universität
wien

**The Unknown and Indirect Impacts of Covid-19 on
Investigative and Independent Journalism Through
Restrictions of Governments.**

Bekir S. Öndin

Department of Communication Science, University of Vienna

7 July 2020

Abstract

As Covid-19 has spread all around the world, it is highly argued that journalists in some particular countries have been prohibited from keeping people informed about the pandemic and the way how governments handle it and faced lots of political challenges along with coronavirus. Moreover, most media outlets have struggled with the economic downturn resulting from Covid-19. Therefore, the issue has been addressed from two different aspects in this study. The findings emerging from content analysis show that the restrictions are positively correlated to prohibiting of information flow and the form of investigative and independent journalism has affected socially, economically, and technologically by covid-19.

Keywords: “Covid-19”, “Coronavirus”, “Media”, “Journalism”, “Independent and Investigative Journalism”, “Restrictions”, “Information Flow”

1. Introduction

The World Health Organization (WHO) declared the COVID-19 (novel coronavirus) outbreak a pandemic on March 11, 2020. Although the number of newly recorded cases continues to rise globally, according to the WHO, many countries are now witnessing a steady decline in the infection rate, with some gradually easing their lockdown measures.¹ The spreading of new Coronavirus in addition to becoming a global phenomenon has generated excessive access to information, phenomenon named “Infodemia” (Cinelli et al., 2020).²

Covid-19 inhibited the whole structure of the world economy, leading people to stay at home as a result of a set of restrictions of governments. Along with that, especially at the first stage of the pandemic, a lot of misinformation was spread as fast as the virus itself.

On the other hand, Covid-19 has brought numerous and rough challenges to the performing of the daily journalistic process and economic and technological structure, etc..

Many journalists have faced heavy job losses, health issues, extreme workloads, technological infrastructure problems to fulfil their duties, and the dropping of the sales rate particularly of printed media. On the other hand, it seems that some governments around the world had an excuse to hide the truth about the economic performance of their countries, utilizing the Covid-19 and increasing the pressure on journalists. Apparently, most of the governments have been taking advantage of laws which criminalizes the spreading of “false” or “distorted” information, in favor of gaining more power and increasing the pressure on media and journalists. Furthermore, suspicions that the data and information provided by government may have been fabricated are increasing in the public opinion day by day. In other words, it is claimed that governments are hiding the accurate data.

The general purpose of the study is to observe what challenges Covid-19 has brought to media outlets, especially investigative and independent journalists, and how the form of the news processes ranging from editorial meetings to the way in which journalists gather information has changed with it. Besides, it is aimed at finding out how key role the political act has played in which journalists have been prohibited from acquiring accurate data and official information by imposing a set of restriction to contain Covid-19.

This study started from the estimate that investigative and independent journalists around the world would be affected by political area and challenges of Covid-19 more than mainstream media as usual. As it is, the most prominent feature of the study compared to other academic works is that it comprises investigative and independent journalists and reveals the condition rather than country limitations in particular countries over the independent international institutions that journalists are affiliated with.

Relying on content analysis and experiences of journalists that comprise a basis for the study, the results demonstrate that the restrictions imposed by governments are positively

correlated to prohibiting of information flow as expected and the form of investigative and independent journalism has affected socially, economically, and technologically by covid-19.

1.1 Impact of Covid-19 on media outlet

Covid-19 is having important and profound effects in several spheres of our society. It has affected the news, journalism, and the media system, among other domains. In mid-March 2020, the state of emergency was declared in the event of a health crisis. Since then, information on the outbreak has become a precious and valuable asset to face the situation. The enormous importance of Covid-19 throughout the planet makes it a highly relevant event to study the transformations in the media as a result of its impact. However, not all media stimulate information opportunities, political interest and knowledge, and participation in civic life in the same way. In recent decades, with the emergence and consolidation of digital technologies, the media system has experienced numerous transformations (Casero-Ripollés, 2018).³

