6 Media and modalities – News media

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As we were writing this chapter, the 2020 election campaign in the US was entering its last week before the elections. There are probably few more news-intensive events in the world than the American presidential elections. The smallest and, in other settings, seemingly irrelevant details of a candidate's behaviour and appearance (a slip of the tongue, the way that they laugh or their temporary memory losses) are immediately picked up by cameras and microphones and publicized across news networks and commented on and shared throughout social media networks in a matter of seconds and minutes, possibly affecting people's attitudes towards particular politicians and parties (directly or indirectly).

The circulation of news is a prerequisite for any modern democratic society and is typically expected to serve the purpose of scrutinizing those in power, expose abuse and corruption while at the same time informing citizens about important events, risks and developments (Aalberg and Curran 2013). How news is produced and received has been studied quite extensively, and the effects of news consumption have constituted a long-standing issue in communication scholarship (see, for example, Ells (2018) and Harcup and O'Neill (2016)). The way news is mediated is fundamental to our understanding of the meaning of news in our societies and cultures (see Zelizer (2017) and Bennett (2016)). Lacey and Rosenstiehl (2015) proposed a definition that is both representative of scholarly perspectives and summative of the components and use of news: 'Journalism is the serial presentation of information and conversation about public events, trends and issues distributed through various media with the primary purpose of informing, entertaining and connecting citizens in communities' (p. 5). In everyday speech news media are '*the media*'. News media highlight in a nearly paradigmatic way how our idea of any media depends on the ways they are produced and disseminated. News looks and sounds very different depending on whether we read newspapers, listen to the radio, watch the evening news or check our social media feed. What do all these different media products have in common? And does it matter whether we read our news on paper or whether we scroll the latest headlines on our smartphone? What happens when we share news on social media?

An intermedial perspective allows us to point out how these questions are interconnected. We will explore the role of mass media as technical media of display. We draw attention to how basic media types such as text, still or moving images or auditory media types are integrated into a characteristic mode of presentation. Taken together, these characteristics form the conventions that qualify our perception of news.

What is news?

News has been a crucial aspect of human life for as long as we have organized ourselves in societal structures. Up-to-date knowledge about available resources, prices and army sizes have determined fates throughout history (Barnhurst and Nerone 2002). Narrations of recent battles, discoveries, royal marriages, power struggles and intrigues have always attracted attention – as much around the tribal fires of long ago as they do today, even though we can now access news via screens or headphones. Throughout human history, pieces of news have thus always been – in some form or other – commodities with a specific value. And being able to share relevant news has always been connected with status – even long before the invention of social media. In today's hybrid media landscape (Chadwick 2013), however, defining what is 'news' is trickier, from a scholarly perspective, than it used to be when most of the news was primarily distributed by powerful, authorized mass media with massive reach. Social media have become crucial not only for the dissemination and sharing of news, but also as a tool for research into current topics and a way of reaching out to people for interviews. It is not only professional journalists who disseminate news via digital media; bloggers and Facebook users do so as well, as do various alternative media, which challenges the previously privileged position of legacy news providers (Hendrickx 2020).

In a traditional journalistic sense, news is often defined in terms of newsworthiness: news tells stories about current events, about people, things and events that are deemed important (for example, in terms of political implications), novel, unusual or peculiar and that have some element that is of interest to humans. But the concept of news is also shaped in a heuristic way by the technical media of display: news is what pops up in newspapers or news broadcasts on a daily basis. News is what you read on folded paper, news is a text with a bold headline, and news is what you hear and watch at a particular time of day. News is formed by the technical media that display them and involves a particular use of basic media types. But looking at the issue like this quickly leads to the realization that defining news according to its external appearance is a 'primitive construct' (Shoemaker 2006, p. 105). And what ends up as links to pieces of news (often with comments that frame them) in your Twitter feed is the result of a complex web of decisions, production processes, algorithms and editorial value judgements. For an event to become news, it has to be selected and edited. Also, the value of news as a commodity, like that of currency, depends on what people are willing to pay for it.

