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Chapter 2

The paper *Artistic Journalism: Confluence in Forms, Values and Practices* was published on 25 March 2020 in *Journalism Studies* and co-authored by Mark Deuze.*

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Artistic Journalism: Confluence in Forms, Values and Practices

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ABSTRACT
In the context of changing values, practices and working arrangements, the worlds of journalism and art converge. Evaluating these professions in conflux and beyond their (supposed) opposing ideologies and discourses, remains both controversial and complex. Through a critical hermeneutic analysis, this paper highlights key areas of tension regarding the confluence of journalism and arts. It is argued that journalism is and always has been inextricably interwoven with the arts, a shared existence not limited to Western democracies. The article proposes a continuum as a theoretical model for mapping and exploring the coexistence of artistic and journalistic approaches of news and news work. This "arts and journalism" continuum offers a potentially fruitful dimension of studying news work as a form of artistic practice in a variety of contexts. In conclusion, a consideration of "Artistic Journalism" is proposed as a way for the profession to articulate its creative foundation with its goal to pursue the truth, including the intrinsic and affective motivations of its practitioners.

KEYWORDS
Artistic journalism; aesthetics; professional identity; de-westernising journalism; emotion; creativity

Introduction

In many ways, journalism as a field of practice is similar to other creative industries (Sheridan Burns and Matthews 2017), and most notably the art world (Blanding 2016; Lewis and Zamith 2017). Democratic societies consider both crucial (for arts: Levine 2007; Zuidervaart 2010; for journalism: Craft and Davis 2016; Hanitzsch 2007; Hanitzsch and Vos 2018), and both are seen as "methods in culture for forming consciousness" (Adam 2006, 365). In a contemporary context, journalism and arts face similar challenges. Journalists and artists both operate under precarious working conditions, share similar intrinsic and affective job motivations (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011), and, to an extent, develop concordant ethics and epistemologies regarding truth-telling and craft. Both also have encountered disruptive economic and technological challenges in recent decades, during which practitioners' roles shifted and audience participation normalised (Alexander and Bowler 2014; Deuze and Witschge 2018).

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Historical and contemporary confluence – as argued in this paper – raises the question how the role of arts and artistic work is articulated in journalism theory and practice. While it is true that an absence of aesthetics in journalism studies has been noted (Bird and Dardenne 2009; Coleman 2007; Gynnild et al. 2017; Höijer 2004; Zelizer 2009), and both a general lack of as well as a pressing need for creativity has been a trope in the literature (Lynch and Swink 1967; Malmelin and Virta 2016; Deuze 2019), a comprehensive theory on news work as "artistic" seems not to have made it into the mainstream of journalism studies and education.

Nash (2016) asked if journalism could be seen as art, but like Cramerotti (2009) he articulates a "journalistic turn" in the art world, rather than operationalising artistic journalism. Lewis and Zamith (2017) do assert that journalism is organised as an art world – with reference to Becker (2008) – however, they primarily refer to similarities in operational and organisational terms, not per se to the artistic nature of journalism. A notable exception is Adam (2006) who until his death in 2018 championed an artistic approach in education, stating " … as journalism is taught, it should be bathed in the light of the Imagination and the idea that journalism can be and often is one of our highest arts" (367).

The related scholarly fields "art journalism" and "cultural journalism" study how journalists cover arts and culture (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Jaakkola 2015), and are not concerned with how news work in itself is an artistic endeavour. Although it should be noted here that arts and culture journalists, when reporting on and reviewing news publications from both an artistic and journalistic perspective, can play a bridge-building role regarding the artistic appreciation of news work (Bourdieu 1984; Jaakkola 2015).

There is a rich literature that evaluates news work as a more or less "artistic" endeavour, related to particular genres as wide-ranging as literary journalism (Bak and Reynolds 2011), photojournalism (Hill and Schwartz 2015), news design (e.g., Barnhurst and Nerone 2001), documentary and tv journalism (e.g., Spence and Navarro 2010), as well as journalism in the context of architecture (Bois et al. 2016; Wall 2018), theatre (Giordano 2013; Marinho 2018), comics (Koçak 2017; Plank 2014) painting (Embury and Minichiello 2018; Mpofu 2017), music (Mano 2007), poetry (Archetti 2017), and games (Bogost, Ferrari, and Schweizer 2010). The purpose of this article is to conceptually connect this literature with the purpose of operationalising artistic journalism.

