ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

Insta-worthiness of News in New Media Journalism: How to Understand News Values on Instagram

Yeni Medya Gazeteciliğinde Haberlerin *Insta-değerliliği*: Instagram'da Haber Değerini Anlamak

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Abstract

The Internet and Web 2.0 have changed the communication and information systems. Social media has emerged as an alternative or a developed version of traditional media. In this respect, journalism is obliged to keep up with the new technology. Social media has become an effective platform for information and news sharing. Traditional understanding of news values and newsworthiness has been reconstructed within this period. Concepts such as share, like, comment, etc. have become significant for news values and newsworthiness in digital age. In this context, this study aims to find out how news values have changed on social media by focusing on Instagram. To this end, three newspapers, which have highest circulations in Turkey were sampled over a one-month period. Content analysis was selected as research technique. Based on research questions, three-step analysis was conducted. The findings were discussed in the conclusion. A new term – *insta-worthiness* – is suggested in this study to clarify the main components of news values on Instagram.

Keywords: News Values, New Media, Insta-worthiness, Instagram, Content Analysis.

Öz

İnternet ve Web 2.0 teknolojisi bilgi ve iletişim sistemlerini de yeniden şekillendirmiştir. Sosyal medya, geleneksel medyanın gelişmiş bir versiyonu ya da diğer bir ifadeyle alternatifi olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu anlamda teknoloji ile değişen gazetecilik pratikleri açısından bakıldığında, sosyal medya bilgi ve

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haber paylaşımını sağlayan etkili bir platform niteliği kazanmıştır. Haber değerlerin geleneksel anlayışı da bu süreç içerisinde değişmiştir. Paylaşım, beğeni, yorum vb. kavramlar dijital çağda haber değeri anlayışının bileşenleri haline gelmiştir. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma bir sosyal medya platform olan Instagram'a odaklanarak haber değerlerinin sosyal medyada nasıl değiştiğine odaklanmaktadır. Çalışma kapsamında Türkiye'de en yüksek tiraja sahip üç gazetenin bir aylık süreci incelenmiştir. Araştırma tekniği olarak içerik analizi seçilmiştir. Araştırma soruları temelinde üç aşamalı bir inceleme süreci izlenmiştir. Araştırma bulgularına istinaden *insta-değerlilik* kavramı önerilmekte ve tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Haber değeri, Yeni Medya, Insta-değerlilik, Instagram, İçerik Analizi*

Introduction

The emergence of the Internet and Web 2.0 has not brought about breakthrough changes in information gathering and processing. A new phenomenon – "digital media" – has become the heart of communication research at both theoretical and practical levels. Many discussions have been conducted about digitalization of traditional media and communication tools. In this regard, a crucial discussion is about the changes to traditional journalism practices as a result of digitalization.

Informing and being informed are as old as the history of humankind. They constitute one of the main components of human socialization since primeval times. However, the formation of the press occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries. In the 19th century, the need for local news in newspapers, due to social trends of urbanization, immigration, industrialism and consumerism, led to increased use of the press. In the 1850s, a new mass market emerged, which was later expanded and developed (Borden 2007, p. 3). By the end of 20th century, the Internet and Web 2.0 had become an effective platform for newsgathering and news-processing routines because of the wide range of possible sources. Newsrooms have become the hubs in digital communication arena as journalists found more efficient opportunities to research, gather information, and to publish online (O'Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008, p. 359).

Compared to traditional media, audiences are not passive in new media. In the digital age, the audiences are both consumers and producers in new media. In other words, the traditional model in which consumers only receive news and information created, packaged and distributed by professional media organizations has tumbled. Multimedia sources and tools of online platform allow individuals to readily create and promote the outputs (Hermida et al., 2012, p. 212). Immediacy is the greatest value, as stories are published quickly and immediately. It is necessary to form and develop interactivity, which has become one of the key components of new media journalism. Almost all traditional media organizations create and use online newsrooms to learn the value of their products by means of this interactivity and, thus, to reach larger audiences (Domingo, 2008, p. 692).

In order to understand the theoretical background and analyze the practices of new media journalism, many academic studies have been conducted since the late 2000s. Some have focused

on general framework of online media (Kümpel, Karnowski & Keyling, 2015; Fletcher & Nielsen, 2018; Nechushtai, 2018), some specifically on Facebook (Rodriguez et al., 2014; Stroud et al., 2015; Noyunsan et al., 2016), indeed, the majority, have examined Twitter as news media (Hermida, 2010; Lasorsa, Lewis & Holton, 2012; Vis, 2013; Broersma & Graham, 2013; Trilling et al., 2017). The studies focusing specifically on Instagram (Borges-Rey, 2015; Larsson, 2018; Maares & Hanusch, 2018; Vazquez-Herrero et al., 2019) conducted research in terms of the joutput's format or user perspectives; however, the current study aims to analyze the newsworthiness of news on Instagram.