Media plays a powerful role in crisis response. In particular, in the coronavirus pandemic, it demonstrated to be not only a compelling, reliable and trusted information funnelling platform for the adoption of the vital preventive measures but also as a central player in tackling misinformation (Frenkel, et al., 2020) and reduction of stigma and prejudice associated with the outbreak. However, the Covid-19 pandemic has come with extraordinary disruption, presenting unprecedented challenges to the media industry (Powell, 2020). This has caused spending reallocations by advertisers translating to a decline in revenues for media firms. The situation has been exacerbated by the accelerated content digitization, which has stiffened competition for advertiser spending and consumer attention. Constricted revenues constitute a threat to the indispensable role that media plays in society, particularly during such a crisis. With paucity in finances, staff resizing, restructuring, salary cuts and job terminations have become a common feature in media operations (Hendrickson, 2020). In the face of Covid-

19, the media industry has thirsted for Government budgetary assistance to continue fulfilling its public duties, which appear ever-more important than in the past⁴

Journalists are under enormous pressure right now. There is a huge public appetite for information and debate and the means to feed it are tougher than ever. The coronavirus story is unprecedented. All this when the news media is going through an economic crisis, a business model and production revolution and facing greater competition than ever. Add in the structural changes in audience behavior, the new information ecology of the tech platforms and the growth of mis- and disinformation online. Now throw into that boiling mixture a story like coronavirus. It is historically exceptional. At a granular level there is the change in the editorial process. The physical problem of working from home, shortages of staff, the pace and scale of the story. Rugby reporters find themselves turned into health correspondents. It means that (almost) all journalists are reporting on an issue for which they are not specialists. On top of that it is harder to edit and be edited and harder for journalists to benefit from newsroom support. This is not to excuse mistakes or bias, but it is to say that we have never been more aware of the limitations of journalism. It has always been an imperfect, temporally-constrained craft. The flaws are more vividly exposed now than ever before. There is much more scrutiny on social media. We, the public, all care deeply about this and we are scared and angry. The emotion we feel about this disease and the way that politicians are dealing with it is channeled through the media.⁵

The study starts from the following research question and the hypothesis;

RQ 1. How has corona virus changed the form of investigative and independent journalism?

H1. The form of investigative and independent journalism has affected socially, economically, and technologically by covid-19.

1.2 The restrictions of states toward journalism

Information is a fundamental resource for citizens in our society. It is a valuable mechanism for guiding people, especially in highly complex situations such as the one generated by the Covid-19 pandemic. In this sense, information is a tool that can help reduce uncertainty and anxiety. Conversely, it might increase panic and chaos. Likewise, information enables us to know what is going on around us. Moreover, it allows us access to current events and public affairs that may affect our daily life. Therefore, it is a key tool for the functioning of a healthy democracy. Providing quality information to citizens allows them to form an opinion and participate politically. In fact, this is the primary purpose of journalism (Kovach; Rosenstiel, 2007) and one of the central elements of its conception. By providing news, journalism becomes essential for the articulation of the public sphere, which functions as an independent and intermediary system between the State and society in liberal democracies, guaranteeing the principle of general access to information for all citizens (Habermas, 2006). The news thus becomes a vital product for civic life.⁶

In consequence, news consumption is a crucial process to promote an informed citizenry committed to public affairs. How people obtain information about relevant current events is important because it can have democratic consequences (Feenstra et al., 2016). This may create divisions between informed and misinformed citizens, causing inequalities and imbalances that affect the principle of intrinsic equality, which is a premise for democracy (Dahl, 2006).⁷

Therefore, under the such rough circumstances all human beings have faced recently, journalists around the world are playing a crucial role in keeping the public informed about the pandemic and governments' efforts to combat it, despite attempts by authorities in several countries to crack down on independent reporting and access to information. Members of the media are facing a huge amount of pressure and strain, and are often potentially exposed to infection through travel, interviews, and the locations they find themselves working in.

