

Dissecting Social Media Journalism: A Comparative Study Across Platforms, Outlets and Countries

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ABSTRACT

News outlets increasingly position themselves on social media platforms with platform-bound content next to their regular media offerings. At the time of writing, scholarship on studying these novel types of news content remains limited in size and scope. Drawing on recent theoretical insights from the dislocation of news journalism and social media logics, we assess a dataset of Instagram and TikTok posts of public, private and digital-native news outlets from Belgium, Spain and the United Kingdom ($n = 458$). Contrary to previous findings, we conclude that news publishers tend to adapt their content to the specific technological affordances of social media networks and that news-related content prevails, signalling normalisation patterns for how news is produced for and diffused via both platforms.

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Introduction

From the 2010s onwards, the intertwining of social media platforms and journalism has inspired a vast body of scholarly literature on the clashing logics, affordances, and threats of social media and journalism (for an excellent literature review of studies published in this period, see Lewis and Molyneux 2018). Scholarship agrees that social media have contributed to the increased complexity of journalism as they are “multi-functional and applicable in all phases of news production and distribution” (Neuberger, Nuernbergk, and Langenohl 2019, 1260). Ekström and Westlund (2019) were among the first scholars to conceptualise the so-called dislocation of news journalism “in which news publishers have become dependent, to varying degrees, on platforms non-proprietary to themselves, provided by social media companies” (266). This framework is primarily focused on the gateway function of social media platforms such as Facebook, where specially trained social media editors are tasked with repackaging online news articles to “sell” them to audiences to heighten online traffic (Opgehaffen and Hendrickx 2023; Tsuriet et al. 2021).

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Until a few years ago, said dislocation was mostly limited to changing the online locations where people encounter news, with subsequent Digital News Reports concluding that social media platforms constitute the main portal for online news *retrieval* (Newman et al. 2023). With news *consumption* similarly increasingly dislocated, news brands and their overarching organisations invest resources in the *production* of novel news content types specifically created within and/or for the confined spaces of social media platforms such as Instagram and TikTok, which each have their own set of distinct logics, affordances and (tacit) rules (Hermida and Mellado 2020). This practice has been referred to as social (media) journalism (Adornato 2018; Hendrickx 2021). Scholarly attention for social media platforms as proper dissemination tools for uniquely created content is increasing (e.g., Al-Rawi, Al-Musalli, and Fakida 2021; Hase, Boczek, and Scharkow 2022; Negreira-Rey, Vázquez-Herrero, and López-García 2022; Vázquez-Herrero, Negreira-Rey, and López-García 2022). Building on the conceptual frameworks of Ekström and Westlund's (2019) and Hermida and Mellado (2020), we contribute to the rapidly expanding body of research with a study that compares social media journalism across specific platforms, countries and media outlets.

Exploring Existing Research

In the last decade, empirical research on the rise of social media platforms and their effects on journalism has emerged as a quintessential subsection of journalism studies, predominantly following the rapid emergence of Facebook (Hermida 2012; Hille and Bakker 2013) and Twitter (Ahmad 2010; Hermida 2013). Initial studies explored the implications of adopting social media platforms in the various stages of news journalism from journalists' or news consumers' perspective as social media were, briefly, heralded as the saviours of journalism amidst the global recession of the late 2000s (Lewis and Molyneux 2018, 13).

Gradually, other platforms emerged and were picked up by media users, news media and journalists and, eventually, academics. These predominantly include Instagram (Hendrickx 2021; Maeres and Hanusch 2020; Vázquez-Herrero, Direito-Rebollal, and López-García 2019) and TikTok (Negreira-Rey, Vázquez-Herrero, and López-García 2022; Vázquez-Herrero, Negreira-Rey, and López-García 2022). The general findings of the latter studies highlight the slow but steady embeddedness of these platforms in the production flow of several legacy news organisations and the myriad of roles journalists can fulfil—and how they risk being at odds. At the time of writing, scholarship on these two platforms remains narrow in size and scope, particularly when it comes to a comparative angle. Each social media platform has its own unique contingencies, characteristics and constraints which pose additional questions and challenges for media users, practitioners, regulators and scholars alike rendering comparisons difficult (Hendrickx 2023), but at the same time vital to enhance the understanding of the cross-platform dynamics of the various social media platforms that citizens use for news consumption today.

Hence, it is noteworthy that Instagram and TikTok have emerged as the social media platforms with the most dominant focus on audiovisual content with an increasing pivot to video content, particularly on TikTok which is video-only and only allows uploads up to three minutes in length. This means that unlike Facebook and Twitter, which continue to lend themselves to predominantly act as gateway platforms to news

outlets' own content at their website or mobile apps (Oppenhaffen and Hendrickx 2023; Tsuriel et al. 2021), Instagram and TikTok rely on content that tends to be specifically created for consumption within the framework of the platforms' unique specificities (Bossio 2021; Hautea et al. 2021). Next to regular posts, Instagram has other features like Stories, posts that disappear after 24 h which have also been applied to journalism studies (Vázquez-Herrero, Direito-Rebollal, and López-García 2019), and Reels, introduced in 2020 as a direct short-video competitor for TikTok. Other Instagram functions include Highlights, which allows saving Stories from disappearing, and Guides, intended to group posts on similar topics. TikTok, meanwhile, became an overnight success following its global launch in 2018 after merging with Musically because of its intuitive "For You" page and a black-box algorithm that has been the topic of debate and critique from relevant scholarship (Harriger et al. 2022). Both platforms also allow to send direct messages (DMs) between users; this feature has been acknowledged as an important source for creators of social media journalism to gain awareness of what goes on among target audiences and have thus become a news source of their own (Hendrickx 2021).

Theoretical Framework

The Dislocation of News Journalism

Conceptually, we position the rise of social media platforms such as Instagram and TikTok as platforms for news production, dissemination and consumption within the dislocation of news journalism framework elaborated by Ekström and Westlund (2019). The authors define their framework as "a series of parallel developments regarding shifting power dependencies between the news media and platform companies" and go on to delineate a platform as "a digital infrastructure with affordances offering diverse kinds of information and communication, as well as opportunities to produce, publish and engage with content" (259). They explicitly discuss epistemological questions related to the noted increasing dependency of news organisations on these non-proprietary social media platforms to achieve their goals in terms of reaching increasingly agentic (young) audiences (Hendrickx 2022). These power relationships are discussed in more detail in the contribution of Broersma and Eldridge (2019), who note that social media platforms go through normalisation processes amongst audiences and journalists alike, only heightening said dependency. This is echoed in various studies that look into the role perception of journalists on platforms such as Instagram and TikTok, which confirm that so-called "traditional journalistic occupational ideologies" are largely upheld or at this is at least actively desired (Maeres and Hanusch 2020, 262; Negreira-Rey, Vázquez-Herrero, and López-García 2022).

