



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

An Argumentative Approach to Map the Issue of Impartiality in Newsmaking and Factchecking

Musi, Elena; Masotina, Mariavittoria; Yates, Simeon; Boogaart, Ronny; Garssen, Bart; Jansen, Henrike; ... ; Reuneker, Alex

Citation

Musi, E., Masotina, M., & Yates, S. (2024). An Argumentative Approach to Map the Issue of Impartiality in Newsmaking and Factchecking. *Proceedings Of The Tenth Conference Of The International Society For The Study Of Argumentation*, 676-687. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4107865>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Creative Commons CC BY 4.0 license](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4107865>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

An Argumentative Approach to Map the Issue of *Impartiality* in Newsmaking and Factchecking

ELENA MUSI, MARIAVITTORIA MASOTINA & SIMEON YATES

Department of Communication and Media
University of Liverpool
United Kingdom
elena.musi@liverpool.ac.uk
mariavittoria.masotina@liverpool.ac.uk
simeon.yates@liverpool.ac.uk

ABSTRACT: News organizations are constantly attacked with accusations of lack of impartiality, but a shared understanding of the notion is missing. Combining corpus analysis with a focus group with practitioners, we unpack the impartiality conundrum, distinguishing its scope over the news product and the newsmaking process. The results show that while the impartiality of the first is not always a value, an impartial newsmaking process is key for a healthy information ecosystem.

KEYWORDS: argumentative reconstructions, bias, factchecking, fallacies, focus group, impartiality, (mis)information, newsmaking

1. INTRODUCTION

In the current (mis)information ecosystem, news making is a process ultimately aimed at gaining the acceptance of a certain interpretation of a news event, “a discourse aimed at convincing a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint by giving reasons that justify the standpoint” (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004, p. 1). Lately, the notion of impartiality has become a widely discussed issue, pointing to the need for organizations to clarify how they work towards it.

The lack of impartiality is, in fact, frequently used as an argument to attack the credibility of news media venues, as well as to undermine the trustworthiness of fact-checkers. The impartiality of news/factchecks, regardless of the source, in a polarized social media world, is not common ground knowledge, but it constitutes a standpoint that must be constantly argued for. The “Leveraging Argument Technology for Impartial Fact-checking” (<https://latifproject.eu/>) project aims at helping journalists re-think their decision-making processes while checking sources and news in a critical perspective, thus reflecting upon impartiality. This is crucial to win or maintain the audience’s trust. As surfaced by Vir’s (2021) report, audiences across 4 countries (UK, Germany, USA and Brazil) strongly advocate for impartiality in journalism, but their understanding of the notion is blurred, lacking a uniform definition.

Drawing from this awareness, the European Broadcasting Union situates “Impartial and independent” as one of its main codes of principles (<https://tinyurl.com/yfnfmmmu>) (without offering a definition). The complexity underlying the notion has brought the media regulator Ofcom to commit to the following principle: “News, in whatever form, is reported with due accuracy and presented with due impartiality”

(<https://www.ofcom.org.uk/tv-radio-and-on-demand/broadcast-codes/broadcast-code>).

The use of the deontic adjective ‘due’ suggests a non-normative view of impartiality that calls for re-calibration according to contexts. To put it as in the BBC’s editorial guidelines, “the term ‘due’ means that the impartiality must be adequate and appropriate to the output, taking account of the subject and nature of the content, the likely audience expectation and any signposting that may influence that expectation”¹. In further explaining the notion, the guidelines make it clear that impartiality does not always entail neutrality and goes beyond considering opposing strands of arguments. In other words, in the UK media sphere, there seems to be a focus on impartiality as a process rather than the product from a set type of best practices. Interestingly, the *International Fact-checking Network* does not mention impartiality among its codes of principles, while concentrating on fairness and non-partisanship.

The lack of a common paradigm makes it difficult to shape guidelines for best practices across types of journalism (e.g. investigative, reports) and factchecking (external vs. internal). In argumentative terms, impartiality does not constitute a *endoxon* (Rigotti & Greco, 2009) when applied to the information ecosystem.

To understand how the issue of impartiality is differently perceived by practitioners, we have carried out a focus group with 4 journalists and fact-checkers stemming from organizations diverse in scope, dimensions, and country of activity (see section 3). The questions asked and discussed in the focus group have been designed according to the results of a previous quantitative analysis mapping the scholarly discussions around the notion (see section 2). The argumentative patterns emerging from the focus group discussion pave the way for a clearer understanding of the challenges imposed by the operationalization of the notion.

