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Media strategies in lobbying process.

A literature review on publications in 2000-2018.

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Abstract

This study examines how the media and journalists are used in lobbying processes. To explore the topic a systematic review of the literature in peer-reviewed journals published between January 2000 to June 2018 was undertaken. The findings of this paper indicate that lobbyists and interest groups engage with a plethora of various strategies and systematic methods when influencing or trying to advocate the work of journalists and media organisations. The findings shed the mystery of lobbyists and interest group's communicative attempts. This study increases the knowledge of the relationships between journalists and lobbyists in lobbying processes. Based on the literature review, the paper presents a categorised model of media influencing strategies in lobbying process.

Keywords: lobbying; advocacy; journalism; literature review; media influencing.

Introduction

The purpose of lobbying is to change or maintain policies by influencing them through direct or indirect actions (McGrath, 2007). Lobbying has been defined as “influencing political decision making in the interest of a group by communicating with publics relevant to the political process of a certain issue” (Jaatinen, 2000: 22). Also, it has been seen as “stimulation and transmission of a communication” (Milbrath, 1963: 8) and as a communication instrument targeted to political decision-making authorities (Koepll, 2001). Lobbying is considered an influential and visible feature of every political system around the world (McGrath, 2006) and it can enable “more informed decision making and result in more effective public policies” (OECD, 2009: 18). In order to promote the acceptance of the point of view of their clients, lobbyists are focusing on issues, facts, and appeals (Grunig and Hunt, 1984). This study considers lobbying a strategic communication process. The actors, lobbyists and interest groups, are regarded as communicators whose intent when using media as a strategy in lobbying is to figure

out how they “handle the communications most effectively in order to get through to decision makers” (Milbrath, 1963: 35).

Influencing decision and policy makers through direct interactions is called inside lobbying (Weiler & Brändli, 2015) and it cultivates positive government relations (Ihlen et al., 2018). Influencing decision-making processes by using media or public support is regarded as outside lobbying (Kollmann, 1998). This approach aims to reach the general public (Trapp & Laursen, 2017), to present an issue or a public interest and to pressure decision makers (Ihlen et al., 2018) and also to communicate facts, arguments and power (Milbrath, 1963). This approach is also used as a strategy to educate the public on the key problems and the strategies to address these problems (Gardner, Geierstanger, Brindis & McConnel, 2010). Tresch and Fischer (2015: 357) name using the media as one of the most influential methods of outside lobbying and label it as a “media strategy” as it “explicitly targets journalists and aims at making policy positions publicly available through news coverage”. Involving the media in lobbying processes has the potential to influence all stages of decision making (Brown & Waltzer, 2004). In order to successfully influence the decision- and policy-making processes, lobbyists and influence groups employ a mix of both inside and outside approaches (Weiler & Brändli, 2015). By influencing decision making, interest groups fulfil the democratic norms that suggest individuals should be able to participate in political matters (McCluskey and Kim, 2015).

To contribute to the understanding how the media and journalists are used in systematic lobbying processes, we intended to recognise media strategies behind lobbying and advocating of interest groups. Based on the scientific literature from January 2000 to June 2018 we investigate the methods of how journalists and media organisations are used in lobbying processes. First, we introduce the theoretical discussion on lobbying and advocating media. Thereafter, we present the used methodology, data and findings, and finally the conclusions.

Lobbying and the media

Lobbying and advocacy as Verčič and Verčič (2012: 19) see are considered communication management operating through “informative, persuasive, relational, and discursive models” done publicly, directly and indirectly. They conclude that these activities can be targeted to e.g. governmental decision makers and their constituencies including the media (Verčič and Verčič, 2012). The media has an important part in shaping political reality as it is a major source of political information (McCombs and Shaw, 1972) and it is at the centre of the struggle for power and control in any society (McChesney, 2004). Organised pressure and interest groups seek to influence what the media do (McQuail, 2010). Media forces attention to political issues and sets the agenda by influencing the salience of attitudes toward the political issues (McCombs and Shaw, 1972) together with priming and framing (de Vreese, 2005; Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). According to Binderkrantz (2012) the