The intrinsic quality of novelty

What is a piece of news and why does it exist? The definition of news has shifted historically and so have the shapes and formats in which it is delivered to users. The most obvious constitutive element of news as an object is the intrinsic promise of the novelty and freshness it offers to anyone who is longing to consume it. News is like water that is drawn from a sparkling river and served cold in a glass to the thirsty. In order to qualify as ‘news’, it has to be retrieved from the never-ending stream of fresh events that flows through the world of humans and that is packaged and served to users who have not yet tasted these specific drops of water – even if they come from a river that everyone has drunk from before. As soon as it has been tasted, it loses value as rapidly as it loses its freshness/novelty, like a bottle of sparkling water that soon gets stale after it has been opened. And like the water in a bottle that is sold at the airport, news has a best-before date. News items are sought out and collected, quality controlled, packaged, branded, transported, distributed and sold to serve the fundamental needs of the masses – to be consumed before the expiry date. News exists on the assumption that ‘there is more where this came from’. Its consumption, like rituals and habits, makes sense because of the repetition of this action (Carey 2008). In other words, its *raison d’être* and general appeal lie, paradoxically, in its intrinsic transience coupled with the promise of there being more tomorrow. Thus, it is important to acknowledge that news is not always sensational or shocking. Routines of production and consumption coupled with expectations of a steady flow of reporting generate many stories that are more or less predictable.

What distinguishes news *qua* news from mere bits of information is precisely this: the way in which it reaches people and the package in which it comes. In a sense, when we think of news, ‘the medium is the message’, as Marshall McLuhan (McLuhan and Fiore 1967) famously put it. Information is (and has always been, to some extent) readily available in vast amounts, but this is the case today more than ever before. A set of statistics, however, obtained through some database and automatically imported into a field in a spreadsheet, is not necessarily a piece of news (Clerwall 2014). It can become news the minute it is actively retrieved by journalists, processed editorially and placed within the context of a narrative of an article or a feature in which it sheds light on some aspect of existence that is novel and that makes sense. An event becomes news as it is told as a news story. Ideally, news not only should inform us of what happened but provide some kind of context and understanding of why this particular event matters. When a stock price drops, it makes a splash in some database that is monitored by traders, and that might inform the trader’s immediate buying behaviour. To put the event into context, the journalist writes a story based on research and observation and disseminates that story to a large audience. One of the qualifying traits of news, in other words, is its close affinity with the narrative form (see Elleström 2019) as well as with distribution. An often-used synonym for ‘news’ is indeed ‘story’. The function of the

story is to inform about an event. To fulfil this task as smoothly as possible, a news story follows well-defined patterns and pre-defined formats.

The technical media of display: News and the mass media

News consists of stories about recent events that are distributed by mass media like newspapers, radio, television and via the internet (along with the old-fashioned mass medium of gossip). There is a very close connection between news and the newspaper as a technical medium of display that was invented to spread news and that is primarily dedicated to spreading news, even if other qualified media types are disseminated as well. Each of these mass media has a specific history of its own. They not only shape the conception of news, but have a particular impact on society and on the public debate. The invention of newspapers helped to establish what we call the public sphere and public debate (Conboy 2004). The internet and rise of social media have radically changed the terms of public discourse.

The technology and business model of mass media include spreading and reaching as many as possible and leads to standardized production processes and story patterns. Whatever is spread via mass media has to comply with the 'media logic' (Altheide 2015). News always exists in a plural form; it reaches its audience in compilations. A media product such as one issue of a newspaper or a particular news programme always consists of different minor media products. A newspaper or news programme will involve different genres of news of different sizes and styles; short reports and longer features, editorials and commentaries, different topics like politics, sports or culture. In newspapers, on the radio and television, news is integrated into larger conglomerates of different media types (Kolodzy 2006).

Thus the news media and their technical media of display form complex networks of relationships on different levels: the production process of news is based on networks and collaborations (Barnhurst and Nerone 2002). News connects different audiences that are addressed differently on different levels, as citizens and consumers. Journalists as professional producers of news always are in dialogue with different audiences.

News and the four modalities

Depending on the technical medium of display, different basic media types are multimodally integrated. Text and images appear on the pages of printed newspapers; auditory text, speech, sound effects and music are used in radio; and moving images, sound effects, auditory text, speech and music are used in television. Historically, different media outlets used different basic media types depending on their technical media of display. In digital communication, there is a convergence of printed, audio and television news, and all kinds of news outlets use text and/or images, videos and new digital forms of news updates.

The basic media types interact closely but are often separately produced in different departments or at different stages of the standardized production process. Separately produced elements are connected by additional elements. Headlines and captions, for instance, connect body text and news photographs.