Building on Ekström and Westlund (2019), we distinguish three distinct types of dislocation: the dislocation of news *retrieval*, *consumption* and *production*. The first two are overtly related to the dislocation of audiences whereas the third one is applicable to the dislocation of journalists' work, and thus the type closest aligned with our own empirical work. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the dislocation of news production is the result of audiences becoming more agentic (Hendrickx 2022; Picone et al. 2019) and moving to social media platforms for media and news consumption. We do not claim that this typology of dislocations is all-encompassing, as platforms and their affordances and possibilities

routinely change for better or for worse. Nevertheless, we argue that it can serve as a fruitful foundation for more conceptual work on the wider shift towards digital platforms from the perspective of audiences and content creators (in our case journalists) alike.

As everyday media consumption has gradually become more technological, interactive, haptic (focusing on the sense of touch, notably on smartphones) and emotional (Costera Meijer 2019), news consumption has followed suit. The 2023 Digital News Report was the latest to confirm that news *retrieval*, or the information gathering process of news, has largely shifted to online, ranking as the main source of news in nearly all 46 assessed markets; in similar vein, social media have dethroned news outlets' own websites and mobile apps as the number one gateway to online news *consumption* (Newman et al. 2023, 11), or the use of news, which also continues to shift towards third-party social media platforms rather than traditional carriers such as newspapers, linear broadcasts, websites or apps. The relationship between information retrieval and consumption was studied by Schmitt, Debbelt, and Schneider (2018). Through an online survey, the authors concluded that "younger people with less information-seeking self-efficacy were more susceptible to experience [information overload]" (1151). Mobile news app push notifications and the search function at news websites using specific keywords constitute two of the main information retrieval strategies that imply information overload, even though they were designed to enhance news consumption (1161). These findings demarcate news *retrieval*, which involves actions and strategies from the media user, and news *consumption*, which can be the outcome of retrieval but can also be more passive and circumstantial.

Third and finally, we distinguish the dislocation of news *production*, or the creation processes of news. Arguably, the power of social media platforms becomes most apparent here as content creators, including journalists, increasingly create content for dissemination via social media directly, thus within the platforms themselves. Unlike content management systems for newspapers and websites and editing software for audiovisual content, Instagram and TikTok boast a wide array of options for producing content directly in their mobile app. The acknowledged interactive and emotional turn in journalism (Costera Meijer 2019) has led curators of Instagram news channels to closely monitor comments underneath posts and direct messages to directly engage with audiences and to use their questions and input as sources for reporting, effectively letting users set the news production agenda (Hendrickx 2021). Following the same trend, Vázquez-Herrero, Negreira-Rey, and López-García (2022) operationalised a content analysis of 19 news and information programmes across 234 TikTok accounts to conclude that informing audiences and positioning their own legacy brand constitute the main reasons for engaging with the platform through investing resources and manpower. A 2022 report by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism found, among other things, that social media influencers, activists and bloggers constitute the main generators of news on TikTok even though legacy news organisations are trailing them (Newman 2022). The report also concludes that outlets' activity on TikTok is still in the experimental phase and that there is no unified approach, with some publishers focusing on young content creators "who are native to the platform and its unique language" and others only "making minimal changes to existing tone or content" from other platforms (4).

To bolster academic knowledge and debate on how the dislocation of news journalism continues to exacerbate, we consider the dislocation of news *production* as the logical

consequence of that of news *retrieval* and *consumption* from the vantage point of news organisations trying to bank on the “fast-growing audience and younger demographic” typical of social media platforms (Newman 2022, 4). From this understanding, we seek to investigate the dislocation of news *production* through a content analysis of Instagram and TikTok news posts.

The Logics of Social Media Journalism

As the dislocation in news journalism has manifested in how “social media have managed to secure control of news content and revenue” (Broersma and Eldridge 2019, 195), this exacerbates the already on-going blurring and hybrid combinations between various types of media content, impartiality and opinionated journalism and marketing (Lewis and Molyneux 2018). In labelling these as hybrid, and to avoid using the term as a catch-all phrase, our use of it mostly resonates with “the multiplication of actors and genres involved in the production of news and the blurring of boundaries among them” as well as with journalistic culture and role performance, as two of the three key uses of the use of hybridity in journalism studies as outlined by Hallin, Mellado, and Mancini (2023, 222). Thus, we hold the view that the *physical* dislocation of news journalism from traditional platforms to social media platforms owned externally contributes to the *epistemological* dislocation of what news journalism normatively is and/or should be (Ekström and Westlund 2019). The idea of social media or network logics has in recent years routinely been used to describe the phenomenon whereby the creation, diffusion and consumption of (news) media is profoundly altered as a direct consequence of the disparate characteristics, contingencies and constraints of platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and more recently TikTok (Hermida and Mellado 2020; van Dijck and Poell 2013).

In itself, this approach is not intrinsically linked to the social media era; mass media logic has been altered by innovation and new carriers and techniques since its inception, with constant considerations to retrieve the ideal way to present content bound to the features and affordances of each media platform (Meyen, Thieroff, and Strenger 2014). Various academic accounts outline practices of boundary work by professional journalists, whereby they wish to differentiate themselves from all external factors deemed potentially harmful to their trade, ranging from audience analytics (Belair-Gagnon and Holton 2018) to effects of media ownership consolidation (Hendrickx and Picone 2020). When applied to the rise of social (media) journalism, Tsurriel et al. (2021) have argued how social media platforms contribute to the further blurring of existing boundaries and “how editors’ every day routines are a result of negotiation between logics, creating hybrid media organisations” (1983).

The dislocation of news journalism and the blurring of existing normative journalistic boundaries are further constrained by each platform’s specific affordances. (For a structured literature review on the use of affordance theory in social media research, see Ronzhyn, Cardenal, and Batlle Rubio 2022). We follow Hase, Boczek, and Scharrow (2022) who investigated the platformization of news across the “Big Four” platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and TikTok) and website articles for a host of legacy German news titles. The authors, using a multi-modal analysis with both computational and manual components, ultimately denote “little evidence for news being adjusted in

line with platform logics, at least on the level of journalistic content” (16). We position their argument that “affordances inform specific logics [...] through which platforms process and present communication” (3) within legacy news organisations’ rapidly increasing dependency on third-party social media networks for the diffusion and consumption of their news content (Broersma and Eldridge 2019). In doing so, we argue that they adhere almost by necessity to these networks’ unique affordances and constraints and contribute to the *physical* and *epistemological* dislocation of news journalism.

