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State of the art of news value (part one)

*Estado da arte de valor-notícia - (primeira parte)**Estado del arte de valores noticiosos (primera parte)*

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Abstract

This article presents a state-of-the-art review of news value studies based on five Brazilian and international peer-reviewed journals highly ranked in the Capes Qualis system, as well as on the Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations. We conducted a detailed examination of 64 works—including doctoral theses, master's dissertations, and journal articles—published between 2016 and 2021. The findings indicate the need for a second stage of research grounded in database analysis, which is the continuation of this broader project on news value studies in Brazil and worldwide. Our review shows that the academic debate has not taken into account the cultural dimension embedded in communities of meaning or in journalistic cultures. The proliferation of news value lists appears to be a global phenomenon. Although international articles acknowledge the distinction between news values and newsworthiness, they do not differentiate values from factors, and the division between intrinsic and extrinsic elements is generally considered irrelevant. Only 25% of Brazilian theses and dissertations include a literature review, compared with 100% of the international articles analyzed. The main authors referenced in Brazil are Gislene Silva (1985), Mauro Wolf (1995), and Nelson Traquina (2005), whereas outside Brazil the key references are Galtung and Ruge (1965), Eilders (1997, 2006), Harcup and O'Neill (2001, 2016), and Bednarek and Caple (2017). Content analysis emerges as the most frequent methodological approach both in Brazil and abroad.

Keywords: news values; news factors; newsworthiness.

Resumo

Este artigo é o estado da arte dos estudos de valor-notícia a partir de cinco revistas científicas brasileiras e estrangeiras bem avaliadas no Qualis Periódicos Capes e da Biblioteca Digital de Teses e Dissertações. Examinamos, detalhadamente, 64 trabalhos dentre teses, dissertações e artigos publicados entre 2016 e 2021. Com os resultados, observamos a necessidade de segunda pesquisa com bancos de dados, o que se transformou na segunda parte do estado da arte dos estudos de valor-notícia no Brasil e no mundo. Aqui, concluímos que o debate acadêmico não considera o nível cultural dentro das comunidades de sentido ou das culturas jornalísticas. A perpetuação das listas parece mundial. Os artigos

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estrangeiros reconhecem as diferenças entre valor-notícia e noticiabilidade, mas não distinguem valores de fatores. Para eles, não faz sentido a divisão entre extrínsecos e intrínsecos. Apenas 25% das teses e dissertações brasileiras têm revisão de literatura, ao passo que consta em 100% dos artigos estrangeiros. Os autores referência no Brasil são Gislene Silva (1985), Mauro Wolf (1995) e Nelson Traquina (2005). Fora do Brasil são Galtung e Ruge (1965), Eilders (1997, 2006), Harcup e O'Neill (2001, 2016), Bednarek e Caple (2017). A metodologia mais frequente é a análise de conteúdo dentro e fora do Brasil.

Palavras-chave: Valor-notícia; fator-notícia; noticiabilidade.

Resumen

Este artículo presenta un estado del arte sobre los estudios de valores noticia a partir del análisis de cinco revistas científicas brasileñas e internacionales bien evaluadas en el sistema Qualis Periódicos de Capes, así como de la Biblioteca Digital Brasileña de Tesis y Disertaciones. Examinamos en detalle 64 trabajos —entre tesis doctorales, disertaciones de maestría y artículos científicos— publicados entre 2016 y 2021. Los resultados señalan la necesidad de una segunda etapa de investigación basada en bancos de datos, que constituye la continuación de este proyecto sobre los estudios de valores noticia en Brasil y en el mundo. Constatamos que el debate académico ha desatendido la dimensión cultural presente en las comunidades de sentido y en las culturas periodísticas. La persistencia de listas de valores noticia parece ser un fenómeno global. Aunque los artículos internacionales reconocen la diferencia entre *valores noticia* y *noticiabilidad*, no distinguen entre valores y factores, y consideran irrelevante la división entre elementos intrínsecos y extrínsecos. Solo el 25% de las tesis y disertaciones brasileñas incluye una revisión de la literatura, frente al 100% de los artículos internacionales analizados. Los autores más citados en Brasil son Gislene Silva (1985), Mauro Wolf (1995) y Nelson Traquina (2005), mientras que en el ámbito internacional destacan Galtung y Ruge (1965), Eilders (1997, 2006), Harcup y O'Neill (2001, 2016), y Bednarek y Caple (2017). El enfoque metodológico predominante, tanto en Brasil como en el exterior, es el análisis de contenido.

Palabras clave: valores-noticia; factores noticiosos; noticiabilidad.

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Introduction

In the current context of a new “mediatic communicational architecture” (Fausto Neto, 2012), intensified by the acceleration of time (Rosa, 2003), Brazilian academia has begun to question whether the notion of news value still makes analytical sense. Processes of platformization and algorithmization now exert decisive influence over what is selected for publication. Even when the format is not ideal, a news item must often be published as a video, since video content ranks more favorably in today’s Google environment. At the same time, however, the very conception of news remains intrinsic to what is socially expected of journalism as an institution. Media constraints exist in constant tension with the socially shared understanding of newsworthiness.