Journalists have faced censorship, detention, physical and online harassment, and the loss of their livelihoods due to COVID-19. As the situation continues to evolve and new information emerges, updated health advice and outbreak news will be issued by the relevant authorities.⁸

However, an authoritarian government's institutional incentive and capacity to manipulate information often make the public have little trust in its policy announcements and statements, even when it truly wants to open up and share truthful information with its citizens. Without media freedom, such a government also has difficulties acquiring crucial information for assessing the situation and making correct policy decisions.⁹

The effects of citizen journalism on non-democratic regimes' credibility deficit in risk communication during public health crises are only partially understood. In general, the traditional model of risk communication stresses the importance of facilitating the transmission of information from authoritative/ official sources. Citizen journalism is, therefore, viewed as a positive factor that can not only provide more information that is inaccessible to government sources, but also proactively engage those who are affected to shape their risk perceptions. In the authoritarian context where some kind of censorship is often imposed, citizen journalism has been found to liberate people from propaganda through providing alternative information and aggravate dictators' credibility deficit. However, little is known if citizen journalism in a dictatorship can conversely work in tandem with its authoritarian government to enhance the effectiveness of risk communications during a public health crisis.¹⁰

As a result, a saturated news ecosystem has emerged where being informed is not an easy task. Increased disinformation (Bennett; Livingston, 2018), mistrust towards legacy media, political polarization, fragmentation, and the configuration of a high-choice media environment (Van-Aelst et al., 2017) make it difficult for citizens to obtain valuable information on public affairs¹¹

Transparency is considered as a best practice of risk communication to inform and build trust with the public. No legitimate reason should stop the free press to report about crises, especially in its early stage.¹²

An event of great public relevance, such as Covid-19, offers a unique opportunity to study these issues and their impact on both the media system and democracy.¹³

RQ 2. What is the part of the current restrictions imposed by governments in terms of containing Covid-19 on prohibiting of freedom of information flow?

H2. The restrictions imposed by governments are positively correlated to prohibiting of information flow.

2. Methodology

2.1 Population

The population of this study is composed of members of two international institutions, the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists and the International Press Institute. ICIJ is a unique organization. A U.S.-based nonprofit, it is both a small, resourceful newsroom with its own reporting team, as well as a global network of reporters and media organizations who work together to investigate the most important stories in the world. Its network of trusted members encompasses 249 of the best investigative reporters from more than 90 countries and territories. It also partners with more than 100 media organizations, from the world's most renowned outlets, including the BBC, the New York Times, the Guardian and the Asahi Shimbun, to small regional nonprofit investigative centers. In addition to its U.S. staff, ICIJ has team members in Australia, France, Costa Rica, Spain, Hungary, Germany and England. Over the years, ICIJ has released dozens of investigations – including the Pulitzer Prize-winning Panama Papers.¹⁴

The International Press Institute (IPI) is a global network of editors, journalists and media executives who share a common dedication to quality, independent journalism. Together, it promotes the conditions that allow journalism to fulfill its public function, the most important of which is the media's ability to operate free from interference and without fear of retaliation. Its mission is to defend media freedom and the free flow of news wherever they are threatened. IPI is an association of media professionals representing leading digital, print and broadcast news outlets in nearly 100 countries. Its membership provides the clearest evidence possible of the universality of media freedom and the basic values of journalism. Throughout its decades-long history, the strength of IPI's network has shielded journalists from attack or forced violators of media freedom to backtrack amid global exposure of their actions.¹⁵

2.2 Sample

As sample, this study relied on some investigative and independent journalists who are member of the two international institutions, International Consortium of Investigative Journalists and the International Press Institute.

Especially, attention was paid to whether sample groups meet some criteria such as being investigative and independent journalists, when the sample groups were brought together. Besides that, it was attached importance to whether journalists' statements, which were obtained by these institutions within the scope of report prepared to show what challenges their global network of reporters have faced in the period of Covid-19, are relevant for the topic. Shortly, the research focuses mainly on the impact of the novel corona virus and the political challenges on journalism. Therefore, some of the journalists were excluded from the sample due to their statements out of the context.

First of all, research questions and hypotheses were determined, then, relevant contents for the topic found. Whereas RQ1 addressed the relationship between corona virus and the form of

investigative and independent journalism, RQ 2 found out the role of the current restrictions imposed by governments in blocking of freedom of information flow.