The quality of news as stories of recent events also influences how audiences interact with the basic media types of news media in the four modalities. In the *material* modality, we interact with surfaces (like screens or pages) when we read a newspaper, we interact with a screen and sound waves from loudspeakers when we watch the TV news, and we interact with sound waves from loudspeakers when we listen to the radio. This means that news uses the same interfaces as many other qualified media types. Contrary to what happens with a novel, a scientific article or a Hollywood movie, the printed pages that display news are repeatedly replaced in daily issues, the screens of news sites are continually updated, and on television and the radio there are several news bulletins a day at certain times.

In the *sensorial* modality, news is therefore constructed to draw our sensory attention to the latest issue/update/developments. Basic media types such as text, images and auditory media types are used to draw attention to the news, for example, the large fonts used for headlines, the jingle that is often played just before radio and TV news, the old-fashioned call of the newspaper sellers in the street and the push notification that makes your smartphone vibrate. Certain media products such as posters and breaking-news banners are designed purely to draw attention to the latest news.

In the *spatiotemporal* modality, we perceive news items as temporal events and developments. But this temporality is not the same as the unfolding that takes place in an ephemeral live theatre performance or in a music performance. News programmes, although temporal events, consist of media products that are produced, archived and often repeated. Similar to the way in which we perceive the sequentiality of texts as temporal because we read one word after the other, one article after the other follows up on the same event. Each individual piece of news is thus part of an unfolding event of news development. This sequential order of pieces of news used to be strictly chronological. In digital media, the position of individual pieces of news in the chronology of news development or their position in the hierarchy of a newspaper or news programme is not stable anymore. Individual news stories are linked and shared on social media. 'Old' news appears as a reading suggestion related to the latest developments (Carlson 2017, pp. 60–6). Another temporal aspect of news not only covers the present and the recent past but the possible future. News not only tells what has recently happened but often involves different scenarios of what might happen as a possible result of the present events. Regarding the spatial characteristics of news, it is clear that news often reports in the material modality from a particular place. The journalist reports from a place where the audience is not, something that Jay Rosen (2013) expresses as the condition of 'awayness'. This condition not only applies to foreign correspondents but

expresses the asymmetric relation that the journalist was present at a particular event while most of the audience was not. On the page of the newspaper, spatial relations equal the importance of the event. On television and radio, the amount of time dedicated to reporting an event equals the importance of an event. On the internet, hyperlinks to other articles create a spatiotemporal network.

In the *semiotic modality*, the factual truth claim of news plays an important role. The news tells stories to provide information about an event. In the news, the cohesion of narrative patterns is used to put the particular event into a meaningful context (Carlson 2017, p. 54). This has effects on the visual and auditory form of news. In the factual mode of storytelling, language both in text and in speech is primarily used in accordance with its conventional meaning, as journalism generally strives to take an objective stance. Still, the iconic relations in language can be perceived in the use of metaphors that effectively frame the current event. The truth claim of a factual narrative also highlights the indexical function of written or recorded quotes of sources that are integrated into journalists' reports and the indexical function of photographs and moving images taken at the site of events. Archival or stock images and sounds that are not taken on the site of events illustrate and relate iconically to the event. However, like the verbal imagery of metaphors, stock and archival images frame the event to some extent, and so does music when it is added to the soundtrack.

Qualifying aspects: Turning events into news

So far, we have identified the intrinsic quality (and promise) of novelty and how it is supported by the rapid distribution of mass media as technical media of display. We have also explored how the basic media types combine and integrate to tell the news as a story using standardized narrative patterns.

However, news is also defined by its context. News is socially constructed and shaped by the expectations of both newsrooms and audiences. As we mentioned earlier, news is not only qualified by communicating actual recent events; actual events are turned into news by way of several processes: they have to be identified as news, told as news stories and perceived as news by an audience, and all of this must be done according to certain conventions. News, along with money, is one of the most obviously socially constructed things in society. Hacking (1999) defines social constructions as things that are put together in a certain way and are therefore perceived in a certain way because of the choices made during the construction and the collective attribution of value by certain groups. The point here, of course, is that the object itself might have been constructed and perceived differently if other choices had been made during the construction (Berkowitz and Liu 2014). This observation is especially obvious in relation to news. The choices made during the construction of the media product have a direct impact on our understanding of reality. In the following, we explore these qualifying processes that turn events into news: recent events are selected as

relevant, newsworthy. They are presented in the form of a story. These stories convey certain truth claims. They are written to be spread. In this final part of the chapter, we explore these qualifying aspects of news and discuss how the way they are produced and used characterizes what news is.

