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# Editors' Note

Dear Readers,

Welcome to Volume 4, Number 1 of #ISOJ. As the International Symposium on Online Journalism celebrate its 15th year, the #ISOJ journal also celebrates its fourth year of publication.

With these celebrations, we are excited to announce that we are opening past #ISOJ journal issues with free access on our symposium website – so every article and each journal will be available for free without cost.

The same will be the case with this year's journal volume. If you are interested in a print version of the journal, please contact us at isoj@austin.utexas.edu. Print versions of the journal will be available at cost.

Second, the #ISOJ journal will also be indexed in the latest EBSCO database called Communication Source that will launch this fall. You will be able to search and find journal articles from #ISOJ dating back to our first issue in 2011.

As for 2014, this volume reflects diverse articles that reflect the evolution in digital journalism today. The research in this year's volume range from the importance of preserving digital content to the continual changing culture in newsrooms to the impact of digital curation tools on news consumption to the power of locative media.

We hope you enjoy this latest volume of #ISOJ, send us your comments or questions and help us spread the word about this innovative publication, especially among your friends in social media.

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# Journal Details

## About the Journal



## About Us

#ISOJ The Journal of the International Symposium on Online Journalism is an international journal devoted to advancing the scholarship in the area of journalism and innovative technologies. Articles included in the journal are based on original research, methodologies relevant to the study of journalism and innovative technologies (online, tablets, mobile platforms, etc.), critical syntheses of research and theoretical perspectives on journalism today. The journal maintains a social scientific and broad behavioral focus.

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# Preserving the Unpreservable: Form, Content, Copyright and the Archiving of Born-Digital Newspapers

## *Lisa Lynch and Paul Fontaine*

*This study[1] looks at the current crisis in born-digital newspaper archiving. The researchers assess limitations of prevailing practices and outlines the issues faced by archivists around the globe as they try to find a means to preserve news sites. Then, the researchers turn to Canada as a case study illustrating the current impasse. Canadian archivists face both exemplary challenges and particular ones, due to the nature of the Canadian media industry and the Canadian national library system. These particularities make it especially difficult to imagine a comprehensive Canadian program in born-digital archiving.*

In 2001, American writer Nicholson Baker published a blistering critique of efforts to archive newspapers by digitizing them and destroying the originals. “We have lost intellectual content,” he wrote, “as a result of our massive effort to preserve it.” What Baker could not have imagined in 2001 was that, in a shorter time span than anyone might have predicted, the idea of a newspaper as a physical object is rapidly becoming obsolete. And yet, Baker’s words still resonate: As newspapers move increasingly online, our means of archiving them still fail miserably. The digital publication of newspapers has created a new series of problems for archives that have thus far eluded a straightforward technological fix. The amount of content that is lost as online newspapers are archived far outpaces the loss of content that so agonized Baker, and future scholars may look back on the past few decades as a time when crucial historical records were lost through persistent neglect. As well, current archiving practices fail completely at preserving the contemporary experience of consuming news, creating a gap between the archive and the phenomenology of media consumption perhaps wider than any since the emergence of print.

As we will discuss, despite a sense of urgency, progress on born-digital archiving has been stalled by copyright concerns, technological hurdles, and a general lack of consensus about who, exactly, should be doing the archiving. This study describes prevailing practices in born-digital newspaper archiving, assess their limitations, and outline the issues faced by archivists around the globe as they try to find a means to preserve news sites. Then, the study turns to Canada as a case study illustrating the current impasse. As will be outlined later, Canadian archivists face both exemplary challenges and particular ones, due to the nature of the Canadian media industry and the Canadian national library system. While these particularities make it especially difficult to imagine a comprehensive Canadian program in born-digital archiving, the study concludes by considering the conditions of possibility for such a project.

## From Analog to Digital News Archiving

Beginning in the 1990s, digitization emerged as a new form of newspaper preservation that promised to revolutionize access to archives. Instead of being stored in drawers and viewed on specialized machines, digitized newspapers were placed online and thus made available to an exponentially larger number of users. Digital newspaper projects, often funded by government subsidies, became popular at historical societies, in university departments, and at public libraries at the national or regional level. In addition to creating digital images of newspapers (often from the microfilm used to initially preserve them), such projects sometimes also exploited tools such as optical character recognition software in order to make newspaper archives more searchable, and added metadata identifying titles, images, and articles. This, in turn, facilitated new kinds of research practices such as data mining and text mining, semantic analysis, and visualization.[2]

Over the past decade, there have been great successes in digital newspaper archiving. For example, the British Library, through a partnership with Gale-Cengage, has preserved over 65 million news articles from archives dating back 300 years. The Library of Congress has collected newspapers from each US state for its Chronicling America project. The for-profit archive Newspaperarchive.com has preserved over 900 million articles from 85 million newspaper pages, reproduced from their extensive microform archives. ProQuest has also been digitizing its microfilm, and has worked with papers such as the *New York Times* and *The Guardian* to create custom digital archives available through the paper's own web portal; as well, digital papers have been made available through publishers such as Newsbank, Gale Cengage, and UKPress Online (Hawkins, 2011). The breadth of these efforts, all of which focus on taking physical artifacts and making them digitally available, might convey the impression that digital technologies have solved the problem of capturing, storing, and distributing the output of the world's newspapers. But this is far from the case, as archivists interested in preserving today's newspapers face obstacles far more challenging that any previously encountered by newspaper archivists.

The first—and perhaps most insurmountable—obstacle is the question of copyright, rendered much more urgent by the fact that newspapers now see their own archives as a marketable good. This development is a relatively recent one in the history of newspaper archiving: it dates back to the 1980s, when for-profit content aggregators first persuaded a wary news industry that old content might be digitally processed and indexed for sale in text-only electronic databases (Kenney, 2002).[3] After overcoming fears that their competitors might gain an advantage from purchasing access to their backfiles, newspapers slowly began to discover the potential of these archives as a commercial product; after 2005, when ProQuest encouraged newspapers to raise prices substantially for single-article access, archive revenue became a respectable source of income.

The copyright interest of newspapers has meant that, overwhelmingly, the archiving of historical newspapers ends sometime in the first part of the twentieth century; in some cases, newspapers have held onto copyright claims for even longer (Hawkins, 2011). But even large-scale projects that provide public access to historical newspapers in the public domain have faced resistance from major players in the news industry. The British Library's digitization project was attacked by James Murdoch as "treading on the toes" of News Corp, even though the project did not attempt to reproduce newspapers with any outstanding copyright claims (Wray, 2010).

Beyond the problem of copyright, libraries have been struggling with the technological challenges posed by archiving recent newspapers. Increasingly, newspaper companies do not primarily produce physical artifacts to be preserved; instead, they produce digital objects that circulate in an increasingly ephemeral media space, and that have no permanent trace except for that created deliberately by archivists. Those charged with creating this permanent record—whether they are working at for-profit media archiving services or at non-profit libraries and museums—often have a hard time imagining a world beyond microfilm.[4] And even when they do attempt to think beyond the status quo, they are confronted with the fact that the digital transition has so quickly and profoundly transformed the shape of news that newspapers themselves have also not thought much about this newer world of digital archives.

The phrase "born-digital newspaper" actually describes two distinct kinds of media product, each with a set of distinct archiving challenges. First, "born-digital" can relate purely to the production processes of printed newspapers that have been created, not through manual typesetting and layout, but entirely on computers using publication design software such as Adobe InDesign. These papers exist as production-quality PDFs or Postscript files before they are sent to the printers. Archivists have been experimenting with collecting and processing these PDF files instead of digitizing or microforming the resulting printed newspaper. This method has obvious advantages over microforming. It removes steps in the preservation process, and, in cases where standards have been agreed upon, it allows archivists to draw on the rich metadata sometimes included in production PDFs to make the documents more searchable (Geiger, Synder & Zarndt, 2011). As well, some archivists have proposed encoding that would alleviate some copyright concerns by allowing "article-level access" to PDFs, preventing access to articles or photographs on the page that may have competing copyright claims. Indeed, some in the newspaper industry have seen PDF archiving as the natural replacement for microfilm and a complement to the electronic text feeds that constitute their full-text databases (Palsho in Cheney, Palsho, Cowan & Zarndt, 2011).

Several pilot projects in the US and Europe—including projects at the British Library (King, 2011), the Center for Bibliographic Studies at the University of Riverside (Geiger, 2011), and the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris—have had success working with production PDFs for archiving. Overall, these experiments have shown that this archiving method works best when there is coordination between media outlets and archivists in order to establish standards for metadata and ensure that PDFs arrive in a timely manner and in a particular format; in many cases, however, this harmony between newspaper and archivist has been difficult in practice, with PDFs arriving sporadically and with missing metadata (Reilly, 2012). PDF archiving also works best with newspapers that do not already have relationships with commercial archiving services. In addition to their text-only archives, for-profit archive services have now begun their own forays into PDF archiving; ProQuest, for example, started its Press Display service in 2005 and now provides image files for 2300 newspapers and magazines. PDF archiving that circumvents such services by establishing a direct conduit from newspaper to library thus poses a threat to the aggregator and the newspaper's ability to earn revenue from archives. Some archivists have attempted to address this issue by restricting access to content—for example, establishing a "dark archive"[5] accessible from within the library but otherwise inaccessible (McCargar, 2011). Limiting access in this fashion, however, defeats one of the primary benefits of digitization.

These constraints limit the utility of PDF archiving; as a method, it works best for small newspapers that are invested in cooperating with archivists. It also, unfortunately, works best with newspapers which have a limited online presence, as PDF archiving does not address the content of a newspaper's website.[6] When PDF archiving initially gained ground, this was not considered to be a major issue: In the early days of online news, news sites were often mirror images of the paper product, as newspapers simply repurposed their print content and layout in the online space—a phenomena known in the industry as "shovelware" (Boczkowski, 2005). But two trends have produced a sharp differentiation between print and online. First, the decline in print advertising revenue has meant that physical newspapers are often much smaller; this means that the online paper often contains content that was never intended for the print product (Kaye and Quinn, 2010). Second, in addition to this online-only content, the news industry has increasingly invested in storytelling forms that can only exist online, such as audio pieces, interactive or multi-media presentations, liveblogs, and forums for online discussion. Thus, archiving methods based on preserving images of the physical "newspaper" now register only a fraction of a given media outlet's daily content, meaning that such archives can no longer reflect the realities of news production and reception in the born-digital era. Indeed, given the predictions that print newspapers may soon give way entire to mobile, tablet and online forms of news delivery (Reilly, 2013), an archive strategy based on the preservation of the production PDFs may soon be obsolete as well.

**Web Harvesting and Other Alternatives**

One way in which newspaper archivists have attempted to address the gap between the printed newspaper and its online incarnation is by attempting to capture all of the elements of online newspapers through a technology known as web harvesting. Web harvesting entails using software called a web crawler that captures and archives the web pages on a given site, thus preserving the relationship between links within a site and allowing for inclusion of non-textual content. Generally, all sites on the "open web"—those not hidden by a firewall or paywall—can be harvested by such software, though in many cases harvesting is more effective if done with the knowledge, if not active cooperation, of the website's creators.

One of the oldest examples of a project aimed specifically at harvesting news sites is the Swedish Royal Libraries' KulturaRW3 program, which has been collecting websites since 1996. Other efforts include the E-deposit program in the Netherlands, the Pandora project in Australia, and web harvesting programs at the National Library of Finland and Bibliotheque Nationale in France. As this list suggests, these harvesting programs are undertaken by national libraries, and harvesting takes place within the top-level domain of that particular country (i.e., the Swedish National Library harvests .se sites). Unlike PDF-based archiving projects, these projects can potentially capture the full range of a media organization's output, including the text stories, video, audio, and interactive media.

However, in addition to potentially capturing the entirety of what a news outlet produces in-house, harvesters also capture outsourced material unique to a newspaper's digital presentation, such as financial information from independent providers such as Dow Jones or Bloomberg (Reilly, 2013). This means that the harvesting approach has been hindered by copyright issues that extend even beyond the issues posed by PDF archiving (Larivière, 2000). If PDF archiving threatens the relationship between newspapers and their for-profit archiving partners, web crawling additionally aggregates content that, though delivered online through a news portal, is not covered by a newspaper's copyright agreements. Rather than a single, overarching copyright issue, the web harvester enters a minefield, where potential copyright claims make material potentially too legally volatile to display. Indeed newspapers themselves do not self-archive most of this content for legal issues, either outsourcing comments to social media companies or placing newspaper blogs on a separate content management system not included in the paper's digital asset management system (Cheney, Palsho, Cowan, & Zarndt, 2011).

The copyright issues present in web harvesting have sometimes resulted in a legislative paradox; permission to gather content by web harvesting has been granted by legal deposit legislation while such digitally harvested material has been simultaneously removed from online circulation. In France, users interested in harvested content must go to special reading rooms in the National Library; while in Finland, they use kiosks at one of a number of legal deposit libraries scattered around the country (Bremer-Laamanen, 2011). In Canada, while the collection of website through harvesting is allowed by legal deposit law, the display of non-government web material in any form is prohibited—websites can be harvested for preservation purposes only (Banks & Hebert, 2004).

Hoping that their successful efforts might convince legislators of the value of born-digital archives, some archivists have launched programs without legislation that would support their efforts—or even in the face of legislation that might prohibit it. In Sweden, for example, archivists chose to collect websites in the absence of legislation that would exempt them from copyright claims. In order to minimize possible legal repercussions from their archiving, Royal Library archivists contacted Swedish newspapers to let them know what they were doing; when the newspapers responded either positively or neutrally to the notice, they proceeded with archiving (Arvindson, 2009).

While this might seem to be a common-sense approach to the question of copyright, there is an important caveat. Not all archivists—whether affiliated with state libraries or universities—would choose to flout existing copyright legislation. The willingness of Swedish librarians to do so is likely tied to the self-conception of media outlets in Sweden and the relationship between those outlets and the library system. Media outlets in what Hallin and Mancini (2005) have described as "democratic corporatist" media systems may see their media output as a public good to a greater degree than, for example, North American media outlets, which are more heavily commercial in nature. Indeed, France, another country that has invested a fair amount in web harvesting, also places a relatively high value on the preservation of news, tied to a sense of the importance of news as a form of civic discourse (Oury, 2012).

But even in those cases when formal or informal agreements on copyright allow for the harvesting of news sites, archiving through web crawling is still only a partial solution. Most web harvesting programs collect information about once daily. First, given that major news outlets now update their sites hundreds of times per day, this means that not only is content being lost, but also information about story placement changes as news develops over the course of a given day. Second, web crawling technology is still evolving; though one might image that a digital-to-digital copy would be flawless, web harvesting does not, in fact, produce an identical copy of an online newspaper, as some kinds of digital output is more difficult to archive than others.[7] Third, as outgoing links on a web page shift location or vanish over time, they become inaccessible on the crawled page; one only need consult the Internet Archive's Wayback machine to see how fractured pages captured via webcrawler can become. Fourth, crawling fails to preserve all of the metadata encoded in the source files of a news site, metadata that could potentially provide further information to archivists and scholars.

Finally, the emergence of paywalls has created the most recent and perhaps most substantial obstacle to web harvesting; news sites behind paywalls are generally not harvested, as they are not a part of the "open web."[8] Just as proponents of PDF archiving did not anticipate the degree of difference between production PDFs and contemporary news websites, advocates of web harvesting did not imagine that paywalls, long (and still) a contested model for news revenue, would close down access to many of the world's national and regional newspapers.[9]

**Whose Task is it?**

Over the past several years, the various issues provoked by web harvesting and PDF archiving have left library archivists feeling increasingly unsettled about the future of born-digital news archiving. As a result, The Center For Research Libraries, a North

American consortium of university and public libraries that has remained at the forefront of attempts to find a solution to news archiving, now recommends that libraries pursue neither PDF archiving nor web harvesting as the primary means of archiving online content. In fact, the CRL has argued that the most promising route toward born-digital archiving will involve rethinking who does the initial collection of newspaper source material. Since libraries have found themselves at an impasse in terms of both technology and copyright issues, the CRL argues, they should work directly with those best able to handle such issues; namely, for-profit archiving companies and newspapers.

This position—which has gained ground among research libraries in the United States—represents a shift for the CRL, who previously hoped that in recognition of the importance of library-run news archives, news organizations might grant copyright exemptions that would allow archivists to preserve material (Reilly, 2007). Now, the CRL has instead suggested that libraries might negotiate collectively licenses for digital news data to be supplied either directly by aggregators or by the media outlets themselves. Such news data would be far richer than that collected through PDFs or web harvesting, and it would not entail re-creating the newspaper's final news product after capturing it remotely with crawling software. According to the CRL, selected news aggregators and newspapers have endorsed this approach, noting that libraries, newspapers, and for-profit aggregators all need to realize that extensive cooperation will be needed in order to come up with an archiving solution, including the creation of dark archives as holding places for content until issues of copyright have been worked out.

The CRL's plan for library-industry cooperation is part of a growing trend: Increasingly, as both government and foundation money has become more scarce, archiving projects have relied on public-private partnerships in order to secure funding. These projects often require that the material archived by a private corporation remain hidden behind a paywall for a number of years, with profit going to the corporate sponsor. Though such partnerships have been controversial when it comes to the archiving of already-existing materials (see e.g. the British Library and the French National Library), they may represent the best approach when it comes to the archiving of born-digital materials that might otherwise not be preserved. But who sets the rules for such partnerships, and whose interests are represented?

While the CRL's approach represents the best option at present for jump-starting stalled efforts at born-digital archiving, such negotiation pose clear challenges for libraries. Given that digitization and web crawling projects held the potential for once again giving libraries some measure of control over what was archived and how it was archived, some library archivists may be loath to once again hand over the reins to those with commercial interests. As well, given some for-profit archiving services remain fairly moribund with regards to born-digital news (Quint, 2009); such aggregators would need to be persuaded that a radically new approach to collecting and presenting news content to their subscribers would be in their financial interests. Though newspapers might see a clearer need for their content to be preserved in a more complete form, the financial situation of many newspapers might discourage them from involvement in a project that had potential costs (Pasho, 2011): Indeed, the Library of Congress noted that born digital preservation should be a particular mandate of the library itself given the dire state of the news industry (Dyer, 2009).

One hurdle for newspaper publishers willing and able to coordinate with outside archivists is the current disarray of in-house archiving practices at most North American papers. In-house news archivists have been a financial casualty of the news industry crisis; as a result, all but the largest newspapers have increasingly defaulted to the archival standards dictated by their editorial software instead of altering archiving practices to suit the changing output of the newsroom (Cowan, 2013). Many innovative multimedia projects have no clear archival path, and the social content on news sites—including comments and user contributions—are often hosted externally and not archived. Even content stored on in-house servers often becomes inaccessible due to broken or expired links (Eldeen, Hany, & Nelson, 2012), and sometimes content has vanished entirely when a newspaper has altered their content management system (Gilmor, 2010).

Carefully considered and rigorously researched, the CRL proposal thus may hold real promise for stalled negotiations with some major media outlets—for example, Reilly has noted that the *New York Times* has expressed an interest in working more closely with libraries in a manner suggested by the CRL's archiving strategy.[10] But it may not work as a universal template for reform of archiving practices internationally; indeed, as a North American proposal, it will need to be modified to suit Canadian realities. In the final section of this paper, we discuss the specific problems faced in Canada, where born-digital archiving has seemed to pose an even greater challenge than it has in Europe or the US.

**A Rudderless Ship in a Sea of Paywalls: The Context of Canada's Stalled Efforts**

Given the current impasse in digital archiving in Canada, it is ironic that Canada was one of the first countries to address concerns around digital rights preservation. As Canadian copyright scholar Michael Geist (2007) has noted, Canada's legal deposit laws have consistently been expanded to include electronic publications in all physical formats. In 2004, the government granted Library and Archives Canada the right to sample web pages in order to preserve noteworthy Canadian websites. This legislative attention was matched—initially, at least—by efforts at LAC to frame out possible strategies for born-digital newspaper archiving in Canada. As far back as 2002, LAC organized a national consultation on how Canada's libraries could potentially archive national newspapers, drawing on librarians, academics, and representatives from the media industry. The report, however, was ambivalent about the prospects for archiving born-digital news media; it noted that while media companies seemed ready to share what they had learned about archiving their born-digital content, they were wary of the idea of a public archiving project, and were concerned primarily with providing better archives for their own customer base (Martin & Haigh, 2002).

Further LAC digitization consultations were held between 2004 and 2008, and a report summarizing these meetings was published in 2010 as a "Canadian Digital Information

Strategy.” Stressing the urgency of archiving born-digital news content as part of Canada’s cultural heritage, the authors argued that it was “vital that LAC invest, in a modest but sustained basis, in understanding the newspaper industry, its players, its business models, the public need for newspaper access over the long-term, the speeds and impacts of the transition to digital, and the fiscal realities and hard choices faced by collecting institutions.” In language that anticipated the CRL’s later statement on new directions in archiving practices, they advised LAC to “open a discussion with one or more of the major newspaper publishing companies pertaining to long-term digital preservation of their digital assets.” (Haigh & Generoux, 2010). At the same time, however, the report’s authors that industry figures no longer seemed interested in participating in a conversation about archives. In the wake of the report, no such conversations have been attempted (Smyth, 2013).

Indeed, LAC reports collectively suggested that there were *no* Canadian stakeholders willing to take on the practical realities of launching or maintaining a born-digital newspaper archiving program.[11] This included LAC itself, which emphasized in the CDIS that it would seek private partners to carry on digital archiving activities.[12] The LAC has long considered the archiving of newspapers to be a provincial rather than federal responsibility, and, despite facilitating a national conversation on newspaper archiving, it did not plan to budget for a federal digitization program. As Sandra Gabriele has noted, in the past the LAC has likewise seen their mandate as the coordination of other microfilming programs, not as the sponsor of a microfilming project that would encompass the nation’s newspapers (Gabriele, 2011).

After the appointment of Daniel Caron as head librarian and archivist in 2009, the LAC’s push towards decentralization and privatization accelerated. Caron, a human resource specialist with no archiving background, proved to be a controversial appointment. His seeming disdain for what he termed “dedicated memory specialists” (Caron 2010) alienated him from the archiving community; in turn, after federal budget cuts reduced the library’s operating budget, he sharply curtailed the library’s archiving programs, laying off half of the on-site digitization staff (Save Library and Archives Canada, 2012). Soon after the cuts, in a speech titled “The End of Archives is Nigh,” Caron described the library’s plan to shift from preserving the online world to curating it; even the library’s curatorial function could be outsourced to the public, who would “crowdsource” descriptive material (Caron, 2012).

In the summer of 2013, Caron resigned due to an expenses scandal, but those working at the LAC have expressed little optimism that the institution will change direction under the Harper administration. With the library taking a back seat to digitization projects, a single nonprofit remains as the probable contender to handle not only Canada’s heritage digitization projects, but (perhaps) its born-digital archiving as well.[13] Canadiana, which describes itself as a “membership alliance” dedicated to digital preservation, is the more recent incarnation of the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, a nonprofit formed in 1978 to preserve Canadian heritage documents and provide copies of Canadian documents in foreign repositories. In June of 2013, a deal was announced between LAC and Canadiana to digitize 40 million texts images from LAC’s archives, including historical newspapers. Canadian archivists and historians greeted the agreement with mixed enthusiasm; it represented perhaps the best hope for a digitization project for Canadian archives, but it also emphasized that LAC's own role in future digitization projects—whether historical or contemporary—would be minimal.

Library and Archives Canada can thus be said to be ill-equipped to broker arrangements for born-digital news archiving—it has a poor history of providing resources and guidance for significant digitization projects, and it currently has no one in-house with a particular interest in contemporary newspaper archiving; indeed, the chief serial librarian, who was involved in early conversations about online news archiving, retired and has not been replaced.[14]

Beyond internal political and infrastructure issues at the LAC, public archivists in Canada have also been stalled by the relatively untried series of reforms to Canadian copyright encoded in Bill C-11,[15] which passed into law in November 2012. Though several provisions of C-11 may in fact create favorable conditions for news archiving, including expanded exemptions for libraries and educational institutions (Geist, 2013), other restrictions on digital access have led the Canadian Library Association to express concerns about the long-term effect on creating archives of born-digital content (Canadian Library Association, 2011). Given that these new restrictions have not been tested in practice, it is likely that university and public archivists will tread carefully in the near future when considering the creation of born-digital archives.

**Canada's News Industry and Prospects for Born-Digital Archiving**

If the only hope for moving beyond the impasse in born-digital archiving is to forge connections between the public sector and the private sector, Canada is challenged at either end: The impasse over born-digital archiving in Canada's public libraries is matched by a lack of direction in the news industry. Just as the LAC has found itself weakened due to recent circumstances, the Canadian news industry has gone through shifts that has left it ill-equipped to focus resources and attention on digitization. Decades of media consolidation and resulting corporate pressure on chain media outlets, coupled with the financial shortfalls experienced by media as they search for new revenue streams, has resulted in layoffs, buyouts and restructurings around the country (Brin & Soderlund, 2012; Greenslade, 2013). These employee upheavals, in turn, have come in tandem with sweeping changes in technology and attendant shifts in workplace practices (Deuze, 2008). This has meant that there is little institutional memory when it comes to the frequent changes in how digital newspapers are formatted and stored online.

In response to diminished revenues, Canadian papers—to an even greater degree than papers in the US and Europe (Toughill, 2013)—have increasingly turned to online paywalls. At the end of 2013, about 80% of Canadian newspapers were behind paywalls, twice the rate of the United States. The rapid shift to paywalls has been aided by Canada's high degree of media consolidation, with only the Transcontinental and Gesca chains hesitating in imposing chain-wide paywalls. Indeed, with several Canadian papers resorting to suspending print editions occasionally or regularly, access to newspapers in Canada has dropped off sharply, with many papers finding that their audiences both online and offline have shrunk.

Though the problems of the Canadian media are far from unique, they are arguably exacerbated by a tendency of Canadian news media to see themselves more as a business than a public resource (Skinner, Compton and Gasher 2005). At the regulatory level, Canada's permissive approach towards media consolidation is exceptional for large democracies, who normally limit ownership in order to ensure representativeness and diversity (Bacon, T'kachuk et al., 2006), and media owners have responded by privileging industry concerns over public ones. Indeed, with the exception of the CBC, Canadian media outlets have rarely cast themselves as institutions of public service in the manner of many US or European outlets. Canada's relatively weak sense of national identity (Taylor 1993), its competition with US media products, and its language and geographic divide also contribute to the sense that there is—the beleaguered CBC aside—not really a "national" news source, despite the *Globe and Mail's* representation of itself as such. Given the disconnect between the Canadian media and Canadian public, the notion that the artifacts of news media are worth preserving for the public interest does not seem to be a primary concern of Canadian newspapers: As noted above, there has been no participation of the Canadian news industry in talks about the possibilities of creating public born-digital news archives since 2002.

Interviews with Canadian news providers revealed that the question of *how* to archive material at the corporate level has been superseded by the question of *what* to archive. Canadian news industry digital archiving practices have been marked in the last couple of years by a shift away from in-house archiving (made possible by content management systems developed by, and sometimes shared between, Canadian news outlets) to the use of third-party technology for archiving purposes. In many cases, this shift has meant that content has been either lost entirely during the migrations, or is offline and waiting to be brought into the new systems. For many Canadian news outlets, the last couple of years have been representative of the immense effort required to preserve text, video, and audio news content.

Two examples illustrate how technological shifts are precipitating archival problems at Canadian news outlets. The first is the CMS transition at the Toronto-based *Globe and Mail*. Commonly recognized as Canada's "paper of record," the *Globe* has gone through a protracted financial crisis that has left it little time for the legal and practical realities of moving a "paper of record" from print to online (Stackhouse, 2008). Though the *Globe* is one of the few major dailies in Canada that is systematic about creating PDF archives (Cowan, 2013), the persistence of links on its website has been an issue for media researchers. This is in part due to the fact that *Globe* has changed their CMS for online content twice in the past 20 years. Originally, the news outlet used an in-house system created by *The Globe's* developers, referred to as the "pub tool." In 2009, they decided to replace it with version 4 of Escenic, a content management system created by Vizrt; in 2012, they upgraded to version 5, primarily to facilitate managing editorial content behind the paywall. As *The Globe* migrated from the "pub tool" to Escenic 4 and finally to Escenic 5, some content was taken offline. While the former switch was a massive operation in which almost all of the content (text and images) was migrated to the new CMS, the second migration was more straightforward, but it was also selective. Currently, *The Globe* is still in the process of prioritizing what material gets brought over to the new CMS. This means that a portion of *The Globe's* content remains in a dark archive accessible only to *The Globe's* employees; some of this content will be moved forward to the outlet's current digital CMS, but some will not.

In addition to issues with general content archiving, *The Globe's* ability to archive article comments has also been affected by its relationship with outside providers. When *The Globe* used its in-house "pub tool" to manage content, reader comments were managed using their own code, but when the move to Escenic 4 was made, they turned to Pluck, a Texas-based community platform also used by Thompson Reuters, to manage the comments. Pluck checks for abusive comments made in discussion forums, blogs, and story chats. Very recently though, *The Globe* ended their relationship with Pluck and were provided with a data document with all of the archived comments. Other than comments from the most recent news coverage, there hasn't been a concerted effort to make comments accessible in their current platform, Divia.[16] For video content, *The Globe* uses Vizrt, a company headquartered in Norway, which owns Escenic. *The Globe's* strategy thus far has been to keep content management in house, so even if they buy CMS programs from outside vendors they maintain the archives from within; to minimize the effect on its archives if the ownership of Vizrt changes.[17]

The second example of archival issue created through CMS migration is the web archives of Sun Media, the newspaper division of Montreal-based media giant Quebecor. Sun has changed their CMS for editorial content three times and are currently using MediaScan JazzBox, a system they have used since 2007. Previously, each news portal of the QMI/Sun Media family had its own locally hosted archiving system; separate systems and databases thus existed at their major newspapers in Alberta, Ontario, and Manitoba. In recent years they have started an initiative to consolidate to one database, a move that has coincided with the organization's emphasis on content sharing. For Sun Media, changing technologies, for example, the shift from using QuarkXPress to Adobe InDesign for creating and editing pages, has complicated CMS migration because content had to be redone before it could be archived. Like the *Globe and Mail*, Sun Media either lost or decided to leave behind content during their most recent migration.

Like many aspects of the Canadian newspaper industry, CMS-related archiving issues are hardly unique, though these problems have perhaps drawn less attention in Canada than elsewhere due to a lack of communication between the industry and the professional archival community. There is, however, one Canadian newspaper that has broken new ground in the industry, and, in doing so, has raised an entirely new set of concerns for newspaper archivists. In April of 2013, the Quebec paper *La Presse* began dedicating a significant portion of its resources to creating a "tablet-first" newsroom, with the eventual goal of eliminating their print product. The *LaPresse+* app is not the first tablet product to have platform-specific content (or indeed the first tablet-only publication); it has attracted international attention from observers who wonder if the experiment's success could trigger the transformation of other print papers into tablet-based papers. Given that the content of *LaPresse+* is designed specifically to take advantage of its platform, any attempt to archive it must consider how platform-specific archives are managed and are made accessible to the public. This has long been a concern within communities involved in the archiving of media art and video games, but not especially one of news archivists. If *LaPresse+* winds up being the definitive edition of the “paper of record” for Francophone Montreal, the question of how to archive that paper—and other papers that might migrate to different tablet platforms—may soon make the archiving of web-based born-digital content seem like a relatively straightforward process.

## Conclusion: Moving Forward?

Libraries and archives globally are seeking new solutions to what many see as the urgent problem of preserving the content and format of contemporary news. As we have suggested, six variables affect how archivists in different countries approach the issue: First, the institutional vitality of a given country’s library system; second, the structure and financial health of its news media; third, the understanding of the role the media plays in its society; fourth, the role played by foundations and NGOs in funding and promoting archiving projects; fifth, the legal framework around archiving, including laws concerning legal deposit, copyright, and libel; and finally, the comfort level of archivists or researchers in challenging laws that might prohibit experiments in collection and curation. As the above discussion has emphasized, though the problems attendant on born-digital archiving are universal, these factors vary greatly from country to country. It is thus likely that different countries will continue to float different solutions for born-digital archiving for a period of time until an international consensus might be reached.

As the above discussion suggests, archivists in Canada, like those in many countries, have reached an impasse in terms of born-digital news archiving. In terms of the variables that might affect whether the impasse might be overcome, the news is not good: Canada has weak national library system, an economically ailing news industry that is framed as a commercial enterprise rather than a public good; little support from foundations of NGOs for archiving projects, a legal framework that has produced an unclear climate around copyright; and an archival community that has largely been unwilling to challenge copyright laws. There remains some hope, however. As Canada is an active partner in the Center for Research Libraries, it may be that momentum on the US end will eventually convince Canadian news publishers that a partnership between libraries, aggregators and the news industry would benefit both the media industry and the general public. In order for that partnership to work, however, the university library community may need to ensure that both the Canadian media industry and LAC take on some of the work for creating a record of not only the content of Canada’s newspapers, but of the rapidly shifting forms of presentation that characterize online news production in Canada and elsewhere.

If they cannot—indeed, if archivists in general cannot—find the tools and resources to overcome the considerable hurdles to born-digital content, much stands to be lost. In fact, it is fair to say that failure to archive born-digital news represents an abdication of responsibility towards an important part of the world's cultural heritage. In a moment in which newspapers are emerging as the de facto archives of the zeitgeist (think of the attempts to assemble and explain Wikileaks cables and NSA documents in the *New York Times*, the *Guardian* and elsewhere), it is ironic that they have become more fragile than ever before. Over the past few years, many newspapers have simply ceased to exist as the financial crisis in the news industry has made few and few news outlets truly viable. It is easy to imagine a future in which existing papers migrate online entirely, suffer financial losses, and then simply cease to be—and, after ceasing to be—simply vanish into the ether, their digital trail scarcely captured, only bits of their content available through the circumstance of being republished elsewhere. In such a world, we will not have lost much of the history of the creation, circulation, and consumption of news media; we will have lost the first draft of history itself.

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## Endnotes

1. Many thanks to Ilana Hanukov and Ernest Hoffman for research assistance on this project, and to GRAND/NCE for providing support for this assistance.

2. There is an ongoing debate about whether digitization is the best preservation method. Concerns about the long-term stability of digital platforms have led organizations such as ICON to recommend a redundant strategy that encompasses but microfilming and digitization.

3. This development paralleled the transition at newspapers from clip-based “morgues” to digital asset management systems during the 1980s and 1990s.

4. Deborah Cheney, head of the News and Microforms Library at the Pennsylvania State University Library, remarked in a 2011 presentation that “librarians and libraries must not delude themselves into thinking that just because we are keeping microfilm we are keeping all of the news content that we may need in the future.” (Cheney, Palsho, Cowan, & Zarndt, 2011).

5. A “dark archive” is an archive that is accessible to a limited set of individuals.

6. In fact, production PDFs often even fail to represent the final print product of a newspaper, as corrections files are often sent later in the even through a different route than the “archivable” production PDF (Alverson et al. 2011).

7. The FAQ site at the Internet Archive’s Wayback machine specifically mentions Javascript elements and server-side images maps as difficult to archive.

8. There is a significant exception to this: the Internet Archive has continued to archive the websites of news organizations that have established paywalls, both those that have metered paywalls (i.e., The New York Times and the Globe and Mail), and those that have ‘hard’ paywalls (i.e., The Wall Street Journal).

9. It should be noted here that another kind of archiving effort has emerged in the recent past that, though only provisional, has at least managed to capture some of the ephemeral quality of online news content. Pastpages (www.pastpages.com), a project created independently by Los Angeles Times journalist Ben Welch, takes an image snapshot of the front pages of 80 newspapers on an hourly basis, thus giving researchers the ability to track story placement over time. Welsh has said that he would like to eventually scrape all of the HTML, images, and code

10. Personal conversation, September 2013.

11. This was echoed in a 2013 Canadian report titled “Preserving Canada’s memory,” which noted that there was poor communication between memory institutions, libraries and nonprofits on issues concerning digital archives in Canada (Canada’s Public Policy Forum, 2013).