As we study the effects of social media logic on the dislocation of news production, we present the final major influence on our theoretical and methodological frameworks: the classification of five analytical dimensions to study journalistic practices, rules and content on social media elaborated by Hermida and Mellado (2020). Building on the authoritative framework of social media logics by van Dijck and Poell (2013), the former authors propose five key components focusing on Instagram and Twitter. We outline their five dimensions below:

- Structure and design, operationalised through extensively outlining the distinct technological affordances of Instagram and Twitter for the production and subsequent dissemination of social media-bound news content.
- Aesthetics, relating to “the verbal and visual style of these [social media] spaces, operating within the confines of their structure and design” (Hermida and Mellado 2020, 879).
- Genre conventions associated with each social media platform, whereby the authors acknowledge that these are not mutually exclusive and hybrid in nature (872).
- Rhetorical strategies, whereby the authors note that “[s]ituational exigencies shape rhetorical strategies to reach and connect with audiences” (875) and that, based on this, Instagram favours the visual aspect in posts as opposed to text. (Building on this, we extend rhetorical strategy to TikTok, which is video-driven, in Table 1.)
- Interaction and intentionality, which together focus on ways for publishers and users to connect in the realm of social media platforms.

Further down, in Table 1, we elaborate Hermida & Mellado’s framework applicable for Twitter and Instagram by also applying the framework to the realm of TikTok using concrete examples from our dataset, bolstering our contribution to the state-of-the-art. In their paper, Hermida and Mellado themselves acknowledge that the elements of their typology are “shared and not static, with aspects emerging across platforms” and “overlap in practice” (2020, 867), which we urge the reader to bear in mind as we operationalise our own content analysis and expand their framework by looking at Instagram and TikTok.

Remembering the acknowledged dislocation of news journalism towards social media platforms with their own distinct logics and the fact that Instagram and TikTok constitute the two fastest-rising platforms for the retrieval, consumption, and production of novel types of news content, we set out to study news content shared on shared platforms by several media organisations to gauge the extent to which they follow said logics.

Table 1. Analytical dimensions of social media logics (definitions and Instagram examples derived from Hermida and Mellado 2020, 880; TikTok examples and all screenshots own elaboration by the authors).

Dimension	Definition	Instagram examples	TikTok examples
Structure and Design	"The technological affordances of platforms that serve to shape content"	Primarily mobile-only experience Use of regular posts and ephemeral stories Personalised timeline	Primarily mobile-only experience Focus on short videos only #foryou page Distinct algorithmic recommendations
Aesthetics	"The verbal and visual style of platforms"	Combination of pictures and videos Use of filters Use of shared posts	Videos, easily editable and customisable with sounds and overlays
Genre Conventions	"A set of shared norms and expectations related to the production and interpretation of meaning"	Stylized, crafted representations of the self	Focus on content (entertaining, informative, ...) rather than representations of the self Focus on sounds and (viral) challenges
Rhetorical Strategies	"The use of discourse to address a need or problem"	Casual, professional, and designed pictures and videos, focusing on the self Use of the heart-shaped icon to signal approval of a post or story (like) Commenting and reposting posts	Snappy editing, overtly and deliberately appearing as not professional while being so Swiping to the next video indicating dissatisfaction with the current content
Interaction and Intentionality	"The means to interact with others and signal intent"		

Hence, our main research question is: ***To what extent do news outlets adhere to social media logic on Instagram and TikTok?***

Methodological Framework

Sample

We answer our research question by analysing Instagram and TikTok news posts published by an international variety of news outlets. Instagram and TikTok were selected as the two fastest growing platforms for social media news retrieval and consumption (Newman et al. 2023) as well as the platforms with, at the time of writing, most scholarly interest and debate (e.g., Al-Rawi, Al-Musalli, and Fakida 2021; Hendrickx 2021; Maeres and Hanusch 2020; Vázquez-Herrero, Negreira-Rey, and López-García 2022). For the selection of countries, we followed the influential systematic classification of media systems of Hallin and Mancini (2004), also taking into account the later update by Brüggemann et al. (2014). After careful consideration, we selected three diverse countries: Belgium (belonging to the North/Central European or the Democratic Corporatist model), Spain (positioned in the Mediterranean or Polarised Pluralist Model) and the United Kingdom (found in the North Atlantic or Liberal Model). In order to achieve a comparable sample, we included public service and legacy print media from all countries as a representation of the most consolidated outlets within the media ecosystem. For reasons

Table 2. Sample ($n = 458$).

		Instagram	TikTok	Total
Belgium		118	18	136
Legacy print media	Het Laatste Nieuws	30	6	36
Public service media	VRT ^a	30	6	36
Regional newspaper	Het Belang van Limburg	58	6	64
Spain		149	49	198
Legacy print media	El Mundo	47	15	62
Public service media	RTVE	68	27	95
Digital native media	eDiario.es	34	7	41
United Kingdom		94	30	124
Legacy print media	Daily Mail	12	14	26
Public service media	BBC	61	8	69
Alternative TV channel	GB News	21	8	29
Total		361	97	458

^aVRT has several news-related accounts on Instagram. We selected the one with the highest number of followers, this being geared towards informing 13- to 17-year-olds. On TikTok, the Belgian public broadcaster was at the time of our analysis only active with its youth television brand, geared towards 9- to 12-year-olds.

of diversity, we then added a news outlet of a different nature for each country: a Belgian regional newspaper, a Spanish digital native medium and a British alternative TV channel. The different outlets were selected because of their unprecedented growth in attracting audiences across both Instagram and TikTok, which already eliminated a number of other legacy and digital native titles which tended to be only active on one of the two social media platforms at the time of our sampling. Our selection of cases (Table 2) is based on the above criteria and their presence among the news titles with the highest weekly online reach, according to the 2022 and 2023 Digital News Report (Newman et al. 2022, 2023).

