

Journalism Under Duress

Worlds of Journalism Study Report
(Wave 3: 2021–2025)



Edited by
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**WORLDS
OF
JOURNALISM**

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About the Editors



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Perceptions of Journalistic Roles

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The study of journalistic roles is central to our understanding of journalism's identity and place in society. Such research is particularly relevant at a time when journalism's identity faces existential challenges and its professional ideals have become increasingly ambivalent and fluid. Journalistic roles capture the institutional values, attitudes, and beliefs that journalists embrace as a result of their occupational socialization, and these guide their everyday practice (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017).

In the Worlds of Journalism Study 3 (WJS3), journalistic ambitions were assessed based on respondents' perceived importance of 24 specific roles. Participants rated each role on a five-point scale, ranging from 1 = "not at all important" to 5 = "extremely important." A subset of these roles was further used to construct four formative indices following the approach detailed in Hanitzsch et al. (2019). Each index groups related role aspects:

- Monitorial role ("provide information people need to form political opinion," "monitor and scrutinize those in power," and "motivate people to participate in politics")
- Collaborative role ("support government policy" and "convey a positive image of political leaders")
- Interventionist role ("advocate for social change," "influence public opinion," "set the political agenda," and "support national development")
- Accommodative role ("provide entertainment and relaxation," "provide the kind of news that attracts the largest audience," and "provide advice, orientation, and direction for daily life")

A HIERARCHY OF JOURNALISTIC ROLES

Table 11 provides an overview of journalists' average scores across the four role indices. The table reports centered mean scores to mitigate acquiescence bias—the tendency for respondents to agree with statements regardless of content. Centering converts "raw" country mean scores into relative scores, so that each value reflects the deviation from the overall mean across all four role indices (Fischer, 2004).

The results reveal a clear hierarchy among the roles. Globally, the monitorial role was rated most highly, while the collaborative role was the least valued. The interventionist and accommodative roles were rated almost equally. Journalists in Western countries prioritized the monitorial role, with Denmark, Canada, and Sweden leading the ranking. In contrast, this role was considered least important in authoritarian contexts, including Tanzania, China, and the UAE (see Figure 6). Notably, journalists in China and the UAE were the only ones to positively value the collaborative role—a role largely rejected by European journalists. More broadly, a collaborative role resonated most in countries with limited media freedom, restricted political liberties, and lower socioeconomic development, such as in sub-Saharan Africa.

The interventionist role was more strongly embraced in countries experiencing or recently undergoing political disruption, where journalists could take a proactive part in public discourse. Examples include North Cyprus, North Macedonia, Ukraine, and other Eastern European nations.

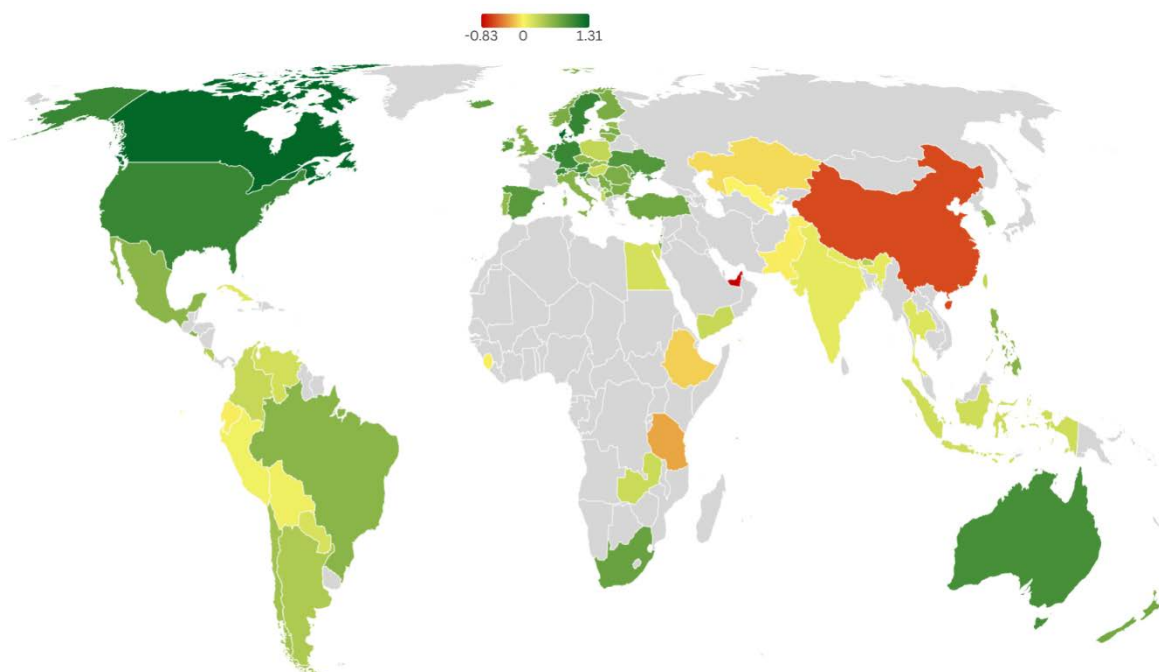


FIGURE 6: GLOBAL RELEVANCE OF MONITORIAL ROLE

Average index scores (centered mean values; higher scores indicate greater importance)

Conversely, this role was least valued in most Western societies and authoritarian states, including China and the UAE. Finally, the accommodative role was most prominent among journalists in Europe and the United States, although its distribution does not strictly follow typical geographic or political patterns.