12. This position is contradicted somewhat in the 2010 Pathfinder report, which claims that “by 2015, LAC will be able to ingest, preserve and provide managed access to a Pan-Canadian representative collection of newspapers in digital form.” (LAC, 2010)

13. In 2008, Canadiana announced plans to expand its mandate to include born-digital archiving, but it has not since announce any plans for born-digital preservation projects.

14. The lack of a newspaper librarian is particularly vexing because in 2007, LAC switched from mandating the legal deposit of newspapers to a system of “deposit on demand.” Presently, there is no infrastructure that would allow for requests to be made or enforced.

15. Bill C-11 is Canada’s Copyright Modernization Act, which has previously been amended in 1997. The 2012

amendments were an attempt to address current trends and practices in the use of digital materials.

16. In this regard, the Globe is characteristic of a general disinterest in media outlets in archiving online comments.

17. Though a discussion of broadcast archiving is beyond the purview of this report, it should be noted that broadcast archives are also currently facing these issues. Canadian major broadcasters, including the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and CTV Television Network maintain their own archives using technology purchased from third-party CMS providers. As well, Canada's private broadcasters are currently exploring the possibility of putting up paywalls, which could affect the public's access to archived material.

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# Back to the Future of News: Looking at Locative Media Principles in the Pre-News Era

***Claudia Silva***

*Locative media enables us to use smartphones to gain a better understanding of places around us. Most of this information is more historical than newsworthy. However, locative media allows news organizations to shape news in an innovative and engaging way. This study discusses how the "culture of curiosities" shaped the birth of news in 16th and 17th century, and proceeds to use this culture to explain the great potential of locative information for a new generation of information consumers. In order to do so, this paper analyzes two representative location-based applications: Foursquare and Fieldtrip.*

Location-based media provide an opportunity for the media industry to shape news in an innovative and engaging ways. Currently, this is critical since conventional news is no longer widely accepted among young people between the ages of 18 and 29 (Poindexter, 2012). Furthermore, there is a high percentage of these young adults who search for local news on their smartphones (Rosenstiel & Mitchell, 2011). According to the Pew Research Center (2013), 74% of adult smartphone owners over the age of 18 use their phone to receive information based on their location. This role of location in the digital culture and mobile technologies has promoted the revival of the concept of "place" as both a repository and a trigger for information delivery (Wilken & Goggin, 2012). This concept is not straightforward for the journalism industry. In this context, this paper draws on a historical parallel between the 21st century and the 16th and 17th centuries, when the culture of curiosities shaped knowledge as a whole, including the birth of news (Kenny, 2004; Benedict, 2001; Ball, 2012). The aim is to explain how an appeal to curiosity and an expanded sense of information tied to geography, both provided by locative information systems, might be of interest to both smartphone users and to the news industry.

Indeed, readers from late 17th century (1690) perceived news like a maze without consulting analog maps (Vittu, 1994). In order to solve this problem, maps or geographical guides were specifically printed to help newspaper readers (Kenny, 2004). This effort to understand information through places and mapping is leveraged today by mobile phones with GPS (Global Positioning Systems), digital mapping and wireless systems. Thus, readers of the 21st century are now able to receive news or consume stories in real time and space, allowing them to experience events or visualize news stories pinned on virtual maps. This phenomenon is known as locative media, which leverages the possibility of binding information to a specific location through digital mobile technologies (Wilken, 2012; Gordon & De Souza e Silva, 2011).

Rather than being a technological novelty, locative media evolves through a process of remediation by reproducing the fundamental traces of readership behavior, based on analog news, to digital mobile locative applications. As Bolter & Grusin (1999) argue, remediation is a "defining characteristic of digital media" (p.45), which means that novel digital media reproduces/remixes as well as hypermediates characteristics and principles of analog and old media. The association of locative media with old media is well explored in this field of study. McCullough (2008), for example, has drawn a parallel between locative media and ancient inscriptions in buildings or monuments. For this scholar, the fact that locative media permits digital tagging (e.g., QRcodes, see Farman, 2012) of the physical world is not especially new, but rather a sort of digital graffiti. Also, Galloway and Ward (2006) have connected the parallels between archaeology and "cabinet of curiosities" and locative media. For these authors, both fields privilege the establishment of the context and the collection of cultural artifacts. In their words:

> . . . just as in archaeology, the spaces and cultures of locative media represent and perpetuate particular interests and values; the choice of what tools to use, what to map or how to classify, as well as how to collect and curate cultural objects, are also of central concern to both fields of practice. (p.3)

Thus, the work presented in this paper is not alone in making theoretical connections between locative media and news, but this will be developed further in the sequel.

The emergence of locative media coincides with a challenging time for the news industry. Indeed, young adults, particularly the "Millennial" generation (born in 1983–1999), struggle with an overload of information and, for many reasons, end up not interested in news (Poindexter, 2012). Moreover, the boundaries between journalism and other forms of communication are vanishing (Deuze, 2007), and the newspaper industry has been losing readers due to technology innovations such as the Internet (Meyer, 2004). Nevertheless, this is also a remarkable opportunity for digital innovation seekers. Poindexter (2012) argues that, "for millennials, anytime-anywhere accessibility, search-ability, share-ability, link ease and reliability, comment-ability, contribute-ability, and coolness may redefine what news is, and expectations of it" (p.28). In this setting, the aim of this paper is to explore how the culture of curiosities, a concept that shaped the birth of news and knowledge as a whole "especially" in the late 17th and early 18th Europe, could be used as a framework to engage a young readership with locative media news.

There are a number of parallels between the present and the 16$^{th}$ and 17th centuries that should help researchers in search of insight into fostering innovation in digital journalism. In particular: 1) As in the time of the culture of curiosities, news readership today cannot be taken for granted, because, like back then, the concept of news is fluid. As a result, it is critical to develop a framework to attract readership. 2) Additionally, as at the time of the culture of curiosities, history, which is understood here as “recent past”, was crucial for the emergence of news, as it is today for locative media news (Pavlik and Bridge, 2013). This paper suggests the culture of curiosities as a metaphor that not only provides scholars with a historical framework but also with an organizing principle for locative narrative, by triggering people’s curiosity about places and stories about places.

Looking through a historical lens, this study argues that location-based media news can be approached as a remediation of traditional news media while its evolution is still fluid. This argument is based on two observations. First, it reminds the field of journalism that its definition began with “history.” Once locative media deals mainly with historical information as a provider of context, then history could become a surviving mechanism for journalism in the digital age (Conboy, 2012). Second, it reveals to the field of journalism the relevance of maps and the sense of place associated with news.

In general, it is important to note that this study is not an attempt to prove a theory. Rather, the general goal is to provide scholars with a framework that explains how the culture of curiosities leads to a fundamental understanding of how locative media principles can be applied in digital journalism practices. Hence, this paper aims to propose that curiosity may be a way to engage young readership with digital locative news by suggesting that there might be three possible approaches: 1) exploring maps, 2) investing in history, and 3) enhancing one’s sense of place, feeding urban citizens with unusual/hidden information about their physical places. As such, this paper also analyzes how news media outlets are already using two locative applications: Foursquare and Field Trip. These two specific examples were chosen for this study because they both reflect the principles of location-based media delineated in the culture of curiosities.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 1, we explain what is “culture of curiosities, including how it shaped the birth of news and how it may resonate today’s locative media news. We also explain how curiosity is approached in the contemporary literature about journalism. In section 2, we discuss how the culture of curiosities supports our premise that history may be a surviving mechanism for digital news, as well as how a sense of place and mapping are crucial for news. Section 3 presents discussion and conclusions and section 4 some insights into the future research and challenges on locative media news.

## Culture of Curiosities, Metaphor of Collection, and the Birth Of News

In the 17th century, curiosity was fashionable, and people mentioned it endlessly—much more than today. At that time, curiosity was used to instigate society to learn new things, while the church tried to control the spread of knowledge. Curiosity is claimed to have had an unprecedented importance in being the antecedent to all action or knowledge acquisition (Benedict, 2001; Kenny, 2004; Ball, 2012). The term was not used simply as a word but as a concept, and mainly as a whole culture that shaped discourse on the collection of fragments.

Many authors agree that there was a lack of consensus about what exactly curiosity was (ibid). As Kenny (2004) put it, “curiosity was sometimes exclusively good, but sometimes exclusively bad” (p. 6). In his words: “curiosity was considered to be both something inside a person that made him or her desire certain objects and yet also something about those objects that made them desirable” (p.6). Still according to Kenny (2004), to call an object curious was often to represent it, variously, as ‘rare’, ‘exotic’, ‘excellent’, ‘fine’, ‘elegant’, ‘dedicate’, ‘beautiful’, ‘noteworthy’, ‘select’, ‘collectable’, ‘worth buying’, ‘small’, ‘hidden’, or ‘experimental’, and so on” (p.4).

It was in the early 17th century that the discourse of curiosity was made more positive, even though it was constantly attacked by the church and contested by some scholars. For the purpose of this research, we focus on the positive aspects of curiosity as a strategy to popularize knowledge.

Being considered as discourse tendency, usually, curiosity entailed either the collecting of objects or the associated discourse. The discourse of collecting spread to a wide range of other discourses - on nature, history, the news, and so on- even when the only objects being collected were discursive (facts, recipes, anecdotes) rather than material ones. In other words, the collecting of material objects, known as cabinet of curiosities, may have operated as the literal term of a metaphor that spread to other discourses, and functioned as an organizing principle of knowledge.

During this period of the culture of curiosities, newspapers first appeared in Germany from the late 16th and early 17th century and in France from 1631 with the Gazette (Kenny, 2004). Those publications were also influenced by the metaphor of curiosity-collecting. French newspapers, as Kenny (2004) states, used “curiosity virtually from the outset” (p. 266). As an example, this author cites that in January 1632, Théophraste Renaudot (cited in Kenny, 2004) who has been acclaimed as the first French journalist, launched the new monthly supplement to his weekly, recently founded *Gazette* and *Nouvelles ordinaires* with the following words: “Now that even those who are the least curious for news are beginning to demand some, and that those who were curious about future things are finding more certainty in past ones, and that the past ones furthest from our own era are acknowledged to belong us the least” (p. 267). This passage shows how Renaudot was using curiosity to engage readers not with the future or the remote past (as *antiquarianis* used to do at that time), but with the recent past.

This is consistent with Tobias Peucer’s doctoral dissertation (considered the first academic work on journalism), written in 1690, in which he attributes the origin of news reporting “partly to the curiosity of people and partly [to] the desire for gain” (Peucer, 1690, cited in Atwood & De Beer, 2001). While Peucer stated that news was born to satisfy people’s curiosity, curiosity was also used to legitimize the creation of news. As Kenny (2004) put, “newspapers may have created these ‘*curiosi*’ no less than the demands of the ‘*curiosi*’ created newspapers” (p.272).

It is also worth noting that the uses of curiosity to the news were not stable or fixed, as Kenny (2004) states: “Rather, they were constantly contested. Proponents and opponents of the newspaper often used curiosity respectively to legitimize or condemn this controversial genre" (p. 269). Decorum-based curiosity, for example, was also used to condemn and legitimize newspapers. While some critics of the newspaper genre argued that it made politically sensitive information available to too broad a readership, transgressing decorum, "as interference in what does not concern us, given our estate or profession," others did not reject decorum but argued that newspapers respected decorum by communicating different information to different groups, "depending on what they need to know given their role in life" (p. 270).

The pedagogue Christian Weise cited by Kenny (2004), for instance, considered newspapers to be an important tool with which to train students and professions of all kinds for the social duties: whereas "state servants and courtiers" have the benefit of correspondence that tells them what is happening in the world, "the majority of curious people have to use newspapers" (p. 270). Kenny (2004) explains that Weise's language of curiosity connotatively presented knowledge in newspapers as fragmented, new, attractive, and indeed useful. The pedagogue even outlined "the use of newspapers for all kind of curiosities (such as theology, law, medicine, trade, the military arts)" (Weise cited by Kenny, p.270).

Curiosity was critical towards legitimizing newspapers, "to make it respectable to want to know certain things that exceeded the bounds of what decorum decreed that one needed to know" (ibid, p. 270). Kenny (2004) cites Marperger (1727), who described one of the prime physical locations for the reception of newspapers: "Later, inside such newspapers-shops, stalls, or kiosks—especially if they are spacious—there gather and converse many curious people form all ranks, learned and unlearned, state officials, merchants, soldiers, foreigners, and locals" (p. 270). As Kenny (2004) states, the people in these ephemeral, informal huddles in Hamburg or Amsterdam have just one thing in common—"being curious", what was being used to create communities (p. 273). Curiosity was therefore a social cement for societies and worked as a reinforcer of social order.

Influenced by the curiosity-collecting strand, news was presented in the form of fragments. For example, in France and Germany it was presented often as metaphorical collections of curious objects, again especially in the late 17th and early 18th century, but beginning (at least in France) from about the 1630s. Readers of recent news events were all often described as "curious," although the term "novelty" was widely used to identify the realm of news. According to Kenny (2004), curiosity gave to the news a broadly similar structure to that of other discourses within the culture of curiosities, such as antiquities and *naturalia.*

Obviously, the term "newspapers" did not exist at that time. Thus, curious news items were attributed to printed periodicals, which disseminated knowledge more rapidly and cheaply than books and correspondences, ranging from politics to natural philosophy (Kenny, p. 266). Kenny (ibid) defines the periodical as a:

> publication that was invented to appear more or less regularly for general sale, possessing a recognizable degree of continuity of external form, and containing a plurality of items, as opposed to the single event to which one-off broadsheets and pamphlets like the French *canard* and relation or the German *Zeitung* had often been devoted previously. (p. 266)

This scholar considers "newspapers" a sub-genre of periodicals, which were often printed weekly mainly on political and military news. Another significant sub-genre for the purpose of this paper is the "miscellany-periodicals." Unlike newspapers, the latter was on heterogeneous topics, from news to wonders of nature and art, but without the sustained moral and satirical perspective of the moral weeklies, which became popular in the early German Enlightment.

## The Role of Curiosity in the 21St Century Journalism

Although curiosity was discussed much more in the 17th century than today; as Kenny (2004) has pointed out in the introduction to his book, curiosity still plays a strong role in journalism today. In contrast to past centuries, when curiosity was an organizing principle of journalistic narrative and also a way of engaging readership, today it may be considered one of the principal professional requisites to be a journalist. De Burgh (2003) found that, rather than skills or knowledge, personal qualities such as curiosity, "enthusiasm" (can-do attitudes), positiveness, the ability to work under pressure and learn quickly, are highly valued by British employers in the journalism industry.

In the same direction, Josephi (2004) approached the question of "which core attributes should young journalists offer "from the industry point of view" by interviewing four newspapers, two of them counted among the ten best papers in the world (*El Pais, Neue Zürcher Zeitung*), Singapore's *Straits Times* and Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post*. This researcher found the "remarkable unanimity" of newspapers' search for young journalists who have curiosity, which in this context means those "who have the urge and determination to find out news" (p.110). In line with Josephi (2004) and De Burgh's (2003)'s findings, Chenault (2008) found that one of the most important skills for new agricultural journalists was the possession of personal attributes and skills, such as curiosity and adaptability.

Although Peucer mentions "curiosity" many times in his 1690 dissertation, scholars have not yet analyzed in-depth the origin of news from this perspective. In this sense, Grunwald and Rupar (2009), in a study about frame and angle, in which they juxtapose the concept of "frame" to the concept of "curiosity," point out that while the concept of curiosity has received attention particularly in psychology as a driving force in child development, and in social sciences as a major force behind scientific discovery, it remains less explored in journalism.

Curiosity is seen as an essential characteristic of being a journalist but also as a concept to explain the reasons why a journalist chooses to tell a story (Grunwald & Rupar, 2009).

This paper, nevertheless, analyzes how curiosity may be a driving force for smartphone users who may be interested in locative news. In this sense, it is very important to clarify that this paper approaches “curiosity” from the perspective of the knowledgeable smartphone users, the young consumers, to Millennials, who wander throughout an urban space and are eager to learn about their surroundings through digital mobile devices.

## How the Culture of Curiosities Conveys the Idea Of Mapping, Sense of Place, and History

### History as a surviving mechanism of digital journalism

As at the time of culture of curiosities, it is relevant to stress that journalism is not restricted to hard news. In this sense, mobile, location-aware technologies provide tools to explore the spatial and historical characteristics of information. Locative media apps also transport readers to other times by providing historical information about places. As history was made into a collection of curiosities in the 17th century to provide imaginary access to other times and places, so does locative media today. The “reading” of places is done on the spot. The idea of collecting, intensely explored in the culture of curiosities, may be here applied to stories and places. A Foursquare user, for example, may be either collecting tips or places, creating his/her own cabinet of curiosities (Gazzard, 2012).

Also, as at the time of the culture of curiosities, when the distinction between history and news was not absolute, and “relative recent events were sometimes called ‘newly historical’” (Atwood & De Beer, 2001), today history plays a critical role in the production of information for locative journalism projects. There have been only a few attempts to incorporate aspects of locative media into journalism. Pavlik and Bridges (2013) show an example: A “situated documentary” with a form of immersive storytelling, which enables the user to experience past news events while she or he wears a head-worn display and visits, walks, and otherwise travels through the location where those events take place.

With a similar purpose, the British newspaper *The Guardian* created a mobile application called “Street Stories” that provides users with historical information about a certain street in London. This historical principle of news is far from being innovative, since even before the emergence of what is conventionally called journalism, Tobias Peucer, in 1690, defended that journalism is to build on the history of everyday life, to write the memory of events.

In this way, the main premise of locative media is the possibility that GPS-enabled phones allow one to uncover layers of information associated with the physical world. This study found support on the work of Conboy (2012) who argues that the past, as a provider of context, is becoming a criterion for a new model of journalism. This author suggests that “journalism needs history as a subject context if it is to survive the threatening challenges of the profession from the changes caused by the digital media” (p. 16). Conboy argues that historical context might be a factor of differentiation for media outlets from mere information providers. Moreover, technologies of location heighten the ability of online news to guide the user through the physical world to historical contexts via hyperlinks and digitally stored archives. The journalism industry should not ignore the potential of layering the physical world with digital historical information through locative technologies.

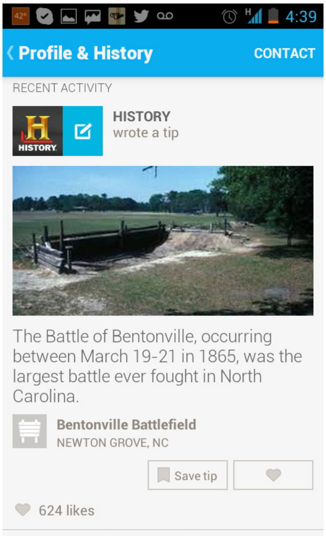
This is visible in how Foursquare is being used by media outlets in the US. Foursquare is a location-based social network (LBSN) launched in March 2009 that was turned recently into a discovery engine with social aspects. Currently, this LSBN has 45 million users worldwide (Foursquare, 2014a). Users have to create a profile on Foursquare just like other social networking sites, and then have access to a GPS enabled device to use the service. According to the Pew Internet Research (2013) on Location-Based Services, 12% of smartphones services use geosocial services such as Foursquare, and Millenials, young adults between 18 and 29 years old are the most popular users.

In order to reach out and engage young and mobile audiences, Foursquare is used by news media organizations in the same way as social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter. On July 2013, we found 77 US media outlets had an official page on Foursquare, including newspapers, TV channels, magazines, radio, and websites.

The way media outlets are using Foursquare fits exactly into the metaphor of collection of curiosities in two ways: 1) rather than providing continuous narrative, the information provided is organized into a collection of fragments, what are called “tips,” a textual way to suggest things to other people on the application, limited to 200 characters with a possibility of having also a link (as shown in the Figure 1). A Foursquare user can add tips to any venue and “they will remain attached to that venue forever,” ensures the application on its page (Foursquare, 2014b). 2) Some of these tips are a mixing of contemporary and historical information that is less likely to be found in traditional media.

In this sense, the structure of these tips leads us to think that they function as triggers of curiosities, since they convey a tiny and fragmented piece of information, functioning as a motivator for the user to learn more about the places.

**Figure 1.** Example of a Foursquare Tip on History Channel




Thus, this paper argues that "history" is the curious element of the narrative of these tips. Even when news media outlets provide information about restaurants or burgers, they layer this information with bits of curiosity, in the sense of "rare," "exotic," "excellent," "fine," "elegant," "dedicate," "beautiful," "noteworthy," "select," "collectable," "worth buying," "small," "hidden," or "experimental." By doing this, news media outlets might engage Millenials who are not necessarily looking for traditional news but might want to learn more about the place where they happen to be, enhancing their experience of the place.

The idea of this historical layer on tips can be seen in some tips left by news media outlets. History channel, for instance, has a page on Foursquare as do many news organizations on Facebook (as shown in the Figure 2). Users who have liked their page may see tips left by History Chanel popping up whenever they check in to venues, wherever the TV channel attached information. Usually, the tips are tidbits about the names of important institutions, such as the following example:

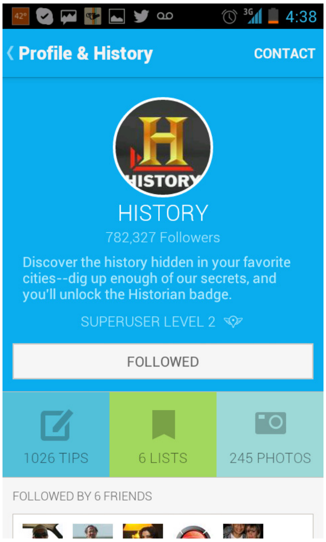
> "Did you know the center [Charles W. Eiseman Center] is named for local philanthropist, Charles W. Eisemann, in recognition of a $2,000,000 gift from the Eisemann Foundation Fund of The Communities Foundation of Texas?"

This tip has elements of exploiting curiosity to shape historical knowledge in a way that maximizes appeal. As Kenny (2004) explains, one way to apply curiosity, as a narrative discourse was to formulate the headings of most of the histories as questions, as "did you know?" Therefore, when news media outlets address young Foursquare users by posing questions, they are not only promoting conversation but triggering their curiosity, which might lead them to learn more on the spot or might lead them to the news organization's website. MTV's Foursquare webpage often uses the "curious question genre," by phrasing tips in the "did you know" style, e.g., "Did you know this place used to be a silent movie theater in the early 1900s? It's loud and proud now." This tip was left at the The Lyric, in Oxford, and illustrates the intersection between past and present embedded in places. After reading this, a Foursquare user who is at this music venue might be intrigued by the historical gap and ironic evolution of a place that went from showing silent movies to loud and live music. Here lies an opportunity for a news organization to delve into the history of this place and offer additional in-depth information on its website, or it may be an opportunity for designing a specific location-based news application to explore this potential.

The cable and satellite Travel Channel has also been exploring historical background, even when thee tip is about burgers, e.g., "This classic LA burger shack has been open since 1947. Try the "Hickory Burger" as seen on Travel Channel's Burger Land & recommended by host George Motz."

Time Out Chicago has tips with a historical character such as this one left at a candy store: "The Superior name has been churning out bulk goodies such as chocolate-covered raisins, caramel bull-eyes, cashews and fruit slices since the 80's, and we sure as heck don't want them to stop." Both cases reflect the notion of providing users with tidbits of historical information that might trigger their curiosity about a place.

Figure 2. History Channel's Foursquare page



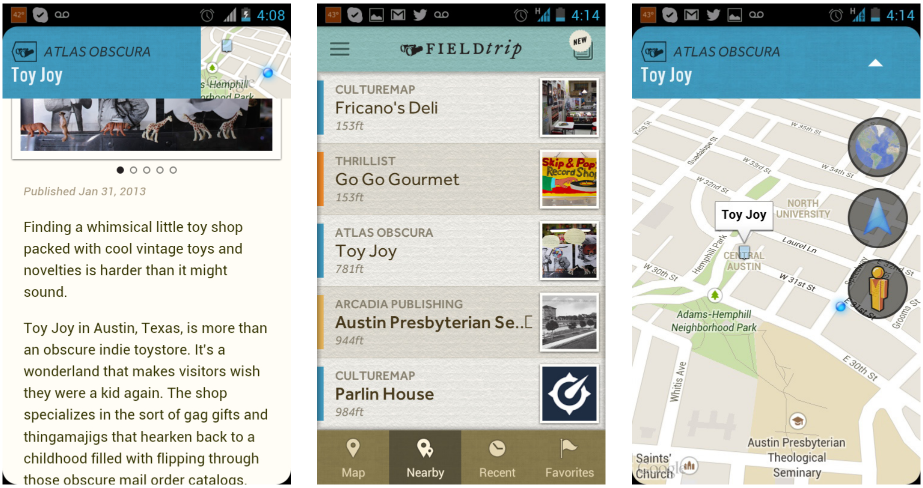
Another example of how some media organizations are using location data is through Field Trip, a customizable “local discovery engine” (Sterling, 2012), or as termed by Madrigal (2012), a “geo-publishing tool” that was released in September 2012 by Google’s Niantic Labs projects, headed by former Google Local/Maps chieftain John Hanke.

The application is available for Android phone and iPhone as well as for Google Glass, a device the user wears to get visual and audio data without holding up a smartphone. Field Trip runs in the background on the smartphone and notifies users when they are near something interesting across a wide range of categories. Despite the large set of categories, it is worth noting how the application is mainly exploring historical content. The information provided by Field Trip comes from over 170 data sources (publishers) such as Arcadia Publishing (the leading local history publisher in the US, with a catalog of more than 8,500 titles in print and hundreds of new titles released every year), Historical Marker Database (a searchable online catalog of historical information), or Atlas Obscura (a collaborative project that tries to aggregate curious information around the world). One may learn about the story of an unusual style of architecture, history of monuments, locate historical plaques, and learn about past events as a whole. Madrigal (2012) discusses as an example the Atlas Obscura website, which is not a typical daily site that users would go to, but instead has information overlaid on a map (as shown in Figure 3 below). One may search on their website for “ghost houses” near Austin, Texas, and visualize the results on the map. As Madrigal suggests one “could build a publication with a heatmap of a city, working out from the most heavily traveled blocks to the ones where people rarely stroll” (p. 5). In this sense, Madrigal suggests that Atlas Obscura is an ideal publishing partner for Field Trip because it provides information that is hidden in the physical world, therefore ideal to trigger digital mobile device owners’ curiosity.

Field Trip leverages location data from Google Maps and a map icon on the bottom bar of the app displays a map of the user’s location and information around him/her. When notified, a mini map in the top right corner of the screen shows the user where an identified spot is located.

Field Trip presents itself as a “guide to the cool, hidden, and unique things in the world around you.” As in the culture of curiosities, this application from the outset uses the discourse of “unique”, “rare”, and “unusual” to legitimize its goal of being original. In line with this purpose, the aforementioned “Atlas Obscura” encourages a community of world explorers to contribute with information about “curious places that’s not already in the Atlas” or “hidden spots”. It also highlights on its webpage that “in an age where everything seems to have been explored and there is nothing new to be found, we celebrate a different way of looking at the world.” Thus, its goal is to feed the curiosity of people “searching for miniature cities, glass flowers, books bound in human skin, gigantic flaming holes in the ground, bones churches, balancing pagodas, or homes built entirely out of paper.”

Figure 3. Atlas Obscura on FieldTrip




Thus, Field Trip is a contemporary locative tool that illustrates the principles of the culture of curiosities delineated in the beginning of this paper. Fieldtrip also has a commercial segment by providing users with notifications about places to eat, shop, or drink, also having as sources trend-setting publications like TimeOut, Thrillist, Food Network, Zagat, and Eater. The application encapsulates a group of publishers, some journalistic, and leverages their content into a locative delivery segment, attaching them to specific places.

Taking this into account, this paper suggests that Field Trip might be a model that researchers as well as the journalism industry could investigate in order to understand the extent that curiosity actually plays a role in readership, and move generally media consumption.

## The relevance of maps for locative narrative

The way the culture of curiosities shaped news also lead us to the realm of geography, to the relevance of maps (Clark, 2010; Gazzard, 2012; Wilken & Goggin, 2012; De Souza e Silva & Frith, 2012) providing insightful thoughts about the importance of locative media even before the emergence of media as we know it today. In this sense, since Millennials are pretty familiar with digital maps to look for directions on their phones, e.g., using Google Maps, one way to target them may be using maps with geotagged content while they look for directions. Obviously, this is not a new idea, as past research has already suggested this (Schmitz Weiss, 2013). Rather than pointing that out as mere possibility, this paper tries to bring up the fundamental needs of news readers based on a historical approach rather than an empirical one. Thus, the direct association with locative media and news is enabled by the fact that news items were made into curious discursive objects by their relation not only to time, but also to space (Kenny, 2004). Just as location-based technologies change our perceived physical boundaries and notions of space (Bilandzic & Foth, 2012), by analogy to "material curiosities," Kenny (2004) states, "news was explicitly used to transport readers mentally to other places and to bring those places to readers' minds" (p. 268). As the French scholar Jean-Pierre Vittu (1994) has pointed out, the reader of a French newspaper in the 1690s worked his or her way through an ordered sequence of places (and also dates), starting with the furthest and ending up in Paris.

As already mentioned in the introduction of this paper, Vittu states that the reader from the 17th century perceived the information like a maze without using maps. Indeed, maps or geographical guides were printed specifically to help newspapers readers (Kenny, 2004). Maps could be sold in the shape of an atlas or by unit. Usually, readers could buy maps from newspapers seller or they could find them hanging at the front of bookstores specialized in geography alongside the clock tower in Paris (Quai de l'Horloge) (Vittu, 1994).

It is worth noting those maps were not necessarily used as navigation devices. In the 1600s, an atlas was illustrated with pictures of places surrounding the detailed map areas; they were designed with illustrations depicting cities, towns and ports alongside the detailed two-dimensional top-down plans of various places in Europe (Gazzard, 2012).

In this sense, it is tempting to say that "maps" functioned as a graphical supplement to newspapers, which readers could use to tie the stories and happenings to the locations where they happened, all driven by curiosity. However, as Kenny (2004) has pointed out:

> Although the maps might suggest that newspapers therefore gave readers access to a coherent whole world, it seems more likely that they imagined different places as discrete, unintegrated fragments: the places and dates through which the 1690s reader worked were not linked in the text by any single, over-arching narrative; newspapers jumped from one mini-narrative to the next; they were for the '*curiositas*' of the person who likes constant change, that is, discontinuity. (p.268)

It is interesting to link this fragmentation of news with modern views of newspapers. After all, as Benedict Anderson (2006) has pointed out, the reader of *The New York Times* might have trouble understanding the linkage between "stories about soviet dissidents, famine in Mali, a gruesome murder, a coup in Iraq, the discovery of a rare fossil in Zimbabwe, and a speech by Mitterand. Why are these events so juxtaposed?" (p.33). For Anderson, readers of news imagine the links between those stories. In the evolving digital journalism scenario, one might have a better sense of this fragmentation by creating a personalized platform for stories with the smartphone while exploring places physically. Despite this fragmentation, the language of curiosity and novelty conveys the powerful notion that newspapers somehow embody remote places and brought them to the locations where they were sold, read, and discussed (Kenny, 2004).

If we compare modern newspaper readers with those of the 1600s, we could venture to say that the reality might not be so different. Are contemporary newspaper readers more knowledgeable about geography? Excluding diaspora communities, immigrants, and expatriates, a local population might have difficulty understanding the significance of places and the overall stories that occurred in them. The difference is the handy and convenient access to digital maps. While places were brought to readers at that time, nowadays due to the increasing mobility of people and the widespread adoption of smartphones, people travel with places, with maps in their pockets. Stories are instantly attached to maps. Thus, smartphone users can locate information at the speed of their fingertips. For the media geographer Adams (2009) "the map is a communication medium, but one that is tied closely to mobility, and the spatial routine" (p. 180). Along the same lines of understanding, Clark (2010) states the following:

> Maps are powerful tools. In fact, I've come to believe that the best journalism is like a map. It shows where you are in relation to others; it provides a sense of topography and can show the best path forward. Whatever the purpose is of a particular piece of journalism-breaking a story, investigating corruption, giving voice to the voiceless, when the job is done well, a new place in the world emerges or new understanding of a familiar one is gained. Effective storytelling helps citizens and communities discover where they are (sometimes by examining who they are). From there, they can better decide where they want to go. (p. 2, 3)

Thus, rather than simply being visual interfaces for geotagged content, maps are tools to enhance people's sense of place and help them to reconnect with the physical world.

In this sense, locative media news can be understood as a remediation, what Bolter & Grusin (1999) call representation of one medium in another. Once, we assume that location-based technologies applied to news may be a process of remediation; we may best understand the effects of this innovation into people's lives. Also, it allows us to predict behavior and cultural factors.

## How Places Embed Stories In Locative News

As Clark (2010) reminds us, "the news of a region is not just about what's new. Place provides an alternative organizing principle for journalism, prompting questions about what forces economic, political, environmental, cultural, personal shape one spot in the world" (p.4). Place is also a repository for personal memories and history (see Benjamin, 1986; Veronesi & Gemeinboeck, 2009). It reflects our fundamental need to connect people and stories to places to make sense of the information we take in at each moment by crafting it selectively into narratives that help us to explain experience and time. As Gelder (2011, p. 4), an archaeological researcher, argues that it "is through place that we are able to root our sense of self." People's stories make places important, and place becomes the vessel for holding and keeping their stories.” Moreover, from a cultural perspective, Gelder (2011) has pointed out that “in the United States, a country founded on a myth of immigrant people, motion has gained value over rootedness. Speed and time have taken a supreme role over place and relationship, leaving a hollow shell of commodification that encourages negation of local knowledge and nonlinear time” (p. 4). In this sense, this study suggests that “location-based news triggered by curiosity approach” might help young generations to reconnect with their locality and surroundings, a powerful potential for local information (Gordon & De Souza e Silva, 2011). The landscape can serve to reinforce stories and their connections to the places where the smartphone reader is located (Dourish & Bell, 2011).

The human geographer Yi Fu Tuan (1977) states that “place itself offered little outside the human bond” (p. 140). On this basis, approaching locative news from the curiosity standpoint might help young people discover places that are soaked with human news stories. Put another way, one might feel more contextualized when in an unfamiliar environment by being notified of curious place-based stories. Clark (2010) explains very eloquently the meaning and the promising possibilities of locative storytelling. Clark believes that “every place has a thousand stories that can help us understand the world and make decisions as citizens. Journalists tell these stories every day and news organizations have archives full of them” (p. 4). For her, journalists could build tools that exploit the intersection of story and place “by harnessing the fleeting but powerful investment that people have in place when they are physically in it.” By doing that, Clark argues, “we fuel curiosity and give deeper meaning to what is discovered” (p.4).

## Conclusions and Discussion

Throughout this research, the theoretical assumption defended was that curiosity might be a powerful framework to trigger readership, mainly Millenials, to learn locative news that pops up on their smaller mobile screens while on the go. Locative information systems invest in context, in enhancing one’s experience of place, by essentially enabling mobile users to experience stories in an engaging way. In this sense, curiosity may also be a principle to legitimize locative news as at the time of the emergence of news, in Europe, during the culture of curiosities, when social and religious forces said that people did not need to know everything, and the concept of news was still fluid. In an inquiry of why Millennials get news, Poindexter (2012) found that curiosity is one of the reasons young people might engage with news. As Poindexter (2012) puts it, “for some Millennials, getting news is inevitable because news just ‘pops up!’” (p. 56). Furthermore, this author states that “Millenials pay attention to local news, rather than national and international” (pp. 56–57), which reinforces the relevance of locative devices, which provide information specific to place.