significance of the media as a factor in governmental decision making has increased the importance of the presence of lobbyists and interest groups in media. Politics has become more and more mediatised and all political actors have increased their efforts to make presence in the media (Keplinger, 2002). Political discourses and decision making are influenced by the media (Abroms & Maibach, 2008) and for journalism, the news value of lobbyists and interest groups comes from their privileged access to public decision making (Binderkrantz, 2012). For this reasons, lobbyists actions and viewpoints are often reported upon (Thrall, 2006).

The role played by the media as a filter between lobbyist groups and political decision makers has been mostly neglected in lobbying research (Sobrrio, 2011). Indeed, in recent years only a few studies have investigated the systematic communication strategies of lobbyists and interest groups in media influencing. Kim and McCluskey (2015) analysed the relationship of media and advocacy groups, their strategic activities and news coverage. Strong and Tyler (2017) reviewed the media's ability to identify and report the agenda of lobbying groups. Thus, not much attention has been paid to the practical level lobbying that journalists face every day in journalistic news making.

The goal of lobbyists and interest groups is not merely to gain media coverage but to translate their preferences into policy through decision making (Zaller, 1992). Zaller (1992) argues that influencing decision making by using media strategies is an indirect and complicated process. In this process lobbyists and interest groups present the information to a journalist who folds it into a story. The citizens then receive/ regard this story as news and based on the information change their minds or increase the salience of the issue. (Zaller, 1992). The intention of various lobbyists and interest groups is also to gain access to the media in order to monitor or influence the journalistic content and to try to counter or correct unfavourable reporting (McQuail, 2013). Lobbyists and interest groups may also criticise the media or journalists in order to double the influence on content (Shoemaker and Reese, 1991). They argue that by attacking on the news agenda these groups try to replace content and influence the media's practices and policies. Binderkrantz (2012) finds that the political importance of the media can be seen as a factor pulling groups towards more advanced media strategies.

Kimball, Baumgartner, Berry, Hojnacki and Leech (2012) theorise that the issues public is interested in differ from the policy priorities of interest groups and from those lobbyists are bringing to the attention of governmental decision makers. Decision makers also sift information and actions as they have a limited amount of attention to devote to various policies. According to Kimball et al. (2012), sifting information leads to the fact that only a handful of policy deliberations are discussed in the media. Bernhagen and Trani (2012) conclude that most policy proposals in the media are lobbied by very few interest groups, while only a few proposals gather wide range attention from various actors. Often these are not reflecting the preferences of public priorities (Kimball et al., 2012).

McGrath (2007) suggests that lobbyists seeking media attention frame the issue they are lobbying carefully, pay close attention to the language being used and finally, construct a solution to the issue at hand. He concludes that, as eventually lobbying is persuasive communication, the framing and defining solutions affect how decision makers approach the issue (McGrath, 2007). For journalists, news is a product of choices (Kim & McCluskey, 2015) which are guided by the identity and ideology of the journalists (Deuze, 2005). The media format also has a significant role in journalistic judgments (Kim & McCluskey, 2015). The authors find that television journalists concentrate on visuals while print journalists cover more in-depth views of an issue. The attention of journalists, as Manheim (2011) suggest, is eventually achieved by satisfying their values, norms and professional practices.