This scenario raises several questions: Are news value lists being applied both within and beyond Brazil? Do international researchers also consider it important to distinguish intrinsic (attribute-based) from extrinsic factors? Who are the authors most frequently cited by Brazilian and foreign scholars? Are there similarities? Do Brazilian theses and dissertations include literature reviews? What are the most common methodological approaches? And are theoretical choices justified with scientific rigor?

These questions guide the present state-of-the-art review. We propose an overview of news value studies that offers insights into the main authors, concepts, and analytical propositions currently in circulation. The next section explains how this first stage of the research was conducted. We then examine the authors most frequently cited in Brazil and abroad. After that, we present the predominant methodologies. The final section focuses on theoretical foundations, with particular attention to the distinction between news values and newsworthiness criteria in Brazilian scholarship and to the logic underlying the formation of a news factor/value, highlighting both the collective and individual dimensions.

Methodology

Our search in this first stage focused on three sources:

1. the Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD);
2. five Brazilian journals highly rated by Capes in 2023 (*Matrizes*, *Galáxia*, *BJR*, *RBCC*, and *Observatório*), including *Estudos em Jornalismo e Mídia*¹; and
3. five international journals relevant to journalism research worldwide: *Journalism*, *British Journalism Review*, *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly (JMCQ)*, *Journalism Practice*, *Journalism Studies*, and *Columbia Journalism Review*, selected according to the Scimago ranking².

The search was conducted using the keywords “valores-notícia” and “noticiabilidade” in Portuguese-language abstracts indexed under the subject “journalism”. For international journals, we used the equivalent English terms “news values” and “newsworthiness,” also under the subject “journalism.” The keywords or tags had to appear in the abstract and/or title, considering that both titles and keywords increasingly follow Google search-optimization practices. The research, initiated in 2021, focused on works published between 2016 and 2021. Although no Brazilian journal articles were published in the first two years of this period, we maintained the five-year window. For international journals, we added one additional year to include Harcup and O’Neill’s influential 2016 article.

In the BDTD, among the 98 works defended between 2016 and 2021, only 18 contained the term “valores-notícia” in the abstract or title—14 doctoral theses and four master’s dissertations. Once each document was opened, the first step was to check whether the terms “valores-notícia” or “noticiabilidade” appeared in any section of the table of contents. If not, the work was excluded. When the terms appeared—whether as “valor-notícia,” “valores-notícia,” or “critérios de noticiabilidade”—we examined where the keywords occurred (title, abstract, or body of the text); whether a dedicated literature review section was included; whether the author selected specific theoretical references or created an analytical framework; and, finally, which methodology was employed.

In Brazilian journals, the search for “valor-notícia” (with and without hyphen), “valores-notícia” (with and without hyphen), and “noticiabilidade” yielded only 12 articles, whereas 43 articles were found in international journals. However, only 31 of the international articles included a literature review on news

¹ A journal dedicated specifically to journalism studies in Brazil (classified as B1 when the search was conducted and currently rated A3 in the Qualis Periódicos 2017–2020 cycle).

² Search conducted in 2021 for Social Sciences – Communication, in any country, for journals whose titles included the word “journalism”.



values and therefore offered some degree of analytical depth beyond the presence of the keywords “news values” or “newsworthiness” in the title and/or abstract. In summary, between 2016 and 2021, of the 12 articles published in Brazilian journals, 10 were part of the *Observatório* journal’s 2018 dossier “Noticiabilidade,” derived from the panel “Newsworthiness and News Selection in the Era of New Digital Technologies” at the 16th Meeting of the Brazilian Society of Journalism Researchers (SBPJor).

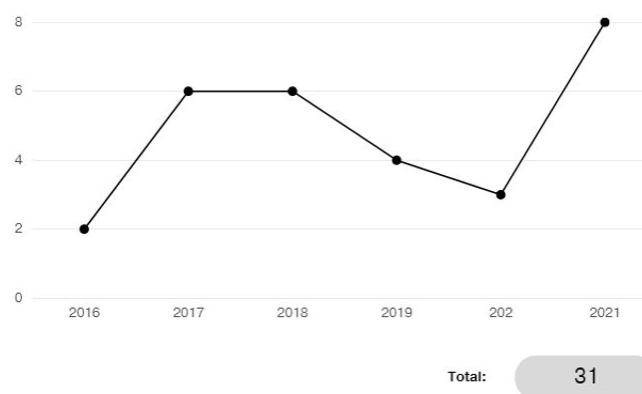
Table 1 - Number of Articles in Brazilian and International Journals (2016–2020).