The scholar Amy Schmitz Weiss (2013), in her study about news and location-based services, concluded that there is a gap between news organizations and consumers. In other words, while there is high use of location-based applications by smartphone consumers, news organizations are only using geo-location features in their mobile apps for traffic and weather. Contrary to this finding, this paper argues that some news outlets are using location-based technologies to target users according to where they happen to be. Although Foursquare is not a news application (like those mentioned in Weiss's article) per se, the usage of the LBSN analyzed in this paper may be still considered an innovation, just as Facebook and Twitter were, in the scope of social media and news. Moreover, although Foursquare is not a news application in the sense of providing instantaneous information about the present, it is still a tool for delivery of historical information, which may be relevant to the user when tied to a specific place. Fieldtrip, in turn, functions as a geo-publishing tool for news media organizations and publishers in general, which can be fairly recognized as an innovative practice as well.

Nyre et al (2012), who designed a locative medium called LocaNews in 2009 in Norway for research purposes only, concluded, "it is easier to design a new technology than to establish a new journalistic practice" (p. 312). In their words, "It seemed to be almost counter-intuitive for journalists to work with news criteria based on spatial proximity rather than temporal actuality" (p. 312). Based on that, this paper argues that location-based social networks or location-discovery engines such as Fieldtrip may be a starting point for news organizations to begin experimenting with locative narratives. Moreover, these findings suggest that the journalism industry may have to break with preconceived notions of what news should be in order to explore cutting-edge and promising locative technologies such as Google Glass. After all, as in the time of culture of curiosities, the concept of news is longer solid or central in our society. In this regard, Øie (2013), who was part of the research experiment in Norway along with Nyre et al (2012), has pointed out that the possible forms of locative journalism discussed in his paper break with people and also with the industry's preconceived notions about what journalism should be.

Besides the examples showed throughout this paper, other news organizations are already taking advantage of location to innovate, such as NPR (National Public Radio), which has partnered with the journalist Krissy Clark to create the project "Storycorps and Stories Everywhere," which is a self-guided mobile-phone tour that brings together stories of stoops, streets, and sidewalks of the Lower East Side, drawn from StoryCorp's extensive New York City interview archive; or as mentioned earlier, "Street Stories," the application created by the British newspaper *The Guardian*, is also a case that deserves attention from scholars and which may be approached from the curiosity perspective. Those initiatives may also be based on the curiosity approach to engage smartphone users interested in learning more about their surroundings, by sending them notifications through maps interfaces, for instance.

As Øie (2013) reminds us, "still readers want to be surprised and 'educated' by news for which they did not search or anticipated" (p. 13). By exploring this desire to be surprised, to satisfy curiosity, locative news might be a way to help Millenials and future generations to rediscover news in this evolving digital world.

## Future Research and Challenges

This paper argues that curiosity may be a way to engage Millenials with locative news based on the historical parallel with the "culture of curiosities" of the 16$^{th}$ and 17$^{th}$ centuries. However, further empirical research is required to address critical questions such as what is curiosity for Millennials? What triggers their curiosity and when? Do applications such as Foursquare or Fieldtrip trigger Millennials' curiosity about their surroundings or places where they happen to be?

Regarding Foursquare, it would be interesting to analyze where and why media outlets choose places for their tips. For example, how does the density of users in a location impact the quantity and character of the tips posted for that location?

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# “A Huge Culture Change”: Newsrooms at *La Presse* and *The Montreal Gazette* Reflect on the Shift to Digital-First

## *Lisa Lynch*

*Using newsroom interviews conducted in 2010 and 2013, this study[1] looks at how reporters and editors in two Montreal newsrooms—the Anglophone paper The Montreal Gazette and the Francophone paper La Presse—described their shifting roles and work practices when both outlets were accelerating their transition from a print to digital-first focus. The interviews reveal that the workplace disruptions experienced by these newsworkers are typical of recent trends in the newspaper industry. However, they also suggest that attitudes toward online journalism are greatly affected by non-technical factors, which have resulted in each paper having entirely different cultures relating to online newswork.*

## Introduction

The newspaper industry in Montreal has been shaped by exceptional circumstances. Francophone papers operate as part of a vigorous yet self-contained Quebecois media sphere, focused on a political and cultural life distinct from the rest of Canada. Anglophone papers, on the other hand, have seen their once-thriving market diminished by a reduced Anglo presence in the city and strong competition from English-language media from the rest of Canada and from the US. These shaping forces have resulted in two separate media spheres, overlapping in terms of coverage but often distinct in terms of approach (Fletcher, 1998). Yet despite their differences, over the past several years Montreal newspapers have faced the same challenge: how to remake their product in order to check declining revenues and integrate new technologies of production and distribution.

This paper explores how newsrooms at one Anglophone and one Francophone newspaper in Montreal—namely, *The Montreal Gazette* and *La Presse*—responded as their papers moved to embrace an increasingly “digital-first” strategy.[2] Using newsroom interviews conducted in 2010 and 2013, this article assesses how reporters and editors described their own changing work practices and their overall relationship to online journalism. These interviews supported an initial hypothesis that comparison between an Anglophone and a Francophone newsroom in Quebec would reveal different attitudes toward the digital transition; at the same time, they also suggested that a far more complex landscape of circumstances shaped these attitudes than originally anticipated. In order to consider the broader implication of the relationship between perceptions and circumstance, the researcher situates the interviews in the context of each paper's history and explores what changed at each paper between 2010 and 2013. The paper is thus at once a situated study of two newsrooms' particular evolutions through the eyes of newsroom employees and a broader consideration of the forces that shape newsworkers' understandings of online journalism.

**Moving Online: Innovation and Crisis**

This study was conceived during a moment when Montreal's newsrooms began increasing their focus on different web formats and new digital platforms, integrating new kinds of multimedia content, and trying to facilitate community interaction. In doing so, they were following in the steps of North American, British and European news outlets that had increasingly focused on their news sites and/or news apps as the primary "home" of their professional product, heeding the advice and warnings of observers who saw online innovation as the only beacon of optimism in an industry in crisis (Massing, 2009; Mitchell, 2010). The disruptive effects of the Internet on print circulation were felt less in Canada than in the United States (Giles, 2010), but by late 2009 it had become clear to many Canadian newspaper publishers that even if circulation declines were not as extreme in Canada as in the United States, declines in advertising revenue were cause for alarm (Krashinsky, 2010). To address these revenue concerns and to prepare for a future marked by still more declines in print circulation, Canadian newspapers started to accelerate the shift to online. *The Gazette* and *La Presse* were thus typical Canadian news outlets in terms of the timing of their shifts toward digital first. Both papers experienced revenue losses between 2009–2012; in fact, each paper cancelled the Sunday editions of their newspapers in 2010 in response to a decrease in circulation and advertising revenue (Winseck, 2010).

As their online presence evolved between 2010–2013, newsrooms at *The Gazette* and *La Presse* grappled with the same challenges as other newspapers shifting from a print-first to digital first focus. Watching their papers move increasingly online, some journalists in each newsroom expressed anxiety about the ways that the digital transition affected traditional journalistic values and routines, much like other journalists in newsrooms around the world (O'Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008; Bozcowski, 2004, 2010; Powers, 2012). This sense of anxiety was heightened by the fact that the increasing importance of news websites meant that traditional print journalists at *The Gazette* and *La Presse* often found their work process changed or reprioritized. In order to promote a digital-first approach, news outlets have experimented with retraining (Dorroh, 2008), the hiring of new staff with training outside of journalism (Royal, 2008), or newsroom integration, blending a once-marginalized "web" staff with the newsroom as a whole (Domingo & Patterson, 2008). In the newsrooms at *The Gazette* and *La Presse*, a combination of all of these strategies were used to improve the online product, resulting in occasional frustration and friction.

Though all of these factors have had marked impact on newsroom labor conditions and morale, it is important to step back from the question of technological change to see how recent shifts within the newsroom are also a part of what Compton and Benedetti (2009) have described as several decades' worth of "labor rationalization" connected to corporate profit-seeking, a trend that has prompted layoffs and restructurings for reasons apart from a reduced need for labor due to faster technological processes. The degree to which the labor crisis in journalism is related to the digital transition remains a matter of contention, with some scholars (Deuze & Marjoribanks, 2009) seeing technology as taking a leading role, others focusing more on political economy (McChesney and Nichols, 2010) and others seeing the two transitions as co-implicated, with technological change prompting policy changes that, in turn, allowed media companies to consolidate and streamline newsrooms (Winseck, 2002; Gasher & Skinner, 2005). The complexity of the dialectic between labor rationalization and technological upheaval became strikingly clear when reading through interviews with reporters and editors at *The Gazette* and *La Presse*, as each interview seemed to reveal a subtly different articulation of the challenges of the online transition and how each worker's own labor conditions were affected by these challenges.

## Research Question and Methodology

This study grew out of an observation, in 2009: Francophone journalists this researcher encountered in Montreal tended to be more dismissive of the Internet than their Anglo peers. Aware that there was an overall discussion of the 'digital divide' between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians (CEFRIO 2005), and given that Francophone newspapers had less competition from more digitally aggressive US outlets, the researcher wondered whether Francophone news outlets were simply less invested in the online space. She also wondered whether she could observe, within the relatively small Montreal market, an uneven rate of newsroom digitization (Newman & Levy, 2013). The researcher chose to test this initial hypothesis through interviews in the newsrooms of two Montreal papers, *The Gazette* and *La Presse*, which both had long histories in Montreal, a similar appeal to a middle-class demographic, and a similar presence within their respective language communities. The corresponding research questions were:

**RQ1: Are there observable differences between how reporters and staff at *The Gazette* and *La Presse* perceive the benefits and disadvantages of online news for the industry at large and for their own work practices?**

**RQ2: Will these differences change over time as both outlets refine their approach to online news?**

The research method underlying this project emerged as a response to industry conditions in Canada. As Pujik (2008) has noted, among the changes wrought by the digital transition in the newsroom is the increased difficulty of doing conventional news ethnography, as the conversational bustle of the newsroom has largely been transformed into email exchanges among newsworkers. In Canada, where the newsroom is commonly perceived by managers as a closed, corporate space, it is difficult if not impossible to be granted unfettered access to most mainstream media outlets to observe newswork in process. For this reason, this study was conducted through two sets of interviews with newsroom staff involved in some way with the production of online news, arranged with the cooperation of managing editors at both *La Presse* and *The Gazette*. Since most interview subjects requested their names not be used, they are identified only as reporters and editors in this study.

After interview subjects were recruited, an initial team visited the newsrooms of *La Presse* and *The Gazette* between March and May of 2010, meeting with individual reporters and editors. They were asked to interview newsroom workers about their duties and workload, and their positive or negative assessments about online news production.[3] During the second set of visits, in 2013, interviewers approached journalists who were interviewed in the initial study and asked whether they were willing to be interviewed again. Most were still in the newsroom (surprising, given the degree of staff turnover at *The Gazette*), and most agreed to a second interview. This time, questions focused on the participant's own career trajectory, seeking to determine whether the online transition had resulted in more or less work for each reporter or editor over time, and whether the quality of work had changed. Each participant was also asked whether they felt surprised by any aspects of the news industry's transition between 2010 and 2013.

After both sets of interviews were completed, the interview data was coded to identify shared ideas, patterns, and relationships. The most striking initial observation (as will be discussed below) was that if there once had been a connection between the more limited online presence of Francophones and the attitudes of Francophone journalists, this was no longer the case by 2013—at least at *La Presse*, a paper where the level of digital disruption has exceeded that of many papers in North America. As well, and counter to this researcher's expectations, *The Gazette*'s digital presence remained relatively static during the study period, and workers there did not have more positive attitudes toward the Internet; indeed, if anything, they saw the online transition as contributing to their work challenges.

This observation ran counter to this researcher's expectations and changed how she viewed her research data: what she encountered was not a study of the difference between Anglo and Franco newsrooms but a study of how factors and events far more consequential than a "digital divide" or language barrier influenced worker perceptions of the online transition. What follows is an analysis of how workers at both papers discussed these factors and events, including newsroom integration, workplace structure, corporate control, and concerns about the fate of the industry.

## *The Gazette* and *La Presse* as Montreal Media Institutions

Beyond their positioning on either side of Quebec's linguistic divide, the distinct newsroom cultures of *La Presse* and *The Gazette* have been shaped by their institutional histories. *La Presse* has been defined by relatively stable ownership and the gradual rise of a middle-class Francophone readership. Founded in 1884, *La Presse* was purchased five years later by the Berthiaume family and remained in that family's hands until the 1960s, when it was purchased by the Trans-Canada Corporation, now Power Corporation. The paper remains in the same hands today, part of a chain of Francophone papers called the Gesca group. Its circulation figures have remained relatively stable, and with an average daily circulation of 227,206 in 2012, it is Canada’s fourth-largest newspaper (Newspapers Canada, 2012).

As the flagship paper of the second-largest commercial newspaper chain in the Quebec market,[4] *La Presse* thus occupies a fairly prominent role in the Francophone mediascape in Quebec. It should be noted, however, that *La Presse* is in some ways characteristic of Quebecois newspapers and in other ways distinct. For much of the paper’s history, journalists at *La Presse*, like other Francophone journalists in Quebec, identified strongly with their labor union and saw themselves—despite a strong sense of professionalization—as laborers who maintained an arm’s length relationship with management (Demers & Le Cam, 2006). This strong sense of union solidarity resulted in Francophone newsroom staff negotiating labor contracts that were relatively strong compared to the contracts negotiated by their Anglo counterparts.[5] More recently, however, newsroom management at *La Presse* has been framed around what Demers (1998) has described as the “good employee model,” which emphasizes journalists’ identification with the media outlet that employs them and promotes a sense of shared mission.[6] Though Francophone newsrooms in Quebec have seen an overall decline in union power (Demers & Le Cam, 2006), relationships between management and employees in other Francophone newsrooms have remained relatively more distanced and antagonistic, with employees at *La Presse* displaying a unique degree of pride in their paper as an institution.

*La Presse’s* position as a cornerstone of urban Francophone life in Montreal is mirrored on the Anglo side by *The Montreal Gazette,* an English-language paper founded in 1778 by the French settler Fleury Mespault (Ackerman, 2013).[7] *The Gazette* has long portrayed itself as Anglophone institution in Montreal; when the paper celebrated its 235th anniversary in 2013, it celebrated its role in the community with an interactive timeline featuring key events in the history of Montreal and the history of *The Gazette* itself (*The Gazette*, 2013). However, *The Gazette’s* perseverance in Montreal has been tempered by the fact that the ownership of the paper has changed frequently, especially since the 1960s. In 1968, *The Gazette* was purchased by the Southam Group, the first of several media chains to own the paper over the next several decades. Five years later, they were purchased again by the FP Group, the owners of several of Canada’s largest papers, including *The Globe and Mail*. In 1996, the paper was acquired by Conrad Black’s Hollinger Group; four years later, it was sold to Canwest, a Canadian chain owned by the Asper family. In July 2010, when Canwest declared bankruptcy, its print and broadcast holdings were split into separate entities, and *The Gazette* became the property of Postmedia, now Canada’s largest newspaper chain.

Over the past few decades, these changes in ownerships have been accompanied by reductions in newsroom staff. The heyday of *The Gazette* came in the early 1980s, after the closure of Montreal’s other Anglophone daily newspaper, the *Montreal Star*. At that time, *The Gazette* became Montreal’s largest-circulation newspaper, employing a staff of around 300 and paying reporters salaries reportedly equivalent to those at the *New York Times*. This changed, however, as Anglophones began to leave the province and readership of Francophone newspapers surged. In 1982, the paper had a first series of layoffs and early retirements, though the newsroom staff was largely unaffected. Under Canwest ownership, rounds of layoffs in 2003 and 2007 further reduced staff, and as Postmedia enacted cost-cutting measures of its own, still more layoffs took place in 2010 and 2012.Though *The Gazette* itself remains profitable, the pattern of staff reductions continues, and the paper's reputation and readership has suffered as a result of these reductions, with *The Gazette* slipping in place from the sixth-largest paper in Canada in 2010 to the thirteenth-largest paper in 2012 (Newspapers Canada, 2012).

Compared to the tense, sometimes aggressive labor negotiations that Francophone newspapers in Quebec have experienced, union response at *The Gazette* to staff downsizing and increased newsroom duties has been relatively restrained; in part, this is characteristic of the difference between labor relations in Anglophone and Francophone newsrooms in Quebec.[8]

At *La Presse* and *The Gazette*, the labor disruptions that both papers have experienced were invoked frequently by interview subjects as they discussed how their papers had attempted to forge a new digital strategy and encourage—or mandate—increased online content production in the newsroom. Despite this shared theme, however, the narratives about digital transition that emerged at each paper were quite different.

## *La Presse* in 2010: The Reinvention of *Cyberpresse*

Like most Francophone papers, *La Presse* was slower to move online than its Anglo counterparts. The Gesca group began an online portal, *Cyberpresse*, in 2001. *Cyberpresse* drew content from *La Presse* as well as Gesca's other papers—*Le Soleil, Le Nouvelliste, Le Droit, La Tribune, Le Quotidien* and *La Voix de l'Est*—but also contained distinct online content, such as blogs and features. The staff of *Cyberpresse* were located in the *La Presse* headquarters on a separate floor from the paper's editorial staff; though they were members of the same union as editorial workers, they were paid lower wages and offered fewer benefits. In 2007, *Cyberpresse* operations were converged with the *La Presse* newsroom; the following year, a union deal was struck that ended unfavorable conditions for *Cyberpresse* workers (Faguy, 2008). Between 2008 and 2010, *La Presse* reporters were given more responsibility for *Cyberpresse*, and the site soon became overwhelmingly identified with *La Presse*.

Newsroom staff described the evolution of *Cyberpresse* as a process of reshaping a news portal that was of secondary importance to the print paper into a platform that was at least as important as the print version of *La Presse*. As one reporter explained, during the early years of *Cyberpresse*, the portal was regarded with "a certain condescension" by newsroom staff, who saw it more as a threat to circulation than a complement to their newspaper. In fact, this fear of the portal's effect on circulation served to limit its mandate and make it incoherent. One reporter commented:

> (Early *Cyberpresse*) was very difficult to define. On the one hand, we were supposed to be a real site of news, oriented a lot toward speed and putting up breaking news. But . . . we wanted people to be attracted to the online product without stopping their subscription to the actual newspaper. We tried to separate the two and keep the content that was "*La Presse*," out of the online platform to not hurt the paper product.

Another reporter who worked on the original *Cyberpresse* remarked that the even after once separated print and web divisions were united on the same floor, it took a long time for relations to thaw. The web journalists, he said, experienced "prejudice" from the print side, even though they usually had the same journalism training as their print peers:

> We arrived in a paper world where people really didn't know what the web was. They were kind of scared of us too, because everywhere journalists were hearing how they were going to lose their jobs to the Internet. It took many months before we were really integrated.

However, despite the time it took to blend print and web cultures, most on the newsroom floor agreed that integration had been successful. Most also credited the decisions made by management regarding the logistics of integration as well as the enthusiasm with which the newly reconfigured team approached the site. When *Cyberpresse* staff came in to the newsroom, they were placed front and center—in front of the A section desks—and section heads from *Cyberpresse* were given editorial authority over *La Presse* reporters. An editor noted that these choices had made *La Presse*'s integration go much more smoothly than other integration processes he had observed in his previous work for a European publication.

If editors credited the administration with a smooth transition, reporters said their editors treated the *Cyberpresse* site as a place of fun and possibility in a way that motivated reporters to try new things. One reporter noted, "we have a lot of fun with new platforms, and the bosses really use us to try out new things. They bought us all the video and the new technologies, and they were really knowledgeable about it."

Not everyone in the newsroom, however, was uniformly positive about how the paper's evolution had reshaped their work roles. A few complained about having to produce for multiple platforms; as one reporter noted, "we can easily find ourselves having to produce three different pieces of work on the same subject, [but] the time doesn't multiply by three." The most vexed issue surrounding multitasking concerned the push to produce more video in the newsroom. Labor agreements at both *La Presse* and *Cyberpresse* had long mandated a separation between reporters and video photographers, which meant that most video had been done studio-style. In 2008, when a work parity agreement between *La Presse* and *Cyberpresse* employees was approved, a concession in that agreement paved the way for reporters to shoot video.

The occasional discord over digital labor issues in the *La Presse* newsroom suggested that, despite a generally positive attitude, it remained the case that newsroom integration had been a stressful process with consequential and residual effects. Over the course of the first round of interviews, several reporters noted that that the shift to an online focus had been marked by the departures of seasoned staff that did not agree with the management decisions. One reporter commented, “there were a lot of people who left because they weren’t happy with the new administration,” another noted that “a lot of people retired during the web transition,” and still another remarked that “there aren’t many journalists here over 50 now.”

The majority of those interviewed described the web-first approach as firmly established in the newsroom. “The debate about whether the Internet or putting information online would cannibalize the print product has already taken place a few years ago,” one reporter remarked, while another noted that “we’ve all come to realize that it’s the same work, the same quality as the paper, it’s just the platform that has changed.” And most reporters and editors agreed that as of 2010 *Cyberpresse*.ca had become a central part of the paper’s operations. When asked how they thought *Cyberpresse* compared to other news sites in Quebec, almost everyone in the newsroom said that *Cyberpresse* was the best. One editor went as far to suggest that *Cyberpresse* had become the “main brand” produced by *La Presse*, and one of the more multimedia-savvy reporters predicted that within a few years’ time, “probably, the paper product will disappear.” Though this prediction seemed like something of a stretch in 2010, within three years, the idea that the print paper would disappear was a given in the newsroom.

## *The Gazette* in 2010: Experimentation and Obstacles

Like *Cyberpresse*, *The Gazette’s* website went through a period during which it was separate from its print division. Though the site was founded by *Gazette* staff in 1995 and run on-site when the paper was owned by Southam, it subsequently was operated remotely as part of a larger news portal when the paper was operated by the Canwest chain, with *Gazette* staff submitting copy to web operators in Ontario. *The Gazette* took back responsibility for the site in late 2007 (the same year that *La Presse* integrated the *Cyberpresse* staff), gradually increasing its size and resources. New staff were hired and existing staff within the paper were retrained; some shifted roles. The result, as one editor noted, was that the newsroom underwent “a huge culture change,” in which all reporters slowly learned to prioritize the web and some found their work roles completely redefined. This did not mean that the paper had gone digital-first by 2010. Indeed, echoing the way *La Presse* staff viewed the pre-convergence incarnation of *Cyberpresse*, *The Gazette* staff expressed concern that *The Gazette* might “scoop themselves” by posting some kinds of content to the site. Still, one reporter noted that “anytime news is happening we’re thinking what can we do for online; it’s a big part of our discussion every day.”

While the first round of interviews at *La Presse* suggested that their integrated newsroom was a well-oiled machine with a few minor loose cogs, interviews at *The Gazette* in 2010 suggested the newsroom’s online strategy was relatively unstructured. This loose structure became apparent when newsroom staff defined their work roles. One reporter noted that though her job title was still “reporter,” unofficially she had been promoted through the ranks to “slightly more senior online editor.” Another noted that he had been recently put in charge of both business and sports web pages, adding, “O God, what don’t I do in this place?”

*The Gazette* staff also frequently said they felt burdened by the need to provide content for the web while working on print deadlines. One reporter noted, “Sometimes it’s hard to generate original content for the web with the same resources. As media outlets put more emphasis [on the web], they need more dedicated staff.” This comment reflected a persistent theme in interviews: the paper’s news site was described as a drain on relatively stretched resources, a necessary development but also a transition into a future of unclear work practices. Interview subjects at *The Gazette* focused less on the paper’s successes and more on how the Internet might be changing journalistic standards and possibly harming the quality of their own product.

One key source of frustration for interview subjects was the online comments on *The Gazette’s* website. This was not simply a *Gazett*e problem, but rather a Canwest one; in early 2010, around the time newsroom staff were interviewed, Canwest had closed commenting entirely in order to shift to an online registration system that would prohibit anonymous posting. While some reporters mentioned that the ability of readers to correct and comment on stories had improved the quality of reporting, most said they were discouraged by the level of online discourse. The moderation of online comments was described as a taxing, particularly with stories connected to language issues or multiculturalism in Quebec. One reporter noted that “where we get into problems is reader comments, because, let’s face it, people are idiots.”

Overall, the 2010 interviews at *The Gazette* revealed a mixed set of emotions about online work, with reporters expressing concerns about workload and about the quality and look of the online product, and editors sometimes feeling daunted by the challenge of moving forward. Unfortunately for *The Gazette*, most of the changes in the newsroom over the next few years would not involve pushing reporters to embrace their new roles as information providers. Instead, *Gazette* staff were focused on ensuring the newsroom continued to function in the face of continued restructuring.

## *La Presse* in 2013: The Tablet Transition

By the time interviewers returned to *La Presse* in 2013, two changes had dramatically altered the paper’s digital footprint. One change was largely cosmetic in nature: in 2011, the *Cyberpresse* brand had vanished and Gesca’s web portal had simply been renamed *La Presse.ca*, a move that suggested how completely *La Presse* was now identified with the Gesca site (Faguy, 2011). The second change, however, was far more drastic. In 2009, select newsroom staff were told of a secret project underway at the paper: the creation of a tablet application on the Apple iOS platform that would become the primary focus of the paper’s editorial development, perhaps eventually replacing the print product entirely.[9] Though media reports in 2011 announced that *La Presse* had plans to go paperless and provide an iPad to long-term subscribers (McCall, 2011; Desplanques, 2011), most details of the project remained secret until shortly before the launch of the app in April 2013; this, despite the fact that *La Presse* spent $40 million on the project and hired a staff of over 100 to design and implement the app in a moment when other newsrooms were slimming down in response to fiscal crisis.

Following the launch of the *La Presse* app (labeled *La Presse+*), the paper was the subject of a fair amount of media coverage, some laudatory (Cornies, 2013; Johnson, 2013), but much of it skeptical or at least slightly baffled (Faguy, 2013; Ladurantaye, 2013b). Media observers in Canada and elsewhere wondered whether *La Presse* had chosen a path that was too extreme. Their concerns reflected an ongoing debate about the future of journalism apps; whereas some in the media industry have lauded tablets as a promising new media platform (Garcia, 2010), others have argued that the desire for companies such as Apple to control content—and to take a cut out of any profits from subscriptions—make these experiments more of a distraction than a lifesaver (Greuskin, 2011). Some critics also suggested that the limited, geographically localized Quebec media marketplace was hardly the place for an early experiment with tablet-first news delivery.

Several early reviews of *La Presse+* even compared the new app to the ill-fated Murdoch app *The Daily*, which closed after little more than a year after losing more than 30 million dollars (Zara, 2012). Unlike *The Daily*'s subscription-based business model, *La Presse+* is an advertising-based model. *La Presse* publisher Guy Crevier had long challenged the Canadian trend of establishing paywalls; with *La Presse+,* he insisted that a wider (and younger) advertising base had more revenue potential in Quebec than paid circulation. Thus, to the surprise of many (including some on the newsroom floor), both the app and the *La Presse* website remained free at launch time, with Crevier predicting that within 18–24 months the paper would recoup its $40 million dollar investment (Marshall, 2013).[10]

Whatever its ultimate outcome, the tablet project was a shift greater in scale and consequence than the 2007 integration of the *Cyberpresse* staff into the *La Presse* newsroom, and the 2013 interviews revealed that the disruption was discomfiting. The number of new workers brought into the newsroom—including designers, a new group of videographers, graphic artists and data journalists—was far greater, and the changes in work routines were often more radical. Interviews also suggested that, as much as the original integration of *Cyberpresse* in the newsroom was intended to reflect a shift in priorities towards online, the real shift to digital-first had only occurred with the tablet transition. As one reporter noted, “starting now, we need to propose a topic thinking of the iPad first. Before, we thought of the paper first.” A few others pointed out that while the print paper and website had been regarded as complementary platforms, the tablet app competed with the print product and was indeed perhaps the agent of its demise. An editor explained that, “Mathematically, paper plus web is impossible”; while a reporter said, “If the iPad has enough success, the paper will gradually disappear.”

Not surprisingly, some interview subjects expressed mixed feelings about their new colleagues and new work duties. Some in the newsroom predicted that the number of new hires would be transient, noting that they were brought in under a different kind of labor agreement that allowed the new hires to be contract rather than permanent workers. One reporter commented, “They’re hiring a lot of people for the iPad team. I wonder how we will be able to pay for them. I have the impression it’s like online poker. They [the paper] will try it and they’ll see.” Others described the new hires in terms that made them seem alien to existing newsroom culture; for example, a reporter said that he did not like working alongside the new hires because, “they are all young hipsters. People who do 5 á 7 [cocktail hours]. The new geek, iPad, technology generation. . . [who] think they’re cooler than everyone else.”

The presence of “hipsters” in the newsroom was not seen as universally negative; some reporters understood that the influx of new manpower had freed them up to work on more time-consuming projects, or even work at a slower pace. Several said that they were actually doing less work in 2013 than they had been doing in 2010. A reporter working on a team producing longer-form journalism for the app explained that he was able to focus purely on writing in a way he had not been able to in the past:

> In 2010, I worked for the dailies. If there was a fire, or anything, I made an article for the website, and I’d have to make an article for the next day’s paper. . . Now, I have a lot of time, I drink coffee and brainstorm. Right now, I am in a period where I’m “looking” for stories. It’s relaxed. But there are other days when you work a lot more.

The fact that some reporters—though hardly all—had moved away from multitasking and multiskilling made *La Presse* an exceptional workplace for a twenty-first century newsroom, even given the relative degree of labor protection in Francophone newsrooms. It also marked a shift from the push towards multiskilling at *La Presse,* represented by the shifting terms of the labor agreement in 2009.

Still, if some reporters mentioned working less, other reporters and most editors said that their workload was higher in 2013 than in 2010. A few reporters said the mandate to produce for the tablet app had them multitasking in much the same way as they had as *Cyberpresse* expanded, and others speculated that if *LaPresse+* grew, their workloads would increase as well. Higher workloads on the editorial side reflected an increasing number of staff to supervise (the video department, for example, had expanded from 4 videographers to 25, and the staff of the features section had doubled), increased production of some kind of content for the app, and the natural advancement of some careers in the newsroom. One editor noted, “It is hard to compare [workloads] because I am now a boss,” while another said he did “less operational work and more intellectual/strategic work than before.”

Aside from positive or negative feelings about colleagues or individual workloads, 2013 interviews with reporters and editors at *La Presse* often turned to the topic of the future of the paper itself and the role of the tablet app in securing that future. Whereas the integration of *Cyberpresse* with *La Presse* in 2007 had hardly been groundbreaking, the reformulation of a print and web newsroom into a tablet-focused newsroom was largely unprecedented in the industry. Not surprisingly, some *La Presse* staff described the tablet project as a risky strategy for the company. But it was mostly described as a necessary risk—or as one reporter noted, “a salvation, a bailout.” The need for such a dramatic intervention was justified by interview subjects through claims that the media industry was in a state of precarity and no other viable solutions had emerged. One reporter pointed out that despite the relative stability of *La Presse’s* circulation, advertising for the paper was continuing to decline because of the perception in the advertising industry that print was fading:

> There’s a new generation in advertising agencies and I think that new generation has taken the place of those who used to read newspapers. And it’s the decision of these advertising agencies where they put their ads, and it’s definitely not in the print version. That’s exactly why we moved to the tablet.

Of all those interviewed at *La Presse*, only one questioned the paper’s decision to move to tablet, wondering why a paywall hadn’t been on the table as an option: “We saw the other newspapers doing it, the *Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*. We [in the newsroom] had the impression we would go towards that, in order to create rarity and value. But we haven’t done that.”

## *The Gazette* in 2013: Downsizing and Retrenching

If *La Presse* was unique among Canadian news outlets in choosing to expand its newsroom during tough times, *The Gazette* was far more typical of patterns in the industry. By 2013, one-third of the *Gazette* staff that worked at the paper in 2010 had taken buyouts, and Postmedia had enacted a series of revenue-generating and cost-cutting measures in an effort to retrench. There were also fewer reporters on staff, and *The Gazette* relied on more content from sister papers and more syndicated content to fill both paper and website.

Given these shifts, it was not surprising that labor disruptions in the newsroom and concerns about the paper’s economic viability had overshadowed, and in some ways obstructed, any coherent plan to refine *The Gazette*’s online presence. One reporter commented, “We’re still mostly a print paper. We are doing more things online, but the most dramatic things that have happened here has been the reduction in staff across the board”

Not all of the news at *The Gazette* was grim. In 2012, the paper made several concerted efforts in the “digital-first,” direction, bringing in a consultant specializing in digital-first newsroom strategy and hiring a social engagement editor on a one-year contract.[11] When asked about whether *The Gazette’s* online presence had suffered because of the layoffs, reporters and editors mostly agreed that *The Gazette’s* website had improved to some extent between 2010 and 2013. An editor compared the earlier approach of pushing content to the site with the more recent strategy of “thinking a lot more now about what’s beyond the story, to what bells and whistles we can bring in.”

Still, concerns about an unwieldy and unattractive content management system remained at the forefront. When Postmedia switched over to the Saxotech system in 2010 (shortly after *Gazette* staff had retrained to use South Park), the newsroom needed to change workstations, switching from Macs to PCs to accommodate the new CMS software. This software remained a stumbling block:

> We’re kind of limited in what we can do with our website with the template that’s been provided us by our company. . . I feel like if we had a better system that could actually free us up to do more. . . if the architecture were not so clunky.

Whatever fears they may have had about the limitation of their own online presence, some newsroom staff at *The Gazette* said they were nonplussed by the fact that *La Presse* had made such a bold move towards a post-paper future. Suggesting that *The Gazette* had been caught off guard, one reporter said he and his colleagues “didn’t anticipate that *La Presse* was going to, very quietly, hire 100 people, and have them work under close security for a period of two years.” An editor expressed her anxiety about how *La Presse*+ might affect business at *The Gazette*:, some newsroom staff at *The Gazette* said they were nonplussed by the fact that *La Presse* had taken such a dramatic step towards addressing the problem. Suggesting that *The Gazette* had been caught off guard, one reporter said he and his colleagues “didn’t anticipate that *La Presse* was going to, very quietly, hire 100 people, and have them work under close security for a period of two years.” An editor expressed her anxiety about how *La Presse*+ might affect business at *The Gazette*:

> On April 18 we will probably be a lot behind *La Presse*, in terms of the resources they are putting into their new iPad edition. . . they’ve invested a lot of money and a lot of resources into that. For all I know, they could be putting all their eggs into one basket.

In early 2013, *The Gazette* hired a dedicated editor to work on their tablet, but, as one editor noted, they had yet to articulate a clear strategy for it or think through the relationship between tablet, mobile, web and print.

## Conclusion

Interviews with newsroom staff at *The Gazette* and *La Presse* served to answer this researcher’s initial research questions in expected and unexpected ways. She had originally sought to discern if there were observable differences between how reporters and staff at *The Gazette* and *La Presse* perceived online newswork, and this proved to be the case. With some exceptions, reporters and editors at *La Presse* were enthusiastic about their paper’s digital strategy; indeed, in 2013, several interview subjects at *La*

*Presse* predicted that their print product might eventually disappear with no great effect on the newsroom. As one reporter put it, “This [would not be] the end of *La Presse*. We’re not a newspaper. We’re an information organization.” *Gazette* staff, on the other hand, more frequently expressed frustration with, or indifference toward, online work, describing it as an addition to their already onerous workload.

This researcher had also sought to determine whether workplace attitudes shifted over time at each paper; again, she found this to be true. In 2010, *The Gazette* and *La Presse* were arguably not far apart in terms of their trajectory in shifting online. Both papers had moved their web operations into the newsroom, both were training reporters to multi-task, and both were grappling with the residual effects of a dominant print culture as they attempted to move towards a more digital future. Thus, despite overall differences in attitude, interview subjects at both papers also reflected on these common struggles. By 2013, however, the two papers had gone in very different directions. *La Presse* grew its ranks considerably and moved to a tablet-first approach in a bold attempt to find a path toward future revenue, distributing its content through a free app and hoping to recoup the paper’s investment through advertising revenue. *The Gazette* shrunk considerably, placed its news site behind a paywall, and made only incremental steps towards a more digital-focused future. In interviews, *La Presse* staff members were both excited and bewildered by the disruption in the newsroom and frequently talked of the paper’s need to survive in an ailing industry. *Gazette* staff seemed less concerned about the industry overall than they were about their own dispiriting situation, focusing on their own expanded workloads and their inability to control the form and direction of their news site.

