Swapping Places:

The Newsfeed and Its Influence on Journalists and Citizens

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Abstract

The modern reader is no longer a passive consumer of news, but an active contributor as well. This thesis examines the occurrence of a modern online news format, the newsfeed, in relation to the rise of citizen journalism practices. The newsfeed is used often in crisis situations and thus has a high focus on speed, making it dependent on citizen sources for information. This also influences writing practices: the journalist's role may change from a writer to a recycler of information. This thesis shows how as a result, the livefeed blurs the boundaries between the proceedings of citizen and professional journalists as the reader is invited to participate in the production of news.

Keywords: newsfeed, livefeed, citizen journalism, participatory journalism, breaking news, digital journalism

Introduction

Ever since the widespread availability of social media websites like Facebook, Twitter, and other blogging initiatives, citizens have been in the position to share their take on virtually anything. Domingo et al. (2008) analysed the emergence of citizen journalism, and concluded that the twenty-first century public no longer passively watches the news but actively contributes as well.

Papacharissi and Oliveira (2011) studied the various ways that citizens contribute to news reporting, from which they concluded that while the instantaneous nature of communication on Twitter is somewhat similar to traditional breaking news stories, it is generally more subjective and opposed to fact checking (p. 14). Jukes (2013) identified that the Twitter streams that captured the 2011 riots in London showed a similar "mix of fact and fiction" (p. 12). The reliance on content provided by members of the public is especially heavy in crisis situations such as these, with fast developments and little official information available. Although the use of eyewitness information has been mentioned often in the academic discourse, little research has been done on the ways professional journalists not only "rely on citizen-created content" for information, but also "adopt and use citizen journalism and its practices" (Nah, Yamamoto, Chung & Zuercher, 2015, p. 400). An investigation into this subject is thus warranted.

This thesis will examine the emergence of a contemporary online news format that presents news in a way reminiscent of citizen journalism practices. The defining characteristic of the newsfeed is that it exists of a collection of news reports arranged by chronology, as entries are read most-recent-first. The 'newsfeed' or 'livefeed' is a type of event-driven reporting for which journalists rely on citizens for both information and media (such as photographs and videos). The focus is on getting information out as quick as possibly, even if this means that information might be in the wrong order or badly edited. The livefeed can be

considered part of a progression of how news is published by the media: many formats are to a certain extent based upon the news story itself, where features tend to add depth to a story and columns and editorials comment on it. The newsfeed can be located before all these types of news writing, even before news articles in the traditional sense – it is essentially a work-in-progress, a collection of copy, where readers watch the news story being written post by post as the situation unfolds. The newsfeed is thus more focused on speed than other online news formats, which has its influence on not just the origin of its sources, but also the journalist's changing role from a writer who "produces original information" (Castells, 2007, p. 240) to a collector and recycler of content. It will become clear in this thesis how the livefeed blurs the boundaries between citizen journalism and professional journalism – as the professional journalist lets go of certain aspects typically associated with his trade, the citizen journalist is invited to participate in a way that resembles the journalist's work on copy in the newsroom.[1]

Academic literature on online news formats, news writing and citizen journalism will be combined to show how the academically almost unobserved format follows familiar trends, yet is deviant in other aspects. Although writing had focused on some aspects of the newsfeed separately, research into how these online news writing methods and their implications gather in this single format is still missing from the corpus. Through an academic essay comparing how different British newspapers have been writing on terrorist incidents online, I have explored how this type of reporting works and how it differs from traditional online news writing. To confirm that these characteristics are specific to the format rather than any medium or newspaper in particular, I have selected two newspapers with different writing styles and readership demographics – not in order to pick out their differences, but to be able

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[1] In this thesis I will be referring to journalists in the traditional sense as (professional) journalists, reporters, or contributors, and to citizens participating in online non-professional news writing as citizen journalists or participatory journalists.

to state that their commonalities are in fact distinct for this format. The selected case studies are newsfeeds on the Manchester Arena attacks by British daily newspapers *The Guardian* and the *Mirror*. While *The Guardian* has a more elite audience and the *Mirror* is read by a working class demographic, both newspapers are significantly more left of centre than the majority of the British press. This type of research, however, does not make conclusions on political affiliations, but on the different ways that audiences are addressed through a specific news format. Political orientation is therefore not relevant to this particular subject.

      The Guardian's online presence is fairly well-spread and all content published online by *The Guardian* is accessible for free. *The Guardian* introduced its newsfeed on the Manchester attacks with 'As it happened,' *The Guardian*'s standard tagline for every event covered in a livefeed-format. In case of the attacks, several newsfeeds were introduced over the course of a few days. This first, titled 'Soldiers on British streets as threat level raised to critical' will be compared to the *Mirror*'s feed, titled 'Manchester bombing latest.' This national seven-day-a-week tabloid operates offline and online under the overarching name *Mirror*. Since the website goes under the name *Mirror Online*, the online version of the newspaper will be referred to as either the *Mirror* or the *Mirror Online*. The *Mirror* writes newsfeeds for subjects ranging from soccer to terrorist attacks, collected under 'Live Feeds.'

      At the heart of this thesis is a critical analysis of these two newsfeeds written about the Manchester Arena attack. In order to ensure that the newsfeeds examined were able to make use of all modern technology, a fairly recent news event had to be the subject of the feeds. Moreover, this recent event had to fit into the category 'crisis' – an unscheduled event, so reporters had to rely on eyewitness accounts. Traditional news media have long employed content and formats borrowed from citizen journalism – but within the livefeed, this borrowing becomes an interactive process which has implications for both citizen and professional journalists.

Online journalism in theory

Journalists have for a long time been the gatekeepers of society, those in charge of "determining what an audience sees, hears, and reads" (Whitaker, Ramsey, & Smith, 2012, p. 8). Based on generally-established news selection criteria, the journalist decides what counts as news, and what does not. News selection takes place on the basis of news values, with attention paid to what will attract the most readers (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 8). However, a shift away from the traditional media landscape before the introduction of social media has brought about changes. As Whitaker et al. (2012) observe, Twitter has become an effective medium for news communication due to its form, its speed, and its wide range of thousands of people (p. 281). Moreover, the platform is freely accessible online, without requiring a subscription. With the increased use of this and other social networking sites, members of the public have the opportunity to share and comment on journalists' articles or to write their own, sharing these with an online audience. While traditional reporting practices used to "exclude news audiences from contributing" (Nah et al., 2015, p. 401), the digital media age allows the audience more agency.

Citizen journalism

The concept here is citizen journalism, or participatory journalism. Participatory journalism can be defined in broad terms as "citizen contributions to the public sphere, in the form of simple information, synthesis, reporting, or opinion" (Friedland & Kim, 2009, p. 297). This can mean contributions to traditional news sites as well as citizen-run sites and blogs, and include "not only UGC (user-generated content), such as comments made to news stories, and photos and videos by citizen journalists, but also user-submitted stories (USS) by citizen journalists" (Nah et al., 2015, p. 400). Citizen journalism thus encompasses diverse ways in

which members of the public can fulfil a similar role in the public sphere as traditional journalists; not only complementary, but offering an alternative.