The fact of increasing numbers of Instagram users was the other triggering reason to select this online platform for analysis. We can explain the rise of Instagram with the rise of "visuality". In pre-modern era, "seeing" is not so vital because there are few images in circulation. With modernity, the number of images in circulation has increased and "seeing" gained importance. In this period, "looking", "seeing" and "knowing" were intertwined and modern world became an "occulercentric" world. In other words, "seeing" was positioned equal to "knowing". In postmodernity, "seeing" got out of its equal status with "knowing" and became central because of the development in visual technologies. By visual technologies such as television programs, advertisements, photographs, newspaper pictures and surveillance cameras, societies are surrounded by images. "Seeing" is now central to the cultural construction of social life. Seeing reaches such an unpredictable state that people communicate with the world through "how they see" (Rose, 2001, pp. 2-4). Sartori (2001, pp. 11-12), explains this transformation with the concept of "homo videns". According to Sartori (2001) homo sapiens (knowing person), which is the product of written culture is being dethroned by homo videns (seeing person) after image took over the influence of the sound. Similarly, Berger (1989, pp. 21-23) states that the sense of "seeing" is essential in developing ideas about the outside world.

Many researches (Rösler et. al., 2011; Hadland et. al., 2015; Bock, 2016) show the increasing importance of photographs in news. When compared with news article, the power of photo is stronger since the beginning. Photography can change thoughts and beliefs of people. Words express the truths; photographs make facts striking and create a deep and emotional effect. Instagram is a photo and video-sharing social networking service. Instagram offers a new opportunity for journalism due to its nature that emphasizes images.

Nowadays, Instagram is a preferred tool for newspapers to reach young people. Many researches (Wolswinkel, 2008; Twenge et. al., 2019; Statista, 2020) show that the newspaper reading rates of young people is decreasing and they tend to spend more time on social media. According to statistics of 2020, Instagram possesses the youngest audiences among other social media platforms. 30% of users are aged between 18 to 24, 35% of them aged 25 to 35[1], which is similar to Turkey's statistics. According to the report of We Are Social 2020[2], 74% of Turkey

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1   For more information: https://www.statista.com/statistics/325587/instagram-global-age-group/

2   For more information: https://dijilopedi.com/2020-turkiye-internet-kullanimi-ve-sosyal-medya-istatistikleri/

population has access to Internet, 92% uses mobile phones, and 64% is active in social media platforms. Instagram is the second most-used social media platform with 83% after YouTube.

Based on the above-mentioned reasons, Instagram is selected for this research. In this context, the Instagram accounts of three national Turkish newspapers (*Hürriyet, Sabah*, and *Sözcü*), which have huge national circulations, were included in the sampling. The research questions are as follow:

RQ1: How is news represented on Instagram?

RQ2: Which topics or issues are shared most often?

RQ3: Which news values are effective in the content of news?

RQ4: How do audience reactions affect newsworthiness?

RQ5: Which news values can be included in insta-worthiness?

Based on the mentioned questions, content analysis was used as research method. The analysis was limited to one month-period (15 December 2019 – 15 January 2020) of three news sites, and the findings were evaluated under specific categories.

Revisiting News Values Theory

It has been always difficult to describe "news" with one definition or even one paragraph. The widely-known and explanatory definition of news is an event, incident, or any sort of happening which is interesting and true (Rudin & Ibbotson, 2002, p. 5). However, this definition is not sufficient to understand the news completely. For Walter Lippmann (1998) the choices and selection policies in the newsroom render news important. On the one hand Carey (1989) explained news as the interpretation tool of happenings; on the other hand, Stephens (1988) addressed the importance of public interest in order to emphasize the societal context of news. According to Bednarek and Caple (2017), the term "news" can be simply explained as "new information" (p. 6). However, for the authors, news is best described as a report disseminated by news organizations. Therefore, news values depend on target audiences and contextual factors.

Lippmann (1998) is considered to be the first scholar who introduced some of the characteristics of news in terms of newsworthiness. In the study dated 1945, Lippmann pointed to several determinants such as sensationalism, proximity, relevance, unambiguity, and factuality. Despite this, the research of Galtung and Ruge (1965), which was released in 1965, has been precursor for the following studies in reference to news values theory. News values theory doesn't only offer the guidance of news factors for journalistic decisions, but also helps us to understand how users on social media might select and pay attention to certain topics (Araujo & van der Meer, 2018, p. 4).

