



MONASH University

**Journalism and News Cultures:
Journalistic practices and online media
in the Chilean newsroom**

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Abstract

An extensive body of scholarship has examined technological change and the impact of online media on journalism and newsrooms in the US and Europe (Quandt *et al.*, 2006; Domingo, 2008; Domingo *et al.*, 2008; Steensen, 2009; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008; Hermida, 2010; Singer, 2013; Singer *et al.*, 2011). However, comparatively little research has been undertaken in the Latin American context. This deficit is especially apparent in the case of Chile. Important developments in journalism, news media, and technological change in this country remain largely unexplored, despite Chile having one of the highest Internet and social media penetration rates in Latin America.

This thesis addresses this research deficit by assessing the practices and beliefs of Chilean journalists and editors in relation to the use of digital interaction technologies – such as email, chat, and social networking (Facebook, Twitter) – in established news media organisations. By exploring their attitudes towards the role of online media and audience participation in the news, this thesis analyses the changing roles of professional journalists and their complex relationship with audiences. To fulfil this thesis' objectives, a mixed methods research design (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Creswell, 2009) is conducted across two stages. Stage one includes analysis of quantitative data from an online survey of 43 Chilean reporters and editors from 27 established commercial and public service news outlets. The second stage includes a qualitative analysis of 20 semi-structured interviews with editors from 14 Chilean media organisations.

The main findings of the research reveal the normalisation of digital interaction technologies by news workers from a 'top-down' perspective that is consistent with the maintenance of a gatekeeping role (Hermida & Thurman, 2008) and the assigning of a

limited role for the audience. Chilean journalists concentrate their use of these tools mostly in the production and distribution of news, with limited utilisation in the feedback/follow up of stories. A number of routine journalistic practices and assessments of newsworthiness highlight problematic aspects in the utilisation of user-generated content (UGC), ‘citizen journalism’, and user feedback and comments. This situation contributes to a limited digital interaction with audiences, which is focused on commercial considerations rather than ‘participatory’ ideals. A growth in entertainment stories and the increasing use of Web and social media metrics to inform editorial decisions in news selection support this argument, suggesting the formation of a ‘secondary gatekeeping’ process (Singer, 2013) that strengthens tabloidisation trends in the Chilean news media.

Drawing on these findings, this thesis argues that the emergence of a ‘demotic turn’ (Turner, 2010) in news undercuts the social and political roles of Chilean journalism. This demotic turn is linked to a series of tensions in the Chilean media system originated in the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, including neoliberal economic policies that were deepened by subsequent democratic governments. This thesis concludes with a number of recommendations and suggestions aimed at maintaining the integrity of Chilean journalism and news as the challenges of the digital age unfold.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed:  Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation.
ANP	Asociación Nacional de la Prensa [national newspaper association].
ARCHI	Asociación de Radiodifusores de Chile [Chilean radio broadcasters association].
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation.
BNCh	Biblioteca Nacional de Chile [Chilean national library].
C13	Canal 13 (channel 13 television network).
CAQDAS	Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software.
CEP	Centro de Estudios Públicos [centre for public studies].
CHV	Chilevisión (television network).
CIPER	Centro de Investigación Periodística [centre for investigative journalism].
CMS	Content Management Systems.
CNTV	Consejo Nacional de Televisión [national television council].
CORFO	Corporación de Fomento de la Producción [Production development corporation (Chilean economic development agency)].
DTTV	Digital Terrestrial Television.
GII	Gender Inequality Index.
HDI	Human Development Index.
IABChile	Interactive Advertising Bureau Chile.
IHDI	Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index.
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas [national institute of statistics].
MUHREC	Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee.
NGO	Non-governmental organisation.
NITV	National Indigenous Television.

OECD	Organisation for Economic and Cooperation and Development.
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment.
PR	Public relations.
REUNA	Red Universitaria Nacional [national university network]
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service.
SEO	Search Engine Optimisation.
SUBTEL	Subsecretaría de Telecomunicaciones [sub secretary of telecommunications (Ministry of transport and telecommunications)].
TVN	Televisión Nacional de Chile [national television of Chile].
UGC	User-generated content.
UDP	Universidad Diego Portales [Diego Portales university].
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
URL	Uniform (or universal) resource locator (webpage address).
VTR	Video Tape Recorder.
WAN-IFRA	World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers.

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Introduction

Jorge Modinger, aged 63, works as a journalistic editor for the entertainment division of television channel *Canal 13* in Santiago de Chile. While he is not directly involved in a newsroom, Jorge has been a privileged witness to the historical transformations of the Chilean news media industry over the last 40 years. Jorge was journalistic editor for the variety show *Sábado Gigante* [Gigantic Saturday], a classic of Chilean and Latin American broadcasting television. The show aired for 50 years in Chile and across Latin America.¹ Jorge produced a segment for the show called *La Cámara Viajera* [the travelling camera], in which TV host Don Francisco travelled the world introducing tourist attractions and customs from more than 150 countries.² In this role, Modinger witnessed the technical evolution of Chilean television, from the early days in which footage was filmed and edited in celluloid, to the introduction of digitisation and Digital Terrestrial Television (DTTV). To Jorge Modinger, technological change revolutionised television production, allowing live reports from distant locations and facilitating the editing process for journalists.³ However, for him, technological advances in image capture pale in comparison to the substantial changes in work routines triggered by the Internet. According to Modinger, until the mid-1990s when he worked for *La Cámara Viajera*, documentation for every trip abroad was carried out by requesting information from embassies and then going to libraries to consult encyclopaedias:

It was the only way to get information about every country, to know what was remarkable thirty years ago. Today, instead of flipping through the pages of a book (...), you have everything one click away.

(J. Modinger, personal communication, 17 December, 2013)

This aspect of content production may now seem trivial, but for Jorge it is representative of the “significant changes that have expedited journalistic work” in Chile over the last

two decades (J. Modinger, personal communication, 17 December, 2013). Having information “one click away” has accelerated journalists’ news gathering practices, granting access to a volume of information never seen before. And this increasing volume of available information includes content generated and shared by active members of the audience according to their particular interests and tastes.

Technological change – especially digitisation, the Internet and the rise of social media – have contributed to important transformations in the news media industry. The falling circulation of newspapers in many countries (including Chile) and the redistribution of advertising market share to digital platforms have fed a crisis in the traditional business model of news media (Freedman, 2010). As the shutdown of many printed news outlets around the ‘Western world’⁴ proves, newspapers are failing to maintain their revenue base and are struggling to survive (Hirst, 2011: 11-12).

These changes are leading to transformations in the profession of journalism. The modern paradigm of the 19th and 20th centuries (Allan, 2010; Schudson, 2011) is being replaced by a ‘state of flux’ at the beginning of the 21st century that may lead to a ‘new paradigm’ of journalism (Preston, 2009). Increased commercialisation has been observed (Hirst, 2011; Schudson, 2011; Turner, 1999, 2010; Preston, 2009; Hallin & Mancini, 2012). Phenomena such as ‘tabloidisation’ and ‘infotainment’, and the rise of user-generated content (UGC), are raising important questions about the function and professional roles of journalists (Deuze, 2008; Bruns, 2008, 2011a; Hermida, 2010; Turner, 2010). While considerable scholarship has attempted to address these transformations in the newsrooms of the US and Europe (Quandt *et al.*, 2006; Domingo, 2008; Domingo *et al.*, 2008; Steensen, 2009; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008; Metykova, 2008; Loke, 2012), there is comparatively little research on Chile and the Latin American context.

Concerns about the function and the professional role of journalists in the digital age relate to two major developments. On the one hand, ‘hard’ news and current affairs – seen traditionally as the *important* forms of news in the operation of liberal democracies – have a reduced presence and importance in current media consumption patterns. Many British and US journalists and scholars have serious concerns about “the legitimacy of the professional status” of the journalist, which is relevant on the exercise of a “public responsibility” in a public sphere that appears to be in retreat (Allan, 2010: 43). Journalists are said to be failing in their ‘watchdog’ role against abuses, especially by the economic elites (Preston, 2009). On the other hand, the relationship between journalists – traditionally seen as ‘gatekeepers’ – and their audiences is changing (Bruns, 2008, 2011a; Hermida, 2010). The boundaries between content producers and content consumers are blurring as users play more participatory roles in the production, consumption, and distribution of news because of social media, mobile phones, and the Internet (Gillmor, 2004; Schudson, 2011).

However, there is little or no consensus about the outcomes of these technological shifts. While some authors are concerned about a ‘dumbing down’ of the quality of news (see the reviews about this issue performed by Turner, 1999, and Harrington, 2008), others remark on the ‘democratising’ potential of the popular press and so-called ‘Web 2.0’ technologies (Örnebring & Jönsson, 2004; Gimmler, 2001). In this regard, the work of Australian cultural studies scholar Graeme Turner (2010) is significant. Turner describes an increasing ‘demotic turn’ in the media, and calls for a redefinition of journalism as “the merging of news, entertainment and opinion within a format that also invites, enables and responds to audience participation” (Turner, 2010: 95).

These debates are far from over, although there is widespread agreement that technological changes have increased pressure on journalists and their newsrooms (Preston, 2009; Deuze, 2008). These pressures are resulting in economic outcomes such as increased competition and lower returns, translating into staff reductions or lower wages for journalists (Freedman, 2010). But they also affect journalists' work routines, including the need for multi-skilling, increased workloads because of 24/7 news streams, faster production leading to a lack of double-checking, challenges in source verification, and fewer journalists gathering information outside of the newsroom (Fenton, 2010). Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the changes produced by the interaction of technological change, journalism, and news media. One way to do so is by researching how digital technologies and user interaction affect journalism cultures; that is, the "particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful" (Hanitzsch, 2007: 369).

Journalism cultures and technological change

Traditional approaches to the role of the journalism and the news media have led to a Western-centric vision of journalism, which often fails to account for developments outside of the US and European conceptualisations of media systems and realities (Park & Curran, 2005; Hallin & Mancini, 2011; Waisbord, 2013b). A related problem has taken root in Latin America. In response to a Western-centric bias, scholarship produced since the 1960s and 1970s in Latin America sometimes manifested an ideological bias rooted in the logic of the Cold War. Journalism education taught in Chilean and other Latin American journalism schools or faculties has often tried to force facts to fit political-normative beliefs. The Propaganda Model (Herman & Chomsky, 1988) and the Communication for Development (Martin-Barbero, 1992) approaches have been popular. However, journalism differs even in societies that share similar cultural and historical

roots, such as in the Latin American region (for instance, colonialism between the 16th and the 19th centuries, right-wing authoritarian regimes across the continent between the 1960s and the 1980s, and economic underdevelopment during much of the 20th century). While Latin American countries, including Chile, share common roots, they are different in terms of political structures, economic models, population size and composition, market characteristics, and cultural assets, making it difficult to talk about a single ‘Latin American media system’ or ‘Latin American journalism’ (de Albuquerque, 2013). As Levi Obijiofor and Folker Hanusch (2011) maintain:

Journalists operate in human societies, and consequently, how journalism is practised and the degree of freedom and autonomy that journalists exercise are affected by the existing technological, social, economic, political, cultural and legal frameworks and contexts in a globalised world.

(Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011: 1)

This point is necessary to keep in mind in the Latin American case, despite scholarship produced in the West that tends to treat the region as *one big country* south of the US. Addressing this, authors such as Obijiofor and Hanusch (2011) and Barbie Zelizer (2005) defend the study of journalism as cultures, as a way of avoiding Western-centric visions and acknowledging the many differences in how journalism is practised across the world. Levi Obijiofor and Folker Hanusch (2011) state their interest in the expression of ‘journalism cultures’ instead of ‘journalism’, as the latter suggests a rigid conceptualisation of journalism while global journalism studies emphasise a “growing fascination for knowledge of journalistic cultures and conventions around the world” (2011: 3). Zelizer (2005) suggests that journalism cultures offer a more “porous, relative, non-judgemental and flexible” view of journalism (2005: 211). Consistent with this perspective, recent research on journalism has been increasingly focused on local

developments around the world, as the understanding of the local characteristics of journalism helps to create a fuller understanding of news cultures as a whole.

An example of the type of research described here is the cross-national 'Worlds of Journalism' study by Hanitzsch *et al.*, (2011). This study mapped and compared the characteristics of national journalism cultures from 18 countries, including Chile (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011: 274-275). The findings suggest that while some 'universal' values such as detachment, impartiality and neutrality are common standards for journalists around the world, other notions such as objectivity vary between different countries according to their own social, economic and cultural contexts (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011). Their study is a good starting point for further research, as it operationalises elements that constitute a journalistic culture and the social roles journalists acknowledge as part of their profession.

In the context of the US and Europe, extensive scholarship has investigated journalism cultures and the changes brought by technological change, including online news cultures. Some of the available findings document the differences between diverse national news cultures concerning the role of the journalist and levels of professionalisation (Quandt *et al.*, 2006). For instance, Hermida and Thurman (2008) describe the incorporation of UGC into UK news outlets, finding that journalists try to maintain their traditional gatekeeping role. Domingo (2008) suggests that inertia in the cultures of European online newsrooms is preventing them from leveraging the 'ideals of interactivity'. Domingo *et al.*, (2008) conclude that news organisations interpret online user participation mainly as an opportunity for their readers to debate current events, while still limiting their participation in other stages of news production.

Other studies detail how newsroom work cultures, the role of management, the relevance of new technologies, and forward-thinking individuals are determining the levels of innovation in online newsrooms (Steensen, 2009). Existing newsroom structures, work routines and professional beliefs, rather than a professional unwillingness to open up the news production process to user contributions, are contributing to the ‘sluggish’ development of participatory journalism (Paulussen & Ugille, 2008). Metykova (2008) describes the perception among European journalists about the shift towards audience participation in journalistic practices and formats, and their sense of increasing disconnection from the public. Loke (2012) focused on how US journalists balance their responsibilities and the vision they have for online newsreaders’ comments, as “they learn to navigate unguided through this new electronic landscape” (Loke, 2012: 233). These studies are examples from the extensive scholarship on online news cultures in the developed economies of the West. However, as already mentioned, there is comparatively little scholarship on many other regions around the world, especially countries in Latin America.

Journalism cultures and technological change outside the Western world

Recent research (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2010; Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011; Mellado *et al.*, 2012; Mellado, 2011, 2012; Mellado & Humanes, 2012) has addressed Chilean journalism cultures, characterising them as fitting “the group of developing countries and transitional democracies, of which some tend to be non-democratic” (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011: 288). Yet, there is a gap in the scholarship around recent developments concerning journalism cultures and technological change. Some Chilean studies focus on new phenomena, such as citizen journalism (Pellegrini, 2010a; Puente & Grassau, 2011; Puente, Grassau, & Saavedra, 2011), or the use of social networks by Chilean youth in protest movements (Condeza Dall’Orso, 2009; Valenzuela, Arriagada, & Scherman, 2012). However,

Chilean online news cultures remain relatively unexplored, especially in relation to journalists' practices and beliefs, particularly in the context of technological change and audience interaction in established news media organisations.

Contemporary developments in Chilean journalism and news media are often under-investigated. Chilean online news cultures are only present in research when they are lumped together with other countries of the region in the relatively few Latin American studies that have undertaken (Cobos, 2010; Cabrera & Bernal, 2012; Said & Arcila, 2011; Bachmann & Harlow, 2012). Mainly via content analysis, these studies offer a good overview of the development of the technological features of multimedia and interaction in established news media outlets, "in a region largely ignored in scholarly research" (Bachmann & Harlow, 2012: 228). However, these studies do not offer a more comprehensive analysis of the journalism cultures that exist around journalistic practices and user interaction. Thus, Ingrid Bachmann and Summer Harlow (2012) suggest the necessity for qualitative research that taps into "newsroom practices, editorial policies, and the gatekeeping decisions" that underpin the extent to which news media organisations allow user participation (Bachmann & Harlow, 2012: 228). This is a point emphasised by this thesis.

Research question and objectives

This thesis aims to identify the characteristics of Chilean journalism and news media following the adoption of user-generated content (UGC) and online mechanisms for user feedback and interaction. Drawing on Chilean journalists working for a range of media outlets, the study responds to the following research question:

What are journalists' practices and beliefs about audience feedback, UGC and interaction through digital technologies in Chilean newsrooms?

This study also pursues a number of subsidiary research objectives:

1. Analyse how and why Chilean journalists integrate these technologies into their work routines;
2. Examine the purposes, strategies, and mechanisms of audience and user interaction in Chilean news media, and;
3. Outline the roles assigned by journalists to their audiences through digital interaction mechanisms.

By investigating the journalism cultures – that is the practices and beliefs articulated through news work – that sit behind the adoption of such new technologies in the Chilean newsroom, this study aims to determine what roles journalists assign to their audience (Hartley, 1987; Mikosza, 2003). The knowledge of the role assigned to the audience through digitally enhanced interaction and feedback will help to determine if journalists are assuming new professional roles and outline the role of news media in the digital age.

To achieve these goals, a mixed method research design (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Creswell, 2009) has been implemented. The research has involved an online survey of 47 reporters and editors, and semi-structured interviews with 20 editors. By including the views “from below” and “from above” (Ang, 1991: 95) in the newsroom hierarchies, this approach seeks to produce a rounded understanding of uses and challenges associated with online media tools in Chilean newsrooms.

Significance of the study

The significance of this study is how it outlines the relationships between technological change, journalism, and news media at this particular point in Chilean history. The study of specific features of Chilean news media, such as the use of and beliefs about digital

feedback and interaction tools among journalists and editors, allows a deeper understanding of the dynamics of journalism as a professional activity.

The Chilean case offers a privileged opportunity to research journalism cultures in a country with unique characteristics. First, Chile has one of the healthiest economies in Latin America and a solid democracy in terms of governance (Mellado, 2012). Its economic development is reflected in strong macroeconomic figures (BTI Project, 2012a) but also in its Internet penetration and usage statistics. Chile enjoys the second highest Internet penetration rate (87%) in Latin America (Pew Research Center, 19 March 2015), with the fourth largest penetration of Facebook (90.7%) and the sixteenth largest penetration of Twitter (13.8%) in the world in 2010 (comScore, 2011). However, this technological development is not reflected in the available scholarship about Chilean journalism and news media. Second, Chile faces serious challenges in terms of social development, many of these rooted in its recent authoritarian past. Chile has high rates of inequality in wealth distribution and, in recent years, has experienced difficulties in public education, the rights of ethnic and sexual minorities, and citizen distrust of social and political institutions, as demonstrated by recent public protest movements (Salazar, 2012; Cancino, 2013; Fernández, 2013; de la Cuadra, 2009). As discussed in Chapter Two, these tensions – many of them originating in the neoliberal policies of Dictator Augusto Pinochet (1973-1989) and continued by subsequent democratic governments – have permeated the Chilean media system and its news cultures. Despite having a pronounced market orientation, Chilean journalism is categorised as part of a group of ‘transitional’, ‘developing’ and ‘non-democratic’ countries (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011), raising concerns about its high levels of media market concentration (Palacios, 2002; Mastrini & Becerra, 2011; González, 2008), tabloidisation trends (Consejo Nacional de Televisión [CNTV], 2011, 2012b; Pellegrini, 2010b), and even levels of press freedom (Karlekar & Dunham,

2012). These contradictions make Chile a useful case study that provides insights into larger questions about technological change, journalism, news media, and the public sphere.

By researching journalism cultures and interactive digital technologies in this particular setting, this study reduces a gap in the existing literature about journalistic cultures and technological change in a country that remains relatively unexplored by journalism scholarship. A key contribution of this thesis is to provide empirically grounded knowledge of technological change and the practices and beliefs of journalists and editors across the different stages of the news cycle. The mixed methods approach implemented in this thesis enables ‘thicker descriptions’ (Holloway, 1997) of Chilean journalism cultures, which are deepened by the analysis of the Chilean media system and its socio-economic and political context. This thesis helps ‘de-westernise’ (Park & Curran, 2005) understandings of the journalistic profession and how the technological shift affects the news media as a whole.

Chapter overview

This thesis is organised in six chapters. Chapter One summarises the review of relevant literature for this study, focusing on journalism, news cultures, and the discussion of their roles in the current news ecology. Addressing issues of technological change, and the challenges of user-generated content and citizen journalism for journalism and news media organisations, the chapter examines recent scholarship about the role of journalism in the public sphere and how recent technological features challenge journalistic practices and beliefs, including the traditional gatekeeping role.

Chapter Two presents the Chilean context, outlining the political and economic settings of Chile, its media system and journalism cultures. First, it examines the recent political and economic context of the country, which influences its media system. The second part of the chapter analyses the Chilean media system following the framework of Hallin and Mancini (2004), complemented by Roudakova (2012), de Albuquerque (2012), and Guerrero and Márquez-Ramírez (2014). This section argues that the Chilean media system corresponds to a mixed media model, characterised by a strong economic (rather than political) parallelism between the media and the political-economic elites. The third and final part of the chapter analyses Chilean journalism cultures and their adoption of new digital technologies. This section argues that Chilean journalism cultures are consistent with those of transitional regimes and describes the adoption of Internet and digital interaction technologies by Chilean news media.

Chapter Three presents the research methods used in this study. It argues that, from a pragmatic approach, a mixed method research design is the best methodology for the research objectives of this thesis. The chapter describes the sample rationale utilised, and the two stages of the research design – a quantitative online survey of journalists and editors, and a qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews with Chilean editors from established news media organisations.

Chapters Four to Six present the findings of the two stages of this research. Chapter Four focuses on the quantitative findings, addressing the evaluation and uses of digital interaction technologies by Chilean journalists through the three stages of the news cycle. Chapter Five and Six focus on the qualitative findings of this thesis, providing insights from editors about the utilisation of digital interaction technologies in newsrooms,

including their affordances, constraints, and the unresolved tensions they present across the news cycle.

Chapter Seven discusses the emergence of a ‘demotic turn’ (Turner, 2010) in Chilean journalism. The chapter also presents some reasons for optimism about resistance to this demotic turn within Chilean journalism cultures.

The Conclusion of this thesis summarises the overall findings, suggesting the maintenance of a gatekeeping role for journalists and a limited role for audiences. It also presents the implications for the theoretical framework, as well as a series of future directions for research. Recommendations are presented to improve Chilean journalism and news media in ways that take advantage of technological innovations, while also defending the integrity of their social role.

The structure proposed for this thesis aims to guide the reader through the discussion of the issues of technological change, news media, journalism, and their role in the public sphere in a country with special characteristics. The next chapter starts this journey, offering a review of relevant literature that helps to situate the discussion and arguments presented by thesis.

Notes

¹ *Sábado Gigante* holds the Guinness World Record for the longest running variety TV show (Guinness World Records, 2012). Produced by Chilean *Canal 13* since its first episode in August 1962, the show successfully moved to Miami in the US in 1986. Since then, it has been produced by Latino channel *Univision* and broadcast to 43 countries, mainly in Latin America. Its host, Chilean presenter Mario Kreutzberger, known for his screen name “Don Francisco”, is the one of the most influential Hispanic celebrities in the US and received his own star in the Hollywood Walk of Fame in 2001. In Chile, *Sábado Gigante*'s episodes lasted more than seven hours during the 1970s and 1980s, reaching rating figures of 80% of the audience share. However, the international version of the show stopped representing Chilean idiosyncrasies, resulting in progressive disengagement by Chilean audiences. Very low rating figures led the show to stop airing in 2012 in Chile (Catenacci, 6 August, 2012; El Mostrador, 20 December, 2012; 24 Horas.cl, 20 December, 2012). Recently, *Univision* announced the show will be definitively cancelled in the US in September 2015 (Univision, 17 April, 2015).

² The appeal of these segments was the prohibitively expensive costs of travelling overseas for the vast majority of Chilean population.

³ Jorge Modinger (personal communication, 17 December, 2013) mentions as important technological advances the first portable video systems in Chilean television in 1976, the introduction of VTR and compact video editors during the 1980s, and the introduction of microwave and satellite links and computerised video editors in the 1990s, among others.

⁴ Although there are risks in clustering different countries and their socio-political, economic, and media characteristics together, in this thesis the terms ‘Western’ and ‘the West’ are used to denominate media traditions and scholarship centred in developed countries including the US, Europe, and Australia. This term, though inexact, works in opposition to the so-called ‘global South’ (Waisbord, 2013b), which includes Latin American, African, Asian, and Pacific countries outside Australia and New Zealand.

Chapter 1

Technological change and news cultures: New roles for journalism and news media in the digital age?

As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, digitisation, Web 2.0 platforms, and mobile technologies have impacted journalism and the news media (Hirst, 2011; Jenkins, 2006). Translating into new consumption habits by the audience, technological change is challenging the practices and conceptions of journalism that were often taken for granted in the Western world throughout much of the 20th century (Allan, 2010). These conceptions include the ‘watchdog’ role of the media and the ‘social mission’ of journalism in democratic societies, and the gatekeeping role of journalists who sit between societal institutions and the public (Schudson, 2011; Habermas, 1989; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

An extensive body of scholarship addresses the many challenges that technology poses for journalism in the digital age (Gans, 2003; Bruns, 2008, 2011a). This chapter examines literature focused on the intersection of technological change, journalism, and news cultures, and discusses the concepts used in this study. These concepts connect to debates about (i) user-generated content (UGC), citizen journalism, and the effects of technological change; (ii) the public sphere and the role of journalism and media in the digital era, and; (iii) technological change and its effects on journalism cultures, beliefs and practices.

Online journalism, news media and technological change

Journalism and news media have been intimately connected to communication and media technologies since their beginning. Every major technological advance – from movable

type and telegraphy to radio and television – has produced concerns about the future of the journalistic profession and the news media industry. However, the ‘revolution’ triggered by digital and networked technologies appears particularly significant. Recent effects of technological change on journalism and news media can be summarised into two broad and mutually-reinforcing areas. On the one hand, news production has shifted with new relations between journalists, their sources and the audience. This has effected journalistic work, making news work easier and sources more accessible, but also undermining many traditional journalistic beliefs and practices (Deuze, 2008; Bruns, 2008). On the other hand, technological change has an impact on news consumption, with a wider, multi-platform, multimedia and more interactive supply of news to the audience. News is more accessible, ‘24/7’, cheaper to publish online, and available from a wider range of suppliers, which can make it harder for news outlets to reach larger audiences in a crowded news ecology (Bruns, 2011a). These changes have led cultural studies scholar Henry Jenkins to suggest that we are living within a ‘convergence culture’ that involves a “cultural shift as consumers are encouraged to seek out new information and make connections among dispersed media content” (Jenkins, 2006: 3).

Sociologist Michael Schudson describes this situation as “the first news revolution of the 21st century”, arguing that “everything we thought we once knew about journalism needs to be rethought in the digital age” (Schudson 2011: 205). Schudson suggests that there is currently a “crisis in the boundaries of journalism”, which can be broadly described as the *blurring* of six dimensions:

- 1) “the line between reader and writer”;
- 2) “the distinction among different platforms and formats”;
- 3) “the line between professional and amateur production”;
- 4) “the boundaries delineating for-profit, public, and non-profit media”;

- 5) “the line between the newsroom and the business office in commercial organisations”, and;
- 6) “the line between old media and new media”.

(Schudson, 2011: 207-217)

These *blurrings* have effected the traditional routines and beliefs of journalists in the newsroom. A new social practice, ‘online journalism’, involving “the creation and delivery of news content through a networked, digital medium” (Singer, 2008: para. 1), has its own place in the news ecology. However, the blurring described by Schudson makes it difficult to talk about ‘online journalism’ and ‘online media’ since practically all media are on the Internet. In many cases, online media *are* the media in the contemporary world.

Irrespective of the chosen term, there is consensus that this is “a different age” for news (Hirst, 2011: 26). Developments have led scholars to outline new business models for the news media industry (Krueger, Van der Beek & Swatman, 2004; Del Águila-Obra, Padilla-Meléndez & Serarols-Tarrés, 2007), the integration of multimedia and new forms of narrative (Robinson, 2009a, 2009b), and new forms of interaction and audience participation and their effects on journalism and news media (Woo-Young, 2005; Domingo *et al.*, 2008; Harrison, 2010; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Hermida, 2010; Jönsson & Örnebring, 2011; Loke, 2012; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008; Singer, 2005; Steensen, 2009; Vujnovic *et al.*, 2010).

However, as journalism scholar Martin Hirst argues, many approaches to the effects of technological change on journalism often reflect a ‘techno-determinism’. Technology is assigned a power to provoke social and cultural changes which technology does not have by itself, removing social relations from the analysis (Hirst, 2011: 25). It is necessary to

emphasise that technologies exist within a determining set of social relations, and they are developed and used in ways that “both reflect and [are] intended to reproduce that social formation, even as certain conditions of that formation change” (Artz, 2006; cited by Hirst, 2011: 25-26). For instance, Schudson (2011) suggests that the challenges of US print journalism did not start with the Internet. Before that, young people were already not reading newspapers to the same extent as their elders. The crisis started with newspaper chains, concentration of ownership, and a lack of concern for particularities of local communities. Still, the Internet is seen as important because it threatens the newspaper’s survival, and because “it is also a central factor in constructing a new model of what journalism can be” (Schudson, 2011: 225-226). This ‘new model’, according to authors such as Herbert Gans (2003) and Axel Bruns (2005, 2008, 2011a, 2011b), has to do with opening journalism to user participation.

User-generated content and ‘citizen journalism’

One of the most studied and debated features of technological change has to do with the online participation of audiences in news media. From the very beginnings of newspapers, news organisations have invited audiences to comment through letters to the editor (Schudson, 2011: 207). However, it is through the likes of blogging and social media that the phenomenon of audience participation achieved its current importance.

As Bachmann and Harlow (2012: 119) summarise, scholars have tried to define content from non-professional journalists under terms such as ‘citizen journalism’, ‘para-journalism’, ‘public journalism’, ‘user-generated content’, and ‘collaborative journalism’ (Thurman, 2008; Vujnovic *et al.*, 2010; Gans, 2003). However, the two expressions used frequently in relation to these developments are user-generated content (UGC) and ‘citizen journalism’.

Journalism scholar Jackie Harrison, through a study of the BBC, identifies four categories of UGC: forms of “unsolicited news stories”, forms of “solicited content for specific extant news stories”, forms of “expeditious content for specific items and features’, and forms of “audience watchdog content” (Harrison, 2010: 244). She supports a clear distinction that BBC news workers make between UGC and citizen journalism. The first is defined as “where the audience does it for the BBC” and the latter as “where the audience does it for themselves” (2010: 255). As Harrison states, “this is by no means accepted by all and other distinctions and definitions are made” (2010: 255).

For the purpose of this study, I propose a similar distinction, defining user-generated content as:

the forms and spaces of solicited or unsolicited audience participation in news media content encouraged or provided by established news outlets through digital technologies, including user’s comments, forums, email, Facebook pages and profiles, Twitter accounts, and so on.

In contrast, “citizen journalism” is defined as:

spaces created and administrated by amateur or professional journalists from non-established or independent media, including blogs, citizen journalism websites, Indy-media, and social networking sites. These spaces include opportunities for users’ comments, forums, email, and assorted forms of audience feedback.

This approach is helpful in distinguishing the different features of ‘established’ and ‘independent’ news outlets, as well as forms of collaborative ‘pro-am’ (professional + amateur) news, as exemplified by the phenomena of ‘crowdsourcing’ (Schudson 2011: 211-212).

This study focus on ‘established’ news media outlets, which are defined for the purposes of this thesis as:

commercial and public news media organisations – print, broadcast, and/or online – that employ primarily professional journalists in news production and target a mass audience.

Established news outlets are characterised by the professional character of their content production, targeting a mass audience, and have a primary focus on objective-based news, which differentiates these organisations from ‘citizen journalism’, independent (‘Indy’), and ‘alternative’ news media (as well as other forms of professional and amateur opinion driven blogging). ‘Alternative’ news media, instead, are “produced outside mainstream media institutions and networks” (Atton & Couldry, 2003: 579), assuming a critical stance (often from political and activist viewpoints) that “questions dominative society” (Fuchs, 2010: 174). Without detracting from the importance of alternative and citizen news media, established news media outlets are of special significance in the Chilean case, as they are the most popular and consumed media by Chilean audiences on the Internet (Alexa, 2012).

Both UGC and online citizen journalism have raised multiple concerns among professional journalists and media scholars. These developments are reshaping the relationship between journalists, news media and their audiences (Allan, 2010: 10), and are part of the crisis of the boundaries of journalism described by Schudson (2011). A considerable amount of scholarship has attempted to explain the reach of this phenomenon, approaching it from two viewpoints. The first centres on the democratic potential of UGC and its role in the public sphere (Woo-Young, 2005; Jouët, 2009; Gimmler, 2001; Jönsson & Örnebring, 2011; Ruiz *et al.*, 2011). The second has to do with changes in the practices and beliefs of news workers about the adoption and use of

UGC in established news media (Quandt *et al.*, 2006; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Schmitz & De Macedo, 2009; Domingo, 2008, Domingo *et al.*, 2008; Steensen, 2009; Metykova, 2008; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008; Hermans, Schaap, & Bardoel, 2014; Loke, 2012). Both approaches attempt to account for different aspects of the same question about the ways technological change is involved in alterations of the role of journalism and media in society.

The public sphere and the role of journalism and news media in the digital era

Debates about the role of journalism and the media have accompanied the evolution of social and political institutions throughout their history (Allan, 2010). The work of sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1989) and his notion of the ‘the public sphere’ represents a turning point in the conceptualisation of the social and political role of the media in liberal democracies.

In analysing the evolution of modernity, Habermas proposed the notion of a ‘bourgeois public sphere’ as a space claimed for citizens, from and against public authorities to engage in a rational public debate over “the general rules governing relations in the basically privatised but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labour” (Habermas 1989: 27). Following media scholar Stuart Allan’s account of Habermas’ ideas, what emerged from coffee houses in the 17th century “as a neutral space situated between the state and the market relations of the official economy” reached its highest point at the beginning of the 19th century, giving birth to the idea of public opinion (Allan, 2010: 15). As the bourgeoisie grew in economic and political importance, the early press assumed the inheritance of the coffee houses as a ‘marketplace’ for ideas. That is, the press was a site which satisfied the conditions for “the formation of diverse

opinions”, their circulation, and the challenge of “the rationality of institutional decision-making processes”. ‘General interest’ became the criterion to judge this rationality:

Journalism, as a result, was charged with the crucial role of ensuring that these individuals were able to draw upon a diverse spectrum of information sources to sustain their views, a responsibility which placed it at the centre of public life.

(Allan, 2010: 15)

However, Habermas criticises the evolution of journalism and news media as the main representatives of the public sphere. Participation, Habermas maintains, has been traditionally “restricted to relative elites, namely the propertied and educated (and thus primarily white males) members of society” (Allan, 2010: 15). Habermas argues the “liberal model sufficiently approximates reality so that the interests of the bourgeois class could be identified with the general interest” and, therefore, public sphere had credibility “as the organisational principle of the bourgeois constitutional state” (Habermas, 1989: 87). As Allan explains, the public sphere – while facilitating the formation of public opinion – “makes democratic control over governing relations possible” (Allan, 2010: 15).

Habermas’ notion of the public sphere is consistent with other traditional normative assumptions about the ‘social mission’ or ‘the social role of journalism’ and news media in ‘liberal’ and ‘democratic’ models of media. Journalism is a ‘fourth estate’ that smooths the functioning of the other three institutions and a ‘watchdog’ that guards against government abuses of power. Moreover, these theoretical frameworks continue to influence accounts of a general decline in the quality of news media and a failure of journalism to provide adequate information to citizens. Habermas suggests that electronic media, and especially television, have contributed to the rapid decline of the public sphere by dismantling the conditions of ‘rational-critical debate’ through commercialisation of

mass communication networks. He argues that the public sphere has been “re-feudalised” by transforming active citizens into consumers and by excluding them from participation in public debate and processes of decision-making in any meaningful way (Allan, 2010: 15-16).

Revisiting the ideas of media scholar Daniel Hallin, Graeme Turner (2010) suggests that the legitimacy of the news media as a fourth estate has declined “as the news industries have operated more and more like conventional commercial businesses”. This process has led to the erosion of the once “axiomatic” principle of structural independence of news media from “other realms of commerce or business”, which used to ensure “political independence” for their important ‘watchdog’ role (2010: 74). Here, the rise of citizen journalism, ‘pro-am’ journalism, and UGC can be considered as a response:

to what has become a widely held view that the mainstream media have lost their connection to the community, that they have become too closely affiliated with big business and that the cultural and social authority once invested in the figure of the independent journalist is no longer justified.

(Turner, 2010: 73)

The concerns about commercialisation of the news media are closely related to the debate about ‘tabloidisation’ (Harrington, 2008; Johansson, 2008), a common expression in media scholarship that attempts to encapsulate wide ranging developments in the journalistic profession and the news media industries. The term ‘tabloidisation’ describes a phenomenon where the values, contents and forms that characterise journalism practised in ‘tabloid’ newspapers have spread to other media formats. It has been used to express concerns about “an overall decrease in journalistic standards” (Kurtz, 1993: 143), through the spread of ‘soft news’ (such as human interest, sport, scandal, celebrity, curiosity, and entertainment stories) to the detriment of ‘hard news’ (politics, economics and currents

affairs) in the ‘serious’ press (Johansson, 2008: 403). The term reflects a critique of a ‘dumbing down’ in the quality of the news (Harrington, 2008), which is seen as dangerous for the public sphere and the functioning of liberal democracies. The news media, traditionally regarded as guardians of the “democratic practices by providing information on matters of public interest”, are now perceived as diverting audiences away from “what it is important to function as citizens” (Johansson, 2008: 403). This situation is underpinned by an increasing turn “to entertainment and the realm of private affairs” and the reduction of the provision of “enough wide-ranging analyses and debates about current affairs” to the public (Johansson, 2008: 403). These concerns, as analysed in Chapter Two, are also reflected in the Chilean case, where an increased turn to gossip, reality-TV, and soft news in television and newspapers has been criticised. These problems also connect to a growing citizen distrust in journalism and the media (Centro de Estudios Públicos [CEP], 2015) because of their alleged bias, a lack of pluralism, and the misrepresentation of minorities in the Chilean news media (Pardo *et al.*, 2010).

Some scholars, however, reject pessimistic accounts of the news and journalism. Schudson (2011) criticises exaggerated concerns about commercialisation and the dumbing down of news. He suggests the ‘corruption’ of commercial motives is “just part of the story”:

News has grown deeper, more investigative, less deferential, more critical, more attuned to interests of women and minorities, more likely to stray from politics and economics to science, medicine, education, family, sexuality, religion, and other topics once largely ignored by mainstream news media. Are we worse off for these changes?

(Schudson 2011: 106)

These positive outcomes lead some to praise the democratic potential of the popular press to democratise society. Henrik Örnebring and Anna Maria Jönsson (2004) have defended

its value to subvert the elitist framing of the world produced by the ‘serious press’, even improving literacy levels within the working classes. Örnebring and Jönsson maintain that “emotionalism, sensation and simplification are not *necessarily* opposed to serving the public good” (2004: 284, emphasis in the original), while other scholars such as Catharine Lumby have suggested that the popular press are creating a “new, more open and egalitarian public sphere in the commercial, social and cultural sense” (Lumby, 1999: 38).

The democratic potential to enhance the public sphere has been also investigated in relation to the phenomena of user-generated content and citizen journalism. Antje Gimmler (2001), for example, discusses how the Internet fits into the concept of public sphere and influences the quality of political debates, emphasising the important role it can play in the political process. Chang Woo-Young (2005) accounts for the way online media facilitate the formation of public opinion and civic engagement in South Korea. Similarly, Josiane Jouët (2009) describes the interactions between French online users of popular and civic blogs as new forms of political and social critique, which results in novel means of public engagement and contributes to the shaping of a new civic and social forms (2009: 59). In the case of Chile, Condeza Dall’ Orso (2009) describes the use of the Web 2.0 as potential enhancer of a new public sphere by young protesters during the organisation and communication of the 2006 public demonstrations against educational reforms.

However, it is important to recognise the potential of UGC and citizen journalism for democratic enhancement has been refuted by recent empirical research. Jönsson and Örnebring (2011) examined the relationship between media and readers in online newspapers in Sweden and the UK, looking at the degree of participation and the type of

content. Their findings suggest that “direct user involvement in news production is minimal” (2011: 127) and that users “are mostly empowered to create popular culture-oriented content and personal/everyday life-oriented content rather than news/informational content” (2011: 140). They also suggest that there is a “clear political economy of UGC” as it informs a vision of “users-as-consumers” and “is part of a context of consumption” (Jöhnsson & Örnebring, 2011: 140). Vujnovic *et al.*, (2010) affirm this case. The adoption of participatory journalism by European news media are driven by the economic motivations of branding, building traffic, and keeping up with or beating the competition (the ‘bandwagon effect’). Several studies, such as those performed by Domingo (2008), Domingo *et al.*, (2008), Paulussen and Ugille (2008), and Metykova (2008) also confirm the reluctance of European news media to expand online user participation in the course of news production, other than the comments features or ‘vox pops’ (Hermans *et al.*, 2014).

In *The Myth of the Digital Democracy*, Mathew Hindman (2009) offers a sharp refutation of the supposed role of digital and networked technologies in the process of democratic enhancement. He shows there are significant barriers to the creation of ‘participatory’ media cultures. Only a small fraction of the world population is connected to the Internet. A small fraction of connected people participate by giving their opinion (mainly young, highly-educated professionals) in a few blogs and spaces for comments in news media. Moreover, a small section of those active participants define the topics and modes of social conversation. Recent scholarship (Brake, 2014; Bobkowski & Smith, 2013; Van Deursen & Van Dijk, 2014) confirms many of Hindman’s arguments, outlining that age, education level, income, and technological skills shape a digital divide that hampers the participatory potential of UGC, social media, and online media.

The demotic turn

Criticising the term ‘tabloidisation’ as “too baggy, imprecise and value-laden to be of any use” (Turner, 1999: 70), cultural studies scholar Graeme Turner (2010) analyses contemporary news and current affairs and offers a compelling response to the issues discussed in the previous section. He calls into question the possibility of keeping “the notion that the media should bear some kind of social or community responsibility” (Turner, 2010: 2). Turner suggests it is now difficult to explain the function of the media as a fourth estate, helping in the construction of the citizen or as “a means for enabling the proper functioning of the democratic state” (Turner, 2010: 2). Turner suggests that the function of the news media needs to be explained in relation to several new assumptions. One of the most original is the idea that social, economic, cultural, and especially technological changes have shifted the role of the media. No longer characterised as a ‘mediating apparatus’, news media are “apparatus with their own [commercial] interests” and “their own use of power” (Turner 2010: 20-21). In this regard, Turner (2010: 31-32) remarks on the importance of understanding the functions of new media forms (reality TV, user-generated content, social networks, talkback radio, and those consistent with a ‘tabloid culture’) for their participants, as well as for more passive consumers. These functions, he suggests, are:

the signs of an expanded role for a comprehensively commercialised media in constructing cultural identities through new, often participatory and interactive, forms of entertainment across a broad range of media platforms and formats.

(Turner 2010: 32)

Turner coins the term ‘demotic turn’ to characterise a globalised trend through which the media has expanded its presence in the life of ordinary people in their contents, “through celebrity culture, reality TV, DIY websites, talk radio and the like” (2010: 2). These forms offer the illusion of democratic inclusion and the participation of audiences. In the case

of the news media, this turn is characterised by the increasing transformation of news into entertainment, as a strategy to offer more appealing products for the audience and gain their attention (Turner, 2010: 91). The pervasiveness of this trend leads Turner to describe the rise of the so-called ‘information age’ as more of an “entertainment age” (2010: 10).

The entertainment trend in the news is enabled by two seemingly contradictory developments. The first is the increasing “incorporation of the audience into the generation of the content of the news” (Turner, 2010: 73), through which the news media seeks to increase their commercial appeal by invoking the identification of the public with content that includes ordinary members of the audience as witnesses or even protagonists in news stories. The second development relates to what Turner describes as “the rise of opinion to become virtually the primary genre of content” in the news (Turner, 2010: 73). The ‘rise of opinion’ describes the increasing publication and airing of opinionated news genres as a way of attracting increasingly fragmented audiences (2010: 93). The cases of commercial talk-back radio in Australia and *Fox News* in the US are exemplars of this trend. These developments can be seen primarily as a commercial strategy to keep or increase revenues in an extremely competitive media market (Turner, 2010: 76).

These developments are highly problematic, as they negatively impact the function of journalism and news media in democratic societies. A mix of entertainment and news content is narrowing the news agenda, often acting as a distraction to the audience from matters that are important to the community (Turner, 2010: 76). The inclusion of ordinary people in news content raises questions over the representativeness of stories. The rise of opinion entails a bias in the news that is not always appropriately disclosed (2010: 93). This demotic turn disguises the commercial motivations of the media under a populist illusion of ‘democratic participation’. Democratic participation, in many cases, is sold by

the media to the public based on the *potential* of digital technologies for audience and reader interaction. However, in most cases this potential is not being fulfilled, as there is no evidence of an expansion of sources and alternative accounts (2010: 84). Ironically, Turner remarks, increased online media has meant an expansion of the provision of news to the public, but this has not “made journalism better, more reliable or more diverse in terms of its political perspectives and sources of information. In fact, the reverse seems to be the case” (2010: 72). Thus, the demotic turn is a dangerous development for the role of journalism and the media in the public sphere.

This study argues that is necessary to consider Turner’s argument in the case of Chilean journalism, and research the changes in journalistic practices, functions, and values assigned to online user participation. As Gregory and Hutchins (2004) suggest, instead of conducting a diagnoses on the condition of the public sphere after the fact, an emphasis of “the everyday processes and workplace decisions that shape discourses before it enters the formal public domain” (Gregory & Hutchins 2004: 189) is essential to assess important questions about journalism, the news media, and their role and functions in the public sphere beyond classic normative assumptions.

Journalism cultures

The Habermasian account of the decline of the public sphere did not only result from the commercialisation of news. A second outcome, positive and sometimes underestimated, was the development of professionalism among journalists. The separation of journalism from state propaganda and party programs allowed the development of professional standards and practices. According to Schudson (2011: 124), “the drive for profit” was a more important factor than “party drive for political power” in orienting newspapers to a mass public and gave news writing a “broad democratic rather than elitist appeal”.

Professionalisation, Schudson (2011: 64) also suggests, enabled journalism to differentiate itself as an occupation with its own norms, traditions, and a degree of autonomy from other institutions such as political parties and publishers.

The study of journalistic professionalism has been approached as an ‘occupational ideology’; that is, a system of beliefs applying to a particular group, which includes but is not limited to a general process of the production of meanings and ideas within that group (Deuze, 2005: 445). Seen as an intellectual process over time, the term ‘ideology’ is used by Deuze (2005) not in terms of a struggle, but as “a collection of values, strategies and formal codes” that characterise professional journalism and are shared widely by its members (Deuze, 2005: 445-446). This ideology, then, refers to a dominant way in which “news people” validate and give meaning to their work (Deuze, 2005: 446). Following the work of authors such as Peter Golding and Phillip Elliott, David Merritt, and Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, Deuze describes a set of five ‘ideal-typical values’ that journalists feel give legitimacy and credibility to their work, building a ‘professional self-definition’ (Deuze 2005: 447). These values are:

- Public service: journalists provide a public service (as watchdogs or ‘news-hounds’, active collectors and disseminators of information);
- Objectivity: journalists are impartial, neutral, objective, fair and (thus) credible;
- Autonomy: journalists must be autonomous, free and independent in their work;
- Immediacy: journalists have a sense of immediacy, actuality and speed (inherent in the concept of ‘news’);
- Ethics: journalists have a sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy.

(Deuze, 2005: 447)

While it may be helpful to outline the main values behind the configuration of journalism as a distinct profession, this occupational ideology approach has been criticised for its universalising tendencies. Thomas Hanitzsch (2007: 368) suggests that “the rise of

counterhegemonic articulations and practices” (including alternative forms of journalism such as ‘civic journalism’, ‘development journalism’, ‘peace journalism’, and ‘citizen journalism’) question the assumptions of a universal, clearly identifiable occupational ideology, as it fails to account for the differences between media systems. Journalism culture is more than an ideology; Hanitzsch argues “it is the arena in which diverse professional ideologies struggle over the dominant interpretation of journalism’s social functions and identity” (Hanitzsch, 2007: 370). The ‘degree of autonomy’ from political parties and publishers mentioned by Schudson (2011: 64), as well as the practices, norms, traditions, and beliefs of the journalistic profession, vary not only from one media system to another (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Waisbord, 2013b), but between different regions and media outlets (Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011). This differentiation has led to the growing use of the terms ‘news cultures’ or ‘journalism cultures’ over ‘journalism’ alone (Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011: 3). In times of deep uncertainty for journalism and the news media industry – or when “internal and external tensions make journalism more vulnerable to criticism from the outside world” (Zelizer, 2005: 199) – the study of journalism as a culture offers a more meaningful way to explore how journalists are dealing with changes that are affecting their practices and beliefs. It also offers a way to investigate how journalists perceive their roles and those of the news media and their audiences.

According to leading journalism studies scholar Barbie Zelizer (2005), seeing journalism through the prism of culture allows a focus on aspects that usually “go under the radar of other ways of thinking journalism” (2005: 211). While this approach offers no direct or universal answer to the dilemmas faced by journalism, seeing journalism as a culture allows the introduction of issues obscured by traditional normative assumptions. On the one hand, journalism as a culture “admits and works around the contradictions between

what journalists would like to do and what they actually can do”, allowing observation of its fluctuating definitions, boundaries, conventions and practices, particularly in crisis situations (Zelizer, 2005: 211). On the other hand, the term ‘journalism as a culture’ suggests the existence of many journalism cultures just as there are many different contexts in the world (Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011). This approach avoids the temptation of seeking a universal definition of journalism. It also helps to avoid a Western-centric vision that considers the Anglo-Saxon journalism model as a “blueprint” for the world (Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011: 37). As Schudson suggests:

The globalisation of human experience is far from total, and variations in local economic, political, and cultural conditions have an enormous impact on the state of journalism. While new technologies of news production are in most respects the same around the world, the political, economic, and social structures that organise their adoption, their use, or their repression, differ greatly.

(Schudson, 2011: 230)

Zelizer (2005) summarises the advantages of using journalism cultures as a framework, when she suggests that:

despite the prevalence of arguments for journalism’s universal nature, the culture of journalism presupposes that journalistic conventions, routines and practices are dynamic and contingent on situational and historical circumstance. It offers a view of journalism that is porous, relative, non-judgemental and flexible. Given the troubling, uncontrollable and unclear horizons that contemporary journalism faces, it may be that this is the best that we, as news scholars, can offer them in navigating their future.

(Zelizer, 2005: 211)

Obijiofor and Hanusch (2011) recognise the existence of a considerable body of knowledge about how journalism is practised across the world, underpinned by comparative studies in different countries (Esser, 1999; Patterson & Donsbach, 1996; Weaver, 1998; Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006; Weaver & Willnat, 2012). However, these

studies rarely address journalism culture and its multidimensional structure at the conceptual level. Indeed, ‘culture’ is a tricky concept, defined in so many ways that the cultural analysis of journalism is driven to “further disperse into a highly heterogeneous field”, resulting in a ‘scattered’ body of literature (Hanitzsch, 2007: 369). Consequently, Hanitzsch (2007: 368) suggests the need for a clear conceptualisation of journalism culture that ensures a maximum of conceptual stability and validity in different cultural contexts.

It is possible to recognise some common constitutive elements in definitions of culture, such as values, meanings, beliefs, practices, symbols, norms, attitudes, practices, and artefacts. While culture is a concept that encloses all these elements, key authors from social psychology and cross-cultural studies, such as Geert Hofstede, Harry C. Triandis, and Shalom H. Schwartz, agree that values are the elements at the core of culture. These authors concur in that values are the most important fundamentals of culture – more important than rituals, heroes, symbols, and artefacts – since they accept them as the most enduring elements, and the source from which all other elements of culture arise (Vinken, Soeters, & Ester, 2004: 17). However, as Schwartz (2004: 43-44) suggests, values also change, in the form of changes in ‘prevailing value emphases’ in a specific culture, which express shared conceptions of what is good and desirable in the culture (i.e. culture ideals). This change is slow, as cultural value orientations “are relatively stable”. Some of the factors that lead to change in cultural value, as Schwartz (2004: 44) identifies, are societal adaptations to epidemics, increasing wealth, contact with other cultures, exogenous factors, and – importantly for this thesis – technological advances.

In the case of journalism, Hanitzsch (2007: 368) recognises the importance of ideas (values, attitudes, and beliefs), practices (of cultural production), and artefacts (cultural

products, texts) in defining journalism cultures at both the conceptual and operational level. He suggests that journalism cultures “become manifest in the way journalists think and act” and proposes a conceptual definition:

a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists, consciously and unconsciously, legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful for themselves and others.

(Hanitzsch, 2007: 369)

Following Hanitzsch (2007: 369), this conceptual definition supposes the articulation of journalism cultures at three basic levels of analysis in the chain of news production. First, at the cognitive level, journalism cultures shape the foundational structure where perception and interpretation of news and news work is performed (e.g., the attribution of news values to events). Second, at the evaluative level, they drive journalists’ professional ‘worldviews’ (such as their role perceptions), as well as occupational ideologies (such as ‘objective journalism’ and ‘investigative journalism’). Finally, at the performative level, journalism cultures ‘materialise’ in the way journalists work (such as methods of reporting and use of different news formats). Journalistic practices, then, “are shaped by cognitive and evaluative structures, and journalists – mostly unconsciously – perpetuate these deep structures through professional performance” (Hanitzsch, 2007: 369).

To grasp the way journalism operates on these different levels, Hanitzsch proposes an operational definition of journalism culture that emphasises a deductive and ‘etic’ approach (Vinken *et al.*, 2004; Schwartz, 2004), in order to identify the principal dimensions that show “the largest cultural overlap” in comparative analysis (Hanitzsch, 2004: 371). He suggests three ‘domains’ as essential elements of journalism culture: ‘institutional roles’, ‘epistemologies’, and ‘ethical ideologies’, which further divide into

seven dimensions for comparative analysis (see figure 1.1). These dimensions operate as constructs with two opposite poles (Hanitzsch, 2007: 371).

Figure 1.1. Constituents and principal dimensions of journalism culture

Institutional Roles			Epistemologies		Ethical Ideologies	
Interventionism	Power Distance	Market Orientation	Objectivism	Empiricism	Relativism	Idealism
Intervention (+) Passive (-)	Adversarial (+) Loyal (-)	Consumers (+) Citizens (-)	Correspondence (+) Subjectivity (-)	Empirical (+) Analytical (-)	Contextual (+) Universal (-)	Means (+) Outcome (-)

Source: Hanitzsch (2007: 371).

The first constituent of journalism culture identified by Hanitzsch refers to the ‘institutional roles of journalism’, in terms of the normative responsibilities and the functional contribution of journalists to society. Here, the author suggests a new multidimensional structure that captures “the global variance in the journalists’ role perception” avoiding a Western-centric understanding of news (Hanitzsch, 2007: 371). This constituent includes three dimensions – *interventionism*, *power distance*, and *market orientation*. *Interventionism* refers to the extent to which journalists pursue a particular mission and promote certain values, and believe they should intervene in the news process. Its continuum runs between interventionist journalists – characterised as involved, socially committed, assertive, and motivated – and detached or passive journalists – uninvolved and focused on objectivity and neutrality (Hanitzsch, 2007: 372-373; Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011: 49). The second dimension, *power distance*, relates to journalists’ position regarding the ‘loci’ of power in society. This dimension runs between adversarial and loyal roles (Hanitzsch, 2007: 373-374; Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011: 49). The third dimension, *market orientation*, refers to journalists’ perception of their role in a continuum that runs between two poles. On one pole, journalists take a social responsibility role, providing information that is in the public interest to an audience addressed in its role as citizenry. On the other pole, journalists are interested in providing

news that will reach the widest audience, seeing them as a collective of individuals with individual needs (Hanitzsch, 2007: 374-375; Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011: 49).

The second constituent of journalism culture identified by Hanitzsch is ‘epistemologies’. It is concerned with the “philosophical underpinnings” of journalism that are instrumental in performing news work (Hanitzsch, 2007: 375-376). This constituent considers two dimensions – *objectivism* and *empiricism*. *Objectivism* relates to the extent to which journalists believe that objective truth exists ‘out there’. This dimension exists on a continuum travelling from a belief in a correspondence between ‘what is said’ and ‘what exists’; through to a belief in the discursive construction of truth through pluralism, or the sum of subjectivities and the creation by journalists of their own realities (Hanitzsch, 2007: 376-377; Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011: 49). *Empiricism* refers to how truth claims are ultimately justified by journalists, in a continuum from the use of observation and empirical evidence, to the use of opinion and analysis (Hanitzsch, 2007: 377-378; Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011: 49).

The final constituent of journalism culture, according to Hanitzsch’s operational definition, is ‘ethical ideologies’. While ‘ethical ideologies’ and ‘moral values’ are both used to evaluate whether certain practices can be justified or considered ethical, Hanitzsch (2007: 378) recommends the use of ‘ethical ideologies’ instead of the latter in comparative research of journalism cultures. ‘Moral values’ are specific to cultural contexts and are, thus, difficult, if not impossible, to compare between different settings. Hanitzsch proposes an approach to ethical ideologies that focuses on how journalists respond to ethical dilemmas. He suggests two dimensions – *relativism* and *idealism*. *Relativism* refers to the extent to which journalists “base their personal moral philosophies on universal ethical rules” (Hanitzsch, 2007: 378). *Idealism* relates to consequences in

the responses to ethical dilemmas, where idealistic individuals believe in ‘good actions’ to obtain consequences. At the other extreme, journalists award more importance to goals than their actions, justifying harm to others as long as desired results are achieved (Hanitzsch, 2007: 378; Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011: 49).

Hanitzsch (2007) argues that although these seven dimensions of journalism culture “do more or less surface in all nations and media organisations, the relative importance of these dimensions is likely to vary” (Hanitzsch, 2007: 371). Hanitzsch *et al.*, (2010) and Hanitzsch *et al.*, (2011) tested this method in their *Worlds of Journalism* transnational study of journalism cultures across 18 across countries, which included the Chilean case. Their findings suggest that some ‘universal’ values such as objectivity are common, but its dimensions vary between different countries according to social, economic, and cultural characteristics. Using different analytical frameworks, other cross-national studies have found similar differences between journalism cultures in relation to role perceptions and levels of professionalisation of online journalists (Quandt *et al.*, 2006), and the ‘democratic quality’ of debate in online news media (Ruiz *et al.*, 2011). These differences coincide with the media system models proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004): the liberal model in the case of USA and the UK, and the polarised pluralist model in the case of Italy, France and Spain (Ruiz *et al.*, 2011: 20).

In this thesis, I follow the conceptualisation of journalism cultures proposed by Hanitzsch (2007) to research the practices and beliefs that exist in relation to digital interaction technologies in the production, distribution, and feedback/follow up of news stories. The focus of this thesis differs from Hanitzsch (2007) and Hanitzsch *et al.*, (2010; 2011) as it does not seek to compare Chile to other journalism cultures. However, drawing upon Hanitzsch’s (2007) framework in the analysis of Chilean online news cultures helps to

address a gap in scholarship by the investigation of how journalism cultures are dealing with technological change. Chilean journalism has already been explored through this framework in recent research (Mellado, 2011; Mellado & Humanes, 2012; Mellado *et al.*, 2012), but these studies exclude online newsrooms and the issue of technological change (see Chapter Two). The analysis of journalists' beliefs and practices centred on the technological features of interaction and feedback highlights the roles articulated by Chilean journalists for themselves, the Chilean news media, and their audiences.

From gatekeeping to gatewatching?

Technological change and the recent developments in the news media industry are affecting the practices and beliefs of journalists about their profession. The search for successful news business models and new forms of news production have raised concerns about the disruptive processes of convergence in newsrooms and the difficulties of adapting to innovation (Steensen, 2009; Domingo, 2008; Domingo *et al.*, 2008), as well as a sense of increasing disconnection from the public and mistrust by citizens (Metykova, 2008). The process of convergence, according to Deuze, challenges “departmentalised news organisations”, threatening a news culture “that prefers individual expert systems and ‘group think’ over teamwork and knowledge-sharing” (Deuze, 2005: 451). Ideal-typical values of journalism, such as “autonomy” and a “sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy” (Deuze, 2005: 447), are under challenge as the boundaries between news producer and news consumer are blurred. Deuze (2005: 442) suggests that a shift from individualistic, ‘top-down’ mono-media journalism to a team-based, ‘participatory’ multimedia journalism (Bowman & Willis, 2003) is underway. In fact, technological change is undermining one of the most fundamental ‘truths’ in journalism: “the professional journalist is the one who determines what publics see, hear and read about the world” (Deuze, 2005: 451). The traditional gatekeeping role of news workers is under

serious challenge by technological change and the new consumption practices of audiences. The notion of journalists as experts that “regulate the flow of information and knowledge, using varying criteria to control which stories make it” into the media (Bachmann & Harlow, 2012: 218), is under siege from citizen journalism, UGC and social networking.

Since the seminal work of David White (1964) in 1950, gatekeeping is defined as the “overall process through which the social reality transmitted by the news media is constructed” (Shoemaker *et al.*, 2001; cited by Bachmann & Harlow, 2012: 218). For a variety of reasons, some of them commercial and other practical (such as availability of space or time for news stories – the so-called ‘newshole’), journalists and editors judge and select the stories to be covered “from the totality of all news currently available in the world” (Bruns, 2008: 71) through a combination of impartial and subjective criteria (White, 1964). This selection entails two processes: “one determines the availability of news and relates journalists to sources; the other determines the suitability of news, which ties journalists to audiences” (Gans, 1979: 81). Editorial decisions *keep* both the ‘input’ and ‘output’ gates of the traditional news process (Bruns, 2008: 71). A third stage considers the selection of audience responses that may be published as ‘letters to the editor’ (Bruns, 2005; Gregory & Hutchins, 2004).