What I[1] propose is that similar societal expectations, practises and working conditions in journalism and the arts inspire an approach that focusses on what binds them rather than what supposedly keeps them separate. The paper therefore primarily concentrates on the question: *how can journalism as a form of art (i.e., "artistic journalism") be explored beyond a dichotomous relationship between journalism and the arts?* I will argue that an arts and journalism continuum is vital to comprehend what is happening in contemporary news work.

Operationalisation and Method

By "arts" I mean specific artistic genres. After receiving extensive historical, sociological and philosophical attention for centuries, "aesthetics" – the disciplined thinking about art – matured into a study field relatively recently. Gaut and Lopes (2013) synthesised and pursued aesthetic research, identifying thirteen individual arts: poetry, literature, theatre, film, videogames, comics, photography, painting, sculpture, design, architecture, music,

and dance. Of these, considered as "established" journalism genres are film (including documentary, tv, radio), photography (photojournalism), design (news graphics) and literature (literary journalism), as these all have their own global conferences, awarding bodies, active online communities, extensive book collections, dedicated academic studies, and are specifically taught in journalism schools. In the paper I selectively draw on work of historians and scholars to locate these arts in contemporary and historic journalism discourses, highlighting key issues, and suggesting an "artistic journalism" (including news work as artistic practice) approach.

This study's departure point is journalism. When the term "artistic journalism" is used, art is the modifier of journalism, emphasising its relation to journalism studies and practice. Cramerotti's (2009) work on "aesthetic journalism" exclusively "involves artistic practices in the form of investigation of social, cultural or political circumstances. Its research outcomes take shape in the art context, rather than through media channels" (21). In his study, journalism is the modifier of art. Although he deliberately reaches out to journalism, his focus on "artists" might have caused his research not to have find much following in journalism theory. To bridge this gap and include a broad range of artistic news workers, consisting of those who self-identify primarily as journalists, an "arts and journalism" continuum is proposed as a news work hendiadys, with both worlds in copulative conjunction.

The corpus of my project primarily consists of data sources I encountered working as researcher, journalist, fine artist, educator, documenter (through a personal blog and Twitter feed) and admirer of artistic and journalistic work. By adopting a critical hermeneutical approach, I synthesised all these various examples, stories and experiences of how arts and journalism coexist, and inductively worked towards a conceptual theory (Rennie 2000). During this project, I started a collaboration with ACED, a Dutch institute promoting artistic and journalistic interdisciplinarity, to create a publicly available artistic journalism database, which helped me to tease out examples. Field notes and records were kept throughout, and were reflected upon with a variety of research groups in Amsterdam, Ede and Edinburgh, and, informally, with journalists and artists in the field. Furthermore, I kept memos as "a running commentary to oneself" (Eisenhardt 1989, 538) to achieve a balanced approach to a familiar subject, and anchor my views in a theory-laden approach (Wrona and Gunnesch 2016) of the given examples. Although providing an overview, the article's empirical claim is limited as a pilot project; in a subsequent phase, the nuances and viability of the proposed continuum and taxonomy will be tested.

The first part (1) of the paper highlights how fact-centred developments of Anglo-American journalism influenced the news industry's attitude towards artistic work. Then (2) the notion of journalism as conjoined with the arts is unpacked through an examination of confluence of forms, values and practices. The third section (3) explores the extremes of journalism in its artistic forms. The next (4) outlines practices that identify as both artistic and journalistic with a specific analysis of news photography. The final section (5) introduces the confluence of two practices as an arts and journalism continuum.

A History of Journalism and Art

Arts and journalism have always walked hand-in-hand. Poetry and painting already provided the primary compositional elements of the first seventeenth-century newspapers

(Bording 1973; Ross, Romano, and Pozzatti 1974; Treitler and Strunk 1998). Many nineteenth-century European journalists considered themselves primarily artists (Harbers 2014). In France, authors like Victor Hugo, Honoré de Balzac, Alexandre Dumas and Emile Zola considered newspaper productions part of their literary repertoire (Bellet 1967). Influenced by the naturalism movement journalism was practised in drama, novels, graphic arts, and even in music in the first years of operetta (Hauser 2005). Early British journalists, including well-known authors like Daniel Defoe (eighteenth century) and Charles Dickens (nineteenth century), wrote fiction with one hand and journalism with the other, often cross-influencing the genres (Kerrane and Yagoda 1998; Underwood 2008, 2013).