MONITORIAL ROLE GAINED IN IMPORTANCE

The data in Table 11 also allow for comparisons between the most recent and previous waves of the Worlds of Journalism Study. Overall, 54 countries participated in both the Worlds of Journalism Study 2 (WJS2) (2012–14) and WJS3 (2021–25). As before, the scores presented are centered around the overall mean across the four journalistic role indices.

Globally, the relative importance of the monitorial role has slightly increased (from 0.46 to 0.48), as has the collaborative role (from -0.97 to -0.84). In contrast, the interventionist (from 0.26 to 0.20) and accommodative roles (from 0.27 to 0.16) have modestly declined in perceived relevance. While these changes are minor on a global scale, substantive variation exists across countries in both magnitude and direction.

Table 11 suggests that the monitorial role has grown in importance in the majority of the 54 countries. Notable growth is visible in many Western European countries, particularly Germany and the Netherlands, where right-wing populist parties gained significant influence during the survey period. Several Eastern European countries, such as Latvia, Moldova, and Romania, also show increased emphasis on the monitorial role. In these cases, journalistic culture appears to gradually shift from an interventionist toward a monitorial approach as societies advance through political transition. Conversely, some countries break this general pattern: the relative importance of the monitorial role declined in authoritarian contexts, including China, Egypt, and the UAEs, as well as in democratic societies such as Croatia, Portugal, South Korea, Sweden, and the United States.

Temporal changes in the collaborative role were less pronounced. Overall, countries showing growth in the importance of this role slightly outnumber those reporting a decline. Notably, the collaborative role has increased most substantively in several authoritarian societies, including China, Egypt, and Tanzania.

Both the interventionist and accommodative roles have seen modest declines. This trend is most pronounced for the accommodative role, which lost relative importance in most of the 54 countries participating in both waves. Table 11 also reports noteworthy declines for this role in several Eastern and Western European countries. Declines are particularly evident in Australia, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Bulgaria, Estonia, and Latvia, while journalists in Croatia, Singapore, and the UAE reported substantive growth in support of an accommodative approach.

For the interventionist role, we observed a notable decline for most countries where we observed substantive changes in the relative importance of this role. Journalists reported a comparably smaller appetite for an interventionist approach to news-making in several African, Eastern European, and Latin American countries—examples are Chile, Moldova, Romania, Serbia, and Tanzania. Some Western nations also deviate from the regional norm: journalists in Portugal and the United States reported a significant drop in interventionist emphasis. Conversely, the

greatest growth in interventionism occurred in Bhutan and Ethiopia.

POLITICAL ROLES MORE IMPORTANT THAN ROLES RELATED TO EVERYDAY LIFE

Table 12 presents the complete data for all 24 journalistic roles measured in the survey. To enable more intuitive interpretation, the role statements were grouped into clusters of similar roles, following the suggestion of Hanitzsch and Vos (2018). Notably, the scores in this table are not centered; thus, interpretation may be complicated by cultural variability and acquiescence bias, as noted earlier.

Of the seven role clusters, six pertain to political life (informational-instructive, analytical-deliberative, critical-monitorial, advocative-radical, developmental-educative, and collaborative-facilitative), while one cluster captures roles in everyday life. Overall, the results indicate that journalists around the world assign greater importance to political roles than to those related to everyday life. All four roles in the latter category—“telling stories that emotionally move the audience,” “providing the kind of news that attracts the largest audience,” “providing advice, orientation, and direction for daily life,” and “providing entertainment and relaxation”—rank comparatively low on a global scale.

Among the six political role bundles, the critical-monitorial cluster is the most highly valued globally. Within this cluster, two roles—“counteracting disinformation” and “shining a light on society’s problems”—received the highest average scores. The third role, “monitoring and scrutinizing those in power,” also received relatively strong support. By contrast, roles in the collaborative-facilitative cluster garnered little endorsement, particularly “supporting government policy” and “conveying a positive image of political leaders,” which are often viewed as antithetical to the critical-monitorial approach. Journalists were more divided regarding “supporting national development,” though it was still rated higher than the other two collaborative-facilitative roles.

Roles in the analytical-deliberative cluster received relatively strong support worldwide, especially “providing analysis of current affairs,” “letting people express their views,” and “discussing future implications.” However, the fourth role in this cluster, “motivating people to participate in politics,” was less appealing to journalists in most countries. Similarly, several roles in the advocative-radical cluster, which emphasize substantive political activism—such as “setting the political agenda” and “influencing public opinion”—did not receive strong support globally.

Finally, the informational-instructive cluster (“being a detached observer” and “providing information people need to form political opinion”) and the developmental-educative bundle were also rated highly. Within the latter, “educating the audience” ranked third overall among all 24 roles. Other roles, such as “pointing toward possible solutions to society’s problems” and “promoting peace and tolerance,” were slightly less prominent but still valued. Interestingly, “supporting efforts to protect public health,” a role added in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, received the least support within this cluster, though it still ranked around the middle of the overall ranking.