In these selection processes, journalists and editors use their preconceptions of the needs and tastes of their audience. An ‘imagined audience’ (Mikosza, 2003; Hartley, 1987; Jacka, 1994) plays a fundamental role from both normative and political economy viewpoints. News workers have traditionally possessed implied and assumed *beliefs*, *senses* or *feelings* “for what audiences want” and the journalism industry “rarely actively sought or tested” audience tastes or desires “beyond mere token gestures (readers’ polls,

vox-pop statements) or commercial market research” (Bruns, 2011: 119). Gans (1979) suggests journalists and editors actually have little knowledge about the actual audience and typically assume that “what interested them [the news workers] would interest the audience” (1979: 230). Furthermore, Schudson (2011) implies that journalists seek to impress that part of the audience they know more, their own colleagues, as much as to influence a broader audience:

The news media may reach hundreds of thousands or millions of people, but the journalists do not come face-to-face with the general public at the office the next morning. Instead, they face their sources; their editors; their fellow reporters; reporters from other news organisations on the same beat or story; and their spouses, parents, and children. These are still their most faithful, most regular, and most consequential readers.

(Schudson 2011: 167)

However, as Bruns (2005, 2008) suggests, many of the reasons for a strict gatekeeping model in the industrial modes of news production “no longer apply in the same form in online news” (Bruns 2008: 71). A growing multiplication of “available channels for news publication and dissemination” has eliminated the scarcity of space or time in the ‘newshole’, as well as the barriers for audiences to “directly connect with the organisations, institutions, and individuals in which they are interested” (Bruns, 2011a: 120-121). Blogging, social networks, content aggregators, and citizen journalism have seen journalism lose ‘exclusivity’ over the content of news. News media are only a part of a much larger set of options for audiences in an overpopulated news ecology. Traditional gatekeeping practices in the newsroom, which had almost entirely closed the newshole to direct audience participation and contribution, now struggle as editors deal with thousands of comments, Facebook posts, and tweets from ‘the people formerly known as the audience’ (Rosen, 27 June, 2006). These developments undermine the very

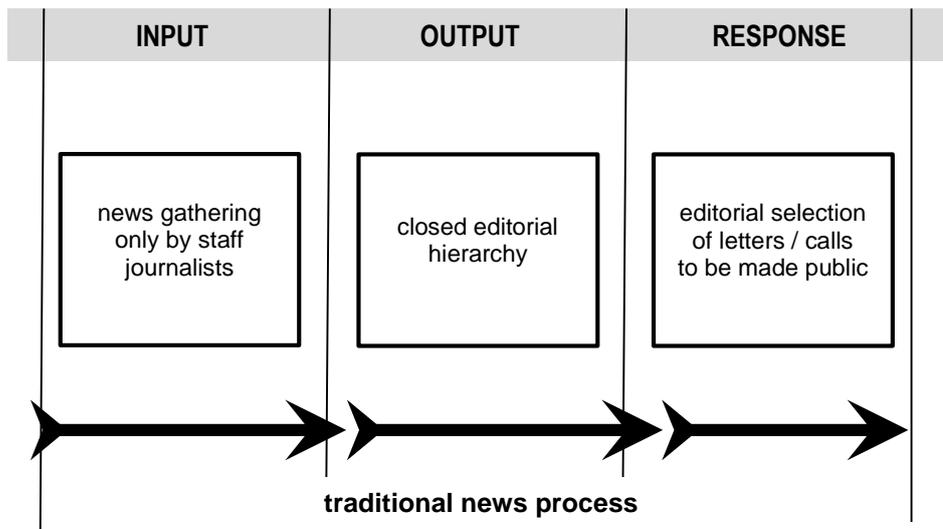
basis of the traditional journalistic profession. But, according to Bruns (2011b), they may also provide an opportunity for journalism to survive these challenging times.

Gatewatching and the produsage model

Axel Bruns (2008) proposes a model of news ‘produsage’. According to the produsage model, it is impossible to keep, or control, the gates of multiple channels of news stories and newsworthy information. What ‘producers’ are able to do is ‘organise’ and ‘curate’ the flood of available information, participating in a “distributed and loosely organised effort to watch – to keep track of – what information passes through these channels” (Bruns, 2011a: 121-122).

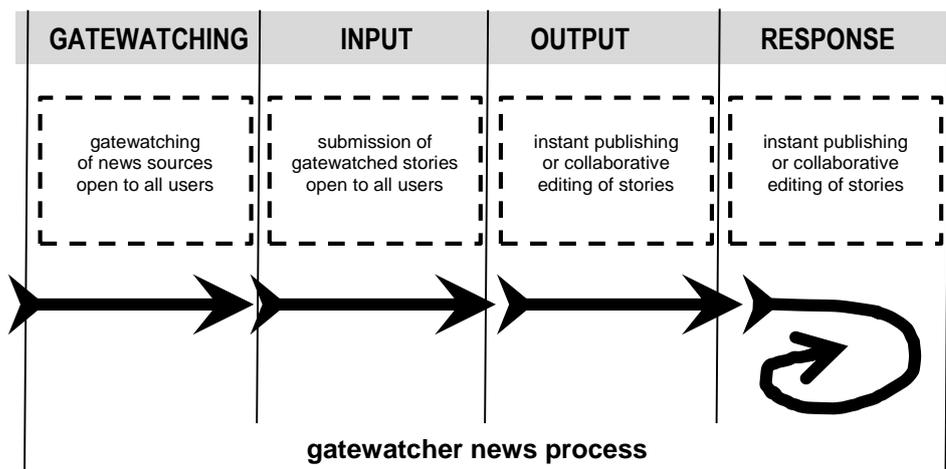
Different to the traditional gatekeeping role (see figure 1.2), Bruns describes a ‘gatewatching’ practice (see figure 1.3) that relies on the “ability of users to decide for themselves what they find interesting and worth noting and sharing with their peers” (Bruns, 2008: 74). ‘Gatewatchers’ frame information, more or less elaborately, from different news organisations and primary and alternative sources in a continuous collaborative process that ‘highlights’ or ‘publicises’ news rather than publishes information (Bruns 2008: 74).

Figure 1.2. The three stages of conventional news production



(Source: Bruns, 2005: 12).

Figure 1.3. The citizen journalism news produsage process



(Source: Bruns, 2008: 79).

According to Bruns (2008: 86), the adoption of this role by citizen journalism originally emerged as an “alternative to commercial spaces of the journalism industry”. However, with the incorporation of citizen journalists and their views into mainstream media, the boundaries between “both sides have begun to blur” (2008: 86). He suggests that ‘collaborative’ and ‘pro-am’ journalism projects undermine “any hard and fast distinctions” between ‘professional’ and ‘amateur’ journalists, as amateur journalists are also “expert users of information” (2008: 89). Thus, Bruns advocates for a “new form of

arrangement between traditional and new forms of journalism” where traditional industrial journalism must focus on

the production of quality raw material for journalistic coverage (by both industrial and citizen journalists): clear, balanced, and factual investigative reporting which drills deeply into issues but avoids a focus on the interpretation of the facts it uncovers. Citizen journalism will then be able to focus on its strengths: collating and connecting factoids emerging from such stories which in combination and in synthesis provide a better understanding of wider societal issues, exploring and explaining the implications of the issues so uncovered, discussing and deliberating on potential approaches (political or otherwise) to addressing these implications.

(Bruns, 2008: 90)

By a combination of the production and produsage models, the feedback loop closes and a new “non-mass-mediated, direct-engagement form of deliberative news and politics” (Bruns, 2008: 92) emerges, with a direct impact on the enhancement of the public sphere. This new media ecosystem then may be sustainable with the “involvement in processes of political deliberation of the greatest number of all members of democratic society” (Bruns, 2008: 93). Journalists are able to “play an important role” as drivers of the production model change, because of their training in the “evaluation of stories and the curation of information” (Bruns, 2011a: 132). Yet, to realise these possibilities, journalists must accept:

what is irretrievably lost from journalism’s grasp: the role of journalists as gatekeepers of information, and the positioning of news media outlets (whether in print, broadcast, or online) as the central spaces for the coverage of and engagement with the news.

(Bruns, 2011a: 132)

Examples here include collaborative journalistic start-ups, such as *Pro-publica* in the US and other pro-am ventures, ‘crowdsourcing’ and journalistic uses of social networks, social bookmarking tools, and aggregators like *Mashable*, *Reddit*, *Storify* and *Upworthy*. These platforms and technologies are shifting journalistic practices and creating new

ways of doing journalism by incorporating the audience in the news production processes. These developments are demonstrated in the new roles that journalists are assuming (Bakker, 2014: 596), which include technical tasks (such as ‘blogging’, editing video, programming, and doing Search Engine Optimisation (SEO)), their roles as ‘harvesters’, ‘managers’, and ‘curators’ of information, and acting as ‘community managers’ or editors and moderators of user comments and contributions.

Secondary gatekeeping and metrics in the newsroom

The changing news and journalism landscape described here has seen Jane Singer (2013) identify the formation of a secondary gatekeeping process in the newsroom, enhanced by the capabilities of digital content sharing by the audience through social media and social bookmarking tools. The influence of members of the audience in the visibility of published news items, Singer suggests, are giving power to the users in deciding “which stories were today’s best” for their social media acquaintances, but also for the overall audience (2013: 68). This is reflected in rankings of ‘most read’, ‘most shared’ and/or ‘most commented’ news items in the main pages of many online news media outlets. The role of secondary filters for their own networks represents an expanded user role when compared to the traditional gatekeeping process in news production (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009; White, 1964), and it is also influencing editorial decisions in the newsroom.

Web traffic and social media metrics are increasingly providing real time data to newsrooms (MacGregor, 2007) about the tastes and preferences of *the people formerly known as the ‘imagined’ audience*. Several studies suggest editors from news outlets are increasingly relying on the information provided by data analytics to inform editorial decisions in selection of news stories (Vu, 2014; Singer, 2013; Tandoc, 2014a; Lee, Lewis, & Powers, 2014; Anderson, Bell, & Shirky, 2012). Popular stories and topics with

high ‘hit rates’ are more likely to be followed up in new stories (Tandoc, 2014a), which can be problematic given that the most popular stories tend to be primarily entertainment (Turner, 2010). Yet, evidence also suggests that the influence of metrics is more likely to be moderated by editorial criteria in the case of decisions about the hierarchy of news placement in the pages of news media outlets (Lee *et al.*, 2014; Boczkowski, Mitchelstein, & Walter, 2011; Bastos, 2014). Editors appear unwilling to surrender their gatekeeping role in this regard.

It needs to be recognised that processes of innovation leading to a more ‘participatory’ journalism beyond ‘clicks’ and ‘shares’ have been slow in their implementation. As outlined in the introduction of this thesis, scholarship suggests that workplace structures, routines, and professional beliefs are challenging innovation and the fulfilment of interactivity ideals in the US and European context, contributing to a sluggish development of participatory journalism (Paulussen & Ugille, 2008; Domingo, 2008; Steensen, 2009). For example, traditional practices and norms of print newspaper production are still replicated online, retaining the gatekeeping role of journalists (Singer, 2005; Hermida & Thurman, 2008). Online user participation is mainly deemed as an opportunity for readers to debate current events, but is limited in other stages of news production (Domingo *et al.*, 2008). Even in cases where news media organisations are more open to audience contribution, journalists tend to ‘normalise’ digital interaction technologies by adapting them to their traditional journalistic practices and roles (Singer, 2005; Hermida, 2012; Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012; Williams, Wardle, & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011). Despite the efforts of journalists and news media organisations, especially the ‘early adopters’, it seems clear that journalism cultures evolve at an uneven pace.

Digital interaction technologies in journalism work

An extensive body of scholarship has documented the affordances and constraints of digital interaction technologies in the practices of journalists around the world. While some of these findings have been outlined in previous sections of the chapter, this section summarises those most relevant for this thesis.

Email and Chat

Despite more recent technological developments, email can be still considered the most pervasive digital communication technology in the newsroom. Findings from diverse studies suggest that email is one of the most useful technologies for journalists in diverse fields or ‘beats’ and is an essential tool in their work (Garrison, 2004; Granado, 2011; Hermans, Vergeer, & Pleijter, 2009). For instance, Machill and Beiler (2009) found that in Germany the “dominance of e-mail is discernible across all of the media sectors”, in particular in the case of television and online media, where more than 91% of journalists use email in research and documentation tasks (Machill & Beiler, 2009: 189). In their findings, email surpasses by a large margin other computer and non-computer-aided tools such as the telephone and face-to-face interaction in news gathering tasks.

The flexibility of email and its accessibility in terms of cost and penetration makes it an effective tool for reporting, especially for contacting sources and accessing documents (Mabweazara, 2011). However, its value as an interviewing tool has been hotly debated (F. Russell, 1999; Duke, 2002; Dumlao & Duke, 2003; Garrison, 2004; Lisher, 2013). Email is seen as lacking the ‘personal touch’ of face-to-face and telephone interaction between journalists and their sources (Shin & Cameron, 2003). The publishing of email addresses in news media outlets as a means to attract audience feedback has received a good overall evaluation among journalists and editors (Hendrickson, 2006). However, the

effective use of this tool for interaction with the public, as Tanjev Schultz (2000) argues, is quite restricted, mainly because of the limited time journalists have to spare in responding to emails.

Chat refers to the forms of near-synchronous communication based on online technologies that enable the interchange of (primarily) text and graphic messages among people connected to online spaces known as chat rooms in websites or through dedicated computer programs, most of them freely accessible on the Internet. While chat is often seen as similar to ‘instant messaging’ (IM), these two technologies differ in many aspects. Some of the differences lie in the primarily bi-personal character of the exchange and the ‘presence awareness’ capability of IM (Cameron & Webster, 2005), in comparison to the collective character of chat rooms, where participants very often “have no personal knowledge of the others” (Segerstad & Ljungstrand, 2002: 154).¹ Despite an initial infatuation with the interactivity afforded by online chat, few studies have examined the utilisation of this tool in the newsroom. For instance, Young (2000) documented this initial enthusiasm in the use of live chat rooms in *The Washington Post* in the late 1990s. He described the advantages of online chat in changing the relationship between the media, the journalists, and the audience, including the potential of breaking rigid journalistic roles. However, once other technologies such as blogs and social media expanded, the focus of journalism studies moved to other technological forms and developments.

Blogging and journalism

One of the most researched aspects of the intersection between journalism and digital interaction technologies is blogging. Blogs, bloggers, and journalist-bloggers (J-bloggers) have been the subject of several studies in the areas of journalism, media studies, and

political communication. Mary Garden (2011) provides a good account of the conceptions and misconceptions about blogging and journalism in recent scholarship, highlighting the “vague, contradictory, ambiguous and imprecise ways” in which the term ‘blog’ has been defined (Garden, 2011: 483). Two apparently contradictory trends related to blogging and journalism have been the focus of discussion. On the one hand, studies suggest blogs are spaces that contest traditional conceptions such as the authoritative role of journalists (Carlson, 2007; Robinson, 2006), as amateur producers are gaining profiles traditionally monopolised by journalists in different areas of expertise (Gil de Zúñiga *et al.*, 2011; Walejko & Ksiazek, 2010). On the other hand, scholarship suggest that journalists, once overcoming an initial shock, are normalising blogging as another journalistic tool for news reporting and dissemination of news and opinion (Singer, 2005; Reese *et al.*, 2007; R. K. Nielsen, 2012; Lowrey & Mackay, 2008). News organisations are increasingly adopting blogs as spaces for interaction with the audience and transparency in news production (Garden, 2014; Hermida, 2012; Yu, 2011; Chu, 2011), especially in the case of ‘news-in-progress’ and live blogs (Thurman & Newman, 2014). This normalisation has also worked in the opposite direction, as non-professional blogs are adopting journalistic practices and operational routines, mainly underpinned by the need to monetise content and cover operating costs (Lowrey, Parrott, & Meade, 2011).

These trends are important in journalism and media studies in the US, European, and Australasian contexts. In the Chilean case, however, blogging has not been particularly important. As will be discussed further in Chapter Two, web traffic stats suggest a subsidiary role for blogs in patterns of consumption (Alexa, 2012). A cursory examination of Chilean news media outlets also shows that blogs are not often included on news sites and journalists do not often contribute to their production.

Social media and user comments

Social media is assessed by Clay Shirky (2008: 20-21) as tools that “increase our ability to share, to co-operate, with one another, and to take collective action, all outside the framework of traditional institutional institutions and organisations”. Similar to the case of blogging, these technologies have been amply researched in relation to the interaction between journalism, the news media, and the audience. These studies highlight the importance that these technologies have gained in tasks of newsgathering, story promotion, and connecting with the audience (Dickinson, 2011). For instance, in the case of news dissemination, Facebook is the most important social network in European and US newsrooms, as the penetration rates of this platform surpass other social networks such as Twitter and Google+ (Newman, 2011; Newman & Levy, 2014; Olmstead, Mitchell, & Rosenstiel, 2011; Mitchell, Rosenstiel, & Christian, 2012b). The importance of social media for news distribution has led several news organisations not only to prioritise ‘Web-first’ strategies for news publication (English, 2011), but to also adopt ‘social-media-first’ approaches for breaking prominent news stories (Newman, 2009, 2011; Hermida, 2010; Canter, 2013a, 2014). This shift is underpinned by the increasing importance of mobile Internet traffic for news media organisations (Westlund, 2014; Nel & Westlund, 2012), which is forcing news media outlets to adapt their content for different platforms (Anderson *et al.*, 2012; Veglis, 2012; Holcomb, Gottfried, & Mitchell, 2013). Nevertheless, the available scholarship helps to temper expectations about the influence of social media. Olmstead *et al.*, (2011) found in the US that the share of Web traffic driven by social media to news media outlets varies according to the prominence of their brand among the public. Stronger brands tend to rely more on traffic driven by direct URL and search engines than on traffic through Facebook. Also, content adaptation for social media has been researched, raising concerns about the increased use of ‘click-

bait' formulas in the titles of news stories. While effective in boosting Web traffic, these techniques are often deemed as a deceptive and sensationalist resource that is incompatible with journalistic standards (Berger & Milkman, 2012; Tornøe, 2014; Blom & Hansen, 2015; Fitts, 2014; Costera Meijer & Groot Kormelink, 2015).

In relation to news production practices, Twitter has been studied largely as a 'social network for journalists', stressing the adoption of this technology by news professionals and its value as an 'awareness system' (Hermida, 2010) in the discovery phase of news reporting (Reich, 2013; Reed, 2013; Willnat & Weaver, 2014; Vis, 2013; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2012), especially during crisis events (Allan & Thorsen, 2009; Bruno, 2011; Newman, 2009; Stassen, 2010; Ahmad, 2010; Thorsen & Allan, 2014). Twitter is also seen as a useful tool for contacting sources (Reich, 2008; Hermida, 2010; Paulussen & Harder, 2014; Broersma & Graham, 2012; Parmelee, 2013) because news actors are increasingly relying on this platform to address the public (Lysak, Cremedas, & Wolf, 2012; Parmelee, 2014). The use of lists of newsworthy people and institutions on Twitter has been found particularly useful by journalists (Garber, 2009). Evidence also suggests that social media is being slowly incorporated into journalistic routines, such as in collaborative fact-checking projects (Hermida, 2012), or to increase the connection of regional journalists and news media with their local communities (Canter, 2013a). Authors such as Lasorsa (2012), Joseph (2011), Canter (2013b), and Hermida (2012) suggest that social media is encouraging a more responsive attitude among journalists in terms of transparency and accountability in the news production process.

Despite the interactive capabilities of social media, other sources suggest that journalists are often replicating traditional practices and 'normalising' these technologies in newsgathering routines (Singer, 2010; Williams *et al.*, 2011; Hedman, 2015; Harrison,

2010; Blaagaard, 2013). Social media is being adopted mainly as a one-way communication channel in European and US news organisations (Broersma & Graham, 2012). There is little involvement of the audience in news production (Hermans *et al.*, 2014), as audience contributions are often seen as lacking journalistic standards (Canter, 2013b; Örnebring, 2013; S. Lewis, Kaufhold, & Lasorsa, 2010; Singer & Ashman, 2009; Brake, 2014). UGC is seen as providing little value beyond the graphic testimony they may provide (Karlsson, 2011; Harrison, 2010; Williams *et al.*, 2011), as user contributions obtained through social media tend to concentrate on soft news content, such as entertainment, lifestyle, and curiosity stories (Paulussen & Harder, 2014). The use of UGC has also been characterised as problematic due to difficulties in verifying information provided by audience members (Bruno, 2011; Hermida, 2012; Chung, 2007; Hermida & Thurman, 2008), including YouTube videos (Peer & Ksiazek, 2011).

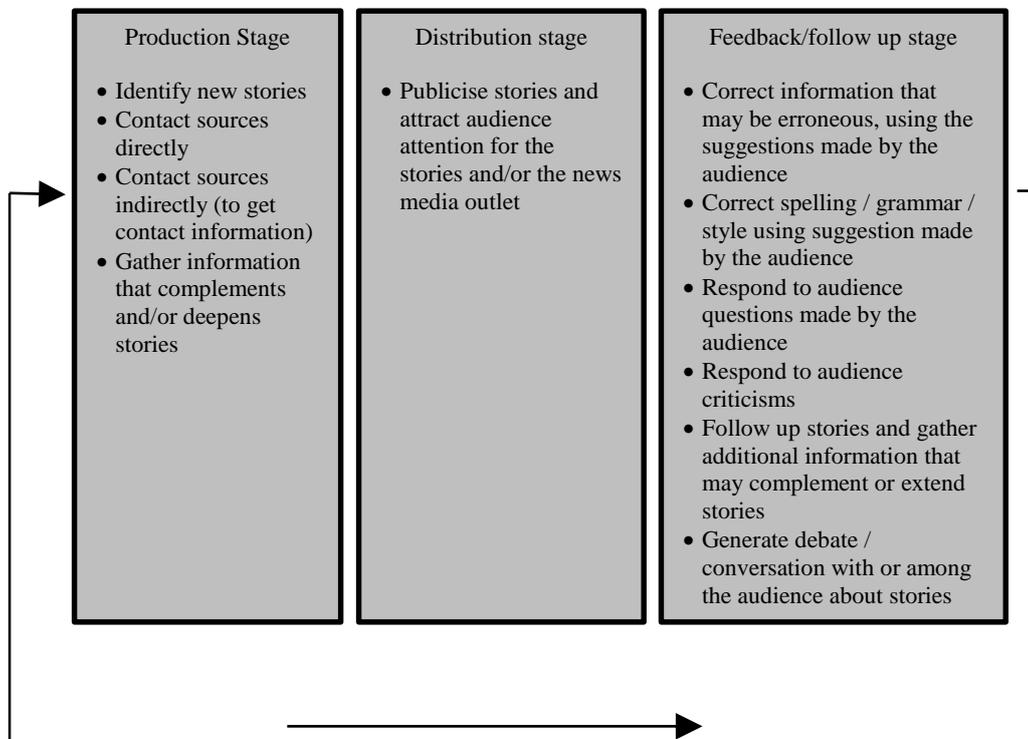
A number of scholars also suggest that the use of audience feedback obtained from social media, as well as direct interaction between journalists and users, is limited in the newsrooms of Europe, the US and Latin America (C. E. Nielsen, 2014; Phillips, 2010; Domingo & Heikkilä, 2012; Domingo, 2008; Bachmann & Harlow, 2012). Due to a lack of civility among members of the audience, editors are reticent to invite the public to debate (Singer, 2010; Domingo *et al.*, 2008; Tenenboim & Cohen, 2015), or to engage with users in ‘conversation’ through these means (Reich, 2011; Hille & Bakker, 2013, 2014; Canter, 2012, 2013a; Santana, 2014a; Graham, 2013). As Chapter Five shows, comment moderation is an important problem, as news media organisations have to dedicate human and technological resources to deal with abuse in these interactions (Hille & Bakker, 2013, 2014; Canter, 2012; Santana, 2014a; Hujanen, 2012; Martin & Dwyer, 2012; Murrell & Oakham, 2008; Loke, 2012; Salvador-Benítez & Gutiérrez-David, 2010). In this regard, several news organisations are outsourcing their spaces for user

comments to Facebook as a way to avoid anonymous comments, as anonymity is seen as an important contributing factor in the incivility in users' comments (Santana, 2014b; Reader, 2012; C. E. Nielsen, 2014; Singer & Ashman, 2009; Ksiazek, Peer, & Zivic, 2014; Tenenboim & Cohen, 2015). These problematic interactions have also led news media organisations to implement internal policies to regulate interactions between staff and their audiences (Lysak *et al.*, 2012).

Digital interaction technologies and the news cycle

As outlined in previous sections, the uses of digital interaction technologies in journalism work corresponds with practices of news gathering, such as contacting sources, but also for obtaining feedback or further information about published news items. These practices involve some level of interaction with audiences. In this thesis,

Figure 1.4. The news cycle



(Source: Adapted from Bruns, 2008; and Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

for analytical purposes and drawing on Bruns (2005) and Shoemaker and Vos (2009), journalistic practices are divided into three distinct stages (see figure 1.4):

- 1) the *news production stage*, where uses of digital tools relate to practices such as the identification of new stories, contacting sources directly or indirectly (such as getting contact information), and gathering information that complements or deepens stories that have not been published yet;
- 2) the *news distribution stage*, which includes practices of publicising news stories online to attract further attention from the audience, and;
- 3) the *feedback/follow up stage*, where uses of digital technologies are centred on interaction with audiences once news items have been published. In this latter stage, uses of digital tools are related to practices such as correcting published information using audience suggestions. This may include form (spelling, grammar, style) or content (erroneous data). Other practices encompass responding to the questions and criticism of users, following up stories by gathering additional information that extends already published stories, and the generation of debate or conversation with or among members of the audience.

The proposed categorisation is a heuristical tool, as boundaries in the news cycle tend to be more porous and stages are becoming more interdependent because of digital technologies and the pressure of 24/7 news production cycles (Deuze, 2008). The list of practices included in each stage are also not exhaustive, as some practices may have been grouped together (see Chapter Four). Nonetheless, this differentiation is useful for the analytic and organisational purposes of this study when describing the utilisation of digital technologies by Chilean journalists.

Summary of literature review

Much of the scholarship on the important issues discussed above is based on studies of the European and US context, and centres on a potential enhancement of the public sphere because of these developments (Jouët, 2009; Gimmler, 2001; Örnebring & Jönsson, 2004). Some scholars (Bruns, 2005, 2011a; Gans, 2003) propose new practices and models of news production to account for recent technological changes in the news industry directed at achieving this democratic potential. However, a review of empirical research shows uneven evidence of an openness to audience participation by journalists and news outlets (Domingo, 2008; Domingo *et al.*, 2008; Metykova, 2008; Loke 2012; Hermans *et al.*, 2014). Studies suggest the maintenance of the traditional gatekeeping role of journalists (Singer, 2005; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Steensen, 2009; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008), a political economy of UGC of ‘users-as-consumers’ (Jöhnsson & Örnebring, 2011), and economic motivations for the adoption of UGC and user participation features (Vujnovic *et al.*, 2010). In fact, scholars such as Turner (2010) go further by suggesting the emergence of a ‘demotic turn’ – a populist illusion of democratic participation by the audience in new media forms that is actually a commercial strategy to keep or increase revenues in an extremely competitive media market (Turner, 2010: 2). From this perspective, the current function of the news media relates to commercial interests and their own accrual exercise of power (Turner, 2010: 20-21), overwhelming any social, community or ‘fourth estate’ responsibilities (2010: 2).

This study of Chilean journalism and news media responds to the necessity of understanding the functions of new media forms, such as user-generated content. By researching the news cultures in the Chilean context, this thesis begins from the position that knowledge of the practices, values, beliefs, and assumptions behind journalists and

editorial decisions in the newsroom will provide important insights into the larger questions about journalism, news, and their role and functions in the public sphere.

Notes

¹ This differentiation is important and, as explored in Chapter Four and Five, led to interesting insights provided by online survey respondents and interviewees in this study.

Chapter 2

Chile, its media system and journalism cultures

*Chile, fertile province, famous
In the vast Antarctic region
Known to far-flung mighty nations
For its princely strength and courage,
Has produced a race so noble,
Proud and brave, illustrious, warlike
That by king it ne'er was humbled
Nor to foreign sway submitted*

(de Ercilla y Zúñiga, 2014).

The stanza belongs to *La Araucana* (also known as *The Araucaniad*), an epic poem written by Spanish soldier and poet Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga and published between 1569 and 1589. This work is considered one of the first chronicles about Chile. As a member of the forces of Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza and suffering the deprivations of a military campaign, Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga narrates his first-person account of the beginnings of the 300-year-long Arauco War, in which the Spanish Army vainly attempted to conquer the south of Chile. Reports of major events in Chile have come a long way since *La Araucana*. However, social and economic settings still have a strong influence in the way journalism is understood and performed in Chile.

This chapter aims to describe the main characteristics of Chile, its media system and journalism cultures. This chapter starts from the premise that any attempt to understand developments in online news media must begin from an understanding of the context in which Chilean news media organisations operate. The first part of the chapter offers an overview of the Chilean socio-economic and political contexts, discussing how these contexts help shape the current Chilean media system. In the second part of the chapter,

the Chilean media system is examined using dimensions of the analytic model proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004, 2005), complemented by Roudakova (2012) and de Albuquerque (2012). This section argues that the Chilean media system fits a mixed model that combines some characteristics of the Liberal media system with others of transitional and post-authoritarian regimes. The third part of the chapter describes Chilean journalism cultures and technological change. Chilean journalism cultures are analysed according to three thematic areas: 1) socio-demographic profile, job conditions and perceived autonomy of journalists; 2) journalists' role perceptions and ethical standards; and 3) journalistic practices, tabloidisation and perceived influences on their news work.

The argument of this chapter is that an understanding of the Chilean context, including its media system, produces insights into the recent features of Chilean journalism cultures. In turn, Chilean journalism cultures represent a good opportunity to explore the challenges of integrating new digital technologies into the daily work practices of journalists.

The Chilean economy, politics and society

As suggested in the introduction to this thesis, the way journalism as a social and professional activity is practised in different societies cannot be detached from the contexts (technological, social, economic, political, cultural and legal) in which such activity is performed (Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011: 1). As Hallin and Mancini (2004) maintain, “media systems are shaped by the wider context of political history, structure and culture” (2004: 46) and *vice versa*.

Chile can be characterised as the best performing economy in Latin America and one of the most stable democracies in terms of governance (Wilke, 1998; Mellado, 2012).

Despite its economic and political stability, Chile is a country full of contradictions rooted in its recent authoritarian pass, fitting the characterisation of a developing country and a transitional democracy (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011: 288). According to a report by the BTI Project¹ in 2012, while it is remarkable that Chile has become a member of the OECD, it still faces significant challenges in areas such as human rights, equality and democracy (BTI Project, 2012a: 28).

The Chilean economic system is substantially private, with a low and decreasing participation of the state in the economy. Private companies are viewed as “the primary engines of economic production” and have appropriate legal safeguards (BTI Project 2012a: 17). Private property is guaranteed in the Chilean Constitution. However, this private capital-driven economy has not been the historical Chilean standard. Chile has an history of strong state intervention during much of the 20th century, especially during the ‘Radical Governments’ – from the Chilean Radical Party (Social Democrats) – of Presidents Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Juan Antonio Ríos and Gabriel González Videla between 1938-1952. The Radical Governments contributed to the growth of the state’s economic function under a ‘welfare state’ through state foundation or acquisition of industries in key sectors, such as in the hydroelectric energy, oil, copper and coal mining, iron and steel industries, and the manufacturing sector. The establishment of *CORFO* (the Chilean economic development agency) in 1939, after a devastating earthquake in southern Chile, played a vital role in the reconstruction of the Chilean economy after this natural disaster and the remnants of the economic crisis of 1929. *CORFO*, through credit and funding for private companies, and later by administrating state companies, laid the foundations for Chilean industrialisation under an ‘import substitution’ policy. *CORFO* helped to consolidate the state as the most important economic actor. The strong economic role of the state, with minor changes, continued during the subsequent governments of populist

Carlos Ibáñez del Campo (1952-1958), right-wing Jorge Alessandri (1958-1964), and Christian-Democrat Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970). This process was intensified under the government of socialist Salvador Allende (1970-1973).

Among many social and economic reforms known as “the Chilean road to socialism” (Allende, 1970), Allende nationalised key economic sectors, including the entire copper mining industry. For instance, large transnational companies, such as Kennecott and Anaconda Copper Mining Company (the latter owned by the American families Rockefeller and Rothschild), were expropriated without receiving any compensation, after their low-tax, allegedly abusive profits were deduced from their corresponding payment. Allende accelerated the agrarian reform started under Frei Montalva’s administration, expropriating large landholdings, allotting and assigning them to land-workers. The socialist government also established a pricing system for essential goods and services and raised state workers’ salaries by paying them with the issue of new banknotes. Many of these policies were extremely unpopular among wealthier sectors of the population, represented by powerful families with interests in banking and agriculture. Price speculation, black markets and increasing inflation resulted in an economic crisis (Dornbusch & Edwards, 1990; Rosenstein-Rodan, 1974).

The military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1989) reversed the interventionist role of the state, driving a privatisation process through strong neoliberal policies.² This reversal was then pursued by four governments of the centre/left-wing *Concertación* (1990-2010) and one by the right-wing *Coalición por el Cambio* (2010-2014) in order to stimulate the market economy, maintaining a state interest in only a few strategic companies (Palacios, 2002). The neoliberal model was clearly imprinted in the 1980 Constitution, which declares the “state may only endeavour economic activities or

participate in them when a qualified quorum law allows it” (*Constitución Política de la República de Chile*, 1980: Article 19 §21). In contrast, the 1925 Constitution, which lasted until 1973, allowed the state to participate actively in the economy through state companies in all areas and with no special laws. The new neoliberal policies set strong institutional foundations for market competition and the new economic order, with little role played by administered pricing, low entry and exit barriers for goods and capital markets, and freedom to launch and withdraw investments. Currently, governmental policies are limited to ensuring and maintaining the ‘rules of the game’, providing neutral regulations consistent with free-market competition. This includes weak control over monopolies and the expansion of required intermediary institutions. Banking, insurance, and financial institutions are autonomous and open to domestic and foreign capital (BTI Project, 2012a: 14-16). Foreign trade is “widely liberalised, with uniform, low tariffs and few non-tariff barriers in place” (2012a: 15). The state avoids intervention in free trade, although it supports a national export orientation through a network of institutions linked to the economy. Free trade has been expanded and consolidated through international and bilateral agreements with the US, the European Union, and Latin American and Asia-Pacific countries. The Chilean economy is highly dependent on international trade, with exports accounting for about 45% of GDP (BTI Project, 2012a: 15).

This economic framework has allowed the building of a strong economy at the macro level (see table 2.1), with low inflation rates, a moderate GDP growth rate, and a very low central government debt – slightly increased to 8.8% of GDP in 2010 during the economic crisis, while the regional average is around 30%. Mining and forestry exports sustain a positive trade balance (BTI Project, 2012a: 20).

Table 2.1. Chilean economic indicators

Economic indicators		2007	2008	2009	2010
GDP	\$ mm.	164315.2	170741.0	160859.3	212740.8
GDP growth	%	4.6	3.7	-1.7	5.2
Inflation (CPI)	%	-	-	-	1.4
Unemployment	%	7.1	7.8	9.7	
Foreign direct investment	% of GDP	7.6	8.9	8.0	7.1
Export growth	%	7.6	3.1	-5.6	-0.3
Import growth	%	14.5	12.2	-14.3	26.3
Current account balance	\$ mm.	7458.2	-3307.2	2570.1	3801.7
Public debt	% of GDP	4.1	5.2	6.2	8.8
External debt	\$ mm.	56190.5	65419.0	73145.5	86349.2
Total debt service	\$ mm.	11898.8	16215.0	17417.3	13392.5
Cash surplus or deficit	% of GDP	8.8	4.7	-4.5	-
Tax revenue	% of GDP	21.4	19.7	15.6	-
Government consumption	% of GDP	10.9	11.9	13.8	12.5
Public expend on education	% of GDP	3.4	4.0	-	-
Public expend on health	% of GDP	6.9	7.5	8.2	-
R&D expenditure	% of GDP	-	-	-	-
Military expenditure	% of GDP	3.4	3.5	3.5	-

Source: BTI Project (2012a: 14).

Despite these macroeconomic indicators, structural issues related to the small size of the market³ and the state's light oversight role have favoured market concentration in sectors such as banking and services, the paper industry, retail, forestry, mining, textile, investments, water services, energy, and media industries. The privatisation process driven by the Pinochet government “was not transparent and helped to consolidate the historic concentration of ownership” (BTI Project, 2012a: 17), especially by powerful family groups. Among the most important are the Luksic, Matte, Paulmann, Piñera, and Angelini families, with many hold interests across many economic sectors, including the media.

The Chilean socio-political context

Chile is a unitary state with a strong presidentialist system. The President of the Republic assumes both the head of state and the head of government, having the authority to appoint his cabinet, participate in the writing of laws, and propose who sits on the judiciary. This presidentialist system has been the historical Chilean standard since its formation as an independent state in 1818, with the exceptions of the ‘Parliamentary

Republic' (1891-1925), and some short authoritarian periods prior to 1973. The President is elected with 50% +1 of the votes, through universal suffrage. If no presidential candidate reaches those figures, a runoff is held between the two candidates with the most votes.

Since the return to democracy in 1989 after Pinochet's dictatorship, two major political blocks, the *Coalición por el Cambio* (right wing) and the *Concertación* (centre-left wing), dominate the political spectrum alongside a few small minority parties, such as the Chilean Communist Party, the Humanist Party, and others related to regionalist, environmentalist, and leftist movements. This quasi bi-partisanism is underpinned by the binomial electoral system: "Chile's unique system of legislative elections, in which each district elects two representatives" (Carey, 2006: 226). The introduction of this electoral system under the authoritarian regime sought political stability (Von Baer, 2006) by making it extremely difficult for third political options to gain positions in the Legislature. In practice, it has also succeeded in avoiding overruling majorities, forcing political actors to find consensus in order to pass, derogate, or modify laws.

On the one hand, the success of the system is remarkable if the last 25 years are compared with Chilean political history between 1886 and 1973, where extreme fragmentation and polarisation of the political party system facilitated the collapse of the Chilean democracy (Von Baer, 2006: 181). This collapse led to the *coup d'état* against the democratically elected Government of socialist Salvador Allende in 1973. Today, Chile has a "somewhat stable, moderate party system with low fragmentation, low polarisation and low voter volatility", with high levels of institutionalisation and strong policy formulation (BTI Project, 2012a: 10). On the other hand, this political stability has created a virtual tie in the National Congress between the two dominant blocks. This situation stops most

attempts to reform the political system, such as the elimination of “authoritarian enclaves designed to protect the interests of the old regime, impeding progress towards genuine pluralist order” (Huneus, 2005: 14). This political *status quo* also highlights the inability of the Chilean political class to deal with a series of social development challenges, including large distortions in wealth distribution that rank Chile 17th worldwide in inequality (Global Finance, 2011; see also López, Figueroa & Gutiérrez, 2013; UNDP, 2013).

While there have been a substantial reduction of poverty rates since the return to democracy (from nearly 40% in 1990), Chile still presents the third highest poverty rate in the OECD (18.9%), after Mexico and Israel and above the OECD average of 11.1% (OECD, 2011). According to the OECD report of 2011, 38% of Chileans find it difficult or very difficult to live on their current income (OECD average is 24%). Only 13% of Chileans express ‘high trust in their fellow citizens’ (OECD average of 59%), which is “very strongly associated with high income inequality” (OECD, 2011: 2). Also, there are serious problems with Chile’s mixed private and public welfare system, which “is biased toward social stratification” (BTI Project, 2012a: 17), and there are considerable socioeconomic barriers that “hamper social mobility and the validity of meritocratic principles” (BTI Project, 2012a: 13).

In relation to education, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2013) highlights relatively good figures in relation to mean years of schooling (9.7) and expected years of schooling (14.7), which are higher than the Latin American average (7.8 and 13.7 years, respectively; Australia shows 12.0 and 19.6 years, respectively) (United Nations, 14 March, 2013). Chilean governments have promoted important reforms by extending the coverage of pre-school education and granting a universal and

compulsory 12 years of schooling in the Constitution. However, deficiencies in education quality and equality have not been addressed, “resulting in a rather dysfunctional education system with a huge quality gap between private and public institutions” (BTI Project, 2012a: 21).⁴

Other important issues include gender inequality. According to the Human Development Index 2013, Chile ranks 66th on a Gender Inequality Index of 0.360 (Australia is 17th; GII= 0.115) (UNDP, 2013: 156), falling 13 places since 2010 (53th) and 29 places since 2006 (37th) (Betancourt & Lago, 18 March, 2013). These figures can be explained by the low level of female participation in politics (only 13.9% of seats in the National Congress in 2013, compared to Australia’s 29.2%); the low rate of women aged 25 or older with at least a secondary education (72.1% versus men’s 75.9%; Australia is 92.2% for both men and women); the low labour force participation rate (women’s 47.1% versus men’s 74.2%, Australia: 58.8% vs 72.3%, respectively); a surprisingly high maternal mortality ratio (25 deaths per 100,000 live births) compared with other ‘Very high human development’ countries (Australia=7); and a very high adolescent fertility rate (56.0 births per 1,000 women aged 15–19, compared to Australia’s 12.5) (UNDP, 2013: 156).

Problems of political representativeness, inequality of wealth distribution, education and gender inequity, and human rights for ethnic and sexual minorities connects to a growing distrust of social and political institutions, translating into increasing public protest movements since 2006.⁵ Disapproval of the Government and distrust in the President of the Republic has increased since 2009, reaching peaks of 62% and 69%, respectively, under the administration of President Piñera in 2011 (CEP, 2015). The current administration of President Bachelet is not doing much better in this regard, reaching a Government disapproval rate of 56% and distrust in the President at 62% in April 2015

(CEP, 2015). Citizen trust in political parties is very low. In citizen's eyes, political parties represent a "political oligopoly that holds little programmatic or organisational attraction" (BTI Project, 2012a: 11). While Chilean political parties are among the most stable in Latin America, they show the lowest levels of participation and membership. Fuelled by a progressive weakening in their linkages with the civil society initiated by Pinochet's dictatorship, Chilean political parties "are strong at the elite level, but show notable problems in terms of representation" (BTI Project, 2012a: 10). Citizen mistrust in societal institutions also spreads to Chilean journalism and the news media (CEP, 2015). Bias and misrepresentation in the news coverage by newspapers (Pardo *et al.*, 2010) and television (CNTV, 2012b) are problems for the Chilean public. The Chilean news media and their journalists are seen as showing a lack of pluralism, serving the interests of businessmen and the discredited political class, and misrepresenting political, sexual, and ethnic minorities (Pardo *et al.*, 2010).

Many of the issues described here have their direct antecedents in the democratic break of 1973 and the subsequent dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet (1973-1989). The coup was promoted by domestic business elites threatened by Allende's drive towards socialism and backed "by US corporations, the CIA and US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger" (Harvey, 2005: 7). The dictatorship, characterised by systematic and massive violations of human rights, imposed its strong neoliberal socioeconomic model following the directions of 'the Chicago boys' – a group of Chilean economists trained in the neoliberal theories of Chicago University's Milton Friedman and funded by the US Government since the 1950s as part of a Cold War programme to stop the spread of left-wing tendencies in Latin America (Harvey, 2005: 8). According to political economy scholar David Harvey, the Chilean case was the first experiment of "neoliberal state formation" (2005: 7). The state "withdrew from its social role in education, health, social

security and labour relations”, privatising many of these functions and relaxing regulations in favour of private companies (BTI Project, 2012a: 10). Pinochet’s regime imposed a constitution that institutionalised the economic model and provided the framework for political life after 1988’s referendum, which was designed to keep Pinochet in power but resulted in his defeat. In 1989, presidential and parliamentary elections were won by the *Concertación* block and Patricio Aylwin became the first democratically elected President since 1970.

Yet the *Concertación* governments did not promote major political and socioeconomic changes, in part due to the characteristics of the electoral system, and in part because of fear of military action (Pinochet continued as Commander-in-Chief of the Army until March 1998). There also appears to be an unspoken agreement between both major political conglomerates: the Chilean political elite has strong ties with the business class and the economic system has benefited them largely, as shown by recent cases of corruption (S. Romero, 9 April, 2015). In fact, the *Concertación* governments “maintained most aspects of the economic model inherited from the dictatorship, and even deepened some elements” (BTI Project, 2012: 28). Consequently, ‘la democracia de los acuerdos’ [democracy of the consensus] has given the system an apparent stability, but with high costs such as weak representation, an inflexible system, and a wide gap between citizens and politicians.

There is hope that the issues described in this section may change in the near future. In 2014 socialist Michelle Bachelet took office for a second non-consecutive term. Securing a majority in the National Congress, the *Concertación* coalition – now relaunched as *Nueva Mayoría* [new majority] after the Chilean Communist party joined the conglomerate – has proposed a series of reforms in education, health, and taxation aimed

at addressing social issues. Among these reforms, a bill that derogates the binomial electoral system in favour of more representativeness was passed by the Legislature and it is expected to take effect during 2015. Nonetheless, the political and socioeconomic context of the last 45 years has obviously affected the Chilean media system in many ways, and it is logical that the contradictions apparent in Chilean development are shared by the Chilean media system.

The Chilean media system

In this section, the Chilean media system is examined through the four dimensions of comparison proposed by Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004). Their influential work, *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (2004), has enabled media and journalism scholars to analyse the relations between state, media and society in comparative research. Starting from a comparative analysis of media systems in 18 countries in North America and Western Europe, Hallin and Mancini (2005: 217) propose three media system models:

- the ‘Polarised Pluralist Model’, characteristic of southern Europe countries such as France, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain;
- the ‘Democratic Corporatist Model’, from northern and central Europe, including Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland, and;
- the ‘Liberal Model’, characteristic of the north Atlantic region, including Canada, USA and the UK.

While these three models (see table 2.2) have been widely discussed and used (Hallin & Mancini, 2012), they are applied here only in a broad sense to characterise the Chilean media system. In fact, when applying these three models, it becomes evident it is not

possible to apply the three models to other contexts without modification. Acknowledging this fact, Hallin and Mancini (2005: 231) are emphatic in expressing the need to avoid generalisations between different countries, thereby avoiding “the kind of universalistic theory proposed in *Four Theories of the Press*” by Siebert, Petersen and Schramm (Hallin & Mancini, 2005: 231). In *Comparing Media Systems*, Hallin and Mancini remark that the group of countries included under each of their ideal types is not homogeneous and requires recognition of their differences and similarities. They suggest the existence of many mixed systems that combine elements of more than one model (2005: 217), with the Chilean case representing one of many mixed systems.

Hallin and Mancini (2005) also suggest that individual media systems “are not internally homogeneous” and often include elements evolved in different contexts, either historical or structural (2005: 218). Systems are not static: they change over time, are path dependent, and it is not possible to understand “why media systems are as they are without looking back at the historical roots of their development” (Hallin & Mancini, 2005: 218). These characteristics can be observed in the Chilean case. This

<p>Table 2.2. The three models: media</p>	<p>North Atlantic or Liberal Model (Britain, USA, Canada, Ireland)</p>	<p>Medium newspaper circulation; early development of mass circulation commercial press</p>	<p>Neutral commercial press; information-oriented journalism; internal pluralism (but external pluralism in Britain); professional model of broadcast governance – formally autonomous system</p>	<p>Strong professionalisation; non-institutionalised self-regulation</p>	<p>Market dominated (except strong public broadcasting in Britain and Ireland)</p>	<p>Source: Hallin and Mancini (2004: 67).</p>
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	<p>Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Model (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland)</p>	
	<p>Mediterranean or Polarised Pluralist Model (France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain)</p>	
Newspaper industry	Low newspaper circulation, elite politically-oriented press	High newspaper circulation; early development of mass commercial press
Political Parallelism	High political parallelism; external pluralism, commentary-oriented journalism; parliamentary or government model of broadcast governance – politics-over-broadcasting systems	External pluralism especially in national press; historically strong party press; shift toward neutral commercial press; politics-in-broadcasting system with substantial autonomy
Professionalisation	Weaker professionalisation; instrumentalisation	Strong professionalisation; institutionalised self-regulation
Role of the state in the media system	Strong state intervention; press subsidies in France and Italy; periods of censorship; ‘savage deregulation’ (except France)	Strong state intervention but with protection for press freedom; press subsidies, particularly strong in Scandinavia; strong public-service broadcasting

does not mean, however, that key relationships between political history and political systems, and media systems must be seen in terms of one-way causality. In most cases, these relations need to be seen “in terms of co-evolution of the media system with other social structures” (Hallin & Mancini, 2005: 216-217).⁶

Given these observations, it is necessary to note suggestions made by Afonso de Albuquerque (2012) and Natalia Roudakova (2012). These authors offer interesting approaches to the study of media systems, especially in so-called ‘hybrid regimes’ that “occupy the ‘political grey zone’ between classical liberal democracy and classic dictatorship” (Roudakova, 2012: 276), including postcolonial, post-socialist, post-dictatorship, and post-war contexts (Roudakova, 2012: 271), or those on the ‘periphery’ (de Albuquerque, 2012). Their observations are used in the discussion presented throughout the remainder of the chapter.

Development of media markets

The first dimension of comparison proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004) is a media market’s grade of development, emphasising the development of a mass circulation press. This dimension includes (1) the rates of newspaper circulation, (2) their public orientation in a range from “mass public oriented” to “educated and politically active elite oriented”, (3) the newspaper’s vs. television’s relative importance as sources of news, and (4) the historical roots of newspaper industry (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 22-26). Under these four parameters, the Chilean media system does not fit any of the models proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004), as it has a low newspaper circulation, a mass-public oriented press, a weak newspaper sector compared to television news, and a relatively late development of the press.

It has been difficult in Chile to determine newspaper circulation rates, as this information has been treated as a strategic asset by the industry. However, according to the last publicly accessible information (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2013), from The World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA), Chilean shows low and decreasing newspaper circulation rates (see table 2.3). In comparison with countries

included in Hallin and Mancini’s study, Chilean newspaper circulation is comparable with those Mediterranean countries included in the Polarised Pluralist Model. For instance, in 2000 (the same year analysed by Hallin and Mancini), Chile had a newspaper circulation rate of 84.57 per 1,000 adults, lower than Spain (129.4) and Italy (121.8), and a little bit higher than Portugal (82.7) and Greece (77.5). These rates were the lowest among the countries discussed by Hallin and Mancini (2004). In 2004, Chilean newspaper circulation dropped to 50.61 per 1,000 adults. These decreasing figures are also consistent with the observations by de Albuquerque (2012: 78) about the Brazilian newspaper market.

Table 2.3. Chilean newspapers – Average circulation

	Year					
	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Daily newspapers: Number of titles	–	53 ^{*†}	51 ^{*†}	47 ^{*†}	54 ^{*†}	59 [‡]
Daily newspapers: Total average circulation	–	1,303,371 ^{§†}	1,325,843 ^{§†}	–	928,294 ^{§†}	816,000 [‡]
Non-daily newspapers: Number of titles	–	9 ^{§†}	12 ^{§†}	12 ^{§†}	32 ^{§†}	32 ^{§†}
Daily newspapers: Total average circulation per 1,000 inhabitants	–	84.57 [†]	85.01 [†]	–	58.20 [†]	50.61 [‡]
Non-daily newspapers: Total average circulation per 1,000 inhabitants	–	–	–	–	–	–

Observations:

– Data not available

* Partial data

§ UIS estimation^{§†}

† Does not include newspapers from remote areas

‡ Source: World Association of Newspapers

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2013).

The similarities with countries in the Polarised-Pluralist model stop when examining newspapers’ public orientation. The Chilean market can be characterised more as ‘mass public oriented’ than ‘educated and politically active elite oriented’. From seven newspapers with national circulation, four are popularly-oriented or tabloids (*La Cuarta*, *Las Últimas Noticias*, *La Hora*, and *Publimetro*), and the other three are elite-oriented or

‘serious press’ (*El Mercurio*, *La Tercera*, and *La Segunda*). Consolidating the daily circulation net average figures for the second half of 2011, popularly-oriented newspapers represent 59.34% of the national daily circulation net average. However, if we consider the national newspapers’ daily average readership (including both print and online editions), the trend is more marked. Popularly-oriented newspapers represent 67.04% of daily average readership (see table 2.4).

Table 2.4. National newspapers: daily circulation net average / daily readership (print + online) average – Second half of the year 2011

Newspapers	Daily Circulation (net average)	Average daily readership (print + online)
Elite-oriented		
El Mercurio	159,036	410,984
La Tercera	98,680	356,170
La Segunda*†	33,456	96,119
Elite-oriented daily total	291,172	863,273
Elite-oriented daily average	97,057	287,758
% of national total daily participation	40.66%	32.96%
Popularly-oriented		
La Cuarta	107,666	397,012
Las Ultimas Noticias	124,167	682,108
La Hora*	97,508	311,945
Publimetro*	95,667	364,641
Popular-oriented daily total	425,008	1,755,706
Popular-oriented daily average	106,252	438,927
% of national total daily participation	59.34%	67.04%
National daily total	716,180	2,618,979

Observations:

* Only circulate Monday to Friday

† Afternoon newspaper

Source: Developed with data from Asociación Nacional de la Prensa [ANP] (2012a, 2012b).

Low newspaper circulation rates contrast with television penetration. The Chilean media system can be described as television-centred. Approximately 85% of Chileans consume television content at least once a day, in contrast with 17% for newspapers (Pardo *et al.*, 2010: 15). With a penetration of 2.7 sets per household, broadcast television was the most used medium (90%) by Chileans in 2011 (CNTV, 2012c: 2). TV news is the most

consumed television genre, accounting for 24% (236 hours) of the average yearly hours of TV consumption (980 hours per year) (CNTV, 2012a: 12). According to Pardo *et al.*, (2010: 6-10), TV news is also considered by audiences as the most credible (40%; newspaper=11%), delivering better quality information (37%; newspapers=14%), the most influential news media (59%; newspaper=9%), and the medium that best contributes to keeping people informed (54%, newspaper=7%).

Chile, as with many countries outside North America and Western Europe, experienced a late development of press. During the colonial period, there was strict control of printing presses by Spanish authorities, which restrained the development of the press. Yet, literacy was promoted by mainland governors and universities were founded in Chile, such as *Universidad de Santo Tomás de Aquino* in 1622 and *Universidad de San Felipe* in 1728. The first Chilean newspaper, *La Aurora de Chile* [the dawn of Chile], was founded in 1810 by Friar Camilo Henríquez as a vehicle for the liberal ideas of the independentist movement (Silva, 1958). During the 19th century, after Chilean independence in 1818, many small and short-lived newspapers, journals, magazines, newsletters, directories, and official papers circulated. They had a doctrinarian role of advocacy for different political ideas rather than news dissemination, and contributed to the formation of the republican state. Chile suffered periods of press repression and constraint under Conservative party administrations. But, in 1872, the Liberal party administration passed a new Law of Print, granting journalistic freedom and new impetus to the development of local media (Biblioteca Nacional de Chile [BNCh], 2013). The influence of the US press model saw partisan journalism progressively put aside in favour of news and entertainment content (Ossandón & Santa Cruz, 2001: 21). In 1875, banker Agustín Edwards Ossandón acquired *El Mercurio de Valparaíso* (founded in 1827), which is the oldest Spanish language newspaper still in circulation. This purchase marked

the beginning of a process of commercial modernisation of the press. *El Mercurio* followed the US ideals of the liberal press, through informative journalism supported by objectivity and facts rather than opinion. Industrialisation and technology underpinned this process, under an enterprise and market model in which advertising played a prime role, leading to the consolidation of the mass communication industry in the second half of the 20th century (BNCh, 2013).

The arrival of radio broadcasting in 1922 reinforced the development of the mass communication industry, following the US commercial broadcasting model (Asociación de Radiodifusores de Chile [ARCHI], 2006). Despite the commercial trend, many radio stations and newspapers continued under the control of political parties and other institutions until 1973. In contrast, Chilean television was conceived as a cultural and educational medium. The first Chilean broadcast is dated in 1957, but TV started its popularisation in 1962, during that year's FIFA Football World Cup played in Chile (Hurtado, Edwards, & Guilisasti, 1989). Television licenses were also in state and university hands (even though they competed commercially) until 1990, when a legal reform allowed private companies to obtain television licenses.

According to Mellado (2012), the Chilean media system includes 58 daily newspapers (seven of them with national circulation), 10 weekly or biweekly newspapers, almost 2,000 radio stations, five national television networks (one of them state-owned), two cable news channels, more than 80 regional and local television stations, eight news magazines, a national newswire, and several international news services with branches in the country (Mellado, 2012: 382). Most of these media organisations have an online presence and there are also an undetermined number of online-only news media organisations.

Political parallelism

The second dimension of comparison proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004) is political parallelism, which evaluates how the media system “reflects the main lines of division within the political system” (Hallin & Mancini, 2005: 218). According to de Albuquerque (2012), Hallin and Mancini seek to evaluate the degree of the liaisons between media organisations and general political tendencies, not only political parties (de Albuquerque 2012: 80). They use five criteria, including (1) “media content” or the extent to which news media outlets “reflect distinct political orientations in their news and current affairs, and sometimes also their entertainment content” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 28); (2) “organisational connections” between media and political organisations; (3) “tendency of media personnel to be active in political life”; (4) “partisanship of media audiences”, or the audience’s media consumption habits according to their political adherence; and (5) “journalistic role orientations and practices”, with a range from advocacy journalism to neutral or just informative and entertaining (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 26-30). They also include in their analysis the way in which pluralism is exerted in media systems, under the categories of “external pluralism” (a range of media organisations “reflecting the points of view of different groups or tendencies in society”) and “internal pluralism” (“pluralism achieved within each individual media outlet or organisation”) (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 29). External pluralism would be characteristic of media systems with high political parallelism, while internal pluralism is characteristic of media systems with low or moderate political parallelism.

Under the five criteria proposed by Hallin and Mancini, the Chilean media system exhibits a low political parallelism, with internal pluralism as a characteristic. Media content appears to reflect a neutral stand in news and current affairs, giving voice to actors from different positions in the political spectrum. Media personnel show low public

participation in active political life, audiences show little partisanship in their media consumption, and journalistic practices tend to be more neutral, informative or entertaining. In a media market dominated by commercial enterprises, direct organisational connections between media and political organisations are difficult to observe, as no political parties own media outlets.⁷ However, these five criteria are not sufficient in assessing the degree of political parallelism in the Chilean media system.

Mellado (2012) argues the existence of a strong political parallelism, which correlates with strong market concentration in the Chilean media market (see Appendix A). Both parallelism and market concentration have limited levels of information pluralism and place the news media under constant pressure (Otano & Sunkel, 2003). As Roudakova (2012) and de Albuquerque (2012) suggest, this degree of parallelism can be best observed if we perform a processual analysis and use a broader definition of Hallin and Mancini's (2004) 'organised social group', including "individual capitalists with connections in government and factions within state bureaucracies" (Roudakova, 2012: 271). In this regard, Roudakova proposes an analytical distinction between the media's political partisanship and "an active role of media actors and organisations in the political and state-making process". This is a type of interventionism of media outlets into the political process that is common in transitional regimes and goes beyond mere parallelism (Roudakova, 2012: 271), as the media helps to 'perform' the state to citizens where legitimacy of the state is often maintained "through mechanisms other than elections" (2012: 254-255).

In Chile, strong political parallelism supported by external pluralism was characteristic of its media system prior to 1973. Political parties and other social institutions (e.g. the National Society of Agriculture, with *Radio Agricultura*; and the Catholic Church, with

Canal 13) owned media outlets and used them as vehicles for their ideological and economic interests, mainly through editorial and op-eds columns.⁸ According to Bernedo and Porath (2003), despite these strong ties, the press generally remained faithful to the canons of liberal press until the late '60s. News differentiated clearly between news and opinion, and adhered to the canons of political coexistence, characterised by respect for democracy and its institutions. This situation changed during Salvador Allende's government (1970-1973). A deep ideological polarisation affected the country and, insofar the situation was deteriorating and the disaffection with the democratic system grew, the press began to assert a Manichean informative style, characterised as barricade-like, libellous, and insulting (Bernedo & Porath, 2003).⁹

After the 1973's coup, this media ownership scenario dramatically changed. During Pinochet's dictatorship, party-owned radio stations and newspapers were confiscated and/or closed, their directors and personnel persecuted, and in some cases, killed or disappeared by the regime (Palacios, 2002). The government also took control of university-owned media (Tironi & Sunkel, 1993). The main commercial media outlets actively or passively supported the dictatorship, and disinformation became a regular practice.¹⁰ Beyond the ideological proximity (political conservatism and economic liberalism) between the authoritarian government and owners of the surviving newspapers, political subordination of the media was granted in exchange for government advertising, soft credits, and economic concessions when the major newspapers companies, El Mercurio and COPESA groups, were on the verge of bankruptcy after the economic crisis of 1982. Despite the changes in the ownership system, political parallelism of the media continued during this period as the main commercial media outlets served in many cases as conduits for the military government, along with the state-

owned media outlets *Televisión Nacional de Chile (TVN)* [National Television of Chile] and the *La Nación* newspaper, which had low credibility (particularly the latter).

Towards the end of the 1980s, a lifting of media restrictions was underpinned by a desire for greater economic development in the media through competition – “the need of the media for tuning in with audience aspirations” – rather than by ideological considerations on freedom of expression (Tironi & Sunkel, 1993: 243). During this period an opposition press that denounced the dictatorship’s human rights abuses flourished (Otano & Sunkel, 2003; Mönckeberg, 2009; Tironi & Sunkel, 1993), funded mainly by political groups and private sponsorship. Paradoxically, the return to democracy in 1989 and the sustained economic growth experienced by Chile during the following decade reduced media diversity (Mellado, 2012). While the entire press system played an active role as agent in the consolidation of a democratic culture (Tironi & Sunkel, 1993: 242), the former opposition press¹¹ that fought for the reinstatement of democracy did not survive market competition and closed in the first half of the 1990 decade.