Though this study did confirm some of the researcher’s expectations, it also took a far different direction from what she had anticipated. She began with the assumption that—given the smaller market for Francophone news, the need for Anglophone papers to directly compete with more digitally-focused US papers, and the alleged digital divide between Anglophones and Francophones—the Francophone newsroom at *La Presse* would display more bias against online journalism. Instead, the research yielded quite the opposite: it was the *La Presse* newsroom that more fiercely embraced a radical and risky digital future and saw digital tools and platforms as (for the most part) empowering. At *The Gazette*, though the utility and necessity of a web presence was obvious to some, an overwhelming concern with job instability and workload issues colored interview subjects’ perceptions of online journalism.

Rather than confirming initial ideas of a “digital divide,” the interviews demonstrated the complex interplay between workplace conditions and attitudes toward online work. Protected by stronger labor agreements, *La Presse* staff embraced the increased focus on online because it did not, for the most part, create an unsustainable workload, while for *Gazette* staff, the push towards online content production came at the time of staff reductions and resulted in a general sense of overwork. And *La Presse* staff seemed encouraged that management had made an investment in the future of *La Presse* as a news organization, while for *Gazette* staff, the paper’s continual change of ownership had lowered morale, especially as Postmedia continued to make decisions about *The Gazette’s* future that reflected the priorities of the newspaper chain and not of *The*

*Gazette* as an institution.

As this study suggests the importance of looking at labor, management and ownership issues when assessing the digital newsroom, some limitations of this study should be noted. First and most obviously, it is not a study of newsroom management, as the research concerns only how newsroom workers *perceive* management. Second, it should be noted that some aspects of the labor situation at *La Presse* complicate the distinctions that have been drawn. Though the interview subjects seemed frank and forthcoming in their answers to questions, what Demers describes as the "good employee" mentality at *La Presse*—a strong identification with the institution that outweighed collective concerns about labor—could have made *La Presse* staff more hesitant about expressing negative views about their workplace. The departure of unhappy employees in 2007 and 2008 during the first convergence of print and web could also have produced a chilling effect. And one could argue that, given that the tablet transition at *La Presse* was occurring just as the interviews were taking place, *La Presse* staff had not yet come to realize the extent to which their workplace had been redefined.

But if it could be said that this snapshot of the *La Presse* newsroom came during the early stages of a pivotal change, it is also the case that dramatic change is the norm rather than the exception in twenty-first century newsrooms. It is likely that returning to *The Gazette* and *La Presse* in 2016 would produce a far different narrative than the one outlined here. Given Postmedia's poor financial health, the risky path chosen by *La Presse,* and the current prediction that Canadian newspaper revenue will decline by 20% over the next four years (Ladurantaye, 2013a), it is likely that these changes will not all be for the best. Indeed, by 2016, the battle between print and online is likely to be a thing of the past at both of these Montreal papers; instead, the struggle will be to find a secure enough revenue stream—on any delivery platform—to sustain quality journalism.

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## Endnotes

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2. In using the term "digital first" to describe trends at both of these newspapers, I am focusing on overall strategies and practices rather than a moment in which each paper specifically aligned itself with the "digital first" rallying cry voiced by John Paton towards the end of 2011. Indeed, the Postmedia chain described itself as a "digital first" newspaper chain over a year earlier, in September of 2011 (Postmedia, 2011).

3. Interviews were conducted in both French and English, and the French interviews were translated by the (bilingual) interviewers.

4. A 2011 survey by the Quebec firm Influence Communication estimated that the chain Quebecor captured 36.90% of the media market share in Quebec, the CBC 23.70%, and Gesca 22.6%.

5. Brin and Soderlund (2010) discuss how Quebec labor agreements, driven by this spirit of workers vs. management, made Quebec newsrooms more resistant to change—in both good in bad ways—than other newsrooms in English Canada.

6. Demers finds this model problematic in the sense that it degrades journalists professional autonomy, and suggests that over time, older journalists used to a different newsroom model left the newsroom, taking buyout or early retirement (Demers, personal conversation).

7. The paper began in French, became bilingual in 1785, and English-only in 1822.

8. It should also be noted that unionization came to *The Gazette* much later than to Francophone papers in Montreal (or even other Anglo papers), with the newspaper's editorial department organizing only in 1977.

9. *La Presse* has also announced plans to eventually release an Android version of the app.

10. According to Crevier, the investment included Invested $24 million in salaries, $6 million in assets, $8 million in software costs, and $2 million dollars in research. At present, ads appear every 2-3 pages on *La Presse+,* and video ads appear before each video. The cost of static ads has been set at $16,000. Crevier has also estimated the app has a readership of 300,000 with 800 new downloads per day. (Marshall, 2013).

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# Curmudgeons but Yet Adapters: Impact of Web 2.0 and Twitter on Newspaper Sports Journalists' Jobs, Responsibilities, and Routines

***Edward M. Kian and Ray Murray***

*Interviews were conducted with select U.S. newspaper sports writers to gauge their experiences and attitudes toward the advent of Web 2.0 and Twitter. Focus was placed on the impact of Web 2.0 on work routines, reporting, expectations, and job security. Results showed Web 2.0 technology made news-gathering much easier, but placed greater demands on journalists. Web 2.0 contributed to many newspaper layoffs, yet gave greater prominence to top reporters. All of these journalists developed convergent media skills to keep up with changing technologies. All are on Twitter for research purposes, but most do not use the microblog for socializing.*

## Introduction

The newspaper sports industry was the dominant news source in the United States before the advent of television (Wanta, 2006). It largely remained both a steady and predictable means of employment and career advancement for sports journalists up until the late 1990s due to the heavy emphases placed on sports by most newspapers and U.S. society as a whole (Salwen & Garrison, 1998; Wanta, 2006). However, the advent of the Internet, coupled with a prolonged U.S. economic recession shortly after the turn of the Millennium, combined to cripple the newspaper industry (Warren, 2009). Due to the vast array of free Internet sites providing instant information on events as they occur, media consumers became increasingly unwilling to pay for printed products focusing on yesterday's news (Warren, 2009). In addition, advertisers were able to reach targeted consumers and/or broader audiences through cheaper means via online sites such as classified advertising site Craigslist, resulting in a significant decline for the primary source of newspaper revenues (Fahri, 2008).

Newspapers had become the least-preferred primary news source for U.S. youth by 2004 (Nguyen & Western, 2006). Accordingly, newspaper job losses have been commonplace in the 2000s. For example, more than 35,000 U.S.-based newspaper employees lost their jobs between 2007-10 (Pompeo & Jedrzejczak, 2010). As revenues decreased exponentially and many newspaper journalists were laid off, Americans increasingly turned to the Internet as a primary news source (Varian, 2010). Most newspapers also reduced their total pages and events covered, which often reduced the quality of their reporting and final products in the process, resulting in even further subscription losses (Smith, 2013). Several of the largest and long-standing successful U.S. newspapers were forced to declare bankruptcy in recent years, including the entire Tribune Company, which owns the *Chicago Tribune* and *Los Angeles Times*, among other media entities (Nichols & McChesney, 2009). Some even shut down entirely. According to the Newspaper Association of America, there were only 1,397 daily newspapers in 2009, a 21% decline in U.S. daily newspapers in circulation from 1950 (Reed, 2012). Many newspaper sports reporters were laid off during the last two decades, with some ultimately leaving the profession, although others switched to working for online sites (Kian & Hardin, 2009).

With fewer staff numbers serving fewer subscribers, remaining newspaper sports reporters in recent years have been required to expand and develop new convergent media skills (Kian & Zimmerman, 2012; McGuire & Murray, 2013). The advent of Web 2.0 platforms, specifically social media networking sites like Twitter and Facebook, made an even greater impact on how newspaper sports reporters do their jobs (Sherwood & Nicholson, 2012). This exploratory phenomenology entails interviews with established, long-term U.S. newspaper sports reporters to examine commonalities and differences amongst them on the impact of Web 2.0 platforms on their job security, duties, and responsibilities.

## Literature Review

### The impact of Web 2.0 and Twitter on newspaper sports journalism

Web 2.0 is a term used to describe the evolution of the World Wide Web from stand-alone, static screens with limited features (i.e., Web 1.0) to the more interconnected, interactive, and accessible networks and platforms that permeate today's Internet (Butler, Zimmerman, & Hutton, 2013). Hutchins & Rowe (2009) coined "digital plentitude" to describe the impact of Web 2.0 on sports and media, noting that "with the Internet and WWW significantly lowering barriers of access and cost and thus increasing the number of media companies, sports organizations, clubs, and even individual athletes are able to produce and distribute content for online consumption" (p. 354).

The increasing prevalence of Web 2.0 platforms is greatly impacting media professionals' jobs, especially newspaper sports reporters (Reinardy, 2010; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2013). The Web 2.0 platform that has most affected newspaper sports reporters in recent years is the social-media microblog Twitter (Schultz & Sheffer, 2007). Twitter is an asynchronous form of social communication that is similar to cell-phone text messaging, except millions of individuals can tweet simultaneously (Clavio & Kian, 2010). Twitter users can create messages up to 140 characters that are posted on the public domain and viewed regularly by other Twitter users (Sanderson, 2011). After launching in 2006, there were more than 500 million registered Twitter accounts by early 2013, a figure topped by only Facebook among all social media apps (Smith, 2013).

Due to the advent of social media and Internet message boards, as well as the opportunity for readers to leave feedback after online articles, reporters are now interacting with media consumers more than ever before and in different ways, including the use of humor and banter on Twitter (Holton & Lewis, 2011). Younger reporters use Twitter more often than their veteran colleagues, while younger sports journalists also see Twitter as a means to better market their individual talents and brand notoriety (Schultz & Sheffer, 2010). Older reporters, however, are more resistant to use Twitter as a way to disseminate information, as are those who work for smaller newspapers (Reed, 2012; Schutz & Sheffer, 2009; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2013). However, both younger and older reporters use Twitter as an information and news-gathering tool to gauge what stories are receiving the most attention and commentaries from fellow journalists, fans, coaches, and athletes, including those who they regularly cover as part of their job responsibilities (Hutchins, 2011; Reed, 2011; Sheffer & Schultz, 2010).

Increasingly more sports reporters from all mediums are using Twitter to initially post information about breaking news, including sports public relations practitioners who work for teams, leagues, organizations, and athletes (Gibbs & Haynes, 2013; Sanderson & Hambrick, 2012). However, some media outlets—like ESPN—placed restrictions on what their reporters can tweet about, due to concerns about the reporters' ability to self-promote their work through Twitter without focusing on the betterment of the company (Sheffer & Schultz, 2013).

Further, preliminary research showed sports reporters expressed concerns that the desire to post something first via Twitter could potentially cause many in their ranks to compromise accuracy and full verification before publishing news (McEnnis, 2013; Schultz & Sheffer, 2010). This actually came to fruition in 2010 when *The Washington Post* sports columnist Mike Wise tweeted out what he knew was false information on Pittsburgh Steelers quarterback Ben Roethlisberger as a social experiment. The false information was subsequently circulated heavily through social media. *The Washington Post* eventually suspended Wise for a month as punishment (Sheffer & Schultz, 2013). Sports reporters have claimed online journalism is not held to the same accountability standards as newspapers, including even their own content that they publish on blogs or Twitter (Kian & Vincent, 2014). Research also showed that Twitter is just one of several new mediums that modern newspaper sports reporters are expected to use in an increasingly convergent mass media (Boyle, 2012).

### Emergence of convergence in newspaper sports reporting

Media convergence refers to news content being delivered through multiple mediums by the same reporter and/or organization, which is now common among all types of media throughout the Western world (Boyle & Whannel, 2010). Accordingly, journalism schools are expected to graduate aspiring professionals who have skills to quickly produce and disseminate content through multiple channels (Cohen, Macdonald, Mazepa, & Skinner, 2011).

Since the advent of Web 2.0, newspaper sports editors increasingly place more content on their Internet sites, such as online-only articles, videos, reporter blogs, links to official Twitter feeds, graphics, slide shows, message boards, chat sessions etc. Accordingly, many editors now expect multimedia skills from newspaper sports journalists that go beyond basic reporting, although writing remains the most-desired skill among editors/producers for all mediums, including television and radio-station directors, and sport media relations (Ketterer, McGuire, & Murray, 2013; Moore, 2010). Butler et al. (2013) noted: "Reporters and editors have to adapt to changing technology and news consumption patterns" (p. 219). For example, newspaper sports editors now desire that their reporters also excel at broadcasting and media production. However, there is little published scholarship on convergence in newspaper sports journalism. Moreover, like the research on newspaper sports journalists' use of twitter and Web 2.0 platforms, most of the existing findings on sport journalism convergence were derived from broad surveys that did not uncover reasons for reporters' experiences and attitudes toward Web 2.0.

## Purpose and Rationale

There is scant academic research examining how newspaper sports reporters have adapted to the advent of Web 2.0 and Twitter as part of their jobs, or examined traditional sports journalists' attitudes toward these technological changes. Moreover, most of the few studies in this area were quantitative surveys that produced quality data, but did not attempt to uncover rich, descriptive answers toward the impact of Web. 2.0 and social media on the jobs of modern-era newspaper sports journalists (e.g., Schultz & Sheffer, 2010; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2013). This exploratory study attempts to broach these subjects by uncovering the experiences and attitudes of prominent newspaper sports journalists toward Web 2.0, with a specific focus on how Twitter and other platforms have affected their jobs and place in the industry.

### Research questions

This is one of the first interview-based studies examining newspaper sports reporters' experiences and attitudes toward Web 2.0 and Twitter. Thus, exploratory research questions were employed rather than hypotheses.

**RQ1: How has the advent of Web 2.0 impacted the job duties and work routines of these newspaper sports reporters?**

**RQ2: How has the advent of Web 2.0 impacted the newspaper sports journalism profession?**

**RQ3: What Web 2.0 platforms do these journalists use as parts of their jobs?**

**RQ4: What experiences have these journalists had with Twitter as part of their jobs?**

## Methodology

Phenomenology was used to guide this qualitative study, because the researchers' goal was to uncover some of the commonalities and differences in these newspaper sports reporters' experiences toward the rise of Web 2.0 and how Twitter has impacted their jobs. Phenomenological research focuses on uncovering the meaning of shared experiences among groups (Husserl, 1964).

Surveys (e.g., Creedon, 1994; Grimmer & Kian, 2013; Hardin, 2005; Hardin & Whiteside, 2009; Lapchick, 2013; Murray et al., 2011; Pedersen, Osborne, Whisenant, & Lim, 2009) provided most of the available demographic data on sports media professionals. However, in-depth, long-form interviews provided rich insight into the attitudes and experiences of sports reporters that surveys cannot provide (e.g., Billings, 2009; Hardin & Shain, 2006; Kian, 2007).

### Sampling selection

The researchers used purposeful sampling in utilizing some of the authors' sports media industry contacts to form a list of prospective subjects, who were initially contacted via an email that included a summary of the study, list of possible questions, and the institutional review board (IRB) approval of the authors' universities. Neither of this study's authors/interviewers had met eight of the 12 participants before the interviews were conducted. Using purposeful sampling not only helped the authors find participants, but it provided the interviewees a sense of trust with the authors. This was important, because all participants were assured that their actual names would not be used and their identities would be kept confidential in any published materials.

The 12 interviewees were all employed at U.S. newspapers with daily print circulation averages of 30,000 or higher. They included 11 men and one woman, a sample statistically representative of the gender disparity in U.S. newspaper sports journalism, where men constitute 90.4% of editors, 90.2% of columnists, and 88.3% of reporters (Lapchick, 2013). Interview subjects' ages ranged from 31–64. Each had at least seven years of full-time experience in sports media, and all worked for multiple newspapers during their careers. Three had each worked in the newspaper industry for more than 30 years. At the times of the interviews, the 12 resided in six different U.S. states spread across the country, although collectively they had worked in 17 states, showcasing the transient nature of careers in the newspaper sports industry (Kian & Zimmerman, 2012). The interviewees span a range of titles and fields, from a syndicated columnist whose works are published in multiple newspapers across the U.S. to a high school writer for a smaller daily newspaper in a mostly rural area in the Midwest.

*Data collection and analysis*

A semi-structured interview guide was designed to gauge the experiences and attitudes of veteran newspaper sports reporters on the influence of Web 2.0 platforms on their profession and individual jobs, with a particular focus on the microblog Twitter. Seven in-depth interviews were conducted in-person and five via telephone by the co-authors between June 2012 and March 2013. Whereas face-to-face interviews were the preferred research method, completing phone interviews enabled the research team to include participants from all major U.S. geographic regions (i.e., Northeast, Midwest, Southeast, Southwest, West). Both researchers individually coded the full transcriptions from all interviews. Multiple coders were used for examination to add reliability to the analysis (Patton, 2002). The authors deemed this necessary because both conducted interviews separately. Working individually, each researcher wrote theoretical memos from the transcripts of all interviews to search for both overt and underlying key themes amongst the commonalities and differences in the sports journalists' responses. They then compared results in order to jointly write theoretical memos. Afterward the researchers used the constant comparative method to decipher and define key concepts by unifying their supporting data (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). The constant comparative method entails breaking down data into distinct units before coding them into categories. Five primary themes emerged from the data analysis, which was both subjective and interpretative.

## Results

### The speed of Web 2.0 has changed reporters' jobs for better and worse

News must be disseminated quickly on the Internet or it becomes old news. This belief was common among these interviewees in describing what they perceive as a key challenge in modern sports journalism. Despite working at the smallest newspaper (daily print circulation just higher than 30,000) and covering predominately high school sports, the youngest interviewee still initially disseminates any breaking news he reports via Twitter and/or the newspaper's website before finishing those stories:

> When you find out news, you have to put it out there immediately somewhere. Whether your story is well formed or not now matters less. Twitter is the primary outlet that almost all of us (sports reporters) use for first reporting and then you use the paper's website for a short story (Participant No. 1, November 2012).

Similarly, a reporter in the West admitted he does not have any newspaper competitors and faces little competition from other media outlets in his coverage of smaller colleges and junior college sports. However, he still fears being beaten to report news on the Web. "The Internet has made my job 24-7-365," he said. "It used to be if I got a tip at 12:30 in the morning, I went to sleep and had the full next day to work on the story. Now, I have to get that news out immediately" (Participant No. 2, July 2012).

Although he admits to regularly using the Internet to research stories, a veteran reporter with more than 30 years of experience at a large Southeastern newspaper was mostly critical of the rise of Web 2.0, noting that newspaper reporters must fulfill "instant gratification" requirements of new-age media consumers (Participant No. 3, November 2012). A columnist in a major city in the West tied this to what he perceived as broader cultural changes throughout American society. "Everybody has to have everything instantly now: Instant coffee. Instant movies. Gimme, gimme, gimme," he said. "And I don't think they care about quality and some don't even care about accuracy" (Participant No. 4, August 2012).

Ironically, a veteran Major League Baseball (MLB) team beat reporter in the Northeast said that the advent of Web 2.0 and subsequent proliferation of websites has actually reduced the overall competiveness on his high-profile beat. He made this claim despite stating that he now has many more competitors trying to break news on the team he covers, coming from a variety of mediums and a proliferation of websites:

> From talking to other guys who were on the [name of MLB franchise] beat in the 90s, they would wake up in the morning and have the terror of reading every other newspaper to see whatever you missed. I don't have that feeling anymore. Everything is broken on Twitter or online somewhere. You just don't miss much. If you do get beat with something, you are beaten for 15 minutes and no one really notices. The Internet just puts it there. The value of breaking a story is really minimized. If you break it, it's your story for a matter of minutes. Then you don't have it (Participant No. 5, December 2012).

Other interviewees mirrored that MLB reporter's comments on Twitter. In fact, all subjects throughout the data gathered for this study commonly referenced Twitter even when they were not specifically queried on the social networking tool.

**All journalists use twitter for work, but most do not like interacting on twitter**

All of these subjects said they maintain Twitter accounts and extensively use the microblog as part of their jobs, even though some do not tweet much. Although these researchers used purposeful sampling and only interviewed 12 reporters, the findings of their study mirrored other researchers, whose surveys revealed that younger reporters and those who work for newspapers based out of larger cities were more likely to be active users on Twitter than older reporters and those who work for smaller newspapers (Reed, 2012; Schutz & Sheffer, 2009). "I hated [Twitter] at first, still don't like it, and don't post much there myself," said a general assignment reporter at a mid-sized paper in the Western part of the U.S. "But I'm on [Twitter] all day researching whatever or whoever I'm writing on. Sure has made that part of the job easier" (Participant No. 6, June 2012). A columnist in the West said that many of her column ideas are generated from hyperlinks included in tweets by other journalists and people she follows. "You find obscure stuff that you would have never heard about before," she said. "There's a lot of garbage, but there is also gold on Twitter" (Participant No. 7, March 2013).

Reporters who cover highly competitive and high-profile beats said they must follow players and coaches on the teams and leagues they cover on Twitter, as well as all other media outlets that cover those same teams and leagues. "I've got info for a lot of stories that started just from players' or recruits' tweets," said a reporter who covers a major college football program year-round for a newspaper and its affiliated website in the Southeast. “I also simply re-tweet others. My readers expect me to keep them abreast on everything in the program and that requires me to be online for what seems like all the time” (Participant No. 8, February 2013). However, two of the more seasoned reporters among these subjects made it clear that they only use Twitter professionally and never interact with those who respond to or re-tweet their tweets. “I use Twitter only for work,” said a veteran reporter who has worked for the same newspaper in the Southeast for more than 30 years. “I don’t want anybody to know about my personal life” (Participant No. 3, November 2012). Twitter and reader comments on online articles provided more potential for interaction with media consumers, a new feature of the profession that most of these reporters did not enjoy.

All but two of these reporters claimed the immediacy of Twitter had lowered the overall quality of sports reporting. “Like the Internet, Twitter has dumbed down sports journalism in the name of being first,” said a reporter who covers mostly professional sports for a newspaper in a major metropolitan area in the Northeast. “Twitter allows any moron to post anything and then call himself a journalist” (Participant No. 9, March 2013). However, the youngest reporter among subjects interviewed displayed a much more accepting view of Twitter and other social media platforms. He said that he regularly “follows back” new followers on his work Twitter feed and has “befriended” readers on Facebook, where his work and social life now interact:

> The positive of all these changes is that they have helped me interact more with our readers. As a writer, what I like most about Twitter is it kind of improves our own branding because I know people look at me as me and not as the newspaper. It gives power back to the writer. Twitter and responding to comments on my articles posted on the website enable me to showcase my personality and quick wit. I can’t do either when I just write articles for the newspaper. They’re just published and done (Participant No. 1, November 2012)

This reporter was one of several interviewees who referenced a return of power to journalists thanks to social media and other Web 2.0 platforms.

**Web 2.0 hurts U.S. newspaper industry, but gives reporters individual power**

In an era where layoffs have been commonplace throughout the U.S. newspaper industry this century (Pompeo & Jedrzejczak, 2010), a slight majority (7 of 12) of these reporters said the advent of Web 2.0 platforms enhanced their value to the newspapers that employ them, while also making them more marketable and better known throughout the sports media profession. For example, the MLB beat reporter based out of the Northeast said he likely would have been laid off like other reporters were at his paper if not for the Web 2.0 platforms that he uses to enhance his value to his employing newspaper:

> Most of the [team's] fans aren't reading our paper. But most of them are going to my blog once in a while if not every day. They also go to [my newspaper's] Internet site. My job security comes from that. My job is only still there for online journalism, because [media consumers] could just pick up [another paper's] newspaper content [on team he covers]. We offer more than just basic stories on our online sites (Participant No. 5, December 2012).

A columnist who covers mostly professional sports for a newspaper on the West Coast said he purposefully altered his writing style and became more forceful with his commentaries in attempts to both garner and then maintain consumer interest in a more competitive marketplace where readers have endless online choices for what they read, hear, and watch:

> With the advent of so much Internet content about sports, attitude has become the new reporting, and opinions have become the new facts, and I hate it… (Newspaper sports reporters) may no longer be that important and all the people who have lost their jobs somewhat bear out that out, I guess. But we damn sure have a lot more readers and are more individual recognized thanks to websites and Twitter.
>
> I can now show my boss just exactly how many people read my articles on the Web or re-tweet me. The key is that you have to give readers a reason to keep logging back on to read your copy. I've determined that means being more edgy with my columns for better or worse. I think it also helps that I started doing podcasts and posting them on our website. I've actually had readers tell me that they read my columns while listening to my podcasts (Participant No. 3, August 2012)

In addition to podcasts, this same columnist also appears in videos for his newspaper's website, while also serving as a commentator for a local sports-talk radio station that has a working agreement with his newspaper. However, all of these reporters use convergent media as part of their jobs, with none just writing and reporting for their newspapers.

**You must now be a multimedia reporter to keep your job**

All of these subjects now disseminate content in more ways than just writing articles to be printed in daily newspapers, even though only the two youngest in the group started their careers as multimedia journalists for their first newspapers. The syndicated columnist is the most experienced of these subjects with more than 40 years of industry experience. However, in addition to writing multiple columns per week and occasional reporting, he now also does podcasts, appears on videos produced by his base newspaper, occasionally writes a blog for his newspaper's website while covering local professional sports events, and regularly appears as a guest on radio and television sports shows throughout the country. "The days of just being a reporter or just writing columns are done," he said. "I know I have to keep up with the new technology or they'll speed up my retirement" (Participant No. 10, August 2012). However, like previous researchers found, the younger reporters interviewed for this study were more likely to enter the profession with more refined multimedia skills than the more-seasoned journalists (McGuire & Murray, 2013; Moore, 2010).

These journalists said their bosses expect them to produce convergent journalism through a variety of mediums. "To be working in sports media nowadays, you have to put yourself out there in more than one form of media," said a reporter from the Midwest who predominately covers high schools sports. "Otherwise you will be left behind, and may not work in sports media anymore" (Participant No. 1, November 2012). Only one of these interviewees had been a sports editor at two different newspapers, first being promoted to that role in the early 1990s:

> When I first started as a sports editor, it used to be that applicants would send a cover letter, 1-page resume, and then a clip file. Now you get these elaborate individual Web pages that link to everything, including them appearing on camera, blogs, work pages, etc. The worst will just link to all their stories in their newspaper archive, which is still better than the old paper clip-file that you might spill coffee on. But that's reflective of what we expect from our employees now. You have to be able to shoot and edit video, talk on camera, and be active on social media to work for us (Participant No. 11, August 2012).

Beyond writing articles and content for their newspaper's print and online editions, the most commonly used platform by these journalists was a blog, which was also easily the most disliked amongst all they mentioned.

**Bloggers are not journalists, but they still hurt our credibility**

Blogs did not originate with the advent of Web 2.0, but instead were part of Web 1.0. The first credited weblogs were created as early as 1991, with blogs ascending into prominence in the U.S. before the end of the 1990s (Carlson, 2007; Herring, Scheidt, Bonus, & Wright, 2005). However, most top blogs now contain multimedia features and use Web 2.0 technologies. All 12 of the interviewees were required to maintain a blog on a website by at least one newspaper they worked for over the course of their careers. However, at least three no longer do so, while others said they rarely or infrequently update their blogs. "Blogging is so 1990s," said a columnist at a large daily paper in the West. "Now, tweeting is the thing. I think I still have a blog on our site, but I honestly can't remember the last time I posted something on my blog" (Participant No. 4, August 2012).

These sports reporters overwhelming expressed a negative sentiment toward sports bloggers who do not work for traditional media outlets. A reporter at a mid-sized newspaper in the West said that he regularly has to chase down and respond to false rumors posted on independent blogs:

> To be a blogger, you don't need to write well. You don't need to know any facts; you just need to put some words down. And there's certainly no accountability. Some people could say "so and so is getting fired." So if you get it wrong you can just write "we got bad information, it's all good." Unless the guy you reported wrongly about does anything about it, then you're free to do whatever you wanna do. I love the First Amendment, but there probably needs to be somebody policing somehow of the Internet—at least for people who claim to be journalists. You want to get all the facts right. If I wanna know something about NHL [National Hockey League] free agency, I'm going to NHL.com or ESPN.com; I'm not going to "Billy Bob's Hockey Blog." I hate freaking bloggers (Participant No. 12, July 2012).

However, most of these reporters delineated a clear difference between blogs on college sports Internet networks (e.g., Rivals.com, Scout.com) aligned with major media outlets and independent amateur blogs. "Although they add a lot of competition to my job, websites like those on Rivals are really helping sports journalism—well, at least the articles on those sites and not the message boards," said a college football reporter in the Southeast (Participant No. 8, February 2013).

These journalists granted even more respect to ESPN Internet, Yahoo! Sports, FoxSports.com, and other mainstream sports websites. "Most of those places are running a real journalism operation with oversight, accountability, and working on sound journalistic principles," said a general assignment reporter at a large daily newspaper in the Northeast. "I know a lot of people at ESPN [Internet] and they all worked in newspapers or television before, most in newspapers. They're usually the ones who are breaking the big, national stories now" (Participant No. 9, March 2013).

Another columnist said, "ESPN.com is mostly great journalism. Any newspaper person who says he doesn't want to work there is lying or does not how much they are paid" (Participant No. 4, August 2012). However, when asked about independent, smaller sports blogs, these journalists expressed disdain, even though the vast majority of blogs are non-profit, feature no paid advertising, and have few readers (Kian, Burden, & Shaw, 2011). "Most sports bloggers are people who are not journalists and probably not accomplished in any part of life, but yet can offer their opinion to the world," said the veteran journalist who had been a sports editor at two newspapers. "Sadly, sometimes the more outlandish and false, the more attention they get" (Participant No. 11, August 2012).

Although each reporter interviewed for this study either maintains a blog on their newspaper's website or did in the past, their overwhelming sentiments were that blogging is not real reporting and the vast majority of bloggers (who are not affiliated with mainstream media outlets) hurt all *real* journalists' credibility. However, several noted that the importance of blogging has been minimized for newspaper journalists due to the advent of Twitter and other Web 2.0 platforms.

## Discussion and Conclusion

The existing research on traditional sports journalists' views toward Web 2.0 platforms is limited. Most of the scholarship published in this area was based off broad surveys. Whereas the research in this study was more detailed, many of the findings from these interviews were similar to results from those surveys (Sheffer & Schultz, 2010; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2013). Regardless, the rich data in this study uncovered deeper meanings for these newspaper reporters' attitudes and experiences with Web 2.0 and Twitter.

These journalists all noted multiple ways in which Web 2.0 and Twitter have made them better journalists, especially in the news-gathering process. Other scholars found similar practices used by sports journalists in a variety of mediums (Deprez, Merchant, & Hoebeke, 2013; Sanderson & Hambrick, 2012). Younger reporters and those who cover teams/leagues that receive extensive coverage from competitors used Twitter far more often than those who covered less competitive beats and some of the older reporters. These findings again mirrored previous scholars' research (Reed, 2012; Schutz & Sheffer, 2009).

However, research in this study showed that these reporters use Twitter to keep up with their beats so that their competitors do not initially break stories. A majority of these reporters said the rise of Twitter had hurt the overall quality of professional sports reporting due to reporters' desire to disseminate something first, even if all the storylines had not yet been formulated and facts gathered. Ironically the reporter who held the most competitive beat (based on market size and number of reporters from different mediums covering that team) among interviewees said that Twitter had reduced the overall competitiveness of his job, because it allowed all reporters covering that beat to report news within a few minutes of each other. In other words, even though he covers one of the most high-profile professional sports beats in U.S. media, this reporter believes Twitter has made it mostly irrelevant and largely unnoticed which reporters initially break news. However, most of the subjects interviewed offered different opinions, contending that Twitter places even more pressure on them to report news before competitors.

Moreover, all of these reporters—especially those in higher-profile jobs—noted that the advent of social media and the enhanced websites hosted by their newspapers have enabled them to reach many more readers from across the country than they could through traditional printed, regional newspapers. Accordingly, Twitter and Web content have enabled reporters to enhance their notoriety and networking within the U.S. sports media profession. As Boyle (2012) noted, "Digital culture facilitated a reframing of the relationship between journalists and their audiences and also opened up a transnational and real-time flow of information that was unimaginable in the analogue age of journalism" (p. 92).

Web 2.0 platforms, however, have forced all of these reporters to learn new multimedia skills to deliver content through different mediums, such as appearing on camera, video production, podcasting, and social media. Some of these subjects were not comfortable using these new platforms, although all recognized more than just writing for a newspaper is now a necessity to be a 21st Century multimedia journalist. Nevertheless, several of these reporters emphasized that writing and reporting remain their primary duties, with most noting that those skills have not changed much since their entrance into the profession, despite technological advances. Other researchers also found that writing remained the No. 1 desired skill by editors and producers, regardless of the sports medium or influx of convergence journalism throughout the sports communication professions (Moore, 2010; Murray et al., 2011). Surprisingly, blogs were the one platform used by all these journalists. Blogging was also the most detested form of "reporting" on the Internet, with most subjects clearly expressing discontent for independent fan bloggers, many of whom—they believe—lack basic reporting skills and training in journalism ethics/norms.

Results from this exploratory study cannot be generalized to all reporters or any beyond those interviewed for this study. All of the subjects worked in newspapers, and specifically within sports departments. Researchers used purposeful sampling through the authors' industry connections in sports journalism. Only 12 reporters were subject to long-form, semi-structured interviews, all reside in the U.S., all work for newspapers with circulations of 30,000 or higher, all have worked in professional sports media for a minimum of seven years, and all but one were men. These reporters are successful in their profession, which increasingly has more part-time journalists and freelancers among their ranks (Butler et al., 2013).

In conclusion, internet technology in sports communication will continue to develop at rapid rates and often in unexpected ways (Boyle, 2012). Research on this entire realm is needed as it evolves. Specifically, more scholarship needs to focus on sports media professionals' use of these new platforms, how it effects their content compared to journalists who work for traditional media, and how media consumers interpret content from social media and other Web 2.0 platforms. This exploratory study broached some of those areas, but results cannot be generalized. Such studies could also examine differences based on demographics of the journalists and consumers, such as gender, race, and nationality.

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# Native Advertising and Digital Natives: The Effects of Age and Advertisement Format on News Website Credibility Judgments

## *Patrick Howe and Brady Teufel*

*This study examines the effects that both age and the presence of native advertisements have on credibility judgments toward a news website. The results suggest that the presence of native advertising had no significant effect on the viewer's perception of credibility. Participants who were exposed to traditional banner-type ads were more likely to report having noticed advertising on the website as compared to those who were exposed to native advertisements, and younger respondents were more likely to notice advertising in general. Older respondents judged the site, regardless of the advertising type shown, as more credible than did their younger counterparts.*

For nearly as long as there has been news published in America, it has been paid for in part by advertising revenue. As news consumption and publishing have moved online, traditional print news providers have struggled economically, finding themselves able to make only a fraction of the revenue from digital ads that they can from their legacy platforms (Pew, 2013). Print news outlets have traditionally been careful to differentiate their editorial content from advertising messages (Soley & Craig, 1992). In the digital realm, however, there has been growing interest from traditional news publishers (Sebastian, 2013) in offering integrated forms of advertising known as sponsored content, or native advertising (American Press Institute, 2013).

Examining primarily older integrated advertising examples such as advertorials, studies have indicated that such content may mislead readers and impact the credibility of traditional news organizations (Cameron & Curtin, 1994, Sandler & Secunda, 1993; Barban, Kim, & Pasadeos, 2001). More recent work, however, has found that online audiences respond positively to native advertising, finding it, for example, less annoying than banner advertisements (Becker-Olsen, 2003; Tutaj & Reijmersdal, 2012).

While these and other studies have examined the effects of native advertising from the perspective of advertisers, relatively little work has examined the effects from the perspective of online news publishers.

One important question is whether audience members feel tricked by native advertising and subsequently find a news site less credible. Another is whether any such attitudes differ based on the age of a given audience member. The purpose of this research is to examine the effects that both age and the presence of native advertisements have on credibility judgments toward a news site. This was accomplished using a 2(age) x 2(advertising type) between-subjects experiment using undergraduate students and older web users who responded to an online survey.