CONCLUSION

Consistent with findings reported by Hanitzsch et al. (2019) from the previous WJS wave, journalists around the world generally prioritize the monitorial role over other journalistic roles measured in the survey. In contrast, the collaborative role received the least support. The monitorial role is especially prominent among journalists in Western

countries, whereas the collaborative role finds its strongest support in authoritarian contexts and low-income regions. Over time, the monitorial role has gained further importance, while the interventionist and accommodative roles have become modestly less relevant on a global scale. Overall, journalists continue to assign greater importance to roles linked to journalism's obligations in political life than to those related to everyday life.

TABLE 11: PERCEPTIONS OF JOURNALISTIC ROLES (CENTERED INDEX SCORES)

Country	Monitorial role		Collaborative role		Interventionist role		Accommodative role	
	WJS2	WJS3	WJS2	WJS3	WJS2	WJS3	WJS2	WJS3
Albania	-0.22	0.29	-0.88	-1.16	0.49	0.57	0.61	0.29
Argentina	0.57	0.40	-0.87	-0.48	0.42	0.21	-0.11	-0.13
Australia	0.53	0.94	-1.15	-1.19	-0.07	0.09	0.69	0.17
Austria	0.62	0.95	-1.38	-1.47	-0.15	-0.31	0.91	0.83
Belgium	0.62	0.88	-1.03	-1.07	0.04	-0.06	0.36	0.25
Bhutan	0.44	0.34	-0.50	-0.56	-0.07	0.19	0.14	0.03
Bolivia		0.06		-0.75		0.36		0.33
Brazil	0.49	0.59	-1.07	-0.74	0.42	0.22	0.15	-0.06
Bulgaria	0.46	0.67	-1.46	-1.28	0.66	0.63	0.34	-0.02
Canada	1.05	1.29	-1.28	-1.23	0.12	-0.04	0.11	-0.01
Chile	0.30	0.46	-0.95	-0.59	0.46	0.12	0.19	0.02
China	-0.21	-0.58	0.07	0.76	0.00	-0.13	0.15	-0.05
Colombia	0.30	0.27	-0.92	-0.39	0.47	0.16	0.15	-0.04
Costa Rica		0.38		-0.51		0.16		-0.03
Croatia	1.05	0.68	-1.40	-1.42	0.61	0.56	-0.26	0.18
Cuba		0.14		-0.40		0.36		-0.09
Czech Republic	0.47	0.59	-1.12	-1.11	0.19	0.22	0.45	0.30
Denmark	1.32	1.31	-1.40	-1.38	0.19	0.17	-0.10	-0.09
Ecuador	0.20	-0.03	-0.53	-0.27	0.32	0.15	0.01	0.15
Egypt	0.46	0.20	-0.95	-0.49	0.44	0.24	0.05	0.05
El Salvador	0.36	0.63	-0.82	-0.72	0.54	0.37	-0.08	-0.28
Estonia	0.25	0.53	-1.34	-1.36	0.42	0.45	0.67	0.38
Ethiopia	-0.07	-0.13	-0.33	-0.52	-0.02	0.39	0.46	0.26
Finland	0.70	0.67	-1.43	-1.11	0.20	0.04	0.53	0.40
Germany	0.40	1.01	-1.37	-1.36	-0.18	-0.42	1.15	0.76
Hong Kong	0.80	0.80	-1.01	-1.00	0.10	0.12	0.11	0.08
Hungary	0.02	0.25	-0.89	-1.08	0.20	0.16	0.67	0.67
Iceland	0.67	0.81	-1.13	-1.22	-0.33	-0.11	0.79	0.51
India	0.12	0.11	-0.56	-0.35	0.24	0.25	0.19	-0.01
Indonesia	0.09	0.23	-0.29	-0.44	0.03	0.11	0.17	0.09
Ireland	0.62	0.85	-1.20	-1.18	0.14	0.08	0.44	0.25
Israel	0.34	0.66	-1.40	-1.44	0.77	0.61	0.29	0.17
Italy	0.68	0.61	-1.08	-1.07	0.00	0.18	0.40	0.28
Kazakhstan		-0.09		-0.24		0.21		0.13
Kosovo	0.07	0.45	-0.85	-1.02	0.46	0.47	0.31	0.10
Latvia	0.38	0.68	-1.26	-0.99	0.64	0.45	0.24	-0.14
Lithuania		0.60		-1.23		0.39		0.24
Mexico	0.37	0.58	-0.97	-0.95	0.56	0.41	0.04	-0.04
Moldova	0.27	0.68	-1.11	-1.09	0.57	0.36	0.27	0.06
Nepal		0.12		-0.41		0.26		0.02
Netherlands	0.20	0.98	-0.97	-1.17	-0.06	-0.19	0.82	0.38
New Zealand	0.75	0.71	-1.23	-0.87	0.09	0.09	0.39	0.07
North Cyprus		0.39		-1.24		0.84		0.01
North Macedonia		0.67		-1.68		0.81		0.20
Norway	0.42	0.67	-1.08	-1.11	0.34	0.20	0.32	0.25
Pakistan		-0.03		-0.51		0.24		0.30
Paraguay		0.19		-0.31		0.09		0.03
Peru		0.05		-0.34		0.28		0.01
Philippines	0.60	0.59	-0.84	-0.97	0.41	0.35	-0.18	0.03
Poland		0.29		-0.97		0.26		0.42
Portugal	0.94	0.55	-1.26	-0.47	0.36	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04
Romania	0.19	0.66	-1.19	-0.96	0.55	0.22	0.46	0.08
Serbia	0.42	0.65	-1.27	-1.19	0.66	0.34	0.19	0.20
Seychelles		0.32		-0.92		0.19		0.41
Sierra Leone	0.13	-0.03	-0.70	-0.22	0.40	0.15	0.18	0.10
Singapore	0.05	0.26	-0.01	-0.59	0.01	0.03	-0.06	0.30
Slovakia		0.51		-0.83		-0.05		0.37
Slovenia		1.00		-1.51		0.57		-0.06
South Africa	0.40	0.76	-1.10	-1.22	0.20	0.26	0.50	0.21
South Korea	0.92	0.64	-0.99	-0.90	0.40	0.36	-0.33	-0.11
Spain	0.85	0.85	-1.15	-1.31	0.38	0.35	-0.08	0.11
Sweden	1.36	1.03	-1.37	-1.11	-0.01	-0.11	0.02	0.19
Switzerland	0.72	0.99	-1.22	-1.23	-0.11	-0.29	0.61	0.54
Taiwan		0.30		-0.64		0.18		0.16
Tanzania	0.41	-0.27	-1.34	-0.17	0.90	0.22	0.03	0.22
Thailand	0.10	0.15	-0.21	-0.27	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.07
Turkey	0.50	0.72	-1.18	-1.32	0.71	0.55	-0.04	0.05
UAE	-0.52	-0.83	0.54	0.80	-0.19	-0.47	0.17	0.50
UK	0.48	0.61	-1.10	-1.11	0.06	0.09	0.57	0.42
Ukraine		0.87		-1.14		0.72		-0.46
USA	1.24	1.01	-1.10	-1.09	0.06	-0.37	0.34	0.45
Uzbekistan		-0.01		-0.09		0.05		0.05
Venezuela		0.21		-0.52		0.17		0.14
Yemen		0.27		-0.40		0.14		-0.01
Zambia		0.25		-0.56		0.17		0.14
Average¹	0.46	0.48	-0.97	-0.84	0.26	0.20	0.27	0.16