In their theory, Galtung and Ruge (1965) contextualized twelve hypotheses as news values under two main categories – culture-free (frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness,

consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition) and culture-bound (reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, reference to specific individuals, reference to negative consequences) in order to find out "how do events become news?". By *frequency*, the authors refer to "the time-span needed for the event to unfold itself and acquire meaning". More precisely, this factor focuses on the frequency of the event in the news medium (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, p. 66). The factor *threshold* corresponds to the idea of "amplitude of radio waves". It implies that "the event will have to pass before it will be recorded at all" (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 29). *Unambiguity* refers to the less ambiguity in the news. The interpretation of the story clearly is emphasized by this factor (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, p. 66). By another value – *meaningfulness*, Galtung and Ruge (1965) pointed out the cultural relevance in the news that refers to interpretability within the framework of the listener and reader (p. 67). This relevance is related to the cultural proximity or social consonance/dissonance of an event (Brighton & Foy, 2007, p. 7). *Consonance*, as one of the news values, is also concerned with cognitive interpretation of expectations or normative interpretation of wants of the audiences (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 29). According to hypotheses of *unexpectedness* "the more unexpected have the highest chances of being included as news". Simply, two main components become essential for this factor – unexpected or rare (Galtung and Ruge, 1965, p. 67). In other words, this factor focuses on something, which is out of ordinary and not planned in the story (Brighton & Foy, 2007, p.7). By *continuity*, Galtung and Ruge (1965, p. 67) pointed to the idea that "once something has hit the headlines and been defined as news, then it will continue to be defined as news for some time". The eighth culture-free factor-*composition* refers to presenting a "balanced whole" which offers a range of news within a newspaper (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 29).

Concerning culture-bound news values that influence the transition from events to news, Galtung and Ruge (1965) identified four additional factors which are *reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, reference to specific persons,* and *reference to negative consequences* (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 29). The *elite* can be understood as celebrities, or famous people who have intrinsic importance for ordinary people (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017, p. 171; Bednarek & Caple, 2014, p. 156). While referencing to elite nations, it is necessary to know if the mentioned nation is important or influential to be fictionalized (Brighton & Foy, 2007, p.7). While reference to specific persons is related with the action of specific individuals, in other words, personification of the story, reference to negative consequences is about being consensual and unambiguous. These sorts of news are more unexpected than positive news (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, pp. 68-70).

Based on the theory, it can be argued that news values are not about only the selection of criteria, but also related with properties, qualities, or aspects of events (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 31). On the other hand, as news consumption and information sharing via social media have been prevalent across the world, nowadays, users are more prone to receive the information and news via online tools than traditional media outlets. Thus, news values and newsworthiness have been changing and reshaping on new interactive digital platforms (Araujo & van der Meer, 2018, p. 4). In this context, the next section will discuss the concept of newsworthiness based on news values by focusing on the related studies.

On the criteria of Newsworthiness

According to Stuart Hall (1981), it is necessary to distinguish two aspects of news: news values and ideological level. News value concerns the professional ideology of news elaborated by the newspaper's discourse; whereas the ideological level is concerned about their connoted themes, and their interpretation of a news story (p. 231). News values can be considered the driving force of newsworthiness. These forces are properties of events and stories, or criteria/principles that news workers (editors) use while selecting the events or stories (Bednarek & Caple, 2014, p. 136). For Harcup and O'Neil (2017) news value is the reflection of the type of information citizens want or need (p. 1473). It lies at the intersection of organizational, sociological and cultural norms, and economic conditions. In general, two main characteristics of making "good news" were indicated by the scholars: first, the news story is defined as a description, distinguishing between harmony and conflict; the second one is the valance of the language used in the story (McIntyre, 2016, p. 224). For Hall (1981), news stories are based on three factors: action, temporal recency, and newsworthiness. In such way, the story connects to a recent event (p. 235). Picard (2014) pointed out that the economic value of news has historically been created through two major functions: a) The actuality of the content which is newsworthy or informative; b) the selection, presentation, packaging and processing of the related content. However, this value understanding has been disrupted by digitalization as it has reshaped the relationships between journalists and the people whom they serve.

In the literature, there are many studies (Allern, 2002; Gans, 2004; Brighton & Foy, 2007; Steensen, 2011; Bednarek & Caple, 2014, 2017; Harcup & O'Neil, 2017; Trilling, Tolochko & Burscher, 2017) that examined newsworthiness and news values under different categories. By referring to textbooks and research on journalism, Allern (2002) cited six major new values; *significance* (the importance of event), *identification* (geographical or cultural proximity), *sensation* (the element of surprise), *timeliness* (proximity in time), *conflict* (controversial issues), and *salience* (familiarity of the topic). For Gans (2004) such categories as *medium considerations, format considerations, novelty, story quality, balance,* and *competitive considerations* are necessary to establish newsworthiness. While the category of medium considerations is about the connection between story selection and technology in terms of understanding if the selected media tool is suitable for the news, format considerations refer to selection and use of the right format for messages to be fit in. Novelty, as one of the crucial components of news formation, implies "newness" and "freshness" of the story. A good quality of the content is meant by the category of story quality. For instance, active stories, which are based on dramatic activities and emotions, are thought to attract and hold the audience. On the other hand, it is necessary to redress the balance while using the set of quality considerations which are story mixture, subject, geographic information, demographic data, and political balance. Competitive considerations pointed to effect of internal and external competitions for story selection (Gans, 2004, pp. 157-177).