2016–2020	Matrizes	Galáxia	BJR	RBCC	Observatório	EJM	Total (Brazil)
valor notícia, valor notícia, noticiabilidade	0	0	0	0	10 (June 2018 dossier)	2	12
International Journals							
2016–2020	Journalism	Journalism Studies	BJR	JMCQ	Journalism Practice	CJR	Total (International)
news values, newsworthiness	14	13	0	4	0	0	31

Source: Author’s elaboration.

It is possible to observe in the table above that the vast majority of articles were published in two journals: *Journalism*, whose current editors-in-chief are Barbie Zelizer (USA) and Howard Tumber (UK), and *Journalism Studies*, led by Folker Hanusch (Austria), with an associate editor from Latin America. The number of articles doubles from 2016 to 2021.

Figure 1 - Growth of Articles in International Journals.



Source: Author’s elaboration.

The most frequently cited text in other articles published in international journals was “What Is News? Galtung and Ruge Revisited” (Harcup & O’Neill, 2001), published in *Journalism Studies*. In 2016, the authors published “News Values Revisited (Again)” in the same journal. It is possible to infer that scholars tend to prefer a journal in which a sustained debate has taken shape, one that has even dedicated a special issue to the study of news values and has, by now, established a tradition in this field.

Authors

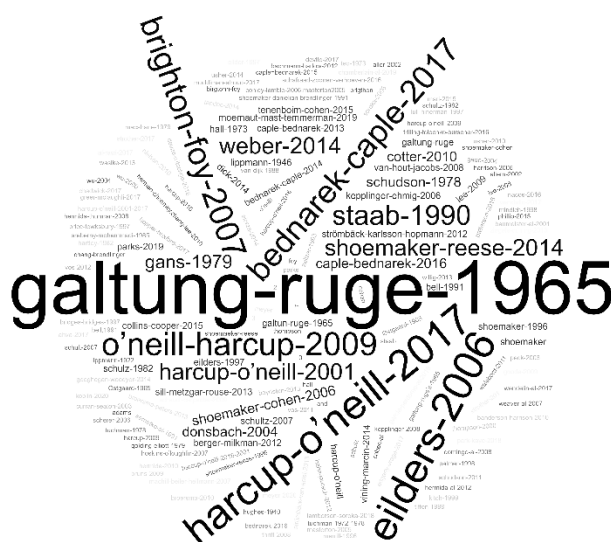
The main authors referenced in news value studies within Brazilian academia are not the same as those most frequently cited in articles published in international journals. In Brazil, we identified the foundational authors primarily through the analysis of Brazilian theses and dissertations. The authors most frequently cited in articles from these international journals are scholars affiliated with universities in the United States (nine), Amsterdam (five), Australia (four), Switzerland and the United Kingdom (three each), and—with one article each—Spain, China, Canada, Belgium, Brazil, and Poland. Most of the authors whose articles were published between 2016 and 2021 work at universities in the United States and in the northern regions of the Global North. It is worth noting that Europe appears with one Spanish and one Belgian article.

Figure 2 - Articles in International Journals by Country.

Source: Author's elaboration.

Our objective is to identify the foundational authors shaping the current global academic debate on news values. These authors are primarily located in the United Kingdom, Norway, Germany, and the United States. They can be identified through an examination of the methodological choices made in each study. The standard structure of international academic articles typically includes a dedicated methodology section. Reading these texts—an activity that can be facilitated by tools such as ChatPDF or Notebooklm³, which assists in locating specific elements within PDF documents—should focus on the authors who underpin the analytical categories employed.

In chronological order, the foundational authors are: Galtung and Ruge (1965), Norway; Harcup and O'Neill (2001 and 2016) and Brighton and Foy (2007), United Kingdom; Christiane Eilders (1997; 2006), Germany; Pamela Shoemaker (1996; 2006), United States; and Bednarek and Caple (2017), Australia.

Figure 3 - Tag Cloud of Authors in International Journals.

Source: Author's elaboration.

³ The aim of using these artificial intelligence (AI) tools is to 'chat' with the articles and skim through them more quickly. Then, by pressing Ctrl+F in the PDF of the article, you can type in part of the excerpt shown in Notebooklm.

Galtung and Ruge (1965) published the article “The Structure of Foreign News,” considered seminal worldwide. They systematized, for the first time, 12 news factors, even though their study focused specifically on foreign news broadcast on radio and television in England. In the same year, shortly before, Ostgaard (1965), also from Norway, published “Factors Influencing the Flow of News,” in which he dedicated a section to factors inherent to published news. Although he did not produce a systematic list like Galtung and Ruge, he analyzed three factors: simplification; identification—which later stabilized as *significance*, beginning with Herbert Gans (1979), and within which he included proximity, initially described as temporal and cultural and later as geographical and cultural; and sensationalism.