Since the late nineteenth century, Anglo-American reporting tended towards aiming for objectivity, factual reporting and a detached observational stance (Schudson 1981, 2001). According to Chalaby (1996, 310), in the emergent "fact-centred discursive practices" personal and political views were rebuffed – one was to report facts, which came at the expense of literary traditions. Ward (2008, 75) agrees much of the language initially was characterised by "self-denial, restraint and exclusion", however, Nerone (2018, 26) differentiates the terse style of reporters from "correspondents and editors [who] were allowed to be colourful, fulsome, and even verbose". After World War I, most Western newsrooms came to be influenced by this Anglo-American "journalism" (Chalaby 1996; Schudson 2005) – a term that from the beginning had a "normative charge" (Nerone 2018, 20).

Throughout the late 20th and early twenty-first century, journalism's ideological values acted as its social cement (Deuze 2005). With objectivity as central principle (Schudson 2001) and fact-verification as the most important job at hand (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2014), Western journalism practitioners have described their ideal-typical values in terms of being objective, autonomous, of public service, and able to report with immediacy and a sense of ethics (Deuze 2005). In this context, the impression occurs that at least a part of the news industry made managing creativity anything but a priority in the news organisation (Deuze 2019), and in ideological terms placed little value on aesthetic reflections, which might have discouraged some practitioner's artistic aspirations. At the same time, the tidal changes of news work continue to be impacted by particular cultural contexts and styles, driven by a variety of norms and values (Weaver and Willnat 2012) and a global hybridisation of journalistic cultures (Mellado et al. 2017), giving leeway to various degrees of approaches to journalism – including (more) artistic ones.

Conflux of Journalism and the Arts

Contemporary journalism includes a wide and ever-expanding array of genres, ranging from documentary film and photojournalism to news graphic design, from literary nonfiction books to comics and animation, from newspaper and magazine sections in distinguishable literary styles to online storytelling experiments. Each of these (and many others) are deeply connected to artistic genres. Documentary has roots in experimental non-fiction film (Nichols 2001). Narrative journalism is indebted to literary fiction (Wolfe 1972) and is fostering comics journalism (Schack 2014), investigative journalism (Sengers and Hunter 2012) and data journalism (Bradshaw 2017). Photojournalism simultaneously sprouted both in the news and arts industry (Gervais and Morel 2017). News

design draws on (info)graphic design (Cairo 2012), and its practitioners alternately self-identify as journalists and designers (Cairo 2017).

In today's news industry, "permanent instability" is a defining feature rather than a transitional stage (Deuze and Witschge 2018; Evans 2016), and companies are constantly looking for new ways to grab and maintain audience attention. Therefore, creative and innovative practitioners have become highly valued (Anderson, Potočnik, and Zhou 2014). At the same time, audiences have come to participate across the journalistic production cycle, and journalists find themselves in changing collaboration networks, and in roles of being a curator, interpreter, sense-maker, entrepreneur, innovator, designer or transmedia storyteller. Such roles require flexibility, along with creativity and aesthetic insight.

On an organisational level, innovation determines much of the news industry's decision-making (Kueng 2015). Having switched from print and broadcast media to "digital first" and "mobile first" publishing models, news competes online. Consequently, the profession and industry seek new narrative experiences, utilising multimodal (Hiippala 2017) and transmedia (Jenkins 2009) storytelling formats, in a variety of visual journalism styles – because these work better on screens and are appreciated by (new) audiences (Beaudet and Wihbey 2019) – and appearing on non-native platforms, including theatres, museums and biennales (Blanding 2016; Cramerotti 2009), which arouse curiosity among the public (Kwong 2018).

On an educational level, surveys show that "the creative aspects of journalism overwhelmingly motivate" today's students to study journalism (Hanusch et al. 2016, 111). Given the precarious working contexts in journalism, these newcomers are required to become creative in order to cross-subsidise their income, integrate different media in their work, and embrace multiple storytelling roles (Deuze and Witschge 2018).

Historic and contemporary conflux of arts and journalism, along with the potential broadening of news work studies to genres and platforms primarily evaluated as artistic or cultural, suggest the relevance of a conjunctive analytical approach that allows comparing and differentiating the confluence of journalism and art. In what follows, I explore this conflux in terms of a taxonomy of forms, values and practices.

