

Permeating Boundaries in News Media and Academia: A Comparative Analysis of Overlapping News Frames and Disciplinary Perspectives

by

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Abstract: This article extends Julie Thompson Klein's ideas on boundary work and typologies of interdisciplinarity from the context of academia to the context of international news media. It draws a metaphorical connection between news frames and the perspectives of academic disciplines, perceiving both as providing selective, limited views on the world. Building on Klein's observation that boundaries of disciplines both enclose and are permeable, I explore how and to what extent boundaries between frames and boundaries between academic and societal fields sponsoring these frames are permeated in the news, forming wider frameworks of interpretation. Empirically, I draw upon a comparative study of international news articles produced and published in the U.S. and Finland, concerning complex developments in South Africa and Brazil. Challenging hegemony of the Global North, these nations of the Global South have aimed to increase their voice in the international public sphere, an effect apparent in the articles in the study. In an effort to demonstrate how Klein's work can contribute to the field of political communication, I associate Klein's ideas about interdisciplinarity, geopolitics, and location of knowledge with Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini's (2004) typology of media systems and different forms of pluralisms shaping journalistic coverage in the U.S. and Finland. The ultimate goal of this article is to show how Klein's work can pave the way for a more comprehensive analysis of democratic knowledge production, encompassing both news media and academia, in different parts of the world.

Keywords: boundaries, comparative analysis, disciplines/interdisciplinarity, disciplinary perspectives, Global North, Global South, news frames

As Julie Thompson Klein (1996) has noted, all knowledge is located (p. 3). This article focuses on the dynamic boundaries shaping, limiting, and

expanding Western knowledge concerning the Global South.¹ Most people in the Western world or the so-called Global North² learn about the Global South from international news. Building on a study of news produced and published in two diverse Northern democracies, the U.S. and Finland, concerning complex developments in two diverse democracies of the Global South, South Africa and Brazil, this article explores and applies Klein's ideas on the permeation of boundaries, geopolitics, and new categories of knowledge.

Klein (1996) has observed that arguments about knowledge are often guided by metaphors (p. 5). The present article draws a metaphorical connection between news frames and the perspectives of academic disciplines, perceiving both as providing selective views on the world, such as windows do (Benson, 2013, p. 5; Klein, 1990, p. 104; Tuchman, 1978, p. 1). Extending Klein's discussion on boundary work (as in her 2019 manuscript in preparation, but available to this author) and typologies of interdisciplinarity (Klein, 2017) from the context of academia to the context of news media, I explore whether and how boundaries between news frames are and can be permeated, creating wider frameworks of interpretation. I also examine the relative scope of views provided by combined and overlapping news frames. Metaphors can ignite imagination (Hackney, 2016), and I like to imagine that my analysis of related phenomena in news media and academia will inspire new questions as to sharing ideas across sectors. The news analysis presented here is also rooted in area studies, given it deals with global and regional contexts. Whereas the inherent interdisciplinarity of area studies can aid academics in the formation of more multifaceted understandings of distant regions (Calhoun, 2017; Klein, 2018), multiperspectival news can help media audiences perceive distant regions in more complex ways (e.g., Benson, 2013, p. 5; Porto, 2007, p. 312). This article explores how and to what extent a multiperspectival view achieved through combinations of disciplines such as that sought by those engaged in area studies can be realized in international news produced in the Global North achieved through combinations of news frames.

Until now, collaboration between area studies scholars and media scholars has been scarce despite their shared interest in complex realities that beg for interdisciplinary understandings. Greg Calhoun (2017) describes how, in the 20th century, disciplinary knowledge came to be understood as ideally abstracting from specific cases and contexts to establish more universal laws, whereas area studies remained focused on the specifics of local conjunctures of history, culture, politics, and environment (p. 120; see also Klein, 2018, p. 19). Calhoun (2017) notes that, more recently, "area studies are being

¹ Global South refers to the nations of Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

² The "Western world" and the Global North are understood as encompassing Western Europe, North America and Australia (Harden, 2014).

reimagined,” handled so as to reveal new connections between regions and emphasize the geopolitical importance of areas previously classified as “underdeveloped” (p. 19; see also Klein, 2018, p. 122). This article investigates American and Finnish news concerning nations of the Global South previously dismissed as “underdeveloped” but with their geopolitical importance finally recognized, namely, South Africa and Brazil. Drawing from area studies, I examine the extent to which the news about those countries considers “local conjunctures of history, culture, politics, and environment,” reflecting views from many sources, including ordinary citizens, and reporting a variety of political, ideological, and social viewpoints, so as to help news audiences in the Global North to perceive Southern realities in a more complex way. This article inspired by area studies is also concerned with the democratization of knowledge in international media. In this way, I hope to show how approaches through area studies can enrich the study of international news and extend Klein’s notions on how the potential of area studies and its interdisciplinarity is being reimagined in the current age.

Within the broader field of media and communication studies, this article primarily engages with the subfield of political communication. Many studies in this subfield examine ways in and the extent to which the media system reflects ideological and institutional divisions in society (e.g., Benson, 2009b; Gans, 2011). In their classic comparative study of such systems, Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004) argued that the “Liberal” media system of which the U.S. is the clearest example is founded on the tradition of internal pluralism, meaning that each individual news outlet promotes a diversity of viewpoints. In contrast, the “Democratic Corporatist” media system that prevails in Finland is rooted in the tradition of segmented pluralism, meaning that each news outlet is committed to promoting a particular perspective, with diversity of viewpoints created only at the media system level (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, pp. 73-75). Hallin and Mancini (2004) predicted a gradual global shift toward the Liberal tradition (see also Hallin & Mancini, 2017, p. 163). However, researchers have found many important differences between U.S. and European media systems to have persisted over time, due to differences in newspaper industry revenues, commercial broadcasting revenues, and level of public funding for public service media organizations (e.g., Benson, 2013; Nielsen, 2013).

Media and political systems have not developed in isolation from education systems. Hallin and Mancini (2004) found journalistic professionalization to be one of the principal factors that differentiate media systems in distinct parts of the world. Even though they consider many of the different aspects of the education journalists might undergo, Hallin and Mancini like others in

political communication do not address the role interdisciplinarity might play in that education, including the extent to which journalists and their news audiences have had the opportunity to study in interdisciplinary programs, how interdisciplinary programs (if any) are organized in each particular region, and how this programming might have impacted the pluralist traditions and ways in which journalists seek to provide the diversity of perspectives those traditions promote. Among its other purposes, this article sheds light on and raises new possible questions about interconnections between media, political, and educational systems.

A review of the recent bibliographies by leading authors in political and international communication (e.g., Benson, 2009a,b, 2013; Bird, 2010; Gans, 2011; Hallin & Mancini 2004, 2012, 2017; Nielsen 2013) indicates no references to Klein or to other leading scholars in interdisciplinary studies. In this article, then, my final purpose is to encourage more dialogue between scholars who study diversity in academia and scholars who study diversity in the news media in order to pave the way for a more comprehensive analysis of these interconnected spheres. During an era when the center of knowledge production is moving away from universities, with media playing an increasingly essential role as a source of information (see Frodeman, 2017; see also Klein, 2018, p. 23), this more holistic approach to the analysis of knowledge production is both needed and timely.