Both Harcup and O’Neill (2001) and Brighton and Foy (2007) revisited Galtung and Ruge (1965). As noted earlier, the 2001 article by Harcup and O’Neill is perhaps today the principal reference after the seminal work of Galtung and Ruge. Fifteen years later, the authors updated their research, incorporating analysis of social media and digital platforms:

In this new study, we also set out to examine the extent to which any taxonomy of news values conceived in the pre-Twitter, pre-Facebook and pre-interactive-platform era can be considered to hold today. This is one of the main questions to be addressed in our review of news values and in our attempt to update our list of selection criteria. (Harcup & O’Neill, 2016, p. 3).

In this updated study, they expanded their analysis to 10 news outlets (*The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Express*, *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, plus the free dailies *Metro* and *London’s Evening Standard*) over one week in November. After examining the news published in these outlets, they analyzed the 10 most shared stories on Twitter and Facebook for each brand. In total, 711 news items were examined. The authors emphasize that they analyzed each one in detail: “Our methodology was impressively simple, if time-consuming: we read each of the 711 stories and used our 2001 set of news values as a coding sheet, identifying multiple factors in each story” (Harcup & O’Neill, 2016, p. 7). In this article, they added five factors: exclusivity, audio-visuals, conflict, drama, and shareability. It is worth noting that their corpus included *The Sun* and *Daily Mail*, well-known representatives of the British tabloid press, as well as free newspapers.

Brighton and Foy’s book (2007), published nine years before the second Harcup and O’Neill article, also takes the seminal work as its point of departure, arguing that it requires updating in light of the contemporary media ecosystem:

“At the time when Galtung and Ruge were developing their theories, there was no internet, no professional data manipulation (...) and no 24-hour news. And the notion of citizen journalism and its sibling, user-generated content, was still several generations away.” (Brighton & Foy, 2007, p. 192)

From the authors’ perspective, Galtung and Ruge focused on a specific topic and, more precisely, on a specific medium for a specific audience. Brighton and Foy argue that, as social scientists, Galtung and Ruge left out organizational constraints: “From a social scientist’s point of view, their analysis is very appealing. From an editorial point of view, it is less satisfactory” (Brighton & Foy, 2007, p. 7). After examining the lists proposed by 13 authors, Brighton and Foy analyze different cases across different media. In the end, they argue that news value studies are useful for researchers and students but have limited influence on newsroom routines, where journalists continue to rely on “instinct.” This conclusion appears to us to be insufficiently scientific.

Eilders (2016), a German researcher whose work has not been translated into English and is not cited in Brazil, systematizes the entire German-language literature 20 years after her own study (1997) became a reference for newsworthiness research in Germany. She cites four authors who also appear in the literature reviews of international articles: Schulz (1976), Staab (1990), Eilders (1997), and Ruhrmann et al. (2003). She cites a work that is also referenced by all other international researchers: Galtung and Ruge (1965).

Eilders’ list, developed in 1997, contains seven news factors: relevance, conflict, elite persons, continuity, unexpectedness, proximity, and elite nations. She strongly reiterates Galtung and Ruge’s claim:

“News factors, from this perspective, serve not only as exclusively journalistic criteria but as general human selection criteria, deducible from the psychology of perception.” (Eilders, 2006, p. 9)

Her main contribution lies in treating relevance as a collective construction, for which she proposes three foundations: evolutionary theory - “This explanation is based on the idea that people attribute relevance to things that pose a potential threat to someone’s life or well-being.” (Eilders, 2016, p. 14); general psychological mechanisms of human beings; and social relevance - “This type of relevance can be attributed by members of society if society as a whole may be affected, even if the individual is not directly affected.” (Eilders, 2016, p. 15).

Caple and Bednarek (2017) take a different path: a discursive one. They propose Discursive News Values Analysis (DNVA). From a multimodal perspective, they argue that news values operate across four dimensions: material, cognitive, social, and discursive. The authors contend that news values are constructed in discourse—not as deliberate “manipulation,” but as socially attributed value. They do not believe that inherent attributes exist, contrary to what a significant portion of the international literature and the majority of the Brazilian literature assume.

Pamela Shoemaker (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006) is the only author cited both in international journal articles and in Brazilian journal articles. Among Brazilian theses and dissertations, only Liliane Feitoza’s dissertation (Feitoza, 2016) cites the American researcher. In journal articles, only Professor Marcos Paulo da Silva (UFMS) references her work. In the 1996 book, which became a key reference for newsmaking studies, the authors argue that newsworthiness is a cognitive construct with both individual and collective levels. As in Eilders (2016) and in the seminal work of Galtung and Ruge (1965), the foundation lies in social psychology, particularly in the theory of “cognitive consistency.”

Theses and dissertations, in principle, require mature theoretical choices. However, although it is possible to identify the most frequently cited authors, the reasons for these choices are not presented—neither in dissertations nor in most theses defended between 2017 and 2021. The table below shows that 56.25% (nine out of 16) of the works do not include a literature review or include an incomplete one, meaning they fail to incorporate the classical authors of news values studies (Author, 2018). Many are unfamiliar even with the seminal article by Galtung and Ruge (1965).