The almost complete disappearance of party-owned press and the development of the commercial press did not lead to the extinction of parallelism, instead seeing it adopt a new shape. After 1990, a large commercial newspaper duopoly formed by El Mercurio and COPESA groups¹² dominated the entire press system with no major competitors, establishing the oligopolistic regime prevailing until now (Palacios, 2002). These media companies control almost 95% of the national newspaper circulation (Mellado, 2012) and manage 84.26% of the revenue generated by advertising in print media (Asociación Chilena de Agencias de Publicidad & Megatime, 2009). Ownership concentration in the radio broadcasting and newspaper industries has turned Chile into the most concentrated media market in Latin America (Mastrini & Becerra, 2011), raising concerns about the

health and pluralism of Chilean press (Mönckeberg, 2009; Palacios, 2002; Mastrini & Becerra, 2011). Both dominant newspaper groups are linked to the same political sector – the conservative political right. While today the Chilean media generally subscribe to Liberal press values, a strong parallelism of a different kind can be observed. Rather than political parties, this is linked to economic-ideological interests groups, as the news media plays an advocacy role in the defence of the neoliberal economic model (Mönckeberg, 2009). The close relationship of media companies with political and economic elites and interest groups through cross ownership and advertising has raised issues of representation of marginal sectors of Chilean society (Alfaro *et al*, 2012), and social and environmental movements (Otano & Sunkel, 2003). As shown in recent surveys (CEP, 2015), these patterns have resulted in low levels of trust by citizens in the news media (21% for television and 23% for newspapers),

This kind of parallelism is not accounted for in the three models proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004). Instead, de Albuquerque (2012) offers an alternative perspective, suggesting that, since one-to-one relations between political parties and the news media are becoming harder to find, classic political parallelism only reflects one of four possible types of relationships between media and politics. Following de Albuquerque's (2012) characterisation, political parallelism reflects the mix of two variables: the existence of a media system with a politically active media, and the existence of clear party lines to be observed and reflected in the media. A second possibility mixes clearly defined party lines and the media "refrain[ing] from taking explicit positions in the name of *public service ethics*" (2012: 93, emphasis in the original), while a third involves a non-politically active media associated with unclear party lines. The fourth type of media-politics relationship suggested by de Albuquerque sees the media playing a very active political role, despite unclear party lines (see table 2.5). In this fourth type, the media

explicitly takes part in political debate, not as a representative of political parties, but as a representative of national interests “in a more legitimate way as political parties and even the formal political institutions” (2012: 93). This scenario does not correspond with Hallin and Mancini’s framework, but Albuquerque believes it represents the role performed by the Brazilian news media (2012: 93). This fourth kind of relationship is the most useful to characterise the relationships between the media and political system in Chile after 1989, where the news media were “agents that contribute to the [political] system’s stability and the reconstitution of a democratic normality climate”, as suggested by Tironi and Sunkel (1993: 242).

Table 2.5. Types of media-politics relationships

		Politically Active Media	
		Strong	Weak
Party Lines	Clear	Political Parallelism (Polarised Pluralist model)	Public service media (Democratic Corporatist model)
	Unclear	Media as political agent (Moderating role)	“Objective” media (Liberal model)

Source: de Albuquerque (2012: 93).

In relation to broadcast governance and regulation, the current Chilean media system is close to the “professional model” suggested by Hallin and Mancini (2004: 31), following years of a propagandistic role of state media. *TVN*, the only remaining state-owned media outlet after the sale of *Radio Nacional de Chile* [National Radio broadcasting of Chile] and the *La Nación* newspaper, is governed under a special statute approved in 1992. This statute kept state ownership, but gave *TVN* autonomy from the Executive and the other State Powers, as well as economic and administrative freedom (*Ley que crea empresa Televisión Nacional de Chile*, 1992: Art. 1). In practice, this has resulted in the

commercialisation of the public television station as a way to compete with private private-owned TV networks.

Professionalism

The third dimension of comparison proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004) is journalistic professionalism, which involves three criteria of analysis: (1) autonomy, (2) distinct professional norms, and (3) public service orientation (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 33-41). Under these criteria, some Chilean media and journalism scholars (Otano & Sunkel, 2003; Cabalín & Lagos, 2009; Mellado, 2012) agree about the limited development of professionalism in the Chilean media system.

Findings are contradictory when assessing the level of autonomy exercised by Chilean journalists. Some studies suggest high levels of perceived editorial freedom (Wilke, 1998), dissonance between the perceived low autonomy of journalists and journalists' self-perception of high autonomy (Yez, 2011: 53), and strong levels of perceived autonomy and satisfaction among journalists (Mellado & Humanes, 2012: 992). Other authors such as Cabalín and Lagos (2009) and Otano and Sunkel (2003) suggest compromised levels of journalistic autonomy. These confusing results can be explained by the different approaches of these studies, as well as by the evolution of the Chilean media system “from a partisan stance to a depoliticised and condescending attitude towards official power and the status quo” (Mellado and Humanes, 2012: 989). Cabalín and Lagos' findings (2009: 37) support this view, when they argue that Chilean journalists have come to regard autonomy issues as a ‘natural’ aspect of their work and often take an uncritical view of the phenomenon. Similarly, Otano and Sunkel (2003) suggest that a limited professional culture among Chilean journalism has restricted the development of a more free and pluralistic journalism. Among the symptoms of a limited professional

culture are the vulnerability of journalistic unions and associations, reinforced by low membership rates among Chilean journalists; the lack of assertiveness displayed by graduate professionals that are trained in professional skills but lack social awareness; and the permeation of a ‘consensus logic’ that avoids confrontation (Otano & Sunkel, 2003).

Despite these results, there is agreement that political constraints and economic pressures have affected journalists’ autonomy. For instance, Cabalín and Lagos (2009) outline the difficulties posed by access to official information, instructions by superiors to soften stories, time pressures, and restrictions imposed by superiors in reporting and publishing stories (Cabalín & Lagos, 2009: 49). Otano and Sunkel (2003) suggest that journalists’ autonomy is undermined by external pressures on journalists and the media, such as political, economic (e.g. advertisers), and cultural factors (e.g. the Catholic Church), but also by journalistic practices. According to Yez (2011), the main issues for journalistic autonomy are related to the clash between the media’s editorial and commercial spheres, and a perceived overemphasis on economic performance (Yez, 2011: 53). Despite these issues, the Chilean situation is comparatively good when placed side-by-side with other Latin American countries, with no major violations of freedom of speech such as those observed in Mexico, Colombia and Brazil (Mellado, 2012: 383).

The Chilean media system has adhered increasingly to liberal press values, despite the high levels of political parallelism in its history. As some scholars suggest (Mellado, 2012; Mellado & Humanes, 2012; Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011), Chilean journalists assign greater importance to universal values (such as objectivism, impartiality, independence on reporting) and to a public service orientation, such as the ‘watchdog’ role of the press.

However, this adherence does not necessarily correlate with “a sceptical attitude towards the business world” (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011: 281).

In the development of professional norms and ethical standards, university journalism schools have played a fundamental role.¹³ From a reported 50% of journalists with university studies (only few of them with journalism degrees) in the mid-1960s, journalists with tertiary studies grew to 80% (70% with journalism degrees) in 1991-1992, and to 92.5% (86.2% with journalism degrees) in 2008-2009 (Wilke, 1998; Mellado, 2012). The liberalisation of university education under Pinochet’s regime in 1980, with the opening of journalism schools in private universities, contributed to this growth. However, the liberalisation of education was also tied to deregulation of the market, with training prerequisites for the journalistic profession eliminated (Wilke, 1998).

Despite the existence of an ethics code, the Colegio de Periodistas de Chile, the main Chilean craft union, does not have enforcement abilities, and judgments by its Ethics Tribunal have only a symbolic importance. This situation is reflected in the current state of craft unions – only 13.5% of Chilean journalists belong to the Colegio de Periodistas de Chile, and only 14.5% say they are members of journalistic unions (Mellado, 2012: 392). This situation creates a vicious circle, as journalists express dissatisfaction with the union’s efforts to improve working conditions and create a positive image of the profession (Mellado, 2012: 392-393). But their weak membership base makes it difficult to represent journalists’ demands. Also, media industry associations, such as the Asociación Nacional de la Prensa (ANP) [national newspaper association], have self-regulated ethics codes and tribunals, but their judgments are rarely made public.

Despite these issues, the Chilean media system show low levels of instrumentalisation in the political sense used by Hallin and Mancini (2004: 37). As suggested in the political parallelism section, the main issues in this regard are commercial or economic in character, rather than direct political pressures.

The role of the state

The final dimension of comparison suggested by Hallin and Mancini (2004) is “the degree and nature of state intervention in the media system” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 21). This state intervention takes four main forms: (1) censorship or political pressures on the media, (2) funding and distribution of economic subsidies, (3) ownership of media organisations, and (4) regulating the media through laws and licensing, under the claim of public interest (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 41-44). The first three criteria indicate a marked and progressive trend towards a liberal role of the state in Chile, while the fourth criteria offers some contradictory characteristics.

The dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet exerted strict control and censorship over the media especially during its first years, including the murder or forced disappearance of journalists by state intelligence and repressive agencies. However, a liberalisation process started in the second half of the 1980s, underpinned by media pressures on the political system to overcome authoritarian controls (Tironi & Sunkel, 1993: 243). Different to many other post-authoritarian regimes, Tironi and Sunkel (2003) suggest that the Chilean media transition – its modernisation and emancipation from political control – was actually a process of continuity rather than rupture or dramatic change.

With the return to democracy in 1989, cases of state censorship and political pressure on the media became more infrequent. Media organisations covered sensitive issues and

fulfilled a watchdog role vis-à-vis the government and other political authorities (BTI-Project, 2012: 7). In addition, there was significant progress in transparency and access to public information. In recent years, some concerns have been raised about cases of police abuse of reporters and photographers in public demonstrations. These situations, together with some authoritarian regulations and judgments, have seen Chile categorised as “Partly Free” in the Freedom of Press ranking by the Freedom House NGO (Karlekar & Dunham, 2012).

State funding and subsidies are not an important factor today in the Chilean media system. As outlined, during the 1982 economic crisis, the state provided soft credits and funding to major newspapers companies, El Mercurio and COPESA groups, to save them from bankruptcy. This reinforced newspaper loyalty to the regime, which already existed due to the ideological and economic affinities between media owners and the government. However, with a return to democracy this situation changed and today state subsidies are a minor element in Chilean media system. State advertising is also not used as a form of economic pressure on the media, as occurs in other countries in Latin America (Guerrero & Márquez-Ramírez, 2014).

The ownership regime in Chilean media system has been substantially privatised, as the state has withdrawn from the sector. During the Pinochet dictatorship, state-owned media – *Radio Nacional de Chile*, *TVN*, and *La Nación* – played a propagandistic role. With the return of democratic governments, the state privatised *Radio Nacional de Chile* and modernised the *TVN* administration under a special statute that granted autonomy from the executive and placed the public broadcasting channel under the same regulatory framework as private commercial stations (*Ley que crea empresa Televisión Nacional de Chile*, 1992). *TVN* is self-financing, yet concerns have been raised about its recent

commercial results (Plant & González, 1 June, 2015). In recent years, with the adoption of the standard for Digital Terrestrial Television (DTTV), a strong lobbying by private interests has put pressure on legislators to give *TVN* a more pronounced commercial role. *La Nación* newspaper – founded in 1917 by Liberal party senator and Minister, Eliodoro Yáñez – has a controversial history of political swings since it was expropriated by the dictatorship of Carlos Ibañez del Campo in 1927. As a state newspaper, *La Nación* openly served the interests of each different government, which resulted in low credibility and limited influence, as well as criticism by political adversaries. After 1989, the *Concertación* governments granted *La Nación* a more independent character, although it displayed a “consensus logic” of soft-criticism in the first years of the democratic transition (Otano & Sunkel, 2003). The newspaper even performed a watchdog role over authorities, especially in its Sunday editions, that resulted in the controversial sacking of editors. During the last governments of the *Concertación*, *La Nación* returned to its advocatory tendency. Following the inauguration of the *Coalición* government of Sebastián Piñera in 2010, the authorities decided to stop the circulation of the print edition (becoming the first Latin American newspaper moved to digital-only) and sold the newspaper in 2014 (Areyuna, 27 January, 2014). Journalism unions and associations criticised this decision as a ‘political vendetta’, defending the necessity of a public newspaper – under a statute similar to *TVN* – to preserve pluralism and the public interest in a media market dominated by commercial newspapers with the same political-economic tendencies (Martínez, 25 September, 2012).

Concerning regulation of the media market, some contradictory characteristics are observed in the Chilean media system. Under the Pinochet dictatorship, despite granting freedom of speech in the Constitution “without any previous censorship” (*Constitución Política de la República de Chile, 1980: Art. 19, number 12*), a strong legal corpus

considerably restrained this freedom. Libel and defamation laws and the elimination of professional secrecy for journalists contributed to this situation. With the return to democracy, many of these authoritarian laws were repealed, including censorship over cinematographic production, impediments to report the military and the government, as well as defamation laws protecting public persons (BTI-Project, 2012: 7). Despite these developments, some authoritarian enclaves persisted in Chilean regulatory framework, including libel laws (González, 2008). One of the most controversial enclaves that still exists is the Consejo Nacional de Televisión (CNTV) [National Television Council]. This organism oversees the “common good and the proper operation of this medium” (*Constitución Política de la República de Chile*, 1980: Art. 19, number 12), which includes “moral” and “spiritual” supervision over content (*Ley que crea el Consejo Nacional de Televisión*, 1989: Art. 1).

Hallin and Mancini (2004: 44) also mention an additional role played by state; that is, as a source of information and primary definer of news, with great influence on the news agenda and the framing of public issues. De Albuquerque (2012) suggests that these may be distinctive characteristics in presidentialist systems. In these regimes, the news media tends to focus on the president as an individual person to the detriment of collective agents, such as political parties, and on the administrative aspects of government rather than on party politics, thereby contributing to a generalist, catch-all attitude in the media (de Albuquerque, 2012: 91). This is the case in Chile, a country with a strong tradition of presidentialism, where the executive branch and particularly the figure of the president tend to dominate the news agenda.

The Chilean media system: Another mixed model?

The analysis offered in this section describes the main characteristics of the Chilean media system for contextual purposes. When examining the Chilean media system with the framework proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004), it becomes evident that Chile does not fit any of the three original models. In the Chilean case, often contradictory elements of Liberal and Polarised Pluralist models coexist (see table 2.6), shaping a mixed media system that is consistent with what Roudakova calls “hybrid regimes” (Roudakova, 2012: 276).

Table 2.6. Chilean media system characteristics

Newspaper industry	low newspaper circulation; mass-public oriented press; weaker importance of newspaper as source of news in relation to TV; late development of press.
Political Parallelism	political parallelism, more economic than political; internal pluralism, mix of information-oriented and commentary-oriented journalism; politics-in-broadcasting system with substantial autonomy.
Professionalisation	moderate professionalisation; compromised autonomy levels; weak institutionalised self-regulation; weak political instrumentalisation; substantial commercialisation.
Role of the state in the media system	weak state intervention; ownership of public broadcasting television, administered with market logic and high autonomy levels; minor press subsidies through funds for development of regional media and state advertising; existence of periods of censorship; weak regulation of market and media ownership; existence of libel laws and other restrictive institutions for press freedom.

Using an alternate framework, a recent analysis by Guerrero and Márquez-Ramírez (2014) examined mixed media systems in the Latin American region, characterising them as ‘Liberal-captured’. While the notion of a model fitting the different countries in the region is debatable (de Albuquerque, 2013), Guerrero and Márquez-Ramírez (2014) outline a series of characteristics in the relationship between the media and political power in Latin American countries, including Chile. These characteristics include the predominance of private commercial organisations and strong clientelism ties between them and the political elites, resulting from post-transitional regimes. These conditions

“hurdle states’ regulatory capacities and (...) afflict the watchdog role of journalism by economic and political interests” (Guerrero, 2014: 43). Guerrero and Márquez-Ramírez (2014) identify different levels in which these elements might characterise Latin American media systems, including authoritarian responses by populist governments to the news media’s political influence in Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia (Guerrero, 2014). While Chile differs to these countries in terms of political, economic, and cultural characteristics, the elements of the Chilean media system described in this section broadly relate to the general characteristics of the ‘Liberal-captured’ model they propose, although further research is needed to test this claim. Still, the innovative framework of Guerrero and Márquez-Ramírez (2014), as well as the additions of Roudakova (2012) and de Albuquerque (2012) to Hallin and Mancini’s models, offer useful perspectives to expand the analysis of the Chilean media system.

No matter the label used, the Chilean media system shows the impact of Pinochet’s dictatorship in the current configuration of the country. Its recent history has affected the Chilean media system in a way consistent with transitional regimes, with a mix of liberalised market conditions and some authoritarian enclaves still in existence. Several of the main issues that currently affect Chilean journalism are also rooted in this past, yet others have more to do with globalisation and commercialisation trends that are not exclusive to transitional democracies. As the following section shows, the context presented so far affects Chilean journalism cultures, along with recent technological changes across the media industry.

Chilean journalism cultures

There is limited empirical scholarship about journalism cultures in Chile. The development of journalism and media studies in Chile has faced many obstacles,

including the lack of a clear epistemological tradition, with the various political and economic stages of the country leading to a blending of traditions (Dittus, 2008). This situation has generated a series of ‘hegemonic knowledge’ formations – e.g. the dominance of the American mass communication and Marxist schools – and ‘closures’ in certain historical moments, especially before and during Pinochet’s dictatorship (Dittus, 2008; González, 2003). Dittus (2008) suggests that the hegemony of pragmatism (e.g. marketing-oriented research), centralism, and scarce scientific production by the academic community are factors in the limited scholarship on communication available about Chile. The main fields of recent research in Chilean communication and media studies focus on the political economy of the media, and issues of representation. The concentration of media ownership (Palacios, 2002; Mastrini & Becerra, 2007, 2011; Jiménez & Muñoz, 2008; Fortín, 2011; González, 2008), and misrepresentation of minorities and social sectors (Alfaro *et al.*, 2012; P. Romero, 2012; CNTV, 2012a) are important topics in recent research. Other topics include classic studies on the effects of advertising on youth (Vergara & Rodríguez, 2010), political communication (Portales, 2009), television content and agenda setting (Souza & Martínez, 2011; Wiley, 2007; Corro, 2007; Valenzuela & Arriagada, 2009; Pellegrini, 2010b), television policy (Ortega, 2008; Godoy, 2010), and journalism education (González, 2003; Délano, Niklander, & Susacasa, 2007). The following subsections describe the main characteristics of Chilean journalism according to the available scholarship.

Socio-demographic profile, job conditions and perceived autonomy

Based on a census of journalists working in news media in the four most populated regions of the country in 2008-2009, around 3,100 journalists are currently working in Chilean media (Mellado, 2012: 387). They work mainly for newspapers, magazines and newswires (52.6%, including print and online), television (27.4%), and radio (20%). Most

(75.5%) work occurs in Santiago de Chile, the capital city, which is consistent with the political, demographic and economic centralisation of the country (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas [INE], 2012). According to Mellado (2012), the majority of Chilean journalists are men (60%), which represents a stable male-female proportion over the last two decades when compared with previous studies – 60% in Wilke’s (1998) and 63% in Gronemeyer’s (2002). This breakdown is also consistent with Chilean labour market characteristics (INE, 2012), although there is a notable increase in female participation since the 1960s, when women represented only 7% of Chilean journalists (Menanteau-Horta, 1967). Regarding positions in news organisations, and following Mellado (2012: 389-390), 70.8% of journalists hold no managerial positions in Chilean news outlets, 20.4% are junior managers (department heads, desk heads or senior editors), and 8.8% are senior managers (publishers, editors-in-chief, general managers, or executive producers).

The majority of Chilean journalists (78.5%) are under 40 years old, only 7.1% is over 50 years, and the average age is 35.6 years (Mellado, 2012: 388). Compared with previous studies, the journalism workforce is becoming younger. Wilke (1998) reported that in 1991-1992 journalists aged under 40 years old represented about 66% of the workforce, while Menanteau-Horta (1967) reported an average age for journalists of 40 years old in the 1960s. Significant growth in university journalism schools since 1980 has contributed to this situation (Délano *et al.*, 2007). Men (72%) over 35 years old dominate higher ranked positions. Notably, the average female journalist is younger than her male counterpart, and journalists from online newspapers and professional news websites are, on average, aged two years younger than the overall population of journalists (Mellado, 2012: 388).

In relation to education and training, Chilean journalism shows an increasing trend toward professionalism. Although Chilean law does not restrict the practice of journalism to people with a university degree, 92.5% of journalists have at least an undergraduate degree and 86.2% have studied journalism in universities (Mellado, 2012). Approximately 6.1% of journalists hold a specialisation equal or higher than a Master's degree (Mellado, 2012). These overall figures are higher than those found by Wilke (1998) in 1991-1992, which reported that between 80% and 90% of journalist had a university degree and 70% of journalist had completed academic journalist training. In the 1960s, 50% of journalists attended universities or had some sort of advanced studies (Menanteau-Horta, 1967).

In terms of political attitudes, Mellado (2012: 389) found that Chilean journalists consider themselves mostly to be closer to the left wing (57%) or politically neutral (23.7%). An estimated 70.5% of journalists assumed a liberal stance in terms of ideological values, while only 14% considered themselves conservatives. This is consistent with the findings of Wilke (1998). In 1991-1992 the relative ideological position of Chilean journalists was closer to the left, even though their news organisations were positioned in the political centre (32.75%), or closer to the right wing (29.3%) than to the left (24.13%) (Wilke, 1998: 443-444).

In regard to employment and work conditions, Mellado and Humanes (2012) found that journalism as a profession in Chile is characterised by low salaries, instability, working multiple jobs, and extended workdays, among other factors (2012: 998). This situation was also outlined by Menanteau-Horta (1967) and Arriagada and Saavedra (1990). Mellado's (2012) findings state that 31.5% of journalists earn less than USD\$1,000 a month, 16.3% between USD\$2,000 and USD\$3,000, and only 13% earn over USD\$3,000

a month. (Mellado, 2012: 389). Regarding contractual conditions, while 80% of journalists are full-time employees, about 15% of them claim to work without any formal contract. Nearly 35% of journalist have between two and four jobs, in areas related to corporate communication and journalism education (Mellado, 2012: 389), which may result in conflicts of interest. These figures generate greater concern for Chilean journalism unions when the high number of students (more than 900) that graduate with journalism degrees every year is considered (Délano *et al.*, 2007). According to a recent report on the press produced by a specialised tertiary education website (Oliveros, 24 January, 2012), there are more than 11,000 graduated journalists and more than 8,000 enrolled students in journalism schools in the country, while jobs in the traditional media number only 1,700. In a liberalised market such as Chile, a high supply of journalists and low number of media positions contribute to worsening working conditions for Chilean journalists. Despite these figures, Mellado (2012) found that 51.1% of Chilean journalists feel ‘fairly’ or ‘very satisfied’ with their job, while 14.7% are dissatisfied (Mellado, 2012: 390).

Studies of Chilean journalism have also found high levels of self-perceived editorial autonomy among Chilean journalists (Wilke, 1998; Yez, 2011; Mellado, 2012; Mellado & Humanes, 2012). However, some of these studies (Wilke, 1998; Yez, 2011; Otano & Sunkel, 2003; Cabalín & Lagos, 2009) also suggest considerable levels of perceived pressure – mostly economic – on journalists or the news media in general. The transitional features of Chilean society, as described in previous sections, may explain this seeming contradiction. During the first years of democratic reinstatement, as Tironi and Sunkel (1993) outline, the news media played an important role as agents of the political system’s stability and reconstitution of democratic normality. With fear of a new military intervention perceived as endangering freedom of press (Wilke, 1998: 443), journalists

constrained themselves and avoided controversial issues (Arriagada & Saavedra, 1990; Otano & Sunkel, 2003). In this regard, Wilke (1998: 443) argues that self-censorship rather than direct editorial pressure was prevalent. Later, once democratic stability was secure, Chilean journalists have adopted an uncritical view, and regard autonomy issues as a “natural aspect of their work” (Cabalín & Lagos, 2009: 55). In this respect, Mellado and Humanes (2012) describe an evolution of Chilean media system “from a partisan stance to a depoliticised and condescending attitude towards official power and the status quo” (Mellado & Humanes, 2012: 989). They also explain the relatively low importance assigned by Chilean journalists to professional autonomy among the professional values related to professional satisfaction, believing that “granting a relatively less importance and having lower expectations regarding autonomy, it would make journalists more compliant with the evaluation of its fulfilment or performance” (Mellado & Humanes, 2012: 998).

Journalists’ role perceptions and ethical standards

Recent research suggests that Chilean journalists have a pluralist conception of their role in society. In 2009, Mellado’s (2012) survey of 570 Chilean journalists found that Chilean news workers believe that the most important roles are to “provide the audience

Table 2.7. Perceived importance of media roles by Chilean journalists

Media Roles	Mean ^a	SD	% Saying ‘extremely important’
Watchdog function^b			
Act as watchdog of the government	3.84	1.21	38.9
Act as watchdog of business elites	3.79	1.25	37.5
Act as watchdog of political parties	3.56	1.31	31.0
Act as a watchdog of citizens	3.33	1.30	24.0
Propagandist function^c			
Give relevance to the country’s advances and triumphs	3.23	1.15	14.4
Actively support government policy on national development	2.64	1.14	6.0
Cultivate nationalism/patriotism	2.24	1.19	5.1
Highlight the benefits of the current economic model	2.18	1.07	2.3
Convey a positive image of political leadership	2.04	1.00	2.1

Convey a positive image of business leadership	2.01	1.03	2.1
<hr/>			
Citizen-oriented journalism function ^d			
Develop the intellectual and cultural interest of the public	4.11	.95	41.4
Promote democracy	4.01	1.08	41.1
Provide citizens with the information they need to make political decisions.	4.08	1.03	44.1
Educate people about controversial and complex topics	3.97	1.08	39.3
Motivate people to participate in civic activity and political discussion	3.73	1.04	25.9
Ensure coverage of local issues	3.70	1.16	31.6
Advocate for social change	3.67	1.10	26.7
<hr/>			
Consumer-oriented journalism function ^e			
Provide the audience with the information that is most interesting	4.20	.86	44.6
Give the audience concrete help to manage their everyday problems	3.77	.95	24.9
Concentrate on news that is of interest to the widest possible audience	3.49	1.04	18.7
Provide entertainment and relaxation	3.38	.97	11.2
<hr/>			
Disseminator function ^f			
Be a detached observer	3.21	1.24	15.8
Be a passive observer	2.36	1.29	6.5
<hr/>			
Other ungrouped roles			
Get information to the public quickly	4.10	.94	40.7
Influence public opinion	3.89	1.03	33.0
Set the political agenda	3.26	1.17	15.6
Promote ethical or moral values, either conservative or liberal	3.18	1.28	18.0
Debate and evaluate international policies that affect Latin America	3.47	1.17	22.2
<hr/>			
^a Scale ranges from 1 = ‘not important at all’ to 5 = ‘extremely important’.			
^b Alpha= .85; ^c Alpha= .83; ^d Alpha= .84; ^e Alpha= .71; ^f Alpha= .75			

Source: Mellado (2012: 395).

with the information that is most interesting”, “provide citizens with the information they need to make political decisions”, “develop the cultural and intellectual interests of the public”, and “promote democracy”. However, none of these items was considered as “extremely important” by more than 45% of respondents (see table 2.7). Chilean journalists were also strongly supportive of educating “people about controversial and complex topics”, influencing “public opinion”, and acting “as a watchdog” of the government, political parties and the business elite. In contrast, roles such as “to convey a positive image” of economic and political leaders and “highlight the benefits of the current economic model”, as well as “detachment” and “non-involvement” were perceived as the least important functions (Mellado, 2012: 393). This evaluation seems to contradict the argument about the defence of the neoliberal economic ideology by large sections of the Chilean news media. However, as outlined in the previous section, Chilean

journalists and news media organisations hold conflicting relative ideological positions (Wilke, 1998). This situation may explain the dissonance between the stance of news media organisations and the lesser importance that journalists assign to portrait the economic model (and economic and political leaders) in a positive manner.

After grouping the journalists' perceived roles in six dimensions (see table 2.8), Mellado (2012) suggests that the most supported role for Chilean journalists is the citizen-oriented role, which considers “the public as a citizen” rather than a consumer and focuses on providing information that the public *should* know. The second most supported role is the “consumer-oriented” (“reaching the largest audience possible”, focusing on what the public *wants* to know and entertainment), and then the watchdog role (monitoring the government and the political and economic powers, and serving as the fourth estate). The consumer-oriented role achieved the most agreement between Chilean journalists, with the lowest standard deviations among role conceptions (Mellado, 2012: 395).

Table 2.8. Institutional roles

Role	Mean*	% Saying 'extremely important'
To be an absolutely detached observer	4.24	46.0
To act as watchdog of the government	3.80	30.0
To provide citizens with the information they need to make political decisions	3.98	32.3
To concentrate mainly on news that will attract the widest possible audience	3.44	12.2
To set the political agenda	3.30	17.3
To convey a positive image of political and business leadership	2.01	3.0
To provide the audience with the information that is most interesting	3.89	31.3
To influence public opinion	3.93	36.4
To support official policies to bring about prosperity and development	3.23	14.1
To advocate for social change	3.25	12.1
To act as watchdog of business elites	3.52	20.4
To motivate people to participate in civic activity and political discussion	3.51	16.0

* Scale ranges from 1 = 'not important at all' to 5 = 'extremely important'.

Source: adapted from Mellado *et al.*, (2012: 68).

Mellado's (2012) findings depart in some aspects with previous studies about the self-image and role of Chilean journalists. For instance, in 1991-1992, Wilke (1998) found

that Chilean journalists were more likely to see themselves as “neutral reporters” and “entertainers of the public”, rather than perform active and advocacy roles. They were, however, in favour of “criticising abuses” and 65% of them considered the mass media as a ‘fourth estate’ (Wilke, 1998: 440-441). In a similar way, Mellado’s (2012) findings differ to the *World of Journalism* study (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011), as it suggested that Chilean journalists perceived a high importance for detachment and non-involvement.

The differences in the reviewed scholarship could be explained by the evolution of Chilean journalism, as these studies were conducted in different periods – between 1991 and 1992 in the case of Wilke (1998), 2007-2009 in Hanitzsch *et al.*, (2011), and 2009 in Mellado (2011, 2012). However, it is more likely that such differences relate to the varying size and composition of samples – interviews with 116 journalists in Wilke (1998), a sample of 100 journalists in Hanitzsch *et al.*, (2011), and an online survey of 570 journalists in Mellado (2012) – and the different conceptualisations of journalistic roles evident in the survey questionnaires.

Despite these discrepancies, the character of Chilean journalism cultures is consistent with the transitional characteristics of Chilean media system. In their comparative study, Hanitzsch *et al.*, (2011) classified Chilean journalism cultures as part of “the group of developing countries and transitional democracies, of which some tend to be non-democratic” (2011: 288), including China, Egypt, Indonesia, Russia, Turkey and Uganda. In terms of institutional roles, this group is characterised by a “tendency towards interventionism” that promotes “social change in contexts where such transformation rapidly occurs – or where it seems needed” (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011: 281). Just as in Egypt, China, Romania, Russia, and, in part, Uganda, Chilean journalists pay more attention to providing political direction to their audiences. In Western countries the watchdog role

over government is also usually tied to vigilance over business elites. In developing countries, including Chile, this role does “not always correlate highly with a sceptical attitude towards the business world” (2011: 281). Similarly, there is less pronounced importance given to the “political information function” of journalism and a comparatively lower inclination of journalists to motivate people to participate in civic activity and political discussion (2011: 281).

There is a wide gap in scholarship when it comes to journalists’ image of audience. The only available study – Wilke’s (1998) comparative study of Chilean, Mexican and Ecuadorian journalists – suggests most Chilean news workers credit their audience with positive characteristics. The majority considered them well informed (69%) and critical (65%). However, Chilean journalists were also more critical than Mexican and Ecuadorian journalists. Fewer Chilean journalists considered their audiences as politically partisan (40%), progressive (34%) or tolerant (34%). Some regarded audiences as indifferent (22%) and greedy for sensation (15%) (Wilke, 1998: 447).

Journalistic practices, tabloidisation and perceived influences on news work

Journalistic practices are largely unexplored by empirical media research in Chile (Lecaros & Greene, 2012). However, recent scholarship enables the identification of some problematic journalistic practices and routines that negatively affect the quality of journalism. Some of these are consistent with the commercialisation process of the Chilean media system. Otano and Sunkel (2003) suggest that problematic journalistic practices have affected Chilean journalist’s autonomy, including ‘pack journalism’, editorial meetings inhibiting reporter’s proactiveness, misuse of ‘off the record’ interviews, and laziness and compliance in the reporting of sources. Gronemeyer (2004) found a consistent use of press releases as a source by Chilean journalists in terms of

published news items. She also identifies a lack of transparency in the use of press releases for writing news items, with limited source attribution detected among Chilean journalists, and the existence of news items signed by journalists after they copied the content of press releases. These practices also reinforce homogeneity in the news content of Chilean news media organisations (Gronemeyer, 2004). Lecaros and Greene (2012) found that Chilean editors do not assess known issues for journalism as problematic. These issues include the increasing incorporation of entertainment in news content, advertising and commercial pressures on the newsroom, and the influence of public relations (PR) in news. However, the emergence of tabloidisation characteristics in Chilean journalism indicates the impact of commercialisation pressures.

Silvia Pellegrini (2010b: 26-27) analysed the content of four primetime newscasts from the most viewed Chilean television channels, classifying them as “reference” – newscasts that “emphasise topics related with the social setting” (such as national and international politics and economy) – and “popularly-oriented” newscasts – that “encourage a new agenda centred on more personal interests, appealing primarily to emotions” (such as sports and crime news). Pellegrini (2010b) found little differentiation between ‘reference’ and ‘popularly-oriented’ news media outlets in terms of their content. Valenzuela and Arriagada (2009) obtained similar results when examining television newscasts and newspapers, suggesting a homogenisation of news agendas. Pellegrini (2010b) remarks on the high use of ‘testimonial sources’ (40-60%), which are personal accounts by ordinary people about newsworthy events with a more sensationalist character and less informative value. These kind of sources are consistent with the emotional character of popularly-oriented media. This character was also found in ‘reference’ newscasts, weakening “in them the social function of informing” (Pellegrini, 2010b: 29). The same study also found a focus on news concerning individuals or small groups, rather than

national or international issues. This is consistent with the findings of Porath, Mujica and Maldonado (2012) about the low amount and high level of ‘domestication’ in foreign news on Chilean television newscasts. In addition, Pellegrini (2010b) states that between 50% and 80% of broadcast news have “short-term or temporary consequences”, with a focus “at the pole of usual, very common or everyday life” (Pellegrini, 2010b: 32). A strong emphasis on human interest or emotional stories, a scarce number and variety of sources, and an oversized amount of sports information and other soft news (especially football, with 26% of the total air time), fit the characterisation of a tabloidisation trend in Chilean television newscasts (Pellegrini, 2010b).

Other studies (CNTV, 2011, 2012b) confirm this trend in Chilean television. The National Television Council identified an increase in tragic and dramatic stories on crimes and accidents, a growing inclusion of ordinary people in the news as victims or witnesses of these stories, and the increase of lifestyle news at the expense of hard news and important current affairs (CNTV, 2011: 1-2). In the case of newspapers, as mentioned in previous sections, it is remarkable that the most read newspaper by a considerable margin in print and online is *Las Últimas Noticias* (Alexa, 2012; Asociación Nacional de la Prensa [ANP], 2012b), which relies heavily on gossip, football, reality shows, and YouTube-based news. The tabloidisation trend is consistent with the commercially driven nature of the Chilean news media system and the strength of the consumer-oriented role subscribed to by Chilean journalists.

Chilean journalism cultures – a summary

The available literature supports the characterisation of Chile as a transitional and non-democratic country (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011). While Chilean journalists hold universal journalistic values, they mainly support citizen-oriented role conceptions (tinged by a

tendency to interventionism and the political direction to audiences) and consumer oriented roles. The watchdog role is relatively weak because of a limited monitoring of business elites. These characteristics of Chilean journalism cultures, closely related to the broader picture of the Chilean media system, have been described by a limited but slowly increasing corpus of research. However, there is a significant gap in the literature about the relationship between the Chilean journalistic cultures and technological change, especially digital technologies.

Technological change and the news media in Chile

In characterising journalism in Chile, María Elena Gronemeyer (2002) outlines three important aspects: “the use of advanced technology”, its operation “within a free market economy”, and its operation “once again in a democratic context” (Gronemeyer, 2002: 194). While the latter two aspects have been addressed by scholarship, this section deals with the state and features of the Internet in Chile and its adoption by Chilean news media organisations.

The Internet market in Chile

Chile’s economic development has been accompanied by significant technological development, especially in the telecommunications sector. Since 2007, the growth of telecommunications’ GDP has surpassed general GDP every year, with peaks of over 12% in 2007 and 2008. In 2012, the sector’s GDP reached 5.7%, underpinned by the rise in mobile Internet and mobile telephony markets,¹⁴ a progressive decrease in landline telephony, and total investments of US\$2.445 billion (Subsecretaría de Telecomunicaciones [SUBTEL], 2013).

Table 2.9. Internet penetration indicators

Indicator	2009	2010	2011	2012	2014
Internet penetration per 100 inhabitants (landline + mobile 3G)	13.7	19	29.6	40.7	64
Internet penetration: households (landline + mobile 3G) (%)	37%	41.8%	50.2%	57.6%	-
Internet penetration: landline broadband per households (%)	35.3%	36.6%	39.3%	41%	43.4
Internet penetration: mobile broadband and 3G per 100 inhabitants	3.8	8.4	17.91	28.16	-
Mobile 3G Internet penetration per 100 inhabitants	N/A	N/A	N/A	22.8	47.0

Source: Developed from data from SUBTEL (2013, 2015).

According to official data from the Sub Secretary of Telecommunications (SUBTEL, 2015), 64% of the Chilean population was connected to the Internet in December 2014. Other sources suggest that 76% of the Chilean population accessed the Internet at least occasionally or owned a smartphone in 2014, situating Chile first among emerging and developing nations in this respect (Pew Research Center, 19 March 2015). The growth in Internet penetration has been underpinned by an explosive expansion of 3G mobile broadband Internet connections, which increased from 22.8 to 47 connections per 100 inhabitants between 2012 and 2014 (SUBTEL, 2013, 2015). Mobile connections represented 77% of total Internet connections in Chile in December 2014 (SUBTEL, 2015). The increase in Internet penetration rates is also accompanied by the development of faster connections, where 79% of landline Internet connections offer download speeds of more than 2Mbps. In the case of mobile broadband connections, 8% surpass those download transfer rates (SUBTEL, 2015). A pay television penetration rate of 52% of households has also contributed to the growth of Internet connectivity in Chile, as pay television is usually as part of a bundled package, including broadband Internet and landline telephony (SUBTEL, 2015).¹⁵

Chile is the most developed market in Latin America in terms of connectivity (Pew Research Center, 19 March 2015; Tendencias Digitales, 2012). While use of the Internet

is more extensive among young (13-24 years) and female users, it has a healthily important penetration rate (62%) in groups over 35 years (Interactive Advertising Bureau Chile, 2012; Universidad Diego Portales & Interactive Advertising Bureau Chile [UDP & IABChile], 2012; Pew Research Center, 19 March 2015). These levels reflect high penetration rates of social networking (87%) (Pew Research Center, 19 March 2015). Chile had the fourth largest penetration of Facebook (90.7%) worldwide and the sixteenth largest penetration of Twitter (13.8%) among Internet users in 2010 (comScore, 2011). Another remarkable trend is online video, with Chile ranked third in the world for penetration (91.6%) after Argentina and Canada, with an average use of 12.75 monthly hours per user (comScore, 2013). It is worth noting that checking e-mail remains the main online activity in terms of daily use (63%), ranking above other activities such as Facebook (52%), visiting social networks in general (51%), web browsing (49%), and instant messaging (44%) (World Internet Project Chile [WIP Chile], 2011).

Democratic governments since 1989 have been aware of the positive development outcomes the Internet offers to Chile and have encouraged its expansion. Initiatives such as Enlaces (an educational Internet network for primary schools), the incorporation of electronic Government policies (United Nations, 2012), funds for network development, and the adoption of network neutrality in 2010 (*Ley que consagra el Principio de Neutralidad en la Red para los consumidores y usuarios de Internet*, 2010) are signs of this support. However, issues of poor connectivity and uneven technical skills among the Chilean population persist, shaping a ‘digital divide’ (Castells, 2000, 2004) that is influenced by demographic, economical, geographical, and educational factors (WIP Chile, 2011; Agostini & Willington, 2012)

Chilean media and the Internet

There is evidence of computer networks projects in Chile as early as the beginning of the 1970s (Medina, 2006),¹⁶ although it was not until 1986 that the Internet arrived in Chile as an inter-university project. Internet services began to be offered on a commercial basis in 1993 (Montealegre, 1998). Tanner's (1999) historical review of the Internet in Chile identifies 1994 as the year when Chilean news media organisations began publishing content on the Web. *SigloXXI* – a science and technology weekly supplement in the *El Mercurio* newspaper – and the financial newspaper *Estrategia* began electronic versions implemented by the university consortium REUNA. Later that year, COPESA Group started publishing weekly summaries of news and editorials from its newspaper *La Tercera*, the first Chilean newspaper on Internet. However, the now defunct *La Época* was the first Chilean newspaper to publish daily information. In June 1996 *La Tercera Internet* followed it (Tanner, 1999: 49-50). As Tanner (1999) suggests, web versions of news media outlets generally started “through the personal efforts of a single journalist or a handful of people at an organisation”. Often early adopters, these figures had “used the Internet on their own previously” mainly for accessing information, and convinced their supervisors to “invest in the technology” (Tanner, 1999: 49).

After 1997, the main Chilean news media outlets started publishing information daily on the Internet, and with several updates a day since 2000. The adoption of dynamic web and Content Management Systems (CMS) underpinned new publishing rhythms. This evolution supports findings by Bachmann and Harlow (2012) that the development of Latin American online news media is tied mainly to Internet penetration rates and available technological resources.

The two main national newspaper groups, El Mercurio and COPESA, and their respective flagships, *El Mercurio (Emol)* and *La Tercera*, present interesting examples of multimedia features, as do the online versions of the main national broadcasting television channels (*TVN, Canal 13, Chilevisión, Mega*) and radio stations (*Cooperativa, Radio Bío-Bío, and ADN Radio*). However, interactivity in Chilean online media is limited and almost exclusively restricted to sharing and commenting on media articles through social networks. User-generated content is present only in a few news media outlets, under the name of “citizen reporters”, and often in marginal spaces that are irregularly updated (Bachmann & Harlow, 2012; Said & Arcila, 2011). Some Chilean media outlets also offer content optimised for mobile devices and tablets, although their presence is limited.

The main exceptions to these trends are the tabloid *Las Últimas Noticias (LUN)*, and vespertine newspaper *La Segunda*, both from the El Mercurio Group. The first publishes only a facsimile version of its print edition embedded in Flash, accompanied with multimedia clips and the possibility of sharing articles in social media. The latter stopped online updates during the day in 2014, adopting the same online strategy as *LUN*. Other regional online media outlets follow the same system. In terms of business models, almost all online Chilean media (the exceptions are specialised outlets, such as financial newspapers) offer free access to content, sustained by advertising and/or special offers of goods and services (e-commerce). Although *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* have experimented with different types of ‘paywalls’ at different times, they have had little success.

The development of the Internet in Chile also has enabled the appearance of online-only professional news media organisations that have experienced different levels of success. The most emblematic examples are *El Mostrador*,¹⁷ *Terra Chile*,¹⁸ and *CIPER Chile*.¹⁹ In

addition, several citizen journalism initiatives have risen, mainly grouped in the *Mi Voz*²⁰ Citizen Newspaper Network, but also including ‘pro-am’ collaborative projects such as *Poderopedia*.²¹ However, despite all the ‘buzz’ about citizen journalism, their popularity is quite marginal in terms of traffic figures compared to established news media organisations (Alexa, 2012), following a similar trend to Western countries (Hindman, 2009). Recent scholarship has also found that Chilean citizen journalism outlets do not meet the standards of professional journalism (Puente *et al.*, 2011), and have been characterised as an “informational complement” to the established news industry rather than proper “journalism” (Puente & Grassau, 2011).

While the growing penetration of the Internet in Chile has enabled the development of online news media, it also has affected the media consumption habits of Chilean audiences. Television is still the most consumed medium in Chile, with a penetration of 87% in 2011. However, the Internet (57.6%) is rapidly closing the gap on radio penetration (61%) and has surpassed newspapers (37%) and magazines (29%) consumption in Chilean households (UDP & IABChile, 2012). In fact, an increase of 32% in the Internet penetration rate between 2007 and 2011, compared to television (1%) and radio (3%), highlights a trend towards digital consumption habits. While not entirely attributable to the Internet, printed newspapers and magazines have experienced a 12% penetration decline in Chilean households during the same period (UDP & IABChile, 2012).

While it is clear that the Internet has changed media consumption habits, it is not obvious how Chilean journalists are addressing technological change to engage audiences and report the news. The increasing adoption and use of social networks by Chilean journalists and news media organisations is as an attempt to address these changes.

Social media and Chilean journalism

Chilean news media organisations have been enthusiastic in the adoption of social media. While available scholarship does not record the first Chilean news media outlets to use Facebook,²² Chilean scholar Manuel Contreras (11 July, 2014) suggests that two newspapers from COPESA group – *La Tercera*²³ and *La Cuarta*²⁴ – were the pioneers in the use of Twitter, joining in April 2007, just two years after media giants such as *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*. Later, others established Chilean news media outlets joined this social media network, such as *Cooperativa*, in July 2007, and *La Nación*, in November of the same year²⁵ (Contreras, 11 July, 2014).

Although most Chilean news media organisations have Twitter and Facebook accounts, they register variable levels of audience penetration and engagement. Unsurprisingly, the most followed news media accounts on Twitter are the television-based outlets @24HorasTVN (1.45 million followers), @TVN (1.39 million followers), @t13 (*Teletrece*, with 1.33 million followers), and @CNNChile (1.26 million followers). They lead radio-based news outlets such as @biobio (1.24 million followers) and @cooperativa (1.20 million followers) (Mediameter, 17 July, 2014). Notably, TVN has the two most followed Twitter accounts, with figures of around 1.4 million followers each. Accounts from newspaper-based outlets rank just behind eighth position (@latercera with 795,639 followers, and @EMOL with 730,011 followers) (see table 2.10).

In the case of Facebook followers (see table 2.11), *Revista Caamo*²⁶ has 1.5 million fans, followed by TV-based and radio-based outlets such as *Canal 13* (1.18 million fans), *BioBioChile* (1.12 million fans) and *TVN* (1.04 million fans). Newspaper outlets rank only 11th (*Emol*, 466,893 fans) and 15th (*La Tercera*, 294,712 fans) (Mediameter, 17 July,

2014). In the case of established Internet-only news outlets, they are in 10th position (@*TerraChile*, with 710,666 followers) and 14th (@*elmostrador*, with 507,662 followers) among Twitter followers. On Facebook, they rank in 15th place (*El Mostrador*, with 232,829 fans) (Mediameter, 17 July, 2014).

Table 2.10. Top 20 Chilean news media outlets by Twitter followers

Rank	Name	Twitter account	Twitter followers
1	<i>24 Horas</i>	@ <i>24horasTVN</i>	1,455,187
2	<i>TVN</i>	@ <i>tvn</i>	1,394,418
3	<i>Tele13</i>	@ <i>t13</i>	1,337,980
4	<i>CNN Chile</i>	@ <i>CNNChile</i>	1,261,828
5	<i>BioBioChile</i>	@ <i>biobio</i>	1,244,503
6	<i>Cooperativa</i>	@ <i>cooperativa</i>	1,205,238
7	<i>Canal 13</i>	@ <i>canal13</i>	928,687
8	<i>La Tercera</i>	@ <i>latercera</i>	795,639
9	<i>Emol</i>	@ <i>EMOL</i>	730,011
10	<i>Terra Chile</i>	@ <i>TerraChile</i>	710,666
11	<i>ADN Radio Chile</i>	@ <i>adnradiochile</i>	673,487
12	<i>The Clinic Online</i>	@ <i>thecliniccl</i>	614,323
13	<i>Chilevisión</i>	@ <i>chilevision</i>	610,164
14	<i>El Mostrador</i>	@ <i>elmostrador</i>	507,662
15	<i>Publimetro</i>	@ <i>PublimetroChile</i>	490,396
16	<i>La Cuarta</i>	@ <i>lacuarta</i>	434,751
17	<i>Ahora Noticias</i>	@ <i>AhNoticiasMega</i>	348,794
18	<i>La Segunda</i>	@ <i>La_Segunda</i>	335,774
19	<i>CIPER Chile</i>	@ <i>ciper</i>	212,305
20	<i>La Nacion.cl</i>	@ <i>nacioncl</i>	182,847

Source: Mediameter (17 July, 2014).

Table 2.11. Top 20 Chilean news media outlets by Facebook followers

Rank	Name	Facebook fans
1	<i>Revista Caamo</i>	1,503,266
2	<i>Canal 13</i>	1,182,377
3	<i>BioBioChile</i>	1,121,521
4	<i>TVN</i>	1,041,816
5	<i>40 Principales Chile</i>	820,952
6	<i>ADN Radio Chile</i>	694,236
7	<i>El Ciudadano</i>	608,964
8	<i>FMDOS</i>	587,968
9	<i>CNN Chile</i>	564,121
10	<i>Cooperativa</i>	507,267
11	<i>Emol.com</i>	466,893
12	<i>Radio Futuro</i>	461,870

13	<i>24 horas</i>	327,518
14	<i>La Tercera</i>	294,712
15	<i>El Mostrador</i>	232,829
16	<i>The Clinic Online</i>	225,267
17	<i>PrensaFútbol</i>	162,681
18	<i>Radio Rock&Pop</i>	150,721
19	<i>Revista Paula</i>	150,227
20	<i>Chilevisión</i>	145,447

Source: Mediameter (17 July, 2014).

Table 2.12. Top 20 Chilean news media outlets by Tweets and Twitter followers

Rank	Name	Twitter account	Tweets	Twitter followers
1	<i>Publímetro</i>	@PublímetroChile	427,265	490,396
2	<i>Cooperativa</i>	@cooperativa	425,904	1,205,238
3	<i>BioBioChile</i>	@biobio	406,418	1,244,503
4	<i>La Tercera</i>	@latercera	249,066	795,639
5	<i>24 Horas</i>	@24horasTVN	222,436	1,455,187
6	<i>El Dínamo</i>	@el_dinamo	194,613	155,080
7	<i>El Gráfico Chile</i>	@ElGraficoChile	173,916	132,779
8	<i>Ahora Noticias</i>	@AhNoticiasMega	160,928	348,794
9	<i>Terra Chile</i>	@TerraChile	153,122	710,666
10	<i>Ferplei</i>	@Ferplei	120,493	39,121
11	<i>Soychile.cl</i>	@soychilecl	120,158	105,936
12	<i>The Clinic Online</i>	@thecliniccl	118,472	614,323
13	<i>CNN Chile</i>	@CNNChile	114,500	1,261,828
14	<i>Diarios Ciudadanos</i>	@redmivoz	112,222	39,360
15	<i>Emol.com</i>	@EMOL	102,446	730,011
16	<i>Radio Agricultura</i>	@agriculturafm	100,870	34,729
17	<i>El Mostrador</i>	@elmostrador	99,937	507,662
18	<i>ADN Radio Chile</i>	@adnradiochile	97,864	673,487
19	<i>América Economía</i>	@americaeconomia	94,988	107,906
20	<i>Red Televisión</i>	@laredtv	89,476	237,722

Source: Mediameter (17 July, 2014).

The number of followers does not necessarily correlate with the level of activity by Chilean media outlets on Twitter (see table 2.12). For instance, @PublímetroChile, which only ranks 15th in terms of followers (490,396 followers), is the most active Chilean news media Twitter account, with 427,265 published tweets. *Publímetro* is followed by @cooperativa (425,904 tweets), @biobio (@406,418 tweets), @latercera (249,066 tweets), and @24horasTVN (222,436 tweets) (Mediameter, 17 July 2014). The case of *Publímetro* is remarkable, as it joined Twitter more recently (July 2009) than pioneers

such as *La Tercera*. In terms of engagement with audiences, there is little available information about Chilean media outlets' interaction on Facebook.

In the case of Twitter, as shown in table 2.13, it is important to clarify that a higher number of followers does not necessarily mean greater engagement with audiences. Other metrics, such as the total number of mentions,²⁷ may provide a more accurate picture of the level of interaction with audience. In the Chilean case (Mediameter, 17 July, 2014), *@biobio* leads user mentions, with 4,283 total mentions as of 1 July 2014, over other news media outlets such as *@24horasTVN* (3,652 mentions), *@Cooperativa* (2,297 mentions), *@TVN* (2,290 mentions) and *@latercera* (2,285 mentions).

Table 2.13. Top 20 Chilean news media outlets by Twitter mentions, followers and tweets

Rank	Name	Twitter account	Mentions	Twitter followers	Tweets
1	<i>BioBioChile</i>	<i>@biobio</i>	4283	1,244,503	406,418
2	<i>24 Horas</i>	<i>@24horasTVN</i>	3652	1,455,187	222,436
3	<i>Cooperativa</i>	<i>@cooperativa</i>	2297	1,205,238	425,904
4	<i>TVN</i>	<i>@tvn</i>	2290	1,394,418	25,454
5	<i>La Tercera</i>	<i>@latercera</i>	2285	795,639	249,066
6	<i>CNN Chile</i>	<i>@CNNChile</i>	2004	1,261,828	114,500
7	<i>Canal 13</i>	<i>@canal13</i>	1860	928,687	5,779
8	<i>Red Televisión</i>	<i>@laredtv</i>	1736	237,722	89,476
9	<i>Tele13</i>	<i>@t13</i>	1629	1,337,980	84,546
10	<i>Chilevisión</i>	<i>@chilevision</i>	1531	610,164	29,488
11	<i>Emol.com</i>	<i>@EMOL</i>	1287	730,011	102,446
12	<i>Mega</i>	<i>@mega</i>	918	285,682	44,374
13	<i>Publmetro</i>	<i>@PublmetroChile</i>	790	490,396	427,265
14	<i>El Mostrador</i>	<i>@elmostrador</i>	775	507,662	99,937
15	<i>The Clinic Online</i>	<i>@thecliniccl</i>	570	614,323	118,472
16	<i>El Dínamo</i>	<i>@el_dinamo</i>	448	155,080	194,613
17	<i>Soychile.cl</i>	<i>@soychilecl</i>	424	105,936	120,158
18	<i>La Cuarta</i>	<i>@lacuarta</i>	272	434,751	48,647
19	<i>Radio Agricultura</i>	<i>@agriculturafm</i>	260	34,729	100,870
20	<i>Ahora Noticias</i>	<i>@AhNoticiasMega</i>	254	348,794	160,928

Source: Mediameter (17 July, 2014).

In relation to journalists' adoption of social networks, the few available studies have addressed adoption through content analysis of published news items. In other cases,

studies focus only on selected samples of Chilean journalists' social media profiles, especially those most followed on Twitter, which may be non-representative of Chilean broadly journalism cultures. One of these studies (López-Hermida & Claro, 2011) characterises the top 150 Chilean journalists on Twitter according to their Klout score.²⁸ Findings by Alberto López-Hermida and Cecilia Claro (2011: 23) suggests that 42% of these top “twitteros” [Twitter users] work in television, 31% in radio, 14% in print news, and 14% in digital-only news outlets. The authors suggest that the level of influence on Twitter would be proportional to journalists time exposure on television, as from the top 10 ‘j-tweeters’, six work as television presenters (López-Hermida & Claro, 2011: 23). In terms of their beats, 26% are sport journalists, 23% are news presenters, 13% work in “entertainment” news, 9% on the “gossip” beat, and 7% in “science and technology” (López-Hermida & Claro, 2011: 23). From the top 150 Chilean j-tweeters, according to their Klout scores, 52% fit the “thought leader” profile – a journalist “followed not only because of the information they provide, but because of their particular opinions”. Approximately 35% fit the “specialists” profile, having a stable audience that pays attention to journalists’ comments on specific areas (López-Hermida & Claro, 2011: 25). Most Chilean top j-tweeters share professional and organisational information on their profiles (48%), while 17% share only personal information. In the middle ground, 42% share professional, organisational and personal information (López-Hermida & Claro, 2011: 26). However, 90% of the top 150 Chilean j-tweeters’ accounts do not make reference to their news organisations and only one (@tvn_mauricio, from Mauricio Bustamante, news anchorman of TVN’s *24Horas*) holds a ‘verified’ Twitter account. This led López-Hermida and Claro (2011: 27) to speculate on a lack of internal policies in news organisations about the management of social network personas. This issue is addressed in Chapter Five.

Conclusion

This chapter offered a detailed context to understand Chilean media and journalism. An overview of Chile's main socio-political and economic characteristics show the strong impact of the recent authoritarian past in the current configuration of the country. This recent history has affected the Chilean media system with mixed aspects of liberalised market and authoritarian enclaves still in existence. Chilean journalism cultures are vulnerable to this influence and fit the characteristics of transitional and non-democratic countries (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011). Tensions between the citizen-oriented and consumer-oriented roles of journalism become evident in ethical concerns over controversial reporting practices, issues related to the homogenisation of sources, compliance and laziness in reporting, and growing tabloidisation trends. A limited literature on Chilean journalism cultures suggests the need for further research, especially in the case of the technological change and journalistic practices in the Chilean newsrooms.

This thesis aims to research Chilean journalism cultures in relation to digital interaction technologies in established online news media outlets. The following chapter addresses the challenges posed by this type of research in the Chilean context, suggesting that a mixed methods research design is an effective way to deliver on the research objectives of this thesis.

Notes

¹ The BTI Project, funded by the German foundation *Bertelsmann Stiftung*, analyses development and transformation processes toward democracy and a market economy through international comparison (BTI Project, 2012b).

² Although characterised as an ‘excessively broad’ concept, ‘neoliberalism’ refers both to “an approach to government and a defining political movement” grounded in the assumption that private entrepreneurship, private individuals, and, “most importantly, unhindered markets” rather than governments, “are best able to generate economic growth and social welfare” (Bockman, 2013: 14). Neoliberalism is associated with a wide range of socio-political and economic phenomena, such as the privatisation of state companies, the expansion of low-wage service work, the privatisation of social security, the corporatisation of universities, and general market de-regulation, among others (Bockman, 2013; Harvey, 2005).

³ Chile reached a population of 16,572,475 people, according to the preliminary results of the 2012 Census (INE, 2012). Over 40% of Chilean population are concentrated in the Metropolitan region of Santiago de Chile, the capital, while the rest is spread unequally across 14 regions.

⁴ While the gap in performance by students of public and private schools has been reduced since 2009 (Cooperativa, 11 April, 2012), the high inequality in the educational system is still an important issue. This difference is remarkable for the possibilities of access to tertiary studies. In 2012, the gap between students from public and private schools in the standardised entry test system to universities reached 133 points in language and 144 points in mathematics. From the top 100 scores in the PSU 2012 (test of university admission), 95 students were from private schools, 3 from mixed-funding schools (private schools with a state subvention) and only 2 students from public schools (Emol, 3 January, 2013). There is also a preoccupant gender divide in PSU scores: from the 316 highest scores in this test in 2011, only 15.5% were women, with a gender gap of 69% and an average gap of 64.9% since 2008 (La Tercera, 3 January, 2012).

⁵ Some of the massive – and often violent – protests have included demonstrations by high school and university students, demonstrations concerning environmental issues, demonstrations against political centralism and economic isolation of remote regions, and others related to local problems (Salazar, 2012; Cancino, 2013; Fernández, 2013; de la Cuadra, 2009).

⁶ Hallin and Mancini (2004) suggest the mutual influence of media systems and political systems also may vary historically, with periods of political forces dominating media systems, while in others “the media system is more independent (or more determined by economic forces), and may exercise greater autonomous influence on the political world” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 47).

⁷ The few significant cases challenging the rule are the online newspaper *El Mostrador* (linked to Radical Social Democrat Party members) and some low circulation weeklies and political blogs. The formerly state-owned newspaper *La Nación* was another exception, although it had low circulation figures. *La Nación* turned digital-only in 2010 and in 2012 the Piñera government announced the selling of the state shares in the company (Martínez, 25 September, 2012), which was made effective in 2014.

⁸ According to Bermedo and Porath (2003), the national daily press in 1970 was in the hands of three types of owners:

- business groups, like the Edwards Family (*El Mercurio*, *Las Últimas Noticias*, and *La Segunda*), the Picó Family (*La Tercera*), and businessman Darío Saint-Marie (*Clarín*, until 1972);
- political parties and political-business groups, like the Christian-Democrat Party (*La Prensa*), the Communist Party (*El Siglo*), and the Socialist Party (*Noticias de Última Hora*, and the same *Clarín* after 1972); and
- the state, which owned *La Nación*, which has very low circulation and influence.

This ownership regime extended also to magazine and the radio broadcasting industries (Palacios, 2002).

⁹ Bermedo and Porath (2003) classify the attacks committed by the press against the system and democratic coexistence into four broad levels:

- the partisan use of its content, which was not new in Chile, but reached a high degree of polarisation;
- the publication of false information and propaganda, undermining public trust in the institutions and their representatives;
- a relentless rise of foul and defamatory language, destined to morally destroy political opponents, and;
- the threat of using violence and the socialisation of a confrontation logic.

¹⁰ See Lagos (2009) and Mönckeberg (2009) for a detailed account of collaborationism by Chilean Media, especially *El Mercurio* and *La Segunda* newspapers, during the dictatorship.

¹¹ Some of the media outlets that actively opposed the Pinochet dictatorship were *Fortín Mapocho* and *La Época* newspapers, as well as *APSI*, *Cauce*, *Hoy*, and *Análisis* magazines (Mönckeberg, 2009).

¹² El Mercurio Group is a Chilean media conglomerate owned by the Edwards family. Among the media outlets owned by this group are the national newspapers *El Mercurio*, *Las Últimas Noticias* (tabloid), the afternoon newspaper *La Segunda* (which circulates in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago de Chile) and 20 other regional newspapers. El Mercurio also owns two national broadcasting radio stations (*Digital FM* and *Positiva FM*) and participates in the editorial group El Mercurio-Aguilar.

COPESA Group is a Chilean media conglomerate that owns the national newspapers *La Tercera*, *La Cuarta* (tabloid), the afternoon tabloid *La Hora* (which circulates in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago de Chile), the magazines *Qué Pasa* (politics and economics) and *Paula* (women's life-style). They also own six radio stations (*Paula FM*, *Duna*, *Carolina*, *Beethoven*, *Zero* and *Radio Disney*), some of them with national reach. The Saieh Group has controlled COPESA since 1988, along with CorpGroup (CorpBanca y Banco Condell, Chilean banks), and the supermarket chains Unimarc and Alvi. The group also has interests in Andrés Bello University, the retailing stores La Polar, and investments in real estate and privatised social security (pensions).

