

MEDIA COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON AUDIENCE ENGAGEMENT

Dr. Radhika Karnati (Dr. Kiran Karnati)

Research Scholar, Department of Mass Media & Communication, Washington Digital University, USA

Registration No.: WDU2025266666

Abstract

Media communication strategies refer to the systematic methods through which content creators and media organizations structure, frame, and disseminate information to provoke meaningful interaction with their target audiences. In the current digital age, characterized by platform convergence, algorithmic curation, and multi-screen consumption, the relationship between communication strategy and audience engagement has become a central scholarly concern. This paper investigates how specific media communication strategies including visual framing, narrative storytelling, platform-specific content optimization, and interactive communication influence audience engagement across digital media platforms. The dual objectives are to identify dominant strategies employed by media actors and to assess their measurable impact on engagement metrics. A systematic secondary research design drawing on verified peer-reviewed literature and empirical industry benchmarks (2020–2025) is employed. It is hypothesized that platform-tailored, audience-centric communication strategies significantly outperform generic approaches in producing higher engagement. Results from five data tables confirm that LinkedIn carousel content, TikTok short-form video, and emotionally resonant storytelling consistently generate superior engagement. The discussion highlights framing, gratifications alignment, and credibility as the critical mediators. The paper concludes that adaptive, data-informed communication strategies are indispensable for sustained audience engagement in the evolving digital media ecosystem.

Keywords: *Media communication strategies¹, audience engagement², framing theory³, digital media platforms⁴, uses and gratifications⁵.*

1. Introduction

In the contemporary media landscape, audience engagement has emerged as one of the most consequential metrics for evaluating the success of media communication strategies. The rapid proliferation of social media platforms, streaming services, and algorithm-driven content ecosystems has fundamentally redefined the relationship between content producers and their audiences. Media organizations operating in this environment must contend with shortened attention spans, fragmented media diets, and an increasingly active audience that demands personalized, relevant, and stimulating content (Kim, 2024). The transition from passive consumption to interactive engagement represents one of the most transformative shifts in modern communication, compelling both scholars and practitioners to revisit established theoretical frameworks and adapt them to digital realities. Audience engagement is broadly conceptualized as the measurable interaction between media content and its consumers, encompassing behavioral indicators such as likes, comments, shares, and

subscriptions, alongside affective and cognitive responses to media messages (Katz et al., 1973). This definition is rooted in the Uses and Gratifications Theory, which positions audience members as purposive agents who selectively consume media content based on anticipated satisfaction of specific social, informational, or entertainment needs (Ruggiero, 2000). In digital media contexts, this active agency is further conditioned by algorithmic personalization, where platform architectures determine content visibility and, consequently, potential for engagement. The agenda-setting capacity of media—the ability to direct public attention toward particular issues by emphasizing specific dimensions of reality—has been theorized since McCombs and Shaw (1972) and remains central to understanding how strategic communication choices shape audience behavior. Specifically, the decisions media actors make about what to present, how to frame it, and which platform to utilize exert a cascading influence on audience cognition, affect, and interaction (Muntinga et al., 2011).

The scale of the contemporary digital media environment underscores the stakes of these strategic choices. Global social media users grew by 320 million between January 2023 and January 2024, with individual users averaging activity across approximately 6.7 different platforms per month (Socialinsider, 2025). Total social media advertising expenditure reached a projected USD 219.8 billion in 2024, reflecting the immense economic value that organizations attach to capturing and sustaining audience attention. The Indian digital media landscape is emblematic of this growth: with over 755 million social media users, India represents one of the world's largest and most linguistically diverse digital audience bases, and its media organizations face specific challenges in deploying communication strategies that resonate across demographic and cultural segments (Shehata et al., 2021). This multi-platform, multi-audience reality necessitates that media communicators move beyond generic content approaches toward context-sensitive, audience-informed strategies. This paper responds to this imperative by systematically examining the influence of media communication strategies on audience engagement. Drawing on verified empirical data from peer-reviewed scholarship and industry benchmarks spanning 2020 to 2025, it aims to identify the strategies that most consistently drive audience interaction, and to theorize the mechanisms through which they operate. The findings hold implications for media scholars working within framing and gratifications traditions, and for media practitioners seeking evidence-based guidance for content strategy in digitally competitive environments.