First, the content of news is not only defined by the criterion of novelty. Not all new events become news. There is a tough selection process that determines what becomes news; this is based on criteria that are called news values, such as geographical proximity, cultural affinity and degree of spectacularity or danger/risk (McIntyre 2016). This process is determined by an editorial logic, which follows traditions and ways of working within the journalistic profession, resulting in a specific set of topics that typically become news. In newspapers, this becomes manifest and visible through the different sections in the paper, of course (i.e. 'Sports', 'Politics', 'Culture' etc.). Likewise, similar labels operate in radio and TV as an established typology of news in various media forms. Within this typology, various selection processes operate to sift the infinite flow of possibly newsworthy events into actually reported and commented-on events. Most of them follow routines and predictable cycles. Elections, 'the beat' of reporters in Washington, the announcement of the Nobel prize or the Oscars, the Olympics are highly anticipated recurring media events. Other events, such as terror attacks, wars, financial crises and pandemics, suddenly appear on the horizon and can occupy and dominate the news for longer or shorter periods of time (Edson, Tandoc and Duffy 2019).

The way in which the news tells stories about current events matters. Although we are focusing on becoming informed about the latest events when we are reading news, at the same time we are reading a story, a standardized narrative, that helps both the journalist to produce news reports fast and the audience to put the new event into the context of previous events. The story of the same event can be told differently. Lippmann (1922) pointed out that in modern mass society, news interferes with people's perception of reality to a great extent. The reality does not matter as much as what people think reality is like. When decisions have to be made, it is the 'pictures in our heads' that will be our deciding factors. Therefore, how news stories are told has implications. And referring again to the presidential election campaigns in the USA, these points can be readily demonstrated by simply flipping between the Fox News and CNN channels. Depending on which channel you watch, you are presented with substantially different accounts of the same events. Donald Trump's (b. 1946) campaign rally in North Carolina was described in terms of crowd size and enthusiasm, which were illustrated by footage (Fox News), or as the probable cause of two new registered cases of COVID-19 (CNN). Stories are never only about events. Stories connect events into causal chains that provide meaningful cohesion. Stories, novels, biographies, news and myths always make us understand how the world functions. Thus, news stories do not just provide information about an event. They tell us about the event by putting it into a narrative context. News stories always include framings and insinuations about what is important or problematic, who is culpable and what should have been

done about problem x, y and z (Scheufele and Iyengar 2012). Culturally, therefore, the reception and interpretation of news will always involve the inspection of the piece through the lens of asking, ‘Do I agree with the way the story is being told, or not?’ This is a huge part of what makes news endlessly fascinating to so many.

There is a certain claim of epistemic superiority attached to news compared to other stories about recent events, told, for instance, by a friend on social media. News is a particular form of knowledge production that is based on current events (Carlson 2017, p. 40). In the mass communication era, journalism is the primary source of this kind of knowledge and is reinforced by the halo of ‘truthiness’ (Zelizer 2009). In other words, truthiness is the quality that makes it possible, for example, in a satire of news, to imitate news humorously – if there is no truthiness in real news, the apparently false assertions often made in satirical news would not make sense (Littau and Stewart 2015). Although the story of the event is constructed, a news story claims to be truthful in relation to the event. Matt Carlson (2017) describes journalistic authority as relational. It is based on the claim that a journalist follows professional practice, on a relevant evaluation process in the newsrooms. Having the authority to tell truthful accounts of recent events is also reiterated by complying with the usual visual and narrative patterns of news. Using the visual and auditory form of news reports gives rise to a truth claim concerning objectivity and truthful narration.