2. CONTEXT: IMPARTIALITY & JOURNALISM

To achieve a comprehensive overview of how the notion of impartiality has been treated in the scholarly literature, we retrieved all the articles containing the keywords “impartiality + “news”/“journal*”/ “media” through the Scopus API obtaining a corpus of 532 articles (Masotina et al., 2023). To guarantee accuracy in the retrieval, we have zoomed into the most cited 50 scholarly articles across domains and onto articles classified on Scopus under the Comms and Media label. After having checked their topical relevance, we have identified bigrams containing ‘impartiality’, namely the most frequent co- occurring terms:

COMM&Media	Top 50
impartiality objectivity	impartiality objectivity
balance impartiality	impartiality fairness
due impartiality	balance impartiality
objectivity impartiality	objectivity impartiality
accuracy impartiality	value impartiality
impartiality fairness	notion impartiality

¹ <https://www.bbc.com/editorialguidelines/guidelines/impartiality/>

independence impartiality	impartiality bbc
impartiality applied	impartiality balance
impartiality empathy	accuracy impartiality
impartiality balance	commitment impartiality

Table 1: Top 10 bigrams containing ‘impartiality’

As visualized in Table 1, ‘objectivity’, ‘balance’, ‘fairness’ and ‘accuracy’ are notions closely talked about with ‘impartiality’ in both sub-corpora, while ‘independence’ and ‘due impartiality’ seem to be relevant for scholarly articles belonging to the Comms and Media domain. The paradigm of “impartiality-as-balance” has been widely criticized since ii) reducing the number of views represented to guarantee equal space to opposing voices (Wahl-Jorgensen, Berry & Cable, 2016) and ii) allowing reporting of non-factual views which can make popular discourse diverge from scientific discourse for issues of public interest (Biykoff & Boykoff, 2004). To address the risk of committing what is called by the argumentation community fallacy of *Bothsiderism* (Aikin & Casey, 2022), the BBC editorial guidelines, which are discussed in the focus group, have migrated from the “seesaw” model, voicing two contrasting viewpoints, to the “wagon wheel” format, presenting multiple viewpoints (BBC, 2007).

Similarly, ‘fairness’ and ‘accuracy’ are discussed in the literature as principles distinct from ‘impartiality’: Boudana (2016), for example, advocates for ‘fairness’ rather than ‘impartiality’ as a regulatory principle, proposing a model based on criteria of consistency and justification of position-taking; Riordan (2014) problematizes the challenges imposed by the Networked Society on the retrieval of accurate information to craft news. To investigate the presence of a shared definition of impartiality, we have read all the articles from the Comms and Media corpus with at least 50 citations. While three of them contain a (more or less) explicit definition, the notions used to conceptualize impartiality make use of a bundle of neighbour concepts: Hermida (2009, p. 276), examining journalism blogging, points out “that bloggers have to tread a careful line – they can be engaging and judgmental, but must not take sides”; Lasorsa, Lewins & Holyon (2012), equate impartiality in journalistic microblogging, to the expression of objective facts rather than personal opinions; Urban & Schweiger (2014) add to the lack of own evaluations of events, equal coverage of all voices speaking about a matter.

To summarize, the review of the scholarly literature suggests that a view of ‘impartiality’ as balance is highly controversial and non-overlapping with ‘accuracy’ and ‘fairness’, while it has been conceived as a measure of ‘non-partisanship’/ ‘independence’ and ‘objectivity’. Furthermore, new forms of journalism such as microblogging and domains of news coverage (e.g. politics, climate change) play a role in making certain aspects of impartiality more relevant.

3. DATA AND METHODS

The analysis of major codes of principles of news media agencies and of scholarly articles has provided a social constructionist view (Schiappa, 2003) of the meaning of ‘impartiality’, through the description of how the word has been used to refer to notions

and issues by a handle of stakeholders. However, the lack of a shared definition, calls for a shift of the analysis from the “meaning in context”, which refers to the ‘mere’ (formal) surroundings of a word or an utterance, to the “contextual meaning” which “captures a range of meaning effects that share, as a common denominator, the fact that they are determined in context” (Depraetere, 2019).