Confluence of Forms

This section explores journalism in its artistic forms. By "Form" I mean the arrangement of aesthetic elements as parts of the output. This follows Levine's definition of form as "an arrangement of elements – an ordering, patterning, or shaping" (Levine 2015, 3), which can be applied to a broad spectrum of configurations. "Aesthetic" here follows Danto's (2013, 136) definition being "the way things show themselves, together with the reasons for preferring one way of showing itself to another" – including both the audience's and the maker's perspective. "Output" refers to products and services in all appearances and performances. By "style" I mean the categorisation art scholars use to identify, interpret, evaluate and explain regular occurrences of forms in relation to their corresponding artistic practices (Meskin 2013), for example, individual styles, historic and period styles, regional styles and style schools.

As the contemporary news industry oozes with imaginative expression, stimulating the faculties of sight, smell, hearing, taste and touch, the argument will be made that a form

continuum provides an overarching aesthetics approach to news output. Such a continuum allows for "artistic medium-based"[2] categorisations (Davies 2013), which can help to further to identify, interpret, evaluate and explain news forms as part of sometimes complex transmedia story worlds (Ryan and Thon 2014; Serrano Tellería 2019). In what follows, a colourful palette of artistic and journalism forms passes in review. The purpose is twofold: articulating the possible extremes of a form continuum, and understanding how an artistic medium-based categorisation can contribute to pin-pointing news output within this continuum.

News forms have been described as "descriptive", factual; and "interpretative", aiming "to find the truth behind the verifiable facts" (Salgado and Strömbäck 2012). Descriptive journalism can be generally identified by "the plain style" (Kenner 2006), which is matter-of-factly and straightforward (Cmiel 1990). The style primarily aims to increase a text's trustworthiness. Adam (2006, 358) asserts it "has its own aesthetics – an aesthetics of originality, form and efficiency" which some journalists employ with imagination, proving capable of turning a formulaic inverted pyramid into "a work of sculpture" (350), where others silt up in what the industry dismissively calls "journalese" (Leo 1985).

The descriptive style in its most basic form provides us with the one end of the continuum, which is the matter-of-fact news brief, addressing the journalism basic questions of who, what, where and when ("why" and even "how" can be a follow-up question to answer). The other end of the continuum is more complex to specify, because in "interpretative" news forms, a journalist's individual "signature" style can be more prominent (Benson and Hallin 2007). Which is what happens when a news worker raises his or her artistic voice.

Exploring the boundaries of the journalistic field (Wall 2018), architecture has been employed as investigative journalism methodology by the award-winning team of Forensic Architecture (Bois et al. 2016). The team utilise an array of aesthetic methodologies to reconstruct space, sound and movement, and model findings into digital and sculptural installations and explanatory video narratives, which are presented at art exhibitions and in human right reports used in legal cases. Each project is summarised in a video telling the story of how the team worked to gather the data. That narrative moves the production beyond a matter-of-fact representation of evidence, and connects audiences.

A growing attention to emotion in news work (Beckett and Deuze 2016; Kotisova 2019) also indicates that news aesthetics consist of more than a factual "plain style". For example, news graphic design (Cairo 2017), after its decades of emphasis on factual accuracy (Bertin 1973; Cairo 2012; Kirk 2012; Tufte 1983), recently started debating the role of emotion in data visualisation (Bradshaw 2017; Bui 2019; Cairo 2019). In film, tv and documentary, audiences intimately experience emotions (Hegedus 2001; Insdorf 1990; Rabiger 2001), a quality amplified by the more recent variants of interactive documentary and immersive journalism (Aston and Gaudenzi 2012; Sánchez Laws 2017), or in news games which can evoke empathy in the players (Plewe and Fürsich 2018). In journalistic theatre productions, journalists accounted similar benefits of how audiences responded and connected to news subjects (Henneman 2006; Tenenboim and Stroud 2019). For example, the London Bureau of Investigative Journalism organised a theatre tour on domestic violence; and the investigative journalism bureau ProPublica Illinois has experimented with street theatre. Project evaluations suggest theatre's empathic qualities deepened the connection between reporters, public and communities (Jaffe 2018; Scott 2018).