## Literature Review

### Attitudes toward advertising

Most researchers who have explored the question of whether people like or dislike advertising in general have assumed they do not (Zanot, 1981; Kaiser & Song, 2009). Looking at six decades of survey research, Calfee and Ringold (1994) found that the majority of consumers generally considered advertising useful but assumed it to be untruthful.

Attitudes are more negative toward online advertising than offline advertising (Ha & McCann, 2008). Brackett and Carr (2001) found that U.S. college students reported finding Internet ads irritating. Several studies have shown increasing avoidance of Internet advertising (Cho & Choen, 2004; Drèze & Hussherr, 2003), and these findings are backed by declining click-through rates on banner ads (Chan Yun, 2009).

We define native advertising as advertiser-sponsored content that is designed to appear to the user as similar to editorial content. Some studies have reported positive audience reaction to online native advertising.

Tutaj and Van Reijmersdal (2012) found that users display lower ad skepticism toward native advertising as compared to banner advertisements, and find the content less irritating and more informative and amusing. Becker-Olsen (2003) found that users perceive websites with native ads as more responsive to their customers than websites with traditional banner ads (although attitude was most positive when there was no advertising at all).

There is evidence, however, that positive benefits of native advertising are at least partially explained by readers having failed to identify the ads as advertisements (e.g. Barban et. al, 2001; Van Reijmersdal, 2009). This makes sense, as research in traditional formats has shown that readers are less motivated to read commercial messages as compared to editorial content and subsequently pay more attention to editorial content (Cameron, 1994).

### Credibility

Credibility is one of the most important aspects of journalism and, thus, one of the most studied aspects of news (Cassidy, 2007). Yet the concept has no single agreed-upon definition. Researchers have explored credibility perceptions using numerous concepts including believability, fairness, professionalism, objectivity, accuracy, and comprehensiveness. The most common aspects of credibility definitions are trustworthiness and expertise (Hilligoss & Rieh, 2008).

Online news sites are generally judged to be about as credible as their traditional counterparts, although credibility rates have fallen across all media (Cassidy, 2007). Scholars have taken varied approaches to the examination of credibility perceptions of online information. Researchers have, for example, examined perceptions based on the type of information, the genre of the website, the particular attributes on display on the site, and the characteristics of audience members. Johnson and Kaye (1998) found that Web users looking at political information judged online media as more credible than traditional media, although both were judged only somewhat credible.

Examining website genres, Flanagin and Metzger (2007) explored credibility perceptions across four types of websites, finding that those of news organizations were rated higher than commercial or personal websites.

Some studies have proposed that users make credibility judgments of Web information in multiple stages of processing. Wathen and Burkell (2002) proposed that users first rate a medium on surface characteristics such as appearance, interface design, and information organization and then rate the source of the message based on the expertise and trustworthiness of the source. Similarly, Fogg's Prominence-Interpretation Theory (2003), based on research at the Stanford Web Credibility Research Lab, argues that prominence (the noticing of something, such as an attribute) must happen before interpretation (a judgment).

There are also potential differences in how people from different age groups perceive media. Young people may find the Internet a more credible source of information as compared to older respondents (Bucy, 2003) but those with more experience on the web have been shown to rate online information more positively than those with less (Flanagin and Metzger, 2000, Johnson and Kaye, 2000).

## Theoretical Framework

This study explores the relationship between the dependent and independent variables through the information processing approach. It does not presume that subjects are making their choices in a conscious manner that they could articulate and defend; in fact, it presumes that their attitudes may be influenced even if they cannot explicitly point to advertising as a variable. In other words, people may not notice advertising and yet it can still impact their credibility perceptions. The information processing approach can explain this relationship.

Originally drawn from psychology, information processing has been an important topic in mass communication research (Fleming & Thorson, 2006). It has its roots in artificial intelligence as well as information theory—which conceptualizes communication as similar to a mechanized process—and linguistics (Rodgers & Thorson, 2000). Like uses and gratifications, information processing keeps its focus on audience members as paramount, but instead of asking why and how individuals use a medium, it is asking the related questions of whether they remember, comprehend, and like the content of the medium, regardless of whether or not they can articulate their perceptions.

A great deal of work has been done on information processing and advertising, as the theory proposes some hope of answering important questions such as what exactly goes on in the brain that makes one advertisement effective and another not at all. Some of the foundational research into information processing in advertising was devoted toward defining various hierarchy-of-effects models (e.g. Krugman, 1965; Preston, 1982) that conceptualized the steps consumers take in making purchasing decisions. Subsequent work began to focus on the role of emotions; (Rodgers, Thorson, & Jin, 2009). Relevant to this study is work that has explored how the type and format of ads affect cognitive processes. Rodgers and Thorson, for example, in articulating their Interactive Advertising Model (2000) predicted that different ad formats result in different processing and outcomes. People may, for example, process ads as information or entertainment and may not distinguish between news and advertising messages in terms of how they process and make use of information (Sundar, 1999).

Given the body of work that suggests people often fail to see native ads as actual advertising, the following hypothesis is formed:

**H1: Ad type will have minimal effect on credibility judgments toward the news site.**

One common critique voiced about the increased interest in native advertising is that it blurs or ignores the traditional line between advertising and editorial content and thus risks undermining audience trust. Prensky (2001) popularized the idea that there are stark differences in how younger people, or “digital natives,” and older people, or “digital immigrants,” use and process digital media. Since, there has been considerable debate over the idea. Selwyn (2009) suggested that young people’s use of digital media is more varied and less spectacular than Prensky suggests.

Studies have reached different conclusions as to whether reliance on online information affects credibility perceptions. Flanagin and Metzger (2000) found an influence but Johnson and Kaye (2002) found that reliance on internet information did not influence credibility perceptions.

Nonetheless, younger news consumers may well be more comfortable with advertising schemes that ignore this line as they have grown up in a world where movies, reality television, and social media sites have long used integrated advertising schemes such as product placement and branded content to fund their content. Thus, the following hypothesis is offered:

**H1a: If type of ad has a significant effect on credibility perceptions toward the news site, older respondents will find native advertising less credible than younger respondents.**

Finally, the study sought to understand whether respondents noticed advertising. Given previous research suggesting people are less likely to notice native advertising, the following hypothesis was offered:

**H2: Respondents exposed to the banner-style ad will be more likely to notice advertising on the site than will those exposed to the native advertising.**

## Methodology

### Sample

To determine the effect that certain design decisions have on attitudes toward credibility, emails were sent to approximately 400 California Polytechnic State University students and 150 respondents over the age of 45, who were contacted via an online commercial survey facilitator. Respondents were asked to complete an eight-item online survey.

### Method

The online survey was conducted from November 10 to December 1, 2013. The study was conducted according to guidelines set forth by The Cal Poly Human Subjects Committee, which found the project to be in compliance with Public Health Service guidelines for the use of human subjects in research.

### Instrument

In order to gauge whether or not the presence of native advertising impacts the perception of a news website's credibility, one of two static images mimicking an online news website's homepage were randomly presented to the viewer. They differed only in that one homepage mockup displayed a native advertisement while the other homepage mockup displayed a traditional banner-style advertisement.

To ensure that both the non-native and native advertising present on the mockup pages were representative of what is being most commonly deployed by popular news websites, a content analysis of 54 current news websites, including the top 24 newspaper websites based on traffic, were analyzed. Advertisements that fit the definition of native advertising, that is they displayed commercial content generated by the sponsor in the same style as the publication's editorial content, were identified on 10 of these 54 websites. These 10 samples helped inform the size, style, and placement of the native ad presented on the homepage mockup.

In order to closely match reality in terms of visual presentation, the two homepage images were identical to a popular news website's homepage, albeit with the name of the publication changed. The banner-style advertisement displayed on one homepage was an actual advertisement (for sports apparel) from a similar news website. The native advertisement displayed on the other homepage was an actual native advertisement (for the same sports apparel) that appeared on the news website's homepage. The ads were placed in the identical location on the page, used the same colors, and were the same size.

After viewing one of these two images, viewers were then asked to respond to directional statements aimed at measuring the respondent's perception of the online news site's credibility. Credibility was operationalized based on extant literature from a seven-question construct designed to measure expertise and trustworthiness. There was space provided for an open-ended comment regarding the factors that the respondent thought contributed and/or detracted from the perceived credibility.

The survey, which takes about 10 minutes to complete, also included questions about the respondent's news consumption habits as well as basic demographic information (e.g. age, sex, education level) in order to be able to accurately describe the general traits of the respondents.

**Respondent profile**

A total of 257 people participated in the survey and 92% completed it. Over half of the respondents were female (60%). In terms of age, 46.6% were between 18 and 24, 10.1% were between 45 and 54, 19% were between 55 and 64, 11.2% were between 65 and 74 and 3.8% were older than 75.

Racial makeup included 81.7 % white, 5.4% Asian American, 1.9% Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, 1.1% African American, 8.5% "other." In terms of educational level, 3.6% had a high school education, 49.3% had attended some college but did not yet possess a degree, 9.7% possessed associate degrees, 16.3% possessed bachelor's degrees, and 15.9% possessed graduate degrees.

When asked about the mediums used in their news consumption during the previous two days, 77% responded that they had read "any news online," 19.8% responded that they had read "any news on a tablet [such as an iPad]," 46.3% responded that they had read "any news on a smartphone," 50.2% had read "any news in print," 59.9% responded that they had watched "any news on television," 37.7% responded that they had watched "any video news online," and 44.7% responded that they had read "any news shared through social media."

In terms of differences between the two groups, 98% of the younger group were between the ages of 18–24, while the most frequent strata of the older group was 55–64, at 43%. On education, 100% of the younger group reported some college compared to 92% of the older group (34% reported holding a graduate degree). On race, 85% of the younger group described themselves as white compared to 93% of the older group.

There were differences in how the groups described their media use. For example, 91% of older respondents said they'd watched any news on television in the past two days compared to 43% of younger respondents. And 27% of younger respondents said they'd read any news on a smart phone, compared to 75% of those in the younger group. But the groups were similar in terms of reading news online, with 86.7% of older respondents reporting having read news online in the prior two days compared to 85.5% of younger respondents. Given the relatively small differences in racial makeup, education, and internet news consumption, the authors feel these groups are comparable.

The older respondents were contacted via a commercial online survey facilitator. The facilitator described the sample as reflective of the U.S. population with the exception that it is composed of people with Internet access who have joined a program to take surveys. The authors do not feel that these factors significantly skew the results (especially given that the research is centered around the online experience).

## Results

The design of the study required the performance of a two-way ANOVA. Age and ad-type were entered as the independent variables and the credibility and self-reported noticing of advertisements were, alternatively, used as dependent variables.

**H1: Ad type will have minimal effect on credibility.**

Credibility change scores were subjected to a two-way analysis of variance. The main effect of ad type yielded an $F$ ratio of $F(1,219) = .002$, $p>.05$, thus there was no significant effect. The definition of minimal effect was operationalized as less than a 10% variation in attitude. This definition was chosen in an attempt to reflect the level of difference that would concern a publisher and was based on examination of a series of interviews with prominent news publishers on the topic of native advertising (American Press Institute, 2013). If there were more than a 10% difference in credibility assessments based on the type of ads shown, the authors believe publishers would be concerned; but at levels below that, the authors believe concerns would be minimal. A least-squares mean table reported upper confidence limits on the combined credibility measure of 1.66 on a 35-point scale with a 95% degree of confidence, thus a less than five percent variation in reported attitude. H1 is supported.

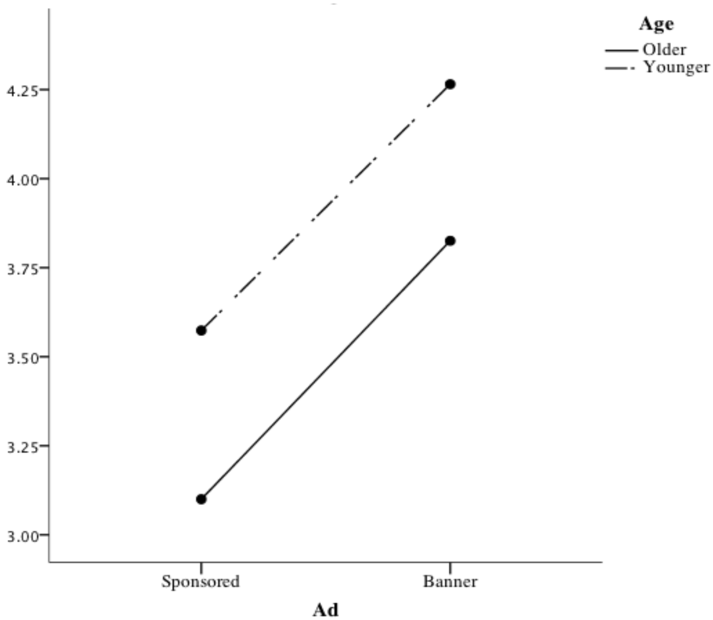
**H1a: Given the findings above, H1a does not apply.**

**H2: Noticing of advertising on the site will be higher for those exposed to the banner-style ad.**

The two-way analysis of variance revealed statistically significant effects for age and ad type. The main effect of age yielded an $F$ ratio of $F(1, 219) = 8.89$, $p < .003$. The main effect of ad type yielded an $F$ ratio of $F(1, 219) = 21.6$, $p <.001$. The interaction effect was non-significant $F(1, 219) = .012$, $p >.05$.

Participants of both age groups exposed to the traditional banner-type ad were, at a statistically significant level, more likely to report having noticed advertising on the webpage as compared to those exposed to the native advertisement, although young people were more likely to notice either type of advertising. The second hypothesis is supported. As Figure 1 shows, this effect displays roughly equally across both age groups, with means of both younger and older respondents increasing about .7 (from $M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.25$ to $M = 3.83$, $SD = 1.07$ for older and $M = 3.57$, $SD = 1.28$ to $M = 4.27$, $SD = .84$ for the younger group) when comparing exposure to the native ad to exposure to the banner-style ad.

Figure 1. Estimated Marginal Means of Noticed Ads.




Beyond the hypotheses tests, additional analysis found significance in the question of age on credibility. As presented in Table 1, the analysis of variance yielded an $F(1, 219) = 6.24$, $p < .013$, indicating that those in the older group judged the site, regardless of the advertising type they were shown, as more credible than did younger respondents. Results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Two-way ANOVA for credibility

| Source | SS (Type III) | df | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | 256.53 | 1 | 6.24 | .013 |
| Ad | .10 | 1 | .00 | .961 |
| Age*Ad | 121.44 | 1 | 2.96 | .087 |

Note: Credibility is combined 7-question score. N=223

## Conclusions and Discussion

Marketing-oriented research has found that users display lower ad skepticism toward native advertisement as compared to banner advertisements (e.g. Tutaj & Van Reijmersdal, 2012), but the study results here suggest that the presence of sponsored versus traditional online advertising had no significant effect on the viewer's perception of a news website's credibility.

Also significant was the fact that participants exposed to the traditional banner-type ad were, at a statistically significant level, more likely to report having noticed advertising on the webpage when compared to those exposed to the native ad. Finally, those in the older group judged the site, regardless of the advertising type shown, as more credible than did their younger counterparts.

The results are consistent with the primary assumptions from the information processing approach, that information made available by the environment is processed by a series of systems (e.g. attention, perception, short-term memory) and that these processing systems transform or alter the information in systematic ways (McLeod, 2008).

Applied to the study, the presence or absence of native advertising in an online news environment influences how we process what we're seeing. Perception, thus, can impact how the information presented on a news website is processed (such as whether it is perceived as editorial or commercial content) and ultimately whether or not the viewer thus interprets the information as credible or not.

As with all experiments, examination of the stimuli was not performed in a completely natural setting. Participants were not casually reading the news, for example, but rather examining a static image presented amid an online survey.

The authors chose to offer a static image as opposed to a fully functional web site. It's possible that if participants were able to explore the web site, they would have, for example, noticed that the native advertisement was in fact an ad. The authors made this choice in order to control for other potentially distracting, changing and/or misleading variables vis a vis website content, layout, and presentation. In addition, the authors chose to offer only one image representing native advertising. A preliminary study (*N* = 110) among undergraduates did explore four variations of native advertising, selected from a content analysis of existing native ad styles found in 10 top-50-by-traffic news websites. A fifth group was exposed to conventional online advertising. Results indicated no significant differences in credibility scores between the groups, but the study was underpowered based on small sample size and deemed insufficient for additional analysis.

Given the findings it is conceivable that, because some respondents exposed to the native ads did not notice them, native ads could have an impact on credibility that was not recorded in this study. Further research could explore this possibility, although post hoc tests did not find a significant relationship between noticing of ads and credibility perceptions. It is possible, however, that, if respondents had been alerted to the fact that the native advertisement they initially perceived as editorial content was actually commercial content, they would have offered different assessments of the news site's credibility. Additionally, the effect of other native advertising formats, such as sponsored sections, on audience reactions could be tested in order to offer publishers more information on format implications. Finally, the fact that there was significance based on age in both credibility and noticing of advertisements and that these results are contrary to other studies, suggests that additional research could fruitfully explore the differences in how young vs. older people process advertisements.

News publishers, in a quest for increased digital advertising revenue, are increasingly interested in exploring native advertising options. Publishers may find our results a cause for optimism, as they indicate that people do not find any difference in credibility based on the presence of native advertisements. Given our research and past studies, however, publishers should be aware that, even when native advertising is labeled, a significant number of audience members may not perceive it as such. It is possible that, once they discover that what they perceived as content is in fact advertising, they may lose trust in the news site.

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# The Impact of Curation on Stories' Objectivity: Audience Criteria of Perceived objectivity of Storify

*Vittoria Sacco and Yanjun Zhao*

*A case study on Storify with an experimental design was conducted with 207 students to test new forms of storytelling on an audience's perception of objectivity. Findings suggest three main constructs impacted perceived objectivity: the format, the author, and the content. Among these elements, the formats took a greater weight and inevitably affected the perceived objectivity of the story regardless of the content or the author. In addition, age, IT background, and education level increased the perceived objectivity of an article no matter what the given scenario was. Differences among countries were also found.*

## Introduction

Online content can reflect distorted reality as well as assist in the discovery of dishonesty (Bennett, 2011). The proliferation of online news platforms has influenced the manner in which Internet users get their information about international affairs. But how do they judge this information? The journalistic principle of objectivity is often tried out in the Internet where a multitude of voices can be heard. Transparent news processes are needed in order to preserve public trust (Sambrook, 2010). However**,** user-generated content is questioned with respect to its legitimacy to be used as news content because they provide a specific point of view (Mortensen, 2011). That is why further studies on perceived objectivity are needed, especially when journalists rely on user-generated content.

It is in this context that new digital media content curation platforms have been introduced. These new platforms aim to assist users curate content from the web and distribute it in a meaningful way. They range from simple social media aggregators and discovery engines to more complex, full-blown publishing solutions for organizations (WebAdvantage, 2011). Among them, *Storify* is a type of curation online reporting platform that allows its users to organize pieces of information scattered across the web into a coherent narrative without creating new news content. As an interactive and multimedia platform, its interface is visually similar to a social network web page. Since its launch in 2011, the site has been growing in popularity among freelance journalists and mainstream news organizations, such as *New York Times*, *the Washington Post*, *NBC News*, *CBC News* in Canada, and *Al Jazeera*, helping them to cover unfolding events such as Hurricane Katrina, the “Arab Spring,” and the US presidential elections (Sacco & Bossio, 2014).

*Storify* has its strengths in diverse sources, decreasing the risk of a one-sided report. Nevertheless, it may suffer from its social media nature. Because social media have been used to portray subjective points of view (Sonnenberg, 2009), they have the potential to distort reality. It is likely that at the sight of the social media structure, the audience will immediately prejudge and distrust the content (Chia & Cenite, 2012). Furthermore, the impact of *Storify* on objectivity might depend on many situational factors, such as the user’s education level, familiarity with curation tools, and online reading habits (e.g., Johnson & Kaye 2004; Bucy, 2003; Ibelema & Powell, 2001; Mulder, 1981). Relying on user-generated content, *Storify’s* objectivity is still in question. Will Internet users trust the information delivered on this new platform?

Research in the field of digital curation tools and practices is still in a preliminary stage (Duh, et al., 2012; Fincham, 2011; Liu, 2010). To fill this research gap, the objectivity of news produced on *Storify* platforms is analyzed by means of a case study to examine the impact of curation on audience’s perception of objectivity. The purpose of this study is to explore the extent to which *Storify* is perceived as being objective by end-users compared to more traditional ways of reporting news online.

## Literature Review

### The quest of objectivity in journalism

The notion of objectivity has been debated and questioned, giving birth to two schools of thought (Gibran, 2006; Donsbach & Klett, 1993). On one hand, some scholars consider objectivity as a norm (Berry, 2005; Lichtenberg, 1992). On the other hand, others argue that objectivity is only an illusion that encourages the permanence of existing structures of power to the detriment of critical analysis (Overholser, 2004; Durham, 1998; Rosen, 1993; Schudson, 1978). Four categories characterize the major works in the field of objectivity, emphasizing the diverse facets of the complexity and controversy behind it (Nolan & Marjoribanks, 2006). Munoz-Torres (2012) and Ward (2004) inspected the philosophical-ethical dimension of objectivity, whereas Soloski (1989), Gans (1979) and Tuchman (1972) explored the social-organizational one. Other studies have focused on the political-economic (Hackett & Zhao, 1988; Hallin, 1986; Hall et al., 1978) and policy (Chalaby 1998; Harvey, 1998; Donsbach & Klett 1993) aspects of objectivity.

The main criticism of objectivity was that the truth is not systematically reached by certain practice (Frost, 2000). In fact, the reporting can be neither objective nor true even if the journalist employs a balanced coverage (i.e. equal amount of space for both sides engaged in the event). Moreover, if one considers the moral imperatives as part of the role of journalists, neutrality may be also challenging (Seib, 2002). Following this perspective, objectivity becomes an “occupational ideology” (Roshco, 1975) or a “strategic ritual” (Tuchman, 1972) in the eyes of scholars and practitioners. This vision of objectivity is legitimate but restricts the multi-dimensionality of the term. It confines the focus on the use that journalists make of this notion rather than on the notion itself (Gauthier, 1993). To fill this gap, Gauthier (ibid) tried to determine whether or not it is possible to be objective in journalism. He proposed some situations where media professionals could achieve objective coverage: First, straight news reporting can be objective. Second, the genre "news story" can be objective. Third, news collection is limited by available sources and deadline pressures. Fourth, objectivity does not apply to the formal, "external" conditions of news reporting. Finally, objectivity is restricted to the way reporting is operated. In other words, objectivity is primarily related to how the journalist reports the facts, and to the way he/she processes information.

Objectivity as a journalistic concept seems thus extremely difficult to define and has been the subject of much research. Objectivity is not the synonym of balance, accuracy, or fairness. Objectivity is not found in the news stories themselves but, rather, in the method a journalist uses as he/she collects information, processes that information, and creates a news story. In other words, objectivity resides in performance. Therefore, this performance seems extremely related to journalists' routines.

**Audience criteria of objective coverage**

Detached from the principles founding journalism, an audience builds its own idea of objective coverage. This will partially affect its media preferences. The study by Delforce (1985) represents one of the main efforts in understanding how the audience rates the perceived objectivity of a news article. According to his findings, there are five major pillars:

a. "Tell everything, hide nothing" (objectivity 1)

This concept can be reformulated through a comparison: the most objective text is the one that tells the most. Objectivity is thus the amount of information given or the accuracy of the details provided. Another way to illustrate this concept, using a negative assertion, can be that the non-objective text is the one that is exposed to censorship, the one that "hides" information.

The *Storify* format allows a curator to include different kind of content (e.g. text, audio, video, or images). Thus, it has the potential to condense the information without losing depth. However, since the curator includes original sources of content without editing, a reader might feel that some information is missing. Thus the reader will still find traditional ways of reporting more completed and exhaustive.

b. "Tell the truth, be transparent" (objectivity 2)

In this case, the non-objective text is the one that lies. This concept is not fundamentally different from the previous one: it is in what is said about the event that the lack of perceived objectivity is observed. But this time the focus is on the linguistic phenomena. This proves that the language used could represent for the audience the degree of transparency.

In this case, *Storify* can represent a disadvantage. Since the curator uses original contribution produced by users without journalist writing skills, the information delivered could be clumsy. Without a doubt, it is also the responsibility of the curator to choose the right content.

c. Be neutral (objectivity 3a + 3b)

This third guideline is different from the two previous ones. We assume, at least implicitly, the lack of consensus on reality and its meaning. An audience accepts that covered stories give rise to controversy, but journalists take no part in this controversy. An audience becomes particularly aware of words in the report in its attempts to detect a favorable or unfavorable journalistic bias.

Here, the *Storify* platform and curation can help to reach neutrality. Presenting the original sources of information can bring a sense of plurality of voices, thus different points of view are presented. Of course, the reader might look at the content of these different voices to check if they really represent divergent opinions. The curator is still the one who will select the contributions to build the story. Thus, he/she is the only one in charge of making the reporting neutral.

d. General skepticism and absolute relativism (not represented in Figure 1)

Are diametrically opposed. The first—skepticism—could be translated as “all the same bad stuff...”, “the press is corrupted... “, and other similar negative judgments. This negative judgment is simply extended to all the media. Thus, in the comparative study of articles covering the same event, all the articles are compared to show the difference from reality. In contrast, from a philosophical point of view, the audiences assume that the concept of objectivity exists but is not followed by journalists. Audiences perceive differences between news stories covering same event but cannot explain why and where the differences are. As a result, the audience develops a feeling of helpless distrust.

In this case, the format is not questioned. What matters is a shared feeling about the media as an entity. Maybe here curated stories written by an amateur could gain sympathy because they are out of the media apparatus.

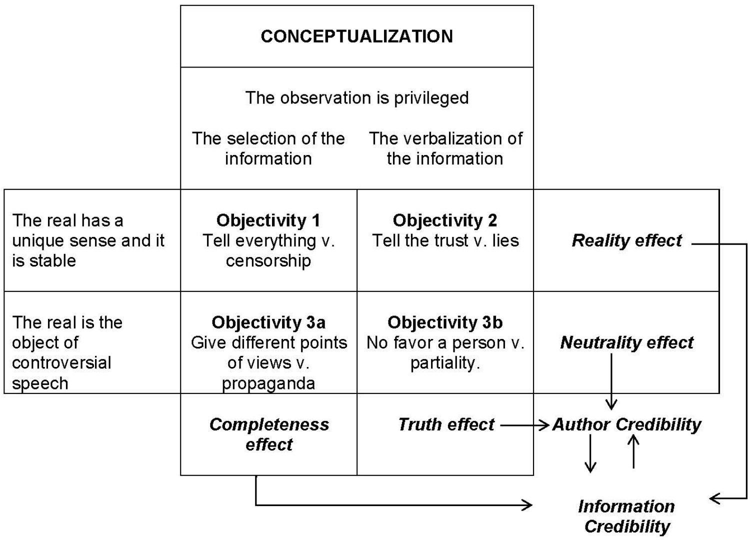
e. Journalism as an ethic (not represented in Figure 1)

This concept refers to an audience’s expectation that the journalist is honest. This is often accepted as an exception: it is admitted that the reporter expresses an opinion, but the opinion provided should take the form of a comment and not simply narrative.

In *Storify* the comments of the curator are clearly visible. They appear with a special font. Therefore, the reader can easily see where the curator has intervened. This can help transparency.

Figure 1 shows the model conceptualized by Delforce (1985). The combination of the different aspects of objectivity constitutes some of the adjectives that are generally used to measure the concept of objectivity and credibility in media studies. This model will be the basis to operationalize the concept of perceived objectivity. Several scholars have attempted to measure perceived objectivity (Nolan & Marjoribanks, 2006; Wien, 2005; Westerstähl, 1983; Andrén & Veirup, 1979). In particular, Wien (2005) justifies the possibility of measuring perceived objectivity. She suggests that fairness can be graded. Because fairness is directly associated with perceived objectivity, one can thus be more or less objective. The next step involves characterizing the meaning of being fair. This is accomplished through balanced and accurate coverage. In this case, a balanced coverage is one without partisanship. Accuracy is the synonym of reporting only the facts and quoting the sources. Another key element that cannot be separated from the notion of perceived objectivity is truth (Munoz-Torres, 2012; Wien, 2005). It can be associated with the experience of the author (curator), his/her sources and the brand that he/she belongs to, as well as the perceptions related to the news medium through which those sources operate (Gunter et al., 2009). Relevance has been considered as an additional key concept explaining perceived objectivity, in the sense that news can only have value for the audience if journalists cover events audiences care about or can somehow feel involved in (McQuail, 1992). Other identified attributes to measure perceived objectivity includes reliability, authority, verification of facts, and neutrality (Ryan, 2009; Nolan & Marjoribanks, 2006; Wien, 2005; Tuchman, 1972).

Figure 1. Audience criteria of perceived objectivity (Delforce, 1985: 9)




These attributes are parts of the perceived credibility measure. Actually, Sundar (1999) defined credibility as a "global evaluation of the objectivity of the story." Indeed, perceived objectivity will affect the perceived acceptability or strength of a message's persuasiveness (Sundar, 1999). These two concepts are interrelated. The results of the perceived objectivity will somehow inevitably influence the overall perceived credibility of a news story. This leads to the first research question:

**RQ1: To what extent is the *Storify* format perceived as being objective compared to traditional ways of reporting online news?**

Flanagin and Metzeger (2000) showed that the genre and the design of the website have an impact on its perceived credibility. Since the *Storify* format is visually different from the traditional news format, differences could be found among ratings. Visual features like design and aesthetics do play a vital role in how information is perceived and used (e.g., Alsudani & Casey, 2009). When an audience views a report from *Storify*, they will first judge the online platform based on its appearance, design, and organization of the information (Alsudani & Casey 2009; Fogg, 2002; Walthen & Burkell, 2002). Because of its visual uniqueness, *Storify's* news stories and their perceived objectivity can be positively or negatively affected by its format. For example, Sundar (1998) found that stories with quotes perform significantly better in terms of credibility and news quality than stories without quotes. Since *Storify* is a collection of social media content, which mostly comes from Twitter, the user has access to the original source of information. The presence of quotations can thus positively impact the perceived objectivity and credibility rating. On the other hand, multimedia content leads to negative evaluations of the platform (Sundar, 2000). Since *Storify* allows the curator to introduce videos, photos etc., this might undermine user judgment of the platform. This leads to H1:

**H1: The format has an impact on the perceived objectivity of *Storify* stories.**

Previous researchers have shown that factors such as age (Bucy, 2003), income (Ibelema & Powell, 2001), education (Mulder, 1981), gender (Robinson & Kohut, 1988), and race (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2005) are also associated with different degrees of perceived credibility of sources and medium. In fact, it has been shown that the more people actively consume online information, the more they find the information credible (Johnson & Kaye 2004, Schweiger 2000). In addition, it was proved in the early work on channel credibility that the more an individual uses the media, the higher their credibility score for that mediumends up being (Whitney, 1986; Cobbey, 1980; Shaw, 1973; Greenberg, 1966; Westley & Severin, 1964). Greer (2003) showed that the time spent on the Web was a significant predictor of new media credibility. On the other hand, Wanta and Hu (1994) found no relationship between the frequency of media usage and credibility. In contrast, they showed that a relationship exists between reliance and credibility. Kiousis (2001) and Johnson and Kaye (2002) also found that for both political and sports news, time spent online was not related to the perception of credibility. Since the relationship between media use and perceived credibility remain unclear, the user's profile attributes (i.e. control variables) were also tested with respect to their effect on the perceived objectivity scale.

**RQ2: How will audiences' age, education, gender, IT background, nationality, and time spent in online news influence their perceived objectivity of stories?**

## Methodology

### Study design

To test the hypothesis, experimental design was selected as the research method, because it allows causal inference on the effects of exposures to online digital content, on the interest in different news coverage formats, and on the perception and quality evaluation (Thorson, Wicks & Leshner, 2012; Ha & Chan-Olmsted, 2001). Participants were randomly assigned to three scenarios: (1) traditional online article; (2) *Storify* format by an amateur curator, and (3) *Storify* format by a professional curator. Experimental conditions were randomly assigned to participants. Written in English, the scenarios and questions for participants were randomly sent via emails, which took participants less than 10 minutes to respond to.

The participants were 207 students in different fields ranging from communication studies to science fields from the University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, and Cameron University in the US. It was necessary to have participants in different fields because the user's profile could affect the score of perceived objectivity. Furthermore, knowing that Internet users are mostly young and educated, this small sample includes the profile of current and future users of these new platforms. It was also kept in mind that *Storify* is an international platform where stories can be written in many different languages, which is a proof of its international audience.

Each scenario had 69 respondents with an equal combination of US and non-US students. 74% of the participants were undergraduate students, 19% were pursuing their master's degree, and 7% had an associate degree. Males accounted for 37% of the respondents. 10% of the participants were less than 20 years old, 73% between 20 and 25 years old, and 17% more than 25 years old. Another preliminary question was their time spent online to read news. Answering this question was necessary in order to explore if those who care more about news and those who read more online would easily accept new formats like *Storify*. A total of 54% of the respondents declared to spend less than 30 minutes per day. Around 27% of them spend from 30 minutes to 1 hour per day, whereas 12% spend from one to two hours per day. The remaining 7% of them spend more than two hours per day. Participants were also asked to rate their computer skills. Again, this control variable might affect the perception of this new online platform by the end-users. The better a person's computer skills are, the more likely it is that he/she will show a positive attitude to new IT systems. About 17% of the participants have rated their IT background as low, 66% as middle, and 17% as high. Finally, respondents were asked to answer if they were familiar with the *Storify* platforms at the outset of the experiment, prior to the exposure to the respective scenarios. Around 61% of them have responded to have knowledge of it. This is useful because those who know the platform have in some ways accepted it. They have also already formulated a judgment on it. For those who are not familiar, it can be a way to test their initial reactions when viewing this new format.

**Stimuli**

To verify the research hypothesis, three scenarios were developed by considering different combinations of formats and authors. The first scenario was composed by an online journal article from *Al Jazeera*[1] about Annan's peace plan. To avoid sensitive subjects that can hurt some participants, one of the major events concerning international policies during the "Arab Spring" was selected as the main subject of the stimuli. Choosing an internationally covered event was a consequence of having participants from different countries. The experiment was undertaken from January to May 2013, a time frame when the "Arab Spring" was an event widely discussed in the media. The second scenario was a curation story from *Storify*[2] presenting the same coverage of the online journal article. A third scenario had the same content as the second scenario except for the author's profile. In this scenario, the author was edited to be *Al Jazeera*. In this way, it was possible to compare if the perceived objectivity changes among authors reporting the same message and/or if the perceived objectivity was affected by differences in formats. To be sure that the two *Storify* stories could be compared to the online journal article, the information delivered had to be identical. All three scenarios presented the same content and structure: context of the event, acceptance of the plan, skepticism of the public about the plan, and continuing violence in Syria. Therefore, only the format on how the information was delivered was different: one was the traditional news website, and the others were the *Storify* format (i.e., a collection of social media content from different sources). Although this study did not chose US main-stream media organizations such as *The New York Times, Al Jazeera* has done some remarkable reporting and won prestigious awards. The stigma carried by *Al Jazeera* questioning its allegiance might be present among some American students; however, in Europe it does not suffer from this disbelief. Moreover, even if the stigma was present during the experiment, it would not have undermined or affected the results since both professional scenarios shared the same author. In this experiment, the researchers were not interested in differences between media outlets; rather, they were interested in different formats of consuming news online.

