A CLEARER PICTURE: JOURNALISTIC IDENTITY PRACTICES IN WORDS AND IMAGES ON TWITTER

As journalists continue integrating social media into their professional work, they wrestle with ways to best represent themselves, their organizations, and their profession. Several recent studies have examined this trend in terms of branding, raising important questions about the changing ways in which journalists present themselves and how these changes may indicate shifts in their personal and professional identities. This study combines a visual content analysis of the images journalists use in their Twitter profiles with analyses of their profile text and tweets to examine how journalists present themselves online with an eye toward individual and organizational branding. Findings indicate journalists choose a branding approach and apply it consistently across their profiles, with most profiles consisting of a professional headshot while notably lacking organizational identifiers such as logos. Journalists also tend to lean toward professional rather than personal images in their profile and header photos, indicating a possible predilection for professional identity over personal on social media.

The foundations of journalism practice have shifted, from work that once kept the public at a distance to a news environment wherein journalists often find themselves working with, not just for, their audiences. In social media spaces in particular, journalists wrestle with how to best engage with those audiences, increasingly adding opinion and personal information alongside news content (Brems, Temmerman, Graham, & Broersma, 2016; Cammaerts & Couldry, 2017). This is perhaps most readily evident on Twitter, which has become an ambient source of news sharing for journalists (Hermida, 2010; Hermida, 2014). Just as they navigate the changing expectations of engagement from their audiences on Twitter, journalists also now work to create and monitor their professional and personal image on the platform (Brems et al, 2016; Molyneux & Holton, 2015). This raises questions about the content typology of journalists' tweets, which media researchers have begun to address, and also of journalistic representations. Given that Twitter and other social media platforms afford, if not require, individuals to create both textual and visual profiles, and that such profiles are among the first items individuals see on a journalist's social media account, then examining these visuals as a representative and branding mechanism is warranted.

A relatively new thread of research has examined the attitudes and beliefs that drive the personalization and opinionation of news content by journalists on social media platforms. While journalists have been somewhat swift to change some traditional tenets of journalistic practice (e.g., including humor, opinion, and personal information in their reporting), at least one study has shown they have been somewhat reluctant to embrace other forms of branding such as linking to their own work or promoting the work of other reporters, their organization, or journalism as an institution (Molyneux & Holton, 2015). They have reported struggling with how to best balance professional and personal identities, noting that they often sacrifice the latter for the former because of organizational or professional pressures that tend to place priority on displays of work rather than individual expression (Holton & Molyneux, 2017). Yet, current research has relied heavily on verbal representations, whether through profile descriptions, the content journalists produce (e.g., tweets) or beliefs and attitudes journalists express about changes in their practices (see Brems et al., 2016; Hanusch, 2017; Holton & Molyneux, 2017; Molyneux & Holton, 2015; Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2016). As communication and business scholars have noted, social media consumers develop attitudes toward others based on initial impressions that more often than not include profile pictures and header images (Emmons & Mocarski, 2015; Hum et al., 2011; Kessler, 2011). Thus, this study seeks to enrich current understanding of self-representations on social media by examining how journalists present themselves on Twitter through images, building on research that has analyzed Twitter content as a form of branding.

Through a content analysis of profile pictures and header images of (381) Twitter accounts of journalists, this study examines the branding practices and individual (whether personal or professionally oriented), organizational, and institutional associations journalists present on one of the most popular news and information social media channels. By comparing visual presentations (i.e., profile pictures and header images) to written presentations (i.e., biography content and tweets), this study extends current research and gives a clearer picture of journalistic branding on social media. The findings laid out here provide indications of divides between personal and professional approaches at the individual level, and between individual and organizational levels of branding. The collective findings point to, among other things, a need for journalists and the organizations they work within to develop a balanced approach to individual journalistic branding on social media platforms.

Literature Review

In order to analyze how journalists brand themselves online, it is important to first understand how the visual presentation of self applies to branding practices. We first return to early studies of the presentation of self and follow it through the digital age to examine affordances offered by online presence. From there, we turn to branding itself as a practice and how it connects to self-representations. Finally, we look at how this plays out in the field of journalism, and explore what we know about the journalists' efforts to mix promotion and distribution of news into their social media presence.