2. Literature Review

The scholarly examination of media communication strategies and their influence on audience behavior has a rich theoretical heritage, anchored in framing theory, uses and gratifications, and more recently, platform-specific communication research. Entman (1993) provided the foundational articulation of framing as a communicative practice, defining frames as the selective emphasis of certain aspects of perceived reality to promote particular definitions, interpretations, and evaluations. His framework identified four framing functions: problem definition, causal attribution, moral evaluation, and remedy suggestion, all of which have since been empirically linked to differential audience responses across a range of media contexts. Building on this, Chong and Druckman (2007) demonstrated that framing effects operate by increasing the accessibility and applicability of specific considerations in audience judgment, thereby directly influencing behavioral engagement. Visual communication strategies have received particular empirical attention in recent scholarship. Geise and Xu (2024) conducted a comprehensive systematic review of 1979–2023 visual framing studies and established that emotionally resonant visual frames elicit greater sensory attention, longer viewing duration, and stronger subsequent engagement with media content compared to neutral or informational visuals. Critically, they found that the magnitude of visual framing effects is regionally contingent, meaning that culturally aligned visuals produce more robust audience identification and interaction. This culturally calibrated engagement has been independently confirmed by Comfort and Gruszczynski (2024), whose experimental findings showed that source framing shaped policy support and audience responses in environmentally-themed news. Midberry et al. (2024) extended this evidence by demonstrating that specific visual frame combinations particularly those

integrating solutions-focused narratives with human-interest imagery produced elevated engagement and sharing behavior in digital news contexts.

Platform-adaptive communication strategies have emerged as a critical dimension of the literature. Valenzuela et al. (2023), in a centennial retrospective of political communication research, noted that content strategies aligned with the specific affordances of social media platforms including brevity, visual salience, and interactivity generate significantly higher audience engagement than content originating in traditional broadcast formats. Tryggvason and Shehata (2024) provided direct evidence for this claim, demonstrating that news framing strategies for the COP26 climate summit on digital platforms not only influenced climate beliefs but also drove measurable differences in sharing and commenting behavior. Choi et al. (2023) further refined this understanding by showing that gain-framed environmental risk messages consistently outperformed loss-framed equivalents in eliciting audience responsiveness. From a motivational standpoint, Hoque and Hossain (2023) applied the Uses and Gratifications Theory to Generation Z social media behavior, revealing that social interaction, information seeking, and entertainment were the dominant gratifications driving both engagement and platform loyalty. Febrian and Husna (2023) confirmed that content specifically designed to satisfy uses and gratifications dimensions generated statistically significant increases in engagement metrics, providing applied validity to the theoretical framework. D'Angelo et al. (2019) situated these behavioral dynamics within a broader framing research agenda, advocating for integrated approaches that combine cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of audience response.

The credibility and trust dimensions of media communication have also received sustained empirical attention. Schwarz and Diers-Lawson (2024) analyzed organizational crisis communication across six countries and found that transparent, proactive communication strategies yielded markedly higher audience trust and engagement than reactive messaging. Strömbäck et al. (2020) proposed a trust-mediated framework in which perceived media credibility functions as a key moderator between communication strategy and sustained audience engagement. Shehata et al. (2021) extended this longitudinal perspective, demonstrating that consistent communicative framing over time cumulatively shapes societal beliefs, with implications for long-term audience loyalty and engagement patterns. Collectively, the literature establishes that effective media communication strategies must integrate visual sophistication, platform awareness, motivational alignment, and credibility management to achieve optimal audience engagement.

3. Objectives

- 1 To identify and examine the dominant media communication strategies including visual framing, narrative storytelling, platform-specific content adaptation, and interactive communication employed by digital media actors to influence audience engagement.
- 2 To evaluate the differential impact of these communication strategies on measurable audience engagement metrics (engagement rates, content interaction patterns, and trust levels) across major digital media platforms during 2023–2025.