Geopolitics, Interdisciplinarity, and Dynamics of Fields

In Klein's (2019) words, "boundaries pervade our lives: from geopolitical borders and legal jurisdictions to taxonomies classifying animal and plant species as well as typologies of academic disciplines and occupational professions." Geopolitical boundaries in particular are relevant to this study, as it draws from recent work in which I compared Northern news stories on the Global South, more specifically, American and Finnish news stories on South Africa and Brazil (Cheas, 2018). At the same time, it addresses spatial, hierarchical, social, cultural, temporal, and divisional boundaries (see Klein, 2019) apparent in the news stories, boundaries reflective of the world views of those reporting the stories and of those being reported upon.

Pierre Bourdieu (1987) has noted, "Any theory of the social universe must include the representation that agents have of the social world and, more precisely, the contribution they make to the construction of the vision of that world" (p. 10). This article explores Bourdieu's point by means of a frame analysis, frames being defined as constructs that offer selective views on the world. The frames are sponsored by agents, in this case journalists, as well

as the subjects of journalism, with different habitus, shaped by the range of cultural, political, and economic institutions with which these agents are affiliated. Through a combination of frame and field analysis, I have measured the extent to which diverse Southern and Northern people have assumed a voice reflecting their world views and contributed to framing of Southern realities in Northern news media (see Benson, 2009a, 2013). As Klein (1990) has observed, literature on interdisciplinarity suggests a “field” is an “empire” and the major activity between those different fields is dispute over territory (p. 77). Previous media analyses have quite unanimously agreed that Southern fields have been accorded only marginal space in Northern news (e.g., Figenschou, 2010; Hamilton & Lawrence, 2010; Lugo-Ocando, 2015). However, following the turn of the 21st century, South Africa and Brazil, along with other nations in the Global South, have claimed more space in the international public sphere, in which their agents, their voices, can speak out about their particular circumstances and needs (Harden, 2014). Thus, the relative amount of space pertaining to Northern and Southern fields in international news needs to be re-examined, if we are to understand the extent to which Northern news reflects this transformation in the media handling of international affairs.

I chose South Africa and Brazil as subjects for my earlier study of news coverage for four reasons. First, events in these regions reflect the kind of complexity generally associated with interdisciplinary approaches, fruitful for examining how and the extent to which news can capture such complexity (Benson, 2009a). Second, these Southern regions are home to underprivileged citizens and sectors of society that have recently discovered in digital media a means to promote their voices and describe their realities to the rest of the world. Coverage of such realities provides grounds to analyze democratization of Northern knowledge about the Global South and the extent to which Northern news incorporates voices and views of Southern sources. Third, South Africa and Brazil share a number of historical, societal, and geopolitical similarities, enabling a meaningful comparison of the coverage of their realities (see Benson, 2009a, p. 403). Fourth, both South Africa and Brazil hosted the soccer World Cup during the period of my study (South Africa in 2010, Brazil in 2014), guaranteeing global peak media attention (Benson, 2009a) on these developing nations in that time.

And why did I choose to compare American and Finnish news coverage of such Global South sites? The U.S. and Finland represent two different Northern democracies. The U.S. is a leading global power and market economy with a Liberal media system. Finland is a much more marginal player in global politics and is a social welfare state with a Democratic

Corporatist media system (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Their different geopolitical positions and media systems produce different kinds of news coverage that frame the stories presented with different boundaries, providing a more multifaceted picture of Northern coverage of the Global South than if I were analyzing news produced in one country only.

The news analysis discussed in this article involved 500 American and Finnish digital and print news articles also featuring images, published in these countries' national and agenda-setting news media such as *The New York Times* and *Helsingin Sanomat*, *CNN* and *YLE*, and *The Wall Street Journal* and *Taloussanomat*, between 2006 and 2014.³ The news analyzed focused on the Southern societies and their international relations, not sports, even if the events associated with the World Cup often made the Southern societal developments more newsworthy in the Global North.

Frame and Field Analysis: Assessing Boundaries of Perspectives

I explained the methodology underlying the comparative news analysis in this article in detail in a recent open-access publication (Cheas, 2018). In this section of this article, what I provide is a summary of the key concepts and methodological procedures that are relevant for the present article in connection with the inspiration provided by Klein's work.

My understanding of news frames builds on Gaye Tuchman's (1978) classic definition of news as providing a window onto the world:

Through its frame, Americans learn of themselves and others, of their own institutions, leaders, and life styles, and those of other nations and peoples.... But, like any frame that delineates the world, the news frame may be considered problematic. The view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard. (p. 1)

Different sources for news stories use journalists to communicate their preferred views to a wider public, while journalists themselves both use their sources' frames and superimpose their own frames upon those of their sources in the process of producing news (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010, p. 1). Todd Gitlin (1980) defines news frames as involving persistent patterns of selection, emphasis, and exclusion (p. 7). Of course, these comments on

³ The main focus was on written news content published online, but I also considered written content published in the print edition. The captions of the images were included in my coding procedure and the analytical framework was inspired by the images. Some of the digital news stories also contained news videos, which are beyond the scope of this article.

news frames are very reminiscent of comments on disciplinary perspectives made by scholars of interdisciplinarity. According to Allen Repko (2012), “the term ‘perspective’ refers to a discipline’s unique view of reality in a general sense. Each discipline tends to view a particular aspect or aspects of a problem, not the problem as a whole” (p. 145). Similarly, Joe Moran (2002) has noted that “academic disciplines are clearly discursive constructions in that their power relations permit certain ways of thinking while excluding others” (p. 14). Thus, news frames function in many ways similar to those of the perspectives associated with disciplines and their views on the world.

When advising media scholars on how to do frame analysis, Chong and Druckman (2007) explain, “An initial set of frames for an issue is identified inductively to create a coding scheme.... Coders then analyze a sample, identifying the presence or absence of the predefined frames in the story or article” (p. 107). Indeed, coding for the presence or absence of frames has been the norm in most frame analyses connected with international and political communication studies (e.g., Benson, 2009a, 2013). However, my argument is that such a method fails to capture the relative breadth of the views offered by the various frames in the news stories under analysis; it does not reveal how far each view extends and which ones dominate the picture a discussion provides. I argue that scholars should systematically measure the scope of the views provided by different news frames or perspectives, rather than simply assuming and repeating the customary claim that international news is superficial and narrow, without systematic analysis of evidence based on recent cases.

Another significant shortcoming of frame analysis reliant on coding for the mere presence or absence of frames is that such a method does not allow the researcher to detect how and to what extent frames might *overlap*, forming larger windows and revealing broader views or more complexity. In her review of framing literature, published during the first decade of the 21st century in journals focusing on communication, Porismita Borah (2011) found that only 3.2 percent of frame analyses examined overlapping frames (p. 255). However, my reading in the literature of interdisciplinarity has convinced me that frames of all kinds, including those provided by disciplinary perspectives, often overlap to offer views in which boundaries are not distinct. Klein (1996) herself has claimed that “boundaries are permeable because disciplines are not isolated units. Permeation is part of their character” (p. 38, see also 1993, p. 187). My intention has been to illustrate that the same is true of news frames. By elaborating on the concept of news frames as comparable to multiple and overlapping disciplinary perspectives, I intend to demonstrate how permeable the supposed

boundaries between media studies and the study of interdisciplinarity are, given that both are themselves interested in the permeation of boundaries.