To investigate how ‘impartiality’ is conceived in the actual context of newsmaking and factchecking, we have organized a focus group with 4 journalists and fact-checkers, mixed as to age, country and type of institution (independent fact-checkers, charity, national news media organizations). The focus group has taken place on Zoom for 1hr30. The participants have been asked the following 10 questions by a moderator:

- 1) How is the notion of impartiality included among the codes of principles of your organizations?
- 2) How is impartiality defined by your organization?
- 3) How is the notion of ‘due impartiality’ distinguished from ‘impartiality’?
- 4) How do the concepts of ‘impartiality’, ‘partisanship’, ‘objectivity’ and ‘independence’ overlap?
- 5) Do you discuss impartiality in your day-to-day work?
- 6) The BBC has advocated for a “FROM SEESAW TO WAGON WHEEL” change to safeguard impartiality in the 21st century. What do you understand by these metaphors of the “see-saw” and the “wagon wheel”?
- 7) How much does your organisation care about being seen as impartial by the audience?
- 8) Given the news “50% of parents say climate change affects their decision to have more kids”, what aspects would you focus on to evaluate the impartiality of the news?
- 9) Given the news “Asylum-seekers flown to California say they were ‘deceived’ by people promising them jobs and housing”, what aspects would you focus on to evaluate the impartiality of the news?
- 10) Is there anything that you didn't have the chance to say, but that you would like to add to this conversation?

The participants have expressed consent for the focus group being recorded and transcribed to allow content and argumentative analysis. Questions 1), 2), 5) and 7) were asked to gauge (dis)similarities across different types of news media agencies; questions 3) and 6) were meant to understand participants’ views on the BBC’s take on impartiality; question 4) aimed at getting practitioners’ opinions on what emerged from the scholarly literature review; questions 8) and 9) were designed to surface how participants would operationalize the notion of ‘impartiality’ in practice; finally, question 10) gave them room to express thoughts felt as urgent by practitioners.

The transcriptions have been undertaken two main forms of discourse analysis depending on the type of questions asked: answers to *information-questions* (1, 2, 5, 6, 7) aimed at eliciting information around institutional behaviours, were analysed through content analysis, while answers to *information-question* 4), aimed at eliciting conceptual reasoning, together with *action-questions* (8, 9), aimed at simulating decision-making processes and the open-ended question (10) were analysed adopting argumentative discourse analysis. More specifically, the argumentation structure has been reconstructed

according to the annotation scheme for argumentative relations introduced by Peldzus & Stede (2105): support relations (arrow-head links) can be simple, when an argument provides support to another argument or a standpoint, or by example (rectangular shape); attack relations (circle/square-head link) are of the undercutting (challenging the acceptability of an inference between two propositions) or rebuttal type (challenging the acceptability of a proposition).

4. RESULTS

In the following analysis speakers will be referred to as: S1, journalist from national news media agency (BBC), S2, journalist from charity, S3, independent fact-checker, S4 journalist working as director of journalism school.

4.1 Impartiality: organizational view

In answer to question 1, all speakers agreed that the issue of impartiality is topical in the respective organizations, for different reasons. S1 explained that it is one of the main editorial values at the BBC, while S4 remarked it is at the very core of the school of journalism she is managing. S2 pointed, instead, to the controversiality of impartiality in the charity sector: “And it's quite a big debate raging in the charity sector right now. Because according to the rules in the UK as a charity, you can campaign on issues that affect your clients [...] But there have been several kinds of attacks on charities [...]”.

From the fact-checking perspective, S3 underlined the difficulty in keeping an impartial eye on the selection of news to be checked, especially when in the context of wars which affect the country you are living in. However, S1 and S4 were the only ones specifying the presence of impartiality among the institutional (BBC) codes of principles.

The reasons underlying such reticence became clearer when participants were answering question 2: S2 explained that impartiality does not apply to the domain of charities since “no charity is impartial about its cause”, while a relevant term would rather be “political neutrality”. S3 made it clear that in his fact-checking organization, an impartial analysis stands for a fact-based analysis where hypothesis and verification processes are objectively grounded. S4 stated that as a media agency and educational environment, they define impartiality as “the principle of presenting information, conducting research, and making decisions without biases towards any particular group or individually or in political affiliation”. Not surprisingly, S1 answered pointing to the notion of ‘due impartiality’ which accounts for an information ecosystem where it is difficult to get a complete picture. His answer offered a smooth transition to question 3, focusing on participants’ understanding of the difference between ‘impartiality’ and ‘due impartiality’. In this regard, S3 explained that he views ‘due impartiality’ as an individual matter for factcheckers who might be confronted with the risk of what he called “false equivalence”, equally promoting two sides for the sake of impartiality, even though the opinions of one of the two are largely more informative and fact-based. S2 pointed to the type and the quality of available sources as well, explaining that, for example, additional weight is given to what is said by the government in reporting about immigration, even when the information is inaccurate.