Bednarek and Caple (2014; 2017) also categorized nine fundamental news values which are *negativity, timeliness, proximity, superlativeness, eliteness, novelty, personalization,* and *consonance*. By negativity, the authors pointed to negative opinions or disapproval (e.g., tragedy,

gaffe…); negative emotions (e.g., worried, shock, disappointment…); and negative vocabulary (e.g., disaster, deaths, crime…) in the story. Timeliness refers to the relevance of an event in terms of timeframes like recent, ongoing, about to happen, seasonal, etc. Proximity implies the geographical or cultural nearness of an event. Therefore, the event should be reference to places, locations or communities, which are near or familiar to the audience. While superlativeness is about maximized (quantities which emphasize the amount, scale, etc.) or intensified (intensifiers which can be maximizers, amplifiers, etc.) aspects of an event, eliteness refers to high status of individuals, organizations, or nations involved in the event. High-status role labels, institutional names including professions, titles, roles, affiliations, etc. can be included in this category. Novelty points to the new and/or unexpected aspects of an event. Personalization is about the personal or human face of an event including eyewitness reports. It refers to quotes from ordinary people or reference to emotional reactions such as joy, fear, anger, etc. The last factor, consonance, refers to the stereotypical aspects of an event and adherence to expectations. Comparison with other event happened in the past, conventionalized metaphors such as "a flood of immigrants", "the war of drugs" can be exemplified for this category (Bednarek & Caple, 2014, pp. 155-158).

According to the findings of Harcup and O'Neil (2017) news stories must generally satisfy one but preferably more of the following requirements: *exclusivity* (stories generated by, or available first to, the organization as a result of interviews, letters and so on)*, bad news* (stories with particularly negative content such as death, injury, loss, etc.)*, conflict (*e.g. strikes, fights…)*, surprise* (unexpected consequences)*, audiovisuals* (e.g. infographics, video plats…, *shareability* (stories that are thought to generate sharing and comments via Facebook, Twitter and such Web sites)*, entertainment* (soft stories regarding sex, show business, sport, animals and such), *drama* (stories concerning an unfolding drama such as escapes, accidents, search, siege, rescue, etc.)*, follow-up* (stories about subjects already in the news), *the power of elite* (stories about powerful individuals, organizations, nations, etc.)*, relevance* (cultural relevance of the story), *magnitude* (stories perceived as sufficiently significant in the large numbers of people involved or in potential impact), *celebrity* (stories about famous people), and *good news* (stories based on positive occurrences such as cures, wins, celebrations, etc.) (p. 1482). Similarly*,* a study by Brighton and Foy (2007) addressed five main news values: *interactivity, timing and pacing of news stories, the balance of power, quality of story,* and *news and comment* (pp. 36-43).

Based on the traditional understanding of news values, Trilling, Tolochko and Burscher (2017) identified seven specific categories that can contribute to share-worthiness of news on social media. The related factors are *geographical distance, cultural distance, negativity, positivity, conflict, human interest,* and *exclusiveness (*p. 45). To specify the news values of online journalism, Steensen (2011) underlined three main categories*: interactivity, hypertext,* and *multimedia.* Interactivity was simply defined as a measure of media's ability to form interactivity between user and the related media output. While hypertext is a computer-based, non-linear group of texts, multimedia is a structure consisting of two integrated phases: 1) presentation of news story package including various media formats, and 2) distribution of this package via different media tools (pp. 312-319).

Interactivity is a very important factor of new media journalism. It directly shapes the newsworthiness of news on online platforms, and contributes to share-worthiness. Ziegele, Breiner and Quiring (2014) defined online interactivity based on three main perspectives: (a) as an attribute of technical media systems; (b) as an attribute of the communication process; and (c) as an attribute of the perceptions of users (p. 1113). While the first approach is mostly about user comment sections, the latter points to the interaction between users and systems. Both perspectives are related to the perceptions of users. In his study, Weber (2014) analyzed the effect of news values on online interactivity. According to the findings, the factor *proximity* affects the participation and interactivity level of the users. It was shown that, the more news focuses on the own nation, the more readers post comment on it. *Continuity* is the other factor that contributes to interactivity. It was revealed that, the users show more interest in the news articles, which continue to narrate the issues that are already on the media agenda, on which the users post more comments. The factor, *frequency*, showed that the given determinable timeline (beginning and end) in the news event attracted more user attention than the reports of long-term or unfinished issues. Unlike those factors, *power* affects interactivity adversely. It decreases the level of interactivity. The users didn't tend to post more comments on the news, which are related with highly powerful persons or institutions such as heads of state, national parties, international organizations, etc. The findings revealed that, *controversy* (it refers to conflict levels from clash of opinions to violent conflicts), and *damage* (the events regarding negative occurrences) were the other factors, which contribute to interactivity.