In the selection of the documents to conduct a content analysis, it was taken into account that document contains investigative and independent journalists' statements regarding Covid-19, restrictions of states in connection of Covid-19, and content was published by an independent and international institution. Within the frame of these criterions, two present contents were determined to work on.

Within the context of the study, a qualitative content analysis consistent with the rule of Mayring was carried out. First, the contents were reviewed carefully, and later appropriate main categories were determined in the scope of both relevant for the topic and the contents themselves. As a second stage of the analysis, sub-categories were established and the entire related statements were assigned to each main and sub-categories with computer-based program, MAXQDA. The findings acquired from content analysis constitute the pillar of the study and the hypothesis.

In order to find appropriate responses for RQs, two positive categories also were included as sub-categories, given the fact that there might have been same positive developments so far. Thus, the negative impacts of the Covid-19 and along with political restrictions on journalism were established from a clear point of view. In total, 17 journalists from Austria, Mexico, Russia, Ivory Coast, Slovenia, Malaysia, Hungary, Panama, Spain, South Korea, Japan, Pakistan, India, Taiwan and Bangladesh were included in the content analyzed according to consistency of their statements.

To find out whether the hypotheses are consistent with the expectation, content analyses was conducted under the following main and sub-categories.

- 1st main category: Impact of covid-19 on the form of the investigative and independent journalism
 - * Economic, technological and social challenges
 - * Form of news
 - * Positive impact
 - * The future of journalism
- 2nd main category: The restrictions imposed by governments on prohibiting of freedom of information flow
 - * Accessing data and official information
 - * Positive impact
 - * Political challenges

In order to address and to exhibit the impact of Covid-19 on journalism exactly, in particular, “form of news” and “the future of journalism” categories were identified. Some statements were coded in more than one category, as they point out the respective categories.

3. Analysis

Within the scope of the first hypothesis, impact of Covid-19 was established as independent variable, while the form of the investigative and independent journalism is dependent variable. For this, the impact of independent variable on dependent variable was observed with content analysis. In regards to the second hypothesis, the restrictions imposed by governments is the independent variable and information flow is the dependent variable.

4. Results

This study first sought to establish the challenges faced media outlets, especially investigative and independent journalists due to Covid-19 and along with that and the changing structure of the media and journalistic daily routine, as well as the role of the restrictions introduced by states towards access to accurate data and official. In this direction, the first hypotheses examined the impacts of Covid-19 on journalism and media outlet. At the first stage of the study, it was argued that the form of investigative and independent journalism has affected socially, economically, and technologically by covid-19 (H1) and the restrictions imposed by governments are positively correlated to prohibiting of information flow. (H2).

The total number of coded main categories is 55, of which 38 fall into the first category and of which 17 belong to the second category. As some statements were coded in more than one sub-category, the total number of coded categories displays more than the total number of the main categories. With 24 times, the sub-category “Economic, technological and social challenges” is the most coded one among the first main category, respectively “the form of news” 17, “positive impact” and “the future of journalism” 3. Among the second main category, the most coded sub-category is “political challenges” with 14, while “accessing data and official information” is the second with 10 and “positive impact” is the third with 3.

Impact of covid-19 on the form of the investigative and independent journalism	38
The restrictions imposed by governments on prohibiting of freedom of information flow	17

Table-1 : The distribution of codes under the main categories

The future of journalism	3
The form of news	17
Economic, technological and social challenges	24
Positive impact	3

Table-2 : Sub-categories under "Impact of covid-19 on the form of the investigative and independent journalism"

Political challenges	14
Positive impact	3
Accessing data and official information	10

Table-3 : Sub-categories under "The restrictions imposed by governments on prohibiting of freedom of information flow"

C.1: Impact of covid-19 on the form of the investigative and independent journalism

C1.1 Economic, technological and social challenges

"The economic fallout of the coronavirus now leads to further severe cost-cutting measures. If these are not fully taken back after the pandemic, investigative journalism could come under a lot more pressure."

"In Mumbai, for example, some of the infected journalists have homes in an apartment complex built for media professionals. Our bureau chief and senior photographer live there, too. The entire complex has been sealed to prevent community spread."