For a more detailed account of the concentration of media ownership, see Appendix A.

¹³ The University of Concepción opened the first university journalism school in 1953, followed by the University of Chile and the Pontifical Catholic University.

¹⁴ In terms of penetration, the most significant growing sector is mobile telephony, with rates of 132.2 subscriptions per 100 inhabitants as of December 2014 (SUBTEL, 2015).

¹⁵ Landline Internet connection bills in Chile are mostly charged by ISPs in terms of connection speed rather than data usage. Regulations have been introduced by the state to ensure the delivery of speeds advertised by telecommunications companies. The early development of private optical fibre networks by Chilean telcos has allowed development of the sector. In 2010, Telefónica Chile, a subsidiary of the Spanish group Telefónica and one of the most important companies in the sector, announced a new residential optical fibre network aiming to connect 700 thousand households in 2014 (SUBTEL, 3 September 2010).

¹⁶ Project Cybersyn or Synco was a computer network planned in Chile during the government of socialist Salvador Allende (1970–1973) to supervise and control production of state and nationalised factories in order to ensure a fast transmission of economic data between the government and the factory floor (Medina, 2006: 571). This project – guided by British cybernetician Stafford Beer, often called the “father of management cybernetics” (Medina, 2006: 571) – could have turned Chile into one of the first cyber-networked states in the World years before the Internet was fully developed, but it was truncated by the military coup in 1973. This relatively unknown episode of Chilean history was transformed in the novel *Synco* by Chilean fantasy and sci-fi writer Jorge Baradit. *Synco*, the novel, plays with the uchronical idea of what would have happened if the coup had been thwarted by Pinochet as a loyalist officer, the Allende government had continued, and its Synco network had been carried out (Baradit, 2008).

¹⁷ *El Mostrador* was founded in 2000 and is currently the only exclusively digital daily newspaper in Chile.

¹⁸ *Terra Chile* is a miscellaneous portal part of Terra Networks, an online media group owned by the Spanish Telefónica Group. While their content fits more with those of a generalist portal, it also publishes news content reported and written by its own staff.

¹⁹ The *Centro de Investigación Periodística (CIPER Chile)* [Centre for Investigative Journalism] is an influential and award winning independent investigative report website created in 2007, hosted by the Centre for Investigative Journalism Foundation (CIPER). It has received funding from COPESA Group, through an agreement for republishing of reports generated by *CIPER Chile* in COPESA media outlets, and from international institutions such as Open Society Foundation of London, the Ford Foundation, and others (Centro de Investigación Periodística, 2012).

²⁰ *Mi Voz* [My Voice] is a citizen newspaper network that gathers 18 amateur citizen journalism websites from every region of Chile (Mi Voz, 2011). This network maintains agreements with traditional news media outlets, such as the news portal of *Radio Bío-Bío (BioBioChile.cl)* and the regional news portals chain *SoyChile* (property of El Mercurio Group), to publish content generated by the amateur websites in traditional news media outlets.

²¹ *Poderopedia* [power-pedia] is a project funded by the Knight Foundation and Start-Up Chile, which consists of a collaborative platform of data journalism that maps ‘who’s who’ in business and politics in Chile.

²² A search of the Facebook profile of the main established news organisations shows *BioBioChile* as the first news media outlet publishing on Facebook (28 June 2009), followed by *Emol* (27 July 2009) and *La Tercera* (15 December 2009). However, as news organisations have created different profiles and even changed the names of their Facebook profiles, this information may be inaccurate.

²³ The first tweet by *La Tercera* was “Fidel reaparece y dice que caso de marinos británicos en aguas iraníes parece “provocación”: El líder cu.. <http://tinyurl.com/2q7mn4>” (sic) [Fidel shows up again and says the case of British marines in Iranian waters looks like a provocation]. (<https://twitter.com/latercera/statuses/19038911>).

²⁴ The first tweet by *La Cuarta* was “*La Cuarta* es marca registrada de COPESA” [La Cuarta is a registered trademark by COPESA] (<https://twitter.com/lacuarta/statuses/17729551>)

²⁵ Other Chilean news media organisations have joined Twitter since 2008, including *BioBioChile* (May 2008), *CNN Chile* (February 2009), *Teletrece* (the news department of *Canal 13*, in April 2009), *El Mostrador* (April 2009), *Publimetro* and *Terra Chile* (July 2009), *The Clinic* (November 2009), *24 Horas* (news department of *TVN*, in November 2009), and *Emol* (*El Mercurio* online, in May 2010) (Contreras, 11 July, 2014).

²⁶ *Revista Cádiz* is an alternative print magazine that targets Chilean consumers and fans of marijuana. Their content advocates for the legalisation of cannabis in the country.

²⁷ A ‘mention’ is a Tweet that contains another user’s username (e.g. @*nazgulhead*) anywhere in the body of the tweet, including replies to tweets (Twitter, 2015).

²⁸ Klout (www.klout.com) is a social media analytics company. This company offers a metrics tool, the Klout Score, which measures the level of influence of Twitter accounts from an analysis of 25 variables. The Klout Scores values range between 0 (low influence) and 100 (high influence) (Klout, 12 August 2010).

Chapter 3

Research methods and approach

Research into Chilean journalism cultures and digital interaction technologies presents a series of challenges. Many studies of journalism cultures and online newsrooms have been undertaken in the US and European countries (see Chapter One), which is not the case in the Latin American region, including Chile. As described in Chapter Two, few studies address the practices and beliefs of Chilean journalists in relation to technological change. The majority of these studies approach these issues indirectly, mainly through a quantitative approach using content analysis of published news items (Puentes *et al.*, 2011; Bachmann & Harlow, 2012; Said & Arcila, 2011). A limited number of other studies follow a qualitative approach, conducting interviews with senior editorial staff members (Lecaros & Green, 2012; Cabrera & Bernal, 2012). The limitations of indirect approaches cannot be blamed on a lack of interest or laziness by journalism and media researchers. There is limited information about the number and location of journalists in the Chilean news media, and Chilean news organisations have often been historically reluctant to participate in studies or provide information to third parties (Mellado, 2012). As a result, gaining access to Chilean newsrooms and journalists and editors is difficult, particularly as they are very busy professionals.

The characteristics of the research subjects – journalist and editors – and the spaces where they perform their activities – the newsroom – requires careful planning of the research process. This chapter addresses these challenges. The first section discusses the advantages of using a mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative) design and a pragmatic methodological approach for this study. The second section explains the research methods used in this thesis for data gathering and analysis, the sample rationale,

and the two stages involved in the process: a survey of journalists and editors, and semi-structured interviews with editors of Chilean news media organisations.

Defining Mixed Methods research

Mixed method research is recognised as the “third major research approach or research paradigm, along with qualitative research and quantitative research” (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007: 112). It is a synthesis that includes ideas from both qualitative and quantitative methods for the purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Johnson *et al.*, 2007), ensuring a “more informative, balanced, and useful research result” (Baker, 2012: 58). In the case of this thesis, a (quantitative) survey is conducted and semi-structured (qualitative) interviews were completed.

Following Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), the advantages of this third way of research include the possibilities of addressing a broader and more complete range of research questions, enabling a sequential design where the results from one stage can be used to develop and inform the purpose and design of the second stage. Mixed methods overcome the weaknesses of using one method, thereby providing “stronger evidence for a conclusion through convergence and corroboration of findings” (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 21). This combination adds insights that might be missed when only a single method is used, thus increasing “the generalisability of the results” (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 21).

This research approach is complex to carry out, especially when two or more approaches are used concurrently, and requires a considered assessment of how to mix them appropriately (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Mixed methods are more time

consuming, and some details of mixed research – such as the interpretation of conflicting results and problems in mixing paradigms – are challenging to resolve (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Nonetheless, this thesis argues that a mixed methods design is the best approach to address the complexities of the practices and beliefs of professional journalists in Chilean newsrooms. Mixed methods combine the scope of quantitative methods, such as the survey, with the insights that qualitative semi-structured interviews provide, resulting in a more rounded understanding of journalism cultures.

The pragmatic approach

This study adopts a *pragmatic approach* as an alternative to the traditional absolutism of both quantitative and qualitative approaches. That is, I follow the best possible lines of action (Morgan, 2007: 68-69) to research a social phenomenon in a broad way, rather than privilege epistemological stances above the social phenomena and the research methods. A pragmatic approach highlights the importance of “focusing attention on the research problem in social science research and then using pluralistic approaches to derive knowledge about the problem” (Creswell, 2014: 11). This position avoids ‘paradigm wars’ between the mutually excluding limitations and incompatibilities of quantitative research and qualitative research (Morgan, 2007: 55-58).

Pragmatism as a philosophical worldview or standpoint for research, following Creswell (2014: 11), is not “committed to any one system of philosophy and reality”. This allows researchers freedom in choosing “methods, techniques and procedures of research that best meet their needs and purposes”, as from this standpoint the world cannot be seen “as an absolute unity”, and truth is not based on a duality between “reality independent of the mind or within the mind” (Creswell, 2014: 11). Assuming that the outcomes of inquiry and research are ‘warranted assertions’ rather than ‘truth’ (Biesta, 2010: 11), pragmatism

relies on ‘intersubjectivity’ as a way of combining knowledge over mere objectivity (quantitative approaches) or subjectivity (qualitative approaches). As Morgan (2007: 71-72) suggests, intersubjectivity “represents the emphasis on processes of communication and shared meaning that are central to any pragmatic approach”. Each of these processes are involved in the researchers’ work with different frames of reference, with different participants in their research and even with different members of the scholarly community. As Morgan argues, intersubjectivity is a pragmatic response to incommensurability, as it accepts there is both “a single ‘real world’ and that all individuals have their unique interpretations of that world” (Morgan, 2007: 72).

Pragmatism, as an underlying philosophy, allows this research project the freedom to use multiple methods under a mixed methods designed to tackle the complexities of the relations between the journalistic cultures and technological change in a relatively unexplored Chilean context.

Research designs in Latin America

As noted, mixed methods research design has not been used consistently in studies of Latin America to address the issues covered by this thesis. In accounting for the relatively new phenomena of user feedback and interaction in the news media, Latin American scholars have pursued exploratory research using mainly quantitative methods such as content analysis of news items.¹ While these methods account for the results of the journalistic practices in the newsroom such as news items and website designs, they do not allow first hand insights into the practices and beliefs of journalists. Other Latin American scholars, such as Bachmann and Harlow (2012), have suggested the need to complement quantitative methods by researching the production process in the newsroom using qualitative methods. Some authors have developed qualitative research – case

studies (Cabrera & Bernal, 2012) or so-called ‘virtual ethnographies’ (Cobos, 2010) – while also acknowledging the limits of these approaches.

Soledad Puente and Daniela Grassau (2011) are among the few Latin American scholars to use a mixed methods research design (such as surveys and semi-structured interviews) in this area, attempting a broader approach to investigate the phenomenon of ‘citizen journalism’. Puente and Grassau (2011) suggest that this allows, first, the development of a profile of the producers and administrators of the Chilean media that incorporate ‘citizen journalism’ and their everyday practices; and second, and based on the profile obtained, an inquiry into the perceptions and beliefs of editors about the characteristics of citizen journalism. Puente and Grassau’s (2011) rationale can be extrapolated to the case presented in this thesis. On the one hand, quantitative methods (such as surveys) allow a characterisation of the uses and beliefs about online technologies and Chilean journalists. Qualitative methods (such as semi-structured interviews), on the other hand, allow inquiry into the perceptions of journalists and editors about their practices, as well as the purposes, policies, and strategies related to user participation in Chilean news media. The mixed methods approach implemented in this thesis enhances this research by enabling a more rounded understanding of Chilean journalism cultures, where previous studies of Chilean and Latin American journalism tended to be more unidimensional in either their qualitative or quantitative approaches.

Methods: sample rationale and the research design model

This thesis adopted a mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative) design across two stages (Creswell, 2009). Stage One (the quantitative phase) comprised an online survey of 43 reporters and editors from 27 Chilean news media outlets. Stage Two (the

qualitative phase) involved 20 semi-structured interviews with editors of national and regional news media organisations.

Sample rationale

Given the difficulties in determining the size and composition of the population of Chilean journalists and editors working in established news media organisations (see following sections), convenient samples were selected for the survey and interviews in this project. These samples were drawn from news workers in major Chilean news media outlets. This involved reporters and editors from news outlets with national distribution and digital editions on the Internet. The criteria for the selection of participants was the online popularity of the news media where they work, based on the *Alexa.com Top Sites in Chile* ranking as of September 2012 (Alexa, 2012). The sample rationale included news workers from generalist news outlets with national distribution, news workers from niche news outlets, and news workers from regional generalist news organisations, with online editions that are updated at least weekly. Journalists and editors working for alternative media, public relations (PR) or corporate communications were not considered in the survey analysis, nor contacted for interviews, as this research focuses on practices and beliefs of news workers in established news media organisations (see Chapter One).

Research design

The sample of news workers was addressed in two different stages, initially organised according to their position in to the newsroom hierarchy: journalists and editors. Each stage involves different methods for the gathering of data. The mixed methods design of this study follows a ‘sequential’ variant of exploratory/explanatory design (Baker, 2012), which pursues ‘development’ and ‘complementarity’ between the findings of both stages (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

First, the thesis follows an exploratory design and an ‘instrumental development model’ (Baker, 2012). This design has a strong emphasis on the qualitative aspects of the study, as it uses quantitative data gathered in the first phase to inform the next qualitative phase (Creswell, 2009: 211-212). Combined with the literature review, the survey (Stage One) provided background that informed the formulation of questions for the follow-up interviews (Stage Two). The second phase follows an *explanatory* design, where qualitative findings of the second stage (interviewing editors) provide a more detailed understanding of the practices and beliefs of Chilean journalists. It also allows the quantitative results from Stage One to be placed in a more meaningful context. Therefore, both stages are complementary, as they provide insights into different dimensions of Chilean newsrooms.

Stage One (quantitative): online survey

The first quantitative stage of this study involves an online survey of a non-probabilistic sample of 43 journalists and editors from 27 Chilean news media organisations with online editions updated at least weekly. The sample includes news workers from 15 generalist news outlets with national distribution, news workers from seven regional news organisations, and news workers from five specialist news outlets (see Chapter Four).

Surveys allow the collection of wider data or information about respondents (including but not limited to demographic characteristics, opinions, preferences, attitudes, beliefs, feelings, practices and motivations) to compare or explain (Weerakkody, 2009). They also provide a “quantitative or numeric description of trends” (Creswell, 2009: 145). As quantitative data gathering methods, surveys are versatile, efficient at collecting data, allow identification of relationships between different variables through statistical techniques, facilitate secondary data analysis (Walter, 2010: 152-153), and can be

generalisable to an entire population if the population is sampled appropriately. Yet, as a quantitative research method, they are criticised for portraying ‘an incomplete picture’ of reality. Survey data are a snapshot of a specific time. They rely on self-reporting data from people who may be influenced by a personal bias. Their code-based nature may also lead to misleading questions. Therefore, researchers need to be careful that the survey is sound in the questionnaire construction to avoid issues of conceptual misunderstandings by the respondents, which may lead to missing or misleading data (Weerakkody, 2009; Walter, 2010). Despite these challenges, a survey provides a good exploratory overview of the Chilean news and the digital tools used for feedback and interaction in journalistic work. The one-dimensional objective data of the quantitative phase is offset by the subjective data during the qualitative stage of this study.

This online survey includes two visions in the newsroom – the “view from below” and the “view from above” (Ang, 1991: 95), which corresponds to reporters and editors, respectively. Journalists or reporters are important for this study as they constitute the largest group in the newsrooms and conduct the majority of everyday fieldwork in the news production process, with direct and indirect contact with sources and audiences. Therefore, their input is necessary to gather quantitative data that provides ‘baseline’ information about Chilean news cultures. They are also important to avoid “elite bias” by “talking only to high-status individuals” (Sieber 1973; cited by Johnson *et al.*, 2007: 115). Editors, by way of contrast, provide the managerial view about the themes investigated in this thesis, with their close knowledge of decision-making processes, editorial guidelines and strategies. The combination of the visions ‘from below’ and ‘from above’ in the online survey, however, may result in slight elite bias in the overall results of this thesis, as Stage Two of this research design also considers the view from managerial professionals in the newsroom. I argue that the reach of this bias in the results is at best

moderate, considering that no significant differences were identified between reporters and editors about the use and evaluation of digital technologies in the newsroom.

Access to Chilean journalists

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, access to Chilean newsrooms and their staff of reporters and editors is difficult. There is no precise information about the number, location, and demographic characteristics of journalists working in the Chilean news media. Journalist unions have very low membership. Chilean news organisations are also reticent to provide information to third parties about their staff for privacy reasons. Chilean news outlets participate rarely in studies or give access to their newsrooms and their personnel (Mellado, 2012), perhaps fearing that any information they provide may favour their competitors in a small media market. Furthermore, the busy professional nature of the survey participants means that there is a high risk of low survey response rates.

In order to tackle these challenges, the survey was administered online, as a way to reach the maximum of respondents. Contact information (email addresses) for journalists and editors were gathered through available public directories, such as news organisation websites and professional profiles in the social network *LinkedIn*, which is popular among Chilean journalists. 250 invitations to participate in the study were sent through email and participants were also asked to recirculate the invitation via email, forwarding it to their colleagues and other associates as a way to maximise the size of the sample (a ‘snowball’ technique). Invitation emails were sent from 22 July 2013, including up to three reminders. The online survey was open for 10 weeks, as a way to maximise response rates and was closed when responses stopped. The survey was closed on 7 October 2013, registering 49 responses, of which 43 met the sample criteria. The 43 responses achieve

a response rate of 17.2%, which, according to authors such as Gary Bouma (1997), enables justified claims in exploratory research. The quality of survey responses was good, registering few missing answers to selected questions. The final composition of survey respondents is consistent with the main demographic distributions found in others studies, such as Mellado's (2012) census of Chilean journalists.

Instrument

The online survey was developed using Google Drive technology (formerly known as Google Docs), and responses were collected in an online spreadsheet accessible only to the researcher. The survey considered a total of 79 questions – 24 of them compulsory, another 54 questions only applicable according to respondents' answers, and one blank field for open comments. The instrument was organised in three major sections: 'General information', 'Employment data', and 'Use and evaluation of technological tools in journalism work'. The first two sections aimed to collect demographic information about respondents. The third section aimed to characterise journalists' use and evaluation of digital interaction technologies, and it was subdivided into nine subsections, one per online tool – Email, Chat, Online comments forms, Blogs, Facebook, Twitter, Google+, YouTube, and LinkedIn (See Appendix B).

Internal reliability of the instrument was analysed using statistical software SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences). Cronbach's alpha coefficient was applied to questions using a Likert-like scale. Following the criteria of George and Mallery (2003), results ranged between 'acceptable' – for Question 15: "how important are these characteristics in journalistic work" (Cronbach's $\alpha=.763$; $N=29$) – and 'excellent' – for the set of questions about journalists' evaluation of the nine digital interaction technologies considered in the study (Cronbach's $\alpha=.944$; $N=29$).

The instrument was developed in Spanish language, as it is the official language for the Republic of Chile. As I am a Spanish native speaker and a professional journalist, no external translation services were required and the terminology used was the most appropriate for the respondents. The instrument was submitted for peer review to five Chilean academics and journalists in order to detect wording errors, lexical inconsistencies and browsing failures. Minor adjustments were completed after peer suggestions.

The online survey design and procedure observed Monash ethics regulations. The survey design ensured the identity of respondents remained confidential and their participation was voluntary. The nature and characteristics of the online survey were communicated to the participants through the invitation email, explanatory statement and introduction section of the online survey (see Appendix C), as well as their rights and relevant contact information. Following a recommendation from the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC), no signed consent form was asked of respondents for the survey as a way to avoid identification. The submission of their answers to the online questionnaire was instead accepted as proof of the participants' informed consent.

Data analysis

Quantitative data gathered through the online survey was processed using statistical software SPSS in order to generate descriptive statistics to characterise the most common practices and beliefs of journalists, and observe any meaningful data differences and/or correlations. Survey data was inputted in the software, being careful to identify spelling errors and recoding as necessary in order to avoid misleading conclusions. Missing answers were managed by clearly indicating their occurrence in each survey question when analysed. The gathered data was analysed using descriptive statistics (frequency

analysis and cross tabulations) and inferential statistics (bi-variate correlations, Pearson’s chi square, One-sample independent T-Tests, and One way ANOVA) (George & Mallery, 2003).

Stage One results, which are discussed in Chapter Four, provide valuable data about the use and evaluation of digital interaction technologies by news workers in Chilean news media outlets. The data obtained from the online survey also helped to develop the semi-structured questionnaire utilised in the qualitative interviews of Stage Two, which provided closer insights into the incorporation of these technologies in the everyday work of Chilean journalists.

Stage Two (qualitative): semi-structured interviews

In the second qualitative stage, 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted with a purposive sample of editors of 14 Chilean news media organisations. The interviews include eight editors from six national print and online newspapers, five editors from two national news radio stations or radio-based online news websites, four editors from three different national news television stations, two editors from different regional print and online newspapers, and one editor from a specialist online news website (see table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Interviewees by medium, news media outlet, and media owner

News media type	N	News media organisation	Owner
National generalist newspapers and online newspapers	2	<i>El Mercurio Online (EMOL)</i>	El Mercurio Group
	1	<i>La Segunda</i>	
	1	<i>La Tercera</i>	COPESA
	1	<i>La Hora</i>	
	2	<i>Publimetro /Publimetro.cl</i>	Metro International Group
	1	<i>El Mostrador</i>	El Mostrador
National news radio broadcasters and online news websites from radio broadcasters	3	<i>BioBioChile</i>	Bío-Bío Comunicaciones
	2	<i>Radio Cooperativa</i>	Cooperativa
National news television media	1	<i>TVN</i>	TVN
	1	<i>Mega</i>	Bethia Group

	2	<i>Canal 13</i>	Canal 13 S.A (Luksic Group, and Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile)
Regional newspapers and online news websites from regional newspapers	1	<i>Diario de Concepción</i>	Octava Comunicaciones S.A. (Universidad de Concepción) & COPESA joint venture
	1	<i>SoyConcepción</i>	El Mercurio Group
Specialised online news media outlets	1	<i>El Mercurio Inversiones</i> (financial news)	El Mercurio Group

In-depth interviews are one of the most utilised research methods within the social sciences (Travers, 2010). Popularised by the Chicago School, this method is now utilised extensively as a “key way of exploring social meaning within social science research” (Travers, 2010: 288). Interviews are a qualitative method, which allows the researcher to collect data from respondents, interviewees or informants when the studied phenomenon “cannot be directly observed or measured”, providing “verbal and non-verbal data relevant to a given research project” (Weerakkody, 2009: 166).

Semi-structured interviews have similarities with the common journalistic data gathering technique of news reporting:

Both adopt an approach which is planned and structured, but which retains the flexibility to adapt to the individual interview. Both begin with a clear purpose and a list of questions or key points to follow; but both have the flexibility to take the interview in other directions. Both allow for variation in approach and language. In semi-structured interviews, the interviewer works from a standard set of questions, but is not limited to these.

(Bowd, 2004: 118)

In social research, semi-structured interviews are more suitable when the study is “limited to specific topic areas” and the researchers “have some idea what they are looking for” (Weerakkody, 2009: 167). By adopting a planned and structured approach, with common basic questions and topics, this technique has the advantage of allowing comparisons

between respondents. Opinions and themes can be coded, allowing a count of their frequency of occurrence (Weerakkody, 2009). However, this approach also allows the flexibility to “explore issues as the interviewee raises them” (Travers, 2010: 288). Qualitative analyses of the interviewees’ responses allow the interpretation of data and the extraction of “a more holistic meaning behind the research” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008: 200).

However, as a qualitative method, semi-structured interviews have weaknesses. Studies that use this method must be acknowledged as case studies, thus reducing their translatability and comparability of their findings. As a subjective method, there is a risk of bias in the conduct of the interviews or confrontation with hostile informants, especially when researchers have to deal with expert interviewers such as journalists (Bowd, 2004). There is also the possibility of misinterpretation of the gathered data. Similar subjects can produce different conclusions and different, uncontrolled results (Weerakkody, 2009; Travers, 2010). Nonetheless, these qualitative research risks can be minimised by complementing the research design with quantitative methods, as occurs in this research.

In this thesis, semi-structured interviews are used to gather qualitative data that provides close insights into the beliefs and assumptions of editors in Chilean news media organisations. Semi-structured interviews allow insights into the use of digital interaction tools in journalistic everyday work, as well as the purposes, internal policies, and strategies of news organisations in relation to user feedback and interaction. Editors are important for this study because of everything that is implicit in their role in the newsroom’s hierarchy: their decision-making role in editorial guidelines and strategies, including the use of online platforms, and their close knowledge of the routines of the

newsrooms (Gans, 1979; Schudson, 2011; Gregory & Hutchins, 2004; Mikosza, 2003; Cabrera & Bernal, 2012; Puente & Grassau, 2011). This knowledge is acquired in their current role as supervisors of journalists' work, and as journalists themselves. Their careers have progressed from reporters, news producers, or other lower functions in the hierarchy to their current senior positions. Moreover, due to the economic constraints of many news media organisations (and, in many cases, because of their love of the reporting practices of the profession), many of them still perform journalistic work, such as reporting, interviewing, and producing stories. In the case of this study, editors' close knowledge of the newsroom offers useful contextualisation of the data gathered in the first stage of this thesis, enabling a deeper understanding of journalistic practices and beliefs.

Accessing Chilean editors

In a process similar to Stage One, potential interviewees that met the criteria of the sample rationale were invited to participate via email. Their contact information (email addresses) were gathered from available public directories, such as news organisation websites and their profiles in the professional social network *LinkedIn*. Invitation emails were sent to 67 editors between 6 September 2013 and 10 December 2014, including up to three reminders. Positive responses were received from 22 editors. However, due to availability and scheduling issues, 20 interviews were finally conducted. The nature and characteristics of the interviews were communicated to the participants through the invitation email and explanatory statement (see Appendix E), as well as their rights and contact information (in the same way as in Stage One). Invitations included the possibility of being interviewed through a video-call (e.g. Skype) or in person.

According to each editor's availability, interviews were conducted in two rounds. A first group of three individual interviews with national news media and specialised news media editors was conducted and video recorded between 6 October and 12 November 2013, via Skype. A second group of 17 individual interviews was conducted in person and audio-recorded in the cities of Santiago de Chile and Concepción, between 26 November 2013 and 14 January 2014.

During the period of the interviews Chile faced presidential and parliamentary elections, held on 17 November 2013. A presidential runoff between the two most popular candidates was held on 15 December, after none of the nine candidates reached an absolute majority. Former president Michelle Bachelet,² from the centre-left coalition *Nueva Mayoría*, was elected president for second time, ending four years of rule by the centre-right government of Sebastián Piñera. As a result, interviews were conducted during *interesting times* for Chilean journalism, marked by political campaigns for the ballot and efforts by Chilean news media outlets to attract audiences for their news coverage. Subsequently, selected answers provided by the interviewees use news coverage of the presidential elections as examples in their answers.

The range of age, experience, hierarchy positions, media organisations, and types of newsroom for the 20 editors interviewed represents a good cross-section of Chilean journalism (see Appendix G). In terms of age composition, participants range from 23 to 63 years old (Mean=38.45; STD= 10.38), covering a variety of journalistic experiences and opinions about the profession and its evolution. In terms of gender, 25% (n=5) of interviewees correspond with female editors, which represents a bias towards masculine views of newsrooms that is necessary to account for in the conclusions of this study.

Interviewees represent a range of 14 Chilean news media organisations, almost equally distributed between print/broadcast and online editions of traditional news media outlets. Two editors from online-only news media organisations were interviewed, representing 10% of the total interviewees (see table 3.2).

Table 3.2. Interviewees by type of edition and medium

Edition	Medium type	N	%
Print/broadcast edition of news media outlets	Newspaper	5	25
	Radio	2	10
	TV	2	10
	Total	9	45
Online edition of print/broadcast news outlets	Newspaper-based	4	20
	Radio-based	3	15
	TV-based	2	10
	Total	9	45
Online-only outlets		2	10
Total		20	100

The participants also represent different types of managerial positions, including senior and junior editors (see table 3.3). This split and the absence of journalists in the interview sample may lead to ‘elite bias’ (Sieber 1973; cited by Johnson *et al.*, 2007: 115) that favours the opinion of senior figures in the newsroom (Singer, 2010). However, this bias is countered by the non-managerial positions represented in the online survey conducted in Stage One of this study. Moreover, most junior and even some senior editors interviewed in Stage Two also still perform standard reporting, writing, and story production functions.

Table 3.3. Interviewees by type of managerial position

Position	N	%
Junior editors (section editors, multimedia editors, deputy section editors, and social media editors)	9	45

Senior editors (general editors, deputy general editors, and digital division directors)	11	55
Total	20	100

Table 3.4. Interviewees by type of newsroom

Position	N	%
Print/broadcast newsroom	8	40
Online newsroom	10	50
Integrated newsroom	2	10
Total	20	100

In terms of newsroom organisation (see table 3.4), the vast majority of interviewees work in non-integrated newsrooms, either for the print/broadcast or the online edition of their news media outlets, while two editors (from the same news organisation, *Publímetro*) work in an integrated newsroom delivering both print and online editions of the newspaper.

Conducting the interviews

All interviews were conducted in Spanish. Following Monash University ethics regulations, each interviewee was informed about the study and its reach, confidentiality and data management policies, the voluntary nature of their participation, and the mechanisms for clarifying further questions or issues. Interviewees were also asked for to sign a consent form in their native language (see Appendix F), authorising the use of the information provided by them, and offered anonymity through the use of pseudonym, although none requested this anonymisation. Transcripts were also offered to interviewees for their approval, but only one editor requested this check.

Most of the interviews were conducted in person. While the 20 editors demonstrated sufficient technological skills to conduct all communications online with the researcher,

17 of the participants declined when offered the option of being interviewed via Skype. Most preferred the interviews to be conducted face-to-face. Scholarship suggests that face-to-face interviews are preferred as they enable observation of non-verbal communication may escape the narrow vision angle of computer or smartphone video cameras (Cater, 2011; O'Connor *et al.*, 2008; Hay-Gibson, 2009; Chen & Hinton, 1999). Yet, the reasons behind interviewees' preference for face-to-face contact are difficult to determine. They could be related to many factors, such as lack of technological skills or low self-confidence in the use of this technology, connectivity issues, distrust of their interlocutor, or the basic fact that they preferred "the warmth of a personal, face-to-face conversation", as the only editor who explained his reasons expressed in an email (Christian Leal, personal communication 2 October, 2013). Interviewees' preferences forced modification to the research schedule in order to arrange a field trip to Chile. However, the difficulties in this stage of the research were not only barriers for the project, but also valuable pieces of information. The fact that only three participants agreed to be interviewed via Skype – all under 35 years old – was the first noteworthy aspect of the interview process, providing an early indication of the editors' attitudes towards digital technologies, as discussed in Chapter Five.

Except for the three Skype interviews, all interviews were conducted face-to-face in different venues, such as news organisations' meeting rooms, interviewees' private offices, and newsrooms' snack bars or public cafes. The 20 interviews followed a guideline of 17 open questions (see Appendix D), developed from the research questions of this thesis and informed by data gathered in Stage One of the methods. The semi-structured nature of the questionnaire provided flexibility to address different interview scenarios. In most cases it allowed development of further questions, follow-up questions, rephrasing or skipping questions (depending on previous answers), and exploring ideas

not initially covered on the questionnaire. In others cases, and compelled by the busy professional nature of the interviewees and their schedules, it allowed a shortening of interview sessions by focusing on core themes.

The first part of the interview schedule inquired into an editor's age, current position and professional functions, and their history as a media professional. These questions enabled a deeper understanding of their current job, career, and relationship with technological change in the newsroom and their personal and professional life. They also helped build rapport with interviewees. The second part of the schedule covered their beliefs about traditional and new journalistic practices, providing detailed accounts of their experiences and their news organisations, including anecdotes that illustrate everyday work in their newsrooms. Editors also conveyed their understandings of the current state and challenges of the journalistic profession, Chilean news media, and Chilean society.

Expectations about encountering potentially hostile interviewees also played a role, adding extra anxieties to the research process (Neuman, 2000: 297; cited by Bowd, 2004). The familiarity of journalists with interviewing techniques, according to Bowd (2004), might affect the process of data collection, especially when these media professionals are not the ones holding a microphone and a notepad. However, the existence of a common understanding between the journalists and the interviewer, such as the knowledge of Chilean journalism codes and my role as a graduated journalist and journalism lecturer in a Chilean university, was helpful in creating a comfortable atmosphere for interactions. This knowledge was especially helpful for building rapport during the three interviews conducted via Skype (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014). My anxieties faded as editors proved cooperative and offered candid responses, often devoid of self-promotion or marketing language. The fact that most of the interviews were conducted in premises of the

participants' news media outlets, such as meeting rooms and cafeterias, may have helped in creating a sense of control and familiarity for interviews. The mood of the meetings was generally informal, but a healthy professional distance was maintained. The objective was to keep a natural flow of ideas that was responsive to the conversational context.

Transcription, coding, and analysis

Transcription, coding and analysis of the interviews were completed in Spanish as a way to preserve the richness of the expressions used by the interviewees. The interviews were transcribed by the researcher from audio (18 cases) and video recordings (two cases) using Express Scribe v5.60 software for reproduction of the digital audio and video files, and word processor software. The process, usually long and tedious, involved difficulties because of the technical quality of a few audio recordings. Background noise and the fast speaking pace of some of the interviewees made it difficult to transcribe selected parts of the interviews.

During transcription, special care was taken to keep fidelity with the interviewees' affirmations. When the technical quality of audio or video recording made it difficult to identify occasional parts of their interviews, difficult to understand passages were annotated and a record kept of them. Quotations reproduced in Chapter Five and Six were translated into English with significant efforts to maintain the word and spirit of their declarations.

The coding process was undertaken using qualitative analysis software *QSR NVivo 10*. Interview transcripts were coded using a mix of coding methods, including "attribute coding", "descriptive coding", "process coding", "values coding", and "versus coding" (Saldaña, 2009) to identify different themes and patterns. These themes and patterns were

re-coded and classified several times “chunking”, “fracturing”, and “slicing texts” (Bazeley, 2013: 143) in a process of *back-and-forth* seeking to decant the meaningful data for analysis. A codebook was kept and updated with every coded transcript. Software assisted queries for detection of meaningful words and terms were also utilised in order to detect possibly overlooked meaningful units of text. After two rounds of coding recoding, and classification, three main themes emerged, with the understanding that these themes are closely related and overlap: (1) “use of digital tools for feedback and interaction with audiences in the newsroom” (including valuations, beliefs, practices, editorial guidelines, and strategies), (2) “roles assigned by journalists for themselves and the audience”, and (3) “current state and challenges for Chilean journalism and news media” (see table 3.5). Responding to the objectives set for this thesis, the data analysis centred on the first two main themes detected, although elements of the third theme are addressed intermittently throughout following chapters.

Table 3.5. Main themes detected in transcript analysis

Theme	Aspects
Use of digital tools for feedback and interaction with audiences in the newsroom	Beliefs & valuations Practices and purposes of use in the newsroom in different stages of the news cycle Production stage Distribution stage Feedback and follow-up stage Editorial guidelines regarding use of digital tools and relationship with their audiences Strategies of use
Roles assigned by journalists in the use of digital tools for feedback and interaction with audiences in the newsroom	Roles assigned to journalists Roles assigned to the audience
Current state of and challenges for Chilean journalism and news media	History and current challenges for journalism The future Transformation of journalism Transformation of the news media industry

The use of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), such as *NVivo*, was a helpful tool in the management of multiple or simultaneous coding, but also contributed to the risk of over-coding transcripts and falling into a “coding trap” (Johnston, 2006), which resulted in a delay in the transcript analysis. This problem was handled by continually revisiting the study’s research questions, reading the transcripts, and writing memos.

Ethics, reliability and validity

The ethical dimensions of this research have been mentioned throughout this chapter when describing both stages of the research design. I followed the strict ethics recommendations of Monash University. The project received ethical clearance by MUHREC as “low risk” in February 2013, after which fieldwork commenced. Chilean journalists and editors have participated in this study under strict norms of voluntariness and confidentiality from the contact phase through to the analysis and publishing of results. Explanatory statements were provided to all the participants in both stages of the research design, and the reach and characteristics of the study were also explained in the invitation emails. In the case of Stage One, as a way to avoid identification, no signed consent form was asked of respondents for the survey. In the case of Stage Two, while offered to participants, no interviewee requested their identity remain confidential in the reporting of this study’s results. Major ethical challenges for this research were not identified.

The reliability and validity of this investigation was ensured through a series of measures adopted across the entire research process. Both concepts are intimately tied, as the first refers to consistency in the findings related to the gathered data, while the latter refers to the accuracy of the research findings (Creswell, 2014). Both aspects must be closely

monitored throughout the steps in the research process, involving the adoption of a reflexive and critical attitude by the researcher in checking, questioning, and interpreting findings (Kvale, 1996). In this thesis, in both the quantitative and qualitative stages, a series of strategies were adopted with this aim. As outlined in previous sections, these strategies included the use of peer reviewers in the development of the quantitative instrument and the incorporation of findings from the online survey in the development of the questionnaire for the interviews. The complementary nature of both research stages enabled more meaningful results, as weaknesses in each method were overcome by the strengths of the other. Internal reliability tests for the online survey also achieved anywhere between ‘acceptable’ and ‘excellent’ levels of reliability (George & Mallery, 2003).

Other ‘validity strategies’ (Creswell, 2014) utilised in this thesis include clarification of researcher bias. My status as a Chilean journalist and lecturer in a journalism school may affect the interpretations presented in this study. Yet, this viewpoint may also provide a privileged viewpoint to interpret the characteristics of Chilean journalism cultures, as I share many of the same professional and cultural codes of the interviewees. Discrepancies between the information gathered in both research stages is disclosed in the discussion of findings, as a way to provide a more realistic and valid account of the evidence found (Creswell, 2014). In terms of qualitative reliability, constantly revisiting the transcriptions and the themes of the codebook helped to maintain consistency in the analysis of findings. In this regard, transcribing, coding, and analysing the gathered data in the original language of the interviews (Spanish) before translating it to English helped to maintain consistency in the findings presented in this thesis.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the methodological challenges of researching Chilean journalism and the digital feedback and interaction tools used by journalists in their everyday work. By combining the qualitative method of semi-structured interviews with 20 editors and the quantitative method of an online survey of 43 journalists and editors, this mixed method research attempts to provide a “more informative, balanced, and useful research result” (Baker: 2012: 58) for the understanding of Chilean journalism cultures in the digital age. Following a pragmatic approach as an underlying philosophical stance for research, the research design implemented for this thesis aims to produce a rounded understanding of the journalistic practices and beliefs about online tools and audience interaction in Chilean newsrooms.

The next chapter presents the results from the first stage of this research, focusing on the use and evaluation of digital technologies by Chilean journalists and editors.

Notes

¹ Bachman & Harlow (2012), Barrios (2007), Canavilhas and Ivars-Nicolás (2012), Tejedor (2010a, 2010b), García de Torres et al. (2010), Palau-Sampio (2012), Said and Arcila (2011), and Said, Arcila and Méndez (2011) are among the Latin American studies that conduct content analysis.

² Socialist Michelle Bachelet governed, for the first time, from March 2006 until March 2010, when the candidate of her coalition, former president Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994-2000), was defeated in the presidential elections of 2009 by the centre-right coalition Alianza por Chile led by businessman Sebastián Piñera. Chilean legislation forbids presidents to run for a second consecutive period, although they are allowed to run for non-consecutive presidential periods or for parliament seats.

In the presidential runoff of 2013, Michelle Bachelet faced Evelyn Matthei, the candidate from the Alianza por Chile. Interestingly, both candidates were women and daughters of generals of the Chilean Air Force. Matthei's father, Fernando, became Chief Commander of the Chilean Air Force in 1978, replacing Gustavo Leigh in the Pinochet's Junta that ruled Chile between 1973 and 1989, after the military coup. Bachelet's father, Alberto, was an Air Force brigadier and member of Allende's government. He was detained in the early hours of the coup and died of a cardiac arrest after allegedly being tortured by regime agents in 1974. Michelle and her mother were detained and tortured, and forced into exile in 1975. Michelle lived a few months in Australia during 1975, and then she moved to East Germany. Generals Fernando Matthei and Alberto Bachelet were friends and their daughters shared playgrounds in air force camps many times when they were children (Castillo & Montes, 2013)

Chapter 4

Use and evaluation of digital interaction tools

by Chilean journalists

This chapter reports on the results of the first (quantitative) stage, consisting of an online survey of 43 Chilean reporters and editors from a range of news media organisations. These results focus on the practices and beliefs of journalists about the use of digital interaction and feedback tools in their everyday news work. This chapter presents much needed empirical evidence about the characteristics of journalists who inhabit Chilean newsrooms.

The first section of the chapter offers an overview of the survey respondents, suggesting that they broadly represent the overall characteristics and distribution of journalists working in the Chilean news media. The second and third sections of the chapter present the main findings of the quantitative stage of the thesis, centring respectively on the use and evaluation of digital interaction technologies. The results show extensive use of technologies such as email and social media in daily tasks, although their utilisation tends to be concentrated in the production and distribution stages of the news cycle, with limited use in the feedback and follow up stage.

Overview of survey respondents

As described in Chapter Three, invitations to participate in the online survey were distributed to 250 journalists and editors working in a range of media organisations. These news outlets included television and radio networks, newspapers, and online-only news outlets. The invitations, including a hyperlink to the online survey published in Google Drive, were sent to the respondents via publicly available email addresses.

Table 4.1. Survey respondents by organisation type

		Frequency	Percent
Considered cases	Established generalist (national and/or regional) news media organisations	38	77.6
	Specialised news media organisations	5	10.2
	Total valid cases	43	87.8
Not considered	Alternative media outlets	4	8.2
	Corporate communications cabinets, PR offices, or government offices	1	2.0
	Total not considered cases	5	10.2
Missing	Missing (System)	1	2.0
Total		49	100.0

A total of 49 responses were received (overall response rate of 19.2%). From the total responses, 43 journalists and editors working at established national or regional generalist news outlets or specialised news outlets (87.8%) met the sample rationale criteria (see Chapter Three) and were considered in the analysis. Those working in alternative media organisations, corporate communications cabinets, PR offices, and government offices, were not considered (see table 4.1). The 43 responses achieve a response rate of 17.2%, which, according to authors such as Gary Bouma (1997), enables justified claims in exploratory research.

The 43 respondents considered in the analysis work in 27 different news outlets, which represent many of the major Chilean news media organisations. A small number of news media organisations have no representatives in the survey sample. However, voices from the missing news media organisations (notably, *El Mostrador*, *TVN*, and *Cooperativa*) are present in the qualitative stage of the study, which reduces the probability of bias in the integrated results of this thesis. The sample rationale considered four types of media organisations, classified according to each outlet's mast head medium: print-based, radio-based, TV-based, and online-only. According to this

Table 4.2. Survey respondents by medium and news media outlet

Medium	News media organisation	N	%	
Print-based	<i>El Mercurio / El Mercurio Online (EMOL)</i>	5	11.63	
	<i>La Segunda</i>	1	2.33	
	<i>La Tercera</i>	7	16.28	
	<i>La Cuarta</i>	1	2.33	
	<i>La Hora</i>	2	4.65	
	<i>Publimetro.cl</i>	1	2.33	
	<i>La Nación</i>	1	2.33	
	<i>Cambio21</i>	1	2.33	
	Total	19	44.19	
	Regional generalist newspapers	<i>Diario de Concepción</i>	1	2.33
		<i>La Discusión de Chillán</i>	1	2.33
		<i>Diario El Correo del Lago de Villarrica y Pucón</i>	1	2.33
		<i>Diario El Centro</i>	1	2.33
		<i>Crónica Chillán</i>	1	2.33
		<i>Diario El Sur</i>	2	4.65
		Total	7	16.28
	Specialised newspapers and magazines	<i>Diario Financiero</i> (financial newspaper)	1	2.33
		<i>Pulso</i> (financial news)	1	2.33
		<i>Revista PM</i> (Fashion and lifestyle magazine for an ABC1 audience)	1	2.33
Total specialised newspapers and magazines		3	6.98	
Total print-based news media organisations		29	67.44	
Radio-based	<i>BioBioChile</i>	3	6.98	
	<i>Radio ADN</i>	1	2.33	
	<i>Radio Futuro y Concierto</i>	1	2.33	
	Total national news radio broadcasters	5	11.63	
	<i>Radio UdeC</i>	1	2.33	
	Total regional news radio broadcasters	1	2.33	
Total radio-based news media organisations		6	13.95	
TV-based	<i>Red Televisión</i>	1	2.33	
	<i>Mega</i>	2	4.65	
	<i>3TV</i> *	1	2.33	
	<i>Canal 13</i>	2	4.65	
	Total national news television media organisations	6	13.95	
Total TV-based news media organisations		6	13.95	
Online-only	<i>Portal Minero</i> (mining and economy news)	1	2.33	
	<i>El Post</i> ** (collective blog about politics and society)	1	2.33	
	Total specialised news media outlets	2	4.65	
Total online-only news media organisations		2	4.65	
Total		43	100.00	

* Free-to-air TV venture owned by the COPESA group that was shut down in September 2013 before it been officially launched.

** It stopped publishing and closed in December 2013.

classification, the majority of respondents (67.44%) work at print-based news outlets (newspapers, weeklies, magazines), and only 4.65% of respondents work for online-only news organisations (see table 4.2). This distribution is different to findings in other

studies, notably Mellado's (2012) census of Chilean journalists. Her findings suggest that Chilean journalists work mainly for newspapers, magazines and newswires (52.6%, including print and online), television (27.4%), and radio (20%) (Mellado, 2012: 387).

While Mellado's study was conducted in 2008-2009, the distribution of journalists across platforms and outlets may have varied since then. The distribution of the respondents per medium on my online survey appears to over-represent journalists working for print-based media organisations. This issue is a result of the non-probabilistic nature of the sample of the online survey and needs to be acknowledged as part of the limitations of this study.

Table 4.3. Survey respondents by position in news media organisation

	Position	Frequency	Percent
Non-managerial positions	Reporter or content writer	25	58.14
	Journalistic producer	3	6.98
	Total non-managerial positions	28	65.12
Managerial positions	Junior editor	6	13.95
	Senior editor	9	18.60
	Total managerial positions	15	32.56
Other		1	2.33
	Total	43	100.00

In relation to their position in their news media organisations, 65.12% of respondents are non-managerial staff, such as reporters. Managerial positions represent 32.56% of respondents (see table 4.3). This composition may lead to a moderate over-representation of managerial positions in the sample when compared with other studies of Chilean journalists. For instance, Mellado (2012) suggests that non-managerial positions represent 70.8% of Chilean news workers, compared to junior managers (20.4%) and senior managers (8.8%). However, this 'elite bias', as explained in Chapter Three, is diminished by the fact that many editors in Chilean newsrooms still perform the standard reporting, writing, and story production functions of the non-managerial positions.

Moreover, no significant differences were identified between reporters and editors about the use and evaluation of digital technologies in the newsroom.

Demographics

This section offers a description of the survey respondents in terms of demographic characteristics such as gender, age, work experience, professional background, employment conditions, and newsrooms characteristics. These results are also contrasted with the available literature on Chilean journalists reviewed in Chapter Two. While this online survey is based on a non-probabilistic sample, many of the results are consistent with the findings of those studies.

Gender

From the respondents considered for this analysis, 42% are female journalists and editors and 58% are male. This male/female proportion suggests a gender bias towards male news workers in the findings of this thesis. However, it is necessary to consider that this bias is a structural feature of Chilean journalism cultures. These figures are consistent with the female/male proportion of journalists in Chilean newsrooms found in studies undertaken by Mellado (2012), Wilke (1998) (40% female) and Gronemeyer (2002) (37% female). It is worth noting that this gender imbalance is lower than other international studies of journalists, such as Quandt *et al.*, (2006: 175) which found similar and lower proportions of women working in online news media organisations in Germany (38.2%) and the US (34.0%).

Age and years of journalistic experience

The surveyed journalists and editors are concentrated in the age group under 40 years old (69.8%), showing a similar pattern to Mellado's (2012) and Wilke's (1998) studies of

Chilean journalists (see table 4.4). The average age of respondents is 35.12 years old (STD = 9.230), which is also consistent with the average age (35.6) found by Mellado (2012). The median value for age is 35 years old, which is similar to the profile of German online journalists reported by Quandt *et al.*, (2006). The largest age group by far is the group of 18-30 years old (39.5%), which corresponds to people born and educated during the digital age. Journalists and editors over 51 years, who did not grow up immersed in digital technologies, represent only 4.7% of respondents. These figures are consistent with the overall demographic distribution present in Chilean journalism cultures.

Table 4.4. Respondents by age group

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-30 years old	17	39.5	39.5
31-40 years old	13	30.2	69.8
41-50 years old	11	25.6	95.3
51-60 years old	2	4.7	100.0
Total	43	100.0	

Table 4.5. Respondents by years of journalistic experience

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
5 years or less	13	30.2	30.2
6 to 10 years	9	20.9	51.2
11 to 20 years	13	30.2	81.4
21 years or more	8	18.6	100.0
Total	43	100.0	

Regarding respondents' journalistic experience, the average number of years working as journalist is 11.40 (STD = 9.232), with 51.2% of respondents located in the group of 10 or less years and 30.2% having 5 or less years of work experience (n=13) (see table 4.5). These figures differ to other international studies of journalists, such as Quandt *et al.*, (2006), which found an average journalistic experience of seven years in the case the Germany and 16 years in the case of the US. These differences are probably linked to the

older average age of US journalists surveyed by Quandt *et al.*, (2006) and to other cultural differences in these three countries. In the Chilean case, the age and experience of journalists suggests a relatively young journalist population, probably explained by the boom of journalism schools at the beginning of the 1990s following the liberalisation of education economy after the last years of Pinochet’s military rule (see Chapter Two).

Educational level and professional formation

Results from the online survey confirm the professionalisation trend in Chilean journalism that was outlined in Chapter Two. In terms of professional background and specialisation, all respondents have a university education at some level (see table 4.6), with 93% (n=40) possessing a university journalism title. The remaining 7% report that they are journalism students or have incomplete university qualifications as journalists. This compares to Mellado’s (2012) findings from 2008-2009, which suggest 86.2% of Chilean journalists have studied journalism in universities.

Table 4.6. Respondents by educational level

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Journalism university graduate (journalism title)	40	93.0	93.0
Journalism student or incomplete journalism university studies	3	7.0	100.0
Total	43	100.0	

Table 4.7. Respondents by specialisation / postgraduate qualification

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	16	37.2	39.0
No	25	58.1	61.0
Total valid cases	41	95.3	100.0
Missing	2	4.7	
Total	43	100.0	

Table 4.8. Type of specialisation / postgraduate qualification

Specialisation*	Frequency	Percent of postgrad /	Overall percent (43 cases)
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		specialisation cases (16 cases)	
Short courses	10	66.67%	23.25
Master	9	60.00%	20.93

*Multiple responses possible, therefore percentages total more than 100

In terms of specialisation and postgraduate qualification, 37.2% of respondents (n=16) reported enrolling in postgraduate and/or specialisation courses (see table 4.7). Two thirds (n=10) of those who pursued postgraduate or specialisation courses – equivalent to 23.25% of total respondents – reported having completed at least a short specialisation course, while 60% (n=9) reported having studied for a Master’s degree (equivalent to 20.95% of total respondents) (see table 4.8). The available literature does not allow for comparison with other Chilean studies, as short specialisation courses are not considered in them, even when Mellado (2012) suggests only 6.1% of Chilean journalists hold a Master’s degree.

Media experience

In terms of media experience, 37.21% of journalists and editors include online media as part of their CV, probably influenced by the age composition of the survey sample. Online media was positioned in fourth place over other work areas, such as corporate communications and PR, news agencies, and government offices, which have been traditionally an attractive and more stable work field for Chilean journalists. However, print and broadcast media are still the most common in terms of workplace experience for news workers. Newspapers and magazines are the media outlets most journalists have worked at (83.72%, n=36), followed by radio (48.84%) and television (46.51%) broadcasting (see table 4.9).

Table 4.9. Medium where respondents have worked

Medium*	Responses N	Percent of Cases
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Print media (newspapers, magazines)	36	83.72
Radio	21	48.84
Television	20	46.51
Online media	16	37.21
News agencies	3	6.98
Corporate communications and PR	7	16.28
Government offices	2	4.65

*Multiple responses possible, therefore percentages total more than 100

Possible explanations for the strong presence of traditional media in respondents' experiences may be found in the higher number of job positions available in these types of news media organisations, including internship positions. Online news media newsrooms tend to be smaller in terms of staff numbers.

Working conditions

The working conditions of respondents highlight some interesting results. Two thirds (67.4%) of the respondents considered have been working in their current news outlet for less than 5 years, and 20.9% for less than one year (see table 4.10). These results are attributable to the relatively young age and limited journalistic experience of the survey respondents. However, the high number of respondents working for less than five years in their current organisation (67.4%) and less than two years (44.2%) may also be related to job instability and precarious labour conditions in the liberalised Chilean media market. In terms of the nature of their contracts, the number of journalists working under undefined contract terms for their news organisations still is moderately high (65.1%). Employees working under casual or freelance contracts (20.9%) constitute an important part of the Chilean journalism workforce (see table 4.11). The proportion of casual and freelancer employees found in my online survey suggests an increasing proportion of journalists working with no formal contract (15%), as also suggested by Mellado (2012: 389).

Table 4.10. Time working for current news organisations

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than a year	9	20.9	20.9
1-2 years	10	23.3	44.2
3-5 years	10	23.3	67.4
6-10 years	6	14.0	81.4
11-20 years	6	14.0	95.3
21 or more years	2	4.7	100.0
Total	43	100.0	

Table 4.11. Respondents by type of contract with their news media organisation

Contract	Frequency	Percent
Undefined term contract	28	65.1
Fixed term contract	2	4.7
Casual or freelancer employee	9	20.9
Other	4	9.3
Total	43	100.0

Table 4.12. Respondents by workload (hours a week)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
Less than 22 hours a week (casual)	5	11.6	13.5	13.5
22-32 hours a week (part-time)	3	7.0	8.1	21.6
33 hours a week or more (full-time)	29	67.4	78.4	100.0
Total	37	86.0	100.0	
Missing	6	14.0		
Total	43	100.0		

Results suggests that the average workload of respondents is 39.95 hours a week (STD=14.353), with 67.4% of respondents having a contract for 33 or more hours per week (full-time) (see table 4.12).

Newsroom organisation

Most respondents (59.5%) characterise their outlet's newsroom as traditional (print or broadcast editions for a news media outlet), while journalists working in digital newsrooms (online-only news media or online editions of print/broadcast news media

outlets) and integrated/convergent newsrooms (for both online and print/broadcast editions of news media outlet) represent around 20% of respondents each (see table 4.13).

Table 4.13. Respondents by type of newsroom

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Traditional newsroom (print or broadcast edition of news media outlet)	25	58.1	59.5
	Digital newsroom (online-only news media outlets or online edition of news media outlet)	8	18.6	19.0
	Integrated/convergent newsroom (for both online and legacy editions of news media outlet)	9	20.9	21.4
	Total	42	97.7	100.0
Missing		1	2.3	
Total		43	100.0	

Table 4.14. Type of newsroom * Type of medium

		Newsroom			Total	
		Traditional newsroom	Digital newsroom	Integrated / convergent newsroom		
Medium	Print-based	Count	17	3	8	28
		% within Medium	60.71	10.71	28.57	100
		% within Newsroom	68.00	37.50	88.89	66.67
		% of Total	40.48	7.14	19.05	66.67
	Radio-based	Count	3	3	0	6
		% within Medium	50.00	50.00	0.00	100
		% within Newsroom	12.00	37.50	0.00	14.29
		% of Total	7.14	7.14	0.00	14.29
	TV-based	Count	5	1		6
		% within Medium	83.33	16.67	0.00	100
		% within Newsroom	20.00	12.50	0.00	14.29
		% of Total	11.90	2.38	0.00	14.29
Online-only	Count	0	1	1	2	
	% within Medium	0.00	50.00	50.00	100	
	% within Newsroom	0.00	12.50	11.11	4.76	
	% of Total	0.00	2.38	2.38	4.76	
Total	Count	25	8	9	42	
	% within Medium	59.52	19.05	21.43	100	
	% within Newsroom	100	100	100	100	
	% of Total	59.52	19.05	21.43	100	

When these results are cross-tabulated with the type of medium where respondents are currently working (see table 4.14), figures show that most journalists who work in integrated / convergent newsrooms work for historically print-based news organisations

(88.89%). In the case of digital newsrooms, journalists are distributed most equally between print-based and radio-based news organisations (37.50% each), followed by TV-based and online-only news outlets (12.50%). However, significant differences between groups could not be found by the application of inferential statistics (Pearson's Chi-square), as too many cells (75%) did not reach the minimum count (5 cases by cell) to allow such inferential calculations.

Table 4.15. Respondents by newsbeat / section

Newsbeat / section		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Culture	1	2.3	2.4
	Entertainment	2	4.7	4.8
	Politics	3	7	7.1
	City / current affairs	7	16.3	16.7
	Life style	2	4.7	4.8
	Not fixed section / beat	8	18.6	19
	Science / Technology	3	7	7.1
	Sports	3	7	7.1
	Investigative report	2	4.7	4.8
	Police / Justice	2	4.7	4.8
	Education	1	2.3	2.4
	Economics / Business	5	11.6	11.9
	Special editions	1	2.3	2.4
	General edition	2	4.7	4.8
	Total	42	97.7	100
Missing		1	2.3	
	Total	43	100	

In terms of newsbeat or section, the survey's sample composition shows that most journalists and editors (18.6%) do not work for a fixed newsbeat/section, followed by those working for a city/current affairs chronicle (16.3%). Other newsbeats/sections show relatively equal distribution, as shown in table 4.15. Similar to the results about the type of newsroom, sample size limitations mean it was not possible to apply inferential statistics to observe any significant difference between journalists from different newsbeats/sections.

Summary of respondents' characteristics

The results presented in this section are consistent with findings in the available research on Chilean journalism cultures. The age, gender, educational level and formation of respondents, and their working conditions are in line with some of the trends identified by the studies reviewed in previous chapters (Mellado, 2012; Wilke, 1998; Gronemeyer, 2002). The journalist population working for Chilean established news media organisations appears to be becoming younger, reducing its gender gap, and shows a marked trend towards professionalisation in terms of university background and specialisation. Working conditions are becoming less stable and favour casual or freelancing positions. Although the findings outlined in this section may be not sufficient to definitively confirm these trends, the consistency of the main demographic results suggests that survey respondents are indicative of Chilean journalism cultures. The following section presents the survey's main findings about use of digital tools for feedback and interaction with the audience.

Use of digital feedback and interaction tools in journalistic work

From the online survey results, it is possible to observe patterns of use of feedback and interaction tools by Chilean journalist and editors. These patterns are associated with journalistic practices in three different stages: news production, distribution, and feedback/follow up of news items (see Chapter One). The main findings about journalistic practices are presented in this section, including the pervasiveness of email, the relative dominance of Twitter over Facebook as a journalistic social network, and feedback/follow up practices in daily work.

The pervasiveness of email

Despite the ‘buzz’ among Chilean news media organisations about social media networks, the first noticeable finding relates to the dominance of email over other forms of interaction in journalists’ everyday work. In line with scholarship in Germany (Machill & Beiler, 2009), email remains the most used digital tool in news work, as it is the only technological tool used by all respondents (see figure 4.1).

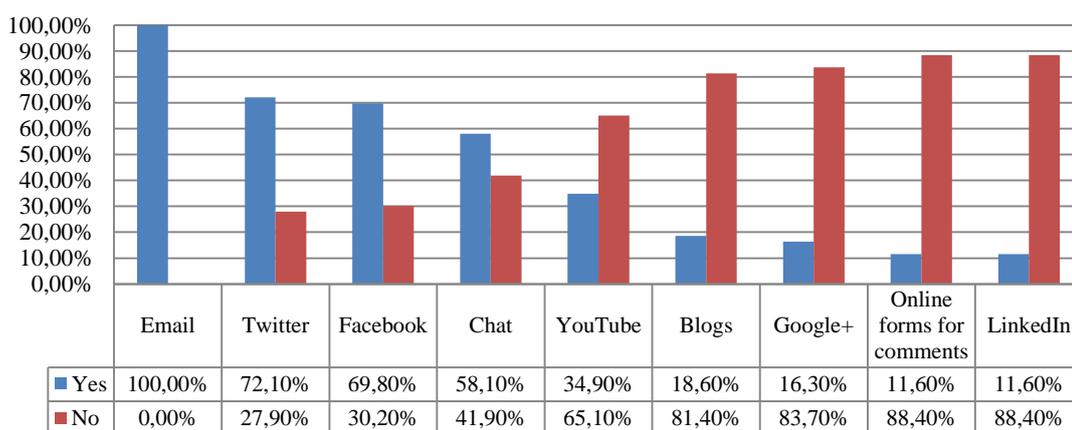


Figure 4.1. Use of digital tools for feedback/interaction in journalistic work

Table 4.16. How often do you use the following digital tools for feedback/interaction in your journalistic work?