Lobbyists and interest groups both try to manage information and relationships with journalists (Manheim, 2011). The groups' efforts are strategic but the activities vary e.g. in terms of goals, target and focus (Kim & McCluskey, 2015). In order to secure coverage to issues the relationship with journalists should be constant (Gardner et al., 2010). Several scholars (e.g. McGrath, 2007; Kim & McCluskey, 2015) have suggested that the relationship between lobbyists, interest groups and journalists should be revisited to better portray the changing media environment. For journalists, the lobbyists are highly ranked and useful sources of information (Cooper, Nownes & Johnson, 2007). The authors suggest that a great deal of this relationship is initiated by lobbyists. Strong and Tyler (2017) argue, journalists and media organisations might have difficulties in recognising lobbyists and interest groups and their agendas, or the activity of lobbyists and interest groups is not reported (Bernhagen and Trani, 2012). But still, the detailed methods and overall strategies how lobbyists and interest groups are trying to strategically influence journalists and media organisations remain undefined. To begin to fill this gap in literature, a systematic review was executed.

RQ: How, according to the scientific literature in refereed journals, do lobbyists and interest groups use media in the lobbying process?

The method for the review is introduced and explained in the next chapter.

Method

To further explore how journalists and media organisations are lobbied, a systematic review of the literature in peer-reviewed journals published 2000-2018 was undertaken.

A systematic literature review was conducted to study all relevant academic articles on the topic. A computerised search of scientific articles was carried out in June 2018, followed by an analysis of the final sample. The search was limited to peer-reviewed articles with full text written in English and published between January 2000 and

June 2018. Three major database and citation index services were used: EBSCOhost, ProQuest, and Web of Science.

First, several keywords and their combinations were tested. Based on the results from these searches, a final keyword combination of [lobby* or advocacy] and [journalist* or (news and media)] was used. EBSCO yielded 690 results, ProQuest 318 results, and Web Of Science 427 results. The results ($n = 1\,435$) were transferred to RefWorks. After removing exact and close duplicates, the total number of articles was 1 073. After this, a further selection was carried out to remove non-relevant items. Based on the careful read of titles and abstracts of the articles, non-relevant articles were left out if they 1) did not deal with lobbying or societal advocacy, 2) did not deal with journalism or the news media or 3) were not a scientific article. After this phase, 77 articles remained. The remaining articles were analysed and mapped using the research question as a guide for the analysis.

Parts of the article related to the research question were entered into an analysis table. At this phase of the analysis, irrelevant articles that did not deal with the research question were again left out. 41 articles remained. First, in the data-extraction table the journals and paper types were noted. The articles in the final sample were then read through and a thematic analysis was conducted. The reading focused on identifying different ways how media is used in lobbying processes. The main findings and conclusions of each article were noted and transferred to a data extraction table. In the table the themes were coded and further grouped. After this all the themes were deduced and the content was summarised.

After analysing the articles, they were checked for additional research using snowball sampling. From the references parts of the 41 articles, 15 additional articles were found and analysed using the same method as before. 12 of these were found to be relevant for the study at hand. The final sample consisted of 53 articles dealing with both lobbying and journalism. Of the 53 articles in the sample, 48 were empirical articles and 5 were theoretical. Of the 48 empirical articles 36 used qualitative methods, based mostly on interviews, content of news articles and case studies. 5 articles using quantitative methods were based either on surveys or news articles. 7 articles had used mixed methods and relied mostly on a mix of surveys, news articles or multiple data sources. The 53 articles were from 43 different journals. 29 of these articles were from journals dealing with media, journalism or communication (e.g. Journalism Studies and The International Journal of Press/Politics). 11 articles were related to the journals of political studies (e.g. Interest Groups & Advocacy, European Journal of Political Research) and 9 articles were related to health (e.g. BMC Public Health, Journal of physical Activity & Health). The remaining 4 articles presented various journals from the field of business and social sciences. The results derived from the sample articles are presented in the next section of the paper.

Results

Literature review yielded detailed insights on how journalists and media organisations are used in lobbying processes. Overall 37 of the articles discussed the strategies, methods or practices lobbyists and interest groups deploy when engaging with journalists and media organisations. The findings can be categorised into five key communication strategies: access, information, publicity, persuasion and monitoring. Next, the findings of each of these strategies are introduced with short summaries. The findings, i.e. the subcategories are considered methods of media lobbying.