Ali and Fahmy (2013), however, argue that citizen journalism is not that revolutionary. In their opinion, and in that of Thurman and Hermida (2010), although there may be an increase in user-generated content, the journalist still fulfils his role as gatekeeper (p. 21). Ali and Fahmy do not consider citizens to work at the same level principally because they consider gatekeeping one of the most important functions in journalistic practice. Bowman and Willis agree that traditional news organizations retain a "high degree of control, setting the agenda, choosing the participants and moderating the conversation" (as cited in Nah et al., 2015, p. 401) – thus determining what information reaches members of the public.

A struggle for readers

Even so, citizen journalism is often described as traditional reporters' largest competition for readership. Online readers no longer rely on traditional news media for their supply of news: they can easily bypass newspapers' websites altogether, using search engines and/or social media as their only sources of information. While the traditional mass media news was "a primarily linear process controlled by professional journalists" (German, 2011, p. 256), nowadays "the playing field has been levelled in what is essentially a peer-to-peer model (as opposed to a traditional one-to-many model)" (Jukes, 2013, p. 12-3). While the traditional media audience has been fairly passive, the online media audience is interactive and has the ability to "challenge, amend, or add content" (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 291). On the whole, traditional news media have more competition to deal with than in the pre-Internet era as readers can get news from a dozen online sources simultaneously.

Citizens as source

But while the media consider citizen journalists competition, reliance on participatory journalism for news reports has increased as well (German, 2011, p. 252). Especially at times of crisis "citizens have participated in producing material that was used effectively to inform the public" (Nah et al., 2015, p. 401). Jukes (2013) identifies that Twitter users captured the London riots, while Papacharissi and Oliveira (2011) recognise that the Egyptian uprising of 2011 was extensively discussed on Twitter. Especially with content of this kind – with rapid developments and little official information available at the time of writing – speed in reporting is considered important. As Van der Meer, Verhoeven, Beenjes, and Vliegenthart identify, "crisis situations are by definition sudden and unpredictable events that [...] create high levels of uncertainty, confusion, and time pressure" (2016, p. 2). Their research focused on how journalists select sources during a crisis situation. As Hewett (2014) mentions, "breaking news often involves dealing quickly with incomplete, unconfirmed information emerging piecemeal and unpredictably" (p. 115). The general public can then be a useful source of eyewitness accounts since they may very well be the only ones present at the scene of the crisis. Social media have given the public channels to instantaneously share their take on the situation, "making them an easily accessible source when little information is available in the first crucial hours of a crisis" (Van der Meer et al., 2016, p. 3).

Rather than seeing the journalist as a gatekeeper, Whitaker et al. therefore call him in the modern age "an editor who tries to anticipate what the reader wants and how best it may be provided" (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 285), making use of any sources available in a specific situation. Professional journalists, in fear of becoming superfluous as citizen journalists compete alongside them in the realm of online reporting, look for new and interesting formats in which to present news. Readers online are always looking for anything that "provides information quickly and easily" (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 283). The most effective way to

meet these requirements of speed and effortlessness appears to be found in the employment of
new online news reporting formats making extensive use of information and media provided
by citizen journalists.

A matter of speed

Newspapers' major ongoing news stories demand frequent updating "because Web readers
now expect news on demand, as it happens, with constant updates" (Whitaker et al., 2012, p.
284). Since the Internet gave them the tools to do so, members of the public notified of a story
will search anywhere for information. It has become common for readers to not rely solely on
one source or even one medium, instead combining various outlets and media in their search
for the most recent updates. An alternative to this broad search for information all over the
web is presented in the form of the livefeed. On the feed, contributors collect news from
various sources onto a single webpage, constantly updating with new information as time
progresses. The reader does not need to search elsewhere for information, as he trusts that he
will encounter all necessary information as it happens, on this one page. Opinions on
livefeeds differ strongly within the academic world. According to Allan (2007), their "up-to-
the-minute feel" makes for compelling reading (p. 9). Moreover, surveys by Thurman (2014)
have shown that while readers perceive them as "more balanced and/or factual than traditional
articles because of the range of opinions they present, the links they provide to sources and
supporting documents, and their 'neutral' tone" (p. 104), they may also confuse readers due to
their fragmented structure and reverse chronological order (p. 105). Another aspect to
consider is that some readers have protested the use of the format for stories that "did not
warrant the intense scrutiny or informal tone" (Thurman, 2014, p. 105).

Information verification

The livefeed must address several hurdles and complications that come with a medium that

thrives on speed, since it allows little time for verification (Thurman, 2014, p. 104). While it

can be convenient for journalists to rely on information from the public, especially when these

are the only available sources (Van der Meer et al., 2016, p. 4), this carries dangers. While

"professional journalists are bound by professional codes of ethical conduct as well as laws

that protect and proscribe their function" (German, 2011, p. 254), citizen journalists are not

limited by such codes or other restraints. Resulting problems of verifying material are not new

and not entirely to be blamed on the online environment either (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 292).

But while "getting things wrong pre-dates the Internet [...] The explosion in material from the

public, coupled with the speed and reach of digital platforms such as Twitter, has placed

additional strains on verification practices" (Hermida, 2014, p. 60).

　　　Moreover, "slip-ups are more prevalent and more significant at times of breaking

news, when reports are confused, contradictory, and changeable" (Hermida, 2014, p. 61).

Crisis situations demand running stories: fast-moving news events which normally generate

the need for copy being filed in several stages (Franklin, Hamer, Hanna, Kinsey, &

Richardson, 2008, p. 355). Thurman (2014) argues, however, that within the practice of live

blogging, the publication of unverified information "albeit labelled as such" can be interpreted

as an invitation to readers to assist in determining the presented facts' accuracy (p. 104) –

inviting them to read and check copy, before it could be edited in the newsroom (Franklin et

al., 2008, p. 343).

Information recycling

Another implication of the time restraint around breaking news stories is the short time left to

create original stories from source materials. As such, there are implications for the role of the

journalist as a content creator. Davies (2009) argues that fewer original stories are generated, partly due to cost cutting "and partly because of the need for speed" (as cited in Jukes, 2013, p. 8). Davies regards this process a very serious one, going as far as to say that journalists are "failing to perform the simple basic functions of their profession" (Davies as cited in Jukes, 2013, p. 8). What he attempts to show specifically is that journalists are not out gathering news, but that reporters are diminished instead to passive processors of "whatever material comes their way" (Davies as cited in Jukes, 2013, p. 8). Newsfeeds especially show this in their format: according to research by Thurman (2014), live blogs covering breaking news stories contained on average one third quotes (p. 107).