The current study aims to find out how news is presented on Instagram, as one of popular online platforms for news and information sharing. In this context, the selected news sites were included into sampling. Particularly, this study will focus on which type of news attracted more interaction of the followers or audiences. Through content analysis, quantitative and qualitative findings will be discussed in order to explore specific news values allowing to formation of suggested term – "*insta-worthiness*".

Aim and Methodology

In the study, content analysis was selected as the research method to examine the findings in detailed way. Having both qualitative and quantitative aspects renders this technique useful for researchers to systematically analyze large amounts of data (Weber, 1990; Neuendorf, 2002; Krippendorf, 2004; Drisko and Maschi, 2016). Three-step technique was applied during the analysis. First, the news was categorized thematically. Then, main news values were identified for that schematized news. Finally, these news values were examined under general categories. Sampling included data from official Instagram sites of three newspapers with the highest circulations in Turkey for one-month period (15 December 2019 – 15 January 2020). In total, 1,069 news posts were captured and analyzed through content analysis. For the first step of analysis, 1,069 news were included in the sampling; however, 957 news, which fitted to criteria of newsworthiness, were analyzed under the second and third categories.

To test reliability, two researchers coded the selected news in the same way. Ten percent (N=107) of the news stories were chosen randomly and coded to check the levels of agreement between two independent researchers. The results were consistent with each other. The content classification produced the same findings. In the sampling, unitizing was implemented to the themes of the news. The reason for thematic categorization was to understand the content of 1,069 news under specific topics, and to discuss them in proper way. The related themes and their definitions are as follows: *Animals*: news focused on animals, such as people saving animals, animals trying to find food, or just cute animals; *politics:* news about statements of politicians, discussions on the project of "Kanal Istanbul" (Istanbul Canal, a huge infrastructure project decided to be constructed by Turkey's government), news about government and municipalities; *individual stories:* news about daily lives including individual successes or challenges, interesting stories, funny stories, etc.; *crime*: news focused on attacks, assaults, harassment or murder; *terror*: news about martyrs (Turkish soldiers passed away during military operations) the and the capture of terrorists; *technology:* news about technological developments; *accident:* news about all kinds of accidents; *sport:* news about all kinds of sport matches and athletes; *landscape*: videos or photos of pleasant scenery; *soldier:* news about Turkish soldiers and military, such as their useful presence to society, equipment they have; *promotion/ads*: news about promotions/ads for a good, sweepstakes; *headline news*: all the headline news posted on newspapers; *weather*: news about daily weather and climate events such as storms and floods; *law and regulations*: news about violation of law or new regulations; *celebrities:* news about lives of celebrities; *column:* posts of columns from newspapers*; other*: news which is not involved in other categories.

As can be seen above, in total, 17 specific themes were determined. Furthermore, ten main news values/criteria were identified by referring to above-stated studies (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Steensen, 2011; Bednarik & Caple, 2014; Ziegele, Breiner & Quiring, 2014; Weber, 2014; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017), to explore the newsworthiness of those schematized news. The related categories are as below:

Entertainment (animals and sport themed news)

Positivity (technology and landscape themed news)

Negativity (terror, accident, and crime themed news)

Reference to Power (politics, soldier, and law & regulations themed news)

Personalization (individual stories)

Celebrity (news about celebrities)

Follow-up/Continuity (Columns, headlines posted in newspapers)

Frequency (the number of the posts on daily basis)

Viewing (rating of videos)

Interactivity (the number of comments under the related post and re-sharing)

Based on those criteria, the findings were analyzed under the general categories to comprehend the insta-worthiness of news on Instagram in detailed way.

Findings

As the final step of analysis, four main categories were identified in this study: *Distribution of Main Themes, Presentation of News and Frequency, Contextual News Values,* and *Reactional News Values.* The specified news values were discussed under these categories and the related tables were also used for the interpretation of data.

Distribution of Main Themes

Prior to the examination of news values, it was focused on the distribution of specific themes. We believe the tabulation of specific themes will be useful in understanding the general view of agenda of the selected most-visited newsrooms on Instagram. In this context, Table 1 demonstrates the distribution of 17 specific themes in detailed way:

Table 1: Main Themes of News

	Sözcü				Sabah				Hürriyet				TOTAL	
	News with Photo	Video News	Total		News with Photo	Video News	Total		News with Photo	Video News	Total			
	N.	N.	N.	% n=391	N.	N.	N.	% n=553	N.	N.	N.	% 125	N.	% n=1069
Animals	2	29	31	7,9%	10	45	55	9,9%	1	30	31	24,8%	117	10,9%
Politics	6	116	122	31,2%	3	101	104	18,8%	0	0	0	0	226	21,1%
Individual Stories	2	24	26	6,6%	8	49	57	10,3%	5	30	35	28,0%	118	11,0%
Crime	7	23	30	7,7%	3	41	44	8,0%	0	3	3	2,4%	77	7,2%
Terror	5	4	9	2,3%	4	26	30	5,4%	0	2	2	1,6%	41	3,8%
Technology	1	7	8	2,0%	16	26	42	7,6%	0	5	5	4,0%	55	5,1%
Accident	0	16	16	4,1%	1	39	40	7,2%	0	13	13	10,4%	69	6,5%
Sports	2	5	7	1,8%	0	3	3	0,5%	0	1	1	0,8%	11	1,0%
Landscapes	0	1	1	0,3%	6	9	15	2,7%	0	1	1	0,8%	17	1,6%
Soldier	1	3	4	1,0%	3	12	15	2,7%	0	6	6	4,8%	25	2,3%
Promotion/ ads	0	0	0	0,0%	3	1	4	0,7%	1	0	1	0,8%	5	0,5%
Headline News	0	28	28	7,2%	8	55	63	11,4%	1	9	10	8,0%	101	9,4%
Weather	0	16	16	4,1%	6	19	25	4,5%	1	1	2	1,6%	43	4,0%
Law and Regulations	1	15	16	4,1%	3	10	13	2,4%	0	0	0	00	29	2,7%
Celebrities	1	8	9	2,3%	1	10	11	2,0%	2	11	13	10,4%	33	3,1%
Column	38	0	38	9,7%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	3,6%
Others	3	25	30	7,7%	8	24	32	5,8%	1	1	2	1,6%	64	6,0%
TOTAL	69	320	391	100,0%	83	470	553	100,0%	12	113	125	100,0%	1069	100,0%

As can be seen in Table 1, newspapers differed in their selection of news items posted on Instagram. The highest percentage of news shared on Instagram by Sözcü and Sabah concerned "politics". 31,2% of the news shared by Sözcü and 18,8% by Sabah is about politics. However, Hürriyet did not post any news about politics. The highest percentage (28%) of news posted by Hürriyet is "individual stories". The second highest category in Sözcü is "op-ed" (9,7%). The other newspapers did not post any columns in their Instagram accounts. And in Sözcü, "columns" was followed by "animal-related news" (7,9%) and "crime related news" (7,7%). In contrast, in Sabah after "politics", "headline news" (11,4%), "individual stories" (10,3%) and "animal-related news" had the highest numbers. In Hürriyet most news posts fell into "individual stories", "animal-related news", "accident-related news" and "magazine" categories.

The thematic differences among the newspapers could be explained by their differing social media policies. Aside from these differences, the most-posted news items share some characteristics: among all of the Instagram accounts, "individual stories" and "animal-related news" rank in the top five. When we consider the total numbers, politics is the top theme shared on Instagram (21,1%). The second highest category is individual stories (11%), followed by headline news (10,4%) and animals (10,9%). Therefore, it can be said that politics is still the most shared topic on Instagram, as it is in traditional media. Moreover, while two of the most shared topics are about government-related issues like politics and foreign relations, the other two are about entertainment and personal life.

Furthermore, news about promotion/ads, sports and landscape visuals were the least-shared themes on Instagram. It is also important to indicate that, in the time period chosen for this research, the new Turkish automobile brand "TOGG", which was inaugurated in 2020 by the Turkish government, was a popular topic. Most of the technology-related news were about TOGG. Therefore, if the study were conducted in another time period, technology could be one of the least-shared topics.

Presentation of News and Frequency

The first research question is how news is presented on Instagram. To analyze this presentation, the form of posts was examined. Despite the use of photos alongside written news, the main medium of newspapers is written communication. On the contrary, Instagram is based on visual communication. The research showed that the newspapers tune their structure to Instagram. They include some written language in the news they shared on Instagram, but mostly they shared news by using photos and videos. They did not share long and written explanations. This focus on images over text shows that they restructure news articles for the new logic of Instagram.

Among the three newspapers, there are a total of 1,069 (Sözcü-391, Sabah-553, Hürriyet-125) posts in one-month period. Out of 1,069 posts, only 15% (N=164) were shared with photos. The rest – 84.7% (N=905) of the posts included videos. The videos exceeding one minute were linked to IGTV to allow audience watch the full length.

The findings showed that, the average frequency number of sharing news on daily basis is thirteen. Both on three newsrooms, while the lowest number of shared posts was nine, the highest number were sixteen. In this context, it can be noted that, the frequency of the shares depends on the agenda. If there is busy agenda, then the number of posts increases; however, the number of shares was not below nine during the one-month analysis. It allows us to consider the average frequency number as thirteen on daily basis.

In addition, it was shown that the new sources referred by the related online sites are the same as used in printed versions. According to the findings, Sabah mostly used videos of *A Haber* (Television Channel) and *IHA* (News agency), Sözcü used *IHA* and *DHA* videos, and it added a *Sözcü TV* logo on the videos; Hürriyet used *IHA, Anadolu Agency* and *CNN Turk* (TV Channel) videos. It is clear that newspapers prefer to use videos rather than photos on Instagram.