Access strategy

The first strategy derived from the sample articles is personal access strategy. This strategy includes mentions to methods which refer to the use of close connections between lobbyists and journalists, formed by either emotional bonds or interactions. Being physically located near media organisations and being locally or online available were also placed this category. Overall 33 mentions to methods were identified and they were condensed into six sub-categories: contacts and interaction (9 mentions), relationships (8), technologies (7), interviews (4), expertise (3) and locality (2).

Contacts and interaction

Contacting with editors, journalists and reporters personally, emailing them and sharing contacts and work spaces with journalists are considered as a method which can be labelled as “contacts and interaction”. As Lück et al. (2016) and Powers (2014) argue, this promotes the mutual supply of information and professional knowledge. This helps lobbyists build their network of journalists and media organisations. For journalists this offers a handy network of contacts to use in newsmaking.

Relationships

Relationships as a method can be regarded as building and maintaining close relations with journalists and media organisations as e.g. Larsson (2009), Gardner et al. (2010), Andrews and Caren (2010) and Stenger and McCracken (2011) noted. They argue that interest groups and lobbyists using this as a systematic media tactic benefit by developing and sustaining relationships with journalists and establishing themselves as trusted professionals on the issue(s) at hand. Larsson (2009) adds that this “close relation”, which after constant information exchange and personal meetings can't be avoided, fulfils a mutual need between journalists and lobbyists. Based on the findings by Gardner et al. (2010) especially in healthcare and religious media advocacy (Stenger & McCracken, 2011), this relationship eventually grows from information exchange into bidirectional partnership and the lobbyist can eventually be used as an expert e.g.

in television and radio interviews and presentations. For lobbying organisations as Andrews and Caren (2010) claim, this helps to signal their legitimacy and their claims. Though, they remind that fostering the relationship is time and resource demanding.

Technologies

The use of social media and digital technologies in lobbying is intended to spread topics of interest to wider audiences via media, to raise awareness, to verify information from disinformation, to seek media access by interacting with journalists and to get media coverage (Powers 2016; 2017). Lobbyists also deploy “media centres” and “media hotlines” on websites to better serve the gathering of newsworthy information of issues (Stenger & McCracken, 2011).

Interviews

This subcategory can be considered a very personal method and personal access to journalists. By interviewing lobbyists and advocates of interest groups the lobbyists' policy positions become available for the public (Tresch & Fischer, 2015) and in this way the lobbyists can use the interviews as communication channels to give official statements (Lück et al, 2016).

Expertise

Various aspects of lobbyists' expertise are valued by journalists. For instance, business and environmental lobbyists provide their scientific inside knowledge for journalists (Lück et al, 2016) and establish themselves as experts on the issue at hand. Alternatively, lobbyists might want to stay in the background and indirectly support the appearances of suitable experts and proponents in the media (Strong and Tyler, 2017).

Locality

This method can be considered very inconspicuous, but important for further lobbying success. Being located near governmental decision makers and media provides greater opportunity to interact both directly and indirectly, increases the availability of lobbyists' stories and makes them more viable, and makes the lobbying organisations more relevant and newsworthy (Andrews & Caren, 2010; Kim & McCluskey, 2015).

Information strategy

Advocating and lobbying using various information channels and means of information were placed into this category. Overall seven distinct subcategories were identified: Information and materials (25), journalistic content (16), analyses and research reports (10), images, videos and audio (7), stories (3), and advertising (2). These subcategories yielded overall 63 mentions to lobbying by using various information channels.

Information and materials

Generally, lobbyists and interest groups are offering reliable and authoritative information, statistics, facts and quotes (Trapp & Laursen, 2017), but favourable information is often presented and unfavourable information is concealed (Baron, 2005). Information is delivered to journalists in various forms e.g. press releases, kits and handouts to promote interview possibilities, stories and events (Lück et al. 2016). Especially the flow of press and media releases and overall information flow from lobbyists and interest groups is increasing, which has increased the risk of journalists becoming more dependent on lobbying groups (Larsson, 2009).