Information presentation

Speed does not just play a part in source selection and processing; it also influences the way readers prefer to absorb content. Journalists present information in a quick and easy to read manner. Rather than presenting news in long columns of text, feed entries contain little information at once, and include "links to other stories, features, opinion pieces, [...] other related Websites, and so on" (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 283). Information is made easily digestible through these and other commonly employed features of online news writing.

Newsfeeds also resemble blogs, or microblogging platforms like Twitter, in that news is read in reverse chronological order. Reporters constantly place new updates higher on the webpage, while older news slowly disappears downwards until it is no longer in sight. The writing order and the order of appearance on the screen have, as a result, been reversed (Thurman, 2014, p. 105). While this is a reversal of readers' expectation "for stories to be told from beginning to end" (Thurman, 2014, p. 108), it is in fact reminiscent of the way in which journalists encounter news in the newsroom. Feed entries are comparable to running copy: "copy which must be filed by a reporter rapidly in several stages" (Franklin et al., 2008, p.

355), except that there is no sub-editor in-between to re-write and edit, "while checking for

[among other things] factual errors" (Franklin et al., 2008, p. 357). Within the livefeed,

however, news is directly passed onto readers. The following section explores in further detail

what this means in practice.

The newsfeed in practice

The newsfeed format is designed specifically in such a way that readers 'follow' the news by refreshing the webpage and reading only the new feed entries, thus continuously being updated with new information. Scrolling down a newsfeed will take the reader 'back in time'. Reading a newsfeed in hindsight may not seem very useful, as posts lower on the feed quickly lose their urgent news value. Nevertheless surveys have shown that some readers like to read live blogs "from beginning to end" even after coverage has ended (Thurman, 2014, p. 108). This same method is applied to the benefit of this analysis, showing that the following characteristics are typical not just of one news medium's online news reporting practices, but of the livefeed as a format.

News writing for online media

The newsfeed, in some respects, displays characteristics customary to online news writing in general, specifically with regards to the layout and use of visuals. Online news reporters have a large focus on making the read as effortless as possible because as formerly mentioned, the reader is always on the lookout for news that is provided in a quick and easy manner (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 283). Newsfeeds have a fairly different layout from regular online articles because they are compiled from many short posts. However, some aspects are similar, such as the Facebook, Twitter, and Pinterest icons displayed at the top of the *Mirror* feed, accompanied by the information that the feed has been shared 5123 times (see Appendix 2.A). The *Mirror* feed was created at 23.05 on the night of the attacks (May 22), with its final post two days later (24 May 2017) at 21:49. The *Mirror*'s newsfeed on the Manchester Arena attack features hundreds of posts in total, written by three reporters: Danya Bazaraa, Chris Kitching, and Scarlet Howes. Not all feed entries are explicitly attributed to a contributor, however. *The Guardian* also shows that the newsfeed is a multiple-author effort. Five

journalists contributed to the feed: Claire Phipps, Keving Rawlinson, Matthew Weaver,

Andrew Sparrow, and Chris Johnston. Bylines on *The Guardian*'s feed show a profile picture

next to the journalist's name, reminiscent social media conventions (see Appendix 1.A).

Each feed entry individually in size never exceeds the limits of a computer screen, as it

constitutes only a fragment of the story. Only the complete feed, in a blog-like manner,

recounts the whole story of the Manchester Arena attacks. This ensures that the reader does

not have to scroll to read an entry or see its media; research has shown that readers are

unlikely to do so (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 283). The requirement of not scrolling forces

journalists to be "brief and to the point" (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 286-7). Should a journalist

want to add additional details, these can be written and published online on a separate

webpage and linked, even afterwards. Hyperlinks can be used to connect to articles on the

same website, as well as provide gateways to other sites ((Franklin et al., 2008, p. 355).

References on the *Mirror* feed are often provided trough links, such as: 'Read all the details

here' or 'Read more **here**' (see Appendix 2.B). *The Guardian* works in similar manner, even

stylizing its links the same way (see Appendices 1.A & 1.C).

Text enhancement is another visual aid applied to the feeds. One option is the use of

the bold font, to significantly stress certain words or sentences within a story (Whitaker et al.,

2012, p. 283), as can be seen in Appendices 1.C and 2.B. The same effect can be achieved

through the use of colour, although both *The Guardian* and the *Mirror* use red only as an

indication that a hyperlink lies behind the word (see Appendices 1.A, 1.C, 1.D, 2.B, & 2.I).

Bulleted lists are used to present information more clearly and to write tight (see Appendices

1.C, 2.B, & 2.O). Single feed entries usually include subheads, which create order and hold

readers' attention (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 283). Every *Guardian* post has the same lay-out:

black text on a white background with a dark red thin horizontal stripe at the top indicating

where each new feed entry starts (see Appendix 1.A). Each *Mirror* post features a header

which has different colours depending on its perceived importance: most are black, while a

red header is used to report on 'key events' considered especially tragic or serious. Key events

never include a byline, but use that same space to display the words 'key event' (see

Appendix 2.D for an example of both types).

Sources

All characteristics of the livefeed discussed above deal with the presentation of the news. On

the news gathering side of journalistic practice, the newsfeed sees several practices that are

applied in order to save time in reporting. The first is the selection of sources. When time is

short, options are to "copy from other newspaper online offerings" (Jukes, 2013, p. 10; see

Appendices 1.K, 2.C, 2.I, & 2.J) or to use information provided by official authorities or press

agencies (see Appendices 1.G, 1.H, 2.E, 2.K, 2.L, 2.M, & 2.N). Important to mention is that

even statements made by police have been accessed through social media (see Appendices

1.G, 1.L, 1.M, 1.Q, 2.E, 2.K, 2.L, 2.M, & 2.N). These official channels, however, may not

have as much information available during the first hours of a crisis situation – hence the

reliance on citizen journalism for both information and media.

The online public can attribute to online news writing in two ways, as was identified

by Nah et al. (2015). The first are user-submitted stories (USS) by citizen journalists, a form

of audience participation that comes in via e-mail and "may involve regular contributors"

(Thurman, 2014, p. 110). *The Guardian* encourages this participatory practice through

'guardianwitness': a service that invites eyewitnesses to share their story directly with the

newsroom (see Appendix 1.O). When this is the source of the information, journalists usually

do not make it explicit on *The Guardian*'s livefeed. It is rather ambiguous, in certain cases,

whether a reporter spoke to witnesses in real life or via e-mail, as is the case in the examples

of Appendix 1.D, where a quotation is introduced with no more than "Majid Khan, 22, was

also at the concert when the incident happened"(see Appendix 1.D). The *Mirror*, on the other

hand, mentions USS when used on the feed: "A mum whose son was at the Arena tonight has

given MirrorOnline this account" (see Appendix 2.Q).