Presentation of self online

The presentation of self, as described by Goffman (1978), involves multiple complex levels of constructing one's identity. The level seen by the public, and said to be what has influence on observers, is considered the front. This front is where a person presents a slew of evidence to build a particular impression in the audience's mind. One can create this with action or by passive signs, such as clothing or hairstyle or other "small cues" that build toward a greater overall impression (Ellison, Heino & Gibbs, 2006). At times, this front can become institutionalized, creating certain signs that are recognized as a universal collective representation (such as a stethoscope to represent the medical field, a type of jacket to represent a particular subculture or a reporter's notebook and press pass to represent the institution of journalism). Thus, the way one curates his/her front-stage presentation can send a message not only about oneself but about the institution he/she belongs to (Goffman, 1978).

A second key aspect of self-presentation is that it requires an audience. Erikson (1968) suggested that identity is created socially, that is, in collaboration between the individual and those he or she interacts with. This idea makes relevant this study's focus on social media, where multiple audiences are collapsed into a single space (Marwick & boyd, 2010). Each social media platform offers its own properties and affordances, and so the more groups or contexts the user interacts with on social media, the more fronts that person must curate and present. Some resort to imagining a singular audience to make this task simpler (Marwick & boyd, 2010). Thus a person's social media profile can be read as an attempt to combine multiple fronts representing the many parts of that individual's personality into a single, often highly visual, presentation of self.

The visual portion of this study focuses on the profile photo, a smaller image the user selects to represent themselves on social media, with a secondary focus on header images (a wide but short banner-style area at the top of a user's Twitter profile page). A profile photo appears alongside the user's name in every post, making it generally more ubiquitous and lasting since it is seen more frequently. It can be seen as one of the primary methods of visual presentation of self for an individual online (Strano, 2008, p. 2). Indeed, eye-tracking studies show visitors to a social media profile page look first and foremost at the user's profile photo (Kessler, 2011).

In selecting a profile photo, a user has many opportunities to use signs and symbols to construct meaning around one's presence. This has been studied for social media and Internet users as a whole, such as how those who created personal web pages (which can be seen as a precursor to the curated personal pages on social media sites) did so with intent of projecting a specific likeness to the public (Schau, H. J., & Gilly, 2003).

Indeed, we know the profile photo is a key visual reference point toward examining the visual side of one's self-presentation online. One study looking at general presentation of college student profile images described the importance of profile photos in how one constructed an identity, particularly as the students began entering the job market (Hum et al., 2011). One of the first studies to look at older Facebook users found this theme to continue— presentation of self through one's profile photo lasts past the college years (Strano, 2008).

The visual presentation of self online through a profile picture can also be used to construct a more professional presence, and here we turn to branding practices. A study of professional athletes examined how men and women depicted themselves and found high amounts of branding in visual presentation through the use of uniforms (Emmons & Mocarski, 2015). Additionally, Emmons & Mocarski (2015) found women were more likely to pose in their profile photo while men were more likely to use photos depicting themselves in action. As such, the clothing and actions portrayed in an image can project professional or casual personas to the viewer (Hanusch, 2017). At the broader level of overall professional presentation, a study of profile images on the social job networking site LinkedIn found recruiters reportedly saw more credibility in potential candidates when profile images included eye contact and smiles (van der Land, Willemsen, & Wilton, 2016).

Header images are less studied (e.g. Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2016; Hanusch, 2017) but also carry visual meaning. However, there are a few notable differences from the profile photo, especially on Twitter. The differences are, first, less visibility because the header image is viewed only when visiting that person's profile page, whereas the profile picture is visible with every post; and second, a broader canvas on which to express oneself. The header image is wide and short, spanning the top of a profile page and so could include a wider range of images than the smaller, square profile photo. This gives the user greater creative agency in what may be included, such as landscapes or groups of people, and allows him/her to potentially paint a broader presentation of self to observers visiting the particular profile page.

Thus one's identity is formed, in part, by the act of presenting it to others; social media afford both a vehicle for this presentation and an audience for whom to present it; and some portion of these practices may be professionally or commercially focused. This portion is known as branding, or creating and promoting a preferred image for commercial purposes. We know that users of social media carefully choose their profile pictures to portray a certain message and branding, and this has been explored as part of general professional branding, but little is known about how journalists themselves use such images as part of their branding practices.