"Much of the daily routine could be devastated by the possible virus hit. The offsite backup plans must be in place especially for the print newspapers (UDN Group currently prints 4 daily papers). From the assessments of working-From-Home, we found that most of the editors for the print papers did not have appropriate computers and applications. Our engineers visited their homes to set up the dynamic Domain Name System (DDNS) for them to work remotely. These procedures take time to set up, to test, and to train their work."

"Additionally, the rules of the lockdown meant that the harassment, which we often face as women reporters from marginalized communities, in other words, with less claim on the public domain, was even harsher."

- C1.2 *The form of news*

"We – investigative reporters – are used to producing long stories, which take a lot of time. But COVID-19 demands us to react fast. We need to investigate with the speed of news reporters. And that's hard."

"In our newspaper, bulk of the staff is old fashioned, and it is taking us time to teach them operational methods of working from home. Still we have managed to train around 60 per cent of them to adopt these new methods."

"It's a challenge that I have never experienced in my 40 years of journalism: the and I'm not sure if the newspapers will ever be able to revive their circulation once the virus is contained or eliminated."

"Can journalists work from home? This was the question weighing on our minds when the lockdown was announced in India. So, we opted for a 'report from the field; write from home' strategy. The challenges we face are manifold. What could be conveyed with a shout across the newsroom now needs a detailed phone call or elaborate email."

Most sources refuse to meet in person, affecting the quality of information. Sources have not been as forthcoming over the phone as they were in one-on-one meetings. Photographers, especially, have been hamstrung by the restrictions."

- C1.3 Positive impact

"What gives me a little hope is that there are also people who are willing to support journalism outlets. Direkt36, the organization I co-founded, is among those that are sustained mainly by their readers."

"On the digital side, however, we are seeing a sharp surge in readership — to be expected as people are staying home and are actively looking for relevant content"

- C1.4 The future of journalism

"If these are not fully taken back after the pandemic, investigative journalism could come under a lot more pressure."

"It is a challenging time in which independent digital media have the opportunity to position themselves as reliable sources of information."

"The future of journalism in Panama is challenging."

C.2: The restrictions imposed by governments on prohibiting of freedom of information flow

Figure-2: The restrictions imposed by governments on prohibiting of freedom of information flow

■ Political challenges ■ Positive impact ■ Accessing data and official information

- C2.1 Accessing data and official information

"One of the biggest challenges is accessing official information. Officials are happy to use the media when they want to manipulate information for their own ends. But when we are investigating, it's impossible to access even the most basic information because we are seen as squeaky wheels or spoilsports."

"Secondly, we are facing both the pandemic and the aftermath of a political coup that happened just before the second wave of infections. So, it is a new and hostile government. Where before we had access to all government press conferences, now it is only open to two outlets – the national state broadcaster and national newswire. This means we cannot hold the government to account."

- C2.2 Positive impact

"The data on the infected and casualties is released by the respective state governments. There is no restriction on reporting these figures."

"The government has not restricted movement of media persons during the nationwide shutdown to prevent the spread of COVID-19. Vehicles used by news agencies remain out of the purview of the shutdown."

"However, to get the detailed data on the rate of infection etc., we had previously relied on the Health Minister's press secretary. With the change of government, we now have a new Health Minister and a virtually ineffective press secretary. That channel of information is now closed."

"Other reporters in the team had their mobility and access restricted. Our scooters were impounded by the police, our footage was deleted, if we happened to be filming neglect in hospitals, or the beating of poor people in line to withdraw cash."

- C2.3 Political challenges

“We are also under pressure to be extra careful to the brink of self-censorship sometimes because in this period, nationalism is at a high so any form of critical reporting on the government is construed as an attack. Recently, a colleague was questioned by police about an article she wrote about how university students stranded at their dorms were told to practice and put together a dance performance for a visiting minister who basically visited for a photo op. The story was based on verified information from sources within the university. A police report has since been lodged (we don’t know by whom) for alleged misreporting, and my colleague is under pressure to reveal her source.”