The other type of online public attributions to online news writing is also relevant for

discussion: user-generated content (UGC) can arrive on the comment sections of newsfeeds,

as well as in the form of photos and videos by citizen journalists (Nah et al., 2015, p. 400).

Many posts on both *The Guardian*'s and the *Mirror*'s livefeeds include visuals of some sort,

predominantly photos and videos of amateur quality. This is in line with what Hermida (2014)

recognizes: in the past decade, some of the most dramatic visuals have originated from

eyewitnesses – "from a shaky video of the London bombings in 2005 to the photo of a plane

in the Hudson River in 2009 to the video of a bloodied suspect in the Woolwich killing of

2013" (p. 59). A shocking video linked on *The Guardian*'s feed was taken by eyewitness Joe

Gregory and posted on Twitter, displaying the explosion in the Arena from further away (see

Appendix 1.J). Another video shows ambulances and a bomb disposal unit arriving (see

Appendix 1.N), while Appendix 1.P features a photo of people walking away from the scene.

While the first video was taken by an unfamiliar citizen eyewitness, the latter two are actually

eyewitnesses who are professional news reporters. Their media quality is no better than any

other non-professional's, but using reporters rather than 'random' members of the public

might be a safe choice of sources by *The Guardian*. *Mirror* journalists also show a fondness

for using visuals (see Appendices 2.C, 2.F, & 2.R). Their videos show people trying to flee

the Arena (see Appendix 2.C), a man being pulled from his car (see Appendix 2.F), and

footage from inside the Arena right after the incident (see Appendix 2.R). The origin of these

videos is unknown to the reader, but their low quality shows that these were also made by

members of the public. Media of this type and eyewitness information is often taken from

Facebook (see Appendices 2.D & 2.P), alongside blogs and microblogging platform Twitter

(see Appendices 1.B, 1.F, 1.I, 1.J, 1.N, & 1.P), although the use of other social media to

gather information is not by definition excluded. *Mirror* journalists often explicitly mention

that the source is unknown to the reader (see Appendices 2.C, 2.D, 2.F, & 2.R), as the

following entry specifically indicates: "According to a post is being widely shared on social

media" (see Appendix 2.D). In fact, the first *Mirror* feed entry, titled "Explosions" at

Manchester Arena,' mentioned only information provided through witnesses claiming to have

seen or heard something: "Witnesses report," "some witnesses report [...] but this has yet to be

confirmed," "There were claims of" (see Appendix 2.E). This demands to be addressed, since

none of this information has actually been confirmed by journalists, nor by official authorities.

In this case, moreover, the source of the accounts is not disclosed with the information, as

opposed to many other posts on the *Mirror* feed that do include the citizen source (see

Appendices 2.D, 2.P, & 2.Q). However, it remains important that journalists ensure that their

source is both "legitimate and representative" (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 9).

In cases where the source of information is embedded as a hyperlink, the practice of

linking is a way for writers to show their work. This linking allows readers and viewers "to

examine the sources of [journalists'] information" (Buttry 2013 as cited in De Maeyer, 2014,

p. 75), providing transparency resulting in trust from readers. Next to the extent to which this

transparency suggests truthfulness, linking unchecked sources can also be considered

encouragement for readers to join in the process of news reporting: as Thurman (2014)

argues, the publication of unverified information "albeit labelled as such" can be seen as an

invitation to readers to determine the presented facts' truthfulness (p. 104). However, as

shown just now, sources are not always made explicit on *The Guardian*'s and the *Mirror*'s

feeds, to which this theory thus cannot be applied. It is important to consider how simply by

stating information, the media do however "confer status and legitimacy on people,

organizations, and ideas" because of their influential nature (Whitaker et al., 2012, p. 9), specifically in these situations of unattributed copy by unnamed sources.

Journalists can make corrections within the format of the newsfeed, although this is difficult. A contributor might make a new post with just the correction (affording the correction itself news value), in addition inserting a visible correction within the original post (Thurman, 2014, p. 111). Even though correcting mistakes is possible and even considered best practice within the livefeed format, the two examined feeds illustrate that this is more difficult than Thurman (2014) makes it seem when he claims that the format is not afraid to draw attention to error. Making corrections may, on one hand, inspire confidence in a newspaper – as *The Guardian* does with Appendix 1.B. The contributor has updated the post in hindsight, with new information: "Police have since confirmed that the item was abandoned clothing and now not thought to be suspicious" (see Appendix 1.B). Correcting in hindsight may, on the other hand, seem redundant as chances are slim that people will read far back on a feed. This might be the reason why a *Mirror* post such as the one featured in Appendix 2.F was never revisited: the entry features a video of a man being pulled from his car by armed police, near Manchester Arena, on the night of the attacks. As the video appears on a feed about these attacks, one will automatically assume that all entries are related to this event. The source of this video is unknown, and as *Mirror* journalist Steve Robson acknowledges in the body text of the entry: "It's unclear if this is connected or not to tonight's explosion" (see Appendix 2.F). Despite this acknowledgement, the video is never revisited on the feed, so that it remains unclear whether this man had anything at all to do with the attacks. Crisis situations, however, demand constant updates. With no time to check nor people present at the scene, the update was posted unverified nonetheless. Although labelled as such, readers are inclined to believe whatever is posted on a news website simply because of the image of journalists as objective and reliable.

Recycling

One might argue that because of the aforementioned practices, the credibility of the journalist

as a provider of truthful information is suffering. Moreover, it can be argued that the

credibility of the journalist as a writer has also been damaged. Consider the following *Mirror*

post, 'written' by Danya Bazaraa (see Appendix 2.G). The body text and headline read that

the police are giving a press conference in Manchester. The actual contents of the conference

are never revealed. It is left to the reader to watch the video for himself, having been provided

direct access to the source of information. Other *Mirror* entries simply repeat a lot of

information the source itself provides, such as the following (see Appendix 2.H): the headline

reads "Liverpool Mayor's daughters caught up in explosion." What follows is a screenshot of

a Tweet by the Mayor of Liverpool that says "My 2 daughters caught up in the Manchester

explosion at the arena." Overall, the same information is given in triplicate: once shortened as

headline, once as a screenshot Tweet, and once directly quoted in the body text. Similar to this

is a *Guardian* post as included in Appendix 1.M, which sees the headline and the body text

paraphrasing a Tweet by the Manchester police, which itself is also included in the feed entry

(see Appendix 1.M). Other than paraphrasing, the anonymous journalist did not write any

additional information, as other Mirror posts also show (see Appendices 2.E, 2.J, 2.K, 2.I,

2.M, & 2.N). Posts by *The Guardian* may not even have a body text, nor a headline, but will

sometimes exist of only a screenshot Tweet (see Appendices 1.F, 1.N, & 1.P); some may

include a screenshot and a very short body text (see Appendices 1.I & 1.Q); others are more

similar to the *Mirror*'s. One feed entry presents a Tweet by the Greater Manchester Police

which had a photo attached. Both are copied on the feed, along with the headline "19 people

have died, police confirm" as added information (see Appendix 1.G).