4. Methodology

This study adopts a systematic secondary research design, drawing on verified empirical data from peer-reviewed academic articles, indexed in Google Scholar, Scopus, and Web of Science, alongside rigorously curated industry benchmark reports published between 2020 and 2025. The research design is descriptive-analytical in nature, appropriate for synthesizing and interpreting existing evidence without primary data collection. Secondary systematic review with descriptive statistical analysis of documented engagement

benchmarks. The academic sample comprised peer-reviewed articles published in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *Digital Journalism*, *Corporate Communications*, *Annals of the International Communication Association*, *Science Communication*, and related peer-reviewed journals. Industry data were drawn from verified annual benchmark reports by Buffer (2025), Socialinsider (2025), and Emplifi (2025), each based on the analysis of tens of millions of social media posts across major platforms. A structured thematic data extraction framework was employed to synthesize quantitative engagement data and qualitative framing findings from selected sources. Inclusion criteria required empirical grounding, year of publication between 2000–2025 (with emphasis on 2020–2025), and clear operationalization of audience engagement variables.

Descriptive statistics including median engagement rates, percentage distributions, and year-on-year trend comparisons were used to organize and present findings across five data tables. Thematic synthesis was applied to reconcile industry benchmark data with theoretical propositions from the academic literature. As this is a secondary review study, no primary human subjects were involved. All data sources are publicly accessible and duly cited.

5. Results

Table 1: Median Social Media Engagement Rates by Platform (January 2024 – January 2025)

Platform	Engagement Rate (Jan 2024)	Engagement Rate (Jan 2025)	YoY Change
LinkedIn	6.00%	8.01%	+33.5%
TikTok	5.14%	4.56%	-11.3%
Threads	4.76%	3.60%	-24.4%
Instagram	2.94%	0.61%	-79.3%
Facebook	0.15%	0.15%	Stable
X (Twitter)	0.15%	0.12%	-20.0%

Source: Buffer (2025). Average engagement rate data. <https://buffer.com/resources/average-engagement-rate/>

As shown in Table 1, LinkedIn demonstrated the most significant growth in audience engagement between January 2024 and January 2025, rising from 6.00% to 8.01%. This trajectory reflects LinkedIn's reduced content saturation where only approximately 1% of users post regularly meaning that well-crafted communication strategies face less algorithmic competition. Instagram recorded a steep decline from 2.94% to 0.61%, largely attributable to shifting user behavior toward passive consumption through Reels and Stories. TikTok remains a strong engagement platform despite modest decline, while X and Facebook maintained the lowest engagement rates across the period (Kim, 2024; Strömbäck et al., 2020).

Table 2: LinkedIn Content Format and Median Engagement Rates (2024–2025)

Content Format	Median Engagement Rate	Category Rank
Carousel (PDF/Document Posts)	21.77%	1st
Video	7.35%	2nd
Image	6.52%	3rd
Link Posts	3.81%	4th
Text Posts	3.18%	5th

Source: Buffer (2025). *State of Social Media Engagement 2026*. <https://buffer.com/resources/state-of-social-media-engagement-2026/>

Table 2 illustrates that carousel or document-based posts on LinkedIn far outperform all other formats, achieving a median engagement rate of 21.77%. This finding is significant because carousels represent a multi-screen, story-driven communication format that demands sustained audience attention through sequential revelation of information a format structurally aligned with narrative communication strategies. Video and image content also outperform link and text posts, reinforcing the primacy of visual communication strategies in driving platform engagement (Geise & Xu, 2024; Midberry et al., 2024).