Journalistic content

This category includes influencing by using journalistic looking content or using journalistic opportunities that the media themselves provide. Usually these are letters to editors, op-eds, columns and written articles. The aforementioned are used to emphasise e.g. the ethical sides of issues, which also helps the media to cover certain issues and at the same time partly insulating journalists from direct criticism (Nisbet & Huge, 2006). For lobbyists the letters to editors etc. are an appealing tool as they don't require formal training and are often accessible to everyone (Smith, McLeod & Wakefield, 2005). Moreland-Russell et al. (2012) emphasise that especially in letters to editors, lobbyists deploy rhetorical aspects by highlighting statistical evidence, didactical writing styles, narratives and testimonials, and underline their authority and expertise.

Analyses and research reports

Various analyses and research reports are produced by interest groups who have resources to carry out research on policy problems (Thrall, 2006). The reports are written in authoritative style and communicated by trusted sources to mirror journalists' news stories (Trapp & Laursen, 2017). The reports might include perspectives from various stakeholders (Smith et al., 2005) but eventually they are intended to help lobbying groups to work side by side with policy makers and become useful partners to journalists (Thrall, 2006).

Images, videos and audio

Using various multimedia methods photos, video releases and podcasts seek to generate public awareness and gain media access by luring journalists to carry out stories e.g. on health and poverty issues (Powers, 2017; Smith & Bonfiglioli, 2015). Even though they might not contain any informational value, they are targeted to shape audiences' perceptions of social reality (Smith & Bonfiglioli, 2015).

Stories

Stories as a method are created to the current and well-known news criteria and in addition to general public these are targeted to political actors (Trapp & Laursen, 2017). Stories and story ideas are usually personalised or include personal narratives from lobbyists (Smith & Bonfiglioli, 2015) or regionalised and made to look like the journalists themselves had written them (Powers, 2017).

Advertising

Advertisements and advertorials are a method directed at the members of working press, policy makers, opinion leaders and active publics. Advertisements and advertorials intend to influence newsmaking decisions and create a more favourable public opinion environment for policies (Brown & Waltzer, 2004; Tresch & Fischer, 2015).

Publicity strategy

This category includes all lobbying and advocating methods related to Public Relations or activities conducted for the purpose of media publicity. Overall 34 mentions to publicity methods were identified and four dissimilar subcategories were identified: PR and media stunts (13), press briefings and conferences (10), events (7) and spokespersons (4).

PR and media stunts

Various media and PR stunts are intended to bring issues and topics to the news agenda if they otherwise remain unnoticed. In order to get news attention, lobbyists and interest groups organise media or educational campaigns (Andrews & Caren, 2010) by using diverse media relation tactics (Ihlen et al., 2018), use celebrities and fund reporting trips (Powers, 2017) and create photo opportunities (Lück et al., 2016).

Press briefings and conferences

Press briefings and conferences are occasions where journalists, lobbyists and PR professionals meet on a regular basis (Lück et al., 2016). These events are held to raise awareness among journalists (McCluskey, 2008), to help journalists get information from a prepared point of view and gather official statements from spokespersons (Lück et al., 2016). Press and news conferences are considered to increase the newsworthiness of information (Thrall, 2006).

Events

These are considered as “confrontational” methods (Trapp & Laursen, 2017: 146), which aim to gain media attention by “arranging public meetings, organising petitions, staging demonstrations or carrying out other spectacular events” (See also Thrall, 2006). In certain occasions this can give lobbyists and interest groups almost uninterrupted publicity (Waisbord & Peruzzotti, 2009) and the greater levels of advocacy together with media effort and organised demonstrations enhance media attention (Andrews & Caren, 2010).

Spokespersons

Appointing a certain spokesperson for the issue at hand is used to put a case forward in the media, although occasionally the real interest group behind the spokesperson might be hidden (Strong and Tyler, 2017). Public speeches of spokespersons feed the news preferences, offer facts and statements for journalists and try to influence the tone of news coverage (McCluskey, 2008).