As such, one may conclude that for certain news formats, the newsfeed included, there

has been a shift in journalistic practices from writing to collecting news. The time restraint

around breaking news stories generally leaves little time to create original stories from source

material. While different press rooms may have different preferences, as we saw *The*

Guardian leaning towards providing screenshots with little to no text, while the *Mirror*

journalists often repeated the same information more than once, the journalist either way

becomes a recycler of publicly available information as he copies large amounts of

information from other (online) sources, presented in the form of screenshots, direct quoting,

or paraphrasing.

Newsroom online

The newsfeed format hints at the disposability of news, as older news becomes superfluous as

it is preceded by newer information. The most important information could occur basically

anywhere on the feed. To ensure some order on the feed, both newspapers occasionally posted

overviews of the most important events. This also ensures that new readers could start reading

at any time, without having to reread and reconstruct the events from the beginning. *The*

Guardian posted one summary late at night after the attacks, titled 'What we know so far'

(see Appendix 1.C). The *Mirror*'s summary is flagged as 'key event' and reads 'What we

know about Manchester Arena suicide attack' (see Appendix 2.B). Both posts sum up, in

bullet points, what the readers have been missing out on while they went to sleep, supported

by hyperlinks to longer background stories. Additionally, by doing so, these summaries show

the one-use aspect of the newsfeed: by compiling regular summaries, the journalist hints at the

disposability of all news on the feed not included in the summary. News has an ephemeral

nature, illustrated by readers losing interest for news years, months, weeks, days or even

hours after an event has taken place, as their thoughts turn to more recent events. On a

newsfeed, the summary is the only relevant news; all other information was only urgent

around the time of posting and is not worth reading back on.

Discussion

This type of reporting has, currently, not replaced traditional forms of reporting: newspaper websites feature many different news formats, among which the livefeed is only one. As discussed in previous sections, livefeeds are not popular with all readers; some think they are used for too many different topics, others simply find the format itself confusing. Nevertheless, they are a popular medium on many news websites, especially for situations with rapid developments over short periods of time. The newsfeed is dependent on a steady flow of information, and thus journalists make extensive use of information and media provided by citizens online; although it was established as a medium to combat the loss of readers to social media posting and blogs by citizen journalists.

What an examination of the two media here studied shows, however, is that the way journalists handle information might have implications for the role and credibility of journalists writing online in the twenty-first century. The format of the livefeed shows how news is processed in the newsroom. Information enters on-the-go, but while copy was normally filtered, checked and written as a story before posting, this is not the case on the newsfeed. Here, each piece of news is posted as it becomes available, so that the reader essentially gets to experience the enfolding of an event in a way similar to the way the traditional journalist does. Implication of this is that not only is information not filtered on correctness, neither is the information checked for facts. Journalists and scholars alike disagree on the issue whether livefeeds should publish unverified information or not, with or without caveats; while some "have accepted that unverified material will be posted," others stress the importance of correcting mistakes made in past entries (Thurman, 2014, p. 111). This thesis' analysis shows the different ways the examined newsfeeds have handled a similar situation, from which it becomes clear that correcting incorrect or incomplete information

might reach only a very small audience; only those reading a livefeed back in time will see that a post has been changed.

Also missing from newsfeeds is interpretation of any kind; most information is screenshot, directly quoted, or paraphrased from its original source, in order to get the information out as soon as possible. While this allows for a multi-voiced account of the events, the reader is generally not assisted in distinguishing important news from less important news; each portion of information is granted an individual post and can appear anywhere on the feed. What turns out to be important will only be revealed in hindsight, in the occasional summaries appearing on the feed. The role of the journalist is thus considerably different: not a fact-checker but an information provider, not a content creator but a content copier. While for example Thurman (2014) deems that the livefeed "will not inevitably lead to a crisis of ethics," he does fear a "renewal of established professional norms" (p. 112). Whitaker et al.'s (2012) view of the journalist in the modern age as an editor rather than a gatekeeper may partly be considered true for the newsfeed writers. This gatekeeping role might be the reason that readers still turn to the traditional (online) news media rather than doing all research themselves; they trust that they will read all the news on that single platform. The journalist determines what the reader gets to read on a particular feed, by determining which stories make the cut and which do not. On the other hand, the journalist gives no indication on how to read, connect, or interpret these small bits of information. What happens on the livefeed, then, is that the citizen reader is indirectly invited to play the part of professional journalist, as though in a virtual newsroom. As the journalist posts his running copy online, writing little content that helps to interpret the events, these tasks are left to the members of the public to do for themselves – unintentionally becoming involved with a running story in which the copy is yet to subbed.

Conclusion

What ultimately comes into play when discussing the roles of journalists and citizen journalists and the similarities and differences between the two, is that definitions of both are not fixed. Generally speaking, what distinguishes the two parties is a journalist's job ethic: the journalistic code he is expected to stick to and specific roles he supposedly plays within society. Because readers believe that reporters do indeed have their (the public) interest in mind, and that reporters will go the extra mile to ensure that the reader is offered only correct information, they have for a long time enjoyed high levels of trust. Decisions made by reporters writing on the livefeeds as discussed in this thesis may harm this idea of professional journalism. The behind-the-scenes look into the newsroom that this format gives, almost automatically places the reader in the role of 'participatory' journalist; fulfilling roles that are considered part of the professional journalist's job. These tasks on the processing and information gathering side of journalism are transferred to the participating reader. The reader has to decide for himself on the relevance, importance, and reliability of each piece of information presented to him in the livefeed. The consequences are not yet certain, but a reasonable claim to make is that traditional and citizen journalism have become more alike as a result of journalists having let go of these practices within this format. Hermida (2014) has stressed the importance of the journalist's practice of ethics before, especially in the online age: "the ease by which a rumor can take hold and spread on social media has given greater urgency to the need for sources of accurate and reliable information" (p. 60).

Moreover, it appears from the reader's perspective that journalists consider nearly everything to be important enough to appear on a livefeed. In further research, one may want to find out whether this actually is the stance journalists take when compiling such a newsfeed. Talking to reporters fell outside the scope of this thesis, but is essential in understanding the decisions made with regards to the selection and handling of news sources

– inquiring whether any 'news' is left out at all, and if so, what and why; how decisions on what information to include in hyperlinks are actually made and by whom. Another implication that needs to be addressed in future research, are the format's consequences for framing: within the aforementioned progression of news articles, framing would normally occur in between selecting and setting up copy and the writing of a news story. It is here that reporters interpret and frame stories. The livefeed presents a collection of copy rather than a finished story, which results in its feed entries lacking a clear frame. How this influences a readers' perception of an event as well as readers' perception of different newspapers might therefore be subject of future study.