Table 2 - Authors and Literature Review in Theses and Dissertations Defended Between 2016 and 2021.

Case Description (2016–2021)	Literature Review	Reference Authors for Analysis
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in title, abstract, and dedicated section	None	Wolf, M.; Traquina, N.
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in title, abstract, and section on “death as news values”	None	Traquina, N.
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in abstract	Incomplete	Silva, G.
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in abstract	None	Traquina, N. (for conceptualizing rules guiding journalistic processes)
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in table of contents	Incomplete	Framework with Silva, G. and Traquina, N.
<i>Valores-notícia</i> with dedicated section	Present	Multiple authors by dimension: Guerra; Franciscato; Gomis; Groth; Shoemaker; Benetti; Reginato; Silva
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in abstract	Incomplete	Wolf, M.
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in abstract	Present	Silva, G.
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in abstract	Incomplete	Silva, G.
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in abstract (cyber-event)	Present	No author selected; focus on breaking news
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in abstract (news agency)	Incomplete	Traquina, N.
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in table of contents (celebrity, social media)	None	Wolf, M.
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in abstract (“collaborative information”)	Incomplete	Satuf, I. (UBI)
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in abstract (news, mobile devices)	Incomplete	Satuf, I. (UBI)
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in abstract (journalistic relevance)	Present	No author selected
<i>Valores-notícia</i> in title	Present	Traquina, N.

Source: Author’s elaboration.

Only 31.25% of the works include a minimal literature review—that is, they cite at least Galtung and Ruge (1965), Shoemaker and Reese (1996), Wolf (1997), Traquina (2005), and Silva (2005). One work cites Walter Lippmann (1922), the first author to conceptualize news. Only one also cites Herbert Gans (1979), on whom Wolf (1997) relies. Two works focused on digital journalism adopt the article by Ivan Satuf (PhD, UBI), who proposes three new news values for the digital environment: hashtag, redundancy, and collaborative participation. In his dissertation, defended in 2016, the author does not argue that news values tend to weaken in digital journalism; rather, he identifies how technological innovations have reinforced two classical news values: unexpectedness and proximity:

“The sociotechnical collective acts upon newsworthiness criteria by promoting a translation of two classical news values: unexpectedness and proximity.” (Satuf, 2016, p. 220)

In internationally circulated journals, the literature review is typically a dedicated section. These reviews generally include around two dozen authors, combining classical and contemporary references. However, they repeatedly omit Herbert Gans (1979), Traquina (2005), and Wolf (1996). Wolf (1996) may be absent because it is a systematization based on other authors. Gans (1979) did not focus on news values but instead examined more enduring cultural values — *enduring values*:

“I also distinguish between two types of values, which I call topical and enduring, and I will analyze only the latter. Topical values are the opinions expressed about specific actors or activities of the moment, whether a presidential appointment or a new anti-inflation policy. [...] Enduring values, on the other hand, are values that can be found in many different types of news over a long period of time; they often affect the events that become news, since some are an integral part of the definition of news.” (Gans, 1979, p. 41).

In Brazil, however, Traquina (2005) and Wolf (1996) are two of the main authors, alongside Gislene Silva (2005). Volume 2 of *Teorias do Jornalismo*, by the Portuguese scholar Nelson Traquina (2005), is widely adopted in undergraduate journalism programs across the country. In graduate studies, his work is used to operationalize news values. It is important to highlight the clear absence of Portuguese-language publications by many of the authors circulating in the international academic debate.

Traquina argues that news values have two dimensions: selection (substantive and contextual) and construction. He distinguishes between attributes inherent to events, organizational news values (context), and discursive construction values. This separation is didactic. In his theoretical framework, news values constitute a form of knowledge developed and shared within journalistic culture. By proposing a distinction between substantive and construction-related values, he incorporates concerns central to researchers working within a constructionist perspective.

The Italian scholar Mauro Wolf (1997), whose book is not cited by any author in international journal articles in the past five years, draws primarily on Gans (1979) and Golding and Elliot (1979). Wolf’s doctoral thesis divides news factors—what he calls “implicit assumptions”—into four categories: content, product, audience, and competition. He approaches the topic lucidly, situating news values studies within newsmaking theory. Traquina notes that Wolf was the first to point out the existence of news values throughout the entire production process (Traquina, 2005, p. 78).

With her now-classic article “Para pensar critérios de noticiabilidade,” Gislene Silva (UFSC) appears, alongside Traquina, as one of the main Brazilian references in news values studies. She divides news values into three dimensions (at the origin of events, in the treatment of events, and in the interpretation of events), but focuses on the first, “with the aim of operationalizing news analysis” (Silva, 2014, p. 51). By proposing macro and micro-values, Silva encompasses a broad range of content, facilitating research operationalization based on content analysis. However, some macro news values, in our view, function merely as topics—such as “justice” or “knowledge/culture”—and therefore do not constitute news values in a strict sense.