Persuasion strategy

This category includes various methods, overall 27 mentions, of how lobbyists and interest groups portray their reality to journalists or personally intend to influence the journalistic decisionmaking. Findings in this category were divided into four subcategories: slants (14), personal (6), content manipulation (4) and pitching (3).

Slants

Methods related to lobbyists’ point of views were categorised as slants. These methods include e.g. personal narratives and the importance of novelty (Smith & Bonfiglioli, 2015), powerful discourses (e.g. nationalism) (Waisbord & Peruzzotti, 2009) and personalising and regionalising stories (Powers, 2017). Also owning an issue and defining it with a favourable term (Nisbet & Huge, 2006; Ihlen et al., 2018) is found to be common practice.

Personal

These methods are targeted at the professionalism of individual journalists. By personally contacting and arguing with journalists and appealing to their professionalism lobbyists might demand better journalism practices and coverage or accuse media of “shabby journalism” (Handley, 2011).

Content manipulation

This method is related to written content, which aims to persuade the journalists to carry out stories. The content and messages provided to journalists might be simplified

to fit the media better (Rock et al., 2011; Chapman et al., 2014). Lobbyists also omit certain content or conceal the unfavourable information in order to create favourable bias (Baron, 2005).

Pitching

Persuading journalists with story ideas are considered as pitching. These activities are carried out to sell lobbyists' story ideas about issues to journalists (Powers, 2004) or persuade journalists to cover a certain topic (Rock et al., 2011). Pitching can be done e.g. in person or by phone and can be adjusted to fit the culture of media organisation, their news deadlines and journalistic needs (Rock et al., 2011).

Monitoring strategy

The activities following the interests of media or individual journalists and identifying the required actions to achieve media's attention were placed in this category. It yielded overall 9 mentions and two distinctive methods: media selection (7) and message coordination (2).

Media selection

Lobbyists and interest group differentiate media outlets for different strategic efforts (Kim & McCluskey, 2015) and individually select causes and issues matching journalists' or media's interests. (Nisbet & Huge, 2006; Powers, 2017). Resources are used to map how to maximise media coverage for exclusive news announcements and which individuals to contact (Larsson, 2009) using tailored press lists listed by issues and themes (Stenger & McCracken, 2011).

Message coordination

The early development of messages and strategies and choosing appropriate spokespeople or messengers to get acceptance for the message (Gardner et al., 2010) can be categorised as message coordination. Message coordination also deploys the identification of public opinion expressed in the media (Katkireddi & Hilton, 2015).

Discussion and conclusion

The intention of this study was to explore how the media is used as a medium in lobbying. By bringing together insights from scientific articles, we are able to see a broader picture of how journalists and media organisations are strategically involved in lobbying. Findings indicate that various lobbyist and influence groups engage with a plethora of different tactics when trying to advocate or affect the work of journalists

and media organisations. The strategies deployed in order to influence journalists and media can be categorised into five distinctive strategies: access, information, publicity, persuasion and monitoring (Figure 1).