A challenging part of my research was determining the range of frames relevant for the study I wished to conduct with the new method I developed for this purpose. As noted earlier, fields and views of the Global North have traditionally dominated both academic discussion and international news coverage. However, like an increasing number of other scholars in my area, I wanted to be careful not to impose any frames that are rooted in Western cultural contexts and, thus, unsuitable for the kinds of news of the Global South that I wanted to study (see Benson, 2015, p. 258). That is, the frames examined must be “culturally available” in all the different contexts where they might be used (Benson, 2009a, p. 408). Based on a careful reading of my sample materials, previous framing literature, and other sources, I identified four generic frames that met this criterion – Attribution of Responsibility, Human Interest, Conflict and Peace, and Social and Economic Impact. Variations of these frames commonly occur in news produced in the Global North, but they are also sensitive to Southern context (e.g., Guenduez, Schedler, & Ciocan, 2016, p. 586; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95). In addition, I identified three issue frames that stemmed more from my sample than from materials used in previous frame analyses, namely, the Credibility, Exoticism, and World Order frames.⁴ Through their possible overlaps, I intended to study the phenomenon of the permeation of frames, in connection with discussions on permeation of boundaries between disciplines and interdisciplinarity. To measure the relative scope of each of these frames in the news articles I was working with and the extent to which they and the views they provided overlapped, I adapted the methodology of Holli Semetko and Patti Valkenburg (2000) to detect clustering dimensions of frames in the news articles. Following a close reading of my sample materials, I created six items to identify three negative and three positive dimensions of each frame in the news I was considering. For instance, one of the negative dimensions of the Responsibility frame depicts a country/institution/individual as ignoring or downplaying a problem, while the respective positive dimension depicts a country/institution/individual as acknowledging and trying to solve a problem. Another example: One of the dimensions of the Social and Economic Impact frame depicts some country/institution/individual as lacking the resources to pursue a desired action, while the corresponding positive dimension depicts some country/institution/individual as having the resources to pursue a desired action.

⁴ Specific characteristics and descriptions of these frames, their different dimensions, and examples of their overlaps can be found in Cheas (2018, pp. 80-85).

When both dimensions were found in the same news article, the story then depicted inequality of resources available to these particular countries/institutions/individuals, even if the word “inequality” was not explicitly mentioned in the story. With this approach, I could detect smaller frames within the larger frames, comparable to sub-disciplines within disciplines (see Klein, 1993, pp. 188-189; 1996, p. 42).

In the end, then, I had seven frames and 42 items in total: six for each frame. I coded each news article in my sample paragraph by paragraph, counting the number of words featuring dimensions of each frame. Each paragraph could feature one or more dimensions of one or more frames. That is, dimensions of each frame could occur independently or together with other dimensions of the same or other frames. After coding an entire news article in this way, I counted the total number of words featuring different dimensions of each frame and proportioned their sum to the overall article length. In this way I assessed the scope of each frame in systematic, numeric form. In the final phase, I applied an arithmetic average count to assess the average size of each frame at the overall sample level. Of course, boundaries between frames – just like those between disciplines – tend to be blurry (Klein, 1993, p. 187); thus, it was difficult to assess the exact proportion of each frame with a quantitative method. However, my coding sheet⁵ clearly marked different dimensions paragraph by paragraph, allowing me to return to the “border areas” or “trading zones” (Klein, 2019) and explore their qualities more closely. In this way, I aimed to combine a systematic, quantitative analysis of the sample with subtler, micro-level qualitative analysis.

Field Analysis

Hamilton and Lawrence (2010) note that sourcing practices are prime elements in the construction of frames in the news media (p. 684). As has already been mentioned, my frame analysis was complemented with field analysis to measure the relative volume of different Northern and Southern sources “sponsoring” (Porto, 2007) different frames (p. 312). As Klein (2018) explains, “Fields resemble disciplines when they form specialized communities around shared topics, problems, and questions” (p. 19). “Field” is a spatial metaphor, and thus particularly well suited for the analysis of boundaries between speakers representing different views and promoting different ideas (Benson & Neveu, 2005), whether they are speakers in news media or in academia.

⁵ An illustration of the coding sheet and related procedure can be found in Cheas (2018, p. 91).

According to Bourdieu (1987), “Symbolic power manifests itself as the ability to impose words to describe groups or the institutions which represent them” (pp. 13-14). In any field, people struggle to impose the vocabulary used for such purposes. In Benson’s (2013) words, “the journalistic field is both an important site on which this struggle takes place, and a field of its own logic that contributes to the content and form of public discourse” (p. 183). By measuring the amount of space (number of words) that voices from different Southern and Northern fields got to claim in the news of my samples, I measured the relative contribution of different Southern and Northern fields to the framing of different topics. The more voluminously voices from a field were quoted or paraphrased, the greater its symbolic power vis-à-vis the other fields involved.

Of course, defining what constitutes a field is a challenge, given their overlapping and dynamic character. To measure the relative volume of voices from different Southern and Northern fields and subfields – specialized communities – in the news articles of my samples, I grouped voices representing neighboring positions in the same analytical (sub)field category, conceptualizing distance as both cultural and ideological. Field and subfield categories were combined and merged at different stages of the analysis to detect dynamics at more macro and micro levels of communication. For instance, voices representing the Brazilian center-left Workers party and the Brazilian center-right PSDB party were both conceived as forming part of the Brazilian political field vis-à-vis the American and Finnish political fields, but at a more micro level of analysis, I examined the relative volume of the voices of these different Southern subfields.

I assessed the relative volume of voices from each field and subfield by measuring the number of words included in quotes by speakers representing each field and proportioning the amount to the overall article length. Proceeding paragraph by paragraph as in my frame analysis, I marked each quoted field and subfield its volume (number of words) in a separate column in my coding sheet, next to a column depicting number of words featuring diverse dimensions of frames in that same paragraph. In this way, I was able to investigate the particular contributions of voices representing specific fields to different frames and their dimensions and combinations at the individual news article and paragraph level, while also assessing the volume of different fields at the overall sample level.

Findings: Permeating Boundaries between North and South in Global Communication

In the previous sections of this article I have drawn a connection between

news frames and perspectives of disciplines, both conceptualized as offering narrow views on the world, sponsored by agents affiliated with a range of diverse fields in different regions of the world. I have explained how I, inspired by Klein's observation that permeation of boundaries is part of disciplines' character, undertook an investigation of how and to what extent news frames can and do overlap, allowing permeation of their boundaries, too. I also explained how I examined how voluminously different voices representing different Southern and Northern fields contribute to individual and overlapping frames in American and Finnish news. In this section of the article, I discuss the principal findings of my comparative analysis, which revealed major differences between the ways in and extent to which news frames and voices of those representing culturally and ideologically distant fields were organized, and boundaries of views isolated or permeated, in American and Finnish news. To explain these findings, I build on Hallin and Mancini's (2004) theories on the media and political systems and internal and segmented forms of pluralisms shaping news coverage in the U.S. and Finland. I also raise questions about the impact of interdisciplinary education on the ways in which viewpoints are developed and organized in the two countries and their news.