### Measurement

In this study, the concept of perceived objectivity refers to the set of notions debated in the literature review. The perceived objectivity was thus defined by a total of eight items including *reliability* (Nolan & Marjoribanks, 2006), *authority* (Ryan, 2009), *trustworthiness* (Gunter et al., 2009; Wien, 2005; Westerstähl, 1983), *balanced coverage* (Ryan, 2009; McGoldrick, 2006; Nolan & Marjoribanks, 2006; Wien, 2005; McQuail, 1992; Westerstähl, 1983), *fact verification* (Ryan, 2009; Gibran, 2006; Nolan & Marjoribanks, 2006; Tuchman, 1972), *fairness* (Ryan, 2009; Wien, 2005; McQuail, 1992), *accuracy* (Ryan, 2009; Wien, 2005; McQuail, 1992), and *relevance* (McQuail, 1992; Westerstähl, 1983). Items were measured with a 5-point Likert-type (1 = *very poor* to 5 = *very good*) scale question ("How do you rate the curator objectivity in terms of X?"). Respondents were also asked to answer if they found the author opponent supportive or neutral (Ryan, 2009; Gibran, 2006; Nolan & Marjoribanks, 2006; McQuail, 1992; Westerstähl, 1983) when reporting the news and, using an open question, what "objective" meant to them.

The concept of perceived objectivity is multi-dimensional, and the Likert-scale covered the main parameters in relation to perceived objectivity as seen in the literature review. As shown in Figure 1, the reality effect was covered by the items *reliability* and *fact verification*; the neutrality effect by the item *balanced coverage*; the completeness effect by *fairness* and *relevance*; and the accuracy and the truth effect by the items "*trustworthiness* and *authority*.

## Results

### Reliability and validity of the objective construct

The reliability and internal consistency of the construct were assessed using Cronbach's alpha. A Cronbach's alpha of .823 was obtained for the perceived objectivity scale. This measure assures the consistency of the scale (Bagozzi & Yi, 1988).

## Test of hypotheses

### An overview of the differences among three scenarios

Using MANOVA, a first test was conducted to get a big picture of the difference among the three scenarios with respect to objectivity. The model included all the objectivity items as dependent variables and used the scenarios as independent variables. The results indicated significant differences among the three scenarios (F = 3.791, $p < .001$, Wilks' Lambda = .766). A check on the mean difference suggested higher ratings for the traditional scenario and lower ratings for the curation scenarios. At first glance, the traditional online news format is perceived as being more objective than the *Storify* format. Therefore, the format could be a significant factor in determining the perceived objectivity.

**H1** involves the difference between the traditional format and curation formats, so a MANOVA comparison was conducted between the traditional format scenario (N = 69) and the curation scenarios (N = 138). Results indicated significant differences between the two groups. The traditional format scenario showed a higher objectivity score than the curation format scenarios (F = 5.512, Wilk's Lambda = .824, $p < .001$, partial eta Squared = .176). Therefore **H1** was supported.

### The comparison in author and format

To avoid confounding factors, the content information delivered in all three scenarios was the same, and the researchers manipulated the curator's profile to have one *Storify* story written by an amateur and one by a professional (the same brand as the traditional online article). To test if the authorship affects the perceived objectivity of the story, another MANOVA test was conducted between the two curation scenarios. The results did not to show a significant difference in the multivariate model (F = 1.841, $p = .075$). This suggests that the format has a stronger impact on perceived objectivity than the author's profile.

To investigate the above results more deeply, multinomial logistic regression models were used. This type of regression model predicts the probabilities of the different possible outcomes of a categorically distributed dependent variable, given a set of categorical independent variables. With the following analysis, it will be possible to measure each single construct that defines the perceived objectivity scale in relation to the given scenarios. Because of the small sample size, the Likert-scale was reduced from 5 to 3 levels. Levels 1 = *very poor* and 2 = *poor* were regrouped into a new level 1, the level 3 = *acceptable* became level 2, and levels 4 = *good* and 5 = *very good* merged in to level 3.

In Table 1, two models are compared. The first one, "Intercept only," simply fits an intercept to predict the dependent variables, which in our case are the different items used to measure the perceived objectivity. The second one, "Final", represents a model that contains the specified dependent variables (i.e. the groups' scenarios). This model was reached through an iterative process that maximized the log likelihood of the outcomes indicated by outcome variable. Therefore, the "Final" model should improve upon the "Intercept Only" model. This can be checked in the column which reports the differences in the -2Log Likelihood values related to the models. In the fourth column, a chi-square test was used to check whether there were any regression's coefficients equal to zero in the model. All tests used 5% alpha standard. As shown in the last column where the *p-values* are reported, the variables *reliability*, *balanced coverage* and *author* indicated insignificant results. This means that the independent variables had no effect on these three constructs. In other words, there was no significant difference in the answers of the respondents for these three constructs in any of the three scenarios. For these constructs, there is no need for further analysis.

Table 1. Criteria of model fit and likelihood ratio tests

| | **Tested Models** | **-2log likelihood** | **Chi-square** | **degrees of freedom** | ***p-value*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Fairness** | Intercept Only | 40.554 | | | |
| | Final | 25.825 | 14.726 | 4 | .005 |
| **Accuracy** | Intercept Only | 57.626 | | | |
| | Final | 25.202 | 32.424 | 4 | <.001 |
| **Relevance** | Intercept Only | 39.572 | | | |
| | Final | 25.717 | 13.855 | 4 | .008 |
| **Authority** | Intercept Only | 58.108 | | | |
| | Final | 25.754 | 32.354 | 4 | <.001 |
| **Trustworthiness** | Intercept Only | 49.507 | | | |
| | Final | 25.941 | 23.566 | 4 | <.001 |
| **Reliability** | Intercept Only | 31.505 | | | |
| | Final | 25.638 | 5.825 | 4 | .231 |
| **Balanced coverage** | Intercept Only | 35.850 | | | |
| | Final | 26.341 | 9.509 | 4 | .050 |
| **Fact verification** | Intercept Only | 64.200 | | | |
| | Final | 25.644 | 38.556 | 4 | <.001 |
| **Author** | Intercept Only | 27.077 | | | |
| | Final | 26.234 | .843 | 4 | .933 |

Note: control variables included Nationality, IT background, time spent reading online, gender, age, and education level.

Table 2 shows the estimated multinomial logistic regression coefficients of the models. A function of the multinomial logit model is that it estimates *k-1* models, where *k* is the number of levels of the outcome variable. In this case, the level 1 of each construct was treated as the referenced group. Therefore, a model for level 2 relative to level 1 and a model for level 3 relative to level 1 were estimated. The importance of Table 2 resides in the fact that it allows to build Table 3 (see endnotes of Table 3 for the computations). Without Table 2 the ratio of probabilities could not have been calculated.

Table 2. Multinomial regression

| | | Beta | Standard Errors | Wald | Degrees of freedom | *p-value* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Fairness=2** | Intercept | .754 | .429 | 3.091 | 1 | .079 |
| | Scenario 2 | -.667 | .521 | 1.641 | 1 | .200 |
| | Scenario 3 | -.348 | .537 | .421 | 1 | .516 |
| **Fairness=3** | Intercept | 1.682 | .385 | 19.077 | 1 | <.001 |
| | Scenario 2 | -1.637 | .487 | 11.302 | 1 | .001 |
| | Scenario 3 | -1.053 | .494 | 4.544 | 1 | .033 |
| **Accuracy=2** | Intercept | .318 | .465 | .470 | 1 | .493 |
| | Scenario 2 | -.231 | .550 | .177 | 1 | .674 |
| | Scenario 3 | 1.011 | .597 | 2.866 | 1 | .090 |
| **Accuracy=3** | Intercept | 1.812 | .381 | 22.594 | 1 | <.001 |
| | Scenario 2 | -1.768 | .484 | 13.338 | 1 | <.001 |
| | Scenario 3 | -.714 | .542 | 1.735 | 1 | .188 |
| **Relevance=2** | Intercept | 1.427 | .455 | 9.855 | 1 | .002 |
| | Scenario 2 | -1.091 | .541 | 4.068 | 1 | .044 |
| | Scenario 3 | -.701 | .553 | 1.609 | 1 | .205 |
| **Relevance=3** | Intercept | 1.819 | .440 | 17.085 | 1 | <.001 |
| | Scenario 2 | -1.770 | .540 | 10.759 | 1 | .001 |
| | Scenario 3 | -1.349 | .550 | 6.027 | 1 | .014 |
| **Authority=2** | Intercept | .348 | .377 | .853 | 1 | .356 |
| | Scenario 2 | .291 | .472 | .380 | 1 | .538 |
| | Scenario 3 | -.141 | .460 | .093 | 1 | .760 |
| **Authority=3** | Intercept | 1.179 | .330 | 12.784 | 1 | <.001 |
| | Scenario 2 | -1.484 | .483 | 9.451 | 1 | .002 |
| | Scenario 3 | -1.952 | .480 | 16.509 | 1 | <.001 |
| **Trustworthiness=2** | Intercept | .588 | .394 | 2.221 | 1 | .136 |
| | Scenario 2 | -.167 | .484 | .118 | 1 | .731 |
| | Scenario 3 | -.278 | .484 | .329 | 1 | .566 |
| **Trustworthiness=3** | Intercept | 1.386 | .354 | 15.374 | 1 | <.001 |
| | Scenario 2 | -1.658 | .485 | 11.695 | 1 | .001 |
| | Scenario 3 | -1.587 | .475 | 11.143 | 1 | .001 |
| **Fact verification=2** | Intercept | .435 | .387 | 1.266 | 1 | .261 |
| | Scenario 2 | -.292 | .471 | .385 | 1 | .535 |
| | Scenario 3 | -.302 | .466 | .420 | 1 | .517 |
| **Fact verification=3** | Intercept | 1.291 | .340 | 14.379 | 1 | <.001 |
| | Scenario 2 | -1.984 | .481 | 17.021 | 1 | <.001 |
| | Scenario 3 | -2.321 | .502 | 21.402 | 1 | <.001 |

Note: control variables included Nationality, IT background, time spent reading online, gender, age, and education level.

In Table 3, the ratio of the probabilities was calculated to compare them and to measure the probability that the respondent will rate the analyzed items as level 1, 2 or 3 based on what group he/she is in. For the group in the first scenario (traditional online article), the probability of rating level 3 for the item *fairness* is 5.376 times larger than the probability of answering level 1 and 2.125 times larger of answering level 2 than level 1. The ratios of scenario 2 (*Storify* amateur) for the item *fairness* are more or less equal to scenario 1's rating, which means that there is no preference in choosing one of the given levels. For scenario 3 (*Storify* professional), there is a higher probability that respondents select level 2 or 3 even if the difference is not as clear as in the first scenario. In general, the respondents in scenarios 1 and 3 (i.e., articles/stories written by media professionals) will find the article/story more fair than not (i.e., higher probability that the respondents will choose level 2 or 3 than level 1). The same reasoning can be used for the constructs *accuracy* and *relevance*. For the group in scenario 1, the probability of answering level 3 to the item *authority* is 3.351 times larger than the probability of answering level 1, and those same respondents are 1.416 times more likely to select level 2 than level 1. In general, the respondents in scenario 1 will find the article more authoritative. In scenarios 2 and 3 (i.e. *Storify* stories written by both amateurs and media professionals), there will be a higher probability that respondents will rate *authority* as level 2, which corresponds to a neutral rate, rather than choosing the other possible levels. The same conclusion can be drawn for the items *trustworthiness* and *fact verification*.

To sum up, the constructs *fairness*, *accuracy*, and *relevance* present an author effect. These constructs have a higher probability to be rated positively if stories are written by media professionals. This seems to refute the MANOVA results. However, the reader should remember that the MANOVA test compared only the authors of the curation stories, while in this case all the three scenarios were analyzed and compared. The constructs *authority*, *trustworthiness*, and *fact verification* show a format effect, confirming **H1**. These constructs have a higher probability of being rated positively if the format is a traditional online news format. Finally, the scores of the constructs *reliability*, *balanced coverage*, and *author* do not depend on the format or on the author, but rather on the content. Therefore, there is no difference in their rating probability between scenarios.

Table 3. Probability ratio

| | ***Scenario 1*** | | ***Scenario 2*** | | ***Scenario 3*** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **p(k=2)/p(k=1)** | **p(k=3)/p(k=1)** | **p(k=2)/p(k=1)** | **p(k=3)/p(k=1)** | **p(k=2)/p(k=1)** | **p(k=3)/p(k=1)** |
| **Fairness** | 2.125[1] | 5.376 | 1.091 | 1.046 | 1.501 | 1.876 |
| **Accuracy** | 1.374 | 6.123 | 1.091 | 1.045 | 3.777 | 2.998 |
| **Relevance** | 4.166 | 6.166 | 1.399 | 1.050 | 2.067 | 1.600 |
| **Authority** | 1.416 | 3.251 | 1.895 | .737 | 1.230 | .462 |
| **Trustworthiness** | 1.800 | 3.999 | 1.523 | .762 | 1.363 | .818 |
| **Fact verification** | 1.545 | 3.636 | 1.154 | .500 | 1.142 | .357 |

Note: control variables included Nationality, IT background, time spent reading online, gender, age, and education level.

[1]As follow there is an example to explain how the probabilities of the variables "Fairness" in Table 3 have been calculated using Table 2:

- Scenario 1: p(k=2)/p(k=1)=exp(beta(intercept(Fairness=2)))=exp(.754)=2.125
- Scenario 1: p(k=3)/p(k=1)=exp(beta(intercept(Fairness=3)))=exp(1.682)=5.376
- Scenario 2: p(k=2)/p(k=1)=exp(beta(intercept(Fairness=2))+beta(scenario2(Fairness=2)*1))=exp(.754-.667)=1.091
- Scenario 2: p(k=3)/p(k=1)=exp(beta(intercept(Fairness=3))+ beta(scenario2(Fairness=3)*1))=exp(1.682-1.637)=1.046
- Scenario 3: p(k=2)/p(k=1)=exp(beta(intercept(Fairness=2))+beta(scenario3(Fairness=2))*1)=exp(.754-.348)=1.501
- Scenario 3: p(k=3)/p(k=1)=exp(beta(intercept(Fairness=3))+beta(scenario3(Fairness=3))*1)=exp(1.682-1.053)=1.876

### Control variables

This study was conducted in both the United States and Switzerland. Participants came from several countries, mainly Switzerland, the US, and other European countries. Since data was collected from the US as well as from Switzerland, the control variable *nationality* was recoded as European and American. Other countries, such as China and Cuba, were coded by the location where the data was collected. Therefore the final nationality data was thus grouped into Europeans (N = 150) and Americans (N = 57). A comparison showed significant difference between nationalities on overall objectivity (F = 3.540, Wilks' Lambda = .879, $p$ = .001). Table 4 shows the impact of nationality on individual items of objectivity scale in detail. The most significant difference is noticed in the variables *fact verification* and *relevance*, In general, perceived objectivity scored higher (i.e. greater means) when rated by American students than when rated by Europeans.

Table 4. Nationality difference on objectivity items

| | **European Mean (sd)** | **American Mean (sd)** | ***F*** | ***p-value*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Fairness** | 3.27 (.834) | 3.03 (1.04) | 1.184 | .179 |
| **Accuracy** | 3.26 (.838) | 3.35 (.870) | 1.732 | .190 |
| **Relevance** | 3.30 (.879) | 3.02 (.735) | 4.394 | .037 |
| **Authority** | 3.02 (.856) | 3.15 (.903) | .898 | .344 |
| **Trustworthiness** | 3.10 (.918) | 3.15 (.827) | .743 | .390 |
| **Reliability** | 3.18 (.826) | 3.26 (.676) | .187 | .666 |
| **Balanced** | 3.03 (.967) | 3.10 (.824) | .186 | .667 |
| **Fact verification** | 2.88 (.1.02) | 3.31 (1.05) | 6.972 | .010 |

Note: control variables included Nationality, IT background, time spent reading online, gender, age, and education level.

The MANOVA test included all the control variables. Among them, education level (F = 2.004, $p$ = .047) and IT background (F = 2.668, $p$ = .008) showed significant influence on perception of objectivity. Furthermore, age showed significant impacts on *relevance* (F = 4.565, $p$ = .034), education was a significant factor for *trustworthiness* (F = 5.420, $p$ = .021), and IT background was a strong factor for *fact verification* (F = 14.516, $p$ .001).

## Discussion

In this study, the applicability of measuring the concept of perceived objectivity was assessed. In addition, the relationships among the format, the author, and the content of *Storify* were compared with traditional forms of reporting online news. Main findings suggest that (1) articles will have higher probability of being found as authoritative, trustworthy and reporting verified facts if the format is that of traditional online news rather than that *Storify*. Furthermore, (2) articles written by media professionals have a higher probability of being rated fair, accurate, and relevant than articles written by amateurs—regardless of format. Lastly, (3) the reliability, the neutrality of the author, and the balance are independent of the format and the authorship. They seem related to the content reported in the article/story.

If the answers to the open-question "how do you judge the objectivity of an article?" are regrouped by topics, the article format results as one of the pillars of perceived objectivity. For instance, a participant in a *Storify* scenario written by a media professional highlighted that "raw citations make it difficult to sort out and judge the quality of the article. Raw information does not help to understand the event" (Male, 26, Master degree). This precise quotation emphasized a format limitation of *Storify* stories and can explain why the *Storify* format was perceived less objective than the traditional format. The second topic highlighted was the importance of the author's profile. Another participant in the *Storify* scenario written by a media professional pinpointed that "it is more objective because the writers are from professional fields and the language is clean" (Female, 38, Associated degree). Finally, the last topic concerned the content. Therefore, the quality of an article in terms of objectivity is thus related to the author, the format, and the "content." This was both supported by the empirical analysis and the answers to the open-question.

Three main criteria fall in this "content" category, which was not manipulated in this experiment. These include the neutrality of the author, the presence of multiple points of view, and the way the facts are related. According to one participant, for an author to reach objectivity, he/she should "present facts correctly and support his comments with different quotes from different points of view" (Male, 29, Master degree, *Storify* amateur group). Similarly, another respondent noted that "the absence of personal pre-conceived opinions and not taking a position help the author to be objective" (Male, 23, Bachelor degree, traditional article group). In the context of war reporting, a participant defined the objectivity of an article as "whenever the two parts of a conflict are exposed and none is judged better than the other." Nevertheless, some participants pointed out that being objective is not always possible and completely achievable: "Presenting information as facts is not sufficient to inform readers. Neutrality and objectivity do not exist and the information would be much more valuable with an explanation about the underneath ideology of the author" (Male, 24, Master degree, traditional article group). The following example is a participant's thought: "in my opinion, you will be automatically subjective as an author because even if you try to be unbiased, you have always some kind of choice to make when you write an article" (Male, 20, Bachelor, degree, traditional article group). The fact that *Storify* allows the curator to aggregate content of social networks, especially tweets, seems to be propitious to get what the audience expects in terms of quoting and plurality of voices. Indeed, another participant said, "I like that in *Storify* stories you can present different points of view with little titles that allow us to understand the context in which they have been created" (Female, 25, Master degree, *Storify* professional group).

In addition, findings indicated that the control variables explain some differences among the scores of perceived objectivity in the different groups. For example, American students have found the articles more objective than Europeans did. This can be due to the cultural habit of adapting faster to new technologies. Perhaps, as was noticed by Tsfati and Cappela (2003), a lower level of trust in mainstream media can conduct the audience to privilege alternative sources. In the same way, the higher an individual's education level and computer skills, the less he/she will fear innovation and changes. In other words, an IT background and higher education level will accordingly increase the perceived objectivity of an article. Similarly, the older a respondent is, the more likely it is for him/her to find the article relevant. These findings are in line with previous researches (Bucy, 2003; Mulder, 1981). This experiment failed to find time spent reading online news as a significant factor affecting perceived objectivity. This result seems in agreement with more recent research measuring the relationship between the frequency of media usage and perceived credibility (Johnson & Kaye, 2002; Kiousis, 2001; Wanta & Hu, 1994).

As a conclusion, this study indicated that *Storify* is perceived as being less objective than the traditional online news format. People are more used to traditional formats and hence trust them more. Digital media content curation is still very new for people, so it is hard for them to accept it as an objective source. However, it is likely that as digital media content curation develops and people get used to these new formats, they will be considered as more impartial. This has been the case of online news—the more people read online news, the more they find online information credible. The implementation of *Storify* as a new way of reporting news is still possible. The stories will probably grow in perceived objectivity if written by media professionals and if their format converges to a more traditional format of consuming news online.

One of the implications for practitioners that want to implement new online news platforms is that the format of a news story is what will make the first judgment/impression of the news story. In addition, the format of the platform will influence audience judgment of news quality. As it was showed in previous studies (Alsudani & Casey, 2009; Fogg; 2002; Walthen & Burkell, 2002), this first impression is built even before the evaluation of the message credibility. This suggests that the format will inevitably affect story credibility regardless of the content or the author. Practitioners should thus know their audience's preferences in terms of news consumption in order to provide a new platform with aesthetic appeal. Sundar (1999) used the term representativeness as the extent to which the story can fall in the category of news. This can sometimes occur even if the content of the story is not strictly news. To be perceived as news, the story should be similar to a "typical" news story. It should keep features integral to the broad stereotype of news (Sundar, 1999). Similarly, the implication for academia is that the findings, supported by previous studies, demonstrated that perceived objectivity is conceived in several dimensions. In this contribution, the three main factors were the format, the author, and the content that interact together and influence one another to form the audience's perception of a news platform. Another important result was that, even though the definition of the concept of objectivity was criticized, when the respondents were asked to explain what objectivity meant to them, the traditional items were found in the answers. This proves that it is possible to build a perceived objectivity scale (which of course is far from the principle of objectivity understood by a journalist and taught in journalism classes). Therefore, it seems that there is a distance between the audience's perceived objectivity and the journalistic principle. Finally, some of the components of the audience's profile will affect the perceived objectivity scale.

There are limitations of the methodology in this study. Due to the difficulty in obtaining a random sample, a self-selected one was used. This implies that the results cannot be generalized to the entire populations of Switzerland or the United States. In this regard, future research should sample a large population to validate the findings of this study. Moreover, the study centered on one type of news (i.e., international affairs) and one type of digital media content curation platform (i.e., *Storify*). Future studies should investigate news coverage by considering a wider range of formats, media, and content. Using one single news topic to test the hypotheses cannot guarantee that the hypotheses can be supported using a different type of news.

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## Endnotes

1. Scenario 1 (traditional online article): http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2012/04/201242154611877231.html

2. Scenario 2 (*Storify* story): http://storify.com/NiloTabrizy/syria-accepts-kofi-anan-s-peace-plan

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# Two Screens, Two Paths: News Production for Smartphones and Tablets on the Brazilian Newspaper Scene

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*Mobile media have changed the manners of consuming and producing news due to their portability, ubiquity and tactility. Potentially, smartphones and tablets can generate new production routines and journalistic languages. However, these devices have established distinct paths in Brazilian newsrooms. Drawing on a case study of the mobile sites of the newspapers— O Globo and O Estado de S. Paulo—and the products that they have launched for tablet—O Globo a Mais and Estadão Noite—it was concluded that smartphones have not been agents of change. In contrast, there is a palpable emergence of a new journalistic language for tablets, underpinned by the logic of sensations, relying on reception via three senses: sight, hearing and touch.*

## Introduction

Faced with the steadily declining circulation of printed newspapers and with no forthcoming remedy to address income losses concerning journalistic websites, the newspaper industry has witnessed, with the advent of the tablet, from 2010, the emergence of a new and attractive platform to distribute content. The new device has impacted the process of news production and distribution, altering profoundly 1) the production routines in newsrooms by establishing new boundaries for integration processes; 2) journalistic language, which is now underpinned by tactility and adapted to the device's modes of usage; 3) the business models, opening up opportunities for the profitability of digital products.[1]

The emergence of the fourth screen (Aguado, 2008)—that of cell phones—has already presented new challenges to journalistic companies yet brought few changes to production processes in newsrooms. Brazilian newspapers have been eager to launch mobile versions of their sites for smartphones, as well as news applications across Apple and Android shops. However, certain typical properties of the devices, such as geolocation and tactility, have not stimulated the production of exclusive content or unique editions for these mobile devices in the Brazilian media sphere. New products have been launched but they merely reproduce automatically the news published on newspaper websites, typifying transposition 2.0 (Barbosa, 2013).[2]

Information supplied to apps and mobile sites is formatted in XML documents (*eXtensible Markup Language*), which standardize data sequences with the aim of organizing content to be distributed on cell phone screens. The robotized edition dispenses with the need for journalists and does not allow for experimentation toward a new language. Despite the massive potential to generate income that the new device represents—particularly the business opportunities in geolocation—it has not materialized. In general, mobile sites are free and seek to rest upon the sale of advertising, which is still modest.

Unlike smartphones, tablets have been reconfiguring, since the launch of the first iPad in 2010, the manner of consuming, producing and selling news in the digital world of Brazilian newspapers. Journalistic products exclusive to these devices were released in Brazil in 2012, including *O Globo a Mais* and o *Estadão Noite*, daily, evening publications for tablets, published by the newspapers *O Globo* and *O Estado de S.Paulo*, along with the weekly magazine *Folha 10*, edited by *Folha de S.Paulo*.

In order to test the hypothesis that cell phones and tablets have provoked distinct paths in newsrooms, a study was conducted, which focused on *O Globo a Mais*, *Estadão Noite* and the mobile sites of *O Globo* and *Estado de S. Paulo.*[3] This choice was not random. The daily periodicity of the two tablet products allows for a richer foundation to compare them with the mobile sites of their newspapers. Content analysis led to the verification of continuities and breaks in digital journalism on these platforms, as well as a test for the hypothesis that the emergence of a new journalistic language on tablets privileges sensations.

## Production for cell phones and robotization

Brazil currently has the fourth-largest number of smartphones in the world, behind only China, the US, and Japan. There are 70 million devices within a population of 200 million, meaning that 2.8 in 10 people have a smartphone.[4] Although the number of smartphone users in Brazil is still below the global average (48%), the rate at which Brazilians are adopting the device is remarkable. Between 2011 and 2013, the percentage of smartphone users jumped from 9% to 18% (“Penetração,” 2013). Brazilians use smartphones the most, with a daily usage time of 84 minutes (“Brasil,” 2013). Although it does not figure as a favorite activity, reading news on newspaper sites nonetheless has a respectable percentage of 57% from the survey. Further, the advertising perception index for cell phones was also high: 94% stated that they paid attention to the adverts shown on their screens (“Our Mobile Planet,” 2013).

Despite the pace at which smartphones are being acquired and the opportunities for increased audience and income that they represent, Brazilian journalistic companies have not launched exclusive content products for the fourth screen. For this medium, there only exists automatic redistribution of news from newspaper sites. The use of XML language makes it possible to transport hierarchically organized data around the internet, through patternization. The product allows users to choose the order in which news is exported from a site to the cell phone, and the pattern repeats itself whenever internet pages are updated. With the robotization of the process, journalists are needed only to select and edit news that composes the site. Once published online, information is then replicated on cell phone screens.

Nevertheless, not even the decision to automatize the editing process has ensured a strong presence for Brazilian newspapers on cell phones. Only 10 of the 20 most important papers have mobile versions of their sites.[5] It is true that some have launched, in addition to sites for cell phones, news applications or even sector-specific guides, though all the products were created on the basis of robotization. This applies to *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *O Globo*, which have news applications at Apple and Android shops, as well as the cultural program guides *Divirta-se* and *Rio Show*, both of which are catered to by their sites. The content director at *O Estado de S. Paulo*, Ricardo Gandour, explained the preference for automation: “We see the mobile as a ‘pocket site,’ giving rise to robotization using normal sites. On tablets, we intend to provide the demanded lighter reading, the so-called ‘lean back effect.’”[6]

There are cases where segmentation has been widened, like the *Gazeta do Povo* in Paraná, which released three smartphone applications: a delivery guide, an app that helps consumers to decide whether to fill up their cars with alcohol or petrol, and a third about football leagues. *Zero Hora*, from Rio Grande do Sul, also has three apps: two concerning football clubs and one for general news. *Folha de S.Paulo*, the largest Brazilian newspaper in circulation, changed its strategy in 2011. Instead of offering native news applications for Apple and Android stores, they launched a special one for cell phones and tablets, in the HTML5 language (Hypertext Markup Language, version 5) (“Folha,” 2011). This cut costs, since the site is reproduced universally on all mobile devices.

In terms of the production cycle, it was observed that smartphones have not been a driving force for changes in the integrated newsrooms of newspapers, which produce and distribute information to printed and online newspapers, as well as mobile media, based on the premise of journalistic convergence. According to the conception proposed by Salaverría, García Avilés, and Masip (2010), convergence in newsrooms refers to:

A multidimensional process that, aided by the generalized implantation of digital telecommunication technologies, affects the technological, business, professional and editorial realms of means of communication, fomenting an integration of tools, spaces, work methods and previously separate languages, allowing journalists to develop content to be distributed across multiple platforms, via the distinct languages of each one. (2010, p.59).[7]

The model underpinned by “digital-first,” adopted at *The Guardian*, was an example for Brazilian newsrooms to guarantee the constant distribution of cross-media content. It rests upon websites (rather than the printed press) and has led the way in journalistic production, establishing new paradigms and breaking with old routines. Certainly, this strategy has ensured a multimedia *continuum* (Barbosa, 2013). However, it has not introduced new production processes for mobile versions of journalistic sites, which are supplied automatically.

The commitment to mechanization has not allowed for experimentation toward a new journalistic language. The fourth screen reproduces characteristics that were already present in online journalism; namely, multimediality, hypertextuality, interactivity, content customization (Bardoel & Deuze, 2001), memory and instantaneity (Palácios, 2003). As for the business model, there have been no plans up to now to charge for content on cell phones. Smartphone applications and sites are free and the sale of advertising remains insignificant.[8] Innovation has occurred only with respect to reception, since cell phones, due to their ubiquity, free readers from spatial and temporal constraints (Fidalgo & Canavilhas, 2009), allowing users to receive information where and when they wish.

## Tablets, a new frontier in newsrooms

Since the 1990s, the emergence of tablets has injected impetus into a frail industry. Due to digital editions—geared toward these mobile device and web pages—Brazilian newspapers experienced an average circulation growth of 1.8% in 2012. Electronic editions alone increased sales and subscriptions by 128% compared with the previous year. Currently, these editions account for 3.2% of the total circulation (printed and digital) ("Cenário," n.d.). However, the progress in digital circulation is still not enough to compensate for the fall in total circulation experienced by many newspapers. Of the ten largest publications, five underwent decline in 2012 ("Maiores jornais," n.d.). One such company is *O Estado de S.Paulo*, an object of this study, which saw an 11% reduction in circulation between 2011 and 2012, while *O Globo* experienced an increase of 8% in the same period, though it had recorded circulation falls of 14% between 2010 and 2011.

Advertising investments in newspapers have also decreased since the 1990s. In 2012, newspapers had a 12% slice of Brazilian advertising whereas ten years previously, they enjoyed a share of 20.4% of the total amount destined for advertising.[9] In 2012, investments in newspapers reached R$ 3.4 billion, of which R$ 150 million was destined for the digital editions of newspapers, equating to 4.4% of the total amount applied in newspapers. Nevertheless, this was not enough to make up for the decrease in investment in printed newspapers (ibid).

In light of the decline in printed circulation and income, tablets have revitalized the confidence of journalistic companies in the viability of their business. In the first trimester of 2013, the sale of tablets in Brazil grew by 164%, compared with the same period in 2012 ("Brasil vendeu," 2013). Nonetheless, it is chiefly the activities performed on tablets that have opened up new horizons for content producers. No less than 45% of tablet users read the papers on their device, rather than printed versions.[10] Tablet owners are also more inclined to pay for content, including news. In Italy, 44% of users have already paid for content, while the number is 19% in the UK and 15% in Germany.[11] The mobile devices are seen as "a bridge to the future" for content producers, as Wu (2011) remarks:

> The major media conglomerates and newspaper editors see Apple as the right platform for their content—the good which, not so long ago, reigned supreme. [. . .] The promise of real markets for writers and other designers is not insignificant—for many, it is a matter of life and death. (2011, p.351–352)[12]

The consumer habits of tablet owners also mark a clear boundary in relation to smartphone users. Tablets are only used in the street by 11% of users. Even fewer (only 7%) take them to work. The remaining 82% use them at home. 62% prefer to use them at night, while 68% prefer weekdays rather than weekends.[13] In contrast, smartphones travel with their users all day: 79% stated that they spend no longer than two hours without them.[14]

The numbers show that, while smartphone users seek instantaneity, tablet owners enjoy lighter reading after a day's work, at home. Based on these promising indicators, journalistic products exclusive to these devices were launched in Brazil in 2012, including *O Globo a Mais* and o *Estadão Noite*, daily evening editions from the newspapers *O Globo* and *O Estado de S.Paulo*, as well as the weekly magazine *Folha 10*, which is updated on Sundays. These products, regarded as autochthons, appear to have triggered a new innovation cycle in journalism:

> Mobile media have driven a new innovation cycle, in which journalistic applications (apps) have surfaced for tablets and smartphones. Among them, there are potentially more innovative ones that stand out, termed autochthons, meaning applications created natively with exclusive material and special treatment.[15] (Barbosa, 2013, p.42)

These publications have redrawn the boundaries in integrated newsrooms, requiring separate, dedicated teams, thereby creating new production routines. Instantaneity, which lies at the core of cell phone sites, is less relevant for tablets. This device is not regarded as another distribution channel through which content runs non-stop, but rather, as a new medium.

However, it is not just the production routines that have undergone transformations as a result of tablets. A new journalistic language may be emerging with the application of this new medium. Reader interaction with tablets, on touchscreens, demands that journalists rethink the process of information production.

## Two paths: from robotized to manual editions

In order to demarcate the boundaries between journalistic production for smartphones and tablets, a study was undertaken, combining content analysis and in-depth interviews, in line with the methodological guidelines for investigating newsmaking. The mobile sites of *O Globo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo* were chosen as objects of analysis, as well as the journalistic products of the two newspapers, *O Globo a Mais* and *Estadão Noite*, launched exclusively for tablets*.* The choice was not random: since both publications are daily, this made for a richer sample.

The hypothesis proposed was that journalistic production for tablets is imposing limits on the production cycle of integrated newsrooms—and by extension, on the robotization that characterizes part of the process—requiring the development of exclusive content and manual editing. Another important factor was the extent to which a new journalistic language may be emerging on these devices and what its characteristics might be.

The first stage was a one-week observation, undertaken from August 12 to August 16, 2013. Attention was devoted firstly to the tablet editions of the two newspapers. As soon as *O Globo a Mais* was published at 6:00 p.m., the program was downloaded, and then print screens were taken of the content that made up the homepage of the *O Globo* mobile site at that moment.[16] Since the flow onto cell phones is continuous, material was gathered at the time the tablet editions were published. This was also carried out for *Estadão Noite*: the download took place at 8:00 p.m., the time of publication, followed by the taking of screen shots from the homepage of the *O Estado de S.Paulo* mobile site.[17] The gathering of material was restricted to the first page of both sites. The content published on each medium was listed in order to verify the overlaps between them.[18]

While material was gathered, it was necessary to make adjustments to the methodology applied. The analysis revealed that parts of the *O Globo a Mais* and *Estadão Noite* contents were foretastes of reports and columns to be published in the next day's *O Globo* and *O Estado de S.Paulo* newspapers. This observation demanded the inclusion of printed editions of both newspapers in the sample. After the content analysis, in-depth interviews were conducted with *O Globo a Mais* and *Estadão Noite* editors, in order to understand the flow of news production and distribution onto mobile devices.[19]

Launched on January 29, 2012, *O Globo a Mais* is only published on business days at 6:00 p.m., on the *O Globo* application for iPad and Android, and it is graphically more similar to magazines than newspapers. In order to navigate the printed editions of *O Globo* and *O Globo a Mais*, users need to have a subscription or buy the products retail at an Apple store. The evening paper is divided into set sections: *Giro* (roundup), *Imagens do Dia* (Pictures of the day), reports, columns, *Dicas a Mais* (More tips) and *Imagem a Mais* (Extra picture). *Giro* is a column consisting of notes with the day's main news items. *Imagens do Dia* is a photo gallery; *Dicas a Mais* provides recommendations that follow the cultural programming, while *Imagem a Mais* marks the end of the edition every day, showing an old photo from the newspaper's collection. Columns are signed by the printed paper's columnists, though some are exclusive to *O Globo a Mais.* Both the number of columns (at least three and five at most) and reports (between three and seven) can vary throughout the week. Sections are enriched with links, photo galleries, videos, audio material and animations.