Most common methodologies

The most common methodology, both in Brazilian and international studies, is content analysis. However, it is important to note that these content analyses share one similarity and three differences between

Brazilian and international works. The similarity lies in the application of one or more news values lists. The differences concern sample size, reference authors, and the measurement of inter-coder reliability, as shown in the systematization presented in Table 3.

Table 3 - Methodologies in Articles Published in International Journals.

Title	Tool(s)	Corpus	Methodology
<i>News Values on Social Media: News Organizations' Facebook Use</i>	QDA Miner 4; NVivo 10	15,589 Arabic-language TV news items (Al-Alam TV, Russia Today, Deutsche Welle, BBC)	Content analysis
<i>What Is News? News Values Revisited (Again)</i>	Individual reading	711 news items; one week in Nov. 2014; <i>The Sun</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , <i>Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Mirror</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>The Times</i> , <i>The Guardian</i> , <i>The Independent</i> , <i>Metro</i> , <i>London's Evening Standard</i>	Content analysis with interpretive reading
<i>A New Sensation? An International Exploration of Sensationalism and Social Media Recommendations in Online News Publications</i>	NewsWhip; coded using Neuendorf (2002)	400 news items from 4 outlets: Minutouno.com (AR), Aristegui Noticias (MX), G1 (BR), <i>The Huffington Post</i> (US)	Content analysis
<i>From Newsworthiness to Shareworthiness: How to Predict News Sharing Based on Article Characteristics</i>	Python script querying RSS hourly	132,682 shared news items from six major Dutch news sites (nrc.nl, trouw.nl, volkskrant.nl, parool.nl, ad.nl, nu.nl)	Content analysis
<i>A General Pattern in the Construction of Economic Newsworthiness?</i>	LexisNexis; Lotus (λ) for reliability	6,489 news items from 9 high-circulation economic/financial newspapers in Amsterdam	Content analysis
<i>Through a Different Gate: An Automated Content Analysis of How Online News and Print News Differ</i>	LexisNexis; Python script	762,095 news items from major Dutch outlets over two years	Content analysis
<i>News Values Go on Holiday</i>	—	—	Theoretical; proposes “marketing values” instead of news values
<i>To Share or Not to Share: The Influence of News Values and Topics on Popular Social Media Content in the US, Brazil, and Argentina</i>	NewsWhip; coded using Neuendorf (2002)	600 news items from NYT, <i>HuffPost</i> , <i>Folha/UOL</i> , G1, <i>Clarín</i> , <i>MinutoUno.com</i>	Content analysis
<i>Getting into Living Rooms: NGO Media Relations Work as Strategic Practice</i>	—	World Vision US headquarters, Washington, Jan–Mar 2015	Participant observation and semi-structured interviews
<i>Five Ways BuzzFeed Is Preserving (or Transforming) the Journalistic Field</i>	Factiva	5,739 news items from NYT and BuzzFeed (10 per day), Apr–May 2015	Content analysis
<i>Women, Ethnic Minorities and Newsworthiness: Journalists' Perceptions</i>	—	16 in-depth interviews with print journalists	In-depth interviews
<i>News Values on Social Media: Exploring What Drives Peaks in User Activity on Twitter</i>	Twitter tools; Lotus reliability coefficient (Fretwurst, 2015)	1,801,971 Dutch-language tweets from 18 major Dutch companies	Content analysis
<i>News Values and Newsworthiness</i>	—	—	Theoretical

Title	Tool(s)	Corpus	Methodology
<i>The Ukraine Conflict and the European Media</i>	—	3,023 news items from 13 Eastern European newspapers	Content analysis
<i>Naturalizing Negativity: How Journalism Textbooks Justify Crime, Conflict, and “Bad” News</i>	Textbook review	—	Theoretical
<i>Textbook News Values: Stable Concepts, Changing Choices</i>	—	Longitudinal interpretive analysis of US journalism textbooks (1894–2016)	Theoretical
<i>News Values and the Ethical Dilemmas of Covering Violent Extremism</i>	—	41 Nigerian journalists (newspapers and 24-hour TV)	Participant observation and interviews
<i>What Are Newspaper Editorials Interested In?</i>	Prior interviews; documents from cited authors	—	Theoretical
<i>The Ultimate News Value: Journalism Textbooks, the U.S. Presidency, and the Normalization of Donald Trump</i>	—	—	Theoretical
<i>But Her Emails! How Journalistic Preferences Shaped Election Coverage in 2016</i>	Media Tenor	1,280 topics; ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News (15-second intervals)	Content analysis
<i>Media Hierarchies of Attention: News Values and Australia’s Royal Commission...</i>	—	Royal Commission report (Australia)	Content analysis
<i>Newsworthiness and Story Prominence</i>	LexisNexis; Automated Content Analysis Toolkit; Nogrod 1.1 reliability	Dutch quality and popular outlets (NRC, Volkskrant, Trouw, AD, Telegraaf, nu.nl)	Content analysis
<i>The Making of Economic News</i>	—	12 Dutch economic journalists	In-depth interviews
<i>Researching With Our Hair on Fire</i>	—	—	Theoretical
<i>Computer-Based Analysis of News Values</i>	Factiva	136 news items from <i>The Australian</i> and <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (Jan–Feb 2016–2017)	Content analysis
<i>Effects of News Factors on Users’ News Attention...</i>	SMI iView X Red (120 Hz)	Eye-tracking with 47 German university students over two weeks	Consumption analysis
<i>Attention for Attention Hotspots</i>	—	<i>NYT</i> , <i>Washington Post</i> , <i>USA Today</i> (print + digital), Nov. 2016	Qualitative content analysis
<i>Promoted Media Coverage of Court Decisions</i>	Smith-Waterman local alignment algorithm	584 court press releases covered in German newspapers over 8 years	Content analysis
<i>Casual, Colloquial, Commonsensical: A News Values Stylistic Analysis of a Populist Newsfeed</i>	—	308 headlines containing “tea party”	Content analysis
<i>Applying News Values Theory to Liking, Commenting and Sharing...</i>	Netvizz	2,480 articles from three major South Korean newspapers	Content analysis
<i>Joy Is a News Value</i>	—	—	Theoretical