Before proceeding to discussion of Finnish-American differences, however, I want to discuss Finnish-American similarities revealed by my measurements. Figures 1a-b and 2a-b depict the average volume of voices representing perspectives of different Northern and Southern fields, vis-à-vis total quoting space, in American and Finnish coverage concerning South Africa (2006-2010) and Brazil (2010-2014). More precisely, Figure 1a, depicting field proportions in American coverage of South Africa, shows that voices from South Africa and other regions of the Global South take up 80.3 percent of total quoting space on average, in comparison with only 10.8 percent of total quoting space consisting of voices from the U.S. or other countries of the Global North. Anonymous voices take up 8.9 percent of quoting space. Figure 1b shows that in Finnish coverage of South Africa during the same time frame, voices representing Southern fields take up 76.7 percent of quoting space, in comparison with 15.5 percent belonging to voices from the Global North, and 7.5 percent to anonymous sources. Figures 2a and 2b indicate that the domination of Southern fields over Northern fields is not unique to South Africa-related coverage or its time frame, given that similar proportions prevail in the later Brazil-related coverage. Figure 2a shows that in American coverage of Brazil, 72.3 percent of quoting space is taken up by voices representing Southern fields and 16.3 percent by voices representing Northern fields, with 11.4 percent

of quoting space pertaining to anonymous sources. Figure 2b shows that Finnish coverage of Brazil grants 75.5 percent of quoting space to voices representing Southern fields, 13.5 percent to voices representing Northern fields, and 10.9 to anonymous sources. Overall, Figures 1 and 2 indicate that voices representing Southern fields are quoted in substantial proportions in the news of both Northern countries – in fact, much more voluminously than voices representing American or Finnish or other Northern fields. The loudest voices in all cases include the Southern political fields, academic fields, and unaffiliated individuals (i.e., individual citizens).

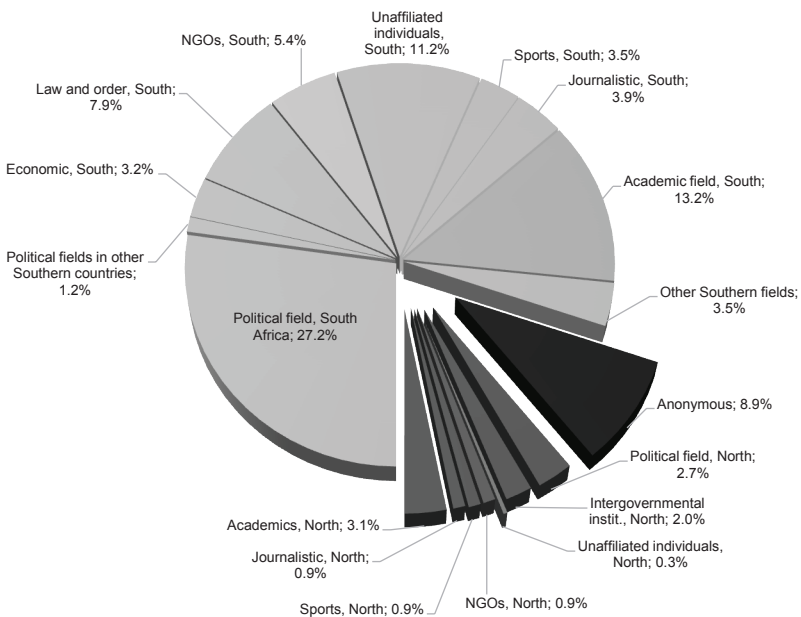


Figure 1a: American coverage of South Africa. Average volume of voices representing Southern and Northern fields vis-à-vis total quoting space in American coverage of South Africa. South African and other Southern fields take up 80.3 percent of total quoting space on average, in comparison with only 10.8 percent of total quoting space belonging to voices from the U.S. or other Northern countries and 8.9 percent to anonymous sources.

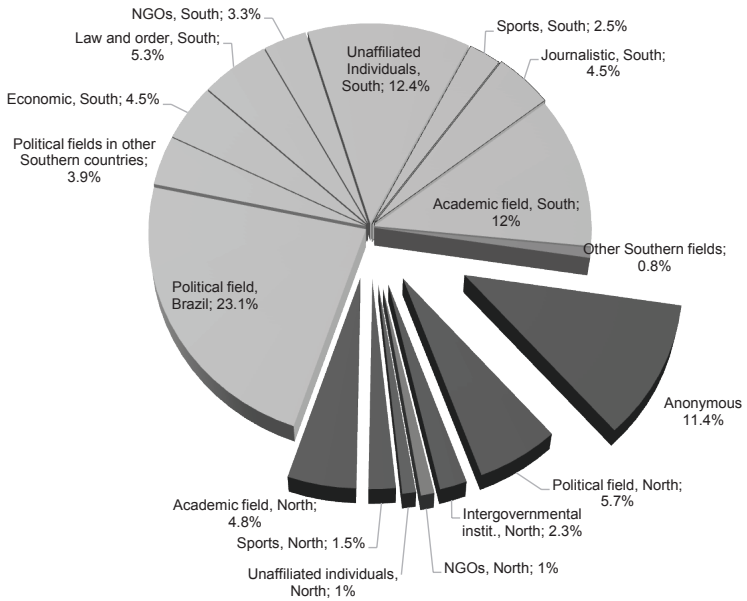


Figure 1b: Finnish coverage of South Africa. Average volume of voices representing Southern and Northern fields vis-à-vis total quoting space in Finnish coverage of South Africa. South African and other Southern fields take up 72.3 percent of total quoting space on average, in comparison with only 16.3 percent belonging to voices from Finland and other Northern countries, and 11.4 percent to anonymous sources.

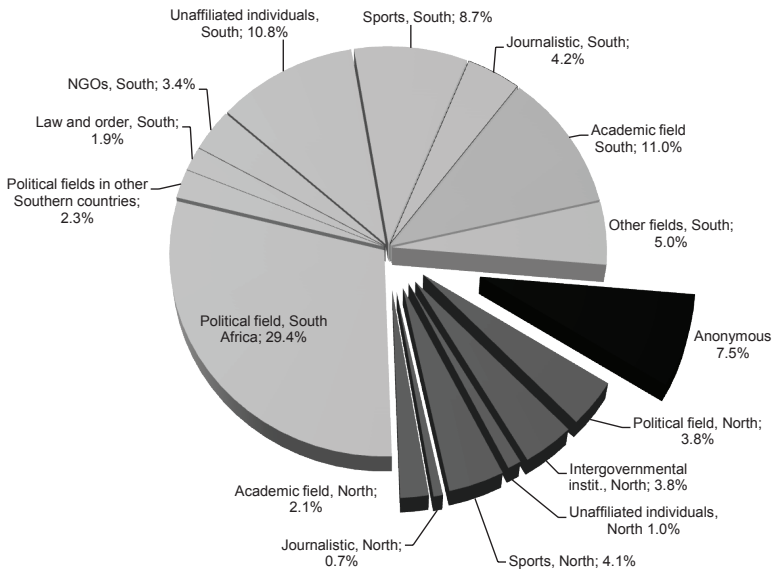


Figure 2a: American coverage of Brazil. Average volume of voices representing Southern and Northern fields vis-à-vis total quoting space in American coverage of Brazil. Brazilian and other Southern fields take up 76.7 percent of quoting space on average, in comparison with only 15.5 percent belonging to voices from the U.S. and other Northern countries, with 7.5 percent of quoting space pertaining to anonymous sources.