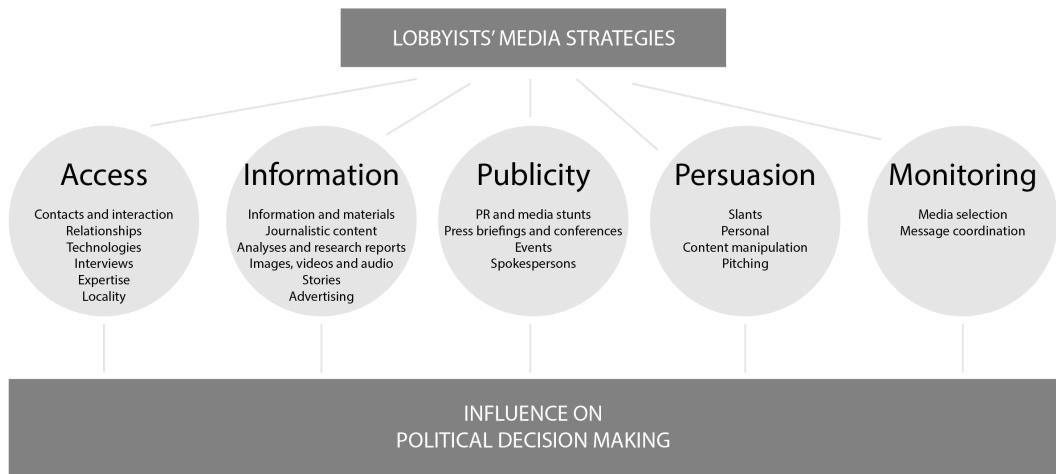


Figure 1: Lobbyist's media strategies when trying to influence political decision making.

Based on the number of various strategies and methods found and presented, this study concludes that the use of media as part of lobbying is not merely a supplement strategy for lobbyists. Using media in lobbying processes is a long-term ongoing strategy and includes lots of pre-planning. From the categorised strategies lobbyists mostly rely on influencing the media via information or use various methods to access journalists. The access strategy, especially getting into contact and building relationships with journalists is a foundation for later successful media influencing.

By lobbying and advocating journalists and media organisations, lobbyists purposefully intend to affect the public opinion through media campaigns and news attention. The findings indicate that influencing and using the media in lobbying, interest groups and lobbyists deploy methods that can be considered either material or immaterial. Both of these methods are used either individually or simultaneously with other methods. The methods categorised can be seen as either responsible or confrontational as Trapp and Laursen (2017) view media influence. The findings indicate that lobbyists and interest groups target and influence media strategically to gain access to news and achieve media attention for their cause. In addition to various strategies and methods, the lobbyists and interest groups cultivate personal relationships to journalists and/or rely on their resources of money and communication experts to disseminate information.

Findings support the observation of Kim and McCluskey (2015) and Thrall (2006) that groups, which have more communicative resources can pursue a wider range of media strategies in lobbying compared to resource-poor groups. Using a wider range of media strategies could lead to increased framing and to the unequal distribution of political power among interest groups and causes in the media as Entman (2007) suggests. But still, resource-poor groups might get more positive news attention in the media than resource-rich groups as the media tends to balance the points of view presented in the media (McCluskey, 2008). The resource-rich lobbyists might be more effective in information-based influencing while the resource-poor groups might need to rely more on confrontational methods to get news attention. From the democratic perspective this is a concerning trend as the media more and more relies on outside information in the journalistic processes. As the media is related to the prevailing structure of political and economic power (McQuail, 2010), this could lead to the fact that the media exercises the perspectives of economically strong interest groups who try to maintain their power positions in established public decision-making processes (Binderkrantz, 2012).

This overview to lobbying studies from January 2000 to June 2018 indicates that the most of academic research on lobbying concentrates on the political environment of a few countries, especially the USA or the European Union. These researches mostly use qualitative research materials like interviews and news articles. The low frequency of mentions to monitoring methods in media lobbying indicates that the monitoring side of lobbying hasn't been studied much. In the future this should be addressed to get a clearer picture of how lobbyists and interest groups prepare to influence the media. Our findings also indicate that the current lobbying research is much more focused on the use of informational strategies and the methods of interest groups.

This article reviewed how the media and journalist are used in lobbying processes. We have made important contributions to the existing body of literature. First of all, we have identified several communication strategies that lobbyists and interest groups deploy in media lobbying. This updates the current theoretical framework of the media in the lobbying processes. Second, we have categorised various lobbying methods that scientific literature has discussed during the 2000s and 2010s. By categorising the strategies and methods in media influencing, this study could further help to evaluate the impact of lobbying and advocacy to the journalism profession. For the scholars, the identification of lobbyists' communication strategies in media influence offer various alternatives to further studies.

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