Table 3: Instagram Content Format Distribution and Engagement Trends (2024)

Content Format	Share of Brand Posts (2024)	Ad Spend Median (Q4 2024)	Engagement Outcome
Reels	38%	USD 317/account	Highest reach engagement
Images	37%	USD 143/account	Moderate engagement
Carousels	17%	USD 98/account	High saves; niche engagement
Other (Stories, etc.)	8%	USD 65/account	Story mentions in 93% of profiles

Source: Emplifi (2025). *Social media benchmarks*. <https://emplifi.io/resources/blog/social-media-benchmarks/>

Table 3 demonstrates that Instagram Reels dominated brand content strategy in 2024, accounting for 38% of all brand posts and receiving the highest median ad expenditure on the platform. Story-based content registered exceptional reach, with 93% of brand profiles being mentioned in at least one story per quarter. Collaborative posts generated a 2.7–3.4 times boost in engagement for smaller brands, confirming that interactive and co-produced communication strategies significantly amplify reach beyond single-creator content (Mourão & Brown, 2022; Comfort & Gruszczynski, 2024).

Table 4: Audience Trust in Media Types (2023–2024)

Media Type	Trust Level (2023)	Trust Level (2024)	Key Finding
Local Television News	Higher than average	Higher than average	Highest trust segment (Nielsen)
National Television/Newspapers/Radio	32% of Americans trusted	36% lacked trust	Declining institutional trust
Social Media Platforms	Low credibility	Declining further	Trust erosion across platforms
Digital Native Media	Moderate	Moderate-rising	Context-dependent trust
Branded/Organizational Media	Low initially	Improving with transparency	Credibility tied to communication style

Source: Bliss Group (2025), citing Gallup Poll (2024). <https://www.theblissgrp.com/2025-media-relations-trends/>

Table 4 presents audience trust data across media types drawn from Gallup surveys cited in industry analyses. Only 32% of Americans reported trusting traditional media channels in 2023, with 36% actively reporting distrust by 2024. Local news retains comparatively higher trust levels, emphasizing that community-grounded,

proximate communication strategies sustain greater credibility. These patterns align directly with framing research linking communication transparency and source credibility to enhanced audience engagement (Schwarz & Diers-Lawson, 2024; Strömbäck et al., 2020; Valenzuela et al., 2023).

Table 5: Social Media Platform User Metrics and Engagement Context (2024)

Platform	Estimated Users (2024)	Average Monthly Usage	Dominant Age Group	Ad Spend Context
TikTok	2 billion+	34 hours/month (Android)	18–24 (36.7%)	Rapidly growing
Facebook	3+ billion MAU	Moderate	25–44	USD 219.8B total (all platforms)
Instagram	2+ billion MAU	High	18–34	Dominant for visual brands
LinkedIn	1 billion+ MAU	Professional-contextual	25–44	B2B dominant
X (Twitter)	~335 million MAU	Declining	25–49	Declining ad investment

Source: Digital Web Solutions (2024). Social Media Statistics 2024. <https://www.digitalwebsolutions.com/blog/social-media-statistics/>

Table 5 reveals the scale and demographic composition of major platforms' user bases. TikTok's status as the highest monthly usage platform with Android users averaging 34 hours per month signals that short-form video communication strategies hold exceptional potential for sustained audience engagement, particularly among youth demographics. The total projected social media advertising spend of USD 219.8 billion in 2024 reflects the enormous resource investment organizations make in communication strategies, with platform selection itself constituting a strategic communication decision (Hoque & Hossain, 2023; Febrian & Husna, 2023; Muntinga et al., 2011).

6. Discussion

The results of this study substantiate the central hypothesis that platform-tailored, audience-centric media communication strategies significantly outperform generic approaches in generating measurable audience engagement. Taken together, Tables 1 through 5 reveal clear and consistent patterns that invite both theoretical interpretation and practical application. The most striking finding concerns the dramatic divergence in engagement performance across platforms, which underscores the centrality of platform-adaptive communication as a strategic imperative. LinkedIn's surging engagement rate rising from 6.00% to 8.01% across 2024 combined with carousel content's extraordinary 21.77% median engagement rate, demonstrates that long-form, sequential, and information-dense communication formats perform exceptionally well in professional media environments. This aligns with the Uses and Gratifications framework advanced by Ruggiero (2000) and empirically applied by Hoque and Hossain (2023), which establishes that audiences engage

most intensively with content that simultaneously satisfies informational and social interaction needs. LinkedIn's carousel format accomplishes this by delivering substantive knowledge through a visually engaging narrative arc, producing both cognitive gratification and social currency through high share-worthiness.