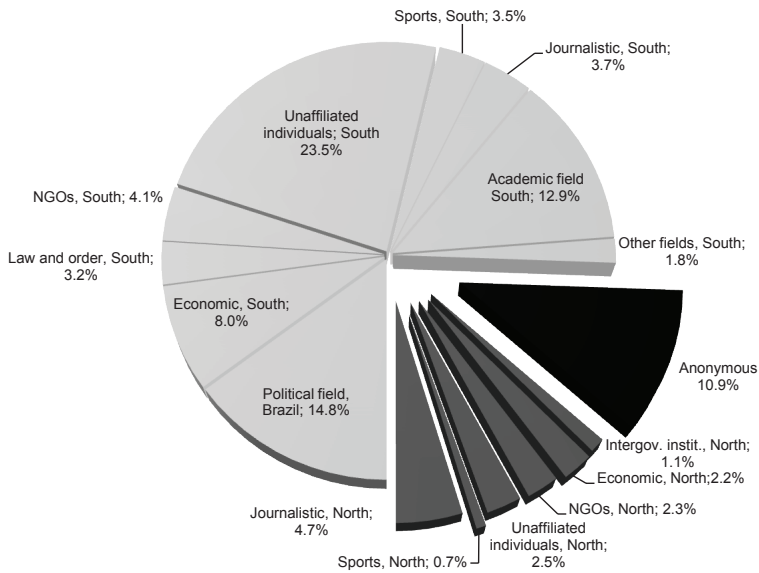


Figure 2b: Finnish coverage of Brazil. Average volume of voices representing Southern and Northern fields vis-à-vis total quoting space in Finnish coverage of Brazil. Brazilian and other Southern fields take up 75.5 percent of quoting space on average, in comparison with only 13.5 percent belonging to voices from Finland and other Northern countries, and 10.9 to anonymous sources.

Figures 3 and 4 depict the average scope of frames at the overall sample level, demonstrating that even if some frames offer views fuller than those of others, no particular frame completely dominates the coverage; both American and Finnish news windows on the world depict a multifaceted view of Southern realities. And combining the results of the field and frame analysis makes it evident that diverse Southern sources sponsored a substantial proportion of the views offered by these frames. Thus, the boundary between voices representing powerful fields in the Global North and Global South has become blurrier than it used to be, with speakers from formerly marginalized fields in the Global South gaining greater space and thereby moving the center of knowledge production into a new direction.

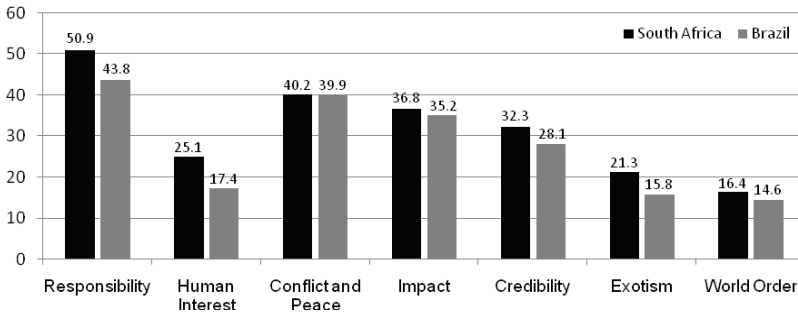


Figure 3: Average breadth of framed views in American coverage of South Africa and Brazil (2006-2014).

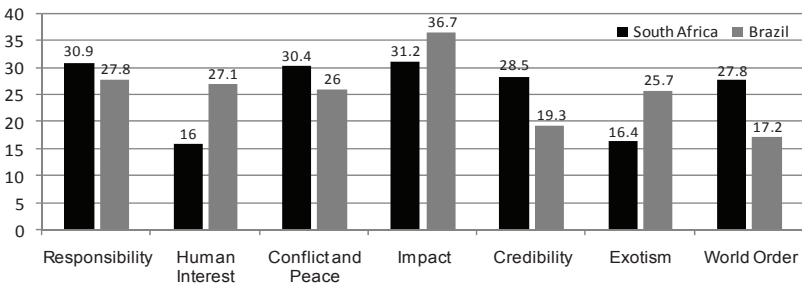


Figure 4: Average breadth of framed views in Finnish coverage of South Africa and Brazil (2006-2014).

Klein (2017) has said that boundaries signify control and protection of a specialized domain (p. 17). Yet, Klein (1996) has also noted that “relations shift over time” and that “new developments create another set of affinities” (pp. 70-71), with boundaries changing accordingly and permeations common. Indeed, my findings show just that phenomenon in that they would appear to result from South Africa’s and Brazil’s newfound self-esteem and their increasing identification with “the First World” (Zirin, 2014), thus narrowing the geopolitical and ideological gap between them and wealthy nations of the Global North such as the U.S. and Finland. Such a new sense of identity has followed upon their invitations to host the soccer World Cup – a responsibility generally given only to “developed” Western nations – as well as important responsibilities in global politics and new wealth they have also been invited to assume, reflected in South Africa’s and Brazil’s

memberships in respected international coalitions such as BRICS and IBSA.⁶ But the permeation of boundaries in fields associated with the Global South in American and Finnish news may also be a result of the democratization of the global digital space; South Africa's and Brazil's citizens are among the developing world's most active users of the internet and social media, and their thoughts originally expressed online were incorporated in many of the American and Finnish mainstream news media I analyzed, thus increasing their overall volume. This process of the democratization of knowledge in the media correlates in no small part with the "current momentum for transdisciplinarity" (Klein, 2017) in academia; Southern "stakeholders" are becoming increasingly involved in the production of knowledge across sectors in both spheres (p. 22).

In any case, given the relatively privileged positions of South Africa and Brazil within the Global South, my findings should not be applied without caution to coverage concerning other less powerful and poorer regions in the Global South. The need to take the particularities of any individual region under study into account highlights, again, the potential of area studies for helping us understand the specific "local conjunctures of history, culture, politics, and environment" of different regions like those that have resulted in the "new geopolitical importance of areas previously classified as 'underdeveloped'" (Calhoun, 2017; see also Klein 2018, p. 19). Such understanding can be used as a base for analyzing proportions of frames and fields in any and all regions that are subjects of international news. That is, area studies (with its inherent interdisciplinarity and capacity to handle complexity) can help media scholars study the transformation of local and global contexts, and the regroupings, redefinitions, and permeation of boundaries that occur in the process (see Klein, 1996, p. 221).

Permeation of Frames and Dialogue Between Fields in American and Finnish News

I will now proceed to discuss overlaps between frames and permeation of boundaries at the level of each individual news story, which is where major differences between American and Finnish coverage were revealed. Even if Finnish coverage at the overall sample level depicts the aforementioned recent transformation of power relations between the North and the South, with voices representing fields from the South given substantial space to frame their realities as discussed in the previous section, boundaries between

⁶ BRICS refers to the emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. IBSA refers to the IBSA Dialogue Forum, an international tripartite grouping of India, Brazil, and South Africa (Harden, 2014).

culturally and ideologically distant fields still persist at the individual news article level. In individual Finnish news stories, I found frames most often yielded isolated segments, whereas in American news stories, views yielded by dimensions of several frames were integrated and systematically overlapped throughout each news story. In this way Finnish coverage resembled multidisciplinary and American coverage interdisciplinary approaches.