Even though (im)partiality emerged as being an underlying principle guiding decision-making choices (Q5), its overt discussion seems to be confined to different contexts depending on the organization at stake: S4 clarified that guidelines for impartiality are part of the media literacy program that it is taught in the journalism school, while S3 explained that the issue is overtly discussed when working in consortia including members that have received funding from a political power. S2 stated that at the BBC monitoring platform, which has the mission of giving voices to media sources (potentially partial) around the world, impartiality is mainly discussed about translation accuracy (“You know, when the dam blew up recently, in Ukraine, we have quite a long conversation of what is the right word for that, bearing in mind what we know right now. And the end, we settled on breached, the dam was breached, as the right English word, the right translation, if you like, of how we were going to describe it”).

Flipping the coin to the audiences’ perceptions, answers to question 7) have revealed that *being perceived as impartial* constitutes an essential means to achieve the ultimate goal of each of the organizations: S4 has explained that it is a *conditio sine qua non* for the journalism school to be compliant with the principles of an official news media agency; S3 has remarked that “if you are not seen as impartial, then you can be dismissed as disinformation as a network of disinformation, which is a chicken egg problem”. S1 has pointed to the tight connection with trust, which is at the core of the BBC (“if we are perceived as not being impartial, then you know, the whole thing starts to fall apart really”). Finally, S2 has explained that the audiences that need to see them as impartial, or at least credible are, on one side, immigrants and refugees whose voices have to be disclosed, and on the other the journalists they are facilitating talking to these people (“And our approach is that we will, we will support anyone, no matter what the political party if they are advocating for, for a kind of a better understanding of what's going on when it affects refugees. But yeah, on a, on a credibility level. I think we were very aware that we were journalists have to trust us to a certain extent when we're putting someone forward as well”).

4.2 Impartiality: conceptual view

Question 4) sparked up two lines of discussions, one focusing on ‘objectivity’ and the other one focusing on ‘partisanship’ and ‘independence’. As to the first one, the main standpoint is that ‘objectivity’ is not useful to define ‘impartiality’. The main reasoning at stake is that ‘objectivity’ and ‘impartiality’ are concepts which imply different definitional traits: while ‘objectivity’ can be measured against factuality, ‘impartiality’ is a dynamic, non-measurable notion. The articulation of the arguments in support of the standpoint is visualized in Fig.1:

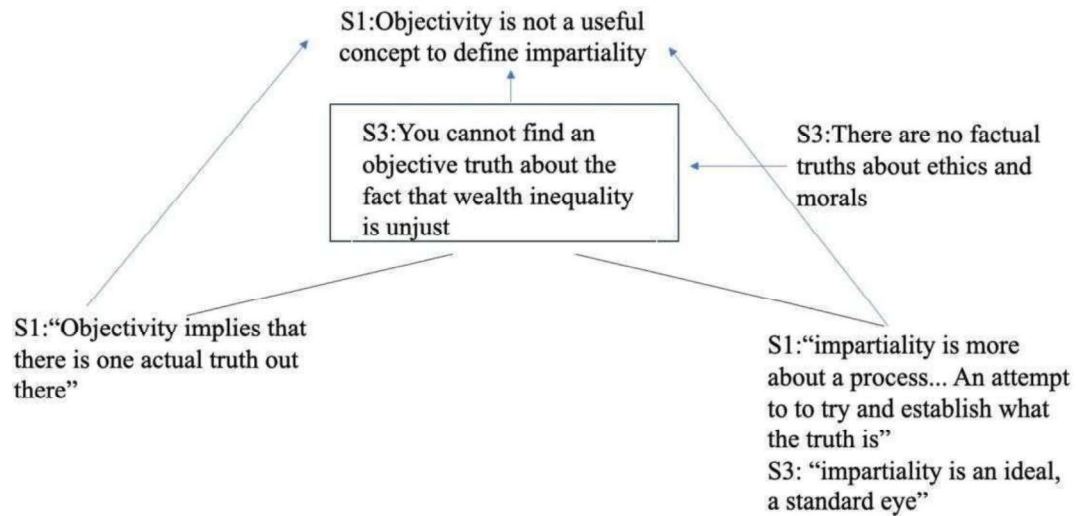


Figure 1: Argumentative structure discussion about 'objectivity' vs. 'impartiality'