Interaction tools or instances	Frequency													
	Always		Often		Always + Often		Sometimes		Little		Never		Little + Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Email	42	97.1	1	2.9	43	100	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Cell phone	30	69.8	9	20.9	39	90.7	4	9.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Landline phone	18	41.9	13	30.2	31	72.1	9	20.9	3	7.0	0	0.0	3	7.0
Face to face interaction	14	32.6	16	37.2	30	69.8	9	20.9	4	9.3	0	0.0	4	9.3
Twitter	19	44.2	9	20.9	28	65.1	7	16.3	5	11.6	3	7.0	8	18.6
Chat	15	34.9	10	23.3	25	58.2	7	16.3	8	18.6	3	7.0	11	25.6
Facebook	13	30.2	8	18.6	21	48.8	8	18.6	8	18.6	6	14.0	14	32.6
YouTube	9	20.9	4	9.3	13	30.2	14	32.6	10	23.3	6	14.0	16	37.3
Google+	5	11.6	5	11.6	10	23.2	6	14.0	4	9.3	23	53.5	27	62.8
Blogs	1	2.3	8	18.6	9	20.9	10	23.3	12	27.9	12	27.9	24	55.8
Online comment forms	2	4.7	5	11.6	7	16.3	11	25.6	11	25.6	14	32.6	25	58.2
Flickr	5	11.6	1	2.3	6	13.9	5	11.6	6	14.0	26	60.5	32	74.5
Instagram	0	0.0	3	7.0	3	7.0	6	14.0	10	23.3	24	55.8	34	79.1

Respondents confirm they use email “always” or “often” in their daily work (see table 4.16). Remarkably, email is reportedly more utilised than the landline and mobile phone, and even face-to-face interaction (Machill & Beiler, 2009). In terms of produced news items, 55.8% of respondents confirm they use email in “most of the stories” and 16.3% in “every story” (see table 4.17).

Table 4.17. Frequency of use of digital tools in terms of produced stories or news items

Digital tool	Frequency											
	For every story or news item		In most of the stories or news items		In some stories or news items		In few stories or news items		Rarely		Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Email	7	16.3	24	55.8	9	20.9	3	7.0	0	0	0	0
Chat	0	0	6	14.0	11	25.6	4	9.3	4	9.3	18	41.9
Online forms for comments	1	2.3	1	2.3	1	2.3	1	2.3	1	2.3	38	88.4
Blogs	0	0	0	0	6	14.0	2	4.7	0	0	35	81.4
Facebook	5	11.6	4	9.3	14	32.6	3	7.0	3	7.0	31	32.5
Twitter	3	11.6	8	18.6	13	30.2	2	4.7	2	4.7	13	30.2
Google+	0	0	2	4.7	2	4.7	2	4.7	0	.0	37	86.0
YouTube	2	4.7	1	2.3	7	16.3	2	4.7	3	7.0	28	65.1
LinkedIn	0	0	0	0	2	4.7	1	2.3	2	4.7	38	88.4

It is necessary to acknowledge a bias towards the use of email in this online survey, as respondents were contacted for participating in this research project through email invitations. Because of this, the possibility of results showing respondents failing to use email is very unlikely. However, these findings are still a remarkable, as studies of Internet usage in the Chilean context suggest that while email is the most utilised online resource by Chilean Internet users, only 63% of users admit using it daily (WIP Chile, 2011). The findings presented in this section are similar to other studies of email use in newspaper newsrooms from the U.S (Garrison, 2004; Hendrickson, 2006), Europe (Machill & Beiler, 2009), and by science journalists (Dumlao & Duke, 2003; Duke, 2002; Granado, 2011). These findings suggest that email, an ‘old’ technology of the digital age, is a normalised tool for journalists in their everyday interaction with sources, associates and audiences. Uses of email are described in more detail in following sections,

particularly in terms of news production, distribution, and the feedback/follow up of stories. Findings of the second (qualitative) stage of this thesis presented in Chapter Five and Six shed more light on the nuances of email use by journalists and editors.

Digital technologies as journalism tools: a hierarchy of use

Regarding the use of other technological tools – mainly social media – in journalists’ everyday work, findings suggest that Twitter is the most consistently used social network, with 72% of the respondents affirming they use it in their work (see figure 4.1) and 65.1% using it “always or often” (see table 4.16). Facebook follows as the third most used technological tool by respondents, behind email and Twitter, as 69.8% affirm they use it in their work (see figure 4.1). Facebook ranks fourth in terms of frequency of use as only 48.8% of respondents confirm they use it “always or often”. Both social networks, with an overall use of around 70% of respondents, are used intensively by Chilean journalists, which is consistent with the extensive penetration rates of social networks (87%) among Chilean Internet users (Pew Research Center, 19 March 2015). These findings suggest that Chilean journalists are aware of the potential of these social networks and are increasingly adopting these technologies in work practices. However, it is possible to observe differences in their usage by respondents, which may be explained by the purposes of use. Twitter is seen as a more useful tool than Facebook (Reed, 2013; Canter, 2013a), specifically in the feedback/follow up stage of the news cycle, as discussed in the following section. This result suggests that Twitter is becoming another normalised tool for news production (Hermida, 2010; Dickinson, 2011; Hedman, 2015).

Surprisingly, online chat – another “old” digital technology – is used more than Facebook by Chilean journalists, with 58.2% of the respondents reporting they use it “always or often” (see table 4.16). However, the respondents’ comments suggest that the intensive

use of chat in these results may be linked to other instant messaging technologies not included in the closed questions of the survey, such as WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger, Twitter private messages, and others. For this reason, the chat results may not be representative of the actual use of these technologies by Chilean journalists. The interviews with editors, presented in Chapter Five, offer a more comprehensive picture of chat and instant messaging technologies in the work of journalists.

Other findings include the low use of blogs and online forms for audience comments; two technologies discussed widely by scholars and technology experts during the so-called ‘revolution of web 2.0’ (Jenkins, 2006; Bruns, 2008). Today, blogs and online forms for audience comments on news media websites are among the least used technological features by journalists, together with less used social networks as Google+ and LinkedIn. When asked about what technological tools they use, over 80% of respondents report they do not use these services in their daily routines (see figure 4.1). The low use of these technologies among respondents possibly relates to the rise of Facebook and Twitter as platforms that integrate blog and comment formats. This situation has led, in the case of comment forms, to the growing abandonment of internally controlled comment management systems for audience feedback by Chilean news media organisations. The case of LinkedIn is worth noting. During the recruiting phase of this study, this social network proved effective for contacting potential survey respondents and interviewees. However, the survey responses suggest that the use of this service is not associated with journalistic practices. Less than 12% of respondents confirm using LinkedIn in their work (see figure 4.1), making it the least utilised social media service.

Table 4.18. Type of account / profile utilised in professional activities

Type of service account*

Digital tool	Generic personal account		Official news outlet account		Personalised account provided by news media organisation		Other		Valid
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Email	29	67.4	29	67.4	6	14.0	0	0	43
Chat	25	100	1	4.0	N/A	N/A	0	0	25
Blogs	6	75	3	37.5	3	37.5	0	0	8
Facebook	24	80.0	2	6.7	8	26.7	0	0	30
Twitter	25	80.6	3	9.7	7	22.6	0	0	31
Google+	7	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
YouTube	10	66.7	0	0	5	33.3	1	6.7	15
LinkedIn	4	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	4

*Multiple responses possible, therefore percentages total more than 100

A final notable pattern in the use of digital interaction tools is the utilisation of personal and generic accounts for digital services – such as those provided by Google, Yahoo! and other companies – over the ‘official’ accounts provided by news media organisations. While this situation varies according to the nature of digital tool observed (and some digital tools register much more use than others), it draws attention to the high use of personal accounts for email (67.4%), Twitter (80.6%), Facebook (80%), and Chat (100%) in professional activities (see table 4.18). This pattern of use is related to relevant concerns in the digital age, such as the growing dependence on big technology corporations (Ahmad, 2010) such as Facebook and Google, and the management of multiplying personas in the digital world. As Chapter Six will show, this also raises questions about the (non) existence of internal guidelines in news media organisations for managing online interactions (Lysak *et al.*, 2012).

Purposes of use

Respondents were also asked about the purposes for using digital interaction tools in their journalistic work. A series of eleven practices were presented to them. These practices were grouped in three main categories according to the stages of the news cycle described in Chapter One (see table 4.19). Multiple responses per stage and digital tool were

allowed. A blank field for ‘other’ purposes respondents may have for using digital interaction tools was provided. From these ‘other’ purposes, “to contact and coordinate with colleagues and/or supervisors” registered most counts (5), and was included in the analysis of results.

Table 4.19. Journalistic practices of digital technologies by stage of the news cycle

Production Stage
Identify new stories
Contact sources directly
Contact sources indirectly (to get contact information)
Gather information that complements and/or deepens stories
Distribution Stage
Publicise stories and attract audience attention for the stories and/or the news media outlet
Feedback/follow up Stage
Correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience
Correct spelling / grammar / style using suggestion made by the audience
Respond to audience questions made by the audience
Respond to audience criticisms
Follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories
Generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories
Other
Contact and coordinate with colleagues and/or supervisors

The findings presented here focus only on the five most utilised digital tools among the survey respondents (email, chat, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube) ($N \geq 15$), as the remaining technologies (online forms for comments, blogs, Google+, and LinkedIn) registered much less use and do not provide meaningful results. In order to observe broader trends for each stage, mean averages from the percentages of practices in each stage of the production cycle were calculated for every digital tool (see table 4.20). The characteristics of the scales used to measure these variables in many cases did not enable the application of inferential statistics for finding significant differences between groups. Thus, it is necessary to remark that the findings presented in this section, while interesting, may be not statistically significant.

Table 4.20. For what purposes do you use the following digital tools in your journalistic work?

Stage / purpose of use	Online tool										Average %
	Email		Chat		Facebook		Twitter		YouTube		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Production Stage	72.1		60.4		71.7		73.4		40.0		63.5
Identify new stories	19	44.2	11	45.8	21	70.0	28	90.3	10	66.7	63.4
Contact sources directly	40	93.0	19	79.2	24	80.0	27	87.1	2	13.3	70.5
Contact sources indirectly (to get contact information)	31	72.1	17	70.8	22	73.3	20	64.5	2	13.3	58.8
Gather information that complements and/or deepens stories	34	79.1	11	45.8	19	63.3	16	51.6	10	66.7	61.3
Distribution Stage	14.0		20.8		50.0		64.5		33.3		36.5
Publicise stories and attract audience attention for the stories and/or the news media outlet	6	14.0	5	20.8	15	50.0	20	64.5	5	33.3	36.5
Feedback/follow up Stage	25.2		20.2		28.0		47.3		2.2		24.6
Correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience	20	46.5	8	33.3	11	36.7	13	41.9	0	0.0	30.4
Correct spelling / grammar / style using suggestion made by the audience	6	14.0	4	16.7	6	20.0	8	25.8	0	0.0	15.3
Respond to audience questions	11	25.6	4	16.7	8	26.7	17	54.8	0	0.0	24.8
Respond to audience criticisms	11	25.6	4	16.7	8	26.7	16	51.6	1	6.7	25.5
Follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories	14	32.6	5	20.8	10	33.3	19	61.3	1	6.7	30.9
Generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories	3	7.0	4	16.7	10	33.3	15	48.4	0	0.0	21.1
Other	3.5		10.5		0.0		0.0		0.0		2.8
To contact and coordinate with colleagues and/or supervisors	0	0.0	4	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3.3
Other	3	7.0	1	4.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2.2
Valid	43	-	24	-	30	-	31	-	15	-	

The general results suggest that the main purposes for using digital tools relate to the production stage of journalism (overall average=63.5%), rather than in the distribution stage (overall average=36.5%) or the feedback/follow up stage of the news cycle (overall average=24.6%). For instance, over 80% of respondents who use email, chat, Facebook, and/or Twitter employ them to “contact sources directly”. Similarly, 90.3% of Twitter users, 70% of Facebook users, and 66.7% of YouTube users among the respondents employ these digital tools to “identify new stories”. In the distribution stage, respondents appear to take advantage of the news delivery potential of Twitter (64.5%) and Facebook

(50%) to publicise stories. However, its use is less extensive compared to news gathering practices (see table 4.20).

In the case of the feedback/follow up stage, Chilean journalists employ digital tools much less. In general, less than 30% of respondents who employ digital tools use them for feedback or to follow up published stories. The only exception here is Twitter. For those journalists using Twitter, an average of 47.3% employ this social network for feedback practices. For instance, 61.3% of the respondents who confirm they use Twitter in their work employ it as a tool to “follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories”. Also, around half of the users utilise Twitter to “respond to audience questions” (54.8%), “respond to audience criticisms” (51.6%) and “generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories” (48.4%) (see table 4.20). These figures confirm the findings of López-Hermida and Claro (2011) about the highly interactive use of this social network among Chilean journalists. As presented in Chapter Five and Six, interviews with Chilean editors provide more comprehensive insights about these practices.

The extensive use of email as a digital technology for journalistic work is moderated when contextualised with the purpose of its use. A reported 93% of respondents use email to contact sources, but less than 25.6% use it to engage with audiences responding to questions or criticisms. Nonetheless, 46.5% confirm they use email to “correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience” (see table 4.20). Email is a reporting rather than feedback tool, according to these figures. Interviewed editors in the second stage of this research confirm these findings (see Chapter Five and Six). The level of use of chat in the production stage is remarkable (overall average=60.4%), especially in practices such as contacting sources directly

(79.2%) and indirectly (70.8%). However, as outlined in the previous section, this use may be linked to instant messaging tools such as Facebook Messenger and WhatsApp. The use of chat and instant messaging tools is best explained by editors interviewed in the second stage of this research (see Chapter Five).

These preliminary results support two key findings about the use of digital interaction tools. The first relates to the use of Twitter. Twitter is the most used interactive digital tool by Chilean journalists, and the most consistently used in each stage of the news cycle. Even though email is the most popular digital tool in news work, Twitter has achieved an important place in journalistic practices, especially for identifying new stories, contacting sources, publicising news items, and interacting with audiences (Hermida, 2010; Reed, 2013; Canter, 2013a). The second key finding is the clear prevalence of interactive and feedback digital tools for practices related to the production stage of news. This prevalence suggests that Chilean journalists – despite the ‘buzz’ in Chilean news media organisations about interaction with their audiences – are still addressing their audiences from a top-down perspective, fighting a loss of control (Deuze, 2008; Bruns, 2008), and maintaining a traditional gatekeeping role (Domingo, 2008; Domingo *et al.*, 2008; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008; Bachmann & Harlow, 2012). This unwillingness to yield interactive spaces to the audience is an issue for journalism in a society with an authoritarian background and increasing citizen distrust towards social and political institutions (CEP, 2015), including journalism and news media organisations (Pardo *et al.*, 2010). Findings in the qualitative stage of this thesis allow closer insights into the dynamics of the relationship between Chilean journalists and its audiences.

Evaluation of digital interaction tools in journalistic work

The final part of the quantitative stage of this thesis relates to the evaluation of digital feedback and interaction technologies by the respondents. First, survey respondents were asked about the relative importance of five potential characteristics of digital interaction/feedback tools in journalistic work – “efficiency”, “ability to produce better quality journalism”, “ability to gain awareness of audience’s opinions and thoughts”, “ability to reach broader audiences”, and “ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences” – using a Likert-type scale in a range from 1=“very important” to 5=“very unimportant” (Crombach’s $\alpha=.763$; $N=29$). Results indicate that most respondents evaluated all potential characteristics between “very important” and “important”, with very low dispersion in their answers (see table 4.21).

Table 4.21. How important are the potential characteristics of digital interaction/feedback tools in journalistic work?

Potential characteristics of digital interaction/feedback tools	N	Mean	STD
Efficiency	43	1.09	.294
Ability to produce better quality journalism	43	1.49	.883
Ability to gain awareness of audience’s opinions and thoughts	43	1.65	.752
Ability to reach broader audiences	43	1.47	.702
Ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences	42	1.45	.670

The highest-valued characteristic was “efficiency” (Mean=1.09), with 100% of respondents ranking it as “very important” or “important” (see table 4.22), with the lowest dispersion (STD=.294). The lowest-evaluated potential characteristic was “ability to gain awareness of audience’s opinions and thoughts”, which suggests that audience feedback has a lesser importance for Chilean journalists when compared with the other attributes of digital tools. Still, 88.3% of respondents valued this attribute as “very important” or “important” (Mean=1.65), although with the second highest dispersion (STD=.883) among respondents.

Table 4.22. How important are the potential characteristics of digital interaction/feedback tools in journalistic work?

Potential characteristics of digital interaction/feedback tools in journalistic work	Valuation												Valid
	Very important		Important		Very important +		Neither important or non-important		Non important		Very non important		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Efficiency	39	90.7	4	9.3	43	100	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	43
Ability to produce better quality journalism	29	67.4	10	23.3	39	90.7	2	4.7	1	2.3	1	2.3	43
Ability to gain awareness of audience's opinions and thoughts	21	48.8	17	39.5	38	88.3	4	9.3	1	2.3	0	0.0	43
Ability to reach broader audiences	27	62.8	13	30.2	40	93.0	2	4.7	1	2.3	0	0.0	43
Ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences	27	64.3	11	26.2	38	90.5	4	9.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	42

Survey respondents were also asked about to assess each of the digital feedback and interaction tools in their journalistic work. A series of statements about each digital tool were presented to survey respondents using the dimensions introduced in the previous question. Also, respondents were asked for their evaluation of the “usefulness” of each tool. Respondents provided their opinion using a Likert-type scale in a range from 1=“strongly agree” to 5=“strongly disagree” (Crombach’s $\alpha=.944$; $N=29$). Results were recoded in new variables by averaging the values of every dimension for each technological tool (Crombach’s $\alpha=.814$; $N=7$) in order to obtain an index that described the overall evaluation of these technologies. Similar to the analysis of purposes of use of digital tools, the recoding was applied only to the five most utilised digital tools (email, chat, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube) ($N \geq 15$).

The results indicate a positive evaluation for each technological tool, as mean values are placed at least between “agree” and “nor agree nor disagree” although closer to “agree”. The most valued digital tool is Twitter, with an overall result of 1.58 (STD=.605), and Facebook with an overall result of 1.97 (STD=.713), which places them between “strongly agree” and “agree”. This overall evaluation is consistent with the positive image

of Twitter and Facebook depicted by Chilean news media organisations. The lowest valued tool in journalistic work is chat (M=2.333; STD=.653), although its evaluation is still positive (see table 4.23).

Table 4.23. Overall evaluation of digital feedback and interaction tools in journalistic work

Tool	N	Mean	STD
Email	43	2.0473	.75415
Chat	25	2.3333	.65263
Facebook	30	1.9667	.71304
Twitter	31	1.5817	.60491
YouTube	15	2.2200	.70697

Regarding the evaluation of each tool in terms of their attributes when disaggregated, general results suggest that digital tools receive a higher evaluation in terms of “usefulness” and “efficiency”. Email (M=1.05; STD=.218) and Twitter (M=1.28; STD=.528) received the highest evaluation of “usefulness” (see table 4.24). Discarding those dimensions where certain tools have obvious disadvantages (such as email’s “ability to reach broader audiences”), the lowest evaluated attribute was registered by chat’s “ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences” (Mean=2.80; STD=1.225), email’s “ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences” (Mean=2.62; STD=1.306), and Facebook’s “ability to produce better quality journalism” (STD=2.59; STD=1.150) (see table 4.24). From these results, the case of Facebook is striking. While still positive, this result may suggest journalists have less trust in the journalistic potential of this platform in terms of the quality of content in the

Table 4.24. Evaluation of each digital interaction/feedback tools in journalistic work

Characteristic of digital interaction/feedback tools in journalistic work	N	Mean	STD
Email			
Usefulness	41	1.05	.218
Efficiency	43	1.14	.413
Ability to produce better quality journalism	43	2.07	1.100
Ability to gain awareness of audience’s opinions and thoughts	42	2.57	1.107
Ability to reach broader audiences	42	2.86	1.260

Ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences	42	2.62	1.306
Chat			
Usefulness	25	1.48	.586
Efficiency	25	1.80	.866
Ability to produce better quality journalism	25	2.56	.870
Ability to gain awareness of audience's opinions and thoughts	25	2.52	.823
Ability to reach broader audiences	25	2.84	1.028
Ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences	25	2.80	1.225
Facebook			
Usefulness	30	1.50	.731
Efficiency	29	2.00	1.000
Ability to produce better quality journalism	29	2.59	1.150
Ability to gain awareness of audience's opinions and thoughts	30	2.10	.923
Ability to reach broader audiences	29	2.00	1.069
Ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences	29	1.76	.988
Twitter			
Usefulness	29	1.28	.528
Efficiency	31	1.58	.720
Ability to produce better quality journalism	30	2.20	1.157
Ability to gain awareness of audience's opinions and thoughts	30	1.47	.629
Ability to reach broader audiences	30	1.57	.817
Ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences	30	1.47	.730
YouTube			
Usefulness	15	1.60	.632
Efficiency	14	2.00	.784
Ability to produce better quality journalism	15	2.13	.834
Ability to gain awareness of audience's opinions and thoughts	15	2.60	1.121
Ability to reach broader audiences	15	2.47	1.246
Ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences	14	2.43	1.222

reporting of news. In fact, despite Facebook's importance for the publicising of news in Europe and the US (Newman & Levy, 2014; Olmstead *et al.*, 2011; Mitchell *et al.*, 2012b), scholarship suggests that journalists rely more on other digital tools, such as Twitter, for news production, (Hermida, 2010; Reich, 2013; Reed, 2013; Willnat & Weaver, 2014; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2012). Editor's insights into this issue are presented in Chapter Five and Six.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the main findings from an online survey of Chilean journalists and editors, which corresponds to the first stage of a mixed methods research design. While the survey results are drawn from a non-probabilistic sample, demographic characteristics

of the sample fit the characteristic of journalists found in other studies of Chilean journalism cultures. This consistency suggests that survey respondents offer a useful snapshot of the technological features of Chilean journalism cultures at this point of the digital age.

The main findings show that email is the most utilised digital tool by Chilean journalists, despite being an ‘old’ digital tool. Email registers more frequency of use than any other tools for news work, such as use of landline and mobile phone and face-to-face interaction. Twitter and Facebook are the social networks technologies with the most extensive use among respondents. Twitter stands out as the most interactive digital tool and the most consistently used throughout the three stages of the news cycle. However, despite the interactive use of Twitter, digital tools are mostly used in the production stage of the news cycle, rather than in distribution or feedback/follow up stages. This concentrated use suggests that Chilean journalists and news media organisations are still reluctant to open further participation opportunities – let alone gates – for the audience in the news cycle.

The findings also suggest that Chilean journalists have a very positive view of the digital feedback and interaction tools in terms of attributes such as “usefulness”, “efficiency”, “ability to produce better quality journalism”, “ability to gain awareness of audience’s opinions and thoughts”, “ability to reach broader audiences”, and “ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences”. The highest-evaluated attributes for digital tools are “usefulness” and “efficiency”, especially in the case of email and Twitter, while Facebook’s “ability to produce better quality journalism” received a lower evaluation, although it was still positive. This finding warrants a closer look in the qualitative stage of this research.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the first (quantitative) stage of this thesis generated exploratory findings about journalism cultures and online media in the Chilean newsroom. While acknowledging their limitations in terms of elite and gender bias, these findings fill a gap in research about recent developments in Chilean journalism. However, the value of these findings gains greater relevance through the second (qualitative) stage of this research, as they are complemented by the insights from experienced Chilean editors working for a range of established news media organisations. Drawing from the quantitative findings outlined in this chapter, the qualitative findings presented in the next two chapters enable a more rounded picture of Chilean journalism to emerge.

Chapter 5

Digital interaction tools: affordances, constraints and unresolved tensions in news production and distribution

The quantitative results presented in the previous chapter offer an interesting snapshot of Chilean journalism cultures and digital interaction technologies in the newsroom. Yet, the limitations of the online survey suggest the need for a complementary, qualitative approach that taps into the nuances of everyday life in Chilean newsrooms. Insights provided by editors through semi-structured interviews offer the opportunity to gain a deeper knowledge of the practices and beliefs of Chilean news workers about the use of interaction and feedback technologies, and their relationships with their audiences.

This chapter presents the first part of a qualitative analysis of 20 semi-structured interviews with senior and junior editors from 14 different national and regional Chilean news media organisations. These results are integrated with results from the quantitative stage of this thesis and the relevant literature reviewed in the earlier chapters. This chapter, together with Chapter Six, addresses Chilean journalism cultures – that is, journalists’ beliefs and practices – focusing on the key themes detected in the interviews: the affordances, constraints, and unresolved tensions presented by digital interaction tools, according to each stage of the news cycle. Both chapters aim to illustrate how these technologies are (or are not) adopted in the daily practices of Chilean journalists and for what purposes, outlining the role they play in Chilean journalism.

For analytical purposes, and as a way to facilitate the presentation of the results, the findings have been split into two chapters. Chapter Six presents an analysis of these digital technologies in the general context of Chilean newsrooms, as well as the affordances,

constraints and unresolved tensions in the stages of (i) production, and (ii) distribution of news. Chapter Seven addresses these themes in (iii) the feedback and follow up of published stories. As outlined in Chapter One, this organisation of results is a heuristic strategy to describe the journalistic practices and beliefs, and it is important to keep in mind that the three stages are intertwined and sometimes difficult to separate.

The main findings presented in this chapter confirm that the use of these technologies tends to be concentrated in the news production and distribution stages, while the use of these tools in the feedback/follow up stage is less extensive. In the production stage, Chilean editors identified digital interaction technologies as helpful in identifying new stories and contacting sources, especially for incident news or crisis events. Yet, interviewees raised a series of issues related to distrust of online reporting and UGC. Findings also indicate a demotic turn (Turner, 2010) in the adoption of interaction digital technologies in Chilean newsrooms. Generating online traffic is a key purpose for their utilisation.

Affordances, constraints, and unresolved tensions in daily practices

Unsurprisingly, Chilean editors offered a positive assessment of digital interaction technologies in journalistic work. However, the use of these tools in the newsroom involves a complex scenario that entails not only perceived advantages, but negotiating the intersection of journalism and technological change. As a whole, affordances and constraints were identified as the main themes in the qualitative analysis of the interviews with Chilean editors. For analytical purposes, in this chapter they are reviewed together. The most relevant unresolved tensions that result from the interaction of affordances and constraints are also addressed.

In analysing the implications of these tools for everyday work practices, one question in the semi-structured questionnaire – “how do you evaluate the adoption of digital interaction technologies in the newsroom?” – is particularly relevant. The question had the advantage of being open enough to allow interviewees to answer according to their own beliefs about what is relevant and tools and processes that matter to them most. For example, expressions such as “useful”, “important”, “fundamental”, “essential”, “a necessity”, and “key for the job” are predictable as positive evaluations of digital tools. Yet, it is the issue of *what aspect* of their practices these adjectives refer to that yields the greatest insights.

Overall evaluation of digital tools in the newsroom: speed and immediacy

The 20 editors interviewed represent a range of different ages, experiences, media outlets, and positions (see Appendix G). The first noticeable attitude among the vast majority of interviewees is their overall positive evaluation of digital interaction tools. This evaluation is consistent with the findings of the online survey presented in the previous chapter.

A small minority consider digital interaction tools to be over-rated:

I believe [digital technologies] facilitate your life; but in the end, one can still get along without them. I mean, they are useful, but sometimes I think there is some exaggeration about them.

(Sergio Jara, *El Mercurio Inversiones*).

However, nearly every one of the interviewed editors consider digital and Internet-based technologies, such as email, instant messaging, and social networks as “valuable”, “very useful”, “important”, and even “fundamental” tools for journalistic work:

For me, they are very useful tools that allow you to perform your work much better as a journalist and also from the company’s point of view. I mean, we are a newborn

newspaper competing against another that is over 100 years old; thus, positioning ourselves is very difficult. But social media enables you to compete for the audience's attention on a much more level field (...). The entire social network thing is key to our job.

(Ricardo Cárcamo, *El Diario de Concepción*).

[Digital interaction technologies] are very good tools. I mean, if a new journalist arrives and does not have a Twitter account, I would ask to him to create his or her account immediately. Not necessarily for tweeting, but to become aware of what is happening out there (...). Today, they are necessary, I mean, they are fundamental to the job.

(Mauricio Ávila, *Publimetro*).

According to most interviewees, digital interaction technologies make journalism work easier compared with the past. The combination of the connectivity provided by digital interaction tools, and the mobility provided by portable devices and mobile Internet, offers a series of advantages:

[Digital technologies] are magic; they lighten the job (...). They are very useful from every point of view. From the data gathering, the immediacy of the information you may obtain, or the sources you can access (...). I think [they] facilitate the job for any communications professional.

(Salvador Carmona, *La Hora*).

Personally, I think [their introduction] is positive, I believe they give you a series of tools and comparative advantages in relation to what we used to do before [them] (...). When I worked for the newspaper, I used to do newsgathering all day outside, to go to the newsroom in the evening, and then sit writing on the computer. Now you can do all of that from anywhere, with a tablet or a laptop. You can dispatch directly to your editor's email, they check it online, they suggest any changes, you correct it and it is all done! Thus, digital technologies offer a series of advantages, especially speed, which is very positive.

(Eduardo Hernández, *Cooperativa*).

As this editor's words suggest, these advantages are related to two key elements of journalism that have gained greater prominence today (Örnebring, 2010; Deuze, 2005; Singer, 2003; Hirst, 2011; Allan, 2010; Fenton, 2010). 'Speed' or 'immediacy', on the one hand, and the possibility of access to much more information, on the other. In this respect, and especially among newspaper editors, digital technologies are great assets that enhance the ability of journalists to compete in an increasingly challenging media ecosystem, allowing them to react faster to news:

Their speed is fundamental. Information is obtained faster, you can check more sources – if you want to – and have a quicker vision of what is happening. Social networks play a fundamental role – they give us notice of what is going on. Sometimes one does not know, does not have an idea, but social media has already broken the news before the news media informed about it.

(Mauricio Ávila, *Publimetro*).

The main advantage, as I see it, is that you can speedily access a lot of data, a lot of information, which previously was impossible to get as fast as now. [Digital tools] enable you to respond faster to contingencies, and also achieve more closeness with the public. In the end, you are closer to the people, everything is more instantaneous, faster, and thus you have to be connected to appropriately respond to that.

(Ricardo Cárcamo, *El Diario de Concepción*).

However, editors also perceive that speed of production is a constraint for journalism work, as it has increased pressure on journalists and generated tensions in the newsroom. In Europe and the US (Deuze, 2008; Singer, 2003; Preston, 2009; Freedman, 2010; Fenton, 2010; Agarwal & Barthel, 2015; Paulussen, Geens, & Vandenbrade, 2011), as well as in Latin America (Boczkowski, 2010), authors suggest that such pressures are related to increased media competition, increased speed of production in a 24/7 news cycle, and the decreasing size of newsrooms. These conditions result in a growing workload for journalists. While in general terms the Chilean case seems to fit this trend,

nuances found in my data suggest certain differences to the mentioned studies cited above. Most editors acknowledge competition and speed of production as problematic, especially as a factor in the publication of factual inaccuracies and mistakes. But a few of the editors were willing to acknowledge the workload pressures on journalists produced by constant connectivity and a reduction of staff.

Time pressures and speedy publication are cited by the interviewees as the most common sources of errors in journalism. Although publication errors can be a widespread feature in all types of media outlets, in the case of online media they are an especially sensitive matter, as the race to publish first is urgent and leads to lapses:

Once, we killed [Argentinean rock star, Gustavo] Cerati. It was not a social media mistake, it was a publication error, because Cerati was in a coma for more than a year and was about to die. We had prepared a special edition and everything, just in case, and somebody hit a button he should not, and the story was published. It was a major fuck up. It was at night, and the story remained published for many hours.

(Juan Pablo Martínez, *Emol*).

We have had a few publication errors, but it happens just because of being too rushed: ‘Hey, look at the stuff I got, let’s publish it right away’ and this is in live broadcasting. Sometimes the filter that should operate there does not work.

(Rodrigo Diez, *TVN*).

Adoption of technology in journalism has caused many mistakes, because it is still in an implementation stage. We have made several publishing mistakes. For trying to post a story fast, we have screwed it up. Or sometimes the writing is not very good because of trying to get news out before the competition.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

For audiences speed is not always the most important factor in their choice of news (Lim, 2012). Nonetheless, speed has long been an important quality for journalists and the news industry, as suggested by terms such as “exclusivity” and “being first” (Hirst, 2011: 144).

This is not a new feature of journalism (Schudson, 2011). However, it has gained importance following the increasing competition that is derived in part from technological change (Pavlik, 2000, Deuze, 2008; Schudson, 2011). Similar to the US and European contexts (Singer, 2003; Joseph, 2011), this situation has led a number of Chilean editors to consider the speed of journalistic work as problematic, as it affects the quality and depth of journalism:

The biggest challenge for Chilean journalism is quality, and, in general, social media and new technologies have increased speed, but helped to diminish quality. Quality has decreased because of immediacy. We have made many mistakes for trying to publish something too quick, when it was necessary to wait a little bit for it. Journalism is anticipation, it is being first, but it is also double-checking, being rigorous in checking sources before publishing.

(Mauricio Ávila, *Publimetro*).

We try to publish our own [investigative stories], original or in-depth stuff, but I think we do not produce such stories enough because that means spending time exclusively on it without publishing the regular stories. And that takes too much time.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

With time as an important constraint, especially for online news outlets, some editors identify ‘modernización’ [literally ‘modernisation’, this term refers here to a process of technological change] as a key factor behind the pressures affecting Chilean newsrooms, which are even changing traditional journalistic ideas, such as the ‘scoop’ (Hartley, 2011):

I do not know if [publishing errors is] just inherent to digital media or the digitisation of journalism. These risks have much to do with ‘modernización’, with the speed, with the demands of delivering news first. Today, you see, the exclusives, the scoops, no longer exist, except for very limited cases (...). It is misunderstood that if I have a story about a court ruling and I aired it at 11 AM on my news bulletin, I am beating the competition because I aired first. That is not an exclusive! That is not a scoop, there is nothing

making a difference about that! But as we live for airing news first, for being the first on arrival, the notion of the scoop, that formerly existed, is dead.

(Eduardo Hernández, *Cooperativa*).

Although the possibility of editing and correcting pieces is a welcome attribute of content management systems (CMS) and digital media, the shareability of social media allows users to distribute news media errors on a scale never seen before, damaging the image of news outlets:

You live with mistakes online. In fact, a usual criticism is that stories are badly written, but it is basically because of typos when you were rushed trying to be the first in publishing. The good thing is you can correct the piece. You always can fix it on the Internet. Well, except if a guy who has nothing else to do detects it, makes a screenshot, and publishes it on Twitter.

(Ángela Bustamante, *SoyConcepción*).

You are prone to error. A mistake is multiplied a thousand times. For a mistake the audience turns you into shit. And that has to do with the exposition of online media. I can assure you if page three of *El Mercurio* [print newspaper] comes with a goof, nobody notices it. But if that mistake is published online, you know it is an unstoppable thing. You know, it may be calming down, nobody has noticed it yet, and then comes a guy with an army of hitmen and boom! They retweet [the goof] again! It is dangerous, very dangerous. If you make a mistake, they cream you. You do not have any error margin. It is very stressful.

(Claudio Arce, *Publimetro online*).

Yet, for a number of younger editors of online media, a high speed of production also results in positive outcomes, by turning journalists into more ‘complete’ professionals compared to older journalists and their slower routines:

I believe that digital tools and online journalism enable you to be a more complete professional. First, because besides the traditional journalistic skills, you need other technological skills that make you a more enhanced professional. Second, work rhythms are very different to, let’s say, newspaper journalism, where you have no major pressure. [In online media] you are fighting against the clock and you have to achieve a

quality standard according to that (...). You have to work fast and that helps you to be more alert – to write fast, to publish information right away.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

In the case of pressures connected to the presence of smaller staff in newsrooms, surprisingly few interviewees recognise that cutbacks in newsroom staffing budgets are affecting journalistic practices. These restrictions lead to an emphasis on online and phone reporting over face-to-face and in-the-field newsgathering:

We have a staff composition that is quite *sui generis* in comparison to other newspapers, because we are very few in order to make the business model work. For instance, I worked for *Las Últimas Noticias* newspaper, in the chronicle section, and I remember we were 12 journalists, two sub-editors, and one editor: 15 people. That was more than all the staff that currently produces *Publimetro*. And that was for a section that only published seven pages a day, so actually we were a lot of people. Here, as we are few, we have to rely much on online and phone reporting.

(Mauricio Ávila, *Publimetro*).

While over-relying on online and phone reporting is perceived as problematic by some editors (as addressed later in the chapter), most interviewees do not directly connect smaller newsrooms with workload pressures. Smaller newsrooms and the subsequent increase in workloads for media professionals seems to be viewed as a standard condition, rather than a problem for Chilean journalism. This view prevails despite the fact that in recent years Chilean journalist unions have witnessed large staff reductions in several news media organisations (Cooperativa, 3 October, 2014; Carmona, 21 January, 2014; Observatorio Fucatel, 20 March, 2009), fitting a common trend in the Western world and especially in the so-called “legacy” media (Pew Research Center, 2014; Willnat & Weaver, 2014; European Union, 2011).

One of the reasons that helps to explain the disconnection between widespread job cuts and increases in workload pressure is related to the emerging cultures of online journalism. Online newsrooms are usually smaller, and have a larger workload and faster speed of production than ‘traditional’ newsrooms (Boczkowski, 2004). These characteristics are not just assumed as normal, but welcomed by several Chilean editors, as many of them criticise the “stress-free” routines of traditional journalists when compared to the work of online journalists. Smaller newsrooms, as illustrated by the last quotation by Mauricio Ávila, are a necessary condition for the business model to work.

The intersection of the liberalised Chilean job market, normalisation of precariousness in the journalistic profession, and a limited labour representation also helps explain this striking contradiction. Media redundancies are not exceptional circumstances in the Chilean job market. Low wages (Mellado & Humanes, 2012; Mellado, 2012) and other negative work conditions are tied to an over-supply of journalists (Délano *et al.*, 2007). However, Chilean journalists are reluctant to lobby for better job conditions, as scholarship suggests a lack of a collective culture among Chilean journalists (Otano & Sunkel, 2003; Gronemeyer, 2002). This professional culture may explain why, despite the precarious work conditions, over 51% of Chilean journalists feel satisfied with their job (Mellado, 2012). Precarious work conditions are normalised in the eye of these media professionals.

Although editors acknowledge that the speed of production affects quality of journalism, especially in the form of publishing mistakes, the vast majority consider digital interaction tools as fundamental assets for the news production process. Affordances largely overtake constraints in this respect. However, as the following sections show, the balance between the two varies according to the stage of the news cycle.

Digital interaction tools in the news cycle

Analysis of the interview data confirms that digital interaction tools are mostly used in the production and distribution stages of the news cycle, rather than for feedback/follow up stage, including interaction with audiences. When asked to evaluate the introduction of digital interaction tools, few editors instinctively nominated ‘audience feedback’ in the conversation. When directly asked about their assessment of these tools for feedback/follow up of stories, editors offered notably mixed responses than in any other stage of the news cycle. In the case of the distribution stage, only two editors (unsurprisingly from online-only news media organisations) spontaneously highlighted the importance of digital tools in publishing news stories. These results are consistent with findings in the US and European contexts, which suggest UGC is a feature devoted mainly to newsgathering practices with comparatively limited interaction between journalists and their audiences (Jöhnsson & Örnebring, 2011; Domingo, 2008; Domingo *et al.*, 2008; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008; Steensen, 2009; Hermans *et al.*, 2014). These findings also confirm results from the quantitative stage of this thesis, suggesting that while digital interaction tools are being progressively normalised in the newsroom, editors still identify issues that need to be resolved to take advantage of the possibilities they present.

The production stage

In this stage of the news cycle, digital interaction technologies are mostly used to identify and source new stories. While there is a greater agreement among interviewees about the advantages of these tools in finding potential stories, the utilisation of digital technologies in sourcing practices produced more mixed results. A level of distrust in online reporting and UGC leads editors to favour these channels only for specific purposes related to obtaining audiovisual footage for breaking news, as well as entertainment and curiosity

story news content. The first hints of a demotic turn (Turner, 2010) in Chilean news media organisations are identified in this stage, as these tools are assessed as resources for branding and attracting audiences.

Detecting breaking news stories

The capacity to monitor and identify new stories, including those being reported by their competitors, is the most noticed feature of digital tools in the production stage. In a manner similar to Reich's (2013) findings in the Israeli context, Chilean editors suggest digital interaction technologies are mainly utilised in the news discovery phase. These findings are also consistent with those of the online survey presented in Chapter Four, which shows Twitter standing as the most useful technology for this purpose (Reed, 2013), serving as a starting point for the news reporting process:

Twitter is a very good tool for journalism alerts. On Twitter, you learn of many things that are going on, or going to happen (...). In general, not all, but many journalists from *Emol* work with two screens on their desks, and usually they have a Twitter list with people they follow open on the second screen. Twitter is there, all day (...). It is a whole world inserted into the newsroom, it is huge. More than Facebook. I do not know of any social network as bound to daily journalism labour as Twitter.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

Twitter is the big information source we have as a newscast. We use it very much for faster monitoring of what is going on. From minor traffic accidents to major news, Twitter is our first information source.

(Elisa Segura, *Canal 13*).

Consistent with others studies on Twitter and journalism (Hermida, 2010; Ahmad, 2010; Reich, 2013; Willnat & Weaver, 2014; Dickinson, 2011), most editors identify Twitter's potential for detecting stories and breaking news, rating it as a better tool than Facebook in this regard (Reed, 2013). The widespread coverage offered by a combination of social media and mobile phones enables journalists to cover news events quickly after they

occur, through the pictures, videos, and first hand reports posted online by ordinary people or known news actors (Vis, 2013). This makes Twitter a highly valued tool in Chilean newsrooms, although its value applies to incident stories more than complex investigative journalism (Neuberger, vom Hofe, & Nuernbergk, 2014):

When there is an accident, the first news source is Twitter. The same users upload pictures and everything. When there is something like a catastrophe, social media is key to start gathering information.

(Claudio Arce, *Publimetro online*).

Today, [Twitter] is still about accidents information, the minor incident. I do not know whether we have been reporting or generated a big investigation for a news story [originated] from Twitter. It is [for] minor episodes.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

Ángela Bustamante (*SoyConcepción*) explains the crafting of a breaking news story detected on social media:

Twitter is often the main door to news, especially in the case of accidents, crime stories or fires, because people passing by often take pictures and post them on Twitter. There it starts the news cycle, at least for us. We check the pictures, the information from where they were taken, and then, in some cases, we call Carabineros¹ for confirmation and obtaining more data. Then we publish a short story. In other cases, we notify the newspaper reporters, they go, they report and send us the information and their pictures, and then we write and publish the piece. What Twitter provides us is the alert, it is like ‘Huh, did you realise? Something is happening’.

However, once journalists are out of the office and in the field, the role of Twitter is designated to a secondary role. While some news media organisations are experimenting with resources such as Storify, which allows social media curation of particular stories, these elements play a subsidiary role to reporting by professional journalists. At least three different Chilean editors claimed that Twitter and UGC in general are not deemed

as “proper sources”, but simply as alert mechanisms. The limited use of social media as reliable sources of information is also addressed later in the chapter.

The online survey results identified email as an important technology in news detection (44.2% of respondents used email in this way). However, the interviewees offer mixed responses about using it effectively for this purpose. Some editors identify the volume of emails received as important, especially from institutions and other active sources:

We have two email addresses. One is redirected to all journalists and it is `emolnoticias@elmercurio.cl` [emolnews]. Information is received there. We receive many stories, 3,000 emails a day. And there is another account, which is `lectores.emol@elmercurio.cl` [readers.emol] and is redirected only to some editors and journalists. That is for interaction with users and does not receive many emails. The first address is more popular. Those are the main sources of email communication with everyone. With communication agencies, with the readers, with the sources, with everybody who wants to send us a news story.

(Juan Pablo Martínez, *Emol*).

Other editors assign email a marginal role in these activities:

I always say to our journalists that a story must never start from an email. The thing is we have an issue with email. We consider it mostly as a tool for writing to the boss and putting on record certain things. Because I think email is like... it is junk, just junk that arrives in my account. Then, I would say, I almost do not use it anymore. I use email just when our bosses send documents or for internal coordination. But for reporting work? I mean, I would not mind if you take away my email account.

(Claudio Arce, *Publímetro online*).

As outlined in the following sections and also in Chapter Six, the role of email in newsrooms, although still dominant, appears to be changing as social media technologies become a preferred contact point between members of the public and news media organisations.

Trending topics, YouTube and soft news

Chilean editors recognise social media as a valuable tool for identifying potentially newsworthy trends beyond breaking news, similar to their UK (Dickinson, 2011) and Australian (Sherwood & Nicholson, 2012) counterparts. This practice is related to a growing awareness among Chilean editors about the interests and tastes of the public. Twitter ‘trending topics’ and YouTube ‘most viewed’ videos supply Chilean newsrooms with regular material. However, and consistent with the findings of studies in the European context (Örnebring, 2008; Jöhnsson & Örnebring, 2011; Paulussen & Harder, 2014), their main focus is on soft news content, such as entertainment, lifestyle, and curiosity stories. In this regard, what happens *in* social networks is considered newsworthy not only for television and online media (as one might think because of the audiovisual content on YouTube), but also to newspapers:

If there is a trending topic that has to do with a video, we write a story about it. If it is a world trending topic or a national trending topic, it becomes a news piece for sure. In fact, in special coverages we are alert of what is going on in social media.

(Mauricio Ávila, *Publimetro*).

Considering YouTube is the second most popular social network worldwide (GlobalWebIndex, 2014), this platform is considered particularly helpful in the detection of viral content that is attractive to audiences. Many Chilean editors consider YouTube trends as newsworthy, even for outlets that are traditionally understood as ‘serious’ news outlets. Tabloid-style news, such as lifestyle, celebrity and curiosity stories, has permeated online media outlets irrespective of the character of the news outlet:

YouTube is a social network, and their most popular videos are newsworthy. I mean, the Gangnam Style, no one would have known it if it is not on YouTube. Then, sure, we use them, the YouTube awards and everything [like that]. It is an important news maker.

(Rodrigo Diez, *TVN*).

[Our editors] are always searching on YouTube for interesting things to show. For example, last Halloween there was [a video of] a magician that pulled his head off and held it under his arm. Or the ‘42 typical quotes’ by WokiToki.² Things like that are published: curiosities, entertaining, ludic stuff.

(Cynthia Páez, *El Mostrador*).

Alberto González, from *BioBioChile* – the online news website from *Radio Bío-Bío*, a traditional hard news broadcast radio network – explains the reasons behind the inclusion of YouTube content:

[YouTube viral videos] are interesting to people. They become news and thus are offered to the public. Obviously with certain limits, there are certain [editorial] criteria. YouTube videos also help you as support material, especially for short pieces – you add a video and the story is done. You do not need to explain anything, people will click and visit the story.

The appeal of popular videos and their potential as support material for stories are the main reasons for their inclusion in the news. This point is consistent with the findings of the online survey, as three quarters of journalists who use YouTube acknowledged utilising this video platform for ‘complementing stories’ in the production stage.

Social media trends, such as trending topics and most popular videos, are also helping to identify more ‘serious’ topics that can become news stories:

I’m very connected to international media, to economics journalists. I use Twitter as an update and information source. There is plenty of opinion [on Twitter], thus those opinions help you to find aspects or nuances of news you first did not identify, or they reinforce some ideas.

(César Valenzuela, *La Tercera*).

It is a powerful thing. For instance, the story of the lad whom his Isapre,³ MásVida, refused to fund his treatment. He spread his case through a YouTube video. We, as media outlets, become aware of it because people viralised his complain through

Facebook and Twitter. We realised that MásVida was among the trending topics, and took the case. If you find a case like that, you cannot ignore it.

(Christian Leal, *BioBioChile*).

Rodrigo Diez (*TVN*) exemplifies this dynamic in the case of TV news, where a particular topic may become a news story:

In social networks (...) you may identify a guy with many followers who tweets all day about... marijuana, and has a lot of retweets and is building an audience around this. Someday, that could raise the topic of marijuana legalisation as important, and might be good for reportage on the free-to-air TV newscast. Yes, we use that a lot.

However, the responses of editors suggest these cases are a minority, as news generated from YouTube popular videos and Twitter trending topics tends to emphasise celebrity, entertainment, and tabloid-style news content over ‘serious’ stories.

The emphasis identified here is a clear indication of a demotic turn (Turner, 2010) in Chilean journalism. The combination of so-called ‘participatory’ elements in news production (such as the including the voices of ordinary people channelled through social media), and a focus on entertainment or soft news serve prioritise a commercial purpose rather than a traditionally informative purpose. Social media and entertainment are popular and a proven way attracting the audience (Tenenboim & Cohen, 2013) and increasing the ‘commercial appeal’ of news media outlets (Turner, 2010: 73). In the Chilean case, this trend is permeating traditionally serious ‘hard’ news media organisations, such as *TVN*, *Radio Bío-Bío*, *Cooperativa*, and *El Mercurio*. Concurring with the arguments of Turner (2010: 79), this tendency is especially evident in (but not exclusive to) the online versions of news media outlets. In the case of these online outlets, editors defend the increased incorporation of soft news and tabloid-style content:

Serious [news] outlets have changed their editorial style, because there is no other way. I do not criticise them because I know that. On the Internet codes are different, it is not

the same as that in radio. Radio can avoid celebrity news, but on the Internet you have to publish it. If not, you are lost.

(Claudio Arce, *Publímetro online*).

Characterising their target audience as different to those from print and broadcast news media outlets (younger, with different interests, tastes, and consumption patterns), editors from online outlets know that entertainment and tabloid-style news content is something that their users demand:

You should say ‘no’ to certain things, but there are other times you must start assuming that it is content or a format that the audience demands. We assumed that entertainment has to be part of our informative offering. We will not stop reporting politics or hard news because of that. That was an editorial decision, and our entertainment content is limited to a lesser percentage than national news, but we have to include entertainment.

(Christian Leal, *BioBioChile*).

However, serious news flagships are also increasingly focusing on soft news. Rodrigo Diez, director of the digital content division for *TVN*, explains how Chilean television newscasts are changing their content as a strategy to cope with the changing habits of the audience:

Would you watch TV at night to see the news you followed [on the Internet] during all day? Not, of course not. Nobody is going to wait until 9 PM⁴ to watch the news. And TV newscasts are changing because of that: they are more like a miscellaneous show, with some news and things like that. We cannot compete against the by-the-minute news coverage of the web.

This tendency also relates to a constraint identified by Chilean editors in the use of digital interaction tools – the problematic use of Twitter for sampling the opinions of citizens.

The representativeness of social media in the detection of news stories

As other studies of Chilean editors have outlined (Lecaros & Green, 2012), social media and especially Twitter are deemed as problematic because many editors recognise their

limited value in representing a diversity of voices. Similar to the findings of Parmelee (2013), editors raise their concerns about the formation of an ‘echo chamber effect’ that distorts the importance of certain topics and news actors. Some editors associate this constraint with the case of the presidential campaign of independent candidate Franco Parisi:⁵

We are positive that [opinions in social media] do not represent society, do not represent the thoughts of the majority, it is not the trend. For example, Parisi swept the Internet, but finally nothing happened with him in the ballots, because social media is manageable.

(Mauricio Ávila, *Publimetro*).

[Social media] does not necessarily represent the Chilean reality. It happens a lot in relation to political commentary. If there is extensive opinion in social media about a certain candidate, you can see it differs widely to what finally occurs. That happened in the last elections with Parisi, because, obviously, the sample of social media is very limited.

(Salvador Carmona, *La Hora*).

Chilean editors are aware of the importance of a ‘digital divide’ (Castells, 2000, 2004; Bobkowski & Smith, 2013; Brake, 2014; Van Deursen & Van Dijk, 2014) when assessing the representativeness of opinions in social media. In this regard, several interviewees dismiss ‘participatory’ and ‘democratisation’ claims based on the potential of social media:

We cannot say that because everybody comments about it on Twitter, it is interesting for all the people. Let’s not obfuscate about that. The truth is that the Internet is only part of the media. If you want to be active on the Internet, you need at least a mobile phone with Internet access, first. That is also reflected in our traffic interactions. Twitter represents below 5% of our website traffic.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

‘Democratisation’ claims based on audience ‘participation’ are of a level of snobbism... Too pompous words that sound beautiful in the discourse, but that do not mean anything. You cannot democratise something that is already segmented. Some people think Twitter is democratic, but what penetration rate does Twitter have? What happens is that the media is talking about Twitter, but let’s be honest about what socio-economic and age strata are using Twitter. Where is the democracy in that? I mean, people over 50 years old do not have rights to participate? There is no democratisation in that. It is only populist nonsense.

(Christian Hernández, *MEGA*).

Editorial concerns about the representativeness of social media voices included in news stories (Canter, 2012) are consistent with scholarship that criticise certain myths about rates of online access and participation (Hindman, 2009; Turner, 2010). Hindman (2009: 141) remarks that the existence of new Internet elites – in this case Twitter users – “are not necessarily more representative of the general public than the old elites are”. Turner (2010: 130) criticises the notion that UGC represents the participation of ‘everybody’ when it actually favours the “well-educated, culturally capitalised, early adopters”. Despite editors acknowledging these concerns, the publication of opinions from Twitter is a regular feature in many news media organisations:

Daily, or at least weekly, you may see stories like ‘Social media frenzy with...’ a particular topic. There is a tracking [of social media], and I believe every news media outlet is doing it, for instance, with audience reaction to TV dramas. In the end, something that would not have been news before is now.

(Salvador Carmona, *La Hora*).

We use very much, almost as a hobbyhorse, stories such as ‘Twitter turned on fire with...’ a particular trendy story, where we publish selected tweets from the public commenting on trending topics.

(Ángela Bustamante, *SoyConcepción*).

This feature relates to another element of the demotic turn in Chilean news media organisations. The inclusion of ordinary people's voices in the news generally takes the form of opinion. The increasing publication of selected tweets from the audience in certain news stories (again, especially lifestyle and entertainment news) demonstrates this trend. The 'rise of opinion' is another commercial strategy for turning information into entertainment (Turner, 2010: 159). This shift is particularly explicit in the Chilean case when Mauricio Ávila, general editor for the newspaper *Publimetro*, explains the reasons behind the incorporation of Twitter posts and trending topics into stories:

The thing is that Twitter is good for us in terms of dissemination of our product among our target audience. Our audience is between 18 and 45 years old, [from a socioeconomic profile of] C2 and C3, aspirational and tech-savvy. They aspire to have a better smartphone, or just to own a smartphone, and they are interested in technological trends. Then, in the end, the Twitter world is what people who read us aspire to. They would like to be influential tweeters. They are looking at this world, it seems latter-day to them, a space where they would like to be, where they would like to have an impact. As a consequence, we believe that the people are interested in that, they consume it. Indeed they consume what we publish from the trending topics, what we remark on the newspaper, despite many of them not having a Twitter account or fully understanding what Twitter is.

The inclusion of Twitter-related content in news is tied to the appeal that this micro-blogging platform has for selected groups of the audience. Most news media organisations and their advertisers target young and wealthy professionals, or the middle-aged, and the middle and lower-middle *aspirational* classes. These emphases suggest that the incorporation of social media content in the news responds to a demotic vision of user participation in media.

Beyond its value as a tool for detecting breaking news stories and dissemination of content, the use of Twitter has much to do with branding (Vujnovic *et al.*, 2010) and offering a more attractive, fashionable product for audiences. Incorporation of social

media as part of news products can, therefore, be seen as part of the marketing strategies of news media organisations. These arguments are reinforced in Chapter Six when examining the use of these tools in the feedback and interaction stage of the news cycle.

Contacting sources

Closely related to identifying news stories and trends, and similar to the findings of other studies (Reich, 2013), sourcing practices are the second most mentioned use of digital interaction tools in the Chilean newsroom. These uses can be addressed in two different but connected aspects: digital technologies as tools for contacting news sources, and social media as a source *per se*.

The first aspect of sourcing is the less contentious among Chilean editors. The vast majority of interviewees acknowledge the advantage that digital interaction tools have in contacting sources (Reich, 2008), both for known and/or regular sources, as well as for those not contacted before:

[We use digital interaction tools] mainly in contacting sources (...). In radio, we need voice snippets, but off-the-mic conversations are crucial for reporting. Those conversations, which used to be face-to-face or by phone, become social media conversations, through private messages or chat.

(Verónica Franco, *Cooperativa*).

In the making of the news, many times [digital interaction technologies] help in obtaining sources. Many sources are contacted through social media. Moreover, as important people are also connected, we can directly address them to arrange an interview or to verify some information.

(Juan Pablo Martínez, *Emol*).

Consistent with other studies (Hermida, 2010; Paulussen & Harder, 2014; Broersma & Graham, 2012; Parmelee, 2013), Twitter and, to lesser extent, Facebook are the most

mentioned interaction tools for this purpose, especially when using non-regular sources, including important or distant sources (Reich, 2008):

I have reported through [Twitter] direct messages; I have obtained cell-phone numbers through them. You are not going to do a [long] interview, naturally, but it helps in getting the data you need.

(César Valenzuela, *La Tercera*).

Facebook is a very useful tool to contact sources. For instance, there are cases where it is very difficult to reach news figures because of the distance. Here in Concepción, we are strong in athletics, in basketball, in swimming, and when our athletes are competing overseas, we contact and interview them through Facebook. Many people in sports – also in music – are more connected to Facebook than to the phone. That is, I call them and they do not answer, but they do write me back when I contact them by Facebook.

(Ricardo Cárcamo, *El Diario de Concepción*).

Confirming the results of the quantitative stage of this study and other studies (Garrison, 2004; Mabweazara, 2011), editors view email as another important tool for these purposes, especially when contacting non-regular sources and/or those difficult to access:

Email is an effective tool for contacting. I have tremendous anecdotes about that. Like obtaining email addresses of worldwide sports superstars, like [Maria] Sharapova, thinking she will not answer, and finally publishing a spectacular email interview with her, or with Chilean football stars, like [Manuel] Pellegrini or [Alexis] Sánchez.

(Cristián Bustos, *La Segunda*).

I use [email] in developing certain themes. When time is limited for both of us [the journalist and the source], it is easier to send an email. They [the sources] respond with the quotations I will use, we exchange if there are concerns or doubts, and then I push through the story.

(Salvador Carmona, *La Hora*).

However, following the rapid growth of social media, some editors suggest email is being normalised as a formal communication tool, mainly utilised for contacting institutional sources and requesting documents in an official manner (Mabweazara, 2011):

Email is probably a more formal tool for requesting interviews, requesting information, maybe data or spreadsheets to process... It has a formal nature; it provides evidence [of the communication].

(César Valenzuela, *La Tercera*).

Communications with sources and external people are still managed through email. Mainly because of privacy – I cannot have them all in Facebook. But I have my most frequent sources in Facebook. I talk with them every day in there, or by DM in Twitter.

(Christian Leal, *BioBioChile*),

In the case of regular sources, and confirming the findings of the first stage of this study, digital interaction tools have changed reporting practices to the point of displacing phone calls as one of the main methods of gathering news. Social networks and applications such as WhatsApp are taking their place, which, according to some editors, is enabling a different relationship with sources – closer, more horizontal, and more direct:

Social networks are helpful with this. They enable a more periodic and direct contact with sources. Posting a message ‘Hi, how is it going’ is easier than a phone call, right? That generates a bond, a certain complicity and fidelity with your source – ‘they keep track of me when I am well, but also when I am not making much noise’.

(Ricardo Cárcamo, *El Diario de Concepción*).

In my case, I would say most of the daily reporting, the leaks, I do not get them by phone. A phone call is stage two. First is WhatsApp (...), then if there is an interesting response, you call them and [have] a meeting. It is like a progression, right? But WhatsApp is the first way to get in.

(César Valenzuela, *La Tercera*).

The use of WhatsApp as a reporting tool is particularly interesting. As explained in Chapter Four, instant messaging technologies were not included in the online questionnaire. However, chat was raised unexpectedly as an important technology for journalistic purposes by survey respondents – 58.2% use it always or often. The references to WhatsApp as an important tool to contact sources may help explain the high use of chat identified in the production stage (60.4% average among chat users), as it is consistent with the use of instant messaging technologies to make contact directly with sources (79.2% of chat users).

The dangers of over-reliance on online reporting

The vast majority of editors highlight the benefits of digital technologies to contact sources. However, online reporting practices are identified as problematic by some editors, especially in print and broadcast news media organisations. Editors related concerns about the differences between online media and ‘the real world’ in the sourcing practices of journalists.

Several interviewees argue that online reporting does not capture the same details, nuances, and facts as face-to-face reporting. While this concern may not be new, as the over-use of the telephone has also been criticised in the past (Schudson, 2011), the growth in online reporting is seen as particularly problematic (Pavlik, 2000). Many editors agree that reporting from the desk – either by phone or online – is not the same as ‘going out on the streets’, talking with sources, and forming first-hand impressions of the facts. For Eduardo Hernández, general editor for *Cooperativa* radio, journalists must have an appreciation of what is happening and immerse themselves:

I tell young journalists: It is not the same; you cannot weight it in the same way. Going to Maipú, talk with the members of the board of residents that are occupying an avenue, talk with the neighbours, see the atmosphere, see how they live and why they are

protesting. It is not the same as getting the delegate's contact information, calling him and getting the quotations. Both ways you will be able to put a story together, but it is not the same.

In this regard, journalist subjectivity is approached as a problem affected by the lack of face-to-face reporting:

As a journalist, you are not objective, nor are you professionally neutral. You do the reporting, you realise, come to a conclusion about what you are seeing, and you transmit that. All of that is lost when you do mechanical work by telephone or using digital platforms.

(Eduardo Hernández, *Cooperativa*).

According to a number of editors, over-reliance on online reporting, runs the risk of making journalists less proactive, less critical, and less effective. Just as with an over-reliance on press releases (Gronemeyer, 2004), online reporting poses ethical threats. Journalists risk becoming too compliant when relying almost exclusively on social networks or Google for reporting:

The challenge is not turning yourself into a couch potato because of social media. I mean, only using information from social media and 'Ok, I'm done'. The challenge is to do more than that. Reporting, searching for sources, chase the information... Not ending up only with quoting the football player or the politician post on Twitter when putting your news story together.

(Juan Pablo Martínez, *Emol*).

[Journalists] sometimes forget it is essential for journalism to do the face-to-face, to be on the streets. You cannot forget that, because, if you do it, you start getting too comfortable, you lose effectiveness, you lose depth. Convenience is the worst thing for a journalist. This is a job in which you have to get into uncomfortable places. If you do not go to the place, if you do not breathe the atmosphere, see the context, and hear what is being talked about, it is very difficult to write a good story.

(Sergio Jara, *El Mercurio Inversiones*).