Klein (2019) has noted that disciplines differ in the extent to which they are open to external influences, mentioning that economics, for instance, patrols its borders more tightly than geography, with some allowing more overlap than others (p. 8). The same is true of news frames. In American news I found some frames to overlap more than others – the Responsibility and Social and Economic Impact frames were involved in overlaps more frequently than the World Order frame, for instance. However, all the seven frames systematically yielded their own isolated segments in Finnish news. This finding supports the conceptual connection between disciplinary perspectives and news frames, suggesting the boundaries in the news have both a tendency and a capacity for permeation, though depending on the cultural context, the degree and form of that permeation will vary.

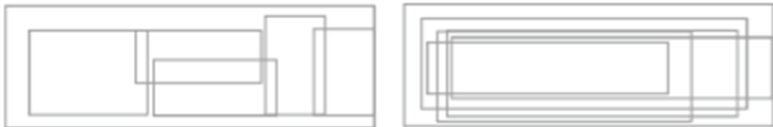


Figure 5: Finnish segmented (left) and American permeating (right) frames and fields in international news.

As Figure 5 shows, in Finnish news, some frames overlapped to some extent, while American news contained spots covered by only one frame. But if we are considering “degrees of interdisciplinarity” (Klein, 2017) then it is clear that the Finnish news was juxtaposing and coordinating, as multidisciplinary does, in relative contrast to the American news that was integrating and linking, as interdisciplinarity does.

How were the segmented “multiperspectival” and integrated “interspectival” views from the frames manifested in the coverage produced by Finnish and American journalists? I will start my answer to this question with a concrete example of Finnish coverage, published in the Finnish national newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*, to illustrate the Finnish “multiperspectival” framing and quoting logic. The *Helsingin Sanomat*

story titled “Cleaning the Hills of Rio,” published on December 16, 2012, quoted underprivileged Brazilian individuals and representatives of non-governmental Brazilian associations working in the slums. The quoted fields, which were proximate both ideologically and culturally, took a very negative stance towards the Brazilian police (the law and order field):

“The police sold my cousin and two other residents of Providência to another criminal organization to be executed. My cousin was not even a criminal,” Hora says. The police also got to shoot in the slum without consequences. “Six policemen here shot 46 people in two years. None of the cases were investigated.”

In this story, the police (the law and order field) were not quoted at all; the police had absolutely no chance to speak for themselves, despite being framed very negatively throughout the story. Fewer than two months later, on February 8, 2013, *Helsingin Sanomat* published a story titled “Police Fed Up in São Paulo.” This story, in turn, contextualized the situation exclusively from the perspective of the Brazilian police:

Last year, over 450 police resigned in the largest city of São Paulo, Brazil. The year before, the number was 332. The mass resignations are due to the life-threatening danger of the work. Last year, over one hundred policemen were shot in São Paulo.

In contrast to the earlier story, this second one framed the Brazilian police’s actions in the slums as positive rather than criminal actions: “In Rio de Janeiro, the police have, with the help of the army, successfully cleansed many of the slums, or favelas, in the hills of the downtown area.”

In American news coverage of the same situation, the experiences and viewpoints of the police officers and citizens were typically intertwined in each story. For instance, *The New York Times* story titled “In Rough Slum, Brazil’s Police Try a Soft Touch” (October 10, 2010) began by quoting an underprivileged Brazilian individual, Leonardo Bento, whose brother had been killed by a police officer.

“I began to realize that the police officer in front of me was just a human being and not the monster I had imagined in my head,” Mr. Bento, 22, said.

Whereas the Finnish news stories covered the alleged good and bad intentions and behaviors of the police separately, this particular *Times* story managed to capture the “goodness” and “malice” of the police not only in the same story, but even in the same sentence, while also placing them in deeper historical context: “They [the police] devote themselves to winning over residents scarred by decades of violence – some at the hands of the police.”

One and a half months later, *The New York Times* published another story titled “Brazilian Forces Claim Victory in Gang Haven” (November 28, 2010), which, in a very similar manner, quoted both citizens and officers, praising the positive in the efforts of the police but also emphasizing that the police were guilty of serious wrongdoings. For instance, the article described how “residents congregated around televisions in bars and restaurants, cheering on the police as they would their favorite soccer teams, even as occasional gunfire peppered the sunny skies.” But the story also explained that “corrupt politicians and police officers took bribes and kickbacks to look the other way.” By reading just one story of this sort, and even just one paragraph within a story, readers were exposed to the complex nature of the situation and the relationship between the citizens and the police. In the Finnish news, the different aspects of that complexity were treated in separate stories. In line with the multiperspectival logic of the Finnish news, readers could only formulate a more complete understanding after exposure to multiple stories.

I found similar examples in the Finnish and U.S. samples of news coverage concerning South Africa. I next present an example of three connected stories, published in the same issue of *Helsingin Sanomat*, May 29, 2010, but under different titles (and in the online edition, under separate titles and links). The first story, titled “We Are Middle Class Now,” described the situation of black South Africans in post-apartheid South Africa: “Mondli Hlatshwayo grew up in poverty in the countryside and attended school in a city slum, but now his and his wife Lucy’s life is economically stable.” Historical context was added through the Human Interest frame, overlapping with the Impact frame: “Her husband is working on a doctoral dissertation in the social sciences at the University of Johannesburg, which, during the apartheid era, was reserved for whites only. ‘Now, blacks can get scholarships, too.’” But the subsequent paragraphs explain the ongoing struggles in South Africa: “‘South Africa has the highest level of income inequality in the world,’ Mondli Hlatshwayo says.” The story describes in Mondli Hlatshwayo’s words how the bitterness of the poor blacks is not directed primarily towards the whites, but towards the government under black leadership, which has not been able to improve the living conditions of the majority of people in 16 years. “‘Now we have a union of a black political elite and white money. Only a minority of blacks has been invited to that party.’”

The Hlatshwayo family’s voice was the only one quoted or paraphrased in the whole story. However, a separate yet related *Helsingin Sanomat* article was published on the same day, adding a white family’s perspective on South Africa’s current socioeconomic situation. This family was feeling an

urge to leave the country, because too many privileges were being given to black people. Just like the black Hlatshwayo family in the previous article, the white family quoted exclusively in this news story pinned the blame for persisting inequalities on the post-apartheid ANC government. The third related article published in the same newspaper on the same day was titled “In Need of Mandela Again.” This story gave exclusive voice to people from the political field, representatives of the post-apartheid government accused of wrongdoings by the black and white families, quoted and paraphrased in the other two articles. Only by putting all these viewpoints together could a reader achieve a wider understanding of the situation revealed that includes the perspectives of black people, white people, and a government trying to balance between the needs of the two, frames that do not overlap in the articles themselves.

I will now provide a final example from *The New York Times* South Africa coverage to illustrate how complexity is captured through overlapping frames in American “interperspectival” news. This *Times* article, titled “Wage Laws Squeeze South Africa’s Poor” (September 26, 2010), began by describing how a sheriff had arrived at a South African factory to close it down, as “part of a national enforcement drive against clothing manufacturers who violate the minimum wage.” The story described how

Women working on the factory floor – the supposed beneficiaries of the crackdown – clambered atop cutting tables and ironing boards to raise anguished cries against it. “Why, why?” shouted Nokuthula Masango, 25, after the authorities carted away bolts of gaily colored fabric.