How journalists brand themselves online

Journalists constitute an interesting case of self-presentation on social media. Like other professionals, journalists may use social media for personal and/or professional purposes, but the growing expectation for journalists is that they do both. Scholars have noted a change in general news audience expectations such that journalists should not only interact with the audiences (Belair-Gagnon, 2015; Lewis, 2012) but also let audiences see inside the newsmaking process (Hedman, 2016; Lee, 2015; Olausson, 2016; Revers, 2014). These pressures are intertwined with the current crises of credibility and economic uncertainty in the news industry (as well documented by the Pew Research Center's State of the News Media reports, available at http://www.pewresearch.org/topics/state-of-the-news-media/), spurring journalists' co-workers and supervisors to take a keen interest in how journalists represent themselves and the news

organization they work for online (Holton and Molyneux, 2015). This means that, while many social media posts are professional or personal in nature, many are infused with commercial appeals known as branding (Molyneux, Holton & Lewis, 2017).

Branding can be defined as communication intended to promote and differentiate a person or product for commercial purposes (Coomber, 2002). For journalists employed by news organizations, who are heavily numbered on Twitter, branding can be a complicated activity but is nonetheless seen as important (Rasi, 2015). They produce media content under their own names while at the same time representing a larger news organization with its own brand and constituting part of a larger workforce often collectively referred to as "the media." Thus, journalists may seek to raise the profile of their own work, the work of their organization or co-workers, or of journalism as a whole. This means journalistic branding can occur at individual, organizational and institutional levels. Prior research focuses mainly on written branding, but some studies include visual content as well: Ottovordemgentschenfelde (2016) explored the practices of 20 political journalists, finding a mixture of individual, professional and organizational levels of branding in Twitter profile pages. Visuals reinforced all levels, from a personal level with a family photo to the institutional visualization of journalism with a header image of a typewriter or notepad.

However, more than just the visuals should be considered since the audience does not solely consume a profile photo or header image without also seeing surrounding context. This study takes up the call for a multimodal approach versus focusing solely on words or images separately (e.g. Graber 1996; Müller, 2017) by including what journalists write in their accounts and what visuals they present.

Written branding may be carried out in several areas to build a comprehensive and potentially consistent messaging approach. This comes on the heels of recent studies of journalists' attitudes toward branding (Molyneux & Holton, 2015) as well as analyses of branding within the content they produce (Molyneux, Holton & Lewis, 2017). A study of journalists and editors from US newspapers revealed that journalists often juggle pressures from their supervisors and colleagues with the expectations of their audiences, attempting to conform to professional norms to appease the former while adding in a personal flair to assuage the latter (Holton & Molyneux, 2017). The study also suggested journalists are beginning to tamp down inclusions of personal information on social media at the request of their superiors, choosing instead to focus on professional content that brands them more as an organizational journalist than one with an individual and distinct identity. A related study (Molyneux, Holton & Lewis, 2017) gathered profile data and tweets from nearly 400 journalists, finding the majority of journalists mention their employer in their Twitter profiles (80%), often alongside personal information. However, this blend of professional and personal was not as evident within the tweets themselves. Journalists were far more likely to promote the work of their organization, their colleagues, their own work, or their competitors than they were to tweet personal information, suggesting that the content of tweets is a more powerful vehicle for acts of professionally-focused branding at the individual and organizational level than it is for sharing personal forms of branding.

Indeed, journalists are faced with a bevy of visual and written branding choices on social media and increasingly note that the publicness of their content and engagement with social media users is a distinctly new stressor (Brems et al., 2016). While they search for ways to balance the personal with the professional within single accounts and/or user names, they concurrently grapple with what content to share with whom, how much opinion and

personalization to work in alongside news information, and how to parse out fact from fiction, among other concerns (Brems et al., 2016). They manage all of this while also meticulously selecting how to describe and present themselves through profile content (Hanusch, 2017; Hanusch & Bruns, 2017).

Given the findings of previous studies and the lack of a words and images approach to studying journalists as a whole, we therefore ask:

RQ1: How do journalists visually present themselves on Twitter?
RQ2: How do journalists' visual presentations compare with their written presentation?
RQ3: How do journalists' visual presentations compare with their tweets?