The evidence from Table 1 regarding Instagram's steep engagement decline from 2.94% to 0.61% over twelve months—does not indicate platform irrelevance but rather a fundamental shift in how audiences consume content on visually saturated platforms. Passive consumption, particularly through Reels and Stories, is displacing public interaction (likes, comments) with private forms of engagement (saves, direct shares). This evolution demands that media communicators reconsider how engagement is measured and valued, as the traditional public metrics may increasingly undercount actual audience investment. Midberry et al. (2024) and Geise and Xu (2024) have each demonstrated that visual frame design significantly shapes the depth and form of audience engagement, suggesting that Instagram strategies must now optimize for content that triggers shares and saves rather than surface-level reactions. The trust data in Table 4 introduce a critically important dimension to the engagement equation. With only 32% of Americans trusting traditional media channels in 2023, and active distrust rising to 36% by 2024, media communicators face a credibility crisis that no technical strategy can resolve without substantive attention to communication ethics and transparency. Schwarz and Diers-Lawson (2024) demonstrated that proactive, transparent crisis communication consistently produced higher audience trust than reactive messaging, and this principle generalizes to routine media communication. Strömbäck et al. (2020) established that perceived credibility functions as a mediating variable between communication strategy and engagement outcomes, meaning that trust-building must be treated as an integral component of strategy rather than an ancillary concern. Valenzuela et al. (2023) similarly found that political communication strategies that aligned with audience values and communicated with factual transparency generated more durable engagement effects.

The TikTok engagement data in Table 5 carry particularly important implications for communication strategies targeting younger audiences. With 36.7% of TikTok users aged 18–24 and average monthly usage of 34 hours, the platform represents an unparalleled opportunity for organizations willing to invest in authentic, culturally resonant short-form video content. Entman's (1993) framing functions apply with particular force here: content that clearly defines a relatable problem, assigns human-scale causation, conveys moral evaluation through emotional storytelling, and offers actionable resolution consistently outperforms content that merely presents information. Chong and Druckman (2007) theorized this mechanism through the applicability and accessibility model of framing effects, predicting that frames which activate emotionally and culturally familiar concepts will generate stronger audience response a prediction borne out by TikTok's engagement architecture. Critically, the Indian media context warrants specific consideration.

As one of the world's largest digital audiences, Indian media consumers exhibit distinctive platform preferences, with a high uptake of short-form video content across Instagram Reels, YouTube Shorts, and emerging regional platforms. Communication strategies calibrated to linguistic and cultural specificity in this context must integrate regional storytelling conventions, local credibility anchors, and platform norms simultaneously. Shehata et al. (2021) conceptualized how sustained, consistent framing strategies progressively shape societal beliefs and audience loyalties over time, providing a theoretical basis for long-term communication investments targeted at diverse, multilingual audiences. D'Angelo et al. (2019) and Choi et al. (2023) further reinforce that both the content of the frame and the cultural context of the audience must be jointly considered in strategy design, a principle especially applicable to pluralistic media environments like India. Media organizations that invest in adaptive, credibility-focused, and platform-optimized communication strategies are demonstrably better positioned to build and sustain audience engagement in this rapidly evolving landscape.

7. Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that media communication strategies exert a significant, measurable, and theoretically grounded influence on audience engagement across digital platforms. Evidence from verified industry benchmarks and peer-reviewed scholarship spanning 2020 to 2025 confirms that platform-tailored strategies particularly carousel-based content on LinkedIn, short-form video on TikTok, and collaborative storytelling on Instagram consistently generate superior engagement outcomes compared to generalized approaches. Audience trust emerges as a non-negotiable prerequisite, with declining institutional media credibility reinforcing the need for transparent, audience-centric communication. Theoretically, framing theory, the uses and gratifications framework, and agenda-setting remain indispensable tools for analyzing the mechanisms through which communication strategy shapes audience behavior. For media practitioners, the imperative is clear: effective engagement demands not only content quality but strategic alignment of message framing, format selection, platform context, and audience motivation. Future research should extend this analysis through longitudinal primary data collection across diverse cultural and linguistic media contexts, including the rapidly expanding Indian digital media ecosystem.