Here, a Responsibility frame, describing the government’s efforts, overlapped with a Human Interest frame, which explained how this black South African woman needed her “miserable pay” to support her large family. This local view was placed in a broader global context through overlapping Impact and World Order frames, describing how South Africa had “too few unskilled jobs” due to “low wage competition from China”; thus, the women “feared being out of work more than getting stuck in poorly paid jobs.”

A smaller Conflict and Peace frame could also be found in the article, overlapping with the Impact and Responsibility frames. This conjunction had to do with how different agents within the South African political field proposed to solve the situation in different ways:

Eight months ago, [President] Mr. Zuma proposed a wage subsidy to encourage the hiring of young, inexperienced workers. But it ran into vociferous opposition from COSATU, the two-million-member trade union federation that is part of the governing alliance,

which contended that it would displace established workers. The plan has stalled.

Through the Responsibility and Impact frames, the story then proceeded to explain how “officials from the government and the bargaining council are now pushing offending factories to come up with plans to pay minimum wage.” In this case, the Human Interest and Impact frames were further extended to provide background knowledge concerning the factories’ foreign owners. In this way, the story showed another aspect of the complex reality: The reluctance of the factories to pay more did not, at least in all cases, result from greed or ignorance – as was claimed by the trade unions – but from a lack of resources.

At the Wintong factory, proprietors Ting Ting Zhu and her husband, Hui Cong Shi, who are saving to put their only child through college, say they start a machinist at \$36 a week, far less than the minimum wage. They themselves live in a single room in their red brick factory.

Even though the *Helsingin Sanomat* material on South Africa included three different viewpoints, a reader had to read three separate stories to access those three viewpoints. They were clearly kept in their distinct segments, whereas by reading almost any section of this story in *The New York Times*, the reader can access multiple views on the complex realities: those of poor black South Africans working in low-paying jobs, those of foreigners investing in the country and trying to make a living themselves, those of wealthy white people negotiating with the trade unions, those of the politicians with different ideological leanings, and those of agents of the government.

Internal and Segmented Pluralism in Political and Educational Systems and in the News

These differences between the American and Finnish media coverage can be explained by Hallin and Mancini’s (2004) theories of the Finnish Democratic Corporatist media system being rooted in the tradition of segmented pluralism and the American Liberal media system in the tradition of internal pluralism. Hallin and Mancini (2004) define the segmented pluralism inherent in the Finnish Democratic Corporatist media system since its beginnings as “pluralism achieved at the level of the media system as a whole, through the existence of a range of media outlets reflecting the points of view of different groups or tendencies,” in contrast to internal pluralism, defined as “pluralism achieved within each individual media outlet or organization” (pp. 29-30).

To understand the implications of such traditions, it is important to consider the historical contexts in which they evolved. Finland and other countries with the Democratic Corporatist media system in North-Western Europe are characterized by strong welfare state policies and other forms of active state intervention developed in the twentieth century. Hallin and Mancini (2004) emphasize that “these [interventionist] tendencies are manifested in important forms of public-sector involvement in the media sphere that distinguish the Democratic Corporatist countries from Liberal countries” (p. 145). This development of the Finnish public sector led to substantial involvement of the state in the media sector – the state would provide support for each ethnic and/or ideological group to put forth their ideas in their own particular newspaper or magazine. In the words of Hallin and Mancini (2004), “one of the main characteristics of segmented pluralism is that the subcommunities have their own channels of socialization and communication” (p. 152). In other words, the Finnish subcommunities did not engage in the same space provided by any single media outlet; rather, the country’s media scene consisted of separate and segmented sources, each promoting a particular point of view rooted in some particular subcommunity and supported by the state.

In the U.S., by contrast, the First Amendment laid the groundwork for a strict separation between the state and the media. Hallin and Mancini (2004) note that the most distinctive characteristic of the American Liberal media system is the early development of commercial newspapers, which by the 1870s had turned into highly capitalized and profitable businesses; by the twentieth century, all media outlets but the commercial press remained marginal (p. 203). According to Hallin and Mancini (2004), the logic of the marketplace clearly modified and limited the political involvement of the press and its owners, forcing them to respond to public sentiment and the views of advertisers (p. 204). In this way, American commercial newspapers became a meeting place for voices representing a range of different sectors, a characteristic that scholars have called “catch-all-ism” (e.g., Benson, 2013).

It is true that since the second half of the twentieth century, Finnish media have adopted more neutral stances, with more outlets currently embracing “catch-all-ism” rather than being committed to promoting the perspective of any particular group or sector of society. Most Finnish media, including sources examined in this article, are currently commercialized, in ways similar to those of the American media. Nonetheless, path dependency has caused Finnish media to retain many elements of the original system (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 160; Nielsen, 2013). My study suggests that even if diverse voices are now included in the same newspaper, boundaries between

different political, ideological, and ethnic groups and their frames remain, taking a segmented form.

My study indicates that the greater the ideological and cultural distance between the speakers, the more likely they are to be presented in segmented form in separate Finnish news stories. Finnish speakers are never quoted in the same story as speakers from South Africa, Brazil, or elsewhere in the world. In the integrated American coverage, it is difficult to find stories where American, Brazilian, and/or South African sources are *not* quoted in the same text. These findings suggest that boundaries between the voices and frames of different ethnic and cultural groups are more strictly protected in Finnish news than in American news in which integrated pluralism allows for the creation of broader communities of communication than the former.

I argue that the fact that perspectives are isolated in separate texts in Finnish media does not mean Finnish journalists intend to isolate people by their differences or prevent democratic debate between them, locally or globally. In other words, even if boundaries persist, Finnish journalists are not necessarily discouraging news audiences from crossing them. As explained by Hallin and Mancini (2004), “the political culture of the [Finnish] Democratic Corporatist countries tends to emphasize the duty of the state to provide conditions for full participation of all citizens and all groups in social life” (p. 161). They observe that countries with the Democratic Corporatist media system, including Finland, are characterized as “very high newspaper circulation,” as compared to only “medium” circulation in the American case (p. 74). Other studies have found Finnish news audiences to follow news more regularly and to be more informed about international affairs presented in the news than American news audiences (Curran, Iyengar, Lund, & Salovaara-Moring, 2009, p. 17; Nielsen, 2013, p. 399).

Thus, Finnish journalists can and do feel confident that their readers will read widely enough to expose themselves to the coverage offered by diverse news outlets. My study suggests that Finnish journalists expect citizens to seek out different views in a variety of news stories. And I would argue that in keeping the viewpoints so neatly apart as its segmented pluralism entails, the Finnish system may succeed in specifically shedding light on the enclosed character of the boundaries of frames and fields involved, thereby encouraging news audiences to take initiative and integrate the viewpoints on their own. In this way, the Finnish system promotes the permeation of boundaries, only in a completely distinct manner from that of the American system, where the permeation takes place in the immediacy of the news text, due to an effort made by the journalists rather than by the general public being exposed to the coverage.