Method

This study builds on the authors' previous work (Molyneux, Holton & Lewis, 2017), which conducted a content analysis of journalists' profile text and their five most recent tweets, by coding the same sample of journalists' profiles for visual elements. For the previous study, a sample of 384 journalists was drawn using a database maintained by the media listings service Cision, which has kept lists of media contacts in the U.S. for more than 75 years. The database was searched for all those working at news organizations (including television stations and shows, radio stations and shows, newspapers and their bureaus, wire services, and news websites). This list was then refined to focus on journalists whose job descriptions contained any of the words "writer," "reporter," "columnist," "contributor," "correspondent," "anchor," or "journalist." Editors, producers, hosts, and so on were excluded on the assumption that that these types of journalists do not typically have bylines and work behind the scenes, therefore being less likely to have a public-facing social media presence. The goal was to obtain a sample that is representative of all media workers who take an active role in producing bylined content, thus the emphasis on keywords and the broad spread of media organizations.

This search yielded 25,599 individuals working for the following categories of media: newspapers, 58%; television stations or shows, 19%; news websites, 18%; radio stations or shows, 5%. Of these, 18,649 had Twitter accounts listed. This list was stratified according to the percentages in each media category in order to draw a random sample of 400 journalists (232 from newspapers, 75 from television, 73 from websites, and 20 from radio stations). After excluding those whose profiles were locked, had never sent any tweets, or weren't in English, there were 384 journalists left. A custom software program gathered the text of these journalists' profile bios along with their five most recent tweets in March 2016. The system collected 1,903 tweets.

This study expanded on the previous one by capturing the profile image and header image for each of these journalists. Twitter is accessible in many formats on mobile phones and computers and while the different formats have unique design and access elements, profile images and header images remain the same across all methods of access. To obtain the best resolution of images possible, the web browser-based version was selected. To capture the images, a web screenshot utility (Weaver, 2006) was used in September 2016 to batch download screenshots in PDF format of the profile page for each user. Each screenshot contains a full overview of the user's profile page, which includes profile photo and header image (if the user had chosen to upload a custom image), the user's custom profile wording and recent tweets. The screenshots provide high-quality versions of profile and header images as they appear when

visiting the journalist's Twitter profile online. In the months between March and September, some journalists' accounts had switched names or been shut down, meaning there were 381 cases for which textual and visual content analysis data was available. To code the collected images, a codebook for visual profile and header image analysis was developed using the referenced literature.

Visual branding in profile pictures

The use of visual branding was explored through not only the use of logos in the image, but also in the appearance of the subject. Initial codes included whether or not the journalist replaced the default Twitter profile image (an egg) and whether or not they used a photograph or another image such as a comic, drawing or sketch. Several accounts in a pilot study showed logos used as overlays, and so the codebook was designed to reflect the possibility of a logo AND a photo, as well as just a logo or just a photo. If a logo was used, it was further indicated what it represented and how it was presented. If a person was present in the photo, they were coded for eye contact, smile and cropping of the photo (van der Land et al., 2016). Specifically, for cropping, the image was coded for elements indicating it was a self-portrait, or "selfie," such as an arm reaching out, distorted face due to proximity of the camera lens and eye contact slightly shifted to indicate the subject was looking at themselves on the camera/phone screen versus directly into the lens. Additionally, any visible clothing was coded as professional or casual dress and if the subject was depicted passively or in "work action" based on previous studies (Hanusch, 2017; Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2016).

Visual branding in header images

Coders noted the presence or absence of a header image and then, if present, what the general focus of the image was. Through pre-testing and iterative definition of categories, a series of header image foci were developed: the individual in a personal context, the individual in a professional context, the news organization the person works for (such as a television anchor sitting at the news desk with other reporters or simply a giant logo of the news organization), journalism in general (an inspirational quote about journalism or images of journalism-related tools such as a typewriter or camera), related to beat (a sports reporter may include a photo of a stadium, or a capitol building for statehouse reporter) or something else (landscape, unidentifiable designs or graphic elements, etc.). Unlike prior studies, the use of humor and/or irreverence was not notable enough to warrant a focus (Hanusch, 2017).

To determine intercoder reliability, the three authors coded a selection of profiles representing 10% of the final sample. Krippendorf's alpha for all variables was calculated using ReCal (Freelon, 2010, 2013) and ranged from .72 to 1, all acceptable levels for categorical data (Landis & Koch, 1977).