A tension related to a generational gap in Chilean newsrooms is identifiable here, as much of this criticism centres on younger journalists. For example, Mauricio Ávila (*Publímetro*) draws attention to the fact that when Internet connections fail, young journalists in the newsroom “drop their computer keyboards and stop working”:

They are so used to easily accessing information that they do not think it is possible to contact sources offline. That is really odd. I tell them: ‘Hey, we used to report by walking to where news happened, or by searching names in the phone directory and then calling them. There was always a way to do it’. Old journalists always found information, without the Internet, without Google (...). But now, it is like without Internet you cannot do the reporting. Young journalists have this flaw.

An early indication of some of the tensions between face-to-face and online reporting practices were also noted during the recruiting phase of the interviews (see Chapter Three), as only three editors agreed to be interviewed using Skype. Online technologies, while deemed as useful and even fundamental to journalistic practice, are not seen as possessing the same capabilities of older reporting practices, such as face-to-face interviewing. Several editors still prefer face-to-face interaction when first approaching new people, to the point that a number of interviewees rated the use of digital tools to contact new sources as “inappropriate”.

However, as outlined earlier in this chapter, dependence on online reporting is difficult to avoid for online news media organisations and even some print newspapers. In the UK, Justin Lewis, Andrew Williams, and Bob Franklin (2008) have tied an extensive use of copy provided by PR sources and news agencies in newsrooms in to economic factors. News organisations seek to maintain profitability with limited resources, operate in a hostile business environment, and need increasing volumes of news to satisfy a ‘24/7’ cycle. In the Chilean case, a similar explanation seems plausible in explaining a dependence on online reporting. Editors from online media and some print newspapers

argue that economic factors, and especially the pressure of speedy publication, makes face-to-face and in-situ reporting a luxury that is difficult to afford for both big and small news media organisations:

In *Emol*, today there is little capability to go out reporting. If [journalists] go out once a day, that is saying too much. We upload around 200 news items a day. A journalist that uploads once or twice a day is useless. When do our journalists report in the streets? When the story justifies doing so. For example, if we know [Jorge] Sampaoli⁶ is about to give a press conference, we send a reporter because he has not spoken for several days and he has also been criticised for the management of injured players. But also because the people want instant updates.

(Salvador Campaña, *Emol*).

It is very difficult to go out reporting, to go out to the streets. Because we have an important flow of publication and also our remote system does not work very well. We cannot afford to leave the office. Journalists [from the newspaper] used to complain to us: ‘Hey, you spend all day sitting’. Now they have realised that if we are sitting all day, it is because we are writing like a madman. It is not worth going out and reporting the old fashioned way, because it is going to cost you time, and another [outlet] is going to beat you. Good in-depth, in-situ, reporting takes two to four hours to complete; that time means almost eight news pieces not being published.

(Ángela Bustamante, *SoyConcepción*).

While most editors from online news media organisations justify the lack of offline reporting as ‘a necessary evil’, others defend the practice of online reporting as comparable to traditional routines. Some figures are even starting to question the need for traditional ‘field reporting’:

With [digital] technologies, information is transmitted so fast that we ask ourselves a lot if we should send a reporter to the field, we face that issue. (...) What happened at the last elections? We sent three reporters to the streets and none of them were useful for the website: between the [phone] signal falling down and other media already airing the news, we had the news items already written and published by the time our field reporters could send their pieces. Therefore, we ask ourselves, ‘Is it worth it?’ ... Well, it is. In terms of experience of working with sources, a journalist needs to know how

things work in the field. But everything is changing; now you can do almost everything from [the newsroom].

(Claudio Arce, *Publimetro online*).

While this last opinion may be not representative of the majority of Chilean newsrooms, it is a sign of unresolved tensions in the relationship between traditional and online media in journalistic practices (O’Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008). This tension is reflected in conflicting assessments about the use of UGC and social media as valid sources in journalism work.

Are UGC and social media valid sources?

While most editors agree with the use of digital interaction tools to contact sources, opinions are divided about the utilisation of user-generated content, especially social media, as valid sources for journalism work. Issues of verifying information in UGC, including fears of spreading false information originating in social media, contribute to a level of distrust in these technologies. Still, the use of social media in sourcing has settled into a pattern of generally accepted practices in Chilean newsrooms, such as using quotations from verified accounts in reporting, and – to a lesser extent – the normalisation of certain social media users as trustworthy collaborators.

Most of the editors identify the possibility of directly accessing newsworthy opinions through social media. Many politicians, businesspeople, entertainers, and sportspeople, as well as different organisations, now use social media to address the public (Broersma & Graham, 2012; Lysak *et al.*, 2012) and build the news agenda, especially in political news (Parmelee, 2014). While this also means that ‘exclusivity’ is progressively becoming a *rara avis*, the ubiquity of newsworthy voices in social media is seen by Chilean journalists as an advantage:

It is no longer necessary to call news actors to ask them something. They just write it on Twitter, like that. They offer their opinion about a certain theme. They are a totally direct source, as long as it is confirmed, of course.

(Salvador Carmona, *La Hora*).

I follow [on Twitter] certain investment bankers, brokers, companies, institutions, which regularly publish information on Twitter, because they have treated it as a distribution channel too.

(Sergio Jara, *El Mercurio Inversiones*).

Twitter's lists of followed accounts are particularly helpful in this regard (Garber, 2009), although special care is taken in confirming they are in fact 'verified' or, at least, more 'official' accounts:

If something happens, like Michael Jackson's death, we have a list of international media on Twitter. If there is something about abortion laws, we have a list of politicians to follow their reactions. We use them quite often. We are checking them periodically to not pass anything over.

(Camila Navarrete, *BioBioChile*).

Twitter has become so important to Chilean newsrooms that some news stories are heavily reliant on tweets:

Sometimes, let's say in football, you can build a story only with players' tweets, because they are giving their version. It is [Arturo] Vidal, or Alexis Sánchez, or whoever, that is talking, and you can put together a story with that because they are his words.

(Salvador Carmona, *La Hora*).

A good example of social media as a source for relevant quotations is the controversy unleashed by two of the presidential candidates in the 2013 election. Evelyn Matthei accused independent candidate Franco Parisi of having a debt of more than 100 million pesos [approximately AUD\$204,000] to former employees. Parisi responded through his

Twitter account, saying he would “not permit old and tricky manoeuvres” and provided a link to documentation that allegedly proved Matthei’s accusations were false (Hernández, 21 October 2013). A number of Chilean editors cited this controversy as an example of the reliance on Twitter as source for news stories quotations:

[Politicians’] Twitter accounts are functional to us. An example is the Parisi controversy, well, he engaged on, and tweeted a response. We grabbed from there and published a story. Thus, Twitter becomes a source.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

Yet, despite these experiences, many editors expressed concerns about the use of social media as a reliable source for news stories when quotations are not provided by known and verified social media accounts (Lysak *et al.*, 2012). While digital interaction technologies are used in soft news coverage, social media are still not accepted enough to rely on in many ‘serious’ areas of reporting. Traditional reporting practices (O’Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008) remain the ‘proper way’ to do it:

I do not see there is a social validation of Twitter as an information medium to the extent of saying ‘look, I got this from Twitter’ and that was socially accepted. I still see many journalists using social media only for entertainment purposes, and if they gather information from there, they do not make it explicit. Probably, it still has more journalistic value affirming your source told you something off the record by phone, rather than admitting you DM your source by Twitter.

(César Valenzuela, *La Tercera*).

There are many ways to start the production of a news story, including a Google search or social media queries to find a source’s contact information. However, I do not know if it is wise contacting people through social media. I reckon when there is no other alternative, you have to do it. But first you ought to do it properly, the traditional way.

(Sergio Jara, *El Mercurio Inversiones*).

In the experience of many Chilean editors, confirming the findings of Lecaros and Green (2012), social media content is a ‘risky’ source for news stories, as much false, distorted, or biased information circulates on these platforms. In this regard, verification of data stands as a crucial journalism practice (Bruno, 2011; Hermida, 2012; Chung, 2007; Hermida & Thurman, 2008), which is not always properly undertaken in newsrooms because of time pressures and the need to publish stories before rivals. Editors are very critical in relation to this issue and provide plenty of examples, some based on their own experiences:

If you see certain information in social media, you cannot believe it immediately. You have to verify the information, go to the source, and then publish it. Many news media organisations make the mistake of assuming publications in social media are true without enough verification. Patricio Aylwin [former Chilean President] has been killed as many as 20 times on Twitter. You have to be very cautious with that.

(Juan Pablo Martínez, *Emol*).

At the beginning we were very naive with user-generated content. Now, we are not. The audience is super irresponsible. They try to trick you with things. Now, the norm is that sources ought to be deeply verified. There was a time when we and, I believe, all media outlets used tweets from the audience as sources. But now, in general, the audience is not a source for us.

(Claudio Arce, *Publimetro online*).

User-generated content is a mixed blessing, in the sense that many people try to obtain their 15 minutes of fame by staging pictures or videos. Thus, it depends on the journalist filtering what is true, and not publishing everything he or she receives from social media. It is pretty much what they teach you in the second year at journalism school – verify the source, confirm the data, and do not just air things immediately. Last year, a television presenter⁷ announced the signing of an unknown Uruguayan football player by Universidad Católica. But the news story was fabricated as a practical joke that some Uruguayan guys did to a friend. They even created a Wikipedia entry for this supposedly second division player. The prank was so good that [the journalist] did not realise it was an Internet hoax and announced the scoop on live primetime television.

(Ricardo Cárcamo, *El Diario de Concepción*).

In this regard, the use of YouTube videos is deemed as particularly risky by a number of editors, when considering the difficulties entailed in their verification. These fears are in line with findings in other studies (Peer & Ksiazek, 2011), which suggest that the most popular videos on this platform are often the most biased:

There are issues with verifying information. Sometimes, you have data that can make a huge story, but they are not true. There are many falsified videos. For instance, it happens a lot with the Syrian conflict. Yesterday, we published a video of a raid against a group of kids. Did you see it? It was supposedly an interview with children in Damascus. But now – as the kids showed a poster in English – it is said that it is a US fabricated news story. And then, of course, the kids were not injured. Thus, to what extent can you publish UGC without having the certainty that is true or it is a political manipulation?

(Cynthia Páez, *El Mostrador*).

The risks in sourcing news from social media are increased when considering a trend towards content homogenisation (Boczkowski & de Santos, 2007; Boczkowski, 2004, 2010), which also affects the Chilean news media (Valenzuela & Arriagada, 2009). As online sources are becoming similar for most media organisations, this situation can lead to flow-on errors, as Mauricio Ávila (*Publímetro*) highlights:

Incorrect information published on a Twitter account is replicated by many news websites, and if it is published on news portals, traditional media also take it and re-publish it... In short, it is like a rollover, a domino effect.

These concerns limit the utilisation of UGC in news coverage of serious newsbeats, although it is possible to identify a second area where the use of social media as a source has become a more generally accepted practice.

A number of interviewees acknowledge the utilisation of selected Twitter accounts from the public that have become reliable sources in breaking news coverage. Several non-professional users, such as firefighters and amateur radio enthusiasts, have been positioned as regular sources of information for Chilean news media organisations, especially during traffic accidents, fires, or other (not-so-infrequent) disasters in Chile, such as earthquakes. These accounts are especially valued, as they provide the first available audiovisual material to news media organisations:

For instance, in the Talcahuano accident,⁸ we obtained the first images from the audience. We got all the information from Twitter; that was the source. But you can identify certain people as better sources. Firefighters, for example, are positioned the best. If someone posts a picture, I prefer a thousand times the one from, let's say, the 15th Firefighter Brigade, because there is backing.

(Claudio Arce, *Publimetro online*).

In this regard, Red Nacional de Emergencias, RNE⁹ [national emergency network], is one of the Twitter networks consistently quoted by Chilean news outlets as a first source of information when these cases emerge. RNE members usually break news before authorities, newswires, or news media journalists arriving on the scene to report information:

On the Internet there are certain media and users that became sort of 'official sources'. Almost every firefighter has a Twitter account and posts information. There is the RNE, which is a very good source, very reliable, only a few times they have made mistakes.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

Red Nacional de Emergencias is [a] super good [source] for us, because they are reliable and enable us to know immediately what is going on (...), what are the news outbreaks.

(Elisa Segura, *Canal 13*).

However, these cases can be considered mostly an exception, as they are limited to selected Twitter users and under specific circumstances. For many editors the value of social media as a source relies mostly on access to graphic and audiovisual material when needed, although this practice has its constraints. Verification of the material (Hermida, 2012; Bruno, 2011; Hermida & Thurman, 2008) and copyright issues still emerge as problems in these cases, forcing journalists to develop techniques for treating user-generated audiovisual material:

YouTube is amazing for obtaining [audiovisual] material. But it is necessary to be very careful. First, the user must be identified, as many times it is not a verified user. Then, you have to check if the user has other videos published. If not, it is a suspicious source.

(Claudio Arce, *Publimetro*).

We are very careful in airing information from social media only after confirming it by ourselves. I mean, if I see information or pictures about a car accident published on Twitter, I have all the right to wonder: ‘Is that so?’, ‘What about if it is from last year?’ Then, probably one of the boys from the crime newsbeat will confirm the data: ‘Was there an accident?’ ‘Did the car rolled over?’ ‘Yes? OK, let’s go with the pictures’.

(Verónica Franco, *Cooperativa*).

We tweet users asking their authorisation for publishing their pictures mainly as a way of covering our backs in legal terms. The great issue with pictures published by users on Twitter, Facebook, or any social platform is determining whether the person who posts it online is the copyright owner. And if they are not, we can get into legal trouble. If so-and-so publishes a picture from AP in his Facebook, there is no major drama. But if we, *Emol*, the main Chilean news website, publish an AP photograph without permission, that is not an easy case to defend.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

The inclusion of citizen’s tweets and posts as news sources beyond soft news content is still a controversial issue among a considerable number of editors. The mixed opinions found among interviewees demonstrate that there are unresolved tensions in the use of these technologies in the daily practices of the newsroom.

The distribution stage

Compared to news story detection and sourcing practices, fewer editors offered unprompted opinions about the value of digital interaction tools in news distribution. This is consistent with findings from the online survey that suggest these technologies are used mainly in the production stage. However, when directly asked about the utilisation of these tools for news distribution, the vast majority of Chilean editors judged digital technologies, namely social networks, as key tools for news distribution and audience building. This value is especially seen in the case of Facebook and the online editions of print and broadcast media outlets, and online-only news media. Generating website traffic was raised as the main purpose for the utilisation of digital tools in Chilean newsrooms by several editors. A limited number of constraints were also identified by interviewed editors, mainly related to a digital divide that exists in Chilean society.

Tools for generating Web traffic

A considerable amount of Western scholarship suggests that social media is a powerful driver of audience news consumption habits (Hermida *et al.*, 2012), and an important source of traffic for online news websites (Singer, 2010; Newman, 2011; Newman & Levy, 2014; Phillips, 2012). This is also the case in the Chilean setting. In line with the findings of Hille and Bakker (2013) in the Netherlands, several Chilean editors identify traffic generation as the main purpose for the utilisation of social media technologies in newsrooms. This situates online technologies firmly within the political economy of news media (Jönsson & Örnebring, 2011; Vujnovic *et al.*, 2010), as opposed to much-hyped participatory ideals:

The main advantage of [digital interaction tools] is rather technical, and it is the traffic they provide us. Social media enables you to go out to capture audience attention and build traffic on the website, if you know how to do it. That is their main advantage, thus I work with social networks because they provides us [web] traffic.

(Claudio Arce, *Publmetro Online*).

According to the online editors interviewed, the audience does not become aware of the news until it is published in social media. This development is shifting editors' attention away from the importance of online front pages and towards building a strong social media presence:

Currently there is a phenomenon in [news] publication that is intimately tied to social media. I say to the staff: 'If you published your story and it is not in social media, that story does not exist!' For instance, when I was working for *Terra*, I cared about the front page. Now, I do not mind about the front page of *Publmetro online*. I do not care! I care about Facebook. We used to have an online community manager, but we had to get rid of the position – our journalists work directly with social media.

(Claudio Arce, *Publmetro Online*).

Through [social] networks you throw the headline, the link and a little bit of information if necessary (...) because that is the way people can enter our website. That is our purpose for having social media – that people visit the website.

(Camila Navarrete, *BioBioChile*).

Social media is also an important news distribution channel for print and broadcast news media organisations, as well as for online news outlets that do not constantly update stories during the day:

In the morning, our Twitter account announces [the daily edition of] our newspaper is out and invites the audience to read it online. While updating [during the day] is not a priority for the company, [Twitter publishing of the newspaper headlines] enables us some kind of regular update. This is obviously linked to attracting a readership, because social media helps boost traffic.

(Salvador Carmona, *La Hora*).

We use Twitter a lot in advertising the content that is on the [TV] screen. In fact our community manager is tweeting what is airing on *Canal 24Horas*¹⁰ all day. During the prime time newscast, he sits next to the general editor, who signals what is about to be

aired for him to tweet about. We have to take advantage of being the most followed media account on Twitter.

(Rodrigo Diez, *TVN*).

In a small media market such as Chile, social media is a key tool for news media organisations, both traditional and online, in coping with increased competition for the public's attention. Traffic figures and social media metrics translate into advertising revenue (Freedman, 2010; Hille & Bakker, 2013; Brock, 2013). In the case of traditional news media organisations, such as television, radio, and to a lesser extent newspaper outlets, self-promotion of news programs, segments, or news items through social media is an important distribution mechanism (Lysak *et al.*, 2012). However, some editors are cautious not to publish information on social media platforms too early (Dickinson, 2011) as a way of ensuring that their primary news outlet is protected and the competition is not tipped off:

We are careful. Our medium is the radio, and thus we try to be the most immediate in airing the news (...). Journalists are aware of the importance of first airing information on the radio or at least at the same time in social media.

(Veronica Franco, *Cooperativa*).

Sometimes we learn on Twitter what our colleagues in *El Sur* – which is our competition – are doing. So, we have had informal discussions among our editors about being careful. You cannot be as clumsy to leak our information to the competition before [publishing it].

(Ricardo Cárcamo, *El Diario de Concepción*).

Some of these fears are related to issues of newsroom convergence raised by the interviewees, which are addressed using different strategies in each newsroom. While some outlets follow 'Web-first' (English, 2011), and even 'social-media-first' approaches to news publishing (Newman, 2009, 2011; Hermida, 2010; Canter, 2014), for other news

media organisations the priority is still the print or broadcast news edition (Dickinson, 2011).

Interviewees also identify differences between stronger brands and less popular online news media outlets, which is consistent to findings by Olmstead *et al.*, (2011) in the US context. Online news media outlets with stronger brands or well positioned print and/or broadcast media outlets rely more on *organic* website traffic than on social media:

No more than 4% of our traffic is from social media. *Emol* has a distortion – we have a traffic based on search engines of 17%, when the standard for online media is 25%. That is explained by the power of the *Emol* brand – most of our traffic is organic, directly accessed through our URL.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

50% of our traffic is organic traffic, that is, from direct URL typing or search engines. We have done a good SEO [search engine optimisation] job, which was difficult but now is tamed. Then, I would say 40% is traffic from Facebook and 10% from Twitter.

(Rodrigo Diez, *TVN*).

In contrast, for online-only outlets and the online editions of smaller news media organisations, the proportion of traffic driven by social media is more significant:

It has changed. When I arrived here, 90% of the traffic was from social media. Now it must be around 60-70%. But social media is still our main traffic driver.

(Claudio Arce, *Publimetro online*).

Look, here are the metrics [*shows the screen]. In the website there are 72 active visitors, but in Facebook we have 247. That is people that get to the website in the end. Our job is to select news that is interesting to social media users and share it on those platforms.

(Cynthia Páez, *El Mostrador*).

In this regard, social media can be considered as important tools for attracting users and driving online traffic to smaller news media organisations.

Facebook

Most Chilean editors from both big and small news outlets rate Facebook as the most effective social network in driving traffic to their websites. This is consistent with Facebook's prevalence in other contexts, such as Europe, the US, and Brazil (Newman, 2011; Newman & Levy, 2014; Olmstead *et al.*, 2011; Mitchel *et al.*, 2012). Facebook's high penetration among Internet users in Chile (Pew Research Center, 19 March 2015), its 'slower' timeline, and the shareability of content on this platform make it an important resource:

To generate traffic for the website, Twitter is not the solution; it is Facebook. It has a much more powerful viralising effect. When we post a story, I can see how it soars on Facebook.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

Facebook attracts more public. It is our bread and butter. It is the most visited website in Chile, where Chileans spend most time [on the Internet].

(Rodrigo Diez, *TVN*).

In Facebook we have a lot more of the interaction. In many ways, it is slower than Twitter. On Twitter, you throw a story in the morning and, at noon, they are asking you what happened, why you did not publish it. It is too fast.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

An advantage of Facebook is the shareability of content (Olmstead *et al.*, 2011; Weeks & Holbert, 2013). According to Rodrigo Diez (*TVN*), Facebook enables his news outlet's content to reach niche audiences and grow website traffic:

If we post a story about the match between *Colo-Colo* and *Universidad Católica*,¹¹ and the fan page of *Universidad Católica* shares it, our web traffic soars during the day. It is a story that most people may be not consuming, but we were able to reach a hard core of users interested in reading *Universidad Católica's* stuff. You feed them and they become a very important source of traffic influx.

Facebook's shareability is also one of the reasons why most Chilean online news media organisations have externalised their audience comment systems to this social media platform, as outlined in Chapter Six.

Adaptation to different platforms and the increasing importance of mobile media

In line with the suggestions of journalism scholars in the US, Europe, and Australia (Anderson *et al.*, 2012; Hirst, 2011; Veglis, 2012), Chilean editors are aware of the need to adapt content for different platforms. This includes different social networks, as these technologies and their users have varying dynamics of content engagement (Mitchell *et al.*, 2012b; Holcomb *et al.*, 2013). Sebastian Campaña (*Emol*) illustrates the differences between Twitter and Facebook users:

Twitter, in terms of audience habits, is [for] the guy on mobile phones. And for that guy, the tweeted datum is enough. It is very rare for him to click a link. In the end, the guy on a smartphone is more aware of the news than the Facebook user, thus he does not need more than that. The behaviour of Facebook users is different. They have more time for reading. They are seeking interesting stories to comment on with her friends, and are more open to different topics.

Because of this different behaviour on each platform, the same news story is published differently on Facebook and Twitter:

You use different headlines for a story depending if you publish on Twitter or Facebook. In Twitter you sometimes add a short fact. On Facebook, as it automatically includes the website headline, it is not necessary to repeat it. You publish a picture and an additional fact.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

Irrespective of differences between social media services, a number of Chilean editors admit a growing awareness of the importance of mobile platforms in addressing new consumption habits. This awareness is consistent with the findings of Cabrera and Bernal (2012) in the Chilean case (specifically *Emol*) when compared to news outlets from Mexico, Guatemala, and Argentina. In a country with a growing penetration of mobile Internet (see Chapter Two), these platforms are increasingly readership channels for Chilean news:

Among the traffic driven by Facebook, Twitter and search engines, there are the mobile applications. Facebook and Twitter mobile apps bring many people [to our website]. On Election Day, 55% of our traffic was mobile, it is impressive!

(Rodrigo Diez, *TVN*).

Today, rather than thinking about the news coverage, I am more worried about what products for smartphones we will have for the FIFA World Cup in Brazil, because that is where we are gambling our traffic during the World Cup.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

Similar to Europe, the US, Brazil, and Japan (Westlund, 2014; Nel & Westlund, 2012; Newman & Levy, 2014; Mitchell *et al.*, 2012a, 2012b), the significance of mobile traffic leads some Chilean news media organisations to emphasise the role of mobile platforms in their audience building strategies:

It is not enough to build a website only for web browsers, anymore. It is necessary to adapt it and build mobile websites, or apps for tablets and smartphones. Many people are accessing news through these devices and social networks boost that behaviour.

(Sergio Jara, *El Mercurio Inversiones*).

Our bet is mobile. We entered the online business ten years later, thus we could not compete with *La Tercera* and *Emol* with their weapons. They would slaughter us! We bet on mobile and it has worked so far. Now we are third on comScore.

(Rodrigo Diez, *TVN*).

In the near future, probably we should have a front page editor for the web and another for mobile, because they are different products. They have different audiences with different behaviours.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

However, the development of mobile apps and websites is uneven among Chilean media organisations. The ‘bet’ on mobile traffic, as suggested by a number of editors later in this chapter, is one made by major Chilean news media organisations for the targeting of specific demographics.

Formats, writing styles, and click-bait

Interviewees note the importance of changing writing practices as online platforms respond to different audiences and consumption habits. Editors prefer a more direct style for online news, consistent with the inverted pyramid format:

Language has to be different, because it is not like in a newspaper where you scan through pages and some stories gain your attention. Here you upload it, and if [the headline] draws the attention of nobody, nobody reads it.

(Ricardo Cárcamo, *El Diario de Concepción*).

Writing is different. I say that at this stage of online news, people demand the inverted pyramid. Maybe in the future they would demand quality style, but not today. They demand information.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

Editors highlight that online writing practices involve a different way of titling news stories – including utilisation of SEO techniques in headlines and the body of news pieces

– as a way to make news content more findable and encourage clicks. However, it is possible to identify tensions in relation to emerging writing practices in Chilean newsrooms, as online media demands a style that may differ to journalistic writing conventions:

We are required to write every news always in the past tense, so you can share it a million times and not lose topicality.

(Ángela Bustamante, *SoyConcepción*).

If the story is about Colo-Colo, I have to use the word ‘Colo-Colo’ as many times as I could in the news piece to obtain a higher placement in Google PageRank. The use of synonym words or expressions, which is considered an important tool for Spanish writing, is useless for writing online news.

(Christian Hernández, *MEGA*).

The most important thing is a short headline and short paragraphs. In journalism schools, some people must be turning over in their graves because of the writing of some texts, but it is the way to attract the public.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

The need for online traffic in a competitive news environment is making some Chilean news media organisations adopt the formulas of news aggregators such as BuzzFeed and Upworthy (Fitts, 2014; Benton, 2014; Berger & Milkman, 2012; Tornøe, 2014). One of these formulas is the use of ‘forward-reference’ in headlines, often pejoratively called ‘click-bait’ (Blom & Hansen, 2015). Click-bait draws from findings in behavioural science research that takes advantage of human curiosity (Loewenstein, 1994). Clicks are driven by offering titles that open the ‘curiosity gap’ and force users to click to satisfy such hunger for information (Fitts, 2014; Costera Meijer & Groot Kormelink, 2015). The use of forward-reference contravenes traditional writing norms of ‘quality’ news journalism (Blom & Hansen, 2015), as the summarising of headlines is diminished in

favour of catching the attention of the reader (Bell, 1991). In this regard, most editors agree that click-bait practices, such as ambiguous headlines and invitations to comment about certain topics to create controversy, are tricky. These practices may be counterproductive as users get tired of them:

For instance, in *El Dínamo*¹² they use ‘fireworks’ in titling to attract attention. They are more waggish, they title ‘Look how would it work...’ to invite clicking, to make you curious about it. *El Mostrador* is more sober, we have to keep seriousness.

(Cynthia Páez, *El Mostrador*).

We could generate clicks from Twitter by titling ‘Look at Miley Cyrus’ last picture’ or ‘The last sexy photo of...’ and they may take the bait, but that is not the idea. The idea is for the public to feel *Emol* on Twitter is useful and does not deceive them.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

However, click-bait titling is an extensive practice among several Chilean news media outlets, as a brief examination of their social media profiles reveals. Still, few editors admitted to the use of click-bait during the interviews. For those who deem clickbait as a necessary tactic for generating traffic, this is a practice that needs to be carefully handled:

On Twitter you compete against too much information. How do you get clicks? You have to bet on headlines: ‘This is the picture that grows controversy in La Moneda’.¹³ Then users say: ‘Damn, I hate *Publímetro*, but I have to look at it’.

(Claudio Arce, *Publímetro Online*).

I admit we use [clickbait], but I try to have not too shorter headlines playing with ambiguity. You play with vagueness, but you should not exploit the resource. We play the mystery only on social media.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

Scholarship suggests that the use of forward-reference in headlines is more present in commercial and tabloid-style outlets (Blom & Hansen, 2015). However, in the Chilean

case, their use when publicising news content in social media permeates serious news to different degrees.

News distribution, the digital divide, and 'keeping grounded'

Many Chilean editors believe that the future for news media is digital, online, and mobile (Fortunati & Sarrica, 2011; Hirst, 2011), and most of them laud digital technologies, especially social media, as powerful tools for news distribution. However, in line with recent scholarship (Costera Meijer & Groot Kormelink, 2015; R. K. Nielsen & Schrøder, 2014; Ju, Jeong, & Chyi, 2014; Glynn, Huge, & Hoffman, 2012), a number of editors are also careful about over-emphasising the potential of these tools for reaching audiences.

As outlined in Chapter Two and earlier in this chapter, there is a digital divide in Chile, although it is declining. Citizen access to the Internet and online media is caused by issues of poor connectivity as well as uneven technical skills and education (WIP Chile, 2011; Agostini & Willington, 2012). These issues are important elements that restrain journalists from over-stating the effect of Internet, as explained by two editors working for online news media organisations:

This tale of the Internet boom, and how is going to kill all other media, well, I do not believe it very much. For instance, the other day I was saying to journalism students from a local university that in Alto Bío-Bío¹⁴ people do not even have electrical power. I remember asking the students how many of them owned a smartphone and 20 raised their hands. Then I asked how many of them had a data plan – because without it smartphones are useless but as a phone – and there was only five who had one... Online media is thriving, it will keep thriving, but it is not the panacea. This is just the beginning of online media, so it is necessary to assess them in perspective.

(Ángela Bustamante, *SoyConcepción*).

I think it is good that the media get a great part of their readership from social media, but they should not forget traditional media. There are still many people who do not have access to news media through social media or mobile phones. Mobile phone

penetration in Chile is high, but not that high, and we still do not have proper 4G. There are certain segments, the wealthy ones, the ABC1, that have high levels of mobile Internet penetration and, in general, most media organisations are targeting those segments. That is where the advertising money is. Then, I think, it has to do with the strategy of your news organisation. If that is your target, it is important to make a good progress in online and mobile. But if it is not your target, why use them?

(Sergio Jara, *El Mercurio Inversiones*).

As many editors argue, the breadth of the digital divide in Chile is narrowing. Internet penetration rates increased 204.81% between 2009 and 2012, mainly due to the explosive growing of mobile Internet penetration (SUBTEL, 2013), and 64% of Chilean population was connected to the Internet by December 2014 (SUBTEL, 2015). Still, at this point in the history of Chilean journalism, the digital divide can be identified as a point of tension in the practices of news outlets and newsrooms.

Despite these concerns, it is possible to argue that the utilisation of digital interaction tools in news distribution is approved of by Chilean editors. There is a widespread consensus about the affordances of digital interaction technologies for this stage of the news cycle, and fewer constraints and tensions were identified during the interviews. This positive evaluation of digital interaction tools contrasts with the use of these technologies for the feedback/follow up stage, as addressed in the next chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the first part of the main findings of the qualitative stage of this thesis, focusing on the affordances, constraints, and unresolved tensions in the utilisation of digital interaction tools in Chilean newsrooms. The overall evaluation of the use of these technologies is consistent with the findings in the quantitative stage of this study, and support a positive overall vision of these technologies as fundamental to journalistic

work. However, tensions exist because of increasing pressures in newsrooms due to competition, economic factors, and the speed of production.

In the news production stage, Chilean journalism has, with occasional exceptions, a level of distrust in online reporting and UGC, and favour these channels only for specific purposes, mostly related to accessing audiovisual content for breaking news and especially soft news content. The utilisation of digital interaction technologies as a resource for branding and attracting audiences also hints at a demotic turn (Turner, 2010) in Chilean news media organisations. This trend is confirmed in the next chapter, when analysing the affordances, constraints, and unresolved tensions in the use of digital technologies for feedback and follow up of stories.

Notes

¹ Carabineros de Chile [Carabineers of Chile] are the Chilean militarised police.

² *WokiTokí* is a Chilean audiovisual production company which regularly publishes on YouTube and other video platforms short humorous dramatisations of the 42 typical quotes of people in particular situations (for instance, parents worried about their sons or daughters in college), representing Chilean idiosyncrasies in a style similar to BuzzFeed lists. See <https://www.youtube.com/user/WOKITOKI>.

³ Isapres are Chilean private health insurance companies. MásVida is the name of the particular health insurance company that refused funding for the medical treatment for its client.

⁴ Traditionally, prime time TV newscasts in Chile were aired from 8:30 PM and lasted one hour long. After a long drought, in the 1990s, and as way to reduce energy consumption, they were moved 30 minutes earlier, starting at 8:00 PM. Years after, they moved to their current air time, starting at 9:00 PM. The duration of newscasts has also varied. In 2010, as a way to cope with the coverage for the 27F earthquake and tsunami, prime time editions of TV newscast were extended to one hour and thirty minutes, or more. When the emergency faded, TV broadcasters kept the extended duration of their news bulletins, filling them mainly with soft news and lifestyle content. In July 2014, *Canal 13* announced their decision to return to the one-hour editions. While there are probably commercial factors behind this decision (Cambio21, 11 July, 2014), Canal 13 justified this measure as a “commitment to better information quality” for their viewers (Obilinovik, 10 July, 2014).

⁵ Franco Parisi was an independent candidate during the 2013 presidential elections. Basing his campaign heavily on online marketing and social media, at one stage of the campaign some polls assigned Parisi the second place in preferences and, thus, a spot on the defining ballot. In the elections, Parisi finished fourth, with 10.11% of the votes and 14.9 points behind Evelyn Matthei, who finally entered into the ballot (Emol, 17 November 2013).

⁶ Jorge Sampaoli is the head coach of the Chilean national football team.

⁷ Francisco ‘Pancho’ Sagredo, a renowned sport journalist now working in *MEGA* television network. He became famous working for *TVN*, where this anecdote occurred in 2013.

⁸ The accident he refers to involved the rollover of a school bus carrying 40 children in the centre-south port of Talcahuano in 2013. A school girl and the bus driver died.

⁹ RNE is a network composed of volunteers mostly from civil protection institutions, like firefighters, the civil defence, ambulance and emergency crew members, amateur radio enthusiasts, and the like, which provide first-hand information about emergency-related incidents. Born as an informal network created after 2010’s earthquake, RNE is now a non-profit corporation.

¹⁰ *Canal 24Horas* is the ‘24/7’ broadcasting news channel run by *TVN*. This channel is currently broadcast through cable and satellite companies and is expected to air in DTV when the new digital television system becomes operational.

¹¹ *Colo-Colo*, *Universidad de Chile*, and *Universidad Católica* are the three most popular professional football clubs in Chile.

¹² *El Dínamo* is a politics and society news blog.

¹³ La Moneda palace is the seat of the Chilean President.

¹⁴ Alto Biobío is a small village in a section of the Andes Mountains of the Biobío region.

Chapter 6

Digital interaction tools in Chilean newsrooms: affordances, constraints and unresolved tensions in the feedback/follow up stage

This chapter presents the second and final part of the results from the qualitative stage of this study. Chilean journalism cultures are analysed from the perspective of the affordances, constraints, and unresolved tensions presented by digital interaction tools in Chilean newsrooms, focusing on the feedback and following up of published stories. As explained in Chapter Five, this structure serves as a heuristic strategy for the presentation of the most relevant findings of this study.

The feedback/follow up stage

The use of digital interaction tools for the purposes of gaining feedback from, and interacting with audiences is rated as less important by Chilean editors when compared to practices in the news production and distribution stages. Practices related to the feedback/follow up stage received more direct mentions than distribution practices during the interviews. However, the use of these technologies for interacting with, and receiving feedback from the public is much more contested. The interviews suggest that the overall utilisation of digital technologies in feedback and interaction practices is limited in Chilean newsrooms, except for indirect feedback in the form of Web traffic and social media metrics. Analytics serve to increase awareness of audience tastes, and inform decisions in agenda setting, although editors continue to defend the editorial gatekeeping role in the placement of stories. Editors also identify a series of constraints in relation to the quality and utility of UGC, citizen journalism, and interaction with audiences, suggesting a ‘top-down’ perspective that is consistent with the maintenance of their

gatekeeping role. Exceptions to this trend relate to the particular editorial styles of print and broadcast news outlets from where online outlets originate, and are mostly restricted to one news media organisation, *BioBioChile*. The moderation of audience and user comments stands as a problematic aspect of interaction, although many editors deem incivility in user comments as a built-in feature of such interactions. A lack of formal guidelines for journalists' social media interactions is also striking, suggesting a lack of planning in the adoption of these features in the newsroom. Many of these issues help highlight the demotic characteristics of Chilean journalism discussed in previous chapters.

Metrics as the main tool for awareness of the audience

Checking website traffic figures and social media statistics (e.g. comments, shares, likes, mentions, and retweets) is important in Chilean newsrooms. These metrics provide journalists with indicators of the reception of published news stories:

I know [our] journalists see [digital tools] as feedback. They are very interested in knowing how their work has been received [by the audience].

(Elisa Segura, *Canal 13*).

The main benefit for journalists, in particular, is to know their stories are being delivered (...). [Traffic and social media metrics] are important, not only for the journalist's ego, but for the work, the motivation, and also for the website.

(Camila Navarrete, *BioBioChile*).

However, similar to findings in Europe and the US (Vu, 2014; Singer, 2013; Tandoc, 2014a, 2014b; Lee *et al.*, 2014; Anderson *et al.*, 2012; MacGregor, 2007), the main advantages of monitoring metrics, according to Chilean editors, are to increase the awareness of audience preferences and tastes. The traditional 'gut instinct' of editors about their audience (Hartley, 1987; Mikosza, 2003) is being replaced progressively by

more data analytics and less intuitive framing in ‘how to make content choices’ for them (MacGregor, 2007). Such growing awareness of the audience is increasingly informing editorial decisions. In broadcast and online media, analytics work in real time as a way to gauge successful stories and quickly increase audience figures:

If there is an earthquake in Peru, and we publish a story about it and it goes well, ‘Awesome! Now, let’s make the video, let’s make a photo gallery.’ If it goes down: ‘Let’s go to another story.’ We work like this all day.

(Claudio Arce, *Publimetro online*).

We are lucky to have metric tools such as the People Meter on TV and [Google] Analytics on the web. They enable me to detect when a story is catching on and immediately send a journalist and a cameraman to cover (...) a second angle.

(Christian Hernández, *MEGA*).

Traffic and social media metrics are also starting to influence decisions made in print newspapers. Mauricio Ávila, general editor for *Publimetro*, explains how these metrics are brought to the morning briefing:

One the first things we do, after reviewing yesterday’s printed edition, is check what is going on in the online edition and in social media. We identify what was popular. ‘Hey, look, these stories had many comments’, ‘there was an explosion of comments on this story.’ Then, we discuss what new aspect of these stories we can carry out, ‘Let’s give it a second round, a new focus.’ So, we are reinventing ourselves with those user comments, with that feedback. We do not answer them, though. We do not enter that discussion. But we expect that the people realise those topics are in the newspaper.

Although some editors are reluctant to award social networks a crucial role, the monitoring of web and social media metrics are being normalised (Tandoc, 2014a). As many interviewees admit, they use analytics to keep track of audience behaviour and also to inform editorial decisions. These decisions include, as Tandoc (2014a: 571) found in the US, predicting “which topics, headlines, and story assets are more likely to generate

traffic”. Analytics, in the case of Chilean media organisations, are helping to set the daily news agenda:

You know when something is rising, ‘Look, this is making noise, we should look at it.’ It is a kind of agenda setter, it has become an agenda setter for news media.

(Verónica Franco, *Cooperativa*).

One of the new aspects of journalism that is settling down as a feature is the existence of a dynamic news agenda, which is set in terms of your interaction with audiences through social media. We identify the stories with more traffic, but also those highly debated [on social media]. Then we try to prioritise those topics against others. It is not only visits. It is also replication figures, number of comments, viralisation rates.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

An apparent contradiction was observed about the use of web and social media metrics in editorial decision making. On the one hand, most editors have no problem admitting the increased influence of social media metrics in selecting topics for news coverage. This is another dimension of a demotic turn (Turner, 2010), and may help explain the increasing presence of tabloid-style news and celebrity content in Chilean news media outlets, as this type of content is usually the most popular. On the other hand, most editors defend the role of their organisation’s editorial principles and standards, as well as journalists’ judgement, in the presentation and placement of stories, even if those criteria are sometimes difficult to elaborate:

As our layout is vertical, our ‘headline one’ has to be always something very important, relevant. For instance, today is the re-opening of the investigation of the Matute case.¹ Even if we had a ‘talking dog’, the talking dog story always goes in ‘headline two’ or ‘three’, because that is not a ‘headline one’ in our hierarchy. You categorise the news pieces according to an editorial criteria. In general, temporality also plays a role. For instance, if a story has been too long on ‘headline one’, you change it. Or if something becomes more relevant, you move it to the top position. And sure, the talking dog is going to attract many clicks, it will probably be today’s most read story, but it will never be a ‘headline one’. I could not specifically tell you what the parameters are, but

it is something like that. Then you evaluate by yourself [based] on your own criteria as editor.

(Ángela Bustamante, *SoyConcepción*).

In *Emol*, we seek a hierarchy of content. You access *Emol* in the morning and you know that the two main headlines are serious content – the old fashion way, hard news. What you have to do is a game in terms of knowing how to balance hard news with others stories that are – as I call them in polite terms – for ‘fast consumption’. Moreover, there is much garbage news, which we also use and must not place in first position. Sure, I do publish celebrity news, but never in the main headlines, because the impact on the audience would be too hard. The audience allows me a celebrity story in the 20th headline, but not in the main one (...). I think people still expects a hierarchy of news. People still know that they can trust *Emol*’s judgment in telling them what is happening and what is not – what is important. I do not think everything must be celebrity news. Our judgment has a value, our content management has a value, and that is what we must protect.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

These opinions are consistent with findings by Lee *et al.*, (2014), as these authors suggest that metrics influence awareness of the tastes of the audience, but has limited effect on the placement of news. This pattern also helps to explain why the placement of news content in US, European, and Latin American news media does not always correlate with the content most clicked on (Boczkowski *et al.*, 2011;) or most shared by social media users (Bastos, 2014). Journalism scholar Jane Singer (2013: 68) suggests that a “secondary gatekeeping process” is taking shape. Audience sharing and the visibility of published news items is giving power to users in deciding “which stories were today’s best” for their social media acquaintances, but also for the overall audience. This represents an expanded user role when compared to the traditional gatekeeping process in news production (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009; White, 1964). However, in the Chilean case, these findings confirm that, despite the growing awareness of audience tastes in

setting the news agenda, journalists are still reluctant to surrender control of their well-established routines in news judgment and story placement. As Lee *et al.*, (2014) suggest, the ‘pushing down’ of stories likely to be popular on the front page hierarchy is a sign of an “active resistance” from editors “to the audience gatekeeping through their clicks and shares” (2014: 520).

The current reluctance of editors to judge story placement according to Web traffic and social media metrics is something that could change in the near future. In the US, Vu (2014: 1106) suggests that the perceived economic benefits of attaining a high readership is a predictor of an editors’ likelihood to make changes based on the traffic information provided by analytics. Most Chilean online news media outlets have been listing the ‘most read’, ‘most shared’, and, in some cases, the ‘most commented’ stories on their front pages for several years. As competition increases, it is possible that Chilean newsrooms will begin to yield to the pressure of relying on metrics for setting the story placement, especially in smaller or less popular news outlets.

There is an apparent contradiction between a willingness to use web and social media analytics to set the news agenda, and an editorial reluctance to involve the audience in story placement. This tension is an updated version of the long-standing tensions between ‘news *in* the public interest’ and ‘news *of* interest to the public’. As addressed in Chapter Seven, the tensions in the ‘social mission’ of journalism are closely related to issues of control and the boundaries of the journalistic profession (Schudson, 2011).

The limited use of direct feedback from audiences

Direct feedback from the audience, in the form of user comments and interaction through digital platforms, receives limited attention in Chilean newsrooms compared with indirect

feedback, such as traffic and social media metrics. However, consistent with findings in the quantitative stage (see Chapter Four), a number of editors value and use direct audience feedback for the purposes of correcting information and re-writing mistakes. Knowing there is an active audience ready to criticise (Joseph, 2011; Hermida, 2012) helps journalists to be more responsible and alert to mistakes:

We instantly know what the audience thinks of us, and that has made journalists much more aware of and responsible to the public. Journalists know there is an audience that is demanding more from us, an audience that contributes. It is not only criticism. There are people that contribute a point of view, a different view of the headlines: ‘Hey, how can you title like this, don’t you realise it is misleading?’ And there are people who are right and you must listen to them. Then, there is a much more complete ‘cooking’ process when putting together a story. It is not as simple as writing the story and forgetting about it.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

However, similar to findings in the US, Europe, the Middle East, and Latin America (C. E. Nielsen, 2014; Phillips, 2010; Domingo & Heikkilä, 2012; Domingo, 2008; Bachmann & Harlow, 2012), there appears to be no further interest in audience feedback beyond that point, as some editors suggest:

[Journalists] do not use audience comments, unless I detected a reference to an error in the story from the comments and I let them know. [Journalists] ask me more about how their stories are going in terms of visits, rather than what people think about them.

(Cynthia Páez, *El Mostrador*).

Unlike social media and pageview metrics, the content of audience comments are rarely considered at morning briefings or in setting the news agenda:

In controversial topics sometimes I can do something with the feedback. I respond to [social media] messages and sometimes [users] give us good tips for investigative reports. But [the editorial board] do not take them much into consideration. That is the truth, what we could get from social media they do not take into consideration (...). In the weekly briefing every editor and journalist brings three or four topics. Then, the

editors decide what we will cover during the week. But, telling them ‘Hey, this emerged from social media’? No, they do not care.

(Cynthia Páez, *El Mostrador*).

I do not know if user comments are used to start new stories. The Internet editor might tell you if it happens. It is my understanding that they receive and check information from users on Facebook, but I tend to believe comments are not used. Because if so, much of this content, this data, this news or tips for investigating, somehow would arrive here [to the radio’s newsroom]. It would be part of the morning briefing: ‘Look, we receive this tip, I leave it to you for further reporting’, but that does not happen.

(Eduardo Hernández, *Cooperativa*).

Exceptions to this trend, as outlined later in the chapter, are limited mainly to selected online news media outlets, such as *BioBioChile*, where there is a more open attitude towards audience involvement in the news cycle. Although as an exception, *BioBioChile* also confirms the limited use of audience contributions in Chilean newsrooms:

[Comments] are critical for us. Our journalists write a news piece and then check the user comments. They are permanently monitoring them. The digital journalist has the mission of developing an attitude that enabled him or her to filter user feedback and identify those that are helpful. From there, many times we have been able to write new stories, turning comments into information, adding extra value (...). Sometimes we have entirely changed our news agenda because someone gave us a tip in a Facebook comment.

(Christian Leal, *BioBioChile*).

There are mixed responses among editors about whether it is a good idea to actively invite the audience to debate (Singer, 2010). In Chilean newsrooms, there is a consistent invite given to the public to participate by responding to online polls and commenting and debating in social media about sports, celebrity, lifestyle and other soft news. These features are a proven formula for increasing social media and Web traffic metrics.

Consistent with the responses of the online survey of journalists in the quantitative stage, debate is viewed as an important function of social media, especially on Twitter:

Sometimes, with certain questions, we invite people to debate: ‘Whom do you prefer as goalkeeper in the national [football] team: Johnny Herrera or Claudio Bravo?’ Then, people comment, there you generate opinion. Now, opinions range from the maximum wisdom, through to sarcasm, insults and trolling. But that daily open question is a formula. It could be better, taking more advantage of the resource, but it is a start. We use it, most of all, because of the social media participation thing, you have to be there.

(Salvador Carmona, *La Hora*).

However, in the case of current affairs and hard news, and similar to the US, Europe, and Israel (Domingo *et al.*, 2008; Tenenboim & Cohen, 2015), most editors consider it counterproductive to openly invite people to comment, as a considerable amount of debate arises by itself:

In certain cases, yes, we do it. Especially in lifestyle or softer news, sometimes we ask a question: ‘What do you think?’ And people respond. Now, that works in that kind of news, because in hard news, like politics, you do not need to issue invites to the debate. Debate arrives by itself. If you published a story about Monsanto [agriculture company], you do not need to add a ‘Give us your opinion’, people will comment on it anyway. You have to be careful not to look biased. You can say you are inviting people to interact, but somebody can also say, ‘Hey, you are fabricating a controversy, you are misleading the public.’ You know, every day people call us *Bacheletistas*, and every day they also call us *Piñeristas*.²

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

Similar to other studies (Reich, 2011; Hille & Bakker, 2013, 2014; Canter, 2013a; Santana, 2014), comments and debate among news media users are deemed as problematic, highlighting a lack of civility among members of the audience. As addressed later in this chapter, this situation leads to concerns about the moderation of user comments:

The thing is, in Chile, there is no high-mindedness in the debate on social media. People are really shabby, sometimes. Two can start arguing very well, but then somebody comes with insults and the topic ends in a mess. That happened in our newspaper's Facebook page. We used to publish a story and ask the people their opinions, but it rapidly ended without arguments, only insults, even bad words. I think there is no way of managing that well. It is a tool that allows you great feedback, but the people do not use it well.

(Ricardo Cárcamo, *El Diario de Concepción*).

Considering the kind of experiences described here, it is unsurprising that most editors consider user comments and interactions through social media as having 'low journalistic value' in terms of complementing news stories, or adding "tips, leads and follow-up material, story ideas, and additional sources" (Hille & Bakker, 2014: 570). These opinions challenge the findings of the quantitative stage, as online survey respondents regarded this purpose as important in their use of digital interaction tools, especially Twitter (see Chapter Four). In contrast, few interviewees acknowledge utilising audience feedback in this stage of the news cycle. Difficulties in managing a large volume of comments (Phillips, 2010; Reich, 2011) are another reason for the limited use of audience feedback:

In point of fact, we do not take [user comments] much into consideration for reporting stories. I mean, it depends on the story. For example, in stories about animal cruelty, from the Facebook comments you can start new stories and directly contact users to inquire into their allegations. But in general, right, we read the user comments... but you might understand that with 300 comments there is no time, because we must keep producing.

(Camila Navarrete, *BioBioChile*).

No, it is very rare. Sometimes, with high profile news, Twitter posts from the audience enable us to generate another story, or from Facebook comments. But in general, they are mostly comments ranting against the story or just insults. On a few occasions we have extracted something useful: people adding a new datum, something they witnessed, something they know, and then you try contacting them and write a new story. But in general it is very limited, because most people just engage in trolling.

(Ángela Bustamante, *SoyConcepción*).

Email interactions are seen as a more civilised space than social networks. However, for most news media organisations, email has almost completely lost its importance as a feedback channel:

The truth is we keep receiving emails from the users, from our readers, but they are very few. We do not receive more than 10 emails a day from the public, denouncing something, or contributing with a story or a column. It still works, it has not stopped, but the system is making people prefer social media to communicate with us.

(Camila Navarrete, *BioBioChile*).

Indeed, according to several editors, the use of comparatively low-tech tools, such as telephone calls, are more important than email as an audience feedback mechanism.

Limited interaction with the user

Digital feedback and interaction are deemed a necessary feature to ‘give voice’ to the audience. However, as found in other settings (Graham, 2013; Canter, 2012; Hille & Bakker, 2014; C. E. Nielsen, 2014; Phillips, 2010), that voice is not necessarily heard in the newsroom as a way of starting a conversation with the audience. There are mixed opinions among Chilean editors about the advantages and disadvantages of directly interacting with the public via Facebook comments or tweets. Some newsrooms are starting to acknowledge reception of these interactions in the form of Facebook likes, marking tweets as favourites, and even retweeting:

As communicators, news media should have the motivation of responding to audience’s concerns, as well as to the information conveyed by users through social media. In that sense, Chilean media are slacking; there are only few media that directly interact with their ‘followers’ or ‘fans’. My personal position regarding this is that the rest of the media should do as we do here, in *BioBioChile*, which is responding or at least acknowledging the message was read, by marking it as favourite in Twitter or liking it

on Facebook. Letting the users know that behind the outlet's social media account there is an actual person and not a bot.

(Camila Navarrete, *BioBioChile*).

Despite such opinions, in most newsrooms the interaction with users is non-existent or deemed worthless:

In the 99.9% of cases we do not respond to anything. For better or worse, we have zero interaction. I follow certain people who comment a lot, and in 90% of the cases they are just trolls, rude people that find everything wrong.

(Claudio Arce, *Publimetro Online*).

Mixed positions are also held about critical user comments, especially when news media organisations have to rectify published mistakes. As in the UK (Canter, 2012) and Israel (Reich, 2011), Chilean newsrooms adopt different strategies to deal with user comments, yet the most common is to remain silent on social media to avoid further conflict:

When people throw shit on us, we do not answer any comment. We avoid encouraging an interaction that started badly and could end worse. The idea is to keep seriousness and be useful for the public.

(Sergio Jara, *El Mercurio Inversiones*).

When we have a conflict we strike back. I take that responsibility. If we made a big slip, the strategy is to respond one by one to those who are messing with us. There are always seven or eight people that attack you. Thus, we write directly to, let's say, @pedrito123 saying: 'We are sorry, here is the rectification.' And that has worked the best. Usually the attackers recognise your effort, they say: 'Well done, @Publimetro', and they feel taken into consideration, which is what they are looking for. They even defend you when someone else continues attacking: 'Hey, @Publimetro already rectified it.'

(Claudio Arce, *Publimetro Online*).

Direct interaction with users – in the few news media organisations that do so – is mostly an organisational matter, rather than a common practice of individual journalists.

According to editors, it is unlikely that journalists respond directly to user interaction using their own accounts, in some cases because of organisational norms or by personal choice:

Sometimes, if someone asks you something you can answer from your own account. But generally we respond very little, because, more than anything else, when there is a slip it is the official account that assumes that responsibility. Sometimes, one as a particular journalist can comment below the story, in the comments box. One can clarify certain issues from your personal account. But direct interaction between journalists and users is very uncommon.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

[Our journalists] do not answer back. I mean, answering could be an option, because it personalises the relationship with readers. But we do not encourage it because, when *Emol* speaks, there is an editorial decision of doing so. It cannot be a particular journalist's decision. It must be a decision by the editor. And the editor does not have the capability of answering every comment. But it is not only for that. I take on board something that is related to the Internet's democracy regarding journalism. The Internet, in my opinion, has meant a democratisation of the journalistic process. I have the power – and every journalist in *Emol* does – of publishing. That is a power and a privilege. Thus, I must be very responsible with that privilege: starting answering back is, I believe, abuse of that privilege.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

These statements challenge findings from the online survey in the quantitative stage of this study, which assigned interactive practices, such as responding to questions and/or criticism by the audience, as important activities in the use of digital interaction tools. Possible explanations for such inconsistency may be related to the different nature of the samples – interviewees were not necessarily survey respondents – but also a gap between 'participatory' principles and their enactment by journalists. Recent scholarship (Tandoc, Hellmueller, & Vos, 2013) has found significant gaps between role conception and role enactment by journalists. In the Chilean case, a particularly large gap was found in

relation to the ‘watchdog’, ‘civic-oriented’, and ‘service journalism’ roles of journalism when comparing journalists’ conceptions and the news items they produce (Mellado & Van Dalen, 2014). This gap is explained mostly by economic, political and organisational influences in the newsroom (Mellado & Van Dalen, 2014). These inconsistencies also suggest the need for further research.

According to the editors, as outlined in the previous sub-section, journalists do not engage in debates with the public either, even if they invite the audience to debate the content of their news pieces. These spaces are deemed as opportunities for readers to debate between themselves, rather than with journalists (Domingo *et al.*, 2008). As Rogstad (2014) suggests in the case of political journalists in Norway, advocating a personal stand is deemed problematic for Chilean journalists:

No, journalists do not debate. What happens is a debate among the community of users. The issue of generating debate between journalists and the audience is that it is really easy to fall into an opinion role, taking sides in topics when one should keep a distance. I mean, one has opinions, but they are not for publicising.

(Rodrigo Diez, *TVN*).

This comment suggests a reluctance to transgress traditional boundaries of the profession, such as the objectivity norm (Singer, 2005), when engaging in discussions with members of the audience or publishing their opinions in social media (Lasorsa *et al.*, 2012; Canter, 2012). This reluctance is also consistent with other studies of Chilean journalism cultures (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011; Mellado *et al.*, 2012), suggesting that Chilean journalists assign a high priority to detachment and non-involvement in news reporting. This attitude may also explain why, according to a number of editors, journalists’ social media interactions occur mostly among fellow journalists:

In Twitter it is possible to have conversations, but they are mainly with other journalists rather than with the public. That is, with someone you actually know, a colleague, a

communications officer who sends you a press release, and you ask her for to send it to your email. That is pretty much what happens, but direct interaction between the author – the journalist – and the civilian – the user – is very limited.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

Through social networks there is much interaction between the same journalists, or between people from different news media (...) that cover the same beat. But interaction with the public is very limited. We do not care much what ‘la señora Juanita’³ comments about what you wrote. The feedback that we really care the most about is from the actors of the industry you wrote a story about, the informed opinion. And you get that informed opinion by directly talking with them.

(César Valenzuela, *La Tercera*).

The responses of editors confirm that, most of the time, journalists rate the direct feedback and interactions from colleagues or members of the industry higher than those from the audience (Gans 1979; Schudson, 2011; F.M. Russell *et al.*, 2015).

Moderately moderating the trolls

A significant issue addressed by recent scholarship in Europe, the US, and Australia (Hille & Bakker, 2013, 2014; Santana, 2014a, 2014b; C. E. Nielsen, 2014; Hujanen, 2012; Reader, 2012; Martin & Dwyer, 2012) is also problematic in the Chilean context. Comment moderation is a continuing challenge in the relationship between online news media and the audience. The ‘low journalistic value’ assigned to audience feedback and interaction in Chilean newsrooms is related to a negative view of the public’s online contributions. The occurrence of intelligent discussion in comments sections is seen as exceptional by Chilean editors. A significant section of online news media users are characterised as ‘aggressive’, ‘disrespectful’, ‘rude’, ‘irresponsible’, and ‘trolls’, and not worth the time and energy it takes to read their comments. In this regard, a growing amount of scholarship suggests that comment moderation is sometimes a painful, time-

consuming, but necessary task in newsrooms (Domingo, 2008; Harrison, 2010; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008; Hujanen, 2012; Santana, 2014a; Canter, 2012; Murrell & Oakham, 2008).

The picture that emerges in Chile is in some ways different, with less concern expressed about comment moderation. A significant number of Chilean editors state they have resigned themselves to the fact that misbehaviour is a standard feature of audience interaction (Canter, 2012; Santana, 2014b). Counterintuitively, this situation has led Chilean newsrooms to invest little time or effort in moderating comments. ‘Pre-moderation’ of comments (Martin & Dwyer, 2012; Hille & Bakker, 2014; Reich, 2011) is a rare feature in Chilean news media outlets. Many interviewees confirm that they and the journalists under their supervision consider moderation “not a big deal”, suggesting that they do not manage challenging interactions, except for cases of major insults or abuse. Journalists mostly rely on automated tools – such as obscene word filters, ranking systems, and buttons for reporting abuse by other users (Canter, 2012) – and delete or block abusive comments and users (Loke, 2012):

Sure, it is a problem, but there is not as much moderation. I mean, of course we have automatic filters with bad words that block comments. But in general, each journalist takes care of his/her own story’s comment moderation, and deletes abusive comments. They do not respond, but they delete them. Of course, if I find a story with issues, I will moderate [comments] too. In the end, it is a very collaborative work. We all are moderators.

(Juan Pablo Martínez, *Emol*).

Yes, we use comment moderation. We do not accept insults or unjustified disqualifications. We cut that off. All other opinions are welcome: ‘I like it’, ‘I do not like it’, ‘TVN lies’, or the typical ‘You are puppets of the incumbent government’. We do not care, believe it if you want, as long as there are not gratuitous insults.

(Rodrigo Diez, *TVN*).

Nonetheless, on a few occasions, the irresponsibility of certain users has reached dangerous levels, to the point of creating legal problems. Camila Navarrete from *BioBioChile* explains:

We have had legal troubles regarding slander. I had to go testify when that happened. It was the old commenting system, that enabled users to post anonymously or with a fake email, and we could not be moderating comments all day, because there were thousands, I mean, literally. Well, a certain person read the comments and realised she was being accused of illegal appropriation of funds from the city council of Concepción. She went to the radio very offended: ‘How do you allow publishing this?’ We realised the comment in question, well, it was not badly written, there were no bad words, so obviously it was not detected by our filters and that generated the problem. I had to testify to the judge, explain our moderation system and how it failed. Finally, the police work allowed the victim to trace the IP address of the computer and identify the person who posted the libellous comment on our wall. We had to change our commenting system.

As a way of coping with the costs and legal risks of moderating user comments (Reich, 2011; Salvador-Benítez & Gutiérrez-David, 2010; Thurman, 2008; Hermida & Thurman, 2008), most news media organisations have externalised their comment systems via Facebook. While retaining certain capabilities, such as the possibility of blocking offensive users, Facebook makes each user accountable for the content they post. The use of Facebook also helps avoid anonymity, which is seen as contributing to the incivility of users’ comments (Santana, 2014b; Reader, 2012; C. E. Nielsen, 2014; Singer & Ashman, 2009). As such, it also frees news media organisations of moderating responsibilities in many cases, as comments are posted on a different platform:

We decided to cut off our former comments system and adopted Facebook as comment platform. As the system forces you to use your Facebook account, it is easier to identify abusive users. Of course, you can open a new Facebook account for trolling, but it makes the process a little bit more difficult.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

The adoption of Facebook as an audience comment platform has relieved news media organisations of some anxieties about dealing with user interaction (Hille & Bakker, 2013, 2014; Canter, 2013a). Still, the fact of deeming certain levels of inappropriate behaviour in user comments as acceptable, externalising its moderation, or simply not caring too much about it,⁴ suggests two problematic aspects that help explain this attitude in Chilean journalism.