While discussing at length citizen journalism and even the use of citizen journalism by professional journalists, the interplay between the roles fulfilled by the two groups and even the mutual influence on each other's work ethics and ethical values had been missing in the critical debate. The consequences for the role of journalists by applying this and similar formats in the future are at this time incalculable. This thesis has aimed, however, to reposition the two groups within the context of the newsfeed format, showing how the professional reporter leaves certain aspects of his trade to the newsfeed reader, who in the process is invited to engage in the online journalistic practice of the newsroom.

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Appendix 1

1.A

24 May 2017 05:03 — Kim Willsher

The mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, whose city faced a series of terrorist attacks in 2015, has sent her condolences to Manchester and urged people to stand firm against terrorism.

Hidalgo was one of the first to respond to news of the attack at an Ariana Grande concert on Monday evening, which brought back painful memories of the carnage she saw first-hand at Paris's Bataclan music hall.

She told the Guardian her heart went out to the people of Manchester:

> First I want to send my affection ... this is such a terrible moment, an attack on youngsters, adolescents out having fun, enjoying themselves. My thoughts go to those parents who have lost children or someone close to them and for whom the physical and psychological consequences are so heavy.
>
> Parisians, who have suffered attacks, know the horrors into which the people of Manchester are plunged and know how it helps to have messages of affection and support to enable them to raise their heads, to stand strong and to carry on. We received many messages from all over the world and I can tell you this feeling of solidarity and support really helped. What is also important after such events is also for people to feel secure and protected.

1.B

23 May 2017 01:47

Here's a video in which it's possible to hear the controlled explosion carried out by Greater Manchester police on a suspicious device in Cathedral gardens, just minutes from the arena. Police have since confirmed that the item was abandoned clothing and now not thought to be suspicious.

Eleanor Barlow
@EleanorBarlow

You can hear the bang from the controlle explosion. We were told to stand against the wall but away from windows

2:37 AM - May 23, 2017

♡ 6,467   ○ 3,742 people are talking about this

1.C

> **24 May 2017**
> **05:15**
>
> ### What we know so far
>
> Claire Phipps
>
> ● Soldiers are to be deployed on Britain's streets after the threat level was raised from severe to critical, meaning officials believe another terrorist attack may be imminent.
>
> ● The move came in the wake of the suicide bombing of Manchester Arena, which killed 22 people and injured 59 more.
>
> ● The perpetrator has been identified as **Salman Abedi**, 22, a Mancunian of Libyan descent. He walked into the lobby of the arena on Monday evening as thousands of people were exiting an **Ariana Grande** concert, detonating an improvised device that murdered and maimed many.
>
> ● Among those he killed were eight-year-old **Saffie Rose Roussos**; **Georgina Callander**, 18; and **John Atkinson**, 26.
>
> ● Overnight, the names of two more victims have been revealed: **Kelly Brewster**, 32, and **Olivia Campbell**, who was 15. Her mother **Charlotte Campbell** paid tribute to her "darling precious gorgeous girl".

1.D

> **23 May 2017**
> **23:40**
>
> Majid Khan, 22, was also at the concert when the incident happened. He said:
>
> █ *I and my sister, along with a lot of others were seeing Ariana Grande perform at Manchester Arena, and we were all exiting the venue when around 10.40-10.45pm-ish a huge bomb-like bang went off that hugely panicked everyone and we were all trying to flee the arena.*
>
> *It was one bang and essentially everyone from the other side of the arena where the bang was heard from suddenly came running towards us as they were trying to exit Trinity Way and that was blocked so everyone was just running to any exit they could find as quickly as they could.*
>
> *Everyone was in a huge state of panic, calling each other as some had gone to the toilet whilst this had gone off, so it was just extremely disturbing for everyone there.*
>
> f y G+   Updated at 12.12am BST

1.E

23 May 2017 00:33

A barman at the nearby Steven Charles Snooker Club, who gave his name to the Press Association as Tyler, said he saw people lying on the ground covered in blood.

We've had a few people in with panic attacks and in all kinds of disarray. We've got four girls here - trying to get them sorted to get picked up. There was a gentleman on the floor with his leg all bleeding and woman with blood down one side of her face.

We felt something but didn't know what it was - there was a sound like thunder. One girl had a panic attack and another had streaming tears, a woman had a heart attack just outside.

1.F

23 May 2017 00:27

Helen Pidd ✔
@helenpidd

Police cordon massive around Victoria Station, the Arena, Cathedral and beyond. Police helicopter still circling above.

1:25 AM - May 23, 2017

♡ 29   ◯ 84 people are talking about this

1.G

23 May
2017

01:12

19 people have died, police confirm

Latest statement on incident at Manchester Arena

Further details on the incident at Manchester Arena have now been released.

Just before 10:35pm on Monday 22 May 2017, police were called to reports of an explosion at Manchester Arena.

So far 19 people have been confirmed dead, with around 50 others injured.

This is currently being treated as a terrorist incident until police know otherwise.

For updates on this incident please follow @gmpolice on Twitter.

GREATER MANCHESTER
POLICE

G M Police ✔
@gmpolice

Latest statement on incident at Manchester Arena

2:10 AM - May 23, 2017

♡ 26.3K ○ 47K people are talking about this

f y G+

1.H

23 May
2017
01:24

A statement from Manchester Arena says the incident took place outside the venue - earlier reports had suggested it happened in the foyer. It's very common for details to be conflicting in the immediate aftermath of an incident like this; we will confirm as soon as we can.

The statement reads:

❝ We can confirm there was an incident as people were leaving the Ariana Grande show last night.

The incident took place outside the venue in a public space.

Our thoughts and prayers go out to the victims.

(f) (y) (G+)

1.I

23 May
2017
02:40

Some very poignant observations from reporters at the scene. Many of those at the concert were children and teenagers.

Helen Pidd ✔
@helenpidd

Two more ambulances have just pulled into children's A&E at Manchester Royal Infirmary, followed by a van carrying blood supplies

3:38 AM - May 23, 2017

♡ 95 ○ 132 people are talking about this

Paul Britton.
@PaulBrittonMEN

Parents are still arriving here to pick up children. Saw one woman hobbling away from the scene, supported by police.

3:20 AM - May 23, 2017

♡ 237 ○ 43 people are talking about this

(f) (y) (G+)

1.J

23 May 2017 03:35 — Eyewitness Joe Gregory posted footage on Twitter that appears to show the explosion in the Manchester Arena at the end of a concert by Ariana Grande. Gregory said he had been waiting outside the arena for his girlfriend, who was attending the concert.