Previously coded variables

Variables relating to the profile text and recent tweets were coded as part of a previous study. For these variables, two coders established intercoder reliability in a similar fashion, coding 10% of the sample and calculating reliability using ReCal. Krippendorf's alpha ranged from .84 to 1. The profiles were coded for whether they included a reference to the journalist's

employer, a reference to another journalist, a reference to another news organization, a disclaimer (such as "retweets are not endorsements"), a mention of the journalist's beat or coverage area, and any personal information (information about the journalist himself or herself that does not deal with work). Coders also noted whether the journalist's Twitter handle included a reference to the journalist's employer (such as @EliseLabottCNN). The tweets were coded individually for whether they included any elements of branding at the individual, organizational, or institutional levels. Specifically, these were defined as a reference to the journalist himself or his own work (individual branding), a reference to the journalist's employer or a co-worker (organizational branding), or a reference to another news organization, a journalist working at another news organization, or journalism in general (institutional branding).

Data analysis

Coding of the visual elements of the profiles was combined with coding of the textual elements of the profiles so that the cases of individual journalists contained data from both rounds of coding. Descriptive frequencies, cross tabulations and correlations were computed using SPSS.

Findings

This study examines the self-presentation choices journalists make in multiple aspects of their Twitter profile page that they have control over, taking these elements in turn and then looking at the overall presentation. This section deals first with findings related to visual representations in profile images and header images, examining them as discrete representations of the journalist before examining how these work in concert and with the bio text and tweet text to form the whole picture of the journalist that one sees when visiting their Twitter profile page. Of the profiles studied, 98% included a profile image, 97% included bio text, 91% had tweeted within the last six months, and 66% included a header image.

Profile images

In most cases, the profile image was of a person (83%). The person pictured was usually making eye contact with the camera (86%) and smiling (72%). About two-thirds of profile images of people were headshots (65%), showing nothing below the shoulders, while the rest pictured more of the body. The people in the profile images were generally professionally dressed (67%). About 15% of profile images appeared to be selfies (Table 1). Images featuring journalists dressed professionally were less likely to be selfies ($\chi^2(1) = 9.17$, p < .01), and these journalists were less likely to be smiling ($\chi^2(1) = 4.01$, p < .05). Only 9% of profile images included another person; occasionally this was a recognizable public figure (3 cases) but usually it was impossible to determine who other individuals pictured were. Thus, the prototypical journalistic profile image is a professional headshot, making eye contact. This suggests that, in general, journalists' profile pictures are more professionally oriented than personally oriented (including casual dress, selfies, making a face or including friends). The profile image is understood as a representation of the individual using the account, which could theoretically include any aspects of that individual and their life. But in the case of journalists, that representation is generally a professionally oriented one.

This supports previous studies' findings that journalists are either asked or feel compelled to set aside the personal when using social media for work purposes (Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2016; Holton & Molyneux, 2017). Journalists have said this is because they feel pressure to represent the organization at all times and also because they seek authority and credibility through their representations on social media (Molyneux & Holton, 2015). The finding that those dressed professionally were less likely to smile contradicts previous research on the establishment of credibility in profile photos through eye contact and smile (van der Land et al., 2016). However, the best journalism is often described as "hard-hitting" or "serious," and it's possible that smiling would not be in line with this frame.

A small number of profile images (13%) showed a person in "work action," or performing a journalistic task (interviewing, photographing, holding a microphone in front of a camera, etc.). This is a more explicit performance of professional journalism (as compared to dressing professionally, which indicates a job status rather than a particular job), but was used relatively infrequently as a profile image. A logical explanation is that the image is simply too small to show work action clearly. But if we understand the profile image as a branding tool, it's worth noting that most journalists place the focus on themselves as individuals rather than on work action or on their news organization.

In fact, very few journalists (about 13%) included a logo of some type in their profile image, usually referring to the news organization a person worked for (78% of logos). There were 15 cases (4%) in which a logo was overlaid on an image of a person such that both were visible. Overall, only 11% of profile images identified the organization the journalists worked for, almost always by including a logo. If the news organization is identified in the profile image, the person pictured was more likely to be dressed professionally ($\chi^2(1) = 4.08$, p < .05). Together, these findings reinforce the individual nature of the profile picture, which journalists use as a place to focus on themselves as serious, sharply-dressed individuals.

There is evidence that Twitter power users are more likely to include a logo in their profile picture. Bivariate correlations showed that journalists who included a logo in their profile image had been on Twitter longer (r = .131, p < .05), tweeted more often (r = .206, p < .001) and followed more people (r = .151, p < .01). Previous research indicates that in some cases, news organizations have recognized their employees' popularity on Twitter and asked them to identify as part of the news organization.