Poetry is used in the aftermath of collective tragedies, where "poets can, and perhaps must, pause at the how, at what it [a news event] was like, at how it felt" (Burt 2013, para. 6). And the tactile nature of painted news work, such as comics journalism (Schack 2014) and "reportage illustration" (Embury and Minichiello 2018) create an emotional intimacy between author and reader (Picado 2015; Schack 2014), and author and subject (Orbán 2015).

These examples illustrate how news workers with disparate artistic backgrounds can create multi-sensory stimulating news forms as tactile, emotional or heartfelt experience; the far end of the continuum thus includes as much sensory stimulating complexity as news workers are capable of producing.

In addition to pinpointing news output on a continuum, an artistic medium-based categorisation can help to further identify and compare various news forms. An artistic medium is a set of conventions to manipulate "stuff" (Davies 2013, 226, 227). Davies distinguishes two general basic categories to describe the set of conventions, these are the "single artistic medium" and "combined artistic media". In terms of journalism, a single artistic medium is, for example, literary journalism, news photography or "reportage illustration". Combined artistic media can, for example, be journalistic theatre or a news art installation. The general categories can be further subcategorised in the "agential" sense and in the "articulatory" sense. The agential, according to Davies, relates to the "stuff", which can be physical (materials such as paper, paint or the human body) or the non-physical (notes in music, ideas in conceptual art). Digital photography or hand-drawn comics are examples of this subcategory. Categorisation in the articulatory sense, relates to how the stuff is manipulated by the artist. "Impressionism", for example, describes the particular arrangement of brushstrokes and colours in a painting.

Davies (2013) and many other aesthetic scholars, argue an artistic medium-based categorisation (by the artist) is crucial to appreciate art, and understand how an artwork is to be perceived. Artistic medium-based categorisation in journalism, for example, allows further exploration of how art styles and aesthetics influence the rhetoric, pragmatic and semantic elements of the work (which according to Barnhurst, Vari, and Rodríguez 2004 are how visual media studies have been approached thus far). Or it can add a layer to how, for example, Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) view forms as continuous conventions through which commodities are organised and presented.

In sum, on an arts and journalism spectrum, news forms can be pinpointed between the extremes of a straightforward, matter-of-fact, plain style news item and multi-sensory stimulating art experiences, evoking various degrees of (emotional) response towards coexisting factual and felt truths.

Confluence of Values

This section explores value-driven debates of practitioners working at the cross-section of arts and journalism, and aims to understand how they align aesthetic values with journalistic values. The goal is to articulate the extremes of their (normative) continuum. In what follows value-driven debate on photojournalism – specifically photo manipulation – is analysed. The analysis illustrates *that* such professional debates take place, albeit surfacing to mainstream by virtue of the famous World Press Photo event. With "values" I mean the normative standards constituent of the occupational ideology and self-identity of a professional.

The news industry's disdain for early press photography is exemplified by Hennings' (1932; as cited in: Lester 2015, p. ix) remark: "Newspaper photographers can scarcely be considered journalists … They do not come into contact with the problems that daily face the man or woman who goes forth to gather facts". Photographers were respected for artisanship: camera knowledge, film development, printing processes, aesthetic particulars such as dramatic composition, framing, depth of field or the use of colour and grain. Being commissioned by a news publication is what made them press photographers. Instead of incorporating photography, the news industry, in a variety of discourses, denounced the technology, viewed it as 'necessary evil', deflated its value by outsourcing photography to amateurs or particular reporters, and regarded it as merely adjunct to written journalism (Zelizer 1995).

Nevertheless Lester (2015, 19) states that contemporary "photojournalists should consider themselves to be on an equal status as word journalists … As reporters, photojournalists must have a strong sense of the journalistic values that guide all reporters." Such self-identification, however, might be hindered by some parts of the news industry that keep regarding photojournalism with ambiguity (Gynnild et al. 2017). On the one hand, many (local) news media include a photography section in their ethical codes. On the other hand, the early resistance against the technology caused the news industry to never think through what the rise of photographic technology meant for journalistic practice (Zelizer 1995). As a result, photojournalism developed parallel ethics, for example reflected in ethical guidelines of national photojournalism associations (Lester 2015), and also in international debates.