To establish an analysis sample from the data collection, conducted from 1 to 30 June 2022 ($N = 1944$), we opted for a constructed week within this month (Hester and Dougall 2007) with which we obtained a sample $n = 458$ (see also Table 2 as well as Table A1 in the Appendices for a more detailed overview) of posts on Instagram and videos on TikTok. The authors then manually collected all posts directly from the channels of the respective accounts by collecting URLs and screenshots. Ephemeral formats, such as Instagram Stories or Reels, were discarded as we rather focused on the main way of publishing content on either platform for comparison's sake, and as not all outlets in our sample used Stories and/or Reels at the time of our analysis. This sample was manually coded through a spreadsheet using a codebook (see next section).

Analysis Variables

As said, we drew inspiration from the classification of the plurality in types of journalistic values and norms on social media developed by Hermida and Mellado (2020). While the authors devised their typology for Instagram and Twitter, we extrapolate it to TikTok as we study the outlets' activity on Instagram and TikTok. We offer quantitative and qualitative insights through the analysis sheet in Table 3, following previous proposals applied to the study of social media journalism on these platforms (Hendrickx 2021; Vázquez-Herrero, Direito-Rebollal, and López-García 2019, 2022). The first section (structure and design) is addressed through a qualitative textual description of the main features of the platforms and their affordances, while the analysis of the sample of posts allows us

Table 3. Analysis sheet, description of each variable, type of data, coding technique, and intercoder reliability (α).

Variables	
Structure and Design (at profile level)	<p>Technological affordances of the platform—Qualitative (textual description)</p> <p>User identification and profile data (user name, bio, tag, verified, posts, followers, likes)—Mixed (data collection)</p>
Aesthetics (at publication level)	<p>Categorization of post (image, animated image, video, gallery)—Quantitative (0/1 coding)—$\alpha = 1.0$</p> <p>Visual elements (filters and in-app edition like stickers, transitions, split, chroma, time manipulation; elements added like GIF, emojis, text, poll)—Quantitative (0/1 coding)—$\alpha \geq 0.923$</p> <p>Audio elements (voice, music, ambient, effects; original or reused sound)—Quantitative (0/1 coding)—$\alpha \geq 0.907$</p> <p>Content produced explicitly with off-platform software—Quantitative (0/1 coding)—$\alpha = 1.0$</p>
Genre conventions (at publication level)	<p>Typology of journalistic contents (in terms of format, content, brand positioning and engagement)—Qualitative (inductive coding and classification)</p>
Rhetorical Strategies (at publication level)	<p>Purpose —Quantitative (inductive coding and classification)—$\alpha = 0.778$</p> <p>Purpose (simplified): information; funny, silly and anecdotal things; promotion; other—Quantitative (recoding)—$\alpha = 1.0$</p> <p>Topic —Qualitative (thematic analysis, inductive coding)</p> <p>Replication in both platforms—Quantitative (0/1 coding)—$\alpha = 1.0$</p> <p>Time reference—Qualitative (textual description)</p> <p>Brand (visible presence of journalist, corporate brand)—Quantitative (0/1 coding)—$\alpha = 1.0$</p>
Interaction and intentionality (at publication level)	<p>Engagement (likes/hearts, shares, comments, duets, lip-syncs)—Quantitative (data collection)</p> <p>Tagging (used hashtags, challenge or branded hashtag, hashtag with highest engagement)—Qualitative (data collection)</p> <p>Mentions —Quantitative (0/1 coding)—$\alpha = 1.0$</p> <p>Call-to-participation —Quantitative (0/1 coding)—$\alpha = 1.0$</p> <p>Creation and co-creation (original or adapted content, original channel or support, user-generated content)—Quantitative (0/1 coding)—$\alpha \geq 0.874$</p>

to answer the sections on aesthetics, rhetorical strategies, interaction and intentionality, and genre conventions. Most of these variables were coded quantitatively through formal content analysis, mostly using binary parameters (0/1), such as the overt absence or presence of a video or emoji. A qualitative outlook is needed for categories such as purpose, topic or type of content, due to the inferred interpretation, as well as the acknowledged hybrid nature of genres (Hallin, Mellado, and Mancini 2023) and the striking similarities and differences across platforms which limit possibilities for taking a quantitative approach. Both authors analysed the data and the value of the intercoder reliability test for 35 cases (7.6% randomly selected from the sample)—Krippendorff's alpha (α)—was over 0.778 for all the variables which were quantitatively coded and analysed (Table 3), except for “time reference” which was finally discarded as a quantitative variable ($\alpha = 0.468$).

Analysis

Structure and Design

As indicated in our analysis sheet (Table 3), this dimension of Hermida and Mellado's (2020) framework was mainly coded qualitatively by the authors. When applying their approach to our data set of Instagram and TikTok channels and their respective posts, we are of course immediately confronted with a number of technical affordances that have been discussed in the theoretical framework, including the focus on mobile consumption, the use of Stories and/or Reels on Instagram and the video-only nature of TikTok (Table 1). A more exhaustive overview is added as Tables A2 and A3 in the annexes of this manuscript for the sake of readability.

On Instagram, platform-centric features such as Stories and Reels were found to be used by all nine different outlets at the time of our analysis. Highlights and Guides were only used by a minority of outlets. All allow people to send Direct Messages (DMs) to comment on news and ask questions. On TikTok, all but one account used the Playlist function, similar to Instagram's Guides. Most titles linked to their respective news website whereas additionally four also linked to their respective YouTube channels. Interestingly, the means of contacting news outlets directly were more limited on TikTok, with six accounts offering people the opportunity to send messages via the Q&A function, similar to Instagram's DMs, and just three—all Belgian—displaying an email address to get in touch alternatively. Across both platforms, we find that nearly all brands describe themselves as offering news and journalistic content in their bios, with the only exception being the British TV channel GB News which instead lists information on where to find the channel across television providers. Notably, the Spanish newspaper El Mundo on TikTok uses as a subheading “Somos un periódico”, which translates to English as “We're a newspaper” and is clearly intended to inform its audiences of its original platform and origin.

Aesthetics

Contrary to the findings of Hase, Boczek, and Scharkow (2022), we found that news outlets readily adapt their content to the specific affordances and functionalities of TikTok predominantly and, to a lesser extent, Instagram. Video transitions, using a chroma key

Table 4. Visual affordances used by news outlets on Instagram and TikTok.