Contextual News Values

In order to understand the insta-worthiness of the selected news, it was focused on news values, which are tied to the content of events. In total, 957 news were categorized within the scope of news values. Three themes, weather, promotion/ads, and others were excluded because of their irrelevance to news values. In this context, the selected news was included in seven specific new values as can be seen in Table 2:

Table 2: Share of News Values

	Sözcü				Sabah				Hürriyet				TOTAL	
	News with Photo	Video News	Total		News with Photo	Video News	Total		News with Photo	Video News	Total			
	N.	N.	N.	%	N.	N.	N.	%	N.	N.	N.	%	N.	%
Entertainment	4	34	38	11,01	10	48	58	11,79	1	31	32	26,67	128	13,38
Positivity	1	8	9	2,61	22	35	57	11,59	0	6	6	5	72	7,52
Negativity	12	43	55	15,94	8	106	114	23,17	0	18	18	15	187	19,54
Reference to Power	8	134	142	41,16	9	123	132	26,83	0	6	6	5	280	29,26
Personalization	2	24	26	7,54	8	49	57	11,59	5	30	35	29,17	118	12,33
Follow-up/ Continuity	38	28	66	19,13	8	55	63	12,80	1	9	10	8,33	139	14,52
Celebrity	1	8	9	2,61	1	10	11	2,24	2	11	13	10,83	33	3,45
TOTAL	66	279	345	100,0%	66	426	492	100,0%	9	109	118	100,0%	957	100,0%

As can be seen in the Table 2, the percentage distribution of news values in newspapers differs from each other. In general, the news with reference to power (29,26%) was the most-shared compared to others. Negativity was the second highest category with 19,54%. Follow-up (14,52%) and entertainment (13,38%) were the other new values, which effected newsworthiness of news. The lowest percent belongs to celebrity with 3,45%.

Reactional News Values

Under this category, two important components of insta-worthiness – *viewing* and *interactivity,* which are tied to audience reactions, were examined. In this context, first the number of video views was analyzed in the scope of viewing. Still photos were excluded from the research for two reasons: Instagram does not publish view numbers for photos, and only 164 photos were shared. Second, the numbers of comments written under the news shared by newspapers were already being analyzed. Table 3 demonstrates the distribution of video views.

Table 3: Distribution of Video Views

Video Views	*0-10.000*	*10.000-50.000*	*50.000-100.000*	*100.000 +*	*Total*
Entertainment	39	41	24	9	113
Positivity	30	13	4	2	49
Negativity	62	66	21	16	165
Reference to Power	99	56	61	49	265
Personalization	36	45	11	11	103
Celebrity	15	8	1	5	29
Follow up/Continuity	44	21	22	5	92
TOTAL	325	250	144	97	816

As can be seen in Table 3, the number of views was low. Most of the news categories were viewed fewer than 100,000 times. Only 97 out of 816 videos were viewed more than 100,000 times. The highest category is reference to power (more with 44 videos). In order, 16 news based on negativity, 11 news stories about individual stories, 9 news about entertainment, 5 news about celebrities, and 5 news about follow-up were viewed over 100.000 times. Only two positive/good news were viewed over 100.000 times.

Concerning the other reactional news values factor, interactivity, it was focused on distribution of comments under the posted news. In this vein, Table 4 demonstrates the detailed information based on three newsrooms. The numbers of comments were shown relevant to the news values:

Table 4: Distribution of Comments

	0-100				100-300				300+			
	Sözcü	Sabah	Hürriyet	Total	Sözcü	Sabah	Hürriyet	Total	Sözcü	Sabah	Hürriyet	Total
Entertainment	8	53	31	92	21	5	1	27	9	0	0	9
Positivity	4	50	5	59	3	6	1	10	2	1	0	3
Negativity	25	98	18	141	16	15	0	31	14	0	0	14
Reference to Power	38	124	6	168	39	8	0	48	66	1	0	67
Personalization	7	49	31	87	10	8	3	21	9	0	1	10
Follow-up/ Continuity	18	62	10	90	20	1	0	21	28	0	0	28
Celebrity	2	10	12	24	3	1	1	5	4	0	0	4
TOTAL	**102**	**446**	**113**	**661**	**112**	**44**	**6**	**163**	**132**	**2**	**1**	**135**
(%)				68,93%				17%				14,08%

As can be seen in Table 4, the number of posts that received more than 300 comments is low. The majority of news (68,93%) received comments no more than 100. Over 300 comments were posted under only 135 news which corresponds to 14,08% of total. As to most commented news, it was shown that, reference to power, negativity, and follow-up were the most-influencing factors. The lowest commented news was related to celebrities.