The first aspect ties normalisation of trolling and other kind of misbehaviour to the authoritarian years of the Chilean press. Usually, newsrooms cannot address moderation problems without accusations of engaging in censorship, which contradicts journalists' image as "champions of the free speech" (Santana, 2014a: 11-12). However, this problem is especially challenging in a country with a recent authoritarian past where dissenting opinions were punished with far more than censorship (see Chapter Two). Disregard of comment moderation by Chilean newsrooms may be partly explained as a response to the constraints to freedom of speech during the Pinochet years. While journalists and the news media seem reluctant to open news production to audience participation (see next sub-section), a loose attitude in comment moderation help projects an image of democratic openness. However, as shown, this openness leads to abuse and problematic outcomes:

I think there is a bit of brutality in this regard, because there is no censorship. And because of that and a lack of education, then it leads to abuse. The virulence [of the attacks] against certain figures is what annoys me the most. Elections are the best example. There is abuse, a permanent insult. It is OK to criticise someone, but there are too many defamatory comments. Now I do not want to read comments anymore. But it is how it is. At least the people interested in that kind of communication have a channel.

Salvador Carmona (*La Hora*).

The second aspect is that the failure to address and moderate user comments highlights the demotic character of user interaction in Chilean news media. As Canter (2013a) outlines, Facebook's comment system affords news media organisations the capacity to add each particular comment and article 'share' to personal timelines, and to global statistics for comments on each news piece. Chilean editors explain how they take advantage of this feature:

We receive many comments through Facebook social apps. Many, it is much used. It is impressive. And that helped us to increase the traffic to the website, because being linked to Facebook, the comment is published in the reader's timeline and more people click to follow the debate. Then, in the end, it has been a huge success.

(Juan Pablo Martínez, *Emol*).

The utilisation of Facebook as comment platform for boosting metrics of news media outlets may become a controversial matter, as studies in other settings suggest that the most shared and commented news pieces in Facebook are often the ones with more hostile comments (Ksiazek *et al.*, 2014; Tenenboim & Cohen, 2015). A number of Chilean editors have identified this trend and, in some cases, they acknowledge that such comments are part of its appeal for their news media outlets:

We understand that [high] level of participation is part of our news delivery. I mean, it is not [just] one person that has told me "No, if I read your news [outlet], it is because I want to read the comments". Which, if you understand me, it is a hard thing to digest for a journalist – they tell you they are not interested in your news pieces, they are interested in what other people comment. The Internet is a different paradigm to newspapers, we must assume as it is.

(Salvador Campaña, *Emol*).

While issues of professional identity and control are involved in the change of paradigm identified by this editor, there are also potential risks of tabloidisation in such awareness. Given the increasing competition for online traffic, it might be tempting for news

organisations to turn to forms of journalism that generate more hostility in the comments section (Ksiazek *et al.*, 2014: 12; Turner, 2010), or disregard comment moderation in an effort to grow social media metrics, Web traffic, and, potentially, their advertising revenue (Loke, 2012).

Citizen journalism, UGC, and images

In the Chilean case, and in line with findings in other media systems (Allan & Thorsen, 2009; Singer, 2010; Newman, 2009; Canter, 2013b; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Murrell & Oakham, 2008), citizen journalism and UGC⁵ are not considered as threats to the work of journalists in established news media organisations. In fact, despite believing citizen journalism to be a buzzword, editors largely concur with selected media scholarship (Ganz, 2003; Bowman & Willis, 2003; Gillmor, 2004; Bruns, 2008, 2011b; Deuze, 2003, 2005; Hujanen, 2012; Carpenter, 2010) that rates amateur news outlets positively in terms of their contribution to pluralism and diversification of voices:

The fact of including social networks, citizen journalism, and everything that is related, is a great asset. I mean, from the moment that these technologies started unleashing, what they enable is freeing information, in the end.

(Christian Leal, *BioBioChile*).

Citizen journalism is like a buzzword, right? No, it is not a menace. It has to do with the democratisation we have been talking about. The more people access or have the possibility to communicate, the better. The more transparent public matters are, the better for democracy, for its accountability. It is certainly not a menace to journalism.

(César Valenzuela, *La Tercera*).

However, most editors (even those from news media outlets that have or had sections devoted to audience contributions) assign little journalistic value to the content that amateur journalists produce (Singer, 2010; Thurman, 2008; Domingo, 2008; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008). Consistent with findings from the US and

Europe (Canter, 2013b; Örnebring, 2013; S. Lewis *et al.*, 2010; Singer & Ashman, 2009; Blaagaard, 2013; Brake, 2014), and also from other Chilean studies (Puente *et al.*, 2011; Puente & Grassau, 2011), information published by amateur producers is deemed as biased or lacking in journalistic standards:

I have much experience in relation to citizen journalism. When I was working in *Terra*, we created a section called, ‘Yo, reportero’ [I, reporter] and I swear 90% of the stuff we received was crap or biased information: ‘I have this tasty information for you’, but the source was working for the city council or was a candidate that lost a local election. For me, citizen journalism is more work than results. The thing is what a story is for them is not newsworthy for a professional news media outlet. We receive a lot of rubbish: many pictures, many things without any identifiable source. *Chilevisión* spends much time airing this kind of things. The video of the guy hanging from the door of the bus, the girl fainted in the metro, but that is not valuable for us.

(Claudio Arce, *Publimetro online*).

Editors perceive citizen journalism as a hyped concept evoking great expectations, but with scarce results beyond the occasional photographic or video record (Karlsson, 2011; Harrison, 2010; Williams *et al.*, 2011) when the audience is invited to ‘play at being journalists’ (Palau-Sampio, 2012). In this regard, and in line with journalists and editors in the UK (Williams *et al.*, 2011; Harrison, 2010; Singer, 2010; Blaagaard, 2013), many Chilean editors normalise UGC as ‘just another source’ for professional journalists, subject to the same routines of production, including verification, and with no special value *a priori*. Citizen journalism is deemed as a separate activity to journalism (Canter, 2013b), which, for most of the interviewees, is properly a realm for professional journalists:

I do not believe much in citizen journalism. It will not save the industry. What citizen journalism has done is focus on particular situations that can be newsworthy, the value of which has to do with graphic evidence. Citizen journalism, for me, is not more than a letter to the editor with a piece of good information you have to verify, continue reporting, and then write as a story.

(Sebastián Campaña, *Emol*).

I think that there are false expectations about what people can do in this realm. I think they will continue occupying spaces, the Internet is big and there is space for everyone. It is just like a beautiful anarchy. New blogs, applications, online media, they will continue emerging, allowing people to write whatever they want. But the real thing, the investigative content, the premium content, so to say, will continue being developed by and under the charge of journalists.

(Sergio Jara, *El Mercurio Inversiones*).

A sign of the disregard for UGC and citizen journalism in Chilean newsrooms is the fact that audience blogging, unlike the European and US contexts (Singer, 2005; Hermida & Thurman, 2008), is uncommon. Except for limited exceptions (*BioBioChile* and its section *Tu Voz* [your voice]), regularly updated blogs in media organisations are mainly used as columns for specially invited ‘guest commentators’ or as aggregations of content from other blogs or websites:

We do not have blogs nor regular spaces for audience contributions, beyond polls or stuff like that. Although some people have approached to us to collaborate with content and we have given them a space. One guy offered a regular billboard of jazz concerts in Santiago, a girl offered something about theatre. Sometimes we give them a try and evaluate how it works, but it is mainly because those people want to publicise things they are doing.

(Salvador Carmona, *La Hora*).

Regularly, we are the ones requesting columns or blogs from selected people. There are people sending their articles on their own, but normally the most solicited ones do not offer their work, we have to seek them.

(César Valenzuela, *La Tercera*).

There is evidence here of a ‘top-down’ hierarchy that regards audience contributions near the bottom of the news production hierarchy (Deuze, 2003; Domingo, 2008), which is

consistent with the preservation of a gatekeeping role (Singer, 1997, 2010, 2013; S. Lewis *et al.*, 2010). Citizen journalism, UGC, and audience contributions are seen as a positive in terms of offering the audience channels of expression, and, in some cases, as awareness systems (Hermida, 2010) for detecting new stories or providing feedback to correct errors (Canter, 2013b). Some editors also acknowledge the value of user comments in attracting traffic to their news websites. However, most editors assign little journalistic value to such contributions, and refuse to accept a greater substantive role for audience contributions in the news. As addressed in the following section, the exceptions to this trend are mostly tied to specific news media organisations, where the use of audience feedback and interaction responds to the particular character and style of those outlets.

Feedback, interaction and organisational styles

The character of the news media organisation plays an important role in the assessment of UGC, and user feedback and interaction. Journalism scholar David Domingo (2008), in the Catalanian context, identified greater constraints in the adoption of participatory features in media outlets derived from the so-called legacy media compared to Web-based outlets. In the Chilean case, the same constraints are identifiable:

At least for *Emol*, which is an online news outlet coming from print, [it has been] difficult persuading the elders, who also come from print, that [social media] is important. That it is not nonsense, that it is not just trendy. It has been a real challenge. Because, for instance, the [*El Mercurio*] newspaper's owner, until a year or two years ago, had the philosophy of "why are we going to enter the social media thing, if in the end we would be creating business for them?"

(Juan Pablo Martínez, *Emol*).

Such differences are not exclusively related to the medium (print, TV, radio, online), but also can be attributed to the particular editorial styles of the news organisations. In the

Chilean case, the two most important radio news media organisations offer good examples of how editorial traditions influence relationships with the audience.

As previously indicated, *BioBioChile*, the news portal from *Radio Bío-Bío*,⁶ is the Chilean news media outlet that most actively uses feedback and interaction from its audience, to the point of constituting an exception in the Chilean media landscape:

We have a dialogic relationship with our audience through social networks, a bi-directional relationship. If you compare other national media, most of them use social media as source of information or as a delivery channel. Just delivery, but they do not listen, they do not reply to the public. We seek to listen to the public, interact with them. On the one hand, we publish our stories with different methods, but we also are replicating the information our users send to us, whether by retweeting them or by posting stories quoting them. The last part of the cycle, feedback, is also very important to us. Because every day we are correcting or even adding information to some story, based on what people comment about on Twitter, Facebook, or in the comment boxes. Then, [the audience] is an active part of the news.

(Christian Leal, *BioBioChile*).

The research interviews indicate that the character and style of the ‘parent’ media outlet – *Radio Bío-Bío* in this case – has much to do with the orientation assumed by the online outlet. *Radio Bío-Bío* was born as a local news media outlet and has traditionally followed a vision of ‘service to the audience’. For instance, this public service vision is translated into regularly airing public service segments, such as ‘documents lost and found’, calls for blood donors, announcements about missing people and even missing pets. The style of *Radio Bío-Bío* has helped to build a high level of closeness and mutual trust with its audience, especially in Concepción, the city where this radio network originated. *Radio Bío-Bío* played a very active role serving the community during the 2010 earthquake crisis, which struck the Biobío region and the city of Concepción. The radio station kept airing using its own energy generators and fuel donated by neighbours, serving as a de-

facto coordination centre that helped organised help for people in need. It transmitted public service calls and even acted as an emergency chemist, where the audience could donate drugs that were freely distributed on request to people in need of medical supervision (Zancada, 13 March, 2010). In March 2010, one month after the earthquake, a massive impromptu public gathering in Plaza Independencia [Independence square], just outside *Radio Bío-Bío*'s studios, thanked the station's personnel for its help during the crisis (Ruz, 21 March, 2010; BioBioChile, 20 March, 2010).

This kind of relationship with the audience, uncommon for a commercial radio network in a big urban centre, has enabled *Radio Bío-Bío* to regularly air audience phone calls reporting live accidents or other incidents as part of its news coverage:

Radio Bío-Bío was the first station in Chile that regularly included radio listeners airing a news story: 'A listener is calling to tell us about an accident. Tell us, what happened?' That was unthinkable for other radio stations. A friend who worked in *Cooperativa* told me that you could not do such a thing. How were you going to air a listener without previously talking with him or her, without checking what was going to say? Maybe the story was false. There was that limitation.

(Christian Leal, *BioBioChile*).

For *BioBioChile*'s editors, this style of engagement was easy to translate to online media, as user-generated content is assumed to be a standard feature of the *Bío-Bío* brand:

I believe a great component of our success with online user interaction is that we have the same style of *La Radio*. I mean, on the radio they air audience phone calls but they have never aired a bad word, or a prank by somebody trying to be funny. That has never happened in more than 50 years of *Radio Bío-Bío*. With us, online, it is pretty much the same. We have been successful because through social media it is easier to adopt that style and adapt it to the Internet.

(Camila Navarrete, *BioBioChile*).

*Radio Cooperativa*⁷ and its news portal *Cooperativa.cl* operate differently. The radio station pursues a more traditional style of programming where the audience is consigned to a passive role in news production, although in entertainment programmes it is possible to identify limited levels of interaction with the audience. The general editor of *Radio Cooperativa* explains their differences with *Radio Bío-Bío*:

I do not know if we are behind compared to other media. What I do know is that we, because of editorial guidelines, do not take radio listeners' phone calls to the air. Our editorial guidelines state that, for those purposes, that person calling is a just informative source and it is our journalists who should verify the information and go to the air reporting the news. I know *Radio Bío-Bío* is different. I do not know if they call it citizen journalism or whatever, but they open their lines, their microphones for people to talk. Sure, that is positive in terms of engagement with the community. But if you analyse this a little more, those people could be lying, they may be saying anything that could be not true. Journalists from the competition have had big slips because they have no way of verifying the information. That, in our radio, does not happen.

(Eduardo Hernández, *Cooperativa*).

These different styles do not necessarily mean markedly different levels of success among audiences. Both media organisations are the most influential news radio outlets in Chile, although online *BioBioChile* has an advantage in terms of social media metrics (see Chapter Two).

Guidelines for journalists' social media behaviour

As outlined in previous sections, the relationship of news outlets with the audience raises important issues for Chilean newsrooms when dealing with interactive technologies. The unresolved character of these concerns is reflected in the fact that few news media organisations have explicit internal policies to regulate how journalists and media organisations interact with their audiences (Lysak *et al.*, 2012). While many editors recommend their journalists have a Twitter account for their work, the interviews suggest

that responding to users' posts or tweets and re-tweeting posts are not regulated beyond informal conversations or briefings, confirming findings by López-Hermida and Claro (2011):

In *Canal 13* – or as a news department of *Canal 13* – we do not have stated guidelines for social media interaction. It is understood you cannot leak internal information, but there are no guidelines about, for example, the name of your Twitter accounts or the endorsement of *Canal 13* in your profile. It is more like a personal thing.

(Elisa Segura, *Canal 13*).

We do not have editorial guidelines for that, yet. It has been part of conversations in editorial meetings, but there is no stated policy regarding, for example, the use of Twitter accounts as an organisation. We do not have institutional Twitter accounts, only email addresses, thus all journalists that have a Twitter account are personal accounts. My Twitter is personal, then, I am responsible for what I tweet or express there. I understand a handbook or something is being prepared, but in the meantime, it is up to the discretion of journalists and the people who work here.

(Eduardo Hernández, *Cooperativa*).

There is a general agreement that it is necessary to have such formal guidelines (or, at least, that the interaction with users via these technologies needs special care), especially in terms of protecting the brand's image. In this regard, asserting personal opinions in social media is considered particularly challenging:

It is dangerous, because it is difficult to clarify you are not speaking in the name of your news organisation. Even so, you have to be very careful with what you say. I mean, I can say something about [then President] Piñera, but with respect. As a journalist, you should be careful.

(Alberto González, *BioBioChile*).

We have talked with a certain editor who published overly biased political comments on Twitter about a presidential candidate. She was like 'Let's go Bachelet' all the time. That was wrong. I mean, you are editor of the newspaper; it is not wise to show your political colours just like that. Therefore, we have restricted some kinds of journalists'

behaviour in that sense. We reminded her that in CNN a journalist was fired because of her social media comments, so it is necessary to be careful. When you put your name on Twitter, it gains much visibility on the Web. What we write, what we say, you do not realise who may be reading it. It may be very influential people following you, retweeting what you wrote, and it may become a snowball very difficult to stop. We are a commercial newspaper, thus it could generate us problems with the advertisers. So we asked her to moderate the comments.

(Mauricio Ávila, *Publimetro*).

The lack of formal social media behaviour guidelines for journalists in most news media outlets and, in some cases, for the official social media accounts of news media organisations, may be related to a ‘trial-and-error formula’ in developing new formats and procedures in online news media. This ‘start-up mentality’, as Camila Navarrete from *BioBioChile* puts it, is defended as necessary to provide flexibility for newsrooms when challenging the uncertainties of a hostile media environment. However, the lack of clear guidelines is indicative of the unpreparedness of Chilean newsrooms in this area, or, at the least, the adoption of social media by news media organisations lacks thorough planning. Findings from the online survey are also indicative of this unpreparedness, as most journalists use personal and generic accounts for their digital communications over the ‘official’ accounts provided by their news media organisations. This situation leads many interviewees to suggest that adequate training in the use of online technologies is a major challenge for Chilean journalism.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the second part of the findings of the qualitative stage of this study. It focused on the affordances, constraints, and unresolved tensions in the utilisation of digital interaction tools in the feedback and follow up stage of the news cycle. The main findings help to highlight the demotic turn (Turner, 2010) in Chilean journalism, marked

by a populist use of digital feedback and interaction with the audience. Web and social media metrics are increasingly informing editorial decisions about news selection, which connects to the increasing coverage of lifestyle, celebrity, and other soft news subjects by news media outlets. However, Chilean editors still defend news story placement as a realm where editorial judgement is dominant, suggesting the maintenance of a ‘top-down’ perspective on audience involvement in news. This perspective is consistent with the limited use of direct feedback and interaction from the audience in news production.

The role of audience is mostly limited to comments and sharing news stories, which increases Web traffic and advertising revenues for news organisations. Chilean editors rate feedback and interaction with audiences as a way to give voice to the audience, but without necessarily hearing and incorporating such voices in everyday news production. UGC and citizen journalism are seen as lacking journalistic value, except in specific circumstances such as providing audiovisual material for breaking news or major news events. Exceptions to the limited use of direct audience feedback and interaction are mostly related to a single news media outlet, *BioBioChile*. User misbehaviour in comments is also considered as a standard feature of digital interactive technologies, which leads editors to regard comment moderation as a necessary activity but without raising many concerns in the newsroom. The lack of guidelines for social media interactions with the audience suggests a lack of planning in the adoption of these technologies by Chilean news media organisations. This level of unpreparedness, in turn, is also indicative of a slow transition from print and broadcast to online journalism cultures in Chilean newsrooms. The new operating conditions created by digital interactive technologies (particularly social media) in newsrooms are not fully embraced, meaning that their use lacks careful planning and is often reactive.

Chapter Seven discusses how some of the problematic aspects of technological change in Chilean newsrooms, reviewed in this and previous chapters, combine with the social settings of Chile to support a demotic turn in Chilean journalism and news media.

Notes

¹ The Matute case is a police investigation about the disappearance and death of a university student in Concepción. Jorge Matute Johns disappeared in 1999 and his remains were not found until 2004. It is believed he was kidnapped and then killed after leaving a party in a discotheque in the outer suburbs of Concepción. The investigation has been controversial, as it has been closed and reopened several times and witnesses and police sources have linked the case with drug trafficking and politicians. However, police and prosecutors have not obtained major results (<http://www.emol.com/tag/61/caso-matute-johns.html>).

² *Bacheletistas* and *Piñeristas* are the names informally, and sometimes contemptuously, applied to the supporters of President Michelle Bachelet (*Nueva Mayoría*, centre-left wing) and former president Sebastián Piñera (*Alianza por Chile*, right wing), respectively.

³ “Señora Juanita” is a generic name for a (female) person in Chile.

⁴ An example of this lack of attention is that while no major verbal abuse or defamatory comments are allowed in most Chilean news media outlets, a simple Web navigation through their news stories finds a significant amount of bigotry, racism, classism, and sexual intolerance in the comments that have passed through their filters. The satirical and non-affiliated Twitter account @ComentarioEmol collects these kind of comments published by *Emol* users through its Facebook platform, and re-publishes them on Twitter as a way to condemn this behaviour.

⁵ As discussed in Chapter One, this thesis differentiates between citizen journalism and UGC, drawing from Harrison (2010). The first is defined as the news material published by the audience on amateur websites, and the latter as the material generated from members of the audience published by professional websites.

⁶ *Radio Bío-Bío* is the flagship of Bío-Bío Comunicaciones, a media company owned by the Mosciatti family and based in the South-Central city of Concepción. *Radio Bío-Bío* constitutes an extraordinary case in the Chilean media industry, as it is the only regional news media organisation that has succeeded in reaching the national news market. Today, *Radio Bío-Bío* constitutes a large radio broadcast network, with 11 different signals with local production, including news. These signals are broadcast to 43 cities and towns throughout all the Chilean territory. Bío-Bío Comunicaciones also owns television channel *Canal 9 Bío-Bío Televisión* (which broadcasts from Concepción to the main towns of the Biobío region and other south-central towns through cable television), *Radio Punto7* (entertainment radio, with 7 different signals for 10 cities and towns), *Radio El Carbón* (in the town of Lota), the online news portal *BioBioChile*, and recently added the soft-news website *Página7*. See Appendix A.

⁷ *Radio Cooperativa* is a national radio broadcasting network, founded in 1935 in the city of Valparaíso, in the centre region of Chile. It is one of the oldest and more important Chilean radio broadcasting companies, with a strong core of news and sports in their programming. *Cooperativa* broadcasts from Santiago de Chile through 34 signals, covering almost the entire territory. Their news bulletins are also broadcast to a network of 46 affiliated regional radio broadcasters (*Cooperativa*, 20 July, 2012). Linked to the Christian Democracy Party, *Cooperativa* played an important role in opposition to Pinochet’s dictatorship, informing about human rights violations when possible (Rivera, 2008). *Cooperativa*’s online outlet, *Cooperativa.cl*, follows a similar editorial style, although it has increased the coverage of sports and lifestyle news in recent years.

Chapter 7

Discussion: The demotic turn in Chilean journalism and news media

The findings presented in Chapters Four to Six serve to characterise Chilean journalism cultures at this point in their history. The empirical evidence gathered about the use of digital interaction technologies offer insights into how technological change is affecting journalists' practices, beliefs and attitudes, including the roles that Chilean journalists and the news media assign to themselves and the public. This chapter discusses these implications, arguing that a series of broad tensions in the Chilean media system, marked by neoliberal economic policies and the transitional character of its democracy, shape Chilean journalism cultures in problematic ways. It is argued that the combination of technological change and the social settings of Chilean media system constitute a breeding ground for a 'demotic turn' (Turner, 2010), and are also a prime example of a shift in the role of the news media in the "entertainment age" (Turner, 2010: 161-162). The negative outcomes of a demotic turn are discussed, suggesting that the particular political and social conditions in Chile make them especially challenging. Elements that offer cause of optimism because of resistance to this demotic turn are also outlined.

The demotic turn in Chile

As described in Chapter Two, Chile is characterised by a series of contradictions deeply rooted in its recent authoritarian past, the transitional character of its democracy, and the neoliberal policies started by the dictatorship and continued (and in some cases, deepened) by subsequent democratic governments. In this thesis, I argue that many of these contradictions have spread throughout the Chilean media system and its journalism

cultures. The idea of a demotic turn serves to highlight the way in which these contradictions shape Chilean media and journalism.

The demotic turn, as outlined in Chapter One, is a trend by which the news media has shifted towards an exponential presence of ordinary people in its content, creating an illusion of democratic inclusion, audience participation, and wider representation of the citizenry (Turner, 2010). This trend is a dangerous development for the social function of the news media in facilitating the functioning of a democratic society. The turn is considered part of what journalism scholar Martin Hirst (2011) call ‘the crisis of journalism’. This crisis, as Hirst summarises, is related to the pressures of commercialisation (Freedman, 2010; Fenton, 2010) and the decreasing confidence of the public in the commercial news media. Journalists and editors are perceived as “failing in their duty to promote and protect the public interest” and the audience no longer readily accepts the news media as providers of “reliable, accurate, fair, and balanced” information (Hirst, 2011: 15-16). A demotic turn is both a symptom of and a problematic response to the need to attract the attention of an increasingly disenfranchised audience, especially the young.

In practice, Turner argues, the entertainment age has seen a shift that has stripped the news media of “the responsibility of being providers of information to their citizenry” (Turner, 2010: 10). As the news media increasingly function as commercial entities, with their own interests – more economic than political or cultural – their accountability is more and more to their shareholders than the community or the nation. The problematic character of the demotic turn, summarising Turner’s (2010) argument, lies in two aspects that have helped to deepen rather than overcome the crisis of trust in the news media. The first is related to the rise of infotainment genres. To entertain has always been considered

part of the mission of the media. However, the coming of the ‘entertainment age’ (Turner, 2010) is marked by the overuse of this kind of content in an attempt to attract the audience, arguably distracting the citizenship from the news that is important for the common good (Schudson, 2011). The second aspect relates to issues of misrepresentation flowing from the rise of opinion and the selective inclusion of audience voices, as the media increasingly privileges commercial interests over a social mission. Opinionated genres of news often present a bias that it is not always appropriately disclosed. People’s voices included in the news are also often distorted, whether by argument simplification or by exaggeration of their overall representativeness. This situation is worsened by the incorporation of audience voices in the news under the populist illusion of participatory or even democratic ideals, disguising economic motivations to increase advertising revenues.

In the case of Chilean journalism, the demotic turn is evidenced by the increasing inclusion of stories about ordinary people, the mix of news and entertainment genres, and the rise of opinion as features to attract an audience. Studies of Chilean media (Pellegrini, 2010b; CNTV, 2011, 2012b) have already documented the increasing and problematic inclusion of everyday citizens in Chilean news stories, especially as victims or witnesses of crime and accidents in television news stories. This trend is confirmed in the interviews conducted for this thesis, as selected Chilean editors acknowledge an emerging inclusion of audience tweets and witness material to complement news stories.

Entertainment content is an important part of Chilean media strategies to increase advertising revenue. Interviewed editors, especially in the case of online news outlets, confirm the increasing inclusion of lifestyle, celebrity, and ‘strange but true’ stories in their news, defending it as necessary to attract public attention. In fact, as outlined in

Chapter Five, some editors confirm Turner's (2010) claims, acknowledging that television newscasts are shifting to a hybridised format containing entertainment content and "some news". Entertainment and popular culture are also the main drivers for including audience contributions in the news (Örnebring, 2008), as these interactions are mainly concentrated in lifestyle, strange stories, human interest, and other kinds of soft news. Moreover, the utilisation of indirect feedback from the audience – in the form of social media and Web traffic metrics – to inform editorial decisions reinforces a vicious cycle, where the most popular stories (usually entertainment focussed) lead to the repeated inclusion of similar stories in the news.

Finally, a rise of opinion is demonstrated by the increasing adoption of opinionated news formats in radio and television shows, with programmes such as *Vigilantes* and *Hora 20* in *Red Televisión*,¹ and figures such as Nivaldo Mosciatti in *Radio Bío-Bío* and *Mega*.² Political and current affairs blogs (as described in Chapter Two and Six) are not an extensive feature of Chilean journalism in terms of popularity or adoption by established news media organisations. But spaces for the expression of audience opinion are central to the Chilean news media's strategies for attracting the public to their sites. The commenting and sharing capabilities of Facebook, for example, boost Web traffic metrics. Audience opinions expressed through their own social media accounts also help widen the reach of news stories, although these opinions are not necessarily included in news production. The role of opinion to increase advertising revenue is also heightened by a loose approach to comment moderation, reliance on 'click-bait' headlines, and invitations to the audience to enter heated debates.

Chile as a breeding ground for a demotic turn

My argument is that the combination of technological change and the contradictory political and economic characteristics of Chile and its media system constitute a breeding ground for a demotic turn. Technological features, as outlined in previous chapters, have underpinned the increasing inclusion of entertainment and UGC in news. The increasing utilisation of witness material and spaces for audience opinion in the news – although not necessarily published – is supported by the growing penetration of mobile phone, Internet, and social media technologies in the country. In this sense, the increasing use of web traffic and social media metrics to inform editorial decisions in news selection and (to a lesser degree) news placement is indicative of how technological change is contributing to greater awareness of the audience, but also to problematic trends in the tabloidisation in the news.

However, technology alone is insufficient in explaining the demotic characteristics of Chilean journalism. It is crucial for any study of technological change in a particular setting, such as the Chilean journalism and news media, to consider broader social relations in the analysis, as technologies often reflect and reproduce the social conditions of their operational context (Hirst, 2011). In the Chilean case, the characteristics of its media system (which, as analysed in Chapter Two, is shaped by its social, economic and political history) are important contributors to the formation of a demotic turn in Chilean journalism. The Chilean media system – classified as ‘mixed’ in Chapter Two and as ‘liberal captured’ by recent scholarship on Latin American media systems (Guerrero & Márquez-Ramírez, 2014) – is characterised by strong deregulatory and commercialising trends, resulting from neoliberal economic policies enforced by Pinochet’s dictatorship and deepened by subsequent democratic governments. These trends are reflected in the decreasing presence of the public media sector, as the commercialisation of *TVN* and the

privatisation of the *La Nación* newspaper indicate. Chile also has one of the highest levels of media ownership concentration in Latin America (Mastrini & Becerra, 2011; González, 2008). In the context of increased commercialisation and media concentration, the demotic elements identified by this thesis achieve rising importance in the strategies of news media organisations as they compete for audiences and advertising revenues.

Economic parallelism and the new roles of the media

The characteristics of Chilean media system discussed so far provide a key example of the news media in the “entertainment age” (Turner, 2010: 161-162). This is a new media environment characterised by a massive expansion of available content driven by commercial imperatives that have sometimes marginal concerns for “any broader, community or national, interests” (Turner, 2010: 162). This shift also has ideological implications, as it is linked to high levels of parallelism between the media industry and Chilean political and economic elites (Palacios, 2002).

This parallelism, as argued in Chapter Two, follows more of an economic than political logic. Party-media relations are diffused and difficult to trace in the Chilean media system, as they are intertwined with a series of economic alliances among the elite that originated in the late years of Pinochet’s dictatorship (Mönckeberg, 2009), including actors across the political spectrum. In this regard, while the Chilean media system shows a low political parallelism in the classic sense of party-media relations formulated by Hallin and Mancini (2004), a high economic parallelism between the media and the elites can be outlined by following a more ‘processual’ approach (Roudakova, 2012). In this respect, as Roudakova (2012) and other scholars argue about post-authoritarian regimes (de Albuquerque, 2012; Guerrero & Márquez-Ramírez, 2014), the media should be considered as actors playing an active role in the political and state-making process rather

than as political partisans (Roudakova, 2012: 271). In the Chilean context, the active role of the news media evolved from an attitude of (whether forced or consensual) collaborationism across wide sectors of the Chilean media under Pinochet's dictatorship (Lagos, 2009), to a supporting role in helping to reconstitute a political culture and make the democratic transition smooth through moderated criticism in the early 1990s (Tironi & Sunkel, 2003). During the last two decades, as early fears of a resurgent authoritarianism dissipated, the supporting role of an oligopolistic media to the Chilean political elites has been expressed by allegiance to a common economic ideology – neoliberalism.

The economic focus of these links has resulted in a media system that follows the US liberal media tradition of internal pluralism. The major political parties covered by news media outlets experience few major issues with misrepresentation,³ with reporting ranging between impartial, informative, and entertaining (Mellado, 2012). However, news events and actors that challenge the dominant economic ideology find it difficult to achieve a voice in the mainstream news media, at least in forms that do not misrepresent their claims and positions (Alfaro *et al.*, 2012). This situation helps to highlight the economic parallelism between the media industry and the Chilean political elites, identifiable in the fact that rather than defending the interests of particular parties, Chilean media organisations often act in defence of a neoliberal economic model that serves the (economic) interests of media organisations, their owners, and associates (Mönckeberg, 2009).

The increasing commercial shift discussed in this study is particularly problematic for a transitional society such as Chile. Economic parallelism has already been source of concern about a lack of pluralism and the misrepresentation of marginal voices in the

Chilean press (Alfaro *et al.*, 2012; L. Romero, 2011; Palacios, 2002; P. Romero, 2012; Mönckeberg, 2009). Economic pressures act as obstacles for a ‘watchdog journalism’ vigilant about the activities of the economic elites (Otano & Sunkel, 2003), with the Chilean media system appearing to be ‘captured’ by powerful economic groups and families through ownership and control (Guerrero & Márquez-Ramírez, 2014). As described in Chapter Two, scholarship about Chilean journalism cultures also confirms these issues, finding that Chilean journalists’ conceptions of the ‘watchdog role’ does not necessarily correlate with surveillance of economic elites (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011). The gap between the ‘watchdog’ role and its enactment by journalists is mainly attributed to commercial pressures in the newsroom (Mellado & Van Dalen, 2014) that then lead to a greater focus on entertainment. Given the characteristics of Chilean media system described so far, the appearance of a demotic turn stands as a problematic issue for Chilean journalism and its social mission.

The dangers of a demotic turn

The demotic turn is a risky trend for mature democracies and media markets as it affects the quality of the public and political debate, as shown by the examples of the US, the UK and Australia (Turner, 2010). However, I suggest that the transitional characteristics of Chile and its media system make a demotic turn even more problematic, especially when considering the role of journalism as a fourth estate.

Chile faces an increasing tension between its healthy macroeconomic figures and the unsatisfactory response of the political class to serious challenges in social development, including problems of inequality (UNDP, 2013), public health and education (OECD, 2011), and social security (BTI Project, 2012a). While Chile has been an example of political stability in the region and has made serious efforts to overcome these issues in

the last two decades (BTI Project, 2012a), the tensions in social development have translated into increasing citizen polarisation and distrust in social institutions and political and economic elites (CEP, 2015). This crisis of credibility is accentuated by problems of political representation and recent cases of corruption involving influence peddling between the private sector and figures across almost the entire political spectrum (S. Romero, 9 April, 2015).

In this environment, a demotic turn is challenging, first, because an over-emphasis on entertainment content in the news media distracts the public from more ‘boring’ news, such as significant legislative or judicial developments that affect policy-making and governance. The case of the last *Copa América* (the South American football cup of nations) organised in Chile in 2015 offers an example of this situation. During the tournament, amidst the excitement of the Chilean national team winning the final, important political reforms proposed by the government after the recent corruption crisis were modified by the parliament against the spirit of the bill, allowing private funding of political parties that was illegal and produced the crisis in the first place. The discussion of this bill received little attention in the news media and was not covered for several days, leading a prominent Chilean lawyer to accuse members of the parliament of acting in sneaky ways and “trying to score a goal against the citizenship” by taking advantage of the football fever (The Clinic Online, 1 July, 2015). During the same period, a prolonged national strike of teachers against education reforms also remained largely unreported by television newscasts (Waldman, 19 June, 2015). Without adequate coverage, this kind of news may go unnoticed by significant parts of the audience affected by the stories.

In this context a demotic turn is also dangerous in the case of high profile political news, such as scandals. Problematic (and sometimes irresponsible) practices described by interviewees in Chapter Five, such as the display of highly polarised opinions taken from social media in news items and accepting unmoderated comments, erode civility in debate of societal issues and are unrepresentative of widely held opinions (Martin & Dwyer, 2012; Ksiazek *et al.*, 2014; C. E. Nielsen, 2014; Reader, 2012; Santana, 2014b). Indeed, the illusion of audience participation through social media or user comment spaces does not only disguise commercial motivations. It also contributes to a climate of growing polarisation and citizen mistrust in Chilean public institutions, and travels alongside decreasing levels of citizen participation in local and national elections (UNDP, 2015). A number of editors from more ‘serious’ news outlets expressed their concerns about these issues during the interviews, asking whether Chilean journalism had contributed to this disenfranchisement. Considering the reach of television as the most preferred way of accessing the news by the Chilean public (UDP & IABChile, 2012), a recent trend of producing opinionated news formats in Chilean television newscasts is worrying, particularly when combined with an indiscriminate use of rumour disguised as ‘off the record’ information. Recent cases of these practices have received criticism from sections of the Chilean journalism sector and the public (Copano, 15 April, 2015).

Is there any hope?

There is cause for optimism despite the unsettling issues discussed so far. Sections of Chilean journalism are aware and critical of how many news media organisations use digital interaction technologies.

As outlined in Chapter Five, a number of editors hastily dismiss discourses of ‘digital participation’ by contextualising them within a country where the digital divide is still

prevalent. Some editors mention centralism and pluralism as important challenges in the Chilean media system, including candid critiques of market concentration made by editors working for media outlets that are part of the Chilean newspaper duopoly. In this regard, the possibilities of online media acting to counteract such concentration are quickly put in perspective by the same editors. As some of them suggest, online media spaces “have already been colonised” by established media organisations and the share of the market held by alternative media is marginal.

Other claims made by the ‘digital enthusiasts’ are also debunked by sectors of Chilean journalism and news. Selected interviewees are unswayed by over-hyped digital narratives as these tools, in their opinion, have not resulted in major journalism stories or breakthroughs beyond incident news. In fact, although produced as a website and publicised using social media, the most important Chilean investigative journalism outlet, *CIPER Chile*, relies mostly on traditional reporting practices to offer high-quality, independent, watchdog-style journalism. Citizen journalism, UGC, and audience interaction are almost non-existent in this setting. Some editors are also critical of an ‘over-use’ of digital technologies in certain news reporting practices. They assert the need for a Chilean journalism that has a more critical attitude and is less reliant on “pre-digested” representations of reality, such as online reports or press releases. A similar assessment of these issues has been raised by other studies of Chilean journalism (Valenzuela & Arriagada, 2009; Gronemeyer, 2004). In this regard, along with the need for training in technical skills to better face the increasing digitation of work routines, several editors mentioned the need for training in the ethical implications of using these technologies. Part of this criticism can be attributed to a generation gap and the tensions between old and new practices. Some editors’ ideas about ‘the proper way of reporting’, or patronising opinions about UGC and citizen journalism fit this kind of critique.

However, the analysis of the survey data does not show significant differences in the (extensive) use and (positive) evaluation of digital tools between journalists and editors, neither in terms of age or professional experience.

Another element of resistance to the demotic turn can be identified. A number of editors from the most influential Chilean news media organisations highlight the importance of maintaining a ‘social mission’ for journalism that is safe from commercial pressures. While acknowledging pressures from the market and commercial departments, such as the need to include ‘crap content’ to increase their web traffic, several interviewees stressed the need for journalism to also be measured by its social role, rather than measures such as audience metrics. As *BioBioChile*’s editor Christian Leal suggests, the orientating function of journalism, identified as important in Chilean journalism cultures (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011), is essential in keeping a balance between entertainment and ‘serious’ content in the media. A journalism that balances its social mission, the audience’s interests, and the commercial needs of the news media organisation is worth striving for:

You have to provide what the people want, but in the right amount. And if the public demands entertainment, they have the right to have it and comment on it. The thing is that you must have certain editorial guidelines that constrain you in not spinning anywhere. For instance, in *BioBioChile* we publish stories about TV shows, but you will not find *hard-core* celebrity news. On the other hand, we will never stop reporting news that we consider relevant to society to allow [more] space for entertainment. I know lifestyle and entertainment will boost our traffic, but we would not fulfil our social mission if we do not inform about politics or the laws they are passing in the Congress. We have to make those news stories attractive, make people read them, but we cannot force people to read only those news items. So, we need a balance, which also helps your outlet to thrive.

(Christian Leal, *BioBioChile*).

The cases of *BioBioChile* (see Chapter Six) and other Chilean news organisations suggest that it is possible to use elements of social media sparingly and to foster the link between journalism and the community. *BioBioChile*'s utilisation of digital interaction technologies, such as user comments, for feedback and interaction with the public is a positive example of a collaborative approach. Other Chilean journalistic enterprises are experimenting with collaborative features in the form of 'pro-am' journalism. *Poderopedia*, a platform of data journalism funded by the Knight Foundation and Start-Up Chile, is an excellent example of this, as it maps the links between Chilean political and economic actors and organisations with information provided by members of the audience, verified and complemented by the work of professional journalists through a wiki philosophy. The use of more entertaining news formats certainly has the potential to increase audience engagement with current affairs, particularly for hard to reach younger demographics. As Alberto González (also from *BioBioChile*) explains, significant investigative reports such as those by *CIPER Chile* find it difficult to attract visitors in that demographic because of a lengthy and formal style. However, other outlets' summaries of such reports, with the proper attribution, can help spread this form of watchdog journalism to larger and younger audiences.

There are also positive examples of professional media outlets accessing non-commercial funding to fulfil a watchdog role. The already mentioned case of *CIPER Chile* is an example of the latter, as it works as an independent non-profit foundation that receives funding from donations from the public, other media companies (such as the COPESA group), and grants from national and international organisations, such as the Universidad Diego Portales (Chile), the Ford Foundation (US), and the Open Society Foundation (England). The work of *CIPER Chile* has received several national and international awards and has been key in uncovering recent cases of corruption in Chilean politics.

These elements of resistance against the populism of the demotic turn create a worthwhile path for Chilean journalism, as reinforced by the conclusion to this thesis.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the tensions in the Chilean news media that support the growth of a ‘demotic turn’ (Turner, 2010) in Chilean journalism and news media. These broad tensions are connected to technological change, journalists’ roles and conceptions, economic parallelism between the news media and the political elites, and competition in a highly concentrated media market. The negative outcomes of the demotic turn are especially challenging in the Chilean context, as they contribute to a diminished role of journalism as a fourth estate or as a ‘watchdog’, although there is cause of optimism about a resistance to this demotic trend in some recent initiatives such as *Poderopedia*.

The next chapter presents the conclusions of this thesis, summarising the main findings of this research. The maintenance of a gatekeeping role endorsed by Chilean journalism cultures, the normalisation of digital interaction technologies as functional tools for journalists’ news gathering and publicising routines, and the limited role assigned to the public by Chilean journalists emerge as key elements to understand Chilean journalism cultures in the digital age.

Notes

¹ *Red Televisión* is a small television channel owned by the Mexican holding Albavisión (see appendix A). Traditionally surviving with marginal rating figures, this station has raised its popularity by adopting more provocative styles in their programming, mixing entertainment and humour with opinionated news and debate.

² Nibaldo Mosciatti is a Chilean journalist and member of the family that owns Bío-Bío Comunicaciones, and thus, *Radio Bío-Bío* and the news portal *BioBioChile*. His direct and provocative style in questioning the behaviour of Chilean political and economic elites has made him a popular (albeit controversial) figure in Chilean journalism. He also is featured conducting interviews in the television newscast of *Mega*.

³ Although it is possible to identify certain biases in editorial pages and in op-eds, in general terms Chilean news media organisations follow a pluralistic stance in their political coverage.

Conclusion

Chilean journalism has evolved from the days when Jorge Modinger produced *La cámara viajera* to show Chilean audiences the marvels of distant countries. With the adoption of digital technologies in news gathering and the development of new platforms for news distribution the practices and beliefs of professional journalists have changed, making space for a different and more empowered audience. Nonetheless, as can be observed elsewhere in the world, the evolution of journalism cultures reflects a struggle between change and continuity.

As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, the intersection of online technologies and journalism has been studied extensively in the Western world. However, little scholarship has focused on Latin American countries. This deficit is especially evident in the Chilean case, and while its journalism cultures have been analysed by recent scholarship (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011; Mellado, 2012), there is little or no focus on digital technologies. Aiming to contribute to a better understanding of Chilean journalism in the digital age, this thesis asked, “What are journalists’ practices and beliefs about audience feedback, UGC and interaction through digital technologies in Chilean newsrooms?” This research question generated three subsidiary objectives: (a) ‘to analyse how and why Chilean journalists integrate these technologies into their work routines’; (b) ‘to examine the purposes, strategies, and mechanisms of audience and user interaction in Chilean news media’, and; (c) ‘to outline the roles assigned by Chilean journalists to their audiences through digital participation mechanisms’.

The first section of this Conclusion chapter presents this thesis’ contribution to the subject area of this study, summarising the main findings of the research. This section outlines

evidence-based understandings about the use of digital interaction technologies in Chilean newsrooms across the different stages of the news cycle, emphasising the maintenance of the gatekeeping role of journalists and the limited role assigned to the audience. It also briefly describes a struggle between change and continuity in Chilean journalism cultures, suggesting a dominance of print/broadcast cultures in Chilean newsrooms. The second section of the chapter discusses the main implications of the theoretical framework of this thesis. It argues that the concept of the ‘demotic turn’ (Turner, 2010) offers a compelling response to issues in the contemporary public sphere and a shift in the roles of journalism and the news media, although the political dimensions of the Chilean case need further conceptual and empirical work. This section also defends the need for research on national news media systems, suggesting that an analysis of ‘audience interaction’ or ‘participatory’ dimension is required in the study of these media systems and journalism cultures. The third and final section outlines future research directions to capture the state of flux of journalism cultures (both globally and locally). A series of recommendations for improving Chilean journalism and news media are also presented.

Contribution to the subject area

This thesis contributes to journalism studies by offering extensive evidence-based knowledge about technological change, and the practices and beliefs of journalists and editors in a transitional country. This knowledge helps to ‘de-westernise’ (Park & Curran, 2005) understandings of journalism performed in regions outside the US and Europe, particularly in terms of the challenges raised by technological change in the newsroom and how journalists are dealing with them.

Digital interaction tools in Chilean newsrooms

The data analysis confirms, first, that Chilean journalists and editors possess a generally positive vision of digital interaction technologies in the daily practices of the newsroom. Opinions from journalists and editors consistently rate digital interaction technologies – such as email, chat and instant messaging applications, social networks (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Google+, and LinkedIn), comment forms, and blogs – as useful tools for journalistic labour. Although the particular evaluation of these technologies varies according to the purposes of their use, overall they are seen as facilitating easy access to high volumes of newsworthy information.

This positive evaluation is unsurprising considering the penetration rates of Internet-based technologies in Chile, which are among the highest in Latin America (Pew Research Center, 19 March 2015), and the extensive adoption of these technologies by Chilean news outlets. As Cabrera and Bernal (2012) argue, a country's socioeconomic structure “acts as a boost or obstacle to the development of the online news media in Latin America” (2012: 29). Being one of the most developed and stable economies in Latin America enables Chilean media companies to adopt a more ‘innovative’ pathway in the adoption of technological features when compared to some of their Latin American neighbours. There is a clear relationship between digital technologies, innovation and journalism cultures in Chile, especially as the average age of journalists in newsrooms is becoming younger (Menanteau-Horta, 1967; Wilke, 1998; Mellado, 2012). Journalists under 40 years old, who are university graduates born and trained in the digital age, constitute a majority of workers in Chilean newsrooms. Thus, it is logical to think of them as keen users of digital media technologies, especially when these tools are branded as fashionable by the media and advertising industries (Ahmad, 2010).

Importantly, this positive evaluation of digital interaction technologies does not translate evenly throughout the three stages of the news cycle. Data from the online survey, confirmed by the interviewees, suggests that digital tools are mostly utilised in news production (as awareness systems for breaking news events, obtaining eyewitness material, and contacting and quoting sources in social media) and news distribution (to publicise news items and programmes). As Chapter Six shows, there is limited use of these technologies in the feedback/follow up stage of news production, which is mostly restricted to obtaining indirect feedback from the audience in the form of social media and Web metrics. UGC is also seen as lacking ‘journalistic value’, except for specific cases tied to breaking incident news. Most journalists do not engage in direct interaction or debate with audiences, as they consider these practices as risky. Engagement of this sort also challenges the valued normative assumptions of objectiveness and detachment that exist in Chilean journalism cultures (Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2011; Mellado, 2012).

The gatekeeping role and the limited role of the audience

The practices and beliefs of Chilean journalists are consistent with the findings of scholarship in the US, Europe, and Latin America (Domingo, 2008; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Singer, 1997, 2010, 2013; S. Lewis *et al.*, 2010; Bachmann & Harlow, 2012). These findings show the maintenance of journalists’ gatekeeping role in the creation of stories. While Chilean journalists are integrating these tools into their practices, in most cases they are still replicating and/or adapting traditional models of news production from print and broadcast journalism cultures. Chilean journalists normalise digitally enhanced interactions with the audience, particularly from social media (Lasorsa *et al.*, 2012; Hermida, 2010; Canter, 2014), which is treated as ‘just another source’.

The maintenance of a gatekeeping role is evidenced by the occasionally contradictory assessment of audience influence in editorial decision-making. On the one hand, this study identified a growing awareness of audience tastes and interests informing editors and journalists' visions of their audience (Gans, 1979; Hartley, 1987; Mikosza, 2003). Social media and Web traffic metrics are also playing an important role in setting the news agenda, as editors are increasingly relying on analytics to decide what topics or stories are covered (Vu, 2014; Singer, 2013; Tandoc, 2014a, MacGregor, 2007). For newsrooms, the popularity of certain topics or stories in their social media accounts and websites translates into the possibility of attracting an audience to their news outlets with similar stories. Thus, analytics have become an important element in the news selection process. On the other hand, journalists still claim they decide what stories are reported and, importantly, in what order (Lee *et al.*, 2014). In particular, Chilean editors defend their role in the editorial judgement of 'what is important' in the hierarchy of news placement. As argued in Chapter Six, this contradiction suggests the formation of a 'secondary gatekeeping process' (Singer, 2013). Chilean editors still manage to play a major role in editorial decisions despite the influence of audiences and website traffic in deciding the news that is covered.

The maintenance of an evolved gatekeeping role and the limited interaction of journalists with their public – in times where Web 2.0 and interactive technologies are apparently leading to 'an age of participatory news' (Deuze, Bruns, & Neuberger, 2007) – suggests that Chilean journalism cultures still assign a limited role to their audience. This role is certainly more active than that of traditional mass media, as the public uses the media in new ways beyond reading, listening and/or watching. These activities include commenting, sharing, and even creating new content from published media content (Singer, 2013; Costera Meijer & Groot Kormelink, 2015; Jenkins, 2006). The public may

potentially contribute to the news, by alerting journalists to breaking news events or providing first-hand witness material (Hermida, 2010; Harrison, 2010). They are also allowed and, in fact, encouraged to share news items and publish their comments on news websites and social media. Nonetheless, in most cases these practices fall short of the ‘active’ role of the audience much admired by the “digital enthusiasts” (Turner, 2010: 83). These features are, to coin a Chilean saying, often ‘sólo un saludo a la bandera’ – a symbolic concession. These interactions are still enacted from a ‘top-down’ perspective and are not often taken into serious consideration in the course of daily news production. On the occasions they are used, comments and user interactions are considered as ‘tools’ for the job, with their own affordances and constraints, rather than part of a ‘dialogic’ exchange with the public.

User interaction is mostly assigned the populist role of serving as an ‘expression channel’ for members of the audience in a phatic sense, with journalists not necessarily listening to those voices (Graham, 2013; Hille & Bakker, 2014) or translating them in news production. The voice of the audience may be crying out, but it seems it is in the (Atacama) desert. Despite a growing awareness of audience tastes based on analytics (or perhaps because of it), most editors resist the integration of audience contributions to stories, considering them as ‘lacking journalistic value’. Audience interactions receive a similar assessment, as journalists and editors consider large sections of their audience as ‘aggressive’, ‘disrespectful’, ‘rude’, ‘irresponsible’, and ‘trolls’ (Canter, 2012; Reich, 2011).

The evidence presented in this study indicates that, rather than enacting online participatory ideals, the interactive features of the Chilean news media are primarily responses to commercial needs. Similar to the European context (Vujnovic *et al.*, 2010;

Jöhnsson & Örnebring, 2011), the main reasons for the adoption of social media by news organisations are to increase web traffic and advertising revenue. As discussed in Chapter Seven, the masking of a limited role of the audience behind a series of so-called ‘participatory’ features is an indication of a ‘demotic turn’ (Turner, 2010). Economic motivations, which in the Chilean case are also tied to ideological undertones, play a crucial role in the consolidation of this trend.

Chilean journalism cultures in the digital age

Newsroom cultures vary throughout different mediums and outlets, offering distinct approaches to news production, distribution, and interaction with the audience. However, it is possible to identify patterns in the evaluation and use of digital interaction technologies that speak to the pervasiveness of historically dominant production practices in print and broadcast news media.

Journalism cultures usually reflect a struggle between change and continuity (Schudson, 2011; Meikle & Redden, 2011; Deuze, 2005; Singer *et al.*, 2011). The Chilean case is not exceptional in this regard. Unresolved tensions (incorporating a generational gap) found between news workers from online and print/broadcast editions of news media organisations are representative of this struggle (Boczkowski, 2004, 2010). For instance, practices of online journalism, including online reporting (Pavlik, 2000) and direct interaction between journalists and the audience, are still regarded as problematic in Chilean newsrooms. In this struggle, several practices and attitudes are indicative of the dominance of a conservative approach to online journalism, maintaining print and broadcast journalism cultures in Chilean newsrooms. These include the normalisation of digital interaction technologies into traditional practices of news gathering and distribution, a maintenance of the gatekeeping role of journalists, a limited role assigned

to the audience, and a lack of formal guidelines to regulate digital interactions between journalists and online users. These findings are also reported by journalists and editors who work in online news media outlets, including organisations that operate exclusively online.

Nonetheless, there are inconsistent signs of change within Chilean newsrooms. The case of *BioBioChile* shows that different practices are emerging in selected news media organisations as they adopt more interactive relationships with their audience. Similarly, experiences of ‘pro-am’ news production such as *Poderopedia* (briefly outlined in Chapter Seven), the reliance on selected Twitter users (such as *RNE*) for news sourcing, and increasing reliance on online reporting by selected news organisations suggest that not all Chilean newsrooms are resisting to the online news environment and the consumption habits of online audiences.

These practices do not necessarily equate with enhancement of journalism quality. In fact, the demotic turn discussed in Chapter Seven highlights problematic developments in the opposite direction. However, insofar Chilean journalism cultures can settle tensions between the ‘new’ and the ‘old’, the Chilean journalism and news media will be better prepared to take advantage of technological change in ways that are compatible with its social role in the public sphere. The final section of this chapter suggests a series of recommendations to move in this direction.

Implications for concepts and theory

The findings of this thesis raise a number of implications for the concepts and theories used to complete this study. Three implications stand out, related to the study of the demotic turn, national news media systems, and journalism cultures.

The demotic turn

The findings of this thesis highlight that the concept of the ‘demotic turn’ (Turner, 2010) offers a compelling tool to analyse increasing tabloidisation, commercialisation, and audience participation in the news media. Drawing from evidence in Australia, the US, and the UK, Turner suggests a shift in the role of journalism and the news media that forces a redefinition of journalism in the current media ecology: “the merging of news, entertainment and opinion within a format that also invites, enables and responds to audience participation” (Turner, 2010: 95).

The definition of the demotic turn (see Chapter One) is applied in this study to contextualise several problematic journalistic practices and beliefs identified throughout this research. However, the discussion of this trend in the Chilean context acquires a political dimension that was not considered in Turner’s argument. This thesis suggests that a parallelism exists between Chilean news media and the political elites that is more economic than political in character. This parallelism highlights a series of issues that affect the capacity of journalism to perform its social role as watchdog and/or as a fourth estate. This parallelism entails the defence of a common ideology – neoliberalism – and a highly deregulated economy. In this context, the demotic turn is a worrying development that affects the potential and enactment of the ‘rational-critical debate’ among citizens. The demotic turn captures the distraction of audience attention away from the functioning of social and political institutions. It also serves to polarise opinions among the audience by an exaggerated presence of entertainment, opinionated genres, and so-called ‘participatory’ features in the news media, all the while perpetuating the illusion of democratic inclusion and participation of audiences. This political dimension may be observable in other settings, especially in countries that share Chile’s post-authoritarian or transitional characteristics (such as in Latin America). However, this is a

claim that requires further investigation and research to further extend understanding of the demotic turn in news and journalism.

National news media systems and journalism cultures

When applying the framework of Hallin and Mancini (2004) to outline the Chilean media system for purposes of context (see Chapter Two), it became evident that this framework was insufficient to grasp the characteristics of this particular setting. Authors such as Roudakova (2012), de Albuquerque (2012), and others (see Hallin & Mancini, 2012) have highlighted the need for new models that account for post-authoritarian and transitional media systems. In this regard, this thesis highlights the need to continue studying national media systems. As argued by Flew and Waisbord (2015), the value of national media systems as analytical units “retains relevance in an era of media globalisation and technological convergence” (2015: 620). Despite a blurring of national borders and the role of the state, “domestic actors continue to largely shape the dynamics of media politics” (Flew & Waisbord, 2015: 632).

In the case of Latin America, Guerrero and Márquez-Ramírez (2014) continue the tradition of comparative studies of media systems, proposing the label of ‘liberal-captured’ to characterise media systems in the region. While comparative study of media systems is beyond the aims of this thesis, Chapter Two offers a characterisation of the Chilean media system that may serve as a bridge between the conceptualisations of Hallin and Mancini (2004), Roudakova (2012), de Albuquerque (2012), and recent studies of Latin American media systems.

The technological focus of this thesis, raises questions about how different news media systems compare in terms of interaction with the audience, or how these differences shape

media systems. The political consequences of the blurring between public and commercial, established and alternative, professional and amateur, and print/broadcast and online news media requires further examination at the level of national news media systems. To these can be added a blurring between the media producer and the consumer, as enunciated by Schudson (2011). In the case of journalism cultures, Hanitzsch (2007: 380) has outlined the need for an analytical dimension “that taps into the conceptualisation of the audience as either active or passive” in order to grasp the phenomena of ‘participatory’ and ‘citizen’ journalism in comparative research. Further conceptual and empirical work is needed in this area.

Future directions of research and recommendations

From a global perspective, the first suggestion for future research is the need for further study of national journalism cultures and technological change to increase the understanding of journalism across the world. Comparative research such as the undertaken by Hanitzsch *et al.*, (2011) and others authors (see Örnebring, 2012) contributes to the global understanding of journalism cultures. However, as argued in the previous section, it is necessary to incorporate analysis that taps into audience interaction as a way of grasping the phenomenon of ‘participatory journalism’ (Singer *et al.*, 2011). Comparative research of this kind can provide an understanding of the ‘state of flux’ (Preston, 2009) of journalism cultures around the world. The Latin American region is particularly interesting in this regard, as the socio-political settings of its countries (Guerrero & Márquez-Ramírez, 2014; Waisbord, 2013a, 2000) offer valuable case studies of the intersection between journalism, technological change, and politics in developing nations that differ to countries in the widely studied Western world.

Also from a global perspective, the demotic turn needs further research as a conceptual and empirical construct. This thesis argues that the concept of the ‘demotic turn’ (Turner, 2010) offers a compelling response to prevailing issues in the public sphere and shifting roles for journalism and the news media. However, the extension of phenomena such as globalisation, technological change, commercialisation, and tabloidisation requires the demotic turn to be more extensively investigated across different settings. Further research is necessary to address the variations across countries, but also consider to the political dimensions of the demotic turn in different regions.

From a Chilean perspective, further research is needed into the practices and beliefs of journalists. For example, a limitation of this study is a gender bias in the interviews, and elite bias in the online survey and interviews. These issues can be overcome by further research that incorporates a wider sample. While one of the contributions of this thesis is the use of mixed methods, other approaches are necessary to gain a deeper understanding of Chilean journalism cultures. For instance, newsroom ethnographies (Boczkowski, 2010) will provide useful insights that complement the findings of this thesis, allowing comparison between the beliefs and self-reported practices of journalists and their enactment in the newsroom. By examining the important decision-making processes of journalists and editors *in situ*, newsroom ethnographies are also useful in studying the demotic turn in journalism and news media in Chile and beyond.

Another suggested research direction is to complement the understanding of Chilean journalism cultures by investigating audiences. In recent years, a number of studies in Chile have contributed to an increasing awareness of the attitudes and behaviours of audiences (Arriagada, 2013; Halpern, 2014). However, it is necessary to build on these studies by addressing audience beliefs and practices about the so-called participatory

features of Chilean journalism and news media. This kind of research will provide a valuable counterpoint to the beliefs of Chilean news workers, offering a rounded understanding of the Chilean news cycle.

Steps to improved Chilean journalism and news

A primary objective of this thesis is to fill a gap in scholarship about Chilean journalism cultures and the use of digital interaction technologies in newsrooms. The following discussion suggests possible scenarios that might improve Chilean journalism in ways that take advantage of technological innovations. At the risk of adopting normative positions, this section suggests three initiatives to help maintain the integrity of the social role performed by Chilean journalism and the news media system.

The first suggestion is to develop improved practices for interacting with the audience in more meaningful ways. Digital interaction technologies, properly positioned, have an important role to play in channelling the voices of the public towards a more representative news media. For instance, much may be gained by the adoption of more responsible comment moderation systems – with an adequate balance between freedom of expression and accountability – and the enhancement of the links between alternative or ‘citizen journalism’ and the commercial media, particularly if they increase the reach of well formulated and thoughtful audience exchanges. It is important that Chilean journalism cultures overcome the patronising views of UGC and citizen journalism by finding value in these amateur voices (Bruns, 2008). In this sense, Axel Bruns’ (2005, 2008, 2011a, 2011b) ‘gatewatching’ or Herbert Gans’ (2003) ‘multiperspectival news’ are suggestive of how effective forms of coexistence and cooperative work between the public/amateur producers and professionals might achieve closer ties between the commercial media and their publics. This relationship is important, as the Chilean news

media is seen by many citizens as lacking plurality and responding mainly to the interests of the well-off (Alfaro *et al.*, 2012; CNTV, 2012b). However, it is also necessary to adapt any proposed models to the Chilean context, its culture and idiosyncrasies before indulging any over-hyped claims about citizen ‘participation’ or representativeness. For instance, as discussed earlier in this thesis, it is necessary to take into consideration issues such as the digital divide and the complexities of comment moderation and censorship.

A second suggested direction is appropriate policy formulation for the Chilean media system as a whole. Stronger state regulation is necessary for journalism to defend its social role, as highlighted by the demotic turn in the Chilean news media. Two actions are needed. One is the need to dilute market concentration in Chile’s highly deregulated media market. Ownership concentration in the Chilean market undermines the possibility of more pluralist voices, fair representation of the public interest in the news media, and more vigilant watchdog journalism (González, 2008), particularly given the economic parallelism that exists between the media and the political elites.

The second area is the need for a stronger public service media sector. Commercial media is an important part of a free and open media system, but quality news content must also be considered a public good that needs to be accessible the Chilean population. This good is not one of elitist, taste-based assessments of what is ‘good’ or ‘bad’, but is instead targeted at providing an essential element for the functioning of democracy (Schudson, 2011). A solid publicly-funded media is a necessary step to strengthen the social role of journalism in Chilean society. As Chilean journalism unions argue, it is the State’s duty to offer citizens news that the market does not provide. Private commercial and non-profit ventures for online watchdog journalism constitute valuable efforts, but they often lack the financial support to reach the wider public. As television maintains its leading position

as the most popular medium for the Chilean population (UDP & IABChile, 2012), the case for a stronger, de-commercialised *TVN* that keeps its news division separated from political and, importantly, economic pressures is compelling. In this sense, examples from the Australian public service media sector such as the *Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC)*, the *Special Broadcasting Service (SBS)*, and the *National Indigenous Television (NITV)* networks provide possible starting points for an effective model of Chilean public service media.