Question: "Please tell me how important it is to do each of the following in your daily work." (Scale: 5 = Extremely important; 4 = Very important; 3 = Moderately important; 2 = Slightly important; 1 = Not at all important.)

¹Average across the countries listed in the table (the original WJS2 sample included 67 countries)

TABLE 12: PERCEPTIONS OF JOURNALISTIC ROLES

Country	INFORMATIONAL-INSTRUCTIVE		ANALYTICAL-DELIBERATIVE				Counteract disinformation	CRITICAL-MONITORIAL	
	Be a detached observer	Provide information people need to form political opinion	Provide analysis of current affairs	Let people express their views	Discuss future implications	Motivate people to participate in politics		Shine a light on society's problems	Monitor and scrutinize those in power
Albania	4.30	3.68	3.71	4.31	3.89	2.19	4.56	4.50	3.63
Argentina	3.77	4.09	4.11	4.27	3.85	2.81	4.41	4.34	3.92
Australia	4.02	3.73	3.67	3.90	N/A	2.53	4.29	4.24	4.25
Austria	4.37	4.30	4.16	3.40	3.86	3.12	4.37	3.98	3.54
Belgium	4.25	3.70	4.09	3.59	3.80	2.61	4.38	4.30	3.63
Bhutan	4.22	3.93	4.44	4.74	4.19	3.51	4.55	4.60	4.16
Bolivia	4.09	3.78	4.13	4.25	4.61	2.38	4.33	4.47	3.84
Brazil	4.04	4.39	4.31	4.19	4.36	3.68	4.74	4.67	4.35
Bulgaria	4.38	4.27	4.45	4.49	4.21	2.96	4.75	4.58	3.90
Canada	3.84	4.08	4.05	3.81	4.05	2.68	4.53	4.53	4.37
Chile	4.41	4.42	4.45	4.62	4.23	3.12	4.76	4.72	4.55
China	3.43	3.35	3.78	3.70	N/A	2.81	4.50	3.76	2.93
Colombia	4.27	4.30	4.36	4.47	4.04	3.14	4.57	4.60	4.19
Costa Rica	4.16	4.38	4.38	4.42	4.11	3.21	4.66	4.59	4.33
Croatia	4.07	4.08	4.18	4.23	4.05	3.41	4.42	4.38	3.94
Cuba	3.60	4.18	4.35	4.25	3.96	2.83	4.38	4.31	3.26
Czech Republic	4.42	3.38	3.76	3.82	3.21	2.25	4.29	4.06	3.92
Denmark	4.00	4.19	3.80	3.39	N/A	2.90	4.61	4.58	4.23
Ecuador	3.97	3.92	4.10	4.16	4.55	3.07	4.16	4.30	3.79
Egypt	4.75	4.13	4.24	3.96	4.12	3.71	4.67	4.44	3.91
El Salvador	4.05	4.40	4.33	4.39	4.19	3.09	4.64	4.61	4.41
Estonia	4.47	3.63	3.90	3.97	3.76	2.58	4.36	4.52	4.18
Ethiopia	3.62	3.53	4.17	4.32	N/A	3.11	4.15	4.34	3.46
Finland	4.06	3.31	4.04	3.75	3.64	2.67	4.21	4.07	3.66
Germany	4.16	4.34	4.27	3.55	3.81	3.23	4.38	4.09	3.52
Hong Kong	3.71	3.70	3.91	4.15	3.79	2.50	4.05	4.30	4.13
Hungary	4.22	3.11	2.90	3.28	3.24	2.29	4.01	3.89	3.31
Iceland	4.32	3.53	4.57	3.92	N/A	2.06	4.38	4.15	4.17
India	4.11	3.73	4.11	4.05	4.03	3.21	4.01	4.27	3.74
Indonesia	3.46	4.26	4.29	4.40	4.06	3.46	4.58	4.53	3.84
Ireland	3.91	3.58	3.65	3.66	3.75	2.22	4.29	4.20	4.09