▲ Dashcam footage apparently shows Manchester explosion

1.K

Michael Safi

One of the missing concertgoers whose photograph is being widely
shared on social media is Olivia Campbell, a teenager who attended
the concert as part of a birthday present for her friend, Adam, who is
also missing.

Her mother, Charlotte, told CNN she last spoke to her daughter
around 8.30pm, several hours before the blast:

> *It's the most horrible feeling ever to know your daughter is there
> and you can't find her, and you don't know if she's dead or alive. I
> don't know how people can do this to innocent children.*

She said Adam and Olivia had "done nothing but talk about" the
concert in the past few days:

> *They're normal teenage children who were going to see their
> favourite artist and it's ended in absolute carnage.*

f y G+   Updated at 7.43am BST

1.L

23 May 2017 23:33	Police in Manchester have responded to a "serious incident" at the city's arena, amid unconfirmed reports online of an explosion.

Greater Manchester police warned people to stay away from Manchester Arena while they dealt with the issue. Officers did not release any further details on what has happened. A concert by Ariana Grande was being staged at the time.

> **G M Police** ✔
> @gmpolice
>
> Emergency services responding to serious incident at Manchester Arena. Avoid the area. More details will follow as soon as available
> 11:29 PM - May 22, 2017
>
> ♡ 6,167 ○ 7,641 people are talking about this

> **G M Police** ✔
> @gmpolice
>
> Police responded to reports of an incident at Manchester Arena. Please stay away from the area. More details to follow....
> 10:54 PM - May 22, 2017
>
> ♡ 5,500 ○ 7,352 people are talking about this

Hannah Dane, who was at the concert, told the Guardian there was "quite a loud explosion heard from inside the Manchester arena and it shook, then everyone screamed and tried to get out".

She added: "As we got outside, lots of police came racing towards the area and the whole of the Victoria train station was surrounded by police." She said there were people "screaming and crying everywhere shouting that there's a bomb and also people were saying there's a shooter".

Dane added that police were "blocking off roads in the area. There are sirens zooming everywhere."

f ✓ G+   Updated at 1.09am BST

1.M

23 May 2017 23:47

'Number of fatalities' in Manchester incident

Police in Manchester confirm that an as-yet unspecified number of people have been killed in Manchester, as well as other injured.

Police statement on incident at Manchester Arena

Emergency services are currently responding to reports of an explosion at Manchester Arena.

There are a number of confirmed fatalities and others injured.

Please AVOID the area as first responders work tirelessly at the scene.

Details of a casualty bureau will follow as soon as possible.

GREATER MANCHESTER POLICE

G M Police
@gmpolice

Police statement on incident at Manchester Arena

12:44 AM - May 23, 2017

♡ 32.2K ◯ 52.1K people are talking about this

1.N

23 May
2017
00:24

Chris Slater ✔
@chrisslaterMEN

A bomb disposal unit has just arrived outside the Manchester
Arena. Can also hear sniffer dogs being brought out of the vans

1:17 AM - May 23, 2017

♡ 392   ♡ 661 people are talking about this

f 🐦 G+

1.O

＋ Contribute with **guardianwitness**

1.P

23 May 2017
00:52

Helen Pidd ✓
@helenpidd

People are still walking back from @ManchesterArena clutching the pink balloons released by Ariane Grande before tonight's incident

1:48 AM - May 23, 2017

♡ 331 ◯ 181 people are talking about this

f y G+

1.Q

23 May 2017
01:32

Greater Manchester police are warning people not to be alarmed as officers carry out a controlled explosion:

G M Police ✓
@gmpolice

There will be a controlled explosion in Cathedral gardens shortly if you hearing anything don't be concerned.

2:30 AM - May 23, 2017

♡ 11.2K ◯ 14.8K people are talking about this

f y G+

Appendix 2

2.A

2.B

06:55 KEY EVENT

What we know about Manchester Arena suicide attack

Here are some of the key updates from overnight:

- The UK has raised its threat level from severe to critical, meaning an attack may be imminent.

- Prime Minister Theresa May says soldiers could be deployed on the streets to support armed police officers.

- Eight of the 22 victims have now been identified, including mums Alison Howe, 45, and Lisa Lees, 47, 15-year-old Olivia Campbell, Kelly Brewster, 32, and teenager Megan Hurley.

- Earlier yesterday, the first three victims were identified as Georgina Callander, 18, eight-year-old Saffie Roussos and John Atkinson, 26.

- The suicide bomber has been identified as 22-year-old Salman Abedi of Manchester.

- Security services continue to investigate whether he acted alone or was part of a network.

- They are also probing his links to a known recruiter of ISIS, which claimed responsibility for the attack.

- The Manchester-born bomber reportedly returned home from Libya - his family's native country - just days before the attack.

- Britain's counter-terror chief Mark Rowley says the investigation is "making good progress".
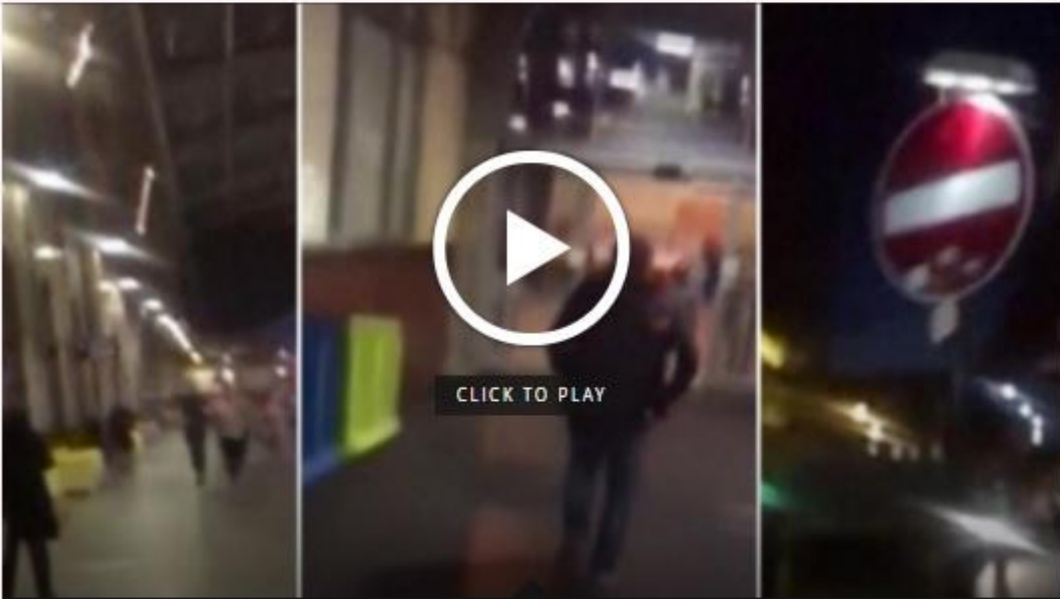
2.C

2.D

00:20   KEY EVENT

'Around 50 children stranded at Holiday Inn'

According to a post is being widely shared on social media, around 50 children are stranded after leaving the Manchester Arena tonight and have been taken in by a nearby hotel.