Today, in 2020, other sources compete with news for the attention of audiences, and they make similar truth claims and also draw on the visual and auditory form of news media to gain authority. The institutions that have traditionally produced news commodities throughout the centuries (legacy newspapers, large private and public service TV broadcasters and the major radio stations) have often sold their products with an attached promise of trustworthiness. The news and views disseminated through these channels were considered to be the backbone of modern democracy for a long time – the *sine qua non* for informed public debate – and the major players still enjoy today, to a certain degree, the privileged position of setting agendas about what is considered important and setting standards about what is to be trusted (McCombs and Shaw 1972). The trustworthiness of news was always linked to a certain journalistic methodology concerning verification: checking the story, listening to both sides, fairness and objectivity. Such truth claims are closely related to ideals of modernity, of course, and are good examples of how a journalistic construal of news goes hand in hand with a modern construal of society at large (Conboy 2004).

While the success of such enterprises bears testimony to the fact that, for the most part, people have been willing to pay for news supplied by these actors, the legitimacy of news providers has always been questioned. Media critics have always pointed out the flaws of news organizations and challenged their integrity (Holt and von Krogh 2010). Today, leaving aside the entertainment industry, stories containing accounts of current events in the form of narratives can be obtained through a plethora of alternative channels, the content of

which is produced by actors other than the established news providers, whose aims differ from those of the established news outlets (Holt et al. 2019). The distinctive feature of news as a trustworthy source of orientation in society is therefore increasingly being problematized. In recent years, the flawed and problematic notion of ‘fake news’ epitomizes a seemingly sudden large-scale realization that not all news can be trusted to tell accurate stories about current events. Of course, it is fake news that fake news is something new; it has always been a current in the stream of news, but today it highlights, perhaps more acutely than ever before, the epistemic dimension of news. This fourth attribute of news is therefore increasingly considered to be in play at the moment, as modern truth claims are increasingly challenged in postmodern times. Also, when more and more of the distribution runs through social media platforms, which are controlled by Big Tech companies, like Google, and non-proprietary platforms, the ‘epistemic claims of news journalism and the practices of justifications’ (Ekström and Westlund 2019) are increasingly challenged. This is indicative of a more complicated task for news providers: they need to justify their truth claims in relation to changing audience behaviour and in competition with other actors and other platforms.

News needs to be spread reasonably quickly or it becomes yesterday’s news. News items should be considered as commodities that consist of novelty, packaged as stories, whose meaning and relevance is socially constructed but still carries specific epistemic qualities for which it is valued. This narrows down what news supposedly is. The question of how it is disseminated is another issue. The technical media of display and their dissemination not only form our understanding of what news looks (or sounds) like but how and when news is received. The distribution of news follows fashions in modern society. Many people still read their morning paper along with their first cup of coffee in the morning. Commuters can tune in to the morning briefing on the radio while they drive to work or can listen through headphones on the subway. Others can wait until they have a less busy few minutes during the day to browse the webpages of their trusted newspapers. Often, we have already been alerted to important news through our social media networks, and those who pay more attention to what is going on inform the rest of us by sharing links to news about recent developments. In any case, our news consumption is always tied to specific technologies that facilitate certain reception activities. These activities in themselves, through repetition, develop a ritual function: the form of news and the ritual of reading/scrolling/listening to news promises an overview about recent events (Carlson 2017, pp. 69–73).

The printing press, the radio, the TV, the internet: each technology has introduced new implications for the understanding of news. Printed newspapers narrowed the time slots between news updates and turned news into something that can be expected on a daily basis. The order of news on the pages of newspapers also increasingly implied a structured presentation of the daily news in a hierarchical order, like a kind of social map (Barnhurst and Nerone 2002). When the radio entered households and workplaces

(and eventually cars) in the early twentieth century, news became something that could be switched on or off. It also shortened the time it took for news to circulate because there were updates every hour or every half hour. The difference between reading and listening implied a shift in the ritual of imbibing news content. While the same type of stories generally became news, radio changed expectations regarding the level of attention being given by the listener, the mode of perception and the timings for interacting with news. Radio news enabled live reports to be broadcast from the site of events, so sources were not only quoted in written words but were heard via their voices.