Israel	3.04	3.96	3.98	3.90	4.24	2.80	4.53	4.44	4.23
Italy	4.41	3.63	4.13	3.71	N/A	2.62	4.48	4.04	3.60
Kazakhstan	3.31	3.40	3.78	3.85	3.62	3.38	3.96	3.80	3.17
Kosovo	4.26	3.22	3.38	3.92	4.13	2.39	4.54	4.38	4.42
Latvia	3.86	3.59	4.19	3.98	3.91	3.16	4.44	4.39	3.88
Lithuania	4.63	3.68	4.05	3.88	3.99	2.56	4.41	4.53	4.03
Mexico	4.41	4.31	4.31	4.41	4.12	3.15	4.66	4.68	4.31
Moldova	3.77	3.99	4.15	4.03	3.85	3.23	4.48	4.42	3.78
Nepal	4.37	3.94	4.05	4.33	4.03	3.48	4.15	4.25	3.96
Netherlands	3.65	3.52	3.97	3.37	3.72	2.39	3.90	4.10	4.13
New Zealand	3.53	3.38	3.42	3.56	N/A	2.76	3.95	3.97	3.92
North Cyprus	4.66	3.82	4.47	4.61	4.30	2.66	4.52	4.81	4.42
North Macedonia	4.68	3.85	4.75	4.59	4.53	3.15	4.88	4.86	4.68
Norway	3.81	3.51	3.42	3.88	3.64	2.71	4.17	4.19	3.38
Pakistan	3.33	3.46	3.59	3.85	3.69	2.78	3.90	3.89	3.33
Paraguay	3.88	4.18	4.26	4.24	4.19	3.52	4.49	4.38	4.13
Peru	4.03	3.83	4.13	4.13	4.05	2.92	4.19	4.29	4.01
Philippines	3.48	4.23	4.32	4.35	4.45	3.62	4.83	4.51	4.35
Poland	3.99	3.69	4.16	3.99	3.65	3.20	4.10	4.10	3.46
Portugal	4.88	3.61	4.30	4.01	3.87	3.29	4.11	4.11	4.71
Romania	4.06	3.99	4.08	4.08	3.99	3.15	4.49	4.36	3.66
Serbia	4.51	3.90	4.30	4.16	4.05	3.09	4.58	4.44	3.99
Seychelles	3.89	3.73	4.00	4.44	3.75	2.97	4.16	4.40	3.83
Sierra Leone	3.30	4.10	4.23	4.33	4.02	3.37	3.97	4.26	3.98
Singapore	3.76	3.40	4.10	3.60	4.04	2.11	4.30	4.20	3.38
Slovakia	4.38	3.38	3.66	3.27	3.65	2.75	3.96	4.06	3.46
Slovenia	4.37	4.38	4.32	3.81	4.16	2.36	4.64	4.64	4.26
South Africa	3.88	3.85	4.04	4.14	4.14	2.90	4.56	4.58	4.34
South Korea	3.99	3.80	3.78	3.48	3.88	3.37	4.09	4.28	4.26
Spain	4.59	4.29	4.38	4.39	3.94	2.66	4.70	4.85	4.33
Sweden	4.23	3.52	3.88	4.26	N/A	2.34	4.39	4.31	4.21
Switzerland	4.17	4.32	4.10	3.43	3.72	3.14	4.12	3.88	3.44
Taiwan	4.22	3.75	4.05	3.98	4.01	3.20	4.24	4.24	4.01
Tanzania	2.14	3.53	3.67	3.90	3.69	2.93	3.93	3.85	2.78
Thailand	4.20	4.20	4.20	4.34	3.99	3.92	4.41	4.42	4.10
Turkey	4.57	4.63	4.10	4.32	4.05	3.28	4.29	4.38	4.01
UAE	4.67	3.40	2.59	2.86	3.51	2.32	4.13	2.64	2.32
UK	3.93	2.95	3.45	3.58	3.60	2.20	3.94	3.78	3.78
Ukraine	2.96	3.74	4.18	3.94	4.19	3.45	4.78	4.54	4.18
USA	3.80	3.54	3.58	3.66	3.78	2.64	4.24	3.97	4.05
Uzbekistan	3.20	2.88	2.96	2.98	2.84	2.74	2.98	2.89	2.72
Venezuela	4.11	4.08	4.24	4.31	3.94	2.91	4.61	4.53	4.08
Yemen	4.45	3.98	4.02	4.00	3.84	3.98	3.93	4.23	4.35
Zambia	3.49	4.25	4.42	4.57	4.31	3.75	3.49	4.41	4.31
Average	4.02	3.84	4.02	4.00	3.95	2.94	4.33	4.28	3.90