	Instagram		TikTok	
Visual filters	45	12.5%	5	5.2%
Stickers (filter)	2	0.6%	1	1.0%
Transition	42	11.6%	40	41.2%
Split	7	1.9%	6	6.2%
Chroma	4	1.1%	25	25.8%
Time manipulation	1	0.3%	2	2.1%
Stickers and GIF	22	6.1%	29	29.9%
Emojis	11	3.0%	18	18.6%
Text (including non-native)	319	88.4%	85	87.6%
Content produced explicitly with off-platform software	186	51.5%	27	27.8%
Poll	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

background, stickers, GIFs and emoji were, percentage-wise, much more common in TikToks. On-screen text was used in nearly all Instagram and TikTok posts. When breaking down the general findings as shown in Table 4, we note that the external edition, content produced explicitly with off-platform software (Vázquez-Herrero, Negreira-Rey, and López-García 2022), and transitions were used predominantly by public broadcasters on both platforms, with legacy print media more acquainted with visual filters and chroma.

When considering sound, the voice of a journalist explaining the news was much more common on TikTok (88.7%) than on Instagram (67.0%). Perhaps surprisingly, the TikTok videos (48.5%) in our sample were slightly less likely to containing music than their Instagram counterparts (52.0%), with similar structures across outlets and particularly Spanish *elDiario.es* and British GB News prioritising spoken statements over using music to enhance their video output. Roughly two thirds of all TikTok videos (66.0%) used original audio, indicating that the video was not clearly created within the platform itself or that an existing trending song had been reused. Spanish and Belgian newspapers *El Mundo* and *HLN* tagged nearly all their songs used, clearly making use of this feature for content circulation across the platform. Despite this, only a total of 6 TikToks in our sample used lip-syncs or reaction videos, or *duets* as they are called in the TikTok sphere.

While TikTok is video-only, Instagram users can post photos, videos or a combination thereof in one post. In fact, 112 or 31.0% of all Instagram posts constituted galleries, with the majority only using collections of pictures, with combinations of post types only seldom used. Despite clear evidence that Instagram is increasingly pivoting to prioritising video content on its platform in users' personalised timelines, we found that posts solely containing videos accounted for 100 of the 361 Instagram posts in our sample (27.8%) with the majority being a regular post of images, primarily ($n = 228$, 63.2%). The other remaining 33 posts, accounting for 9.1% of our total data set, relate to *animation* posts—all posted by the Spanish public broadcaster RTVE, using a brief video (5'') with an animated headline. This particular type of post accounted for nearly half of all RTVE's news posts in our sample.

Legacy print titles published more video posts on Instagram than public media (40.5 vs 25.2% of their total share of Instagram posts respectively). Videos on Instagram had a considerably longer average length than their counterparts on TikTok (64 vs 46 s), with public service media again being the largest outlier (82 vs 45 s). GB News was the only outlet in our sample with shorter Instagram than TikTok videos (69 vs 74 s). Table A4, included in the annexes, indicates that the average video view count was surprisingly similar for both

platforms but that large discrepancies hide behind these global averages. Two Spanish brands in particular overperformed on Instagram and the public broadcasters and the British Daily Mail accumulated considerably more views on TikTok. Two Belgian outlets in our sample did not publish videos to their Instagram channels during the time of our analysis, rendering comparisons impossible. The top three of the most viewed videos includes a TikTok published by BBC News on vaping, with over 4.6 million views, followed by a news intro on the war in Ukraine shared on the British broadcaster's Instagram channel with 2.4 million views, and third was an Instagram video by Spanish broadcaster RTVE about a visit by US president Biden to a NATO summit held in Madrid, with 1.2 million views. No other videos on either platform surpassed the one million-mark in terms of views.

Genre Conventions

We distinguish news *formats* and *content* in discussing the overall genre conventions of news posts on Instagram and TikTok. For both, we denote considerable overlap with the breadth of diverse formats and types of content found in traditional media. Format-wise, Instagram leans more towards featuring news headlines, presented in pictures with quotes and/or short videos and in many cases several paragraphs of text in the post's description with more contextualisation. There is also a focus on news updates and breaking news, much in line with television and online banners. However, we also found that the news outlets in our sample readily used the visual affordance of sharing galleries of several pictures from certain events or interviews, and a few newspaper brands used cartoons and comics, as they would also be published in print. On TikTok we saw more space for news introductions, explainers and summaries outlining the headlines of the past day or week. This is aided by the visual presence of on-screen, young and often female journalists who, frequently against a chroma key background, explain current affairs in a style that is much more informal and relaxed than traditional TV news broadcasts.

Content-wise, we are again confronted with a great variety of types of content. We note the presence of *news evidence*, a picture or video that is the news itself and functions as proof that something has become news and relevant for news outlets, for example, a statement from a politician or the recording of an accident. We distinguish news about celebrities, animals, politics, lifestyle, health, sports and the weather, again enveloping the host of content types present in more traditional news carriers. We also observe a focus on service journalism, with tips and lessons on, for instance, (not) texting while driving, studying during exam periods, and staying cool during a heatwave, as well as fact-checking posts to combat disinformation on social media and "light" news that is random and funny, with one Belgian example being a gallery of Instagram pictures devoted to the pets with the highest numbers of followers on TikTok. This also confirms the hybridity and flow of information between our two assessed social media platforms. TikTok also features more "behind the scenes" content of how posts are produced and self-promotion for the news brand itself or other brands of the same media group.

Rhetorical Strategies

In analysing the relationship between exigencies and strategies, we sought to understand to what extent Instagram and TikTok posts from the news outlets of our sample actually

Table 5. Purpose of posts.

	Instagram		TikTok	
Funny, silly and anecdotal things	29	8.0%	5	5.2%
Information	316	87.5%	87	89.7%
Information—Ephemeris	5	1.4%	1	1.0%
Information—Interview	22	6.1%	4	4.1%
Information—Live	3	0.8%	0	0.0%
Information—News	234	64.8%	60	61.9%
Information—Programme fragment	1	0.3%	0	0.0%
Information—Public service	22	6.1%	8	8.3%
Information—Statement	19	5.3%	8	8.3%
Information—Summary	10	2.8%	6	6.2%
Other	10	2.8%	1	1.0%
Promotion	6	1.7%	4	4.1%
Promotion—Behind the cameras	3	0.8%	4	4.1%
Promotion—Brand	1	0.3%	0	0.0%
Promotion—News coverage announcement	2	0.6%	0	0.0%
Total	361	100%	97	100%

contribute to information reporting. Table 5 indicates that this has shifted considerably, with the overwhelming majority of posts in our dataset constituting information exchange and an overall majority focusing on news. Our results indicate that funny, silly and anecdotal things are more common on Instagram, with TikTok containing more promotion, as indicated in the previous, more qualitative section of our analysis.