Turning to 'non-partisanship'/'independence', S2, who considers impartiality as separate from independence and non-partisanship by default (see section 4.1), has cast a distinction between journalistic independence and non-partisanship, leading to an analogy between 'impartiality' and 'independence' as blurred terms that need to be publicly tackled within political spheres:

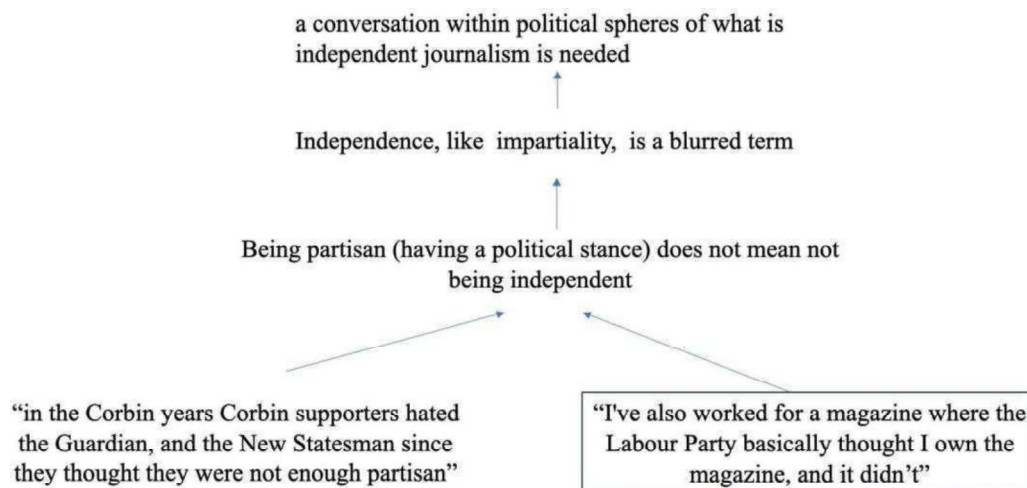


Figure 2: Argumentative structure about 'partisanship' vs. 'independence' vs. 'impartiality'

The complexity highlighted by S2 about partisanship was acknowledged by the other speaker and provided hints for further reflection. In answering question 7), about the BBC metaphor of the seesaw and the wagon wheel, S1 equated this change in perception from a binary format to a multiplicity of voices as a "nice sugary treat" that feels at once utopian

and outdated: the current digital society is causing a proliferation of points of view that need to be weighted since frequently not accurate nor factual. Furthermore, while broadcasting allows for discussions involving multiple points of view simultaneously, the same format does not apply to written news.

4.3 Impartiality 'in action'

Questions 8) and 9) have been constructed from a bottom-up perspective: we assumed that putting the participant in the shoes of fact-checkers or readers who had to evaluate the impartiality of a couple of headlines, would have offered a view complementary to top-down questions around the definition of the notion, revealing empirical procedures. In both cases, multiple arguments pointing to accuracy and balance of viewpoints were deemed as relevant to support an evaluation.

To mirror the flow of the discussion, each participant has been mentioned in Figures 3 and 4 in front of the argument that they explicitly mentioned and/or presented as new information in the discussion. However, the exercise has been an effort of collective intelligence: each participant could hear the rationales of the others and freely express dissent. Since participants agreed on the arguments expressed by the others (agreement expressed by repetitions or markers such as “yes, and”; “As x said...”) the arguments have been represented as linked, constituted a plethora of conditions to be checked to evaluate the impartiality of the news headlines. The ways deemed relevant to check on ‘accuracy’ and ‘balance’ changed according to the scenario.

As to 8), S2 and S4 pointed to the trustworthiness of the source of the poll due to the variety of sound methodologies for generalizations of such kind. Picking up on it, S1 clarified that features such as sample size, demographic aspects, and geographical compositions, highly affect the validity of the results potentially leading to hasty generalizations. S3 pointed to the vagueness of the phrase “climate change”, which is referred to as a static general phenomenon, but it is differently perceived by people who have been, for example, directly affected by some of its consequences in terms of natural disasters as well as policies:

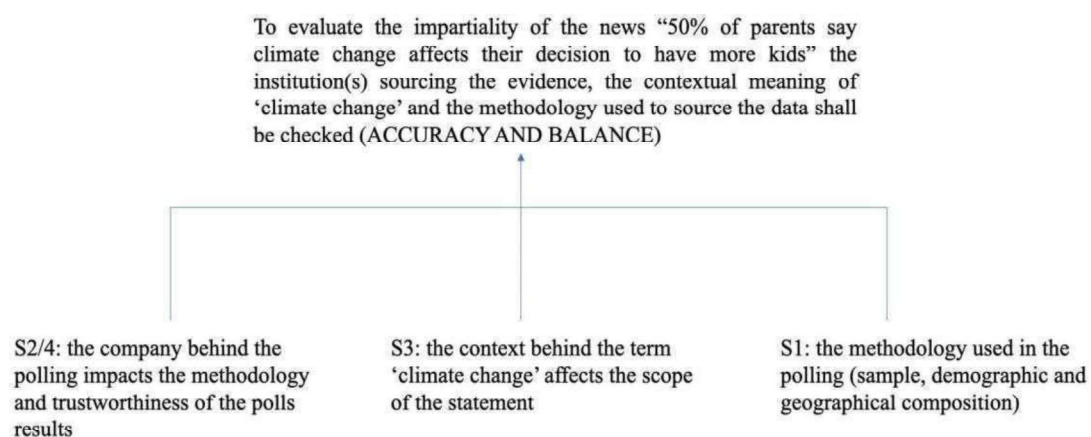


Figure 3: Argumentative reconstruction of impartiality evaluation about climate change news

As far as 9) is concerned, the lack of accuracy in terminology has been called out by S1 concerning the phrase “asylum seekers” that could have been used to designate individuals without such an official status having been already granted. On the other side, S2 has flagged the lack of information around the number and demographic features of the asylum seekers interviewed which could have led to an unbalanced view where a single individual or a specific national group has been voiced, while not representing a generalizable condition (e.g. “you know, you get one or two Saudi asylum seekers, and they're normally very wealthy and like, basically just living in private, rented while they're waiting on their claim, but the vast majority in the UK are living in a very different situation. So again, it's just like knowing who they are”). Finally, S3 has focused on the need to check who are the people accused of having failed the promises, to check whether expectations were legitimate in the first place.

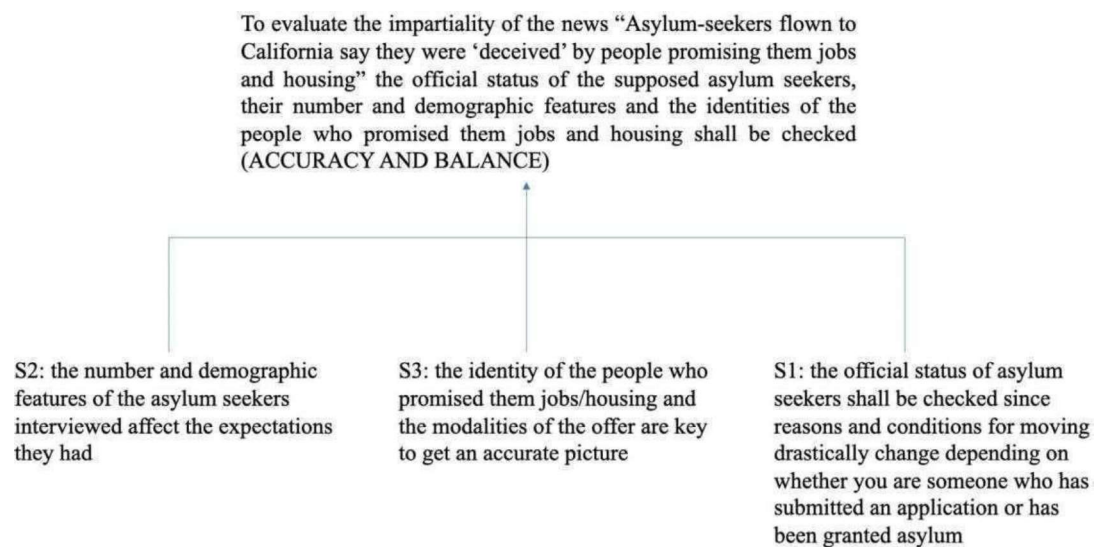


Figure 4: Argumentative reconstruction of impartiality evaluation about asylum seekers' news

4.3 Answers to the open-ended question

To conclude the focus group, we have allowed participants to express thoughts that they considered relevant to the issue, and that they had not been previously questioned about. Interestingly, the discussion unanimously converged on the issue of the challenges brought about by news digitization and Artificial Intelligence which characterise the Networked Society in the current information ecosystem. The underlined challenges can be reconstructed as an instance of multiple argumentation, since each of them undermines impartiality in newsmaking and factchecking:

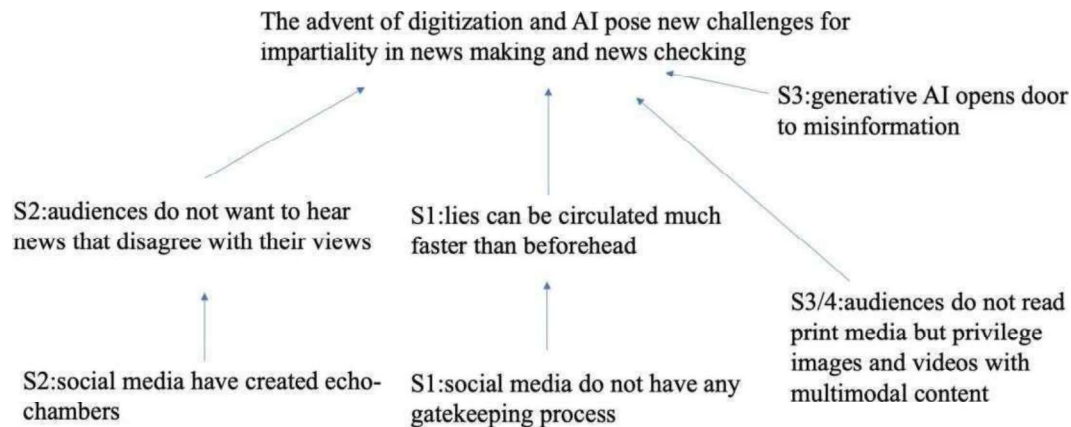


Fig. 5: Argumentative reconstruction of the discussion about the open-ended question

More specifically, the arguments advanced by participants revolve around changes in audience behaviour, dynamics of news and fake news circulation and misinformation tactics. S2 has highlighted the phenomenon of echo chambers which fuels confirmation bias making audiences resistant to accessing and processing information expressing points of view different from those expressed by their circles. S1 has voiced concerns about the proliferation of fake news, especially in an environment where social media, which lack a gatekeeping process, are utilized as primary sources for news. The preference for images and videos over text as a medium of information further complicates a scenario where the role played by new advances in generative AI made it simpler to craft fake news and sift them from fakery.

5. CONCLUSION

In the current Networked Society the impartiality of news and of fact-checkers is a controversial issue: their trustworthiness is more and more attacked pointing to their lack of impartiality, with arguments ranging from partisanship to poor accuracy and objectivity. Counterarguments could either rebut the lack of impartiality statement or undercut the inference that impartiality is a core ingredient for trustworthy journalism.

However, what 'impartiality' means for news production does not constitute shared endoxical knowledge: the review of 4 major codes of principles for news media agencies and factcheckers, has revealed that impartiality is either not mentioned or called upon without a definition, except for the BBC that has, however, resorted to the vague notion of 'due impartiality'. To investigate whether a clearer picture is offered by the academic literature, we have carried out a large-scale corpus analysis of scholarly articles containing the keywords "impartiality + 'news'/'journal'/'media'", patterned with qualitative content analysis. The results shed light on the "meaning in context" of 'impartiality', revealing a cluster of neighbour terms which are talked about when the issue of impartiality is at stake ('objectivity', 'accuracy', 'fairness', 'balance', 'independence', 'partisanship'). From the analysis of the discursive construction of the notion, it is apparent that a common

definition of ‘impartiality’ is missing, while the type of newsmaking/factchecking (e.g. microblogging vs. political editorials) discussed imposes degrees of relevance upon neighbour concepts.

To get a first-hand understanding of the “contextual meaning” of ‘impartiality’, we have carried out an online focus group, informed by the corpus analysis results, with 4 practitioners stemming from different organizations (BBC, charity, school of journalism, independent factcheckers). We asked them a suite of 10 top-down and bottom-up questions addressing the attitude (stance and behaviours) of their organizations towards impartiality, their take on impartiality concerning neighbour terms, and their ways of evaluating the impartiality of two exemplary headlines. The argumentative analysis of the focus group transcripts has revealed key shared views at the organizational, conceptual and empirical levels:

- o Organizational level: ‘being impartial’ and ‘being perceived as impartial’ bear different values depending on the organization --- while public service national broadcasters and fact-checkers position impartiality at the very core of their mandate and as a pillar of readers’ trustworthiness, charities are by default not impartial since their mission is that of voicing otherwise un-heard minorities who needs to feel their view prioritized to speak up.
- o Conceptual level: participants agreed that impartiality cannot be equated or reduced to matters of objectivity, independence, or partisanship --- these factors might contribute to impartiality depending on the context of the application. ‘Impartiality’ is viewed by practitioners as a “standard eye”, a continuous approximation towards an ideal. What can be evaluated as more or less impartial is thus not the news or the factcheck itself (product) but the process that has led to it.
- o Empirical level: to evaluate the impartiality of news headlines, the defeasibility of the arguments underpinning their validity shall be checked, with a focus on information sources, the meaning of otherwise vague phrases and the presence of hasty generalizations.