Question: "Please tell me how important it is to do each of the following in your daily work." (Scale: 5 = Extremely important; 4 = Very important; 3 = Moderately important; 2 = Slightly important; 1 = Not at all important.)

TABLE 12: PERCEPTIONS OF JOURNALISTIC ROLES (CONTINUED)

Country	Speak on behalf of the marginalized	Advocate for social change	ADVOCATIVE-RADICAL		Educate the audience	Point toward possible solutions to society's problems	DEVELOPMENTAL-EDUCATIVE	
			Influence public opinion	Set the political agenda			Promote peace and tolerance	Support efforts to protect public health
Albania	3.77	4.00	3.46	2.16	4.19	4.19	4.16	4.20
Argentina	3.86	3.77	3.20	3.09	3.84	3.74	4.07	3.87
Australia	3.54	2.99	2.56	2.28	4.33	3.53	3.17	3.41
Austria	3.52	2.93	2.33	1.98	3.78	3.79	3.52	3.01
Belgium	2.99	2.70	2.29	2.18	4.07	3.60	3.29	2.98
Bhutan	4.24	4.34	3.24	2.67	4.78	4.41	4.23	4.44
Bolivia	3.73	4.13	3.48	2.88	4.31	4.11	4.48	3.98
Brazil	3.97	4.20	3.60	3.26	4.04	4.19	4.36	4.27
Bulgaria	3.71	4.02	3.68	2.80	4.52	4.12	4.39	4.29
Canada	3.65	2.92	2.44	2.01	4.59	3.72	3.04	3.22
Chile	4.20	3.77	3.72	3.10	4.33	4.01	4.35	4.20
China	3.68	3.07	3.59	2.76	3.55	3.80	3.83	4.00
Colombia	4.24	4.11	3.77	3.12	4.47	4.12	4.52	4.14
Costa Rica	4.28	4.12	3.65	2.99	4.44	4.18	4.34	4.13
Croatia	4.27	4.21	3.85	2.99	4.50	4.34	4.51	4.23
Cuba	3.97	3.64	3.85	3.14	4.19	3.98	4.06	3.78
Czech Republic	3.38	2.77	2.72	2.86	3.99	3.73	3.75	3.41
Denmark	3.29	2.50	2.44	2.95	3.56	3.58	2.83	2.33
Ecuador	4.28	4.18	3.52	3.13	4.33	4.14	4.31	3.97
Egypt	4.18	3.85	4.13	3.48	4.49	4.25	4.40	4.23
El Salvador	4.41	4.06	3.80	3.09	4.38	4.13	4.21	4.02
Estonia	3.42	3.37	3.32	3.37	4.29	4.12	3.81	3.47
Ethiopia	4.27	4.27	3.76	3.15	4.43	4.46	4.62	4.10
Finland	3.22	2.80	2.78	1.76	3.77	3.48	3.56	2.84
Germany	3.48	2.58	2.39	1.90	3.96	3.81	3.67	2.81
Hong Kong	4.14	3.34	3.10	2.54	3.91	3.45	3.45	3.24
Hungary	3.02	3.26	2.74	2.18	3.93	3.68	3.53	3.03
Iceland	3.27	2.80	2.29	1.48	4.45	3.37	2.87	2.94
India	4.01	4.03	3.61	3.06	4.21	4.10	4.19	3.95
Indonesia	4.39	4.17	3.57	3.06	4.61	4.42	4.64	4.42
Ireland	3.62	2.94	2.47	2.11	4.19	3.32	2.92	3.19
Israel	4.15	3.92	4.01	3.37	2.88	3.98	3.79	3.76