In line with Hermida and Mellado (2020), we highlight the hashtag as a specific affordance and a distinct rhetorical device. Nearly each post of our dataset was accompanied with at least one hashtag added to its description. On average, TikTok videos had over two hashtags more than Instagram posts. It is clear that news outlets adhere to the hashtag affordance by also regularly using generic words which are relevant to the specific topic of reporting, ranging from #dog to #lgbt and #travel. On TikTok, the specific #foryou hashtag, indicated to spur videos onto users' personalised For You timeline, was in common usage with over 20,340 billion views for videos using this hashtag—also rendering its usage pointless precisely because of the sheer number of videos using it. On Instagram, more generic terms such as #moda (Spanish for “fashion”), #baby and #bts, the South Korean boyband, were the most popular in usage, with between 167 and 240 million views for posts containing these hashtags. Several outlets also used hashtags related to temporary trends on social media platforms at the time of publishing, again to seek more connection with popular and viral content at the time, although we did not find that this actually leads to more consumption in terms of views, likes and comments (see next section). Only 16 of the 458 posts (3.5%) mentioned another person or organisation and overt calls for action were also rather low (43 posts or 9.4% of our total *n*), and mostly due to the recurring practice of asking for people's opinions at the Spanish digital native outlet elDiario.es.

We also found that across Instagram and TikTok, about 15% of all posts in our sample feature an explicit time reference, related to breaking news or events currently happening, or by featuring a date in video posts. Repurposing content across platforms was particularly, and unsurprisingly, recurrent for the smaller outlets of our sample with their more limited resources. All TikTok videos in our sample (*n* = 21) published by British GB News, Spanish elDiario.es and Belgian HBvL were also uploaded to their Instagram accounts. There, virtually all posts (94.5%) featured the logo of their corresponding brand on the

(first picture of the) post, as opposed to TikTok (73.2%). On the other hand, just 5.8% of all Instagram posts featured an on-screen reporter explaining the news to users; for TikToks, the total was 53.6%, confirming our previous qualitative finding.

Interaction and Intentionality

Finally, we find that this dimension materialises through using hashtags, asking for input, and indicating approval or reacting to posts by using the ♥ icon on Instagram and TikTok, tagging one another with the @ icon, and/or linking to external pages, in the case of news outlets this is frequently their own websites. We find that tagging, mentions and explicit calls to participation from posts were extremely rare, with the occasional exception of the Belgian VRT outlet often asking its followers to ask questions or discuss the central topic of the post in the comments. Tables A5 and A6, added in the annexes, feature data on the likes and comments of the posts in our sample per (type of) platform. For TikTok, we also collected the number of shares. Both the average and median numbers of likes were surprisingly similar across both platforms, with TikToks boasting nearly 100 more comments on average per post. The BBC scored highest for average Instagram likes but its Belgian public media counterpart far surpasses all other outlets with its ratio of likes and followers, applicable to 8 December 2022. On TikTok, the also very high ratio for VRT's (similarly youth-oriented) news account was only surpassed by Belgium's legacy print outlet. The British brands score highest for average numbers of likes and comments across both platforms, unsurprisingly due to the country's greater population and the global outreach of English-language content.

Discussion and Conclusion

Social media journalism, or news content specifically created for social media consumption, is undoubtedly here to stay. For news publishers, it is a vital way to reach audiences they cannot attract with their traditional offerings as young people's general media usage continues to shift to social media platforms (Newman et al. 2022). As they grow more powerful and dominant in using algorithms to steer their users towards consumption, media scholars, practitioners and regulators are bound to face enduring challenges around legal, ethical, and epistemic questions about how social media platforms should be tackled from various vantage points. For instance, TikTok requires its users to be at least 13 years old, however, Belgian public broadcaster VRT is currently only active on TikTok with its youth television news brand, explicitly targeting 9- to 12-year-olds. Regulating social media platforms and how (media) corporations instrumentalise them go hand-in-hand. At the time of writing, both TikTok and Instagram's company Meta are under regulatory scrutiny in a host of nations for alleged breaches of privacy and instances of wrongly dealing with harmful content. An in-depth discussion on these issues would take us too far, but we can only hope that from a regulatory and academic perspective, the scrutiny of social media platforms and its rules and regulations will remain strong.

In this paper, we have expanded the dislocation of news journalism framework of Ekström and Westlund (2019) by distinguishing the dislocation of news *retrieval*, *production* and *consumption*. We focused on how the production of news becomes increasingly dislocated by assessing 458 platform-bound news posts by nine media outlets from

three European countries, which contributes to the blurring of highly normative boundaries of what constitutes news content. We specifically analysed the various technical affordances Instagram and TikTok offer content creators to discover to what extent news publishers make use of these for their novel types of reporting. We found that these affordances are readily operationalised in our sample, exacerbating the ongoing platformisation of digital platforms shaping the public sphere (Willig 2022). This goes against the results of the study of Hase, Boczek, and Scharkow (2022), which only found very limited evidence for news outlets adhering to platform logics, but was also only limited to four German-based legacy brands. We believe that our different findings are rooted in the diversity of our sample across types of news media and countries, cultures and systems.

Operationalising an integrated framework on social media logics (Hermida and Mellado 2020), we focused on five distinct dimensions of journalistic values and norms present on Instagram and TikTok. Among our key findings, we conclude that news publishers post more content to Instagram as they are already more familiar with it, while they are still somewhat experimental in their approach to the more novel platform TikTok, resulting in fewer posts. This is also in line with findings of the Reuters Institute report on how legacy news organisations use TikTok (Newman 2022). However, publishers have already adopted more technological affordances from TikTok than they do for Instagram in creating their news posts. We observed a breadth of different genres and content types across platforms and outlets and a dominance of actual news reporting and information, showing significant growth compared to previous findings in 2019–2020 (Vázquez-Herrero, Negreira-Rey, and López-García 2022) but also in line with the acknowledged focus on providing quality news content from the journalists or content creators of social media journalism (Hendrickx 2021, 2023). Thus, we argue that we are already observing the onset of the normalisation of social media-bound news content (Broersma and Eldridge 2019), much as has been the case over the past few decades with other novelties within journalism practice and research such as citizen and Twitter journalism (Bruns 2018; Dagoula 2022).