As notable institution, the World Press Photo competition is surrounded by such debates on artistic and journalistic values (Anthony 2013; Campbell 2010; Dunlap 2010). Disputed examples include 2017 2nd place winner Hossein Fatemi, who according to peers manipulates settings before taking a photo (Rostamkhani 2017); and Paul Hansen, who *tones* images to create dramatic effects, such as in his 2012 winning photo of a Gaza funeral. The 2014 and 2015 competitions were particularly controversial, with twenty and sixteen percent of the contestants disqualified respectively, after experts found evidence of photo manipulation, cloning – a copying technique used to mask areas – and heavy post-processing (Laurent 2016).

Photographer Giovanni Troilo staged scenes for a series on Charleroj, Belgium, including one picture of his nephew and partner fornicating in the back of a car at night, for which Troilo placed a remote-controlled flashlight inside the car. To many experts, this "creative" intervention made the image incongruent with journalism values. The jury eventually revoked his prize, also considering inaccurate captions, and the event inspired vivid disputes on what counts as photojournalism (e.g., "Debating the Rules", 2015; Laurent 2015; Macdonald 2015).

The increase of self-regulatory debates has been correlated with digitisation, and in particular the appearance of Photoshop in the 1990s, which brought substantial changes in quality, quantity and distribution of images, and photo manipulation processes (Broek et al. 2012). Manipulation, a constituent of photography, became easier, less time consuming and therefore more widespread. When confronted with their disqualification from the 2016 competition, "i[I]n several instances, photographers said that they had submitted the wrong files, sending World Press Photo versions of images that had been intended for gallery shows rather than for journalistic purposes"

(Laurent 2016). This practice of distinction suggests photographers identify with both the arts and the journalism world.

Indeed, as far back as in the 1970s photojournalism depended on cultural institutions in both fields. "The legitimation of the medium hinged in particular on acceptance or rejection of press images by museums" (Gervais and Morel 2017, 354), and although fiercely discussed for decades, eventually the art world legitimised news photographers as *authors*, emphasising their "subjective involvement" (356), and institutionalising the photojournalist as producer of culture (for example studied in Hill and Schwartz 2015) and as artist.

Since the 1970s, photojournalistic codes of ethics formalised journalism values, including the notion of objectivity, leading to a stronger position within journalism (Lester 2015). More recently, Nilsson (2017) found that photojournalists at a Swedish national newspaper participate in assessing images suitable for publication based on news and story value – a gatekeeping role previously reserved for the photo-editor. Štefaniková and Láb (2017, 20) confirm photojournalist's increased responsibility for editorial processes of "selecting, editing, describing, keywording, and captioning." Both studies suggest photojournalists feature in the ranks of "real" journalists, albeit mostly contracted as freelancers.

Photojournalism's vulnerable position during the economic crisis in journalism may be one explanation for why news photographers kept a foot in both camps. Klein-Avraham and Reich (2016, 440) argue that shrinking newsrooms downplayed the artistic merits and "creative and interpretative nature" of news photos – despite the rise of visual culture and screens as the dominant form of news consumption. Digitisation ushered in a discourse of photography as "a job that anyone can do", leading to many photojournalists and departments to be laid off. Indeed, journalism as a whole can increasingly be seen as a modern precariat (e.g., Cohen 2015; Goyanes and Rodríguez-Gómez 2018; Von Rimscha 2015). It could therefore also be plausible that newsroom shrinkage forces new interdisciplinary collaboration, giving rise to new "project ecologies" (Grabher 2002) where teams of reporters, designers and photographers collaborate, leading to improved mutual understanding. Already, de-professionalisation of photographic news coverage (Allan 2017; Anden-Papadopoulos and Pantti 2013), and ubiquitous photography (Hand 2012), seem to have spurred professional concerns regarding the quality of the visual news product, and new shared quality control discourses between editors, photo-editors and photojournalists (Nilsson 2017; Štefaniková and Láb 2017). In that light, despite its vulnerability, photojournalism over the last five decades has grown professionally through normative bodies such as the National Press Photographers Association of the United States (NPPA), World Press Photo, and local and national news media's codes of photojournalism ethics (Lester 2015; Newton 2008).

At the same time, creating a mutual enemy in citizen journalism by dismissing those contributions as mere eye-witnesses, or "accidental photojournalism" (Allan 2015) may do injustice to the richness of citizen (photo)journalism, which, as Vobič and Tomanić Trivundža (2015) bring to mind, can be seen as continuation of journalistic ideals. Debates over what counts as photojournalism in the arts domain (whether or not photos should be regarded as art, when not exclusively created as such (Gervais and Morel 2017)) and in the journalism domain (whether or not the photos are created conform standards of truthfulness, objectivity and fairness (Lester 2015)) – may be vividly continued with the rise of citizen journalism as a new purveyor of culturally relevant and newsworthy

photos. The question remains if photojournalists will self-identify as press reporters and prime "authors" of newsworthy iconic and symbolic images now "the prestigious, elite, artistic public image of the photographer is wearing off" (Štefaniková and Láb 2017, 20), and amidst the deluge of visual news coverage.