As has been noted, in the U.S., the tradition of internal pluralism has been associated with the First Amendment and the promised freedom of the press. This fundamental principle has guided American journalists toward neutrality and balance in their coverage (Benson, 2009a, b; Hallin & Mancini, 2004). In the context of democracy as they define it and pluralism, American journalists attempt to integrate all relevant perspectives throughout each news story to be continuously “fair” toward all the sources and subjects of coverage whose views are at stake. They would perhaps consider the segmentation and isolation of views that characterize Finnish journalism to be unfair since it excludes relevant views in a story. On the other hand, during the past years some American media have shifted from neutrality and balance, sometimes opting to promote the perspective of a particular group or sector of society. Certainly, some TV channels are now associated with particular political views. Hence American media may also be headed toward a situation where news audiences will have to assume primary responsibility for exposing themselves to all the relevant perspectives.⁷

The differences between American and Finnish news provoke questions about how and to what extent the internal and segmented pluralism of the political systems in the two countries that has shaped the coverage in the American and Finnish news media has influenced (and been influenced by) academia in the two countries. More specifically, a question arises about the possible connection between the degree of interdisciplinarity (Klein, 2017) in the education of journalists (and their news audiences) and the tendency to integrate news frames and culturally and ideologically distant fields in the journalistic work – or not. And conversely, one might also ask about the extent to which exposure to segmented or integrated field and frame perspectives through the media might influence interdisciplinary orientation in the academic world.

Klein’s research (1990, 1995; see also Bruun, Hukkinen, Huutoniemi, & Klein, 2005) includes a number of descriptions of how academic interdisciplinary practices differ in Europe and the United States, but her research like that of others in interdisciplinary studies has not focused on journalism studies in particular. Meanwhile, a number of scholars in media studies have examined the qualities of journalistic education in these same regions, but their work has not thus far taken into account the degree of multi- or interdisciplinary instruction in such education. I would here want to remind the reader about the potential of area studies, with their inherent

⁷ Recent changes in American and Finnish media have also been discussed at the *Digital News Report*(2018) by the Reuters Institute of Journalism, University of Oxford, available online at <http://media.digitalnewsreport.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/digital-news-report-2018.pdf>

interdisciplinarity, to shed light on the particularities of different regions. It may well be time for people in interdisciplinary studies, including area studies, and people in media studies, including political communication studies, to collaborate (or at least draw upon one another's work) to answer the questions I have been raising in this article.

I have certainly benefitted from what interdisciplinarians have had to say about the boundaries that characterize disciplinary perspectives. Citing Gunn and Greenblatt, Klein (2019) discusses the role and inevitability of boundaries: "Appreciating the diverse roles that boundaries play is no easy task. It involves figuring out what boundaries enclose and what they exclude; whether they are drawn in bold, unbroken strokes or as a series of intermittent, irregular dashes" (see also Gunn & Greenblatt 1992, p. 4). Klein, like Gunn and Greenblatt, is referencing boundaries in academia – like those drawn by disciplinarians, frames reflected in their views of the world. But the comment applies to the boundaries apparent in media systems and journalists' views of the world, too. In the Finnish system, perhaps "boundary lines are drawn in bold" precisely so that news audiences might pay attention to these boundary lines, clearly perceive their limitations, and proceed to challenge them by seeking out news material in which the boundaries are differently drawn. The danger lies in the lack of explicit reference to the existence of boundaries – the failure to phrase out loud the expectation that such boundaries ought to be challenged through one's own initiative. Without such reminders, news audiences may not notice that Finnish news frames – like disciplines – are displaying a very limited view on the world. Like scholars in the disciplines, journalists should be transparent not only about what the work that results from their research encompasses but also what it does not. And both should encourage those seeking fuller understanding of complex realities to consider other views, even if they have to seek them out and integrate them into a whole themselves.

Of course, addressing questions about whether the education of journalists in Finland or America does or does not prompt them to promote the pluralism of their societies with instruction in multi- or interdisciplinarity is beyond the scope of this article. I plan to address such questions in my future work, however. And I hope others will do so, and perhaps in the process permeate the boundaries that currently exist between those in media studies and those in interdisciplinary studies. Acknowledging that public knowledge sufficient to support well-functioning democracies is not only produced through media but also through academia is the first step in pursuing the "boundary work" that Klein (2019) recommends as the means for creating a better world.

Conclusion: Permeating Boundaries in News Media and Academia

Klein (2019) has observed that different developments in the study of interdisciplinarity “signal a growing perception that knowledge in general is increasingly interdisciplinary....The metaphor of unity with accompanying values of universality and certainty is being supplanted by images of plurality and relationality.” This article has aimed to contribute to the plurality of understandings concerning disciplinarity, multidisciplinary, and interdisciplinarity, extending analysis from the context of academia to that of international news media by comparing the perspectives provided by disciplines to those provided by news frames. Inspiring in advancing this aim has been area studies and the multiperspectival view their interdisciplinary approach yields, a view that can be replicated in the news with the help of overlapping frames.

This article has extended Klein’s idea that permeation of the supposed boundaries between disciplines is part of disciplines’ character. Creating a metaphorical connection between the perspectives of disciplines and news frames, I have analyzed the permeation of boundaries evident in views provided by news frames in American and Finnish news articles on South Africa and Brazil. Previous frame analyses have rarely focused on overlapping frames and the permeation they depict (Borah, 2011). My focus on permeation of boundaries among frames and dimensions of frames that results from such overlapping has revealed how news material is organized very differently in American and Finnish contexts, with American media featuring stories with a broad range of integrated views, and Finnish media, stories with a narrow range and segmented views that together nevertheless form a multifaceted picture, as long as the audience reads enough of them to accomplish integration of the views themselves.

At overall sample level, I found that both media gave substantial space to Southern sources to frame the realities that were their subjects. Within Finnish news articles, however, viewpoints remained segmented, and Finns who wanted more had to seek out other articles or article segments. American news integrated viewpoints within single articles, so there was no similar incentive for news audiences to seek additional viewpoints from alternative outlets. In spite of this difference, though, my study suggests that both “multiperspectival” and “interperspectival” news media – with their segmented and integrated forms of pluralism – were successful in permeating boundaries between views when coverage as a whole was considered.

A central goal of this article has been to extend knowledge of Klein’s work and hence her influence in the field of media studies, and political

communication in particular, through the combined analysis of multi- and interdisciplinarity (and disciplinary perspectives), news frames, and traditions of pluralisms in politics and culture (including media and academia). Hallin and Mancini (2017) have highlighted the need to extend their work, as well, aware that their original typology of media systems and related traditions of pluralisms might stifle new thinking and new work; as they have said, “there are limitations in producing a kind of academic monoculture in our field [of political communication]” (p. 165). The formation of narrow “monocultures” in the field of media and communication studies has also been lamented by a number of other media scholars (Briggle & Christians, 2017; Klein, 2018, pp. 19-21; Zelizer, 2004, p. 3). Klein (2017) has noted the need for frequent reevaluation and revision of typologies, too. She argues that we must “reassert, extend, interrogate, and reformulate existing classification [of all kinds] to address ongoing and unmet needs” (p. 32). The “unmet needs” include a more comprehensive analysis of media and academia than I have been able to offer here, facilitated with new typologies encompassing both news frames and disciplinary perspectives. Here, I hope at least to have shown how the boundary between the two concepts from the two spheres is, indeed, permeable.

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