Finally, from the discussion of an additional issue that participants considered worth mentioning, it emerged what we call the impartiality “odd paradox”: the meaning of impartiality in the newsmaking and factchecking process continuously evolves hand in hand with the evolution of the digital and of Artificial Intelligence which affects the (mis)information ecosystem.

To summarize, our argumentative approach to investigating “impartiality” in news-making and factchecking has revealed that two facets of the issue need to be considered. From a product (news, factcheck) point of view, impartiality entails voicing all available views without taking sides. Under this perspective, impartiality does not constitute a value for every news organization, but it depends on institutional commitments. From a process perspective, *impartiality* means sourcing evidence and formulating arguments in a non-fallacious manner, providing the audience with a means to critical think about the news. This take on ‘impartiality’ as ‘lack of bias’ is considered a value regardless of the institutional goal. Argumentation theory can help achieve the latter endeavour, advancing transparency in a continuously evolving (mis)information ecosystem.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: We would like to thank you the members of the Laboratory of Argumentation, Cognition and Language at IFILNOVA for their precious comments on previous versions of this paper. This research has been funded by the Gulbenkian Foundation (European Media and Information Fund), in the frame of the project “Leveraging argument technology for impartial factchecking” (<https://latifproject.eu/>).

REFERENCES

- Aikin, S. F., & Casey, J. P. (2022). Bothsiderism. *Argumentation*, 36(2), 249-268.
- BBC (2007). From Seesaw to Wagon Wheel: Safeguarding Impartiality in the 21st Century. http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/review_report_research/impartiality_21century/report.pdf
- Boudana, S. (2016). Impartiality is not fair: Toward an alternative approach to the evaluation of content bias in news stories. *Journalism*, 17(5), 600-618.
- Boykoff, M. T., & Boykoff, J. M. (2004). Balance as bias: Global warming and the US prestige press. *Global environmental change*, 14(2), 125-136.
- Depraetere, I. (2019). Meaning in context and contextual meaning: A perspective on the semantics- pragmatics interface applied to modal verbs. *Anglophonia. French Journal of English Linguistics*, (28).
- Hermida, A. (2009). The blogging BBC: Journalism blogs at “the world’s most trusted news organisation”. *Journalism Practice*, 3(3), 268-284.
- Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., & Holton, A. E. (2012). Normalizing Twitter: Journalism practice in an emerging communication space. *Journalism studies*, 13(1), 19-36.
- Masotina, M., Musi, E., Federico, L., Yates, S. (2023). Impartiality and cognitive bias in the fact-checking process: an overview. https://latifproject.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/20230821_Luiss_Report_Impartiality-and-Bias_v3.pdf
- Peldszus, A., & Stede, M. (2015, June). An annotated corpus of argumentative microtexts. In *Argumentation and Reasoned Action: Proceedings of the 1st European Conference on Argumentation, Lisbon* (Vol. 2, pp. 801-815).
- Rigotti, E., & Greco Morasso, S. (2009). Argumentation as an object of interest and as a social and cultural resource. *Argumentation and education: Theoretical foundations and practices*, 9-66.
- Riordan, K. (2014). Accuracy, independence, and impartiality. *Journal of Trinity*, 1(2), 1-70.
- Schiappa, E. (2003). *Defining reality: Definitions and the politics of meaning*. SIU Press.
- Wahl-Jorgensen, K., Berry, M., Garcia-Blanco, I., Bennett, L., & Cable, J. (2017). Rethinking balance and impartiality in journalism? How the BBC attempted and failed to change the paradigm. *Journalism*, 18(7), 781-800.
- Urban, J., & Schweiger, W. (2014). News quality from the recipients' perspective: Investigating recipients' ability to judge the normative quality of news. *Journalism Studies*, 15(6), 821-840.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Grootendorst, R. (2004). *A systematic theory of argumentation: The pragma-dialectical approach*. Cambridge University Press.
- Vir, J. (2021). The relevance of impartial news in a polarised world. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2021-10/Vir_the_relevance_of_impartial_news_in_a_polarised_world_FINAL_0.pdf