“The COVID-19 pandemic is bringing about a serious economic and social crisis in many countries, including Spain. The central government, in my opinion, is deliberately strengthening state power. The problem is that there are members of the government who have a peculiar idea of what journalism and press freedom are.”

“In Slovenia, our challenge is twofold — it’s the pandemic combined with a new government where the chief party holds a deep resentment for the free, upstanding and thorough press. Thus, the already high level of online smear campaigns on social media and in media controlled by the ruling party against [my news organization] Oštro and its journalists has significantly increased.”

5. Discussion

Relying on content analysis and experiences of journalists that comprise the basis of this study, the results demonstrate that the restrictions imposed by governments are positively correlated to prohibiting of information flow as expected and the form of investigative and independent journalism has affected socially, economically, and technologically by covid-19..

Little spoken among journalists included in the study about positive development under the Covid-19. Mostly they point out the negative impact of coronavirus on journalism, indicating that it brought too many economic, technological and social challenges to most of the media outlets. Also, they particularly emphasize that they have faced numerous restrictions from the governments side to access accurate data and official information. A few of the samples examined in the study approach the situation in a positive way, indicating that they have not yet had any restriction or political challenges from their governments.

As the most coming to the forefront challenges for the journalists are economic situation in which they find themselves, workload, layoffs, reacting fast, competition between traditional media and social media as information channels, fear for the disappearance of independence and the free press, the arising of the fake news, the changing system of getting information and journalistic routine, the changing behavior of readers, the lack of the qualifications of staff for new technologies. On the other hand, the most political challenges journalists have faced are the blocking of obtaining official information, difficulties to reach out officials, stonewalls, censorship, political pressure on critical reporting, efforts for the delegitimization of journalism, smear campaigns, the control of information flow, the prohibiting of the right to ask questions.

As the early present studies focus on mostly the condition in which mainstream media found themselves in one country or certain countries, they overlook addressing the issue in the general perspective. Also, this study started from the estimate that investigative and independent journalists around the world would be affected from political area and challenges of Covid-19 more than mainstream media. As it is, the most prominent feature of the study compared other academic works is that it comprises investigative and independent journalists and reveals the condition rather than country limitation in particular countries over the independent international institutions that journalists are affiliated with.

On the one hand, the study carries the feature of being one of the early studies addressing the issue in the context of the impact of Covid-19 on investigative and independent journalism, on the other hand, the findings cannot be generalized due to the extent of the sample.

As the little is still known due to the existence of the limited studies about the impact of the Covid-19 on journalistic activities and the extent to how the restrictions imposed by governments have affected journalists, more studies should address the issue, in order to exhibit a better view. After Covid-19 was eliminated completely and more accurate information and data arose, more studies would present lots of different approaches. It is also highly recommended to shed light on the impact of fake news and conspiracy theories emerging throughout the Covid-19 on news and journalism, besides political pressures.

References

- ^{1 8} CPJ Safety Advisory: Covering the coronavirus pandemic, May 20, 2020
<https://cpj.org/2020/02/cpj-safety-advisory-covering-the-coronavirus-outbr.php>
- ² Papapicco, C. (2020). Informative Contagion: The Coronavirus (COVID-19) in Italian journalism. *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies*, 10(3), e202014.
<https://doi.org/10.29333/ojcm/7938>
- ⁵ Beckett, C. (2020). Journalism in viral war-time. *Polis Blog*, 1-5.
<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/polis/2020/03/26/journalism-in-viral-war-time/>
- ^{3 6 7 11 13} Casero-Ripollés, Andreu (2020). “Impact of Covid-19 on the media system. Communicative and democratic consequences of news consumption during the outbreak”. *El profesional de la información*, v. 29, n. 2, e290223. <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.mar.23>

⁴ Kapchanga, Mark (2020): Journalism on trial during Covid-19 crisis: Between Government budgetary support and editorial independence in Kenya. SageSubmissions. Preprint. <https://doi.org/10.31124/advance.12295580.v1>

^{9 10} Greg Chih-Hsin Shee n, Hans H. Tung, and Wen-C hin Wu, W. C. (2020). Citizen Journalism and Credibility of Authoritarian Government in Risk Communication Regarding the 2020 COVID-19 Outbreak: A Survey Experiment.