The post reads: "If you or anybody you know has been disconnected from your child please please please check if they're at the Holiday Inn as they have so far taken in 50+ children that are alone without a guardian"

00:13

'My daughter walked past people on the floor and blood everywhere'

Mum Caroline Entwistle says her daughter described the horrific scene.

She wrote on Facebook: "My daughter was there with a friend they walked past people on the floor and blood everywhere, this is horrible , I thank god my girls are safe xx"

2.E

23:05

'Explosions' at Manchester Arena

Police and paramedics have responded after reports of several 'explosions' at Manchester Arena tonight.

Witnesses report a 'stampede' as people fled the venue at the end of a performance by Ariana Grande, screaming and in tears.

Pictures and video from the scene show a major response from the emergency services.

G M Police
@gmpolice

Police responded to reports of an incident at Manchester Arena. Please stay away from the area. More details to follow....
10:54 PM - May 22, 2017

♡ 5,500 ○ 7,353 people are talking about this

Some witnesses report paramedics treating people who are injured - but this has yet to be confirmed.

There were claims of at least two 'loud bangs' at the venue in the city centre which has a capacity of 21,000.

Greater Manchester Police have told people to "stay away" from the area.

2.F

This video has emerged of a man apparently being dragged from his car and detained by armed police near to the incident.

It's unclear if this is connected or not to tonight's explosion.

2.G

14:30   DANYA BAZARAA

Live police press conference from Manchester

Police are due to release a statement shortly from a press conference in Manchester.

LIVE POLICE PRESS CONFERENCE FROM MANCHESTER

2.H

00:37

Liverpool Mayor's daughters caught up in explosion

Steve Rotheram
@MetroMayorSteve

My 2 daughters caught up in the Manchester explosion at the arena. They are thankfully safe, but I fear for others.

11:19 PM - May 22, 2017

♡ 433 ♡ 152 people are talking about this

Liverpool City Region metro mayor Steve Rotheram tweeted: "My 2 daughters caught up in the Manchester explosion at the arena. They are thankfully safe, but I fear for others."

He posted later: "Confirmed deaths at the Manchester arena. Feel sick to think that people have lost their lives at a gig attended by so many young people."

"All my thoughts go out to those parents waiting to hear of the safety of their children. It's a parents worse nightmare. So, so sad."

2.I

2.J

2.K

01:13 **KEY EVENT**

'So far 19 dead and around 50 injured' - Police

Latest statement on incident at Manchester Arena

Further details on the incident at Manchester Arena have now been released.

Just before 10:35pm on Monday 22 May 2017, police were called to reports of an explosion at Manchester Arena.

So far 19 people have been confirmed dead, with around 50 others injured.

This is currently being treated as a terrorist incident until police know otherwise.

For updates on this incident please follow @gmpolice on Twitter.

POLICE

G M Police ✓
@gmpolice

Latest statement on incident at Manchester Arena

1:10 AM - May 23, 2017

♡ 26.4K ♡ 47.2K people are talking about this

Greater Manchester Police have just given a crucial and very sad update.

It is confirmed that so far 19 people are dead and around 50 others are injured.

The incident is currently being treated as a terror attack.

2.L

'Explosion took place outside venue in public space'

We can confirm there was an incident as people were leaving the Ariana Grande show last night.
The incident took place outside the venue in a public space.
Our thoughts and prayers go out to the victims.
Please follow @gmpolice on Twitter for all further updates.

Manchester Arena ✓
@ManchesterArena

1:08 AM - May 23, 2017

♡ 13.2K ○ 10.9K people are talking about this

Manchester Arena has just tweeted a statement on tonight's incident.

It claims the incident "took place outside the venue in a public space".

2.M

05:21

Police tweet timeline of events

Timeline of events

- 10:33pm - First call made to police reporting possible explosion and multiple injuries.
- 10:39pm – GMP PCSO is first responder on the scene.
- 10:39pm – A total of 28 calls are made to police within first six minutes of initial call.
- 10:46pm – British Transport Police confirm there are a large number of casualties inside Manchester Arena.
- 10:46pm – First road closure put in place on Great Clowes Street outside Manchester Arena.
- 10:47pm – Police start treating the response as dealing with a terrorist incident.
- 10:47pm – Deansgate closed.
- 10:47pm – Officers at the scene confirm multiple people injured during the attack.
- 10:47pm - Confirmation from first responders that explosion has taken place.
- 11:33pm – 240 calls about the incident received during first hour of initial call being made.
- 11:44pm – GMP confirm multiple fatalities and others have been injured during attack.
- 1:10am – GMP confirm 19 people have died and around 50 others reported injured in what is being treated as a terrorist attack.
- 7am – GMP confirm that a total of 22 victims have been confirmed dead in addition to the man believed to have been responsible for the attack after detonating an improvised explosive device. Confirmation of over 400 officers involved in efforts overnight.

POLICE

G M Police
@gmpolice

Timeline of events - Manchester Arena
5:16 AM - May 24, 2017

♡ 640   ◯ 466 people are talking about this

Greater Manchester Police have just tweeted this timeline of how the Manchester attack panned out.

It reveals that the first call came into police at 10.33pm on Monday, and that within six minutes a further 28 calls were received.

By 10.46, British Transport Police confirmed "a large number of casualties" and a minute later the incident was being teated as terrorism.

2.N

Man, 23, among those arrested in bombing investigation

A 23-year-old man is among those arrested in the bombing investigation, say police.

The man was arrested in south Manchester.

Arrests have also occurred in Chorlton and Ashton, the Manchester Evening News reports.

> **G M Police** ✓
> @gmpolice
>
> With regards to last night's incident at the Manchester arena, we can confirm we have arrested a 23-year-old man in South Manchester.
>
> 11:53 AM - May 23, 2017
>
> ♡ 21K   ○ 14.9K people are talking about this

2.O

KEY EVENTS

Nearly 1,000 soldiers to be deployed today	12:59
Girl, 14, who 'was on crutches at Manchester Arena' confirmed dead	12:50
Police raid in Manchester city centre	12:45
Police identify all 22 victims of bombing	12:17
Soldiers arrive at Palace of Westminster	12:15

2.P

'Panicked people running trying to get out'

Parents have been commenting on Manchester Arena's Facebook page about the incident.

One wrote: "Daughter just called me she there and it's crazy said sounded like bomb everyone panicked people running trying get out police and paramedics treating people"

Another said: "Yes me & my daughter was just about leave and there was a huge bang and then everyone just darted out screaming and crying.."

2.Q

2.R