*Estadão Noite* also circulates only on business days, though it is published later, at 8:00 p.m. Its structure is more rigid than that of its competitor. The number of columnists is fixed: it prepares five columns for the next day's paper. Like *O Globo a Mais*, *Estadão*

*Noite* also has a photo gallery, called *Cenas do Dia*. Three videos on the day's main stories and an audio item are presented daily on the *Na TV Estadão* and *Na Rádio Estadão* pages, along with a summary of the events. The highlights of the newspaper to circulate on the following day warrant another page, with summaries for reports and news sections. Links are only present on the last page, onto which the newspaper site's *Últimas Notícias* (latest news) section is loaded. *Estadão Noite* can be accessed using Android or Apple devices.

At the end of the five-day observation period, it was noted that the intersection index regarding stories published in *Estadão Noite* and on the homepages of the paper's mobile sites was, on average, 20%. The intersection index for the paper's printed edition is constant, at 62%. This is due to the fact that *Estadão Noite* publishes five daily requests for the paper's next-day reports (see Table 1).

Table 1. Estadão Noite—intersection with other media*

| Date | Intersection with printed newspaper | Intersection with mobile site |
|---|---|---|
| **12/8** | 62% | 37.5% |
| **13/8** | 62% | 12.5% |
| **14/8** | 62% | 0% |
| **15/8** | 62% | 37.5% |
| **16/8** | 62% | 12.5% |
| **Average** | **62%** | **20%** |

* The table was devised on the basis of the gathering of material published in *Estadão Noite* between August 12–August 16, 2013. The intersection index between *Estadão Noite* and the newspaper's mobile site was calculated by counting the amount of common content published in the night editions for tablet and on the homepage of the *O Estado de S.Paulo* site, at 20h. The intersection index for the paper was calculated, drawing on the coincidence of content present in the paper's next-day tablet edition and printed edition.

In the case of *O Globo a Mais*, the coincidence of stories was lower among the three media. The evening paper of *O Globo* presented an average intersection index of 36.5% in relation to the printed publication, while the index concerning the mobile site was even lower, at an average of 12% (see Table 2).

Table 2. O Globo a Mais—intersection with other media*

| Date | Intersection with printed newspaper | Intersection with mobile site |
|---|---|---|
| 12/8 | 40% | 20% |
| 13/8 | 42,8% | 0% |
| 14/8 | 40% | 20% |
| 15/8 | 20% | 0% |
| 16/8 | 40% | 20% |
| **Average** | **36.5%** | **12%** |

*The table was devised on the basis of the gathering of material published in *O Globo a Mais* between August 12–August 16, 2013. The intersection index between *O Globo a Mais* and the newspaper's mobile site was calculated by counting the amount of common content published in the evening tablet edition and the homepage of the *O Globo* site*,* at 18:00. The intersection index for the paper was calculated, drawing on the coincidence of content present in the paper's next-day tablet edition and printed edition.

The low circulation index for the content of both tablet publications and the other media marks a new boundary in integrated newsrooms, exposing the limits of the 24-hour content production logic underlying the site. Both have their own teams for production and editing, even though they depend to a degree on the rest of the newsroom. At *O Estado de S.Paulo* and *O Globo*, new production routines were introduced with the launch of tablet products.

The *O Globo a Mais* newsroom is composed of one lead editor, Maria Fernanda Delmas, two editors, six reporters, two designers, and a multimedia picture editor. In addition to the content produced exclusively by the team, *O Globo a Mais* also has the prerogative of choosing for its edition part of the material to be published in the next day's paper. Every day, one of the editors takes part in the newsroom's agenda meeting in the morning, whereupon they decide, along with the other editors, which reports from the printed edition will be completed in time to be published on tablets. The editor Maria Fernanda explains that the need to have a separate team can be attributed to the fact that the newsroom is still largely geared toward completion of the printed newspaper:

> In addition, multimedia produce is not widely disseminated, that is to say, the culture of thinking beyond the text in the composition of news. Another limitation is that journalists are already charged with producing both for the printed paper and the site. Tablets represent a third device to deal with.[20]

*Estadão Noite* has an executive editor, Luís Fernando Bovo, and an editor, Daniel Gonzales, in addition to two designers and a photography editor. Gonzales combines his role with that of homepage editor for the paper's site. Although he does not have reporters available to him, he has the power to guide *TV Estadão* and *Rádio* so that they produce the videos and audio content which make up the digital nightly paper. Bovo argues that each medium has a unique feature warranting respect:

> The integration of newsrooms needs to take into account the differences between media. There was a time when people thought the reporter could go out into the street with a video recorder over their head, a microphone in one hand and a camera in the other, that one person would do everything. This is not viable. Each medium has its own specificity. Therefore, the integration of newsrooms must take account of this and consider having separate teams for each objective.[21]

**A language of sensations**

Bolter and Grusin (2000) define remediation as the process of incorporation and representation from one medium to another. They note that digital media can be more aggressive in remediation, attempting to reform completely the previous medium, though the previous medium may still be present. Thus, the predecessor is presented in such a way as to make the discontinuities plainly visible (2000, p.46–-47). The manners of conceiving and acting at *O Globo a Mais* and *Estadão Noite* express clearly the tension between breaks and continuities in remediation. By incorporating the printed media and websites, journalistic products for tablets have broken with the language of their predecessors, whilst revealing the ties that maintain the links between them.

The analysis of *O Globo a Mais* and *Estadão Noite* editions made it possible to verify the continuities and breaks in journalism produced for tablets, compared with practice online and in printed media. It was concluded that all the features of online journalism outlined by Palácios (2003) are present in the two products, except for customization. Neither of the two offers readers the opportunity to select the content they wish to receive: using the download function, everybody receives a completed and finished product. As for the other characteristics of online journalism, some are radicalized, such as multimediality and interactivity—drawing on the wider concept proposed by authors such as Mielniczuk (2001), which includes interaction between men and machines—while others are attenuated, for instance hypertextuality and instantaneity.

Although hypertext and instantaneity are resources that are also available in journalism for tablets, they are scarcely utilized at *O Globo a Mais* and *Estadão Noite*. As previously mentioned, both products are underpinned by the concept of "completion," inherited from printed journalism. It cannot be determined whether both outlets have abolished instantaneity from their practices, since the last page of *Estadão Noite* invariably leads readers to the list of the site's latest news items, which is constantly updated with links. In the case of *O Globo a Mais*, the *Giro* section occasionally uses the hyperlink resource in news items for which it is already known that further material will be provided after completion.

Interestingly, although the internet has freed journalism from the rigid work schedules of informative products, there has been a deliberate return to one of the typical news values of offline journalism at *O Globo a Mais* and *Estadão Noite*, namely that the value of a news item is conditioned by its availability during the news production period. Wolf notes that the topicality of the news item comes into play, though it is linked to the production intervals of the informative product. “The periodicity of informative production constitutes, in and of itself, the reference framework in which world events are captured” (Wolf, 2009, p. 208).

The virtual abandonment of typical instantaneity on websites is intentional. Even though they are digital products, both tablet platforms newspapers are subject to completion hours and present specific angles so as to offer readers a complete package. Editor Maria Fernanda Delmas explains the publication strategy adopted:

> The purpose of *O Globo a Mais* has never been to offer a product that is constantly updated. As the name suggests, it is a vehicle that seeks to give extra, hearty reading with unexpected takes, to readers who have already seen the morning paper and spent the day reading about various stories on the internet.[22]

It is not only due to the lack of instantaneity that the two outlets for tablets are close to printed journalism. Both *O Estadão Noite* and *O Globo a Mais* use resources similar to those of magazines and newspapers, such as tables of contents and pagination. Also, texts are not continuous or read using a scroll bar, like on websites. They are divided into pages. The use of these resources favors a linear reading, rather than via hyperlinks, which is common on the internet.

Having identified the ruptures and continuities in journalism for tablets based on the features of online journalism, a remaining component to be addressed is tactility, which is linked to the materiality of this new medium. Gumbrecht (1994), Mouillaud (2002), Chartier (2009), Innis (2011), Debray (1993) and McLuhan (2011) discuss the extent to which the materiality of the means can affect the transmission of messages. In treating printed newspapers, Mouillaud uses the metaphor of wrapping to question the point of content without what envelops it: the materiality of the paper. Gumbrecht emphasizes that each new medium transforms collective mentality, implanting new forms of awareness and actions in people’s relationships with their bodies. Chartier points out that “the form of the written object always informs the sense readers give to what they read” (2009, p. 128). For Debray, “the prop is perhaps what is least visible but most significant” (1993, p. 207). One of the most respected ideas from Innis is that the material characteristics of a medium not only determine the production mode of the information to be communicated, but also end up inducing cultural changes.

Without ignoring that convergence is chiefly a process of cultural, rather than technological, transformation (Jenkins, 2009)—the influence of materiality—is, however, noticeable as a driving force for a new language in journalism produced for touchscreens. Reflecting on journalism for mobile devices, Cunha and Palácios outlined tactility as a further attribute of contemporary cyberjournalism—in addition to multimediality, hypertextuality, interactivity, customization, memory and instantaneity—because,

> Unlike resources such as “multimediality” and “memory”, which were only potentialities in the beginnings of the internet, tactility has emerged ready for use on applications created for mobile platforms. Its use is not limited by technical barriers, but merely curtailed by the creative capacity for enhanced performance.[23] (2012, p. 5)

In corporal terms, the relation that emerges with mobile devices bears more resemblance with that which characterizes the reading of printed books, or even of their predecessor, the codex. The distance introduced by computers, which are only accessible through the intermediary of the keyboard or mouse, has been replaced by interactivity via touch. Reflecting upon the reading of texts via computer, Chartier noted that “electronic texts rendered possible a far more distant, non-corporal, relation” (2009, p. 16). In contrast, remarks the historian, “the reader of a book in codex form places it in front of them on a table, turns the pages or holds it when the format is smaller and it fits in their hands” (*ibid.*). But isn’t this mode currently being revived by the new reading habits on tablets? The aim here is not to analyze this new behavior of users but rather to investigate the manner in which it impacts and presents challenges to journalistic language.

The theoretical argument of this article is that this more-intimate reading bond established between journalists and their audience ultimately leads to the exacerbation of sensations and infotainment. The hypothesis of the emergence of a new journalistic language supported by these pillars emerged following content analysis of *O Globo a Mais*, which uses touch and multimedia resources more intensely than its competitor. This methodological input stems from the grounded theory (GT), advanced in 1967 by Glauser and Strauss in the book “The Discovery of Grounded Theory,” and appropriated by Fragoso, Recuero and Amaral (2011) for its applicability to internet studies. The theory suggests an inversion of the traditional research method: rather than approaching a field to confirm a hypothesis, researchers should proceed free of their prenotions. It is only using their observations of the field and process that they should develop hypotheses and theories. In order to obtain a more significant sample, the gathering of *O Globo a Mais* editions was extended until August 31, 2013.

The concept of sensation employed here is taken from Deleuze (2007), who defined the “logic of sensation” in the book “Francis Bacon: the logic of sensation,” published in 1981. Deleuze sought to understand how the painter evaded representation and narration in painting, prioritizing sensation, intensity and force over form. Deleuze did not write a book about Bacon or a painter, but on contemporary attempts to go beyond representation. For him, there are two ways of achieving this objective: directing attention toward the abstract form; or toward the figure. The latter is devoid of stories to tell and of models to represent: it is the form that provokes sensation and affects directly the nervous system. The abstract form affects the brain (where interpretations are processed). “The sensation is what is painted. What is painted in the frame is the body, not as represented as an object, but as lived as a certain tried sensation” (2007, p. 43). For Deleuze, the sensation “is what determines instinct at a given moment, just as instinct is the change from one sensation to another” (2007, p. 47). He notes that, for Valéry, “the sensation is what is transmitted directly, avoiding the diversion and boredom of a story to be told" (2007, p.43).

Aguiar and Schaun (2010) applied Deleuze's concept of the "logic of sensation" to analyze popular journalism produced in Brazil. They defend that the sensational press (the term is employed by them in opposition to "sensationalist press," which they consider pejorative) has freed itself from the rational-illuminist matrix, by recording events as though they were "painting a sensation" (2010, p. 13). Referring to McLuhan, they argue that the media can intensify sensations even more:

> The logic of sensations has always been incorporated within the mode of journalistic doing. As McLuhan (1964) pointed out, means are not merely objects anymore: they are extensions of our bodies, they are hypersensitive members that allow us to feel the world with more intensity, more sensation. From this standpoint, the logic of sensation is pure potency, pace, vibration, which makes use of vision (2010, p. 13).[24]

Sensational narratives have always been present in modern journalism, since its invention in the 19th century (Neveu, 2006). In tablet journalism, the focus is not necessarily the content but rather the way of presenting news.  Supported via intense use of multimediality, involving extensive use of animations, photo galleries, audio material, videos and newsgames, the journalistic language that is surfacing privileges immediate experience, seeking to set off sensations. Certainly, all the multimedia resources were already available to journalists and readers in the online sphere. However, the intimacy fostered by the new reading device (the tablet), requiring touch, creates the conditions for the fruition of infotainment, regarded until recently as taboo by the main newspapers. Smartphones may also have been the catalyst for a new language. Nevertheless, as discussed above, this environment has not yet been explored in the Brazilian context. News on the mobile sites of newspapers does not require touch to be understood on the fourth screen. Touch is merely a function to use the device, a prerequisite to access content. Conversely, journalism tailored to tablets employs tactility as a necessary prop for revealing and trying content, going beyond the mere movement of turning pages with a finger tap.

Among the reports published in August 2013, seven required the use of touch to achieve more than mere access upon reception. In the report "O Aterro, 48 anos depois" ("The landfill, 48 years later"), published in the edition of August 15, readers needed to run their fingers along the current photo of the Flamengo landfill (a tourist attraction in Rio de Janeiro), in order to unravel the photo from the time of its inauguration, 48 years ago. Another, published on August 23, on the diet of a popular nutritionist, invited users to press and hold their fingers on the screen in order to drag the supposedly banned food products out of a supermarket cart (see Figure 1). A third report, published on August 28, invited users to slide their fingers to access a panoramic photo of the Maracanã from end-to-end (see Figure 2).

Figure 1. A Dieta De Bela

A DIETA DE BELA

Pressione o dedo sobre os alimentos e arraste-os para fora do carrinho. Os que saírem é porque são proibidos

ARTE DE GABRIELA LOMBA

cinco anos no mês que vem, adora ajudar a mãe, medindo e misturando ingredientes com desenvoltura. Sabe diferenciar os legumes e frutas, acha que o brócolis é a melhor "sobremesa" e, até o ano passado, nunca tinha experimentado leite de vaca, carne ou açúcar.

— Nas festinhas agora ela até come um brigadeiro, mas também não chora querendo mais — conta Bela, sobre a filha que participou da campanha de verão 2013 da Versace Kids, sob direção do disputado Giovanni Bianco, cujo estúdio o marido dela, João Paulo Demasi, administra. — A Flor é tão vaidosa que acho até que estou me cuidando mais por causa dela.

Depois de praticar ioga por quase dez anos e machucar o joelho, Bela fez natação, dança africana e capoeira. Agora, tem personal trainer para acompanhá-la durante as sessões de musculação. Não gosta de sair à noite e adora ouvir as canções de Arnaldo Antunes, Marisa Monte e da banda Tono, do irmão Ben. Apesar de grande parte da família trabalhar com música, seja no palco ou nos bastidores, Bela prefere ficar longe do meio artístico. Ela é a sétima dos oito filhos de Gil (Pedro, o mais velho, morreu em um acidente de carro).

— Tentei tocar todos os instrumentos que você possa imaginar e fui um fracasso em todos. Mas amo cantar. O problema é meus irmãos acham que sou muito desafinada, e viro motivo de chacota sempre. Por isso, acho melhor continuar na cozinha mesmo — afirma, soltando uma gargalhada.

*roberta.salomone@oglobo.com.br*

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Nonetheless, it is not just through exploring tactility that this journalistic language has innovated. It has also introduced the "sonorization" of reports, referring not to the insertion of journalistic audio material, which is used commonly on news sites to retransmit excerpts from interviews or speeches, but rather to the utilization of soundtrack that imbues content. During the observation period, the *Imagem a Mais* section included soundtracks on two occasions. Firstly, readers heard music from the opening sequence of the American TV show "The time tunnel", which was popular in the 1970s, whilst being shown photos of the actors from the series, James Darren and Robert Colbert. Secondly, a photo of Michael Jackson (who would have been 55) was published, together with the song "Thriller," one of his greatest hits.

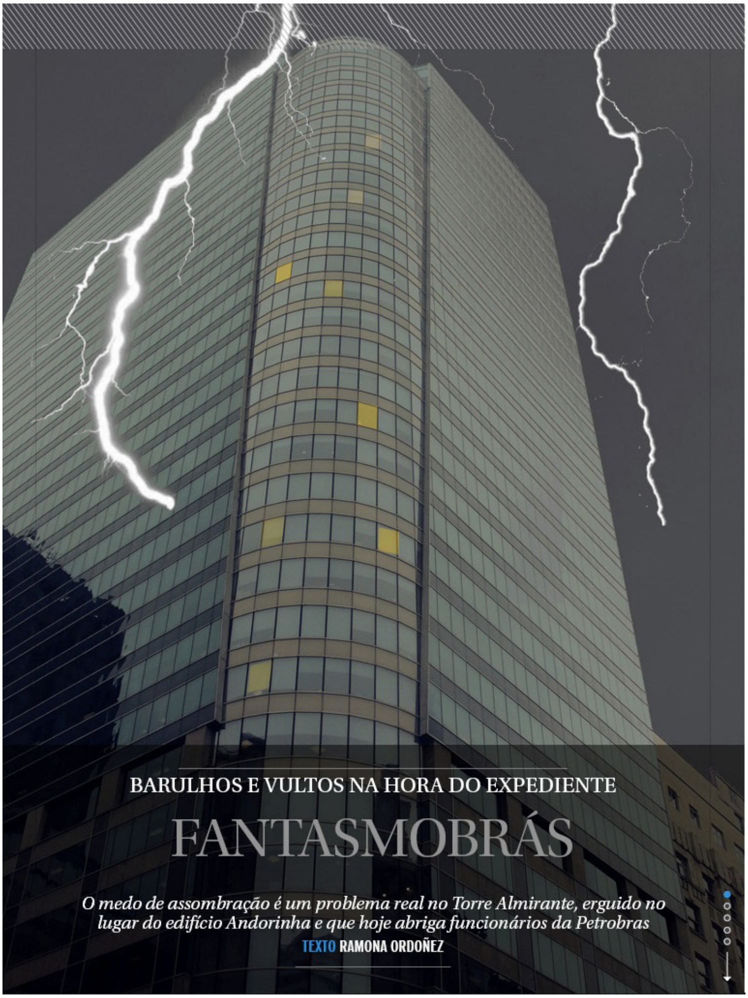
Figure 2. Panoramic view of the Maracanã


However, editor Maria Fernanda Delmas explained that the resource has already been used by the evening digital paper in fashion editorials and cultural reports. In addition to soundtrack, *O Globo a Mais* utilizes sound effects. In the edition of January 30, 2012 (the launch date), a report entitled “Fantasmobrás,” about the legend cultivated by Petrobras employees that the state company’s premises were haunted, greeted readers with the sound of thunder and lightning while an animation simulated a storm over the photo of the building (Figure 3). On February 9, 2012, another sound effect was conveyed, and on that occasion the objective was to scare readers. Upon entering a page with a report on the TV show “The Walking Dead,” they heard a sudden scream (Figure 4).[25] Maria Fernanda believes that tablet journalism has ushered in a new language, by exploiting to maximum effect the device’s functions in constructing news:

> The functionalities of the device have implanted a series of language innovations in journalism. While tablets allow for pinch movements, beautiful photos viewed full-screen and other interactivities, readers have begun to appreciate those who exploit this to maximum affect. Newsgames, more literary texts, more graphic reports: all of this is welcome.[26]

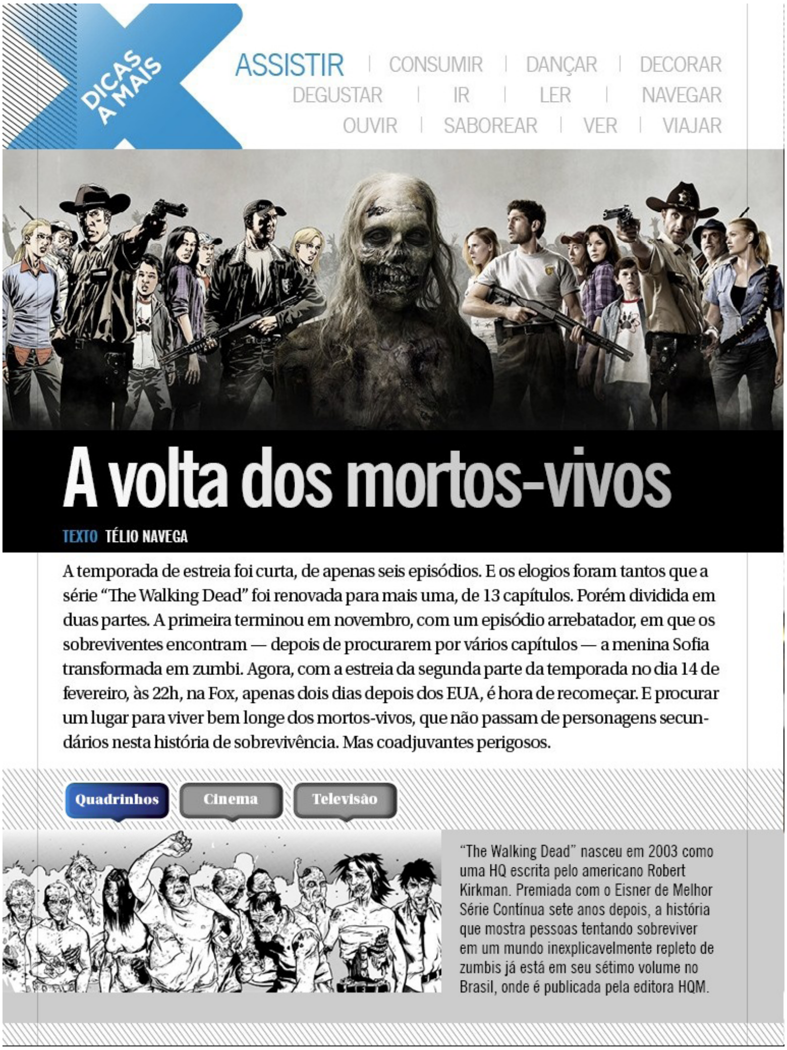
For the public, in the era of mass media, newspapers have become objects of enjoyment, as Benjamin noted previously with regard to cinema: "reception via amusement represents the symptom of profound transformations in perceptive structures" (1993, p. 194). In the journalistic language for tablets, entertainment does not necessarily feature in content, as noted previously. It appears beforehand in the interaction that appeals to readers' senses: "What changes with the new journalistic language for tablets is the search for the exacerbation of sensations. The reception incites, often simultaneously, the use of three of the five senses: sight, hearing and touch" (Barsotti & Aguiar, 2013, p. 314).[27]

Figure 3. The Haunted "Fantasmobrás"



In an increasingly sensorial environment, it is not enough for news items to be read—they need to be tried. The hierarchically privileged position accorded to sight vis-à-vis the other senses, which has always caracterized printed press culture, is losing its foundations. “Sensation is no less brain than the concept,” as Deleuze and Guattari have already stated (2010, p. 249). What emerges with the new devices is a journalism that is, above all, sensorial.

Figure 4. “Walking Dead” Advertisement


DICAS A MAIS

ASSISTIR | CONSUMIR | DANÇAR | DECORAR
DEGUSTAR | IR | LER | NAVEGAR
OUVIR | SABOREAR | VER | VIAJAR

A volta dos mortos-vivos

TEXTO TÉLIO NAVEGA

A temporada de estreia foi curta, de apenas seis episódios. E os elogios foram tantos que a série “The Walking Dead” foi renovada para mais uma, de 13 capítulos. Porém dividida em duas partes. A primeira terminou em novembro, com um episódio arrebatador, em que os sobreviventes encontram — depois de procurarem por vários capítulos — a menina Sofia transformada em zumbi. Agora, com a estreia da segunda parte da temporada no dia 14 de fevereiro, às 22h, na Fox, apenas dois dias depois dos EUA, é hora de recomeçar. E procurar um lugar para viver bem longe dos mortos-vivos, que não passam de personagens secundários nesta história de sobrevivência. Mas coadjuvantes perigosos.

Quadrinhos | Cinema | Televisão

“The Walking Dead” nasceu em 2003 como uma HQ escrita pelo americano Robert Kirkman. Premiada com o Eisner de Melhor Série Contínua sete anos depois, a história que mostra pessoas tentando sobreviver em um mundo inexplicavelmente repleto de zumbis já está em seu sétimo volume no Brasil, onde é publicada pela editora HQM.

## Conclusions

The history of journalism is marked by technological changes. In 1844, the invention of the telegraph changed the concept of news, making the event per se—rather than the location of its occurrence—the deciding factor regarding its inclusion in the newspaper. At the beginning of the 20th century, modern machines made it possible to print different daily editions. In the 1920s, radio brought instantaneity to journalism; in the 1950s, TV introduced moving images; in the 1990s, the internet made feasible continuous flow in news presentation and horizontality in content production. In the 2000s, smartphones have essentially freed users from spatial constraints in receiving news, and tablets have created a more intimate reading package via touchscreens.

The aim here was to verify if and in what way mobile devices are reconfiguring production routines in newsrooms, the journalistic language, and business models in Brazilian newsrooms. It was noted that smartphones, though they have been adopted rapidly in the country and, despite their potential to generate income, have not changed the process of news production. Brazilian newspapers have launched mobile sites and applications that reproduce automatically the content published on their sites. The properties of the device—such as geolocation and tactility—have still not been explored to make possible the emergence of a new journalistic language. Furthermore, there has been no investment in new business models for this medium—access to apps and mobile sites is free.

In contrast, tablets have been a driving force for changes in production routines, business models, and journalistic language. Products launched for these devices have pushed integration boundaries in newsrooms. They require their own teams and impose limits on the logic of incessant, 24-hour content production. Tablets have also restored the faith of journalistic companies in the viability of their business, reigniting the model underpinned by subscription and advertising income. This device has been the engine for a new journalistic language, which draws on the intensification of sensations. The strategy relies on the reception of news by appealing to three senses, simultaneously: sight, hearing, and touch.

However, technology is already on the way to simulating smells and tastes. Research undertaken by *Embrapa* (Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation) in the field of nanotechnology has attempted to reproduce, using signs, sensors, and computer software, two human senses: taste and smell (Costa, 2010). Meanwhile, a new generation of mobile devices is arriving on the market, that of wearable gadgets, the point of which is to allow usage without the need to handle. This new generation of gadgets ushers in a paradigm shift: from the internet *with* users to the internet *in* users, lending credence to the foresight of McLuhan (2011), who proposed the idea of means of communication as human extensions. New forms of remediation will surface, and journalism will certainly be susceptible to them.

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## Endnotes

1. This article does not seek to discuss the topic in detail but it is worth listing it as one of the items that is subject to changes.

2. The first transposition was from printed newspapers to websites.

3. *O Globo* is the third-largest newspaper in the country, with a daily circulation of 277,000 copies, and *O Estado de S. Paulo* is the fourth, with 235,000. Available at: http://www.anj.org.br/a-industria-jornalistica/jornais-no-brasil/maiores-jornais-do-brasil. Accessed on September 21, 2013.

4. For the number of smartphones in Brazil, see the study presented by Mary Meeker at Conference D, from the All Things Digital site: http://exame.abril.com.br/tecnologia/noticias/brasil-e-o-quarto-pais-do-mundo-em-numero-de-smartphones. For the number of inhabitants in Brazil, see http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2013/08/1333686-populacao-brasileira-chega-a-200-mi-mas-tera-declinio-em-20-anos.shtml. Accessed on September 23, 2013..

5. The research was conducted by the author in September 2013, drawing on a list of the largest newspapers in circulation, according to the National Association of Newspapers. The publications that do not have mobile versions are: *Daqui, Meia Hora, Correio do Povo, Aqui, Estado de Minas, Agora SP, Dez Minutos, Expresso, Correio da Bahia* and *A Tribuna*.

6. From an interview by email with the author. “Lean back” media are those that manage to capture the attention of users for longer periods of time.

7. The original citation: “un proceso multidimensional que, facilitado por la implantación generalizada de las tecnologías digitales de telecomunicación, afecta al ámbito tecnológico, empresarial, profesional y editorial de los médios de comunicación, propiciando una integración de herramientas, espacios, métodos de trabajo y lenguajes anteriormente disgregados, de forma que los periodistas elaboran contenidos que se distribuyen a través de múltiplas plataformas, mediante los lenguajes propios de cada una.”

8. In an interview with the author, the director of *O Estado de S. Paulo*, Ricardo Gandour, stated that the income emanating from smartphone products “is unfortunately still low,”

9. The figures were taken from the Inter-Meios Project, initiated by the newspaper *Meio & Mensagem*, one of the main means of communication for measuring advertizing investment in the Brazilian media. It began in 1990 and today has a membership of over 350 communication vehicles and groups, representing 80% of media investment. Available at: http://www.anj.org.br/a-industria-jornalistica/jornais-no-brasil/investimento-publicitario. Accessed on September 21, 2013.

10. The data was taken from the F/Radar study, undertaken by the agency F/Nazca Saatchi & Saatchi and the Datafolha institute. Available at http://www.fnazca.com.br/index.php/2012/10/02/f-radar-11a-edicao/. Accessed on September 23, 2013.

11. The figures were taken from the study by Nielsen. Available at http://revolucaoebook.com.br/americanos-com-tablets-são-mais-propensos-a-pagar-por-conteúdo. Accessed on September 20, 2013.

12. Author’s translation from the Brazilian edition: “Os grandes conglomerados da mídia e até editores de jornais a veem (a Apple) como a plataforma necessária para seus conteúdos – a mercadoria que, não muito tempo atrás, reinava soberana. [...] A promessa de mercados reais para escritores e outros criadores não é nada trivial – para muitos, é uma questão de vida ou morte.”

13. The indicators were verified by the Admob Tablet Survey, undertaken by Google. Available at http://services.google.com/fh/files/blogs/AdMob%20-%20Tablet%20Survey.pdf. Accessed on September 20, 2013.

14. The data was taken from the study carried out by the IDC consulting company for Facebook. Available at: https://fb-public.app.box.com/s/3iq5x6uwnqtq7ki4q8wk. Accessed on September 20, 2013.

15. Author’s translation from the Portuguese edition: “As mídias móveis são propulsoras de um novo ciclo de inovação, no qual surgem os produtos aplicativos (apps) jornalísticos para tablets e smartphones. Dentre eles, destacam-se como potencialmente mais inovadores aqueles que denominamos autóctones, ou seja, aplicações criadas de forma nativa com material exclusivo e tratamento diferenciado.”

16. Visualized on an iPhone 4S, the *O Globo* homepage is equivalent to around ten screens.

17. Visualized on an iPhone 4S, the *O Estado de S. Paulo* homepage is equivalent to around four screens.

18. In gathering material, only news and reports were taken into account, while columns and photo galleries were ignored.

19. The interview with the *Globo a Mais* editor, Maria Fernanda Delmas, was conducted in person at the *O Globo* newsroom on August 26, 2013, where the production flow and editing of the product could be observed in practice. The interview with the executive editor in charge of *Estadão Noite*, Luís Fernando Bovo, was undertaken by email on September 20, 2013.

20. From an interview with the author.

21. From an interview with the author. The interview with the executive editor in charge of *Estadão Noite*, Luís Fernando Bovo, was undertaken by email on September 20, 2013.

22. From an interview with the author.

23. Author's translation from the portuguese: "Diferentemente de recursos como a 'multimidialidade' e a 'memória', que nos primórdios da internet eram apenas potencialidades, a tactilidade já nasce plenamente apropriável para utilizações em aplicativos criados para plataformas móveis. Seu uso não está limitado por barreiras técnicas, mas apenas circunscrito pela capacidade criativa para um melhor aproveitamento."

24. Author's translation from the portuguese: "A lógica das sensações sempre esteve incorporada ao fazer jornalístico. Conforme nos lembra McLuhan (1964), os meios não são mais apenas objetos: são prolongamentos do nosso corpo, são membros hiper-sensíveis que nos habilitam a sentir o mundo com mais intensidade, mais sensação. Nessa perspectiva, a lógica da sensação é pura potência, é ritmo, é vibração que se apropria da visão."

25. Although they lie out with the observation period, these examples were included because editor Maria Fernanda Delmas had referred to them as being emblematic in the search for a new language.

26. From an interview with the author.

27. Author's translation from the portuguese edition: O que muda com a nova linguagem jornalística para *tablets* é a busca pela exacerbação das sensações. A recepção apela, muitas vezes simultaneamente, para o uso de três dos cinco sentidos: a visão, a audição e o tato."

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# Bienvenido a Miami y Más: Immigration Frames in English and Spanish Newspapers During the 2012 Florida Republican Primary

## *A.J. "Alex" Avila*

*This study examines differences between general audience and Spanish-language media through the frame of immigration. During the 2012 Florida Republican primary candidates dealt with Latino voters and issues on a major scale. English and Spanish-language newspapers were examined in Miami, with a strong Cuban-American political presence, and Orlando, with a growing Puerto Rican community. Nine distinct immigration issue frames are identified. Significant differences were found by region in what frames were used and who was doing the framing. Surprisingly, no significant difference was found when comparing frames used by English-language newspapers to those of their Spanish-language sister publications.*

On the evening of January 31, 2012, Comedy Central's Stephen Colbert opened his popular show *The Colbert Report* with the following:

> Nation, tonight is the all-important Florida primary *[graphic: State of Florida]*. Now normally I do my show live but tonight I pre-taped it at 7:30 because that's midnight for the average Floridian *[graphic: old, retired couple]*. So I don't know if Mitt Romney or Newt Gingrich won *[graphic: Romney & Gingrich headshots]* but we do know one thing for certain, tomorrow both of them can go back to ignoring Latinos *[laughs from audience]*.

As a satirical comedy program, *The Colbert Report* would hardly be considered mainstream news media but it speaks to racial politics in non-satirical ways. As *Huffington Post* Latino Voices blogger Carlos Harrison described it, prior to the Florida primary, the Latino vote had been too small to be significant; now it was too large to ignore (2012). And for the first time in the election cycle, the tensions between progressive Latino voters and conservative activists that dominate the primary nomination cycle would come to the fore. Historically, positioning for ethnic voters is tricky. Candidates want to target ethnic audiences without offending other stakeholders (Connaughton, 2002). In 2012, with the dominance of Tea Party and staunchly conservative politics, such a tricky line within the GOP primary became almost untenable, particularly if one viewed Latino politics through the lens of the hotbed political issue of immigration.

To be sure, race and politics enjoy a long political history. They both speak to issues of power and assimilation. Since the 1980s, Hispanic voters have been considered the "sleeping giant." Regionally, Latino politics have had influence. And when one spoke of the Hispanic vote, what they meant, historically, were Mexican-Americans throughout the Southwest, Cubans in Florida, and Puerto Ricans in New York (Tan, 1983). Since the 1990s, however, these patterns have shifted. As a national voting block, Latinos have evolved beyond simple regional influences. When selling to Latinos, either products or candidates, regional influences are still the most salient. But national campaigns have sought themes and images that serve as common denominators across Latino groups (Subervi, 2005).

Entering the Florida Primary in January of 2012, the Republication frontrunners were considered to be former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney and former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich. Prior to the January 31 primary, caucuses and primaries were held in Iowa on January 3, New Hampshire on January 10, and South Carolina on January 21. The South Carolina primary was the first to involve a large African-American electorate. Florida's primary was the first to involve a large Latino population. Many political followers were curious to see how the candidates would deal with Latino issues in Florida as it could well foretell how Latino outreach would be done nationwide in the general election. Over the past several political seasons, immigration has become one of most visible issues associated with the Latino community. But for some of the more conservative members of the Republican Party immigration was equally important. And these voters, more so than Latinos, represented a vital voting constituency in the early primaries in early 2012. How candidates appealed to the Republican conservative base during Primary season did not go unnoticed by Latino media.