Italy	3.38	3.48	2.49	2.18	3.31	3.43	3.49	3.69
Kazakhstan	2.89	3.57	3.72	3.27	3.91	3.81	3.77	3.55
Kosovo	4.25	4.00	3.46	2.39	4.24	3.97	4.54	4.26
Latvia	2.87	3.61	3.43	2.83	4.44	4.03	3.94	3.91
Lithuania	3.67	3.93	3.05	2.17	4.49	3.96	4.21	3.71
Mexico	4.38	4.21	3.71	3.21	3.91	4.10	4.37	4.23
Moldova	3.66	3.73	3.00	2.72	4.36	3.97	4.28	3.88
Nepal	4.07	4.21	3.83	3.60	4.21	4.13	4.21	4.07
Netherlands	3.15	2.18	2.26	2.57	3.79	3.33	2.94	2.36
New Zealand	3.55	3.16	2.70	2.28	3.99	3.43	3.12	3.29
North Cyprus	3.19	4.01	4.05	3.85	3.86	4.34	4.61	4.44
North Macedonia	4.70	4.67	4.57	2.16	4.85	4.61	4.84	4.69
Norway	3.45	2.92	2.45	2.85	4.46	3.50	3.07	2.64
Pakistan	3.62	3.76	3.48	2.61	4.34	3.83	4.25	4.04
Paraguay	4.34	4.16	3.77	3.19	4.34	4.16	4.37	4.25
Peru	4.39	4.14	3.65	3.36	4.10	4.22	4.32	4.14
Philippines	4.27	4.27	3.79	3.14	4.75	4.35	4.21	4.43
Poland	3.45	3.79	3.55	2.62	4.10	3.76	4.07	3.42
Portugal	2.94	3.40	3.63	3.30	3.13	3.07	3.22	3.56
Romania	3.74	3.58	2.74	2.40	4.29	3.81	4.16	3.99
Serbia	4.24	3.69	3.91	2.29	4.25	4.31	4.43	4.19
Seychelles	4.08	4.02	3.40	2.11	4.78	4.29	4.38	3.87
Sierra Leone	4.26	4.27	3.91	3.53	4.55	4.35	4.44	4.15
Singapore	3.58	3.14	2.85	1.93	4.39	3.67	3.38	3.53
Slovakia	3.35	2.54	2.71	1.95	4.06	3.91	3.83	3.77
Slovenia	4.05	3.55	2.97	3.08	4.32	4.03	4.28	3.78
South Africa	4.09	3.73	3.14	2.42	4.60	4.00	3.85	3.59
South Korea	4.01	3.65	3.65	3.45	3.12	3.78	3.36	3.55
Spain	4.01	3.77	3.15	2.60	3.69	3.75	4.23	4.11
Sweden	2.75	2.68	2.28	2.00	3.84	3.04	3.01	2.43
Switzerland	3.23	2.58	2.28	2.24	3.49	3.49	3.02	2.58
Taiwan	4.22	3.77	3.50	3.23	4.03	3.97	3.68	3.90
Tanzania	3.92	3.85	3.61	2.93	3.97	3.94	3.96	3.91
Thailand	4.30	4.13	3.82	3.69	4.53	4.31	4.12	4.36
Turkey	3.09	4.06	4.12	3.24	3.85	4.16	4.22	4.15
UAE	4.09	2.96	3.01	3.11	4.50	4.40	2.60	3.25
UK	3.14	2.72	2.65	2.13	4.41	3.16	2.77	2.66
Ukraine	2.56	4.05	3.68	2.65	4.26	4.09	3.78	3.77
USA	3.55	2.40	2.20	1.56	4.58	3.45	2.89	3.42
Uzbekistan	2.65	2.94	2.85	2.57	3.05	2.91	3.12	2.75
Venezuela	4.38	4.08	3.71	2.64	4.53	4.21	4.32	4.14
Yemen	3.95	4.10	4.01	3.76	4.15	4.03	4.06	3.98
Zambia	4.44	4.40	3.92	3.38	4.57	4.35	4.49	4.32
Average	3.76	3.59	3.28	2.75	4.16	3.91	3.88	3.71