The moving images of television offered an even more engaging form of news consumption and brought new qualities to it. Live broadcasting, for example, of events such as the heavyweight boxing world championships, coronations and fiction readings and plays allowed a sense of immediacy that had never been possible before (Enli 2015). The introduction of the worldwide web in the 1990s completely changed many aspects of news: the time frame of the daily news cycle went from morning and evening news to news 24/7 coverage. News is updated and replaced continuously. Hyperlinks opened up the news as never-ending text. The network of news, that is, how news items relate to each other, became more visible. From being finite and linear accounts of events with a limited context, news could include links to an infinite amount of contextual information, allowing for higher levels of transparency and further reading than before (Karlsson and Holt 2016). Interactivity and participation were enabled in ways that would have been unfathomable just a few years earlier, and the possibility of commenting on, sharing and eventually liking and retweeting news has transformed the way people interact with news and has also allowed for a new transparency in the measurement of what people deem relevant. The number of interactions with pieces of news published online is now a standard by which salience is measured, and the tools that are used for doing so are increasingly sophisticated and increasingly informing editorial decision-making.

News is always receptively negotiated; that is, it is always actively received by specific audiences in specific contexts at specific times (Fletcher and Nielsen 2017). At all times in history, news has been exchanged when people meet, for instance, in the marketplace, in a pub or at family reunions – the exchange of information is a social activity (Marshall 2017). In the news distribution system of mass media communication, one aspect has been emphasized in the reception of news: how it reaches end-users through other influential actors. When we look at pre-digital newspapers, television and radio news, the distribution and communication of news looks like a one-way communication. What Katz (1957) called the ‘two-step flow of communication’ (the continuous remediation and consequent influence on the reception of political news stories through influential voices such as pastors, village mayors or other ‘opinion leaders’) is made visible in 2020, the time of writing, by the circulation of news through social media. People nowadays do not always encounter news items directly through newspapers, the radio or TV stations; they might access news via links shared on social media by friends and other influential people they follow (Singer 2014). Even before news was publicly

distributed by the mass media, politicians and business owners had a network of correspondents who told them about local news by letter (Droste 2018). In these networks, the sharing of news involved social status and power. The potential to share news and interact with news digitally highlights the social (and even sociopolitical) aspects of sharing news.

In sum, the ontological features of news cannot really be separated from its chains of distribution. Our understanding of news is shaped by the technology used to communicate it, by social contexts and conventions and by the way we share and consume news as a habit. The technology with which news is disseminated inevitably alters our perception of, interaction with and valuation of the salience of news. In this respect, digital media have once again changed and redefined what news is. Digital news has often been distinguished from more analogue forms of news along the lines of interactivity, immediacy, hypertextuality and multimodality. These indicate areas where news that can be accessed via the internet adds something new in comparison to older forms. Interactivity signals user participation and active interaction with news that is made possible by the online format. The immediacy of online news relates to the speed of publication online. Hypertextuality signifies the new possibility of linking to other texts. Multimodality indicates the use of various modes combined (Karlsson and Holt 2016). The mediation of news is currently in a stage of renegotiation in terms of materiality, modality and contextuality. This process of renegotiation is to some extent also indicative of a destabilization of long-held common construals of what news is, where it comes from and how it reaches its audience.

Table 6.1 Media and modalities – News media

Media types and modalities	Description
Technical media of display	Mass media: newspapers, radio and television sets, computers, e-reader, tablets, smartphones Production process: selection, standardized production, compilation Dissemination: in regular issues/broadcasts/updates, in conglomerates with other media types, through social networks
Basic media types	Printed newspaper: text (headlines, captions, body text, lead, byline) and image (photographs, illustrations), text + image: infographics Radio: sound (auditive text, speech, jingles, music) TV: image (still and moving), sound (auditive text, speech, jingles, music) Internet: convergence of all/some basic media types
Qualifying media type	Stories about current events based on research and observation, selected and edited according to news values Genres: editorials, reports, features Operational: shared and consumed according to regular/ritual habits

<i>Media types and modalities</i>	<i>Description</i>
Material modality	Newspaper: Flat surfaces (pages and screens) Radio: electronic sound waves Television: surfaces (screens), electronic sound waves Internet: surfaces of screens, electronic sound waves, and interactive tools (keyboard, mouse, touchscreen)
Sensorial modality	Newspaper: dominantly visual Radio: auditory Television: audiovisual Internet: audiovisual and tactile Designed to attract attention and evoke an emotional response
Spatiotemporal modality	Material: recentness and ‘awayness’ Semiotic: extrapolation from current events to future events (virtual time and space)
Semiotic modality	Text and auditory text: dominantly symbolic, but iconic use of metaphors as frames, indexical in quotes Images: indexical (photographs, footage from site), iconic (illustrations, archival images) Infographics: dominantly symbolic Sound: indexical and symbolic

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