Interestingly, there is some evidence of differences in approach among journalists working at traditional media outlets and those at online news outlets. Journalists working at newspapers and television stations were more likely to be pictured in casual clothing, and those working at online publications were more likely to be pictured in professional clothing ($\chi^2(3) = 25.707$, p < .001). The addition of online news sources where "anyone can be a publisher" has made it far more difficult for one to establish credibility and authority (Hayes, Singer, & Ceppos, 2007), and so perhaps this subtle difference in clothing choice is the online journalists' way of working to build credibility in their audiences. Future research might look at whether audiences pick up on these subtle differences, and whether professional dress, individuality, or logos have an impact on perceived authority and credibility.

Header images

Overall, header images were much less consistent across the sample than profile images, with journalists employing a wide variety of content in the header. Among the 66% of Twitter

pages that included a header image, the most common type of header image was a landscape (28% of those with header images; 19% of all profiles had a landscape header). At a basic level, these results may simply reflect the constraints of the platform. The Twitter header image dimensions are 1500x500 pixels, a very short and wide 3:1 ratio, and even then certain portions are covered or obscured based on how the profile page is viewed ("Customizing your profile," n.d.; Gimmer, 2017). Under these restrictions, perhaps it's easier to choose an image that is very horizontal and doesn't have people who might be covered up, such as a landscape.

But another common header image type made reference to the beat the person covers (15%; for instance, the White House for someone who covers the president). Also, journalists who mention their beat in their written bio are more likely to choose a header image depicting their beat ($\chi2(7) = 23.32$, $p < .001$). It was difficult for coders to recognize each landscape or cityscape, but the finding that beat and header are connected suggests that those covering a specific geographical area might use a header image that references that place. This connection between beat and header image is an element of individual branding. When a journalist promotes their expertise in a specific beat, such as sports or food or politics, it positions him/herself as an individual expert in that area. This is a different type of appeal to establish authority and credibility than connecting oneself to a news organization, thereby borrowing authority from the organizational brand. While the journalist's work may support the organization (and indeed, they may use both of these types of appeals), referencing a beat seeks to establish the individual's proficiency in that area. This is consistent with previous studies of certain types of journalists, such as political reporters (Hanusch, 2017; Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2016).

Header images also featured the news organization the journalist works for (13%) and the individual journalist in a professional context (13%; e.g. at the anchor desk, holding a camera). In 12 cases (5%), the journalist himself or herself was pictured in a personal context, such as with family or on vacation, and in 4 cases (2%), the header image promoted a book the journalist had written. These findings echo how journalists used profile images, with professional representations outweighing personal representations, even when the individual is depicted.

In general, though, these findings indicate a lack of a consistent approach to header images, if one is even present at all. The header image is generally only seen when a viewer is looking at the user's profile page, as opposed to a profile photo, which also appears next to every tweet and interaction in the Twitter timeline. This positions the header image as something more closely tied to the individual's profile page as a destination distinct from their tweets. Thus if the profile photo is a primary form of expression (where one may see the profile picture over the course of general usage of Twitter), the header image is a secondary form of expression (visible only when visiting the individual's page). This could be why there is such a broad range of subjects seen in the header image versus the very consistent headshot seen in profile images. Finally, one difference based on media type is worth noting: Journalists working at newspapers were less likely to have a header image than those working for other kinds of media ($\chi2(3) = 8.469$, $p < .05$).

Profile consistency

A key question of this study is how branding techniques are employed across a person's Twitter profile, beyond their approaches to individual elements of the profile (photo, header, handle, bio and tweets). In general, journalists were consistent across their profiles in leaning toward personal or professional styles. Journalists whose profile image included a logo were

more likely to reference their employer in their twitter handle ($\chi2(1) = 22.97$, p < .001) and less likely to write personal information in their bio ($\chi2(1) = 25.464$, p < .001). Journalists who reference their employer in the Twitter handle were more likely to be professionally dressed ($\chi2(1) = 7.57$, p < .01). Journalists who had a logo in their profile image were significantly more likely to have a header image that focuses on the news organization they work ($\chi2(7) = 26.34$, p < .001).

On the other hand, Journalists who used selfies as their profile images were more likely to include personal info in their bio ($\chi2(1) = 4.58$, p < .05). Journalists who included personal information in their bios were more likely to choose header images in the personal or "other" categories and less likely to choose one depicting their news organization ($\chi2(7) = 14.44$, p < .05). Journalists who had a logo in their profile image were significantly less likely to have a header image in the "other" category (landscape, animal, etc.) ($\chi2(7) = 26.34$, p < .001).

