measured separations from journalistic norms and labor can

help sustain journalism. Social Media+ Society, 8(1), 20563051221077217.
Bossio, D. & Holton, A. E. (2019). Burning out and turning off: journalists' disconnection strategies on social media. Journalism, 22(10), 2475–2492.
Calfano, B. , Blevins, J. L. , & Straka, A. (2022). Bad impressions: How journalists as "Storytellers" diminish public confidence in media. Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media. Advanced online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2022.2036153
Cheruiyot, D. (2022). Comparing risks to journalism: Media criticism in the digital hate. Digital Journalism. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2022.2030243
Chess, S. , & Shaw, A. (2015). A conspiracy of fishes, or, how we learned to stop worrying about gamergate and embrace hegemonic masculinity. Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 59(1), 208–220.
Chung, M. , Heckman, M. , & Santos, J. (2022). "It's completely shifted me away from journalism:" An exploration of racial and gendered dynamics of harassment targeting U.S. student journalists. 2022 Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication-Southeast Colloquium.
Ellis, P. L. , Voakes, P. S. , & Bergen, L. (2021). News for us: Citizen-centered journalism. Cognella.
Ferrucci, P. , & Perreault, G. (2021). The liability of newness: Journalism, innovation and the issue of core competencies. Journalism Studies, 22(11), 1436–1449. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1916777
Golding, D. (2014). The end of gamers. Dan Golding. Available at: http://dangolding.tumblr.com/post/95985875943/the-end-of-gamers
Goodchild, J. (2014). Answers. Pixietalksgamergate. Available at: https://pixietalksgamergate.wordpress.com/category/answers-2/
Holton, A. E. , Bélair-Gagnon, V. & Royal, C. (2021). The human side of (news) engagement emotion, platform and individual agency. Digital Journalism, 9(8), 1184–1189. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1930086
Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement. (n.d.) . Southern Poverty Law Center. https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/identity-evropaamerican-identity-movement
Kaplan, S. (2014). With #GamerGate, the video-game industry's growing pains go viral. The Washington Post, 12 September. Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/09/12/with-gamergate-the-video-game-industrys-growing-pains-go-viral/
Kilgo, D. B. (2021) The insurrection at the Capitol challenged the way newsrooms frame unrest. NiemanLab. https://www.niemanlab.org/2021/01/the-insurrection-at-the-capitol-challenged-the-way-newsrooms-frame-unrest/
Kotisova, J. (2019). The elephant in the newsroom: Current research on journalism and emotion. Sociology Compass, 13(5), e12677. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12677
Kotisova, J. (2022). An elixir of life? Emotional labour in cultural journalism. Journalism, 23(4), 789-805. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884920917289
Ligeti, A. (2021, Oct. 12). 'A meaningful industry response': Canadian media needs to confront racist misogynistic abuse. The Narwhal. https://thenarwhal.ca/newsletter-canadian-media-racist-misogynistic-abuse/
Massanari, A. (2017). # Gamergate and the Fappening: How Reddit's algorithm, governance, and culture support toxic technocultures. New Media & Society, 19(3), 329–346. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815608807
Mathews, N. , Bélair-Gagnon, V. , & Carlson, M. (2021). "Why I quit journalism:" Former journalists' advice giving as a way to regain control. Journalism, https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849211061958

Merrill, J. & Oremus, W. (2021, Oct. 26). Five points for anger, one for a 'like': How Facebook's formula fostered rage and misinformation. The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2021/10/26/facebook-angry-emoji-algorithm/

Nelson, J. L. (2021). Imagined audiences: How journalists perceive and pursue the public. Oxford University Press.

PBS Newshour . (2019, August 5). How news organizations should cover white supremacist shootings, according to a media expert. https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/how-media-coverage-contributes-to-white-supremacist-rhetoric

Perreault, G. P. , & Ferrucci, P. (2020). What is digital journalism? Defining the practice and role of the digital journalist. Digital Journalism, 8(10), 1298–1316. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1848442

Perreault, G. , Johnson, B. , & Klein, L. (2022). Covering hate: Field theory and journalistic role conception in reporting on White nationalist rallies. Journalism Practice, 16(6), 1117–1133. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1835525

Perreault, G. , & Miller, K. (2022). When Journalists are Voiceless: How Lifestyle Journalists Cover Hate and Mitigate Harassment. Journalism Studies. Advanced online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2022.2135583

Perreault, G. , Peters, J. , Johnson, B. , & Klein, L. (2021). How journalists think about the first amendment vis-à-vis their coverage of hate groups. International Journal of Communication, 15, 18.

Perreault, G. , & Stanfield, K. (2019). Mobile journalism as lifestyle journalism? Field theory in the integration of mobile in the newsroom and mobile journalist role conception. Journalism Practice, 13(3), 331–348. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2018.1424021

Perreault, G. P. , & Vos, T. P. (2018). The GamerGate controversy and journalistic paradigm maintenance. Journalism, 19(4), 553–569. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916670932

Perreault, G. , & Vos, T. (2020). Metajournalistic discourse on the rise of gaming journalism. New Media & Society, 22(1), 159–176. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819858695

Pethó, A. (2022, June 9). I witnessed Orbán crack down on Hungary's free press. Here's my advice to journalists facing similar threats. NiemanLab. https://niemanreports.org/articles/orban-hungary-free-press-crackdown/

Reinardy, S. (2011). Newspaper journalism in crisis: burnout on the rise, eroding young journalists' career commitment. Journalism, 12(1), 33–50. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884910385188

Seib, P. M. (2002). Going live: Getting the news right in a real-time, online world. Rowman & Littlefield.

Steinke, A. J. , & Belair-Gagnon, V. (2020). 'I Know It When I See It': Constructing emotion and emotional labor in social justice news. Mass Communication and Society, 23(5), 608–627. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2020.1772309

Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2013). Subjectivity and storytelling in journalism. Journalism Studies, 14(3), 305–320. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2012.713738

Waisbord, S. (2020). Mob censorship: Online harassment of US journalists in times of digital hate and populism. Digital Journalism, 8(8), 1030–1046.

Wartzel, C. (2018). How the alt-right manipulates the internets biggest commenting platform. BuzzFeed News. https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/charliewarzel/how-the-alt-right-manipulates-disqus-comment-threads

Waschková Císařová, L. (2021). The aftertaste you cannot erase. Career histories, emotions and emotional management in local newsrooms. Journalism Studies 22(12), 1665–1681. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1927805

Wolfgang, J. D. (2021a). Taming the ‘trolls’: How journalists negotiate the boundaries of journalism and online comments. Journalism, 22(1), 139–156. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918762362
Wolfgang, J. D. (2021b). When fringe hate goes mainstream: How white nationalist discourse manifests in online news commenting. Journal of Communication Inquiry, https://doi.org/10.1177/01968599211040840.