Disruptive changes and a history of being denounced, disembodied and deflated (Zelizer 1995), led to an aggregation of self-regulatory mechanisms that might have granted photojournalism a crucial role in the defences of journalism's ideological bulwark; but also might have partly led to photojournalism upholding two (opposing) discourses of being at the same time a subjective author, for the art world, and an objective eyewitness, for journalism.

The case of photojournalism illustrates *that* value-driven debates on arts and journalism have a place in the profession(s), articulating positions that are at once mutually reinforcing as well as – at times – oppositional, indicating on-going negotiation and cross-fertilisation. Although not elaborated here, such debates also invigorate other journalism genres, for example documentary making (Rabiger 2001), news graphic design (Cairo 2017), comics journalism (Plank 2014), and painting (Embury and Minichiello 2018). A relevant question could be if and how such in-genre developed knowledge transfers to other genres or mainstream journalism.

In sum, aesthetic values and journalistic values should not per se be perceived as dichotomies, but can be approached as extremes on the same spectrum, with on the one side a "facts are sacred" discourse and on the other far side a purist "art pour l'art" discourse.

Artistic Journalism as Practice

In this section, I propose a continuum, allowing for "artistic journalism" as a deliberate set of practices (as well as a distinct object of study), moving – as individual points in a variety of shades and tones – between the romantic ideals of the absolute journalist and the pure artist, between fact-driven and affect-driven extremes, and between "matter-of-fact" and "art pour l' art" values.

Lewis and Zamith (2017) compare the contemporary praxis and arrangement of journalism to Becker's (2008) *Art Worlds*, appertaining a social construct of how journalists can be seen at the centre of a network of practitioners and organisations, within which they determine a product or service to be "journalism", just like the role of an artist decides if a product is "art" in the context of a network of social actors, labour activities, material infrastructures, and patterns of production. Journalism was once confined to newsrooms, but today, "post-industrial" journalism can be found everywhere (Anderson, Bell, and Shirky 2015). The practice is seen as "liquid" (Deuze 2008), and with no end to it, Deuze and Witschge (2018, 177), envision "a profession in a permanent process of becoming." As such, practitioners, scholars and the public are no longer "inclined to define journalism in terms of limited newsroom conceptions and thus jettison any considerations of journalism's poetic or its ambitious forms" (Adam 2006, 345). Although Witschge and Harbers (2018, 107) object to any *a priori* definitions, arguing these are incapable of conceptualising journalism's "myriad of practices, understandings and forms of output", it is precisely this abundance that inspires me to propose an arts and journalism continuum in an attempt to structure and understand the variety.

As argued, journalism historically has grown to disparage arts in ideological terms and at the same time acknowledged and increasingly has embraced artistic forms and values. The news industry – and scholars – dealt with this discrepancy by distinguishing mainstream journalism from adjunct (Burton 2005; Zelizer 1995), complementary (Blanding 2016) and, at a normative level, opposing (Chalaby 1996; Underwood 2013) artistic practices. Disputing "artistic as alien" discourses, in what follows an arts and journalism continuum is proposed to observe artistic journalism as constituent of journalism. Such a continuum could serve as a framework for studying conflux in praxis and invigorate cross-disciplinary vocabulary bridge-building, and, as detailed below, an inclusiveness towards alternatively shaped news work could also add a non-Westernised perspective to the journalism field.

Vos (2018) proposes to include a form in defining journalism. In a continuum form needs to be an undefined variable, open to any possible future storytelling format featuring sensory stimuli (olfactory, tangible, taste), a direction, for example, augmented reality is heading in (Papagiannis 2017). Artistic journalism, thus, comes in any possible sensory form, subject to deliberate professional – meaning aesthetic – consideration.