Source: Author’s Elaboration.

Of the 31 studies analyzed, 61.29% employ content analysis, 25.8% are theoretical (eight, three of which are by the same author), two rely on participant observation with or without interviews, and two use only in-depth interviews. We excluded from this count the opening essay of a special issue on newsworthiness published in *Journalism Studies*. Among the content-analysis studies, only one article conducted an interpretive reading of each individual item (Harcup & O'Neill, 2010, 2016), and another is based on eye-tracking (Caple & Bednarek, 2017). These two have become key references among international articles:

1. *What Is News? News Values Revisited (Again)*, in which Harcup and O'Neill (2016), updating their 2001 article, individually read 711 news items from traditional newspapers, tabloids, and free dailies; and
2. *Computer-Based Analysis of News Values: A Case Study on National Day Reporting*, in which Bednarek and Caple (2020) apply DNVA, the framework introduced in their 2017 book.

When comparing articles published in international journals with Brazilian theses and dissertations defended between 2016 and 2021, it becomes clear that although both predominantly use content analysis, their samples, tools, and theoretical foundations differ substantially. In Brazil, the main reference for content analysis is Laurence Bardin (1996). Outside Brazil, articles cite Krippendorff (2004), especially his reliability measure, Krippendorff's Alpha, used to assess the trustworthiness of content-analysis coding. International studies work with large samples and extended periods of analysis. Large samples are treated as a requirement for research reliability. Authors rely on paid tools, data-collection companies, and Python scripts—clear evidence of research funding. Brazilian graduate studies, by contrast, typically analyze traditional or regional newspapers, with an average number of units ranging from 20 (two weeks of a TV newscast) to around 100 (usually selected after exploratory research).

The similarity between Brazilian and international studies lies in the application of some list of news values, even when the literature review is critically examined. International articles that employ content analysis conduct a literature review and then select factors from one or more authors. In Brazil, theses and dissertations generally adopt a single author. The similarity within this difference is the lack of a strong justification for the choice.

Theoretical Summaries

With a state-of-the-art review based solely on journal articles and the Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD), we can observe that the reference scholars for these works diverge regarding the nature of news values: whether they are inherent attributes of events, constructed by journalists, or collectively produced within society. For Brazilian researchers, the distinction between attributes and non-attributes—introduced by Gans (1979), reaffirmed by Wolf (1996), and consolidated in Brazil by Gislene Silva in 2005—is significant. In international articles, however, scholars work with “values” or “factors” without distinguishing whether some refer to event qualities, others to organizational constraints, or still others to the cultural values of a given community. All factors—whether elite power or audiovisual appeal (a characteristic of format)—are treated as units of analysis.

The seminal article by Galtung and Ruge (1965) established the notion of *factors*. This notion became central in the international academic debate, whereas in the Brazilian debate the dominant concept is *news value*. The factor encompasses both news value and newsworthiness criterion. This distinction was articulated by Gislene Silva, drawing on Wolf. A news value refers to an attribute (Silva, 2005), whereas a newsworthiness criterion is considered any other factor that influences an element of reality (Author, 2009) so that it becomes newsworthy.