At the height of the Florida GOP primary, Univision national news anchor Jorge Ramos appeared on the Public Radio International (PRI) program *The Takeaway*, produced by WNYC. Ramos, during the month of January, interviewed Presidential contenders Mitt Romney, Newt Gingrich, and President Barack Obama in individual one-on-one exchanges for the Univision Spanish-language television network. In his radio appearance, Ramos commented that most of the issues important to Latinos are also the top issues for most Americans—the economy, jobs, health—and that polls show that immigration ranks third or fourth as most important for Latinos. This does not bode well for Republican candidates seeking the GOP nomination and hoping for Latino support, said Ramos, adding,

> You've seen them, Newt Gingrich and Mitt Romney, in the debates . . . They are both fighting to see who is the most anti-immigrant. And that's really tough. If they want to have the Hispanic vote they are really going to have to change their rhetoric. (2012)

Thus immigration becomes an early issue frame for both Latinos and the conservative base but from ideologically opposed positions. For many Latinos, immigration has become the litmus test for how a candidate stands on issues of importance to their community because of the greater implications for support of civil rights (Martinez de Castro, 2010). Even Puerto Ricans, who are American citizens, are highly active in the immigration debate because of the discrimination issues associated with it. Contrarily, illegal immigration has become an important test for conservative and Tea Party politics (Rucker & Gardner, 2011). Illegal immigration tells those on the political right how conservative a candidate is positioned on the issue. Even places like Wisconsin, where illegal Canadian immigration is hardly a concern, the issue is put forth as a conservative litmus test (Sensenbrenner, 2011).

How, then, does the media approach this duality over the immigration issue? And which media frames are prevalent? Does framing indicate a conservative bias on the part of Florida media? Do all Latino media outlets follow a pro-immigration frame, even if the Latino community from which the publication stems is considered conservative? What about news media that publishes sister publications in English and Spanish? Do they reflect a split personality in terms of how immigrant frames are presented?

Shortly after pro-immigration marches across the country largely took the mainstream media by surprise in 2006, the now-defunct Rockridge Institute, a progressive think tank that shut down in 2008, issued a report on the framing of immigration. The report found that conservatives were more effective in concretizing early frames in ways that greatly limited any political discussion surrounding deeper immigration issues. Among the surface immigrations frames identified in the report were the following: Illegal frames, Security Frames, Amnesty, the Undocumented worker frame, and temporary workers (Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006). Conceptually, immigration was framed as a “problem” needing “reform.” The report was clear about the narrowing focus that frames impose.

> The linguistic framing is remarkable: frames for illegal immigrant, illegal alien, illegals, undocumented workers, undocumented immigrants, guest workers, temporary workers, amnesty, and border security. These linguistic expressions are anything but neutral. Each framing defines the problem in its own way, and hence constrains the solutions needed to address that problem (p. 1).

To be certain, not all Latinos value immigration as a top issue. And Florida is a complicated state to examine such an issue as the demographics do not mirror the nation’s Latino demographics overall. While Cubans and Cuban-Americans make up 5%% of all U.S.-based Latinos, they are 32% of Florida’s Latinos. Puerto Ricans are 10% of the nation’s Latinos but 28% of Florida’s (Oppenheimer, 2012). The remaining Latinos, mainly Central and South Americans including Mexicans, do not constitute a major electorate and many cannot vote. Puerto Ricans, however, are American citizens. Cubans have political asylum and the right to migrate and legally stay in the US if they can escape communist Cuba. Unlike other non-native born Latinos, neither of these groups have immigration issues as a barriers to their political and economic participation in this country. Nationwide, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans comprise more than 60% of all U.S.-based Latinos. Out of more than 50 million Hispanics identified in the 2010 Census, the majority of them, nearly 63%, were native-born Americans (Motel, 2012).

The fact that some 18 million Latinos registered to vote in the 2008 Presidential election and that figure was expected to reach 22 million in 2012 drew the attention of strategists early in the 2012 Presidential campaign (Lerner, 2012). Republicans, who later expressed shock over how handily they lost the November 2012 election, continue to examine their political failures for future election cycles, especially with the Latino vote. According to Latino political columnist Andres Oppenheimer of the *Miami Herald*, the Republican nominee in 2012 needed at least 30%, and probably closer to 40%, of the Latino vote nationwide in November in order to win the election. Although Romney won the Latino vote in the January 31 Florida GOP primary with 54%, a study by Latino Decisions, a Latino polling firm, found that Romney achieved only 27% of the Latino vote nationwide on election day (Lopez & Taylor, 2012), a statistic made even greater by a larger than anticipated Latino voter turnout nationwide, surpassing 10% of the total electorate for the first time in history (Rodriguez, 2012). Other exit polls put Romney's Latino support between 27 to 29% (Foley, 2012). And a large Latino turnout heavily in support of President Obama was considered a major contributor for widespread Republican failures in the November general election (Foley) with immigration as a principal issue. In fact, shortly after the election, Republicans were quick to offer their own pro-immigrant legislation (Jonsson, 2012), ostensibly to mitigate the fallout from the election of a large and growing electorate. The issue, of course, became mired through congressional inaction and the eventual showdown over Obamacare, led by Conservatives of the Republican Party.

## Framing

News frames, according to William Gamson (qtd. in Ryan, 1991), make the world appear natural. Within the context of packing news media for audience consumption, frames serve as seemingly organic points of view for understanding. Despite this organic appearance, according to Callaghan & Schnell (2001), there is often a competitive struggle between news outlets, special interest groups, and politicians in defining and structuring political issues. Framing Latino issues has not always been so evident to researchers.

Framing as a political strategy is often used to shift a debate in order to focus on specific issues while ignoring others. Political elites encourage voters using "frames in communication" to condition how an issue should be perceived by the public with the goal of affecting how individuals think about an issue—"frames in thought"—in certain ways (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Within the marketplace of ideas, frames are a means to achieving a competitive edge. Generally, framing involves deliberate selection and ultimate salience, according to political scientist Robert Entman (1993). The person engaged in framing typically describes selected aspects of reality and communicates them in ways that promote a certain "problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" for the issue being described

(p. 52). Entman's approach is more utilitarian for this exploration. It allows researchers to examine who is doing the framing and how the issue is being framed.

Historically, Latino political issues have often mirrored those of the general public (Subervi, 2005). Traditionally, issues of immigration and education have been considered strongly associated with Latino voter attitudes, along with discrimination, law enforcement, and social services (DeSipio, 2006). Immigration as a political issue came to the fore in 2006 following several large pro-immigration rallies. But, as Lakoff and Ferguson reported, conservative politicos were the first to impose immigration frames leaving progressives to play catch-up (2006). Later, frames such as "Dreamers" (Yoo & Delahunty, 2012) reflected progressive frames favoring the DREAM Act, a proposal to put immigrants brought into the country prior to age 16 into a path towards legalization. Alternative frames outlined by Lakoff and Ferguson include "cheap labor," "economic refugee," "foreign policy reform," "illegal employers," and others.

**Latinos and the Florida primary**

In 2012, Florida represented the first primary state of the Presidential selection process with significant numbers of Latino voters. The Florida primary was held on January 31, 2012. At that time, the front-running GOP candidates were Mitt Romney and Newt Gingrich. In the past, the Hispanic vote in Florida was synonymous with Cuban-Americans (Tan, 1983). Reflecting this pattern, in the 1970s and 80s, the *Miami Herald* saw an editorial shift that reflected a more conservative, anti-communist audience often found in Miami's influential Cuban community (Subervi-Vélez, Brindel, Taylor, & Espinosa, 2005).

By the year 2000, however, new generations of Cuban-Americans were not as conservative as their Cuban-exile parents and grandparents (Marrero, 2004). Also, an influx of Puerto Ricans to the state began to change the staunchly conservative makeup of the overall Latino vote in Florida. Because of a changing audience, daily newspapers such as the *Orlando Sentinel* increased their editorial coverage of news from the Puerto Rican island. In 2000, Republican-leaning Cubans comprised 70% of Florida's Latino vote but were less than 50% in 2008. Latinos in the state were shifting their demographics. This trend could be categorized as Republican-leaning Cuban and Central Americans in Miami/South Florida region and Democratic-leaning Puerto Ricans in the Orlando area and other parts of the state (Campo-Flores, 2008). Florida's Latino political dynamics in the 2012 Presidential election have continued this realignment. In November 2012, Cuban-Americans were only 34% of Florida Latino voters and almost evenly split their vote between Obama and Romney (Lopez & Taylor).

During the Florida primary, the major Republican candidates tooled their outreach to Latinos in ways that presumably would reflect their national outreach in the general election. In late-January of 2012, two debates were held in the state. While the Hispanic Leadership Network co-sponsored one debate, no debates were held on Spanish-language television. However, Univision, the influential Spanish-language television network, conducted one-on-one interviews with frontrunner Romney, challenger

Gingrich, and President Obama, all taking place in the days leading up to the Florida primary. (Obama delivered a State of the Union Address during this period and was the presumptive Democratic nominee for President.) These interviews were targeted toward Latinos by nature of their appearance on Spanish-language Univision.

Historically, education, jobs, and discrimination have been the top issues of importance to Latinos, and immigration would vary in importance but would generally be much higher than to all Americans (Flores & McCombs, 2005). In recent political cycles, immigration and its various frames has become the principal label under which news media address Latino politics in general. Undoubtedly, specific frames have evolved. Also, historically, Spanish-language newspapers have been shown to present a “more positive” tone and coverage of all immigration issues than their English-language counterparts (Branton & Dunaway, 2008). Newspapers generally appeal to their targeted audiences. So does this positive tone still apply to newspapers that publish English and Spanish-language versions? How often do media use immigration as a news frame, who is doing the framing and under what context? The following Research Questions represent a more elegant exposition of these notions.

**RQ1: What are the identifiable immigration issue frames commonly used in news media?**

**RQ2: How do English-language news media use issue frames when discussing immigration?**

**RQ3: How do Spanish-language news media use issue frames when discussing immigration?**

Of particular interest is the idea of who is doing the framing and how are the immigration frames being constructed? Entman, in *Projections of Power* (2004), described framing as inescapable. Therefore, how an issue is framed and by whom matters. Understanding how news media frames issues addressing Latinos in both English and Spanish-language media will significantly add to our understanding of the differences between general audience and Spanish-language media in this country. It could also assist candidates to tool their message to Latino voters based on language and local considerations. An examination based on these main research questions should provide plenty of original data and material for discussion. And a comparison of English and Spanish news media reflecting the political demographics of Florida’s complicated and evolving Latino electorate is expected to yield new and nuanced findings within this, the nation’s largest growing population.

## Method

To examine the research questions, a content analysis of newspaper coverage of the GOP Primary in Florida held on January 31, 2012, focusing on general audience (English) news media and Spanish-language news media was developed. In order to encourage variance, the publications selected for this examination reflected changing

Latino political demographics of the state. The demographics favor a more liberal Puerto Rican voting community in the northern part of the state, and historically conservative Cuban Americans in the southern part. Thus, the two major respective regional dailies with English and Spanish versions were selected for this examination—one in Cuban-influenced Miami and the other in Puerto Rican-influenced Orlando. The month of January 2012 was selected because the Republican Presidential Primary on January 31 should generate political news copy including Latinos, voting, and immigration. The research period of interest included the day after the election to get any immediate post-election coverage. All articles were available online. Unlike Miami, Orlando did not have political blogs dedicated to Latino politics during this period, so blogs were excluded from this data set.

Newspaper articles published in the *Miami Herald* from January 1 to February 1, 2012 were targeted using the keywords “Florida,” “Republican,” and “Hispanic.” A total of 36 news articles (not including blogs) initially appeared. A secondary search substituted “Latino” for “Hispanic” and returned seven articles, all but one appearing in the initial search. All articles were then individually inspected to ensure they specifically were written about the January 31 primary. (A number of articles during the same period focused strictly on political redistricting, a hot news subject but not the focus of this study.) Filtering out political news articles not specifically related to the Presidential Primary resulted in 25 valid *Miami Herald* news articles for inclusion in this data set. In the *Herald’s* Spanish-language sister publication, *El Nuevo Herald*, a search using the keywords “Florida,” “republicano,” and “hispano” turned up 16 valid news articles after removing articles not specific to the primary election. By substituting the word “Latino” for “hispano,” four additional articles were added to the sample.

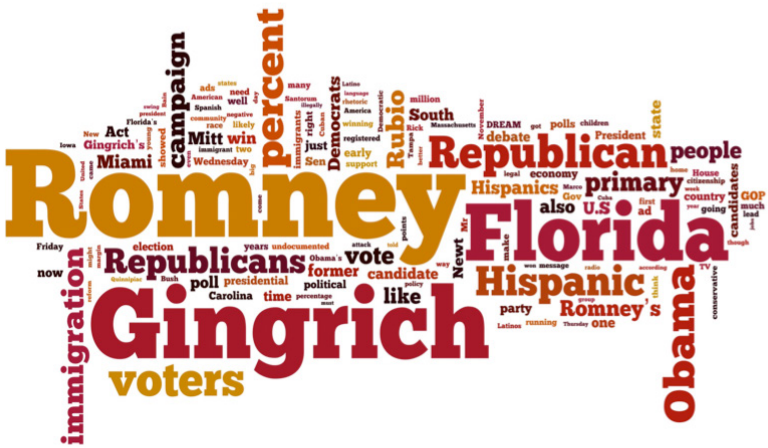
Similar searches during the same period were also conducted for the *Orlando Sentinel* and their Spanish-language counterpart *El Sentinel*. Using the keywords “Florida,” “Republican,” and “Hispanic” in the English-language version, researchers found four valid news articles during the targeted period. Another five articles were added by substituting “Latino” for “Hispanic.” In the Spanish-language *El Sentinel*, a total of seven valid articles were found using similar sampling methods, although “Latino” found the same number of articles as “Hispanic” (all duplicates).

So far, the terms “Hispanic” and “Latino” have been used interchangeably throughout this examination. Still, how a community chooses to define itself *vis-à-vis* “Hispanic” or “Latino” speaks to each region’s politics (Alcoff, 2005). “Hispanic” garnered almost all of the articles in Miami and South Florida, and the term “Latino” found the majority of news articles in Orlando and northern parts of the state. Although there were far fewer articles in the data set from Orlando than Miami, the fact that Orlando found more of its articles in the data set using “Latino” and Miami found most of its articles using “Hispanic” in itself foreshadows a difference in political points of view between these communities.

Using basic word processing software and searchable .pdf files, articles were compiled, words and keywords were counted, and specific instances were inspected to see who said what and under which context it was said. As a pre-test, all articles from the *Miami*

*Herald* were compiled and processed through a word cloud graph-making program via wordle.net. The resulting word cloud found expected words were used heavily. The most identifiable words were “Romney,” “Gingrich,” “Florida,” “Republican,” “Obama,” “voters,” and “Hispanic.” The most identifiable issue, however, was “immigration” [Figure 1]. The prominence of the word “immigration” (not a search term in the development of the data set) confirmed to researchers that this term could be used as a media frame for Latino voters.

Figure 1. Word cloud using compiled Miami Herald news articles Jan. 1 - Feb. 1, 2012.




Once assembled, keyword searches on each data set were conducted using the root word “migra”—a term specifically chosen because it would appear in both English in Spanish manifestations of the frame being measured. Two graduate student coders who were bilingual (English/Spanish) analyzed 20 randomly selected articles for the root word (the unit of analysis) and classified each use of the root according to its complete word—“immigrant” or “immigration”—or “migrant” and their Spanish equivalents. A coding scheme was created based upon the context of each appearance of the root word. Although words may have multiple contexts, the coders had to determine one main context per instance based upon the circumstances of its usage. For example, if the word “immigrant” was in close proximity (one to three words) to the words “illegal,” “undocumented,” “reform,” “anti-,” or their Spanish-language equivalents, such a context was noted. These keywords, for researchers, became the specific issue frame under which immigration was utilized in each publication. Coders were not asked to determine if there was a positive, negative or neutral tone associated with the frames identified. Finally, the main speaker using the term was coded. This part of the research was tricky and carefully conducted. For example, at one point during the Florida primary, U.S. Sen. Marco Rubio (R-FL) criticized a Spanish-language ad being aired by the Gingrich campaign that called Romney “anti-immigrant.” In the English language newspaper report, then, it becomes muddled as to who is the one person to be coded as using the term (who was doing the framing?). Was it coded as the reporter, Gingrich, Romney, or Rubio (the news source) when clearly all of them used the term? In this context, the focus of the story was Gingrich's TV ad. So it was coded as Gingrich who was "speaking." Determining who used the frame is easily identifiable if it is a direct quote. If at any time such identification became difficult or nearly impossible, the default speaker was coded as the writer/reporter.

The articles were categorized based on labels created in part by the news organizations themselves and by coders to group together articles that were similar. The result was four categorizations. Two categories indicate articles written by local staff—Staff News Report; News Analysis/Expert Column—and two categories written by outside sources that were not local staff writers—Newswire/Syndicated Article; Op-ed/Guest Editoral. After discussion between coders, all articles could be coded into one of the four categories.

## Results

### Descriptives

A total of 61 news articles were identified by coders as having the simultaneous key words of "Florida," "Republican," and "Hispanic" or "Latino" (or Spanish-language equivalents) and specifically dealt with the Florida Republican Primary during the time period of interest plus the morning after (Jan. 1–Feb. 1, 2012). The Miami dailies (both languages) had nearly three-fourths of all articles in our data set (73.8%) with a total of 45 articles. Orlando had 16 articles (26.2%). Also, a total of 34 articles were in English (55.7%) and 27 articles (44.3%) were in Spanish (see Table 1).

Table 1. News Articles by Region and Language

| | English | Spanish | *TOTAL* | *Percent* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Miami | 25 | 20 | *45* | *73.77%* |
| Orlando | 9 | 7 | *16* | *26.23%* |
| TOTAL | 36 | 27 | *61* | *100%* |
| *Percent* | *55.74%* | *44.26%* | *100%* | |

Data set taken from Jan. 1–Feb. 1, 2012 using keywords "Florida," "Republican," and "Hispanic" or "Latino." (Or Spanish-language equivalents.)

Not only did Miami have a greater number of news articles in our data set but the articles they ran were generally longer in both languages. Of the 25 *Miami Herald* articles, the average length was 865.4 words versus an average length of 769.2 words for the English-language *Orlando Sentinel* (with only 9 articles). Miami's English-language newspapers had a total of 21,636 words in this data set versus 6,923 words for Orlando. [See Table 2 for a complete breakdown.] Also, 21 out of 25 (84%) of Miami's English newspapers were written by its own news staff with only two (2) newswires and two

(2) guest editorials during this research period. Newspaper staffers only wrote three of Orlando's nine English-language articles with two-thirds (n=6) of all its articles being provided by outside writers—newswire or syndicated column.

Table 2. English Language Newspaper Coverage v. Spanish Sister-Publications

| *Newspaper Articles* | *Miami Herald* | *El Nuevo Herald* | *Orlando Sentinel* | *El Sentinel* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Staff News Report | 44% | 40% | 22.2% | 42.9% |
| News Analysis/ Expert Column | 40 | 30% | 11.1% | 0.0% |
| Newswire/ Syndication | 8.0% | 25% | 66.7% | 42.9% |
| Op-ed/ Guest Editorial | 8.0% | 5.0% | 0.0% | 14.3% |
| *TOTALS* | 100% (25 articles) 21,636 words mean = 865.4 words | 100% (20 articles) 15,449 words mean = 772.5 words | 100% (9 articles) 6,923 words mean = 769.2 words | 100% (7 articles) 4,017 words mean = 573.9 words |

Data set taken from Jan. 1 – Feb. 1, 2012 using keywords "Florida," "Republican," and "Hispanic" or "Latino." (Or Spanish-language equivalents.)

In Spanish, Miami had 20 articles with an average length of 772.5 words versus 7 articles averaging 573.9 words for Orlando. Miami's Spanish-language newspapers had 15,449 words in this data set versus 4,017 words in Orlando newspapers. In Spanish, Miami had 14 news articles out of the 20 in the data set written by local staff, a lower percentage (70%) than its English-language publication (84%). In Orlando, the total number of Spanish-language articles was seven, with three (42.9%) written by local staff, three (42.9%) as newswire or syndicated articles, and one (14.3%) guest editorial.

In three of the four daily newspapers, original staff news reports were the longest stories for every publication with the exception being the English-language *Orlando Sentinel*. This publication had only two original staff news reports that averaged 784 words. But it ran more newswires and syndicated pieces (six) with an average of 826.2 words (see Table 2).

Table 3. Who is Doing the Speaking?

| | *Miami Herald* | *El Nuevo Herald* | *Orlando Sentinel* | *El Sentinel* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1. Writer/Editor** | **31.1%** | **26.4%** | **26.7%** | **39.4%** |
| Reporter | 14.8% | 5.5% | 26.7% | 27.3% |
| Op-Ed | 16.3% | 20.9% | 0.0% | 12.1% |
| **2. Candidate** | **37.0%** | **43.6%** | **44.4%** | **24.2%** |
| Romney | 21.5% | 28.2% | 24.4% | 3.0% |
| Gingrich | 14.8% | 15.5% | 20.0% | 21.2% |
| Santorum/Paul/etc. | 0.7% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| **3. Other Source** | **31.9%** | **30.0%** | **28.9%** | **36.4%** |
| Sen. Rubio | 8.9% | 10.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Other Latin Rep. | 2.2% | 1.8% | 8.9% | 3.0% |
| Activist/Advocate | 4.4% | 10.9% | 2.2% | 33.33% |
| Party Official-R | 3.0% | 5.5% | 2.2% | 0.0% |
| Obama | 5.9% | 0.9% | 8.9% | 0.0% |
| Party Official-D | 3.0% | 0.9% | 4.4% | 0.0% |
| Political Expert | 1.5% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Survey/Study | 3.0% | 0.0% | 2.2% | 0.0% |
| TOTAL CODED WORDS | n=135 | n=110 | n=45 | n=33 |

In 61 news articles in our data set, coders found a total of 323 immigration-related keywords for this framing study. Each key word was coded for immigration frames beginning by identifying who was using the frame. Although many individual players were identified by coders (see Table 3), these framers were later grouped along three major areas: Writer/Editor; Candidate; and, Other (specified) source. The *Miami Herald* had 135 coded words broken down as follows: Writer/Editor 31.1% (n=42), Candidate 37.0% (n=50) and "Other" sources at 31.9% (n=43). *El Heraldo de Miami* had 110 coded words broken down into the following: Writer/Editor 26.4% (n=29), Candidate 43.6% (n=48) and "Other" sources at 30% (n=33). The *Orlando Sentinel* had 45 coded words broken down as follows: Writer/Editor 26.7% (n=12), Candidate 44.4% (n=20) and "Other" sources at 28.9% (n=13). *El Sentinel de Orlando* had 33 coded words broken down into the following: Writer/Editor 39.4% (n=13), Candidate 24.2% (n=8) and "Other" sources at 36.4% (n=12).

Keywords using immigration terms were not part of the original search parameters that resulted in a total of 61 articles for this data set. Within the 61 articles, coders found immigration issue frames in 49 of them (80.3%). In deference to RQ1 (What are the identifiable immigration issue frames commonly used in news media?), coders meticulously identified a total of nine immigration issue frames that, after some discussion between coders, broke down into the following: Political (election) Issue; Anti-Immigrant; Policy & Enforcement; Illegal or Undocumented; Reform or Stance; Worker/Laborer; Immigrant Community; Immigration Status; and, Political Advocacy. These nine frames were inclusive of all 323 coded words. In other words, no catch-all "Other" category was needed.

Table 4. What Issue Frame is Identified by the Context?

| | *Miami Herald* | *El Nuevo Herald* | *Orlando Sentinel* | *El Sentinel* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Political Issue | 19.3% | 15.5% | 20.0% | **30.3%** |
| 2. Anti-immigrant | 17.8% | **27.3%** | 15.6% | 3.0% |
| 3. Policy & Enforcement | 14.1% | 8.2% | 4.4% | 12.1% |
| 4. Illegal/Undocumented | 11.1% | 16.4% | **28.9%** | 6.1% |
| 5. Reform or Stance | 21.5% | 22.7% | 20.0% | **33.3%** |
| 6. Worker/Laborer | 2.2% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| 7. Community | 5.9% | 3.6% | 4.4% | 3.0% |
| 8. Immigration Status | 3.7% | 0.9% | 4.4% | 0.0% |
| 9. Political Advocacy | 4.4% | 5.5% | 2.2% | 12.1% |
| Total # of Articles | 25 | 20 | 9 | 7 |
| Articles w/ Coded Words | 18 | 18 | 6 | 7 |
| *Percent* | | | | |
| Total Coded Words | *72%* | *90%* | *66.7%* | *100%* |
| | n=135 | n=110 | n=45 | n=33 |

*(RQ1 Answer – Identifiable Immigration Issue Frames)*

Descriptive results foreshadow a partial answer to RQ2 (How do English-language news media use issue frames when discussing immigration?). The top immigration frames used by the English-language *Miami Herald* were in order: Reform or Stance (21.5%); Political (election) Issue (19.3%); and, Anti-Immigrant (17.8%). The top immigration frames used by the English-language *Orlando Sentinel* were in order: Illegal or Undocumented (28.9%); followed by a tie for second with Political (election) Issue (20%) and, Reform or Stance (20%). Data analysis (below) provides a more complete answer.

Descriptive results also foreshadow a partial answer to RQ3 (How do Spanish-language news media use issue frames when discussing immigration?). For Miami's Spanish-language publication *El Heraldo de Miami*, the top immigration frames were in order: Anti-Immigrant (27.3%); Reform or Stance (22.7%); and, Illegal or Undocumented (16.4%). [See Table 4.] For Orlando's Spanish-language publication *El Sentinel*, the top immigration frames were in order: Reform or Stance (33.3%); Political (election) Issue

(30.3%); and, a tie for third with Policy & Enforcement (12.1%) and Political Advocacy (12.1%) [see Table 4]. Again, data analysis (below) helps give a more complete answer.

## Data analysis

In terms of the issue frames presented by the *Miami Herald* (in English) and the *Orlando Sentinel*, descriptive results revealed different issue frames as the principal ones presented for both dailies. The top immigration frames used by the *Miami Herald* were, in order: Reform or Stance; Political (election) Issue; and, Anti-Immigrant. The top immigration frames used by the *Orlando Sentinel* were in order: Illegal or Undocumented; followed by a tie for second with Political (election) Issue; and Reform or Stance. An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare *Miami Herald* issue frames (all nine of them) and *Orlando Sentinel* frames, assuming different variances. There was a significant difference in the scores for *Miami Herald* ($M=15$, $SD=9.9$) and *Orlando Sentinel* ($M=5$, $SD=4.6$); $t(16)=2.7443$, $p=0.019$. With a significance level under the threshold ($p<0.05$) we reject the Null Hypothesis. These results suggest the issue frames found in the English-language newspaper of Miami are significantly different than the issue frames of Orlando's daily newspaper.

Similarly, differences were found between the Spanish-language dailies in the two communities. An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare Spanish-language *El Heraldo de Miami* issue frames (all nine of them) and *El Sentinel de Orlando* frames, assuming different variances. There was a significant difference in the scores for *El Heraldo* ($M=12.2$, $SD= 10.8$) and *El Sentinel* ($M=3.7$, $SD=4.2$); $t(16)=2.224$, $p=0.049$. These results suggest that the issue frames used in the Spanish-language daily of Miami were significantly different than those frames used by similar media in Orlando. The low number of samples in Spanish Orlando, however, means seven of the nine cells have values of less than five, including two blank cells, making the reliability of this parametric test questionable.

Although it was not one of the research questions, researchers compared the issue frames used by the English-language publications to their own respective Spanish-language sister publications. Considering they were different audiences (English and Spanish), researchers expected different frames. But this was not the case. An independent-samples t-test compared English-language *Miami Herald* issue frames (all nine of them) and Spanish-language *El Heraldo de Miami* frames, assuming different variances. There was not a statistically significant difference in the scores for the *Miami Herald* ($M=15$, $SD= 9.9$) and *El Heraldo de Miami* ($M=12.2$, $SD=10.8$); $t(16)=2.1199$, $p=0.057$. Similarly, there was not a statistically significant difference in the results for the sister publications in Orlando with t-test results showing the *Orlando Sentinel* ($M=5$, $SD= 4.6$) and *El Sentinel de Orlando* ($M=3.7$, $SD=4.2$); $t(16)=0.6468$, $p=0.053$. Again, the low values found in fewer Orlando Spanish articles may have skewed parametric calculations.

Although there appeared to be differences in both cases and the results "approach significance," the significance level is, in fact, just above the accepted threshold (p>0.05) and we therefore fail to reject the Null Hypothesis. These results suggest that the differences in frame use are not statistically significant when comparing English-language newspapers to their respective

**Spanish-language sister publications**

Table 3 indicates who was doing the speaking, meaning who was using the issue frame? In English-language newspapers, the Miami daily had Writer/Editor 31.1%, Candidate 37%, and "Other" source 31.9%. The Orlando daily had Writer/Editor 26.7%, Candidate 44.4%, and "Other" source 28.9%. An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare who was doing the speaking, assuming different variances. There was a significant difference in the scores for *Miami Herald* (M=45, SD= 4.4) and *Orlando Sentinel* (M=15, SD=4.4); t(4)=8.4293, p=0.002. With a significance level well under the threshold (p<0.05) we reject the Null Hypothesis. These results suggest those using frames in the English-language newspaper of Miami are significantly different than those of Orlando's daily newspaper.

In Spanish-language newspapers, the Miami Spanish daily had Writer/Editor 26.4%, Candidate 43.6%, and "Other" source 30%. The Orlando Spanish daily had Writer/Editor 39.4%, Candidate 24.2%, and "Other" source 36.4%. An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare who was doing the speaking. There was a significant difference in the scores for *El Heraldo de Miami* (M=36.7, SD= 10.0) and *El Sentinel de Orlando* (M=11, SD=2.6); t(4)=4.291, p=0.039. With a significance level under the threshold (p<0.05) we reject the Null Hypothesis. These results suggest those using frames in the Spanish-language newspaper of Miami are significantly different than those of Orlando's daily Spanish newspaper.

Comparing who was doing the framing in the Miami English-language newspaper to its respective Spanish-language sister publication failed to show statistically significant differences. In Table 3 it shows the Miami English daily had Writer/Editor 31.1%, Candidate 37%, and "Other" source 31.9% versus its own Spanish-language daily with Writer/Editor 26.4%, Candidate 43.6%, and "Other" source 30%. An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare who was doing the speaking when frames were used. There was not a significant difference in the scores for *Miami Herald* (M=45, SD= 4.4) and *El Heraldo de Miami* (M=36.7, SD=10.0); t(4) = 1.3213, p = 0.286. These results suggest those using frames in the English-language newspaper of Miami are not significantly different than those of its Spanish-language daily newspaper. Similarly, there was not a significant difference in who was using the frames in the Orlando's English and Spanish-language dailies with the *Orlando Sentinel* (M=15, SD= 4.4) and *El Sentinel de Orlando* (M=11, SD=2.6); t(4)=1.3587, p=0.259. A deeper analysis of who was doing the framing could not be tested. For example, looking specifically at "Other Sources" in Table 3 it would seem that the prevailing use of Immigration Activists for Orlando's Spanish-language newspaper is a major departure from sources used by its English-language counterpart. However, the low *n* values in Spanish Orlando caused a lack of data in six of the eight "Other Source" variables (zero value cells), clearly making parametric comparison utterly unreliable. On the whole, however, like the Miami publications, Orlando's sister publications are not significantly different in the sources doing the framing.

## Discussion

Framing ultimately speaks to issues of power. Who is doing the framing? How are frames constructed? These questions matter. Examining these issues as seen through newspapers can be a productive exercise.

Editors at each of the four publications make decisions to use frames ostensibly based on the preferences of the perceived audience. Clearly, regional politics matter in how frames are used. And how each publication frames the issue has the potential to predict how opinion shapers, candidates, and advertisers should target their messages locally. Results from data analysis indicate that there are significant differences between Miami daily newspapers and Orlando daily newspapers. In both regions researchers found nine different issue frames under the heading of immigration. But results show that English newspapers in the Miami region frame immigration differently than do similar newspapers in the Orlando region. Also, Spanish-language Miami newspapers frame issues differently than Orlando Spanish newspapers. Also, who is doing the framing is different in the two regions as well. But surprisingly, while there appears to be differences in framing within the respective regions by language, statistical analysis suggests these differences are not significant. In Spanish Orlando, the reliance on Immigration Activist seems to be unique to that publication. Although it could not be tested due to low n-values, it doesn't take statistical analysis to notice the trend (Table 3). Overall, however, the differences in who is doing the framing when comparing each region's English newspaper to its Spanish sister publication are not statistically significant, despite appearances.

The differences between the regions, of course, are ultimately hard to compare considering that Miami produces and publishes so much more editorial content with Latino/Hispanic political themes than does Orlando. Miami has had a longer history of covering Latino political issues (Subervi-Velez, Brindel, Taylor, & Espinosa, 2005) than Orlando. Obviously, Miami's newspaper coverage of Latino/Hispanic politics is more evolved. Also, the differences between the relative populations may have something to do with the differences in the scope of the news coverage. The low number of articles from Orlando in the data set, especially in Spanish, makes deeper statistical comparisons problematic. This is a potential weakness of this study. Perhaps a similar study during a longer period, say of six months, would garner enough samples in Orlando for a more reliable data set. Still, the fact that these two communities had daily news publications in dual languages made this a rare opportunity for such comparisons. There are only a few Spanish-language daily newspapers in this country. Most Spanish-language publications in this country, including those published by English-language dailies, are weekly supplements. Expanding this study to other regions of the country would be difficult. In Los Angeles, for example, the *L.A. Times* purchased a 50% interest in the Spanish-language daily *La Opinion* in the year 2000. *La Opinion* has been owned and operated by the Lozano Family since the 1920s. But the Times Mirror Corporation, publishers of the *L.A. Times,* sold back their interest to the Lozano family in 2004 (Subervi-Velez, 2005). So, technically, the same news organization does not publish in English and Spanish in a heavily Latino city like Los Angeles.

Ultimately, framing speaks to issues of power. In Miami, the argument could possibly be made that both versions of the newspaper, English and Spanish, are more advocacy oriented considering their heavy use of editorial columns and expert analysis (and the presence of blogs). Collectively, the issue frames most used in both English and Spanish versions of Miami papers were Anti-immigrant and Reform or Stance (see Table 4). While both publications used U.S. Sen. Marco Rubio as a source, the Spanish version used Immigration Advocates as sources more frequently. Both focused their attributions more on Romney, the acknowledged frontrunner, than on Gingrich, the main rival (see Table 3). In contrast, Rubio was never mentioned by name in any Orlando newspaper article in our data set. This was curious due to his prominence nationally, his status at the time as a potential Vice Presidential candidate, and his interjection during this period into a controversial television ad that Gingrich aired calling Romney “anti-immigrant.” The fact that one community was pro-Rubio as a source and the other saw Rubio completely absent in its coverage may be worthy of further analysis. Sen. Rubio aside, however, Orlando newspapers were more balanced in sourcing the candidates themselves. The argument could be made that Orlando was more objective, but without significantly more editorial copy that rivals Miami, this argument is largely conjecture.

Research such as this adds significantly to knowledge of the nuances of news coverage of importance to significant population sub-segments such as Latinos/Hispanics. Although the lack of organizations publishing English and Spanish daily newspapers make replicating such a survey in other regions of the country difficult, research like this could be expanded to include television news, although there are no “sister-stations” in English and Spanish like there are sister daily newspapers. Still, the differences in how communities frame important issues like immigration can be telling of the differences within particularly regions. Language can be a divider or a motivator. It can reflect or it can shape attitudes. Further research in daily television news by community is warranted.

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