Question: "Please tell me how important it is to do each of the following in your daily work." (Scale: 5 = Extremely important; 4 = Very important; 3 = Moderately important; 2 = Slightly important; 1 = Not at all important.)

TABLE 12: PERCEPTIONS OF JOURNALISTIC ROLES (CONTINUED)

Country	Support national development	COLLABORATIVE-FACILITATIVE Support government policy	Convey a positive image of political leaders	Tell stories that emotionally move the audience	Provide the kind of news that attracts the largest audience	Provide advice, orientation and direction for daily life	EVERYDAY LIFE Provide entertainment and relaxation
Albania	4.12	1.76	1.70	3.12	3.32	3.53	2.66
Argentina	3.59	2.87	2.59	3.58	3.28	3.01	2.96
Australia	2.77	1.49	1.26	3.58	2.96	2.32	2.92
Austria	2.32	1.27	1.21	3.89	3.71	3.66	3.25
Belgium	2.32	1.31	1.43	2.99	2.63	2.87	2.58
Bhutan	4.59	3.61	2.36	3.55	3.92	3.45	3.31
Bolivia	4.09	3.33	1.73	3.92	3.97	3.87	2.99
Brazil	4.03	3.30	2.31	3.48	3.78	3.41	3.27
Bulgaria	4.14	1.93	1.59	3.51	3.26	3.02	2.77
Canada	2.16	1.29	1.10	3.41	2.67	2.31	2.24
Chile	4.13	3.14	2.81	3.63	3.91	3.50	3.33
China	4.41	4.40	4.38	3.86	3.84	3.89	3.01
Colombia	4.08	3.46	2.97	4.14	3.89	3.65	3.18
Costa Rica	4.28	3.14	3.02	3.93	3.84	3.70	3.14
Croatia	3.70	1.78	1.64	3.50	3.48	3.66	2.80
Cuba	3.95	3.42	2.35	4.01	3.46	3.24	2.90
Czech Republic	2.92	1.50	1.48	3.35	3.00	2.69	3.01
Denmark	2.66	1.05	1.11	2.76	2.21	2.78	2.15
Ecuador	4.25	3.47	3.24	4.08	3.96	3.82	3.53
Egypt	4.37	3.37	3.07	3.09	3.84	3.77	3.68
El Salvador	3.85	2.75	2.48	3.65	3.57	3.05	2.54
Estonia	3.49	1.79	1.35	3.98	3.81	3.21	2.92
Ethiopia	4.34	3.25	2.70	3.09	4.01	3.62	3.61
Finland	2.99	1.47	1.40	3.15	2.98	3.02	2.81
Germany	2.16	1.39	1.28	3.49	3.54	3.67	3.13
Hong Kong	2.10	1.79	1.51	3.19	2.90	2.91	2.38
Hungary	3.06	1.61	1.52	3.15	3.06	3.26	3.63
Iceland	2.82	1.24	1.23	3.19	3.13	2.57	3.16
India	4.11	3.35	2.85	3.27	3.66	3.41	3.26
Indonesia	4.13	3.45	2.91	4.17	4.02	3.55	3.56
Ireland	2.58	1.33	1.20	3.31	2.86	2.28	2.94
Israel	3.16	1.60	1.52	3.67	3.57	3.03	2.91
Italy	3.19	1.78	1.42	3.34	3.35	2.92	2.55
Kazakhstan	3.91	3.31	3.02	3.30	3.76	3.59	3.26
Kosovo	3.60	1.93	1.83	2.86	3.12	2.96	2.96
Latvia	3.35	2.14	1.60	3.37	2.87	2.65	2.62
Lithuania	3.69	1.78	1.40	3.23	3.63	2.98	2.60
Mexico	3.88	3.01	1.77	3.99	3.78	3.35	2.78
Moldova	3.94	2.33	1.46	2.73	3.24	3.09	2.82
Nepal	4.08	3.57	2.95	3.73	3.51	4.16	3.42
Netherlands	1.72	1.21	1.19	3.17	2.56	2.98	2.72
New Zealand	2.80	1.88	1.68	3.14	2.81	2.45	2.88
North Cyprus	4.43	1.92	2.04	2.93	3.10	3.44	3.22
North Macedonia	4.67	1.74	1.47	3.60	3.43	3.57	3.46
Norway	2.68	1.32	1.51	3.82	2.83	2.67	2.83
Pakistan	4.01	2.89	2.54	3.25	3.76	3.47	3.34
Paraguay	4.21	3.64	3.24	3.74	4.04	3.79	3.49
Peru	4.13	3.51	2.89	3.80	3.83	3.66	3.17
Philippines	4.08	3.01	2.00	3.80	3.79	3.67	3.04
Poland	3.71	2.28	2.11	3.49	3.80	3.31	3.61
Portugal	2.79	2.98	2.73	3.25	3.39	3.27	3.19
Romania	3.92	2.43	1.54	2.71	3.29	3.03	2.74
Serbia	3.50	1.87	1.76	3.49	3.30	3.41	2.93
Seychelles	4.00	2.78	1.76	3.59	3.84	3.62	3.33
Sierra Leone	4.31	3.98	3.32	3.91	4.19	3.98	3.73
Singapore	2.99	2.40	1.82	3.47	3.28	2.89	2.82
Slovakia	3.34	2.38	1.33	2.63	3.24	3.42	2.49
Slovenia	3.35	1.18	1.13	2.46	3.08	2.65	2.08
South Africa	3.49	2.09	1.34	3.80	3.45	3.08	2.90
South Korea	3.36	2.52	2.02	3.26	3.27	3.13	2.79
Spain	3.52	1.63	1.58	3.48	3.15	3.05	2.88
Sweden	1.96	1.12	1.33	3.65	2.11	2.80	2.68
Switzerland	2.31	1.47	1.36	3.57	3.41	3.25	2.89
Taiwan	3.65	3.04	2.39	3.86	3.72	3.71	3.11
Tanzania	3.90	3.32	3.05	3.74	3.63	3.63	3.47
Thailand	4.27	3.81	3.51	3.90	4.05	4.04	3.88
Turkey	3.82	1.92	1.96	2.87	3.67	3.29	2.96
UAE	3.29	4.35	4.35	4.04	3.86	4.16	4.14
UK	2.32	1.34	1.18	3.25	2.93	2.37	3.07
Ukraine	4.21	2.09	1.48	3.43	2.59	2.82	1.98
USA	1.94	1.44	1.19	3.80	3.21	2.57	2.79
Uzbekistan	3.02	2.88	2.53	2.85	2.95	2.83	2.73
Venezuela	4.18	3.10	2.81	4.06	3.99	3.68	3.18
Yemen	4.04	3.53	3.33	3.85	3.77	3.99	3.73
Zambia	4.40	3.82	2.76	3.98	4.18	3.95	3.86
Average	3.52	2.44	2.07	3.48	3.42	3.27	3.04

Question: "Please tell me how important it is to do each of the following in your daily work." (Scale: 5 = Extremely important; 4 = Very important; 3 = Moderately important; 2 = Slightly important; 1 = Not at all important.)