For instance, our finding that Instagram tends to be more focused on breaking news and longer paragraphs of text in the post descriptions contextualising current affairs again ties in with a previous finding of Hermida and Mellado who note that “the communicative form of Instagram is expected to be instant, in the moment and public, or to create an illusion of instantaneity” (2020, 873). On the other hand, we do find that news publishers engaging with TikTok are more prone to using it for actual news purposes. We consider this a logical continuation of previous research which had concluded that effectively less than half of all TikTok posts of a different data set of media-related accounts featured news reporting (Vázquez-Herrero, Negreira-Rey, and López-García 2022) in line with the said normalisation of platforms. At the same time, for both platforms we only found limited overt presences of time references. While this goes against the sense of immediacy that has been linked to online journalism before (Zeller and Hermida 2015), we mark the finding is accordance with later research on news media on Instagram, which found that content creators do not consider news values such as shareability as important (Hendrickx 2021).

Finally, and despite our own finding that particularly smaller and less resourceful news outlets tend to sometimes recycle their content across Instagram and TikTok, our general findings confirm that news publishers have developed or at least are overtly experimenting

with disparate strategies for each platform, with its own characteristics, contingencies and constraints. Instagram is more commonly used for galleries of pictures and visual filters, with TikTok more prone to featuring on-screen journalists explaining current events against a chroma key background using emoji and stickers. As platforms will continue to evolve and adapt their sets of affordances accordingly, news publishers will continue to experiment with finding their unique voice and purpose in disseminating high quality content that the algorithms deem relevant enough to recommend to their users.

Like any study, ours also has its shortcomings. We used a relatively small sample from nine news outlets, using manual coding techniques to assess them. Our sample only consisted of regular posts and not of Stories or Reels, two distinct types of Instagram posts. We cannot claim representativity of our findings to other platforms, markets or types of content due to the high variety in national and local cultures when it comes to media usage in general and news and social media usage specifically. Nonetheless, this study has contributed to theory building on positioning the observed trend of producing news for social media platforms within wider scholarly discussions and terminologies and features empirical findings which can serve as fruitful starting points for additional research.

We invite media scholars to further explore our classification of types of dislocation and focus on the consumption side. Thus, while this study was limited to a mixed-method content analysis, at the same time we wish to contribute to the “audience turn” in journalism studies by foregrounding in-depth, qualitative user research as very little is known about how users come across and engage with social media journalism aside from basic descriptive data such as likes, comments and shares. In a similar vein, while research on social media editors, who contribute to the dislocation of news retrieval, has emerged in recent years (e.g., Opgenhaffen and Hendrickx 2023; Tsurriel et al. 2021), the same cannot be said for how social media journalists are positioned and position themselves in newsrooms. Unlike editors, who mostly diffuse existing content, social media journalism involves the creation of unique types of news content. More research on their role, logics and ethics, particularly from an ethnographic viewpoint, is highly desirable. Finally, both journalism and algorithmic social media platforms are frequently assessed from democratic vantage points, assessing either’s contribution to a political system that is showing cracks around the world. Hence, we argue that using a democratic lens to investigate the added value of social media journalism is highly appropriate, and indeed much needed.

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Annexes

Table A1. Post frequency by news outlet and social media platform.

	Instagram	Posts per day on Instagram	TikTok	Posts per day on TikTok
Digital native media	34	4.9	7	1.0
elDiario.es (Spain)	34	4.9	7	1.0
Legacy print media	89	4.2	35	1.7
Daily Mail (United Kingdom)	12	1.7	14	2.0
El Mundo (Spain)	47	6.7	15	2.1
HLN (Belgium)	30	4.3	6	0.9
Public service media	159	7.6	41	2.0
BBC (United Kingdom)	61	8.7	8	1.1
RTVE (Spain)	68	9.7	27	3.9
VRT (Belgium)	30	4.3	6	0.9
Alternative TV news	21	3.0	8	1.1
GB News (United Kingdom)	21	3.0	8	1.1
Regional newspaper	58	8.3	6	0.9
HBvL (Belgium)	58	8.3	6	0.9
Total general	361	5.7	97	1.5

Table A2. Descriptive data on news outlets' presence on Instagram.

	Name	Bio	Tag	Followers	Posts	Stories	High lights	Reels	Guides	Direct message	Email	Phone
hln_be	HLN.be	7/7 nieuws in foto en video. Meet artikels via: hln.be/linkinbioHLN	N/A	195,000	4857	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
hbvl.be/ hbvl_hetbelangvanlimburg	Het Belang van Limburger en wereldburger. Linkin.bio/hbvl-be		Video creator	28,600	6755	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
nwsnwsnws/karrewiet	NWS	· nieuws voor jongeren, 7/7 · zelf nieuws gezien? Stuur ons een DM! #nwsnwsnws voor #vrtnws www.nwsnwsnws.be	N/A	290,000	6623	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
elmundo_es/elmundo.es	El Mundo	Cuenta oficial del periódico El Mundo (España). Noticias, historias y mucho más. Linkin.bio/elmundo_es	News media	961,000	13,700	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
eldiarioes/eldiario.es	elDiario.es	Periodismo a pesar de todo. www.eldiario.es/instagram	N/A	226,000	4328	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
rtvenoticias	RTVE Noticias	La información y la actualidad en @rtve con otra mirada. Linkin.bio/rtvenoticias	News media	200,000	10,000	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
dailymail	Daily Mail	#seriouslypopular. Lnk.bio/dailymail	N/A	1,500,000	7988	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
gbnewsonline/gbnews	GB News	Virgin Media 604, Freesat 216, Sky 512, Freeview 236, YouView 236, mobile, online & radio—News, opinion & debate for all the UK. Gbnews.uk	N/A	65,700	1155	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
bbcnews	BBC News	For the stories that matter to you—tap this link bbc.in/Newslnsta	N/A	23,800,000	16,900	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N

Follower and post numbers applicable to 8 December 2022.

Table A3. Descriptive data on news outlets' presence on TikTok.