¹² King-wa Fu & Yunur Zhu (2020): Did the world overlook the media's early warning of COVID-19?, Journal of Risk Research, DOI: 10.1080/13669877.2020.1756380 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13669877.2020.1756380>

¹⁴ The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists <https://www.icij.org/about/>

¹⁵ The International Press Institute <https://ipi.media/about/>

- Casero-Ripollés, Andreu (2018). "Research on political information and social media: Key points and challenges for the future". El profesional de la información, v. 27, n. 5, pp. 964-974. <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2018.sep.01>

- Frenkel, S., Alba, D. & Zhong, R. (2020): Surge of virus misinformation stumps Facebook and Twitter. New York Times. Accessed on April 30, 2020 from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/08/technology/coronavirus-misinformation-social-media.html>

- Powell, M. (2020): What role can the media play in managing the COVID-19 outbreak? Infectious Disease Hub. Accessed on April 20, 2020 from: <https://www.id-hub.com/2020/03/05/role-can-media-play-managing-covid-19-outbreak/>

- Hendrickson, C. (2020): Critical in a public health crisis, Covid-19 has hit local newsrooms hard. Brookings Institution. Accessed on April 15, 2020 from: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2020/04/08/critical-in-a-public-health-crisis-covid-19-has-hit-local-newsrooms-hard/>

- Kovach, Bill; Rosenstiel, Tom (2007). The elements of journalism: What newspeople should know and the public should expect. New York: Three Rivers Press. ISBN: 978 0 307346704.

- Habermas, Jürgen (2006). "Political communication in media society: Does democracy still enjoy an epistemic dimension? The impact of normative theory on empirical research". Communication theory, v. 16, n. 4, pp. 411-426. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00280.x>

- Feenstra, Ramón A.; Tormey, Simon; Casero-Ripollés, Andreu; Keane, John (2016). La reconfiguración de la democracia. Granada: Comares. ISBN: 978 84 90454411

- Dahl, Robert A. (2006). On political equality. New Haven: Yale University Press. ISBN: 978 0 300126877

- Bennett, W. Lance; Livingston, Steven (2018). "The disinformation order: Disruptive communication and the decline of democratic institutions". European journal of communication, v. 33, n. 2, pp. 122-139. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118760317>

- Van-Aelst, Peter; Strömbäck, Jesper; Aalberg, Toril; Esser, Frank; De-Vreese, Claes H.; Matthes, Jörg; Hopmann, David; Salgado, Susana; Hubé, Nicolas; Stępińska, Agnieszka; Papathanassopoulos, Stylianos; Berganza, Rosa; Legnante, Guido; Reinemann, Carsten; Sheafer, Tamir; Stanyer, James (2017). "Political communication in a high-choice media environment: a challenge for democracy?". Annals of the International Communication Association, v. 41, n. 1, pp. 3-27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2017.1288551>

Content Analysis References

¹Will Fitzgibbon, Emilia Díaz-Struck, Scilla Alecci, Delphine Reuter and Jelena Cosic (2020):

Hostile leaders and hidden data: Press Freedom challenges in 2020

[https://www.icij.org/blog/2020/05/hostile-leaders-and-hidden-data-press-freedom-challenges-in-](https://www.icij.org/blog/2020/05/hostile-leaders-and-hidden-data-press-freedom-challenges-in-2020/?utm_campaign=Sprout&utm_content=getting_timely_informatio&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter)

[2020/?utm_campaign=Sprout&utm_content=getting_timely_informatio&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter](https://www.icij.org/blog/2020/05/hostile-leaders-and-hidden-data-press-freedom-challenges-in-2020/?utm_campaign=Sprout&utm_content=getting_timely_informatio&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter)

²COVID-19: How IPI members face the challenge (2020):

<https://ipi.media/meet-our-members/covid-19-how-ipi-members-face-the-challenge/>