8. References

1. Choi, S., Zhang, J., & Jin, Y. (2023). The effects of threat type and gain–loss framing on publics' responses to strategic environmental risk communication. *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, 28(3), 363–380. <https://doi.org/10.1108/ccij-09-2022-0109>
2. Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10(1), 103–126. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054>
3. Comfort, R. N., & Gruszczynski, M. (2024). Indigenous biologists and culture frames: Effects on stereotype perceptions and conservation policy support in environmental news. *Science Communication*, 47(1), 57–80. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10755470241264755>
4. D'Angelo, P., Lule, J., Neuman, R., Rodriguez, L., Dimitrova, D., & Carragee, K. (2019). Beyond framing: A forum for framing researchers. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 96(1), 12–30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699018825004>
5. Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward a clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
6. Febrian, A., & Husna, N. (2023). Increasing social media engagement through understanding the uses and gratification theory. In *Proceedings of the International Conference of Economics, Business, and Entrepreneur (ICEBE 2022)* (pp. 520–532). Atlantis Press. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-064-0_53
7. Geise, S., & Xu, Y. (2024). Effects of visual framing in multimodal media environments: A systematic review of studies between 1979 and 2023. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10776990241257586>
8. Hoque, S., & Hossain, M. A. (2023). Social media stickiness in the Z generation: A study based on the uses and gratifications theory. *Journal of Information Science Theory and Practice*, 11(4), 92–108. <https://doi.org/10.1633/JISTaP.2023.11.4.6>
9. Katz, E., Haas, H., & Gurevitch, M. (1973). On the use of the mass media for important things. *American Sociological Review*, 38(2), 164–181. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2094393>
10. Kim, J. (2024). Audience engagement: Enhancing interaction in the digital age. *Global Media Journal*, 22(70). <https://doi.org/10.36648/1550-7521.22.70.444>
11. McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176–187. <https://doi.org/10.1086/267990>

12. Midberry, J., Brown, D. K., Potter, R. F., & Comfort, R. N. (2024). The influence of visual frame combinations in solutions journalism stories. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 101(1), 230–252. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10776990221109235>
13. Mourão, R. R., & Brown, D. K. (2022). Black Lives Matter coverage: How protest news frames and attitudinal change affect social media engagement. *Digital Journalism*, 10(4), 626–646. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1931900>
14. Muntinga, D. G., Moorman, M., & Smit, E. G. (2011). Introducing COBRAs: Exploring motivations for brand-related social media use. *International Journal of Advertising*, 30(1), 13–46. <https://doi.org/10.2501/IJA-30-1-013-046>
15. Ruggiero, T. E. (2000). Uses and gratifications theory in the 21st century. *Mass Communication & Society*, 3(1), 3–37. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327825MCS0301_02
16. Schwarz, A., & Diers-Lawson, A. (2024). Mediated crises and strategic crisis communication of third sector organizations: A content analysis of crisis reporting in six countries. *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, 29(4), 567–591. <https://doi.org/10.1108/ccij-08-2023-0117>
17. Shehata, A., Andersson, D., Glogger, I., Hopmann, D., Andersen, K., Kruikemeier, S., & Johansson, J. (2021). Conceptualizing long-term media effects on societal beliefs. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 45(1), 75–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2021.1921610>
18. Strömbäck, J., Tsfati, Y., Boomgaarden, H., Damstra, A., Lindgren, E., Vliegenthart, R., & Lindholm, T. (2020). News media trust and its impact on media use: Toward a framework for future research. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 44(2), 139–156. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2020.1755338>
19. Tryggvason, P., & Shehata, A. (2024). Success or failure? News framing of the COP26 Glasgow Summit and its effects on citizens' beliefs about climate change. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 29(3), 689–709. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612231218426>
20. Valenzuela, S., Bachmann, I., Lawrence, R., & Zúñiga, H. (2023). Politics and media in Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly: A centennial research retrospective. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 100(4), 808–825. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10776990231203542>