Journalism in non-democratic contexts cannot always be easily studied. As art sometimes replaces journalism to circumvent censorship in non-democratic countries (Henneman 2006; Mano 2007; Mpofu 2017; Nenjerama and Sibanda 2019), this would strengthen a case for (re-)evaluating such artistic news work in de-westernised and internationalised (Wasserman and de Beer 2009) contexts. McNair (2018) remarks that authoritarian regimes in the post-digital world face more difficulties in controlling the supply of news. The roots of this new "chaotic communication environment" (151) might be traced back to a long tradition of censor-circumventing artistic journalistic undercurrents – consider for example the work of artists under Apartheid in South Africa and various dictatorships in Latin America – which are merely amplified through the possibilities digital media offer today (such as the work of writers, poets and other storytellers to digitally document contemporary protests and revolutions in Syria, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Bolivia and Hong Kong). In other words, artists play a constitutive role in news production and distribution, especially if traditional journalism as it appears in newspapers or in broadcast news programmes is either non-existent, too dangerous, or heavily censored. An arts and journalism continuum should be inclusive to an appreciation of such forms and practices of artistic journalism under pressure.

Shapiro (2014, 561) proposes an inclusive definition of journalism in democratic contexts: "Journalism comprises the activities involved in an independent pursuit of accurate information about current or recent events and its original presentation for public edification." Edification traditionally refers to moral and intellectual improvement. Therefore, following Shapiro and the earlier observations about a confluence of forms and values, an arts and journalism continuum comprises practices involved in an independent pursuit of accurate information about current or recent events and its original and deliberate aesthetic presentation in any sensory form, for public edification and emotional resonance.

Conclusion

Journalism and art are not just contemporary bedfellows – these fields share more than what has kept their beds apart. Rather than alluding to a more or less contemporary "artistic turn",

my evaluation of journalism as artistic practice takes journalism back to its roots. A continuous conflux of artistic genres, realised through painting, graphic design, poetry, literature, photography, film, gaming, comics, theatre, architecture, music and dance, suggest arts have always been part of news work. The abundance of productions and services appreciated (and awarded) as both artistic and journalistic, further indicate that artistic labour and output should be considered as partly constitutive of today's news industry. Furthermore, the plethora of platforms through which journalistic output and activities get produced and distributed require a more holistic approach to journalism as it gets articulated to other communities of practice – in our case: the arts. Finally, the increasingly precarious, fragmented and projectised organisation of news work mirrors the wide range of social actors, labour activities, material infrastructures and patterns of production in the art world.

Approaching news work as both artistic and journalistic extends the field of what journalism studies and education could include, with additional potential for evaluating news work as artistic practice in an inclusive and partly de-westernised context, and more specifically in countries where what counts as "journalism" is either censored or state-controlled. In such circumstances, the arts for long have played a part in the distribution of news as information of public record.

An arts and journalism continuum is proposed to move forward vocabulary bridge-building beyond the binary. On this continuum, news forms can be pinpointed between the extremes of a matter-of-fact, plain style news brief and a multi-sensory stimulating art experience, between verifiable evidence (facts) and heartfelt engagement (affect), evoking various degrees of (emotional) response towards coexisting factual and felt truths.

On this continuum the extremes of normative discourses – within genres as disparate as narrative journalism, documentary making, photojournalism and news graphic design – move between factual and felt truths; between the "facts are sacred" discourse of the non-existent journalist who as a distant observer reports "nothing but the facts", and the "art pour l'art" discourse of the non-existing artist to whom counts nothing but the intrinsic value of arts.

Drawing on Shapiro (2014), the arts and journalism continuum comprises those practices involved in an independent pursuit of accurate information about current or recent events and its original and deliberate aesthetic presentation in any sensory form, for public edification and emotional resonance.

What this approach, in conclusion, does for journalism studies and education is to not per se challenge journalisms' perpetually recalibrated definition, but to enable articulating it with a field and community of practice with which it has always shared allegiances, and in doing so hopefully offer new ways of moving forward to regain a prominent position as a profession to which we can turn in order to find stories with impact, work that matters, and professionals who take pride in their craft.

Notes

1. The first author and the second author share all views articulated in this article. For consistency, we use the first-person pronoun, as the first author conducted the primary research for this paper and wrote the first drafts. The second author provided mentorship, edited and added to subsequent drafts.

2. Davies (2013) distinguishes artistic medium in the agential sense ("brushstroke", "dots"), and in the articulatory sense (the idea or object these brushstrokes and dots represent). Artistic medium-based categorisation can comprise either.

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