Discussion and Conclusion

Within the scope of this study, a one-month period of the selected newspapers was included in the sampling. Three-step analysis was employed. For the first step – thematic categorization, in total, 1,069 news posts (391 in Sözcü, 553 in Sabah, and 125 in Hürriyet) were captured and analyzed through content analysis. Then, based on the understanding of newsworthiness, 957 news articles were selected and examined under specific categories. Based on research questions, four main categories were identified for the findings: Distribution of Main Themes, Representation of News and Frequency, Contextual News Values, and Reactional News Values.

For the first research questions, it was focused on the presentation of news on Instagram and the frequency of sharing. The findings showed that the structure of news on Instagram is different from that of print media. In particular, videos are key components of Instagram news as the photos are more subsidiary. Another finding is that written language is employed to introduce the news. Therefore, it is impossible to discuss the 5Ws rules in Instagram news. Video presentation is the foundation of news on Instagram. Visual details such as quality and duration of visuals are essential for newsworthiness of news.

Secondly, the main themes were specified by the analysis. According to the findings, politics was the most shared theme in two newspapers. 31,20% of news in Sözcü, and 18,80% of news in Sabah were related to domestic politics. On the other hand, there were no politics-related news posted on Instagram account of Hürriyet. In Hürriyet, the most shared (28%) theme was about individual stories. It should be noted that, while the content of politics-related news in Sözcü is predominantly related with the opposition parties, *CHP* and *İYİ Party*; the speeches and statements of Turkey's President and the leader of AK Party, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, were mostly posted by Sabah. There is a harsh criticism in these two political views reciprocatively – between CHP and AK Party. Unlike Sabah and Sözcü, Hürriyet posted nothing of a political nature on Instagram during the one-month period.

The second highest percentage belongs to "column" category (9,7%) in Sözcü, "headline news" (11,40%) in Sabah, and "criminal videos" (24,80%) in Hürriyet. On the other hand, the lowest percentage is in landscape-related news (0,30%) in Sözcü, sport (0,50%) and promotion/ads (0,70%) in Sabah, and sport (0,80%), landscape (0,80%) and promotion/ads (0,80%) posts in Hürriyet. In total, promotion/ads and sport related news were the least-shared themes by all newspapers on Instagram.

As to the third research question about the effectiveness of news values in the content of news shared via Instagram, the findings showed that, reference to power was the most effective new values with 29,26%. In particular, the statements of political leaders, and political conflicts were mostly-reacted news by the audiences. The second most effective news factor was negativity with 19,54%. The follow/continuity (14,52%) and entertainment (13,38%) were the other significant news values. Celebrity was seen as the least influential news factor with a percentage of 3,45.

Based on the fourth research question related to audience reactions, two important criteria of insta-worthiness – viewing and interactivity were analyzed by referring *to* the numbers of views and comments. Concerning the number and distribution of views, out of 816 videos, only 97 were viewed by more than 100,000 users. The majority of videos (n=325) were viewed no more than 10.000 users. On the other hand, out of 97 the most watched videos, 44 were reference to power, 16 were negativity, 11 were personalization, nine were entertainment, five were follow-up, and five were celebrity factor. Only two videos related to positive/good news were viewed over 100.000 users. For the other news factor – interactivity, it was focused on the comments posted under the news. In this context, it was shown that, only 135 news posts had more than 300 comments. Out of these 135 posts, 66 were reference to power, and 28 were follow-up news. Negativity was effective in 14 news posts.

In the scope of the last research question, insta-worthiness was conceptualized based on news values. In doing so, as discussed above, news values were evaluated under two categories: contextual and reactional. Based on the findings, it can be argued that, *reference to power* and *negativity* are the most effective contextual news factors of insta-worthiness. Political issues and negative consequences, deaths, and other such content attract attention of audiences. On the other hand, *follow-up/continuity* and *entertainmen*t were the other important news values

for insta-worthiness. *Celebrity* (is the final news factor which contributes to insta-worthiness contextually. One of the contextual news factors that contribute to insta-worthiness is *celebrit*y. Reference to elite/famous people attracts the attention of the users to a large extent. Considering that daily news flows vary between 9 and 16 posts, frequency becomes also important for insta-worthiness in terms of newness and actuality. In this context, a more appropriate term may be *instantaneity*, which is similar to the concept exclusiveness. On the other hand, the other significant values for news on Instagram can likely be indicated as *interactivity* and *viewing*. While interactivity reflects the number of comments under the related post, viewing describes the rating of the video. The findings also revealed that some of the videos were viewed by more than 100.000 users; however, no comments were posted by the audiences. Therefore, the criterion of viewing must be considered as essential component of insta-worthiness.

This limited research analyzed one-month period of the related sites in order to form an opinion about news values on Instagram. In the future, more comprehensive research can be conducted for long-term analysis. In this way, more criteria may be revealed for understanding insta-worthiness. By focusing on a suggested term, insta-worthiness, this study aimed to contribute to understanding of newsworthiness and news values on social media. It is thought to be directive for the future research.

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