Thus it's clear that, when considering approaches to self-representations on Twitter, the personal does not often mix with the professional and organizational. Those who focused on personal information tended to do so both in visuals and in text, and those who focused on organizational branding also tended to do so both in visuals and in text. For journalists, this represents a united front, whether at the individual or organizational level. Whereas previous research has identified tensions between these branding levels, where they are sometimes competing (Brems, et. Al, 2017; Hanusch, 2017; Holton & Molyneux, 2017; Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2016), the results of this study suggest that many individual journalists choose a singular approach and remain internally consistent. A casually written profile will likely include a casually inclined profile photo (such as a selfie). A professionally written profile will likely include a professionally-crafted headshot. Further, where organizational influence in textual representations is stronger (such as by identifying the news organization in the written profile or in the handle), the profile photo tends to exhibit more professional qualities or represent the organization with a logo.

This internal consistency seems to end with the static elements of the profile itself and does not extend to the journalists' tweets, except in cases of organizational branding. As mentioned earlier, tweets were coded for the presence of branding elements at the individual, organizational and institutional levels. Of all the possible relationships explored, only a few connections were found among journalists who send tweets containing elements of organizational branding (mentioning the news organization they work for or their co-workers there). Journalists who sent tweets containing organizational branding were more likely to have a header image ($\chi2(1) = 5.41$, p < .05), and this image was less likely to be in the personal or "other" categories and more likely to depict their beat or their news organization ($\chi2(6) = 22.32$, p < .001). Again, this is evidence of pressure applied by the news organization to participate in collective promotional efforts. The literature suggests these are only occasionally codified in newsroom policies and are inconsistently applied across the industry (Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014; Opgenhaffen & d'Haenens, 2015; Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2016).

Conclusion

The findings presented here provide a more holistic picture of how journalists brand themselves on Twitter, a key platform in journalism practice. While previous studies focused largely on the content journalists tweeted or the ways in which they branded themselves through words, hashtags, and links in their bios, this study included the visual selections journalists make in their

bios and headers. These are, after all, what people see coupled with tweets or when they visit a journalists' landing page on Twitter.

The overall findings of this study suggest that rather than blending professional and personal branding on Twitter, journalists live in dichotomies that heavily favor the organizations they work for. In other words, while some journalists may use visual cues to cast a more personal representation of themselves, the majority place priority on the professional. Strikingly, those journalists working for online-only of online-first news organizations place less emphasis on the personal and more on the professional (e.g., more headshots and fewer selfies, more business attire and less casual photos). As previously noted, this suggests a sort of normalization of news practices in online spaces wherein, despite the participatory, transparent, and engaged affordances of social media, journalists remain driven to put their professional self forward. This hints at the organizational, and possibly institutional, influence that many journalists continue to work under. Even in the face of audiences who want more inclusions of personal information and connections via transparency, humor, and opinion (Brems et al., 2016; Cammaerts & Couldry, 2017), journalists may still be guided more by the norms, expectations, and regulations of their employers and their profession.

This study focused on a sample of journalists' presentations on Twitter, thus limiting the generalizability of findings to other journalists or social media platforms. However, just as the findings revealed much about the ways these journalists brand themselves professionally and personally, so too do they suggest the need for more research. If journalists (and perhaps the news organizations they work for) are to more fully harness the potential of branding without alienating audiences, then a deeper understanding is necessary about why journalists incorporate branding, what forces drive them to choose particular types of branding, and how news organizations guide branding over time and across social media platforms. Further, the ways in which audiences consume and respond to such branding could help to develop more successful and unified forms of branding that account for the professional and personal in less dichotomous ways than the findings here suggest.

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Table 1. Descriptive measures of journalists' visual representations in Twitter profiles.

	N	Percentage in full sample (N = 381)	Percent within "Person present" (N = 316)
Photo present	374	98.2	N/A
Person present	316	82.9	100
Eye contact	272	71.4	86.1
Smiling	226	59.3	72.2
Professional dress	213	55.9	67.4
Headshot	204	53.5	64.6
Logo present	49	13.0	15.5
Selfie	46	12.1	14.6
Work action	40	10.5	12.7
Others present	29	7.6	9.2