The primary concern of international research is to understand the logic behind the formation of a news factor. There appears to be consensus that newsworthiness is a cognitive construct. This foundation was established by the seminal work of Galtung and Ruge (1965) through the psychology of perception. The understanding that news factors are collective constructs (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, 2014; Eilders, 1997; Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006) has been widely adopted in international journal articles. In general, authors analyze the compatibility of their results with previous studies:

“In particular, the most valuable predictors of the intensity of a peak in activity appear to be social impact, geographical proximity, and factuality, all associated with higher levels of activity. Taken together, these values suggest that topics

highlighting the social consequences of organizational events, related to the national context, and containing factual information tend to generate the highest levels of organization-related activity on Twitter. This reinforces the notion of news factors as indicators of collective relevance (Eilders, 2006; Shoemaker & Cohen, 2012; Weber, 2014), with social media users allocating focal attention (and activity) to topics associated with deviance and social significance, just as journalists do when deciding what counts as news (Eilders, 2006; Wendelin et al., 2017).” (Araújo & van der Meer, 2018, p. 15)

New factors are frequently proposed, especially when analyzing niche products or niche topics. A factor may refer to any dimension—from the substantive value of an event to journalistic culture.

Conclusions

Based on the analysis of Brazilian and international studies on news values published between 2016 and 2021, it is possible to conclude that, while Brazilian literature considers the distinction between substantive value (attribute) and newsworthiness criterion (factor) to be relevant, the international academic debate frequently works with the notion of “news factors.” We tend to favor this distinction, which ultimately implies recognizing the intrinsic characteristics of a real-world object (whether fact or event). However, we are not yet able to determine whether this distinction is productive for news value studies, since the acts of selecting and constructing a hierarchical discourse are influenced by non-intrinsic factors.

It can also be concluded that there is virtually no overlap between the authors cited in Brazilian and international works. The only exception is Shoemaker (1996; 2006), particularly in the work of Professor Marcos Paulo da Silva, whose dissertation incorporates Shoemaker’s notion of newsworthiness and who has since published articles reaffirming newsworthiness as a cognitive construct. This understanding originates in the seminal work of Galtung and Ruge (1965), the first to draw on the psychology of perception to explain which factors generate newsworthiness. The key reference authors in Brazilian works are not the same as those in international articles: in Brazil, Gislene Silva (1985), Mauro Wolf (1995), and Nelson Traquina (2005); internationally, Galtung and Ruge (1965), Eilders (1997, 2006), Harcup and O’Neill (2001, 2016), and Bednarek and Caple (2017).

Another conclusion is that Brazilian master’s and PhD students have not conducted state-of-the-art reviews or literature reviews on news value studies in journalism. International journal articles include a dedicated literature review section, following the classical IMRaD structure (Introduction, Methods, Results, and Discussion). It is common for authors to select several scholars to ground their analyses. In contrast, nearly all Brazilian researchers choose only one author. We found that in more than 90% of all analyzed works, there is no justification for these choices.

A further result, unsurprising: is the consensus around the proliferation of lists. To conduct an analysis, researchers must rely on a set of factors, which function as variables in content analysis.

To conclude this section, several observations can be made. First, it is clear that there has been a proliferation of news value lists, many of which overlap in terms of the aspects of newsworthiness they deal with and differ only in their labeling/naming practices.” (Caple, 2021, p. 10)

These lists result primarily from analyses of traditional newspapers. Only in 2016 did Harcup and O’Neill include free dailies and tabloids. None of the studies analyzed considered the cultural level within communities of meaning or journalistic cultures, nor their relationship with localities. It can therefore be inferred that the decision to standardise news values runs counter by Galtung and Ruge (1965). The seminal article suggests that some factors were “culture-free” (eight more universal factors) and others (the last four) were “cultural factors,” influencing the “transition from event to news” outside the normal rules of newsworthiness (Galtung & Ruge, 1999 [1965], p. 67).

One in every ten top stories published by eight local news websites in the interior of Bahia during the pre-electoral period of 2020—a year marked by the pandemic—used elite power as the sole newsworthiness criterion. When combined with other criteria, the local elite gained visibility in 40% of the stories. The power of local elite

actors thus becomes a factor capable of elevating to the nightly homepage a story that would not be publicized in a product guided by institutional journalistic values. The journalistic discourse—identified in the high proportion of *faits divers*—raises the influence rate of elite power to as much as 57% of all stories (Durazo-Herrmann, Seixas, 2024, p. 8).

Neither inside nor outside Brazil have researchers incorporated the “culture-free factors” (Galtung & Ruge, 1999 [1965], p. 67) of a region or locality into their analyses, even when regional studies exist, whether or not compared with traditional outlets.

Finally, it can also be concluded that journal-based research facilitates productive discoveries, since some journals relevant to the Brazilian debate are not indexed in major databases. However, only systematic searches in databases such as Scopus, SciELO, and Web of Science can confirm and deepen the conclusions reached here. This would then allow for a more thorough comparison between news value, newsworthiness criterion, and newsworthiness itself. It would also enable advances in understanding how news values and newsworthiness are formed, followed by a more detailed examination of analytical methodologies.

To close with a curiosity: news value research originated in Norway, gained strength in England, and remains active in Eastern Europe, with Germany at the forefront. These works circulate in English. New players include the Australian scholars Helen Caple and Monika Bednarek—although the latter was recently supervised by the Dutch researcher Mark Deuze.

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