	Bio	Followers	Likes	Playlists	Link	Link to social media	Email	Q&A
hln_be	Nieuws voor jou op TikTok. Showbizz. Host: Jonas Lips.	216,000	10,800,000	Y	dejamies.be	Instagram	Y	Y
hbvl.be/ hbvl_hetbelangvanlimburg	Nieuws voor alle Limburgers en wereldburgers	16,500	380,400	N	linktr.ee/hbvl	N/A	Y	Y
nwsnwsnws/karrewiet	nieuws uit de world met Jelle, Meryem, Annabet, Maurane & Amber	275,300	12,700,000	Y	ketnet.be/ ...	YouTube	Y	Y
elmundo_es/elmundo.es	Periódico español EL MUNDO: Noticias y entretenimiento en un vistazo	740,300	21,600,000	Y	elmundo.es	YouTube	N	Y
eldiarioes/eldiario.es	Cuenta oficial de elDiario.es. Te informamos de los temas que importan	145,500	3,000,000	Y	elDiario.es	YouTube	N	N
rtvenoticias	La información y la actualidad en @rtve con otra mirada	302,900	5,200,000	Y	rtve.es/noticias/ ...	N/A	N	N
dailymail	Seriously Popular	4,200,000	193,000,000	Y	N/A	N/A	N/A	Y
gbnewsonline/gbnews	Virgin Media 604, Freesat 216, Sky 512, Freeview 236, YouView 236, DAB+, online.	336,800	3,800,000	Y	gbnews.uk	YouTube	N/A	N/A
bbcnews	Watch our story for your daily world news headlines	689,600	7,200,000	Y	bbc.co.uk/news	N/A	N/A	N/A

Follower and post numbers applicable to 8 December 2022.

Table A4. Average and median numbers of video views per outlet and platform.

	Average Instagram	Median Instagram	Average TikTok	Median TikTok	Average Total
Alternative TV news	18,343.3	15,166.5	17,204.5	18,350.0	17,837.2
GB News (United Kingdom)	18,343.3	15,166.5	17,204.5	18,350.0	17,837.2
Digital native media	114,093.4	94,478.5	75,842.9	49,900.0	96,243.1
eDiario.es (Spain)	114,093.4	94,478.5	75,842.9	49,900.0	96,243.1
Legacy print media	226,339.2	177,163.0	190,914.0	92,700.0	208,105.7
Daily Mail (United Kingdom)	87,641.3	87,061.5	214,760.4	82,400.0	186,511.7
El Mundo (Spain)	245,470.0	186,542.0	115,163.0	44,700.0	201,047.2
HLN (Belgium)	N/A	N/A	324,650.0	21,530.0	324,650.0
Public service media	161,379.8	9722.0	244,526.7	63,800.0	191,075.1
BBC (United Kingdom)	554,348.0	375,382.0	666,804.4	7028.0	583,503.4
RTVE (Spain)	10,238.2	7148.5	121,127.3	57,700.0	48,137.0
VRT (Belgium)	N/A	N/A	307,166.7	220,900.0	30,716.7
Regional newspaper	8422.8	6903.5	17,899.5	11,918.5	17,899.5
HBvL (Belgium)	8422.8	6903.5	17,899.5	11,918.5	17,899.5
Total general	164,103.4		179,572.8		170,884.5

Table A5. Average and median numbers of likes and comments for Instagram posts.

	Likes			Comments		
	Average	Median	Average/followers	Average	Median	Average/followers
Alternative TV news	2103.8	1548.0	3.202%	263.2	73.0	0.078%
GB News (United Kingdom)	2103.8	1548.0	3.202%	263.2	73.0	0.078%
Digital native media	4039.5	3110.0	1.787%	222.1	175.0	0.153%
eDiario.es (Spain)	4039.5	3110.0	1.787%	222.1	175.0	0.153%
Legacy print media	6762.9	3999.5	0.255%	193.5	80.0	0.004%
Daily Mail (United Kingdom)	9479.1	10,131.0	0.632%	298.7	112.5	0.007%
El Mundo (Spain)	9352.7	6729.0	0.973%	244.0	128.0	0.033%
HLN (Belgium)	2589.8	2302.5	1.328%	72.2	48.5	0.033%
Public service media	26,951.1	20,517.5	0.111%	395.1	135.0	0.031%
BBC (United Kingdom)	51,079.9	38,200.0	0.215%	892.9	531.0	0.129%
RTVE (Spain)	340.3	223.0	0.170%	19.8	8.0	0.007%
VRT (Belgium)	29,562.0	31,731.0	10.194%	171.0	131.0	0.062%
Regional newspaper	153.2	129.5	0.536%	5.0	3.0	0.030%
HBvL (Belgium)	153.2	129.5	0.536%	5.0	3.0	0.030%
Total	13,549.8	2584.0	0.050%	256.8	63.0	0.004%

Table A6. Average and median numbers of likes, comments and shares for TikTok posts.

	Likes			Comments			Shares		
	Average	Median	Average/followers	Average	Median	Average/followers	Average	Median	Avg/followers
Alternative TV news	586.5	616.0	0.174%	66.8	72.0	0.020%	7.0	5.0	0.002%
GB News (United Kingdom)	586.5	616.0	0.174%	66.8	72.0	0.020%	7.0	5.0	0.002%
Digital native media	2672.7	3081.0	1.837%	710.0	363.0	0.488%	185.7	182.0	0.128%
eDiario.es (Spain)	2672.7	3081.0	1.837%	710.0	363.0	0.488%	185.7	182.0	0.128%
Legacy print media	16,583.3	5946.0	0.322%	309.0	93.0	0.006%	215.2	57.0	0.004%
Daily Mail (United Kingdom)	20,357.2	4678.0	0.485%	383.6	107.5	0.009%	221.8	40.5	0.005%
El Mundo (Spain)	9434.7	4515.0	1.274%	129.9	59.0	0.018%	187.6	57.0	0.025%
HLN (Belgium)	25,649.2	19,750.0	11.875%	582.8	289.5	0.270%	269.0	124.5	0.125%
Public service media	15,458.9	1567.0	1.219%	390.0	92.0	0.031%	405.3	29.0	0.032%
BBC (United Kingdom)	42,445.4	338.5	6.155%	892.9	27.5	0.129%	960.8	6.0	0.139%
RTVE (Spain)	4279.7	1567.0	1.413%	141.6	48.0	0.047%	249.7	41.0	0.082%
VRT (Belgium)	29,783.3	22,700.0	10.819%	837.8	603.0	0.304%	364.7	56.5	0.132%
Regional newspaper	559.5	428.5	3.391%	16.7	7.0	0.101%	28.3	3.0	0.172%
HBvL (Belgium)	559.5	428.5	3.391%	16.7	7.0	0.101%	28.3	3.0	0.172%
Total	12,793.7	2298.0	0.185%	334.1	84.0	0.005%	264.7	38.0	0.004%