The final suggested direction is the need for a different approach to journalism education by the Chilean university sector. Chilean journalism schools need to adopt a more critical stance towards technological change and journalism teaching as practised in other parts of the world, such as the US, UK, Australia and Brazil. Teaching of technological (digital) skills (raised as a challenge by several editors in this study) has been introduced recently as a core subject in only a few journalism schools. One of these programs is the Journalism School of the Universidad de Concepción. However, the teaching of online journalism is often carried out with a techno-utopian mindset that lacks a critical and empirically grounded approach to digital technologies in the newsrooms, their affordances and constraints in the specific national context, and the myths about their use and reach. A more critical approach to these matters will help prepare future generations of journalists to face the many challenges of Chilean journalism in the digital age.

The recommendations presented in the final section of this thesis represent a perhaps idealistic response to the challenges facing Chilean news media and journalism. However, in times of anxiety for journalism and the news media industries, an emphasis on the social function of journalism is crucial when managing the relationship between technological innovation and public engagement. This social emphasis, along with

strategies towards a journalism that is more responsive to audience contributions, can help to not only “keep up” with the new consumption habits of the audience, but to regain trust in Chilean journalism as an important institution for the functioning of society. In this regard, this thesis is a contribution to a necessary critical stance towards technological change and journalism, which is reliant on evidence-based understandings of Chilean journalism cultures at this point of its history.

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Hodder Arnold.

Appendices

Appendix A - Main Chilean news media organisations and conglomerates

El Mercurio Group

Country of origin:	Chile
Group controller:	Agustín Edwards Eastman
Newspapers:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- <i>El Mercurio</i>- <i>Las Últimas Noticias</i>- <i>La Segunda</i>- <i>HoyxHoy</i>- <i>El Mercurio de Valparaíso</i>- <i>La Estrella de Valparaíso</i>- <i>El Líder de San Antonio</i>- <i>El Líder de Melipilla</i>- <i>La Estrella de Tocopilla</i>- <i>La Estrella de Iquique</i>- <i>La Estrella del Norte</i>- <i>El Mercurio de Calama</i>- <i>La Estrella de Arica</i>- <i>La Estrella del Loa</i>- <i>El Diario de Atacama</i>- <i>La Estrella del Huasco</i>- <i>El Llanquihue</i>- <i>El Diario Austral de Temuco</i>- <i>El Diario Austral de Osorno</i>- <i>El Diario Austral de Valdivia</i>- <i>La Estrella de Chiloé</i>- <i>El Sur</i>- <i>La Estrella de Concepción</i>- <i>Crónica Chillán</i>- <i>El Centro de Talca</i>- <i>El Rancagüino de Rancagua</i>- <i>El Día de La Serena</i>
Magazines and weeklies:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- <i>Dato Avisos</i>- <i>Norteminero</i>- <i>Revista Agrícola</i>- <i>Campo Sureño</i>- <i>CASAetc</i>- <i>Cosas</i>- <i>Visión acuícola</i>- <i>Espacio Inmobiliario</i>- <i>Nuestro Mar</i>- <i>Revista del Campo</i>- <i>Wikén</i>- <i>Revista de Libros</i>- <i>Revista Ya</i>- <i>El Mercurio Inversiones (magazine)</i>- <i>Vivienda y Decoración</i>

Appendices

- Radio:
- *Digital FM*
 - *Positiva FM*
- Online media:
- *Emol*
 - *Datoavisos*
 - *El Mercurio*
 - *Las Ultimas Noticias*
 - *La Estrella de Iquique*
 - *El Mercurio de Antofagasta*
 - *El Mercurio de Calama*
 - *La Estrella del Loa*
 - *La Estrella de Tocopilla*
 - *La Estrella de Valparaíso*
 - *El Líder de San Antonio*
 - *La Estrella de Concepción*
 - *El Austral de la Araucanía*
 - *El Austral de Osorno*
 - *El Llanquihue*
 - *La Estrella de Chiloé*
 - *Diario Austral Región de Los Ríos*
 - *La Estrella de Arica*
 - *HoyxHoy*
 - *Soy Chile*
 - *Soy Quillota*
 - *Soy San Antonio*
 - *Soy Valparaíso*
 - *Soy Arauco*
 - *Soy Chillán*
 - *Soy Concepción*
 - *Soy Coronel*
 - *Soy San Carlos*
 - *Soy Talcahuano*
 - *Soy Tomé*
 - *Soy Arica*
 - *La Estrella de Antofagasta*
 - *Norte Minero*
- Other business areas:
- El Mercurio-Aguilar (book publishers)
 - XYGO (localisation and maps)
 - Adxion (online advertising)
 - Vía Pública (street advertising)
 - Farox (online store)
 - mimix.cl (online music store)
 - Vivedescuentos (groupon-like service)
-

COPESA Group

- Country of origin: Chile
- Group controller: Alvaro Saieh Bendeck
- Newspapers:
- *La Tercera*
 - *La Hora*
 - *La Cuarta*

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- *Diario de Concepción* (partnership with Universidad de Concepción)

 - Magazines and weeklies:
 - *Qué Pasa*
 - *Pulso*
 - *Paula*
 - *Qué Pasa Minería*
 - *Hola! Chile*

 - Radio:
 - *Paula FM*
 - *Duna*
 - *Carolina*
 - *Beethoven*
 - *Zero*
 - *Radio Disney*

 - Online media:
 - *La Hora*
 - *Pulso*
 - *Qué Pasa Minería*
 - *Duna*
 - *Carolina*
 - *Beethoven*
 - *Zero*
 - *Paula FM*
 - *La Cuarta*
 - *La Tercera*
 - *Más Deco*
 - *Icarito*
 - *MTOnline*
 - *Mujer*
 - *Finde*
 - *Qué Pasa*
 - *Biut*
 - *Glamorama*
 - *Betazeta*
 - *Revista Paula*
 - *Radio Disney*
 - *CIPER Chile*
 - *La Hora*
 - *Pulso*
 - *Qué Pasa Minería*
 - *Duna*
 - *Carolina*
 - *Beethoven*
 - *Zero*
 - *Paula FM*
 - *La Cuarta*
 - *La Tercera*

 - Other business areas:
 - Corpbanca (bank)
 - Andrés Bello University
 - Meta (media distribution)
 - Promoservice (web development)
 - Retail (Unimarc, OK Market, Supermercados del Sur, Mayorista 10, y Alvi, etc.)
-

Ibero Americana Radio Chile Group

Country of origin:	Spain
Group controller:	PRISA Group (Polanco Family)
Radio:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- <i>ADN Radio</i>- <i>Concierto</i>- <i>Corazón</i>- <i>Futuro</i>- <i>Imagina FM</i>- <i>Pudahuel</i>- <i>Radioactiva</i>- <i>Rock & Pop</i>- <i>Radio Uno</i>- <i>FM Dos</i>- <i>Los 40 Principales</i>
Online media:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- <i>Futuro</i>- <i>Pudahuel</i>- <i>ADN</i>- <i>Radioactiva</i>- <i>Rock & Pop</i>- <i>Uno</i>- <i>FM Dos</i>- <i>Corazón</i>- <i>40 principales</i>- <i>Imagina FM</i>- <i>Concierto</i>
Other business areas:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Santillana (book publishing)

RBR Radios (Bezanilla group)

Country of origin:	Chile
Group controller:	Bezanilla Family
Radio:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- <i>FM Tiempo</i>- <i>Infinita</i>- <i>Romántica FM</i>
Online media:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- <i>FM Tiempo</i>- <i>Infinita</i>- <i>Romántica FM</i>
Other business areas:	N/A

Compañía Chilena de Comunicaciones

Country of origin:	Chile
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Group controller:	N/A
Radio:	- <i>Cooperativa</i> - <i>Universo</i>
Online media:	- <i>Cooperativa.cl</i> - <i>Universo</i>
Other business areas:	N/A

Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura

Country of origin:	Chile
Group controller:	Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura (National Agriculture Society)
Radio:	- <i>Agricultura</i>
Online media:	- <i>Agricultura</i>
Other business areas:	N/A

Bío-Bío Comunicaciones

Country of origin:	Chile
Group controller:	Mosciatti Family
Television:	- <i>Canal 9 regional</i> - <i>BioBioChile TV (UHF)</i>
Radio:	- <i>Bío-Bío Santiago de Chile</i> - <i>Bío-Bío Concepción</i> - <i>Bío-Bío Valparaíso</i> - <i>Bío-Bío Los Ángeles</i> - <i>Bío-Bío Temuco</i> - <i>Bío-Bío Valdivia</i> - <i>Bío-Bío Osorno</i> - <i>Bío-Bío Puerto Montt</i> - <i>El Carbón de Lota</i>
Online media:	- <i>BioBioChile</i> - <i>BioBioChileTV</i> - <i>Página7</i>
Other business areas:	N/A

Canal 13 Group

Country of origin:	Chile
Group controller:	Luksic Family (Andrónico Luksic Craig)
Television:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Canal 13</i> - <i>Canal 13 cable</i> - <i>RecTV</i>
Radio:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Radio Horizonte</i> - <i>Oasis FM</i> - <i>Play FM</i> - <i>Sonar FM</i> - <i>Tele13 Radio</i>
Online media:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Canal 13.cl</i> - <i>Play FM</i> - <i>Sonar FM</i> - <i>Oasis FM</i> - <i>Radio Horizonte</i> - <i>Top FM</i> - <i>Rec TV</i>
Other business areas:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Banco de Chile (bank) - Compañía de Cervecerías Unidas (breweries) - Viña San Pedro –Tarapacá (wines) - CSAV (shipping) - Shell Chile (fuel distribution) - Antofagasta Minerals - Antofagasta to Bolivia railway

TVN Group

Country of origin:	Chile
Group controller:	Televisión Nacional de Chile (Publicly funded)
Television:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>TVN</i> - <i>24 horas</i> (cable news television channel)
Online media:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>TVN</i> - <i>24 horas</i>
Other business areas:	N/A

Bethia Group

Country of origin:	Chile
Group controller:	Bethia Holding (Heller Solari Family)

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Television:	- <i>MEGA</i> - <i>ETC</i> (cable cartoon television channel)
Radio:	- <i>Candela FM</i>
Online media:	- <i>Mega</i> - <i>Candela FM</i> - <i>Estilo Mujer</i> - <i>Ahora Noticias</i> - <i>ETC</i>
Other business areas:	- LATAM Airlines - Azul Azul S.A. (Universidad de Chile Football Club) - Colmena Isapre (health insurance) - Falabella (retail) - Club Hípico de Santiago (horse racingcourse)

Turner Broadcasting System

Country of origin:	United States of America
Group controller:	Time Warner
Television:	- <i>Chilevisión</i> - <i>CNN Chile</i> (partnership with VTR Chile (Liberty Global))
Online media:	- <i>Chilevisión</i> - <i>CNN Chile</i> (partnership with VTR Chile (Liberty Global))
Other business areas:	N/A

Metro Internacional Group

Country of origin:	Sweden
Group controller:	Metro International S.A.
Newspapers	- <i>Publimetro</i> - <i>El Gráfico</i>
Online media:	- <i>Publimetro.cl</i> - <i>PublimetroTV</i> - <i>Autos Publimetro</i> - <i>diarioPyme.com</i> - <i>Zona Inmobiliaria</i> - <i>Mujer Publimetro</i> - <i>ShowBiz</i>
Other business areas:	- SubTV (CCTV and advertising in metro train stations in Santiago de Chile)

Albavisión Group

Country of origin:	Mexico
Group controller:	Remigio Ángel González
Television:	- <i>Red Televisión</i>
Online media:	- <i>Red Televisión</i>
Other business areas:	N/A

La Nación Group

Country of origin:	Chile
Group controller:	Comunicaciones LANET S.A.
Online media:	- <i>La Nación.cl</i> - <i>Triunfo.cl</i>
Other business areas:	N/A

El Mostrador Group

Country of origin:	Chile
Group controller:	La Plaza S.A.
Online media:	- <i>El Mostrador</i> - <i>El Mostrador TV</i> - <i>El Mostrador Mercados</i>
Other business areas:	N/A

Source: Poderopedia (2015) and corporative websites of news media organisations.

Appendix B – Survey questionnaire

Sección A: Información general

01. Género

- Masculino
- Femenino

02. Edad

Por favor, indique su edad, en número de años (ej: 40).

03. Años de experiencia periodística

Por favor, indique su experiencia periodística en número de años (ej: 12).

04. En su carrera profesional como periodista, ¿en qué tipo de medios ha trabajado?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Medios impresos (ej: periódicos o revistas)
- Radio
- Televisión
- Medios online
- Otro: _____

05. ¿Cuál es su formación?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que corresponda a su situación.

- Periodista universitario titulado
- Estudiante universitario de periodismo o periodista no titulado
- Periodista de oficio o ejerciendo con otro título o estudios distintos a los de periodismo

06. ¿Ha cursado algún posgrado, especialización o programa de educación continua?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que corresponda a su situación. En caso de que su respuesta sea “sí”, se le preguntará por el tipo de especialización cursada.

- Sí
- No

Si la respuesta es sí:

06.1. Por favor, indique el o los posgrados o especializaciones que ha completado.

Por favor, seleccione la opción que corresponda a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Postítulo, diploma o diplomado
- Magister
- Doctorado

Otros: _____

Sección B: Empleo

En esta sección se le consultará algunos aspectos de su relación laboral con el medio de comunicación donde se desempeña actualmente. Por favor, responda las preguntas de acuerdo al medio donde usted tenga una mayor dedicación horaria semanal.

07. ¿En qué medio trabaja usted actualmente?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que corresponda a su situación. Si trabaja en más de uno de los medios considerados, por favor seleccione aquél donde su dedicación horaria semanal sea mayor. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- El Mercurio*
- Emol*
- Las Últimas Noticias*
- lun.com*
- La Tercera*
- latercera.com*
- La Cuarta*
- lacuarta.com*
- elmostrador.cl*
- Publimetro*
- publimetro.cl*
- Radio Bío-Bío*
- BioBioChile.cl*
- Radio Cooperativa*
- cooperativa.cl*
- Teletrece / Canal 13*
- teletrece.cl*
- TVN 24 Horas / Canal 24 horas*
- 24horas.cl*
- Chilevisión Noticias / Chilevisión*
- noticias.chilevision.cl*
- CIPER Chile / ciperchile.cl*
- Otros: _____

08. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha estado usted trabajando en este medio?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que corresponda a su situación.

- Menos de un año
- Entre 1 y 2 años
- Entre 3 y 5 años

- Entre 6 y 10 años
- Entre 11 y 20 años
- 21 años o más

09. Defina su situación contractual con este medio

Por favor, seleccione la opción que corresponda a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Empleado a plazo indefinido
- Empleado a plazo fijo
- Empleado casual o freelancer
- Otros: _____

10. ¿Cuál es su dedicación horaria según contrato a este medio?

Por favor, indique su dedicación en horas semanales (ej: 22).

11. ¿Cuál es su cargo o función en este medio?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación. Si cumple varias funciones, por favor seleccione aquella con la mayor dedicación horaria. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Reportero y/o redactor
- Productor periodístico
- Editor de medios sociales (social media editor o community manager)
- Editor de sección y/o turno
- Editor general / Director de prensa
- Director
- Otros: _____

12. ¿Cuál de las siguientes formas de organización mejor describe la sala de redacción donde usted se desempeña?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación. Si selecciona “otra”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Sala de redacción tradicional (para la versión impresa o televisiva o radial de su medio)
- Sala de redacción digital (para la versión online de su medio)
- Sala de redacción integrada (para las versiones tradicional y online del mismo medio)
- Otra: _____

13. ¿En cuál sección de su medio se desempeña usted?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Cultura
- Entretenimiento y/o espectáculos

- Política
- Actualidad / crónica local
- Internacional
- Estilo de vida
- Mujer
- Ciencia y/o Tecnología
- Deportes
- Reportajes / Investigación
- Policial y/o Tribunales
- No trabajo en una sección fija
- Otros: _____

Sección C:

Uso y valoración de herramientas tecnológicas en el trabajo periodístico

En esta sección, se le preguntará sobre el uso que usted realiza de una serie de herramientas tecnológicas, principalmente online, destinadas a proveer interacción y/o feedback con la audiencia de los medios de comunicación. También se le preguntará su opinión sobre el uso de estas herramientas en el trabajo periodístico.

* = Campo obligatorio

14. De las siguientes herramientas o instancias de contacto o interacción, indique la frecuencia con que las usa en su trabajo periodístico habitual. *

Por favor seleccione para cada forma de contacto o interacción, la opción que corresponda a su situación.

	Siempre	A menudo	A veces	Muy poco	Nunca
Correo electrónico	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Chat	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Teléfono de línea fija	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Teléfono móvil	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Interacción cara a cara con fuentes	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Formularios online para comentarios en los medios	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Blogs	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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YouTube	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Facebook	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Twitter	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Google+	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Flickr	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Instagram	<input type="checkbox"/>				

15. A continuación se presenta una lista de características potenciales de las herramientas tecnológicas. En su opinión, ¿qué tan importantes son estas características para el trabajo periodístico?

Por favor indique su opinión sobre estas características, seleccionando la opción que corresponda a lo que usted piensa, en una escala que va desde “Muy importante” a “Muy poco importante”.

	Muy importante	Importante	Ni importante ni poco importante	Poco importante	Muy poco importante
Eficiencia (en uso de tiempo y recursos) en la labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Producción de un periodismo de mayor calidad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adquisición de una mayor conciencia de las opiniones y pensamientos del público	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alcance de un mayor público	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Generación de un vínculo más cercano con el público	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. ¿Utiliza usted correo electrónico para sus labores periodísticas? *

- Sí
- No

Si la respuesta es sí:

16.1. ¿Con qué propósitos utiliza el correo electrónico en labores periodísticas?
Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Producción: para identificar o descubrir nuevas historias
- Producción: para contactarme directamente con una fuente
- Producción: para contactarme indirectamente con una fuente (conseguir información de contacto)
- Producción: para reunir información que profundice o complemente una historia o pieza periodística
- Distribución: para publicitar o difundir una historia o pieza periodística
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir información que pueda estar errónea, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir errores de ortografía o redacción, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder preguntas hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder a críticas (positivas o negativas) hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para el seguimiento de historias o noticias, reuniendo información adicional que pueda complementar o profundizar una historia o pieza periodística ya publicada
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para generar debate o conversación con la audiencia sobre una historia o pieza periodística
- Otros: _____

16.2. ¿Qué tipo de cuenta de correo electrónico utiliza en labores periodísticas?
Por favor, seleccionen todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- cuenta personal (ej: periodista1@gmail.com)
- cuenta personalizada proveída por el medio de comunicación para el que trabaja (ej: periodista1@mimedio.cl)
- la cuenta oficial del medio (ej: contacto@mimedio.cl)
- Otros: _____

16.3. En términos de historias o piezas producidas: ¿qué tan a menudo utiliza el correo electrónico en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- En cada historia o pieza
- En la mayoría de las historias o piezas
- En algunas historias o piezas
- En pocas historias o piezas
- Raramente
- Nunca

16.4. En términos de acceso, ¿con qué frecuencia usted accede o revisa su correo electrónico para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- Continuamente durante el día
- Hasta 5 veces durante el día
- 2 o 3 veces al día
- Una vez al día
- Una vez cada 2 o 4 días
- Una vez a la semana
- Una vez cada 2 o 3 semanas
- Una vez al mes
- Menos de una vez al mes

16.5. ¿En qué momentos del día usted accede a su correo electrónico para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación

- Temprano en la mañana (ej: antes o durante el desayuno)
- Mientras viaja hacia el trabajo en la mañana
- Antes / durante la reunión de pauta
- Durante la mañana
- En la pausa de almuerzo
- Durante la tarde
- Mientras viaja de regreso a casa en la tarde o noche
- En la noche (ej: antes de dormir)
- Otros: _____

16.6. Características del correo electrónico en las labores periodísticas.

Por favor indique su opinión sobre las siguientes afirmaciones seleccionando la opción que corresponda, en una escala que va desde “Muy de acuerdo” a “Muy en desacuerdo”.

El correo electrónico:	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo
es útil en mi labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

me permite desempeñarme de manera más eficiente (en uso de tiempo y recursos) en la labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>				
me permite producir un periodismo de mejor calidad	<input type="checkbox"/>				
me permite adquirir una mayor conciencia de las opiniones y pensamientos del público	<input type="checkbox"/>				
me permite alcanzar un mayor público para mis historias o piezas periodísticas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
me permite generar un vínculo más cercano con el público	<input type="checkbox"/>)				

17. ¿Utiliza usted chat para sus labores periodísticas? *

- Sí
- No

Si la respuesta es sí:

17.1. ¿Con qué propósitos utiliza el chat en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Producción: para identificar o descubrir nuevas historias
- Producción: para contactarme directamente con una fuente
- Producción: para contactarme indirectamente con una fuente (conseguir información de contacto)
- Producción: para reunir información que profundice o complemente una historia o pieza periodística
- Distribución: para publicitar o difundir una historia o pieza periodística
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir información que pueda estar errónea, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir errores de ortografía o redacción, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder preguntas hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder a críticas (positivas o negativas) hechas por la audiencia

- Feedback / Seguimiento: para el seguimiento de historias o noticias, reuniendo información adicional que pueda complementar o profundizar una historia o pieza periodística ya publicada
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para generar debate o conversación con la audiencia sobre una historia o pieza periodística
- Otros: _____

17.2. ¿Qué tipo de chat utiliza en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccionen todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- servicios de chat genéricos
- servicio de chat oficial del medio
- Otros: _____

17.3. En términos de historias o piezas producidas: ¿qué tan a menudo utiliza el chat en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- En cada historia o pieza
- En la mayoría de las historias o piezas
- En algunas historias o piezas
- En pocas historias o piezas
- Raramente
- Nunca

17.4. En términos de acceso, ¿con qué frecuencia usted accede a chats para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- Continuamente durante el día
- Hasta 5 veces durante el día
- 2 o 3 veces al día
- Una vez al día
- Una vez cada 2 o 4 días
- Una vez a la semana
- Una vez cada 2 o 3 semanas
- Una vez al mes
- Menos de una vez al mes

17.5. ¿En qué momentos del día usted accede a chats para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación

- Temprano en la mañana (ej: antes o durante el desayuno)
- Mientras viaja hacia el trabajo en la mañana
- Antes / durante la reunión de pauta
- Durante la mañana

- En la pausa de almuerzo
- Durante la tarde
- Mientras viaja de regreso a casa en la tarde o noche
- En la noche (ej: antes de dormir)
- Otros: _____

17.6. Características del chat en las labores periodísticas

Por favor indique su opinión sobre las siguientes afirmaciones seleccionando la opción que corresponda, en una escala que va desde “Muy de acuerdo” a “Muy en desacuerdo”.

El chat:	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo
es útil en mi labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite desempeñarme de manera más eficiente (en uso de tiempo y recursos) en la labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite producir un periodismo de mejor calidad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite adquirir una mayor conciencia de las opiniones y pensamientos del público	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite alcanzar un mayor público para mis historias o piezas periodísticas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite generar un vínculo más cercano con el público	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18. ¿Utiliza usted los formularios online para comentarios del público en el medio en que trabaja para sus labores periodísticas? *

- Sí

No

Si la respuesta es sí:

18.1. ¿Con qué propósitos utiliza los formularios online para comentarios del público en los medios, para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Producción: para identificar o descubrir nuevas historias
- Producción: para contactarme directamente con una fuente
- Producción: para contactarme indirectamente con una fuente (conseguir información de contacto)
- Producción: para reunir información que profundice o complemente una historia o pieza periodística
- Distribución: para publicitar o difundir una historia o pieza periodística
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir información que pueda estar errónea, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir errores de ortografía o redacción, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder preguntas hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder a críticas (positivas o negativas) hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para el seguimiento de historias o noticias, reuniendo información adicional que pueda complementar o profundizar una historia o pieza periodística ya publicada
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para generar debate o conversación con la audiencia sobre una historia o pieza periodística
- Otros: _____

18.2. En términos de historias o piezas producidas: ¿qué tan a menudo utiliza formularios online para comentarios del público en los medios, en labores periodísticas?

- Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación
- En cada historia o pieza
- En la mayoría de las historias o piezas
- En algunas historias o piezas
- En pocas historias o piezas
- Raramente
- Nunca

18.3. En términos de acceso, ¿con qué frecuencia usted accede a formularios online para comentarios del público en los medios para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- Continuamente durante el día

- Hasta 5 veces durante el día
- 2 o 3 veces al día
- Una vez al día
- Una vez cada 2 o 4 días
- Una vez a la semana
- Una vez cada 2 o 3 semanas
- Una vez al mes
- Menos de una vez al mes

18.4. ¿En qué momentos del día usted accede a formularios online para comentarios del público en los medios para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación

- Temprano en la mañana (ej: antes o durante el desayuno)
- Mientras viaja hacia el trabajo en la mañana
- Antes / durante la reunión de pauta
- Durante la mañana
- En la pausa de almuerzo
- Durante la tarde
- Mientras viaja de regreso a casa en la tarde o noche
- En la noche (ej: antes de dormir)
- Otros: _____

18.5. Características de los formularios online para comentarios del público en las labores periodísticas

Por favor indique su opinión sobre las siguientes afirmaciones seleccionando la opción que corresponda, en una escala que va desde “Muy de acuerdo” a “Muy en desacuerdo”.

Los formularios online para comentarios del público:	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo
son útiles en mi labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permiten desempeñarme de manera más eficiente (en uso de tiempo y recursos) en la labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permiten producir un periodismo de mejor calidad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

me permiten adquirir una mayor conciencia de las opiniones y pensamientos del público

me permiten alcanzar un mayor público para mis historias o piezas periodísticas

me permiten generar un vínculo más cercano con el público)

19. ¿Utiliza usted blogs para sus labores periodísticas? *

- Sí
- No

Si la respuesta es sí:

19.1. ¿Con qué propósitos utiliza blogs para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Producción: para identificar o descubrir nuevas historias
- Producción: para contactarme directamente con una fuente
- Producción: para contactarme indirectamente con una fuente (conseguir información de contacto)
- Producción: para reunir información que profundice o complemente una historia o pieza periodística
- Distribución: para publicitar o difundir una historia o pieza periodística
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir información que pueda estar errónea, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir errores de ortografía o redacción, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder preguntas hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder a críticas (positivas o negativas) hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para el seguimiento de historias o noticias, reuniendo información adicional que pueda complementar o profundizar una historia o pieza periodística ya publicada
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para generar debate o conversación con la audiencia sobre una historia o pieza periodística
- Otros: _____

19.2. ¿Qué tipo de blogs utiliza en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccionen todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- servicios de blogs genéricos (ej: blogger, wordpress.com, tumblr)
- blog personal (ej: www.periodista1.cl/blog)
- blogs oficiales del medio (ej: www.mimedio.cl/blogs/periodista1)
- Otros: _____

19.3. En términos de historias o piezas producidas: ¿qué tan a menudo utiliza blogs en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- En cada historia o pieza
- En la mayoría de las historias o piezas
- En algunas historias o piezas
- En pocas historias o piezas
- Raramente
- Nunca

19.4. En términos de acceso, ¿con qué frecuencia usted accede a blogs para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- Continuamente durante el día
- Hasta 5 veces durante el día
- 2 o 3 veces al día
- Una vez al día
- Una vez cada 2 o 4 días
- Una vez a la semana
- Una vez cada 2 o 3 semanas
- Una vez al mes
- Menos de una vez al mes

19.5. ¿En qué momentos del día usted accede a blogs para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación

- Temprano en la mañana (ej: antes o durante el desayuno)
- Mientras viaja hacia el trabajo en la mañana
- Antes / durante la reunión de pauta
- Durante la mañana
- En la pausa de almuerzo
- Durante la tarde
- Mientras viaja de regreso a casa en la tarde o noche
- En la noche (ej: antes de dormir)
- Otros: _____

19.6. Características de los blogs en las labores periodísticas

Por favor indique su opinión sobre las siguientes afirmaciones seleccionando la opción que corresponda, en una escala que va desde “Muy de acuerdo” a “Muy en desacuerdo”.

Los blogs:	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo
son útiles en mi labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permiten desempeñarme de manera más eficiente (en uso de tiempo y recursos) en la labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permiten producir un periodismo de mejor calidad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permiten adquirir una mayor conciencia de las opiniones y pensamientos del público	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permiten alcanzar un mayor público para mis historias o piezas periodísticas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permiten generar un vínculo más cercano con el público	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. ¿Utiliza usted Facebook para sus labores periodísticas? *

- Sí
- No

Si la respuesta es sí:

20.1. ¿Con qué propósitos utiliza Facebook para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Producción: para identificar o descubrir nuevas historias

- Producción: para contactarme directamente con una fuente
- Producción: para contactarme indirectamente con una fuente (conseguir información de contacto)
- Producción: para reunir información que profundice o complemente una historia o pieza periodística
- Distribución: para publicitar o difundir una historia o pieza periodística
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir información que pueda estar errónea, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir errores de ortografía o redacción, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder preguntas hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder a críticas (positivas o negativas) hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para el seguimiento de historias o noticias, reuniendo información adicional que pueda complementar o profundizar una historia o pieza periodística ya publicada
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para generar debate o conversación con la audiencia sobre una historia o pieza periodística
- Otros: _____

20.2. ¿Qué tipo de cuenta de Facebook utiliza en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccionen todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- cuenta personal (ej: www.facebook.com/periodista1)
- cuenta personalizada proveída por el medio de comunicación para el que trabaja (ej: www.facebook.com/periodista1_mimedio.cl)
- una cuenta oficial del medio (ej: www.facebook.com/mimedio.cl)
- Otros: _____

20.3. En términos de historias o piezas producidas: ¿qué tan a menudo utiliza Facebook en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- En cada historia o pieza
- En la mayoría de las historias o piezas
- En algunas historias o piezas
- En pocas historias o piezas
- Raramente
- Nunca

20.4. En términos de acceso, ¿con qué frecuencia usted accede a Facebook para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- Continuamente durante el día
- Hasta 5 veces durante el día

- 2 o 3 veces al día
- Una vez al día
- Una vez cada 2 o 4 días
- Una vez a la semana
- Una vez cada 2 o 3 semanas
- Una vez al mes
- Menos de una vez al mes

20.5. ¿En qué momentos del día usted accede a Facebook para labores periodísticas?
Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación

- Temprano en la mañana (ej: antes o durante el desayuno)
- Mientras viaja hacia el trabajo en la mañana
- Antes / durante la reunión de pauta
- Durante la mañana
- En la pausa de almuerzo
- Durante la tarde
- Mientras viaja de regreso a casa en la tarde o noche
- En la noche (ej: antes de dormir)
- Otros: _____

20.6. Características de Facebook en las labores periodísticas

Por favor indique su opinión sobre las siguientes afirmaciones seleccionando la opción que corresponda, en una escala que va desde “Muy de acuerdo” a “Muy en desacuerdo”.

Facebook:	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo
es útil en mi labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite desempeñarme de manera más eficiente (en uso de tiempo y recursos) en la labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite producir un periodismo de mejor calidad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

me permite adquirir una mayor conciencia de las opiniones y pensamientos del público	<input type="checkbox"/>				
me permite alcanzar un mayor público para mis historias o piezas periodísticas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
me permite generar un vínculo más cercano con el público	<input type="checkbox"/>)				

21. ¿Utiliza usted Twitter para sus labores periodísticas? *

- Sí
 No

Si la respuesta es sí:

21.1. ¿Con qué propósitos utiliza Twitter para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Producción: para identificar o descubrir nuevas historias
- Producción: para contactarme directamente con una fuente
- Producción: para contactarme indirectamente con una fuente (conseguir información de contacto)
- Producción: para reunir información que profundice o complemente una historia o pieza periodística
- Distribución: para publicitar o difundir una historia o pieza periodística
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir información que pueda estar errónea, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir errores de ortografía o redacción, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder preguntas hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder a críticas (positivas o negativas) hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para el seguimiento de historias o noticias, reuniendo información adicional que pueda complementar o profundizar una historia o pieza periodística ya publicada
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para generar debate o conversación con la audiencia sobre una historia o pieza periodística
- Otros: _____

21.2. ¿Qué tipo de cuenta de Twitter utiliza en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccionen todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- cuenta personal (ej: @periodista1)
- cuenta personalizada proveída por el medio de comunicación para el que trabaja (ej: @periodista1_mimedio.cl)
- una cuenta oficial del medio (ej: @mimedio.cl)
- Otros: _____

21.3. En términos de historias o piezas producidas: ¿qué tan a menudo utiliza Twitter en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- En cada historia o pieza
- En la mayoría de las historias o piezas
- En algunas historias o piezas
- En pocas historias o piezas
- Raramente
- Nunca

21.4. En términos de acceso, ¿con qué frecuencia usted accede a Twitter para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- Continuamente durante el día
- Hasta 5 veces durante el día
- 2 o 3 veces al día
- Una vez al día
- Una vez cada 2 o 4 días
- Una vez a la semana
- Una vez cada 2 o 3 semanas
- Una vez al mes
- Menos de una vez al mes

21.5. ¿En qué momentos del día usted accede a Twitter para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación

- Temprano en la mañana (ej: antes o durante el desayuno)
- Mientras viaja hacia el trabajo en la mañana
- Antes / durante la reunión de pauta
- Durante la mañana
- En la pausa de almuerzo
- Durante la tarde
- Mientras viaja de regreso a casa en la tarde o noche
- En la noche (ej: antes de dormir)
- Otros: _____

21.6. Características de Twitter en las labores periodísticas

Por favor indique su opinión sobre las siguientes afirmaciones seleccionando la opción que corresponda, en una escala que va desde “Muy de acuerdo” a “Muy en desacuerdo”.

Twitter:	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo
es útil en mi labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite desempeñarme de manera más eficiente (en uso de tiempo y recursos) en la labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite producir un periodismo de mejor calidad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite adquirir una mayor conciencia de las opiniones y pensamientos del público	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite alcanzar un mayor público para mis historias o piezas periodísticas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite generar un vínculo más cercano con el público	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. ¿Utiliza usted Google+ para sus labores periodísticas? *

- Sí
- No

Si la respuesta es sí:

22.1. ¿Con qué propósitos utiliza Google+ para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Producción: para identificar o descubrir nuevas historias

- Producción: para contactarme directamente con una fuente
- Producción: para contactarme indirectamente con una fuente (conseguir información de contacto)
- Producción: para reunir información que profundice o complemente una historia o pieza periodística
- Distribución: para publicitar o difundir una historia o pieza periodística
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir información que pueda estar errónea, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir errores de ortografía o redacción, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder preguntas hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder a críticas (positivas o negativas) hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para el seguimiento de historias o noticias, reuniendo información adicional que pueda complementar o profundizar una historia o pieza periodística ya publicada
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para generar debate o conversación con la audiencia sobre una historia o pieza periodística
- Otros: _____

22.2. ¿Qué tipo de cuenta de Google+ utiliza en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccionen todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- cuenta personal (ej: +periodista1)
- cuenta personalizada proveída por el medio de comunicación para el que trabaja (ej: +periodista1_mimedio.cl)
- una cuenta oficial del medio (ej: +mimedio.cl)
- Otra: _____

22.3. En términos de historias o piezas producidas: ¿qué tan a menudo utiliza Google+ en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- En cada historia o pieza
- En la mayoría de las historias o piezas
- En algunas historias o piezas
- En pocas historias o piezas
- Raramente
- Nunca

22.4. En términos de acceso, ¿con qué frecuencia usted accede a Google+ para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- Continuamente durante el día
- Hasta 5 veces durante el día

- 2 o 3 veces al día
- Una vez al día
- Una vez cada 2 o 4 días
- Una vez a la semana
- Una vez cada 2 o 3 semanas
- Una vez al mes
- Menos de una vez al mes

22.5. ¿En qué momentos del día usted accede a Google+ para labores periódicas?
Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación

- Temprano en la mañana (ej: antes o durante el desayuno)
- Mientras viaja hacia el trabajo en la mañana
- Antes / durante la reunión de pauta
- Durante la mañana
- En la pausa de almuerzo
- Durante la tarde
- Mientras viaja de regreso a casa en la tarde o noche
- En la noche (ej: antes de dormir)
- Otros: _____

22.6. Características de Google+ en las labores periódicas

Por favor indique su opinión sobre las siguientes afirmaciones seleccionando la opción que corresponda, en una escala que va desde “Muy de acuerdo” a “Muy en desacuerdo”.

Google+:	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo
es útil en mi labor periódica	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite desempeñarme de manera más eficiente (en uso de tiempo y recursos) en la labor periódica	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite producir un periodismo de mejor calidad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

me permite adquirir una mayor conciencia de las opiniones y pensamientos del público	<input type="checkbox"/>				
me permite alcanzar un mayor público para mis historias o piezas periodísticas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
me permite generar un vínculo más cercano con el público	<input type="checkbox"/>)				

23. ¿Utiliza usted YouTube para sus labores periodísticas? *

- Sí
- No

Si la respuesta es sí:

23.1. ¿Con qué propósitos utiliza YouTube para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Producción: para identificar o descubrir nuevas historias
- Producción: para contactarme directamente con una fuente
- Producción: para contactarme indirectamente con una fuente (conseguir información de contacto)
- Producción: para reunir información que profundice o complemente una historia o pieza periodística
- Distribución: para publicitar o difundir una historia o pieza periodística
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir información que pueda estar errónea, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir errores de ortografía o redacción, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder preguntas hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder a críticas (positivas o negativas) hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para el seguimiento de historias o noticias, reuniendo información adicional que pueda complementar o profundizar una historia o pieza periodística ya publicada
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para generar debate o conversación con la audiencia sobre una historia o pieza periodística
- Otros: _____

23.2. ¿Qué tipo de cuenta de YouTube utiliza en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccionen todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- cuenta personal (ej: www.YouTube.com/periodista1)
- cuenta personalizada proveída por el medio de comunicación para el que trabaja (ej: www.YouTube.com/periodista1_mimedio.cl)
- una cuenta oficial del medio (ej: www.YouTube.com/mimedio.cl)
- Otra: _____

23.3. En términos de historias o piezas producidas: ¿qué tan a menudo utiliza YouTube en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- En cada historia o pieza
- En la mayoría de las historias o piezas
- En algunas historias o piezas
- En pocas historias o piezas
- Raramente
- Nunca

23.4. En términos de acceso, ¿con qué frecuencia usted accede a YouTube para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- Continuamente durante el día
- Hasta 5 veces durante el día
- 2 o 3 veces al día
- Una vez al día
- Una vez cada 2 o 4 días
- Una vez a la semana
- Una vez cada 2 o 3 semanas
- Una vez al mes
- Menos de una vez al mes

23.5. ¿En qué momentos del día usted accede a YouTube para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación

- Temprano en la mañana (ej: antes o durante el desayuno)
- Mientras viaja hacia el trabajo en la mañana
- Antes / durante la reunión de pauta
- Durante la mañana
- En la pausa de almuerzo
- Durante la tarde
- Mientras viaja de regreso a casa en la tarde o noche
- En la noche (ej: antes de dormir)

Otros: _____

23.6. Características de YouTube en las labores periodísticas

Por favor indique su opinión sobre las siguientes afirmaciones seleccionando la opción que corresponda, en una escala que va desde “Muy de acuerdo” a “Muy en desacuerdo”.

YouTube:	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo
es útil en mi labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite desempeñarme de manera más eficiente (en uso de tiempo y recursos) en la labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite producir un periodismo de mejor calidad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite adquirir una mayor conciencia de las opiniones y pensamientos del público	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite alcanzar un mayor público para mis historias o piezas periodísticas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite generar un vínculo más cercano con el público	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. ¿Utiliza usted LinkedIn para sus labores periodísticas? *

- Sí
 No

Si la respuesta es sí:

24.1. ¿Con qué propósitos utiliza LinkedIn para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- Producción: para identificar o descubrir nuevas historias
- Producción: para contactarme directamente con una fuente
- Producción: para contactarme indirectamente con una fuente (conseguir información de contacto)
- Producción: para reunir información que profundice o complemente una historia o pieza periodística
- Distribución: para publicitar o difundir una historia o pieza periodística
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir información que pueda estar errónea, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para corregir errores de ortografía o redacción, usando las sugerencias hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder preguntas hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para responder a críticas (positivas o negativas) hechas por la audiencia
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para el seguimiento de historias o noticias, reuniendo información adicional que pueda complementar o profundizar una historia o pieza periodística ya publicada
- Feedback / Seguimiento: para generar debate o conversación con la audiencia sobre una historia o pieza periodística
- Otros: _____

24.2. ¿Qué tipo de cuenta de LinkedIn utiliza en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccionen todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación. Si selecciona “otro”, por favor especifique en el espacio asignado.

- cuenta personal (ej: www.linkedin.com/periodista1)
- una cuenta oficial del medio (ej: www.linkedin.com/mimedio.cl)
- Otra: _____

24.3. En términos de historias o piezas producidas: ¿qué tan a menudo utiliza LinkedIn en labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- En cada historia o pieza
- En la mayoría de las historias o piezas
- En algunas historias o piezas
- En pocas historias o piezas
- Raramente
- Nunca

24.4. En términos de acceso, ¿con qué frecuencia usted accede a LinkedIn para labores periodísticas?

Por favor, seleccione la opción que mejor describa su situación

- Continuamente durante el día

- Hasta 5 veces durante el día
- 2 o 3 veces al día
- Una vez al día
- Una vez cada 2 o 4 días
- Una vez a la semana
- Una vez cada 2 o 3 semanas
- Una vez al mes
- Menos de una vez al mes

24.5. ¿En qué momentos del día usted accede a LinkedIn para labores periodísticas?
Por favor, seleccione todas las opciones que correspondan a su situación

- Temprano en la mañana (ej: antes o durante el desayuno)
- Mientras viaja hacia el trabajo en la mañana
- Antes / durante la reunión de pauta
- Durante la mañana
- En la pausa de almuerzo
- Durante la tarde
- Mientras viaja de regreso a casa en la tarde o noche
- En la noche (ej: antes de dormir)
- Otros: _____

24.6. Características de LinkedIn en las labores periodísticas

Por favor indique su opinión sobre las siguientes afirmaciones seleccionando la opción que corresponda, en una escala que va desde “Muy de acuerdo” a “Muy en desacuerdo”.

LinkedIn:	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo
es útil en mi labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite desempeñarme de manera más eficiente (en uso de tiempo y recursos) en la labor periodística	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
me permite producir un periodismo de mejor calidad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendices

me permite adquirir una mayor conciencia de las opiniones y pensamientos del público

me permite alcanzar un mayor público para mis historias o piezas periodísticas

me permite generar un vínculo más cercano con el público

)

Muchas gracias

Section A: General information

01. Gender

- Male
- Female

02. Age

Please indicate your age in years (e.g.: 40).

03. Years of journalistic experience

Please indicate how many years have you have worked as journalists (e.g.: 12).

04. In your professional career as journalists, where have you worked at?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Print news media (e.g.: newspapers, magazines)
- Radio
- Television
- Online media
- Other: _____

05. What is your professional formation?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- University journalism graduate
- Journalism school student / incomplete journalism studies
- Practicing journalist without specific journalism school studies

06. Have you completed postgrad, specialisation or continued education studies?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- Yes
- No

(If Yes:

06.1. Please indicate the type of studies you followed.

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Diploma or short course
- Master
- PhD
- Other: _____)

Section B: Employment data

In this section you will be asked about some aspects of your labour relationship with your news media organisation. If you work for two or more news outlets, please answer referring to the news outlet where you have the larger workload (in hours per week).

07. Which news media outlet are you currently working for?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case. If you work for two or more news outlets, please answer referring to the news outlet where you have the larger workload (in hours per week). If you select “other”, please specify.

- El Mercurio*
- Emol*
- Las Últimas Noticias*
- lun.com*
- La Tercera*
- latercera.com*
- La Cuarta*
- lacuarta.com*
- elmostrador.cl*
- Publimetro*
- publimetro.cl*
- Radio Bío-Bío*
- BioBioChile.cl*
- Radio Cooperativa*
- cooperativa.cl*
- Teletrece / Canal 13*
- teletrece.cl*
- TVN 24 Horas / Canal 24 horas*
- 24horas.cl*
- Chilevisión Noticias / Chilevisión*
- noticias.chilevision.cl*
- CIPER Chile / ciperchile.cl*
- Other: _____

08. For how many years have you been working for your current media outlet?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- Less than a year
- Between 1 and 2 years
- Between 3 and 5 years
- Between 6 and 10 years
- Between 11 and 20 years
- 21 years or more

09. Please indicate your current contract situation in your news outlet

Please select the option that applies the most to your case. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Undefined term contract
- Fix term contract
- Casual or freelancer employee
- Other: _____

10. What is your time commitment for your news media outlet?

Please indicate your time commitment in hours per week (e.g.: 22).

11. What is your function in your news outlet?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case. If you serve more than one function, please indicate the function you have a larger time commitment to. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Reporter and/or writer
- Producer
- Social media editor community manager)
- Section or shift editor
- General editor
- Director
- Other: _____

12. Which of the following organisational forms best describes your newsroom?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Traditional (print or broadcast) newsroom
- Online newsroom
- Integrated newsroom (print/broadcast + online)
- Other: _____

13. In what section do you work in that news media outlet?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Culture
- Entertainment and/or spectacles
- Politics
- City / current affairs
- Foreign news
- Life style
- Women
- Science and technology

- Sports
- Investigative report
- Police / crime
- I do not work for a fixed beat / section
- Other: _____

Section C:

Use and evaluation of technological tools in journalism work

In this section, you will be asked about your use of a series of technological tools, mainly online, for audience feedback and interaction with the news media. You will be also asked about your opinion about the use of these tools in journalistic work.

* = Mandatory field

14. From the following interaction tools or instances please indicate the frequency you use them in your regular journalistic work *

Please select the option that applies the most to your case for each tool / instance.

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Email	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Chat	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Landline phone	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Mobile phone	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Face-to-face interaction	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Online comment forms in news media websites	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Blogs	<input type="checkbox"/>				
YouTube	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Facebook	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Twitter	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Google+	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Flickr	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Instagram	<input type="checkbox"/>				

15. A list of potential characteristics of technological tools is presented. Please indicate, in your opinion, how important are these characteristics in journalistic work. Please select the option that applies the most to your opinion of each characteristic in a scale that goes from “Very important” to “Very non important”.

	Very Important	Important	Neither Important or Unimportant	Unimportant	Very Unimportant
Efficiency (in time and resources) in journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ability to produce better quality journalism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ability to gain awareness of audience’s opinions and thoughts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ability to reach broader audiences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ability to generate a closer engagement with audiences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. Do you use email in journalistic work? *

- Yes
- No

If your answer is “Yes”:

16.1. For what purposes do you use email?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Production: to identify new stories
- Production: to contact sources directly
- Production: to contact sources indirectly (to get contact information)
- Production: to gather information that complement and/or deepens stories
- Distribution: to publicise stories and attract audience attention for the stories and/or the news media outlet

- Feedback/follow up: to correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to correct spelling / grammar / style using suggestion made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience questions
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience criticisms
- Feedback/follow up: to follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories
- Feedback/follow up: to generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories
- Other: _____

16.2. What type of email account do you use for your work?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Your personal account (e.g.: journalist1@gmail.com)
- A personalised account provided by your news organisation (e.g.: journalist1@mynewsoutlet.cl)
- Your news outlet official account (e.g.: contact@mynewsoutlet.cl)
- Other: _____

16.3. In terms of produced news stories, how often do you use email in journalistic work?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- For every story
- In most of the stories
- In some stories
- In few stories
- Rarely
- Never

16.4. On average, how often do you access email for journalistic purposes?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- Continuously along the day
- up to 5 or more times a day
- 2 to 3 times a day
- Once a day
- Once every 2 to 4 days
- Once a week
- Once every two or 3 weeks
- Once a month
- Less than once a month

16.5. At what moments of your day do you access email for journalistic purposes?
Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Early in the morning (e.g. during breakfast)
- While commuting to work in the morning
- Before / during the morning briefing
- During the morning
- At lunch break
- During the afternoon
- While commuting home in the afternoon
- At night (e.g. before you go to sleep)
- Other: _____

16.6. Characteristics of email in journalistic work.

Please indicate your opinion about the following statements by selecting select the option that applies the most to your opinion, in a scale that goes from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”.

The email:	Strongly agree	Agree	Nor agree / nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
is useful in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to perform more efficiently (time and resources) in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to produce better quality journalism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
has made me more aware of my audience’s opinions and thoughts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
helps me reach wider audiences for my stories	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
helps me to engage with my audiences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Do you use chat in journalistic work? *

- Yes
- No

If your answer is “Yes”:

17.1. For what purposes do you use chat?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Production: to identify new stories
- Production: to contact sources directly
- Production: to contact sources indirectly (to get contact information)
- Production: to gather information that complement and/or deepens stories
- Distribution: to publicise stories and attract audience attention for the stories and/or the news media outlet
- Feedback/follow up: to correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to correct spelling / grammar / style using suggestion made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience questions
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience criticisms
- Feedback/follow up: to follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories
- Feedback/follow up: to generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories
- Other: _____

17.2. What type of chat account do you use for your work?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Generic chat service
- Your news outlet official chat service
- Other: _____

17.3. In terms of produced news stories, how often do you use chat in journalistic work?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- For every story
- In most of the stories
- In some stories
- In few stories
- Rarely
- Never

17.4. On average, how often do you access chat for journalistic purposes?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- Continuously along the day
- up to 5 or more times a day
- 2 to 3 times a day
- Once a day

- Once every 2 to 4 days
- Once a week
- Once every two or 3 weeks
- Once a month
- Less than once a month

17.5. At what moments of your day do you access chat for journalistic purposes? Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Early in the morning (e.g. during breakfast)
- While commuting to work in the morning
- Before / during the morning briefing
- During the morning
- At lunch break
- During the afternoon
- While commuting home in the afternoon
- At night (e.g. before you go to sleep)
- Other: _____

17.6. Characteristics of chat in journalistic work.

Please indicate your opinion about the following statements by selecting the option that applies the most to your opinion, in a scale that goes from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”.

Chat:	Strongly agree	Agree	Nor agree / nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
is useful in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to perform more efficiently (time and resources) in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to produce better quality journalism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
has made me more aware of my audience’s opinions and thoughts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
helps me reach wider audiences for my stories	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

helps me to engage with my audiences)

18. Do you use online comment forms in journalistic work? *

- Yes
- No

If your answer is “Yes”:

18.1. For what purposes do you use online comment forms?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Production: to identify new stories
- Production: to contact sources directly
- Production: to contact sources indirectly (to get contact information)
- Production: to gather information that complement and/or deepens stories
- Distribution: to publicise stories and attract audience attention for the stories and/or the news media outlet
- Feedback/follow up: to correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to correct spelling / grammar / style using suggestion made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience questions
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience criticisms
- Feedback/follow up: to follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories
- Feedback/follow up: to generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories
- Other: _____

18.2. In terms of produced news stories, how often do you use online comment forms in journalistic work?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- For every story
- In most of the stories
- In some stories
- In few stories
- Rarely
- Never

18.3. On average, how often do you access online comment forms for journalistic purposes?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- Continuously along the day

- up to 5 or more times a day
- 2 to 3 times a day
- Once a day
- Once every 2 to 4 days
- Once a week
- Once every two or 3 weeks
- Once a month
- Less that once a month

18.4. At what moments of your day do you access online comment forms for journalistic purposes?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Early in the morning (e.g. during breakfast)
- While commuting to work in the morning
- Before / during the morning briefing
- During the morning
- At lunch break
- During the afternoon
- While commuting home in the afternoon
- At night (e.g. before you go to sleep)
- Other:_____

18.5. Characteristics of online comment forms in journalistic work.

Please indicate your opinion about the following statements by selecting select the option that applies the most to your opinion, in a scale that goes from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”.

Online comment forms:	Strongly agree	Agree	Nor agree / nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
are useful in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allow me to perform more efficiently (time and resources) in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allow me to produce better quality journalism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

have made me more aware of my audience's opinions and thoughts	<input type="checkbox"/>				
help me reach wider audiences for my stories	<input type="checkbox"/>				
help me to engage with my audiences	<input type="checkbox"/>				

19. Do you use blogs in journalistic work? *

- Yes
- No

If your answer is “Yes”:

19.1. For what purposes do you use blogs?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Production: to identify new stories
- Production: to contact sources directly
- Production: to contact sources indirectly (to get contact information)
- Production: to gather information that complement and/or deepens stories
- Distribution: to publicise stories and attract audience attention for the stories and/or the news media outlet
- Feedback/follow up: to correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to correct spelling / grammar / style using suggestion made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience questions
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience criticisms
- Feedback/follow up: to follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories
- Feedback/follow up: to generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories
- Other: _____

19.2. What type of blogs do you use for your work?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Generic blog services (e.g.: blogger, wordpress.com, tumblr)
- Personal blog (e.g.: www.journalist1.cl/blog)
- Your news outlet official blog (e.g.: www.mynewsoutlet.cl/blogs/journalist1)

Other: _____

19.3. In terms of produced news stories, how often do you use blogs in journalistic work?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- For every story
- In most of the stories
- In some stories
- In few stories
- Rarely
- Never

19.4. On average, how often do you access blogs for journalistic purposes?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- Continuously along the day
- up to 5 or more times a day
- 2 to 3 times a day
- Once a day
- Once every 2 to 4 days
- Once a week
- Once every two or 3 weeks
- Once a month
- Less that once a month

19.5. At what moments of your day do you access blogs for journalistic purposes?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Early in the morning (e.g. during breakfast)
- While commuting to work in the morning
- Before / during the morning briefing
- During the morning
- At lunch break
- During the afternoon
- While commuting home in the afternoon
- At night (e.g. before you go to sleep)
- Other: _____

19.6. Characteristics of blogs in journalistic work.

Please indicate your opinion about the following statements by selecting select the option that applies the most to your opinion, in a scale that goes from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”.

Blogs:	Strongly agree	Agree	Nor agree / nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
are useful in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allow me to perform more efficiently (time and resources) in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allow me to produce better quality journalism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
have made me more aware of my audience's opinions and thoughts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
help me reach wider audiences for my stories	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
help me to engage with my audiences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. Do you use Facebook in journalistic work? *

- Yes
- No

If your answer is “Yes”:

20.1. For what purposes do you use Facebook?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Production: to identify new stories
- Production: to contact sources directly
- Production: to contact sources indirectly (to get contact information)
- Production: to gather information that complement and/or deepens stories
- Distribution: to publicise stories and attract audience attention for the stories and/or the news media outlet
- Feedback/follow up: to correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to correct spelling / grammar / style using suggestion made by the audience

- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience questions
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience criticisms
- Feedback/follow up: to follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories
- Feedback/follow up: to generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories
- Other: _____

20.2. What type of Facebook account do you use for your work?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Your personal account (e.g.: www.facebook.com/journalist1)
- A personalised account provided by your news organisation (e.g.: www.facebook.com/journalist1_mynewsoutlet.cl)
- Your news outlet official account (e.g.: www.facebook.com/mynewsoutlet.cl)
- Other: _____

20.3. In terms of produced news stories, how often do you use Facebook in journalistic work?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- For every story
- In most of the stories
- In some stories
- In few stories
- Rarely
- Never

20.4. On average, how often do you access Facebook for journalistic purposes?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- Continuously along the day
- up to 5 or more times a day
- 2 to 3 times a day
- Once a day
- Once every 2 to 4 days
- Once a week
- Once every two or 3 weeks
- Once a month
- Less than once a month

20.5. At what moments of your day do you access Facebook for journalistic purposes?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Early in the morning (e.g. during breakfast)

- While commuting to work in the morning
- Before / during the morning briefing
- During the morning
- At lunch break
- During the afternoon
- While commuting home in the afternoon
- At night (e.g. before you go to sleep)
- Other: _____

20.6. Characteristics of Facebook in journalistic work.

Please indicate your opinion about the following statements by selecting select the option that applies the most to your opinion, in a scale that goes from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”.

Facebook:	Strongly agree	Agree	Nor agree / nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
is useful in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to perform more efficiently (time and resources) in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to produce better quality journalism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
has made me more aware of my audience’s opinions and thoughts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
helps me reach wider audiences for my stories	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
helps me to engage with my audiences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. Do you use Twitter in journalistic work? *

- Yes
- No

If your answer is “Yes”:

21.1. For what purposes do you use Twitter?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Production: to identify new stories
- Production: to contact sources directly
- Production: to contact sources indirectly (to get contact information)
- Production: to gather information that complement and/or deepens stories
- Distribution: to publicise stories and attract audience attention for the stories and/or the news media outlet
- Feedback/follow up: to correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to correct spelling / grammar / style using suggestion made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience questions
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience criticisms
- Feedback/follow up: to follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories
- Feedback/follow up: to generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories
- Other: _____

21.2. What type of Twitter account do you use for your work?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Your personal account (e.g.: @journalist1)
- A personalised account provided by your news organisation (e.g.: @journalist1_mynewsoutlet.cl)
- Your news outlet official account (e.g.: @mynewsoutlet.cl)
- Other: _____

21.3. In terms of produced news stories, how often do you use Twitter in journalistic work?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- For every story
- In most of the stories
- In some stories
- In few stories
- Rarely
- Never

21.4. On average, how often do you access Twitter for journalistic purposes?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- Continuously along the day
- up to 5 or more times a day
- 2 to 3 times a day

- Once a day
- Once every 2 to 4 days
- Once a week
- Once every two or 3 weeks
- Once a month
- Less than once a month

21.5. At what moments of your day do you access Twitter for journalistic purposes? Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Early in the morning (e.g. during breakfast)
- While commuting to work in the morning
- Before / during the morning briefing
- During the morning
- At lunch break
- During the afternoon
- While commuting home in the afternoon
- At night (e.g. before you go to sleep)
- Other: _____

21.6. Characteristics of Twitter in journalistic work.

Please indicate your opinion about the following statements by selecting the option that applies the most to your opinion, in a scale that goes from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”.

Twitter:	Strongly agree	Agree	Nor agree / nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
is useful in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to perform more efficiently (time and resources) in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to produce better quality journalism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
has made me more aware of my audience’s opinions and thoughts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

helps me reach wider audiences for my stories

helps me to engage with my audiences)

22. Do you use Google+ in journalistic work? *

- Yes
- No

If your answer is “Yes”:

22.1. For what purposes do you use Google+?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Production: to identify new stories
- Production: to contact sources directly
- Production: to contact sources indirectly (to get contact information)
- Production: to gather information that complement and/or deepens stories
- Distribution: to publicise stories and attract audience attention for the stories and/or the news media outlet
- Feedback/follow up: to correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to correct spelling / grammar / style using suggestion made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience questions
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience criticisms
- Feedback/follow up: to follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories
- Feedback/follow up: to generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories
- Other: _____

22.2. What type of Google+ account do you use for your work?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Your personal account (e.g.: +journalist1)
- A personalised account provided by your news organisation (e.g.: +journalist1_mynewsoutlet.cl)
- Your news outlet official account (e.g.: +mynewsoutlet.cl)
- Other: _____

22.3. In terms of produced news stories, how often do you use Google+ in journalistic work?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- For every story
- In most of the stories
- In some stories
- In few stories
- Rarely
- Never

22.4. On average, how often do you access Google+ for journalistic purposes?
Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- Continuously along the day
- up to 5 or more times a day
- 2 to 3 times a day
- Once a day
- Once every 2 to 4 days
- Once a week
- Once every two or 3 weeks
- Once a month
- Less than once a month

22.5. At what moments of your day do you access Google+ for journalistic purposes?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Early in the morning (e.g. during breakfast)
- While commuting to work in the morning
- Before / during the morning briefing
- During the morning
- At lunch break
- During the afternoon
- While commuting home in the afternoon
- At night (e.g. before you go to sleep)
- Other: _____

22.6. Characteristics of Google+ in journalistic work.

Please indicate your opinion about the following statements by selecting select the option that applies the most to your opinion, in a scale that goes from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Nor agree / nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Google+:					

is useful in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>				
allows me to perform more efficiently (time and resources) in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>				
allows me to produce better quality journalism	<input type="checkbox"/>				
has made me more aware of my audience's opinions and thoughts	<input type="checkbox"/>				
helps me reach wider audiences for my stories	<input type="checkbox"/>				
helps me to engage with my audiences	<input type="checkbox"/>)				

23. Do you use YouTube in journalistic work? *

- Yes
- No

If your answer is “Yes”:

23.1. For what purposes do you use YouTube?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Production: to identify new stories
- Production: to contact sources directly
- Production: to contact sources indirectly (to get contact information)
- Production: to gather information that complement and/or deepens stories
- Distribution: to publicise stories and attract audience attention for the stories and/or the news media outlet
- Feedback/follow up: to correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to correct spelling / grammar / style using suggestion made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience questions
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience criticisms
- Feedback/follow up: to follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories

- Feedback/follow up: to generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories
- Other: _____

23.2. What type of YouTube account do you use for your work?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Your personal account (e.g.: www.YouTube.com/journalist1)
- A personalised account provided by your news organisation (e.g.: www.YouTube.com/journalist1_mynewsoutlet.cl)
- Your news outlet official account (e.g.: www.YouTube.com/mynewsoutlet.cl)
- Other: _____

23.3. In terms of produced news stories, how often do you use YouTube in journalistic work?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- For every story
- In most of the stories
- In some stories
- In few stories
- Rarely
- Never

23.4. On average, how often do you access YouTube for journalistic purposes?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- Continuously along the day
- up to 5 or more times a day
- 2 to 3 times a day
- Once a day
- Once every 2 to 4 days
- Once a week
- Once every two or 3 weeks
- Once a month
- Less than once a month

23.5. At what moments of your day do you access YouTube for journalistic purposes?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Early in the morning (e.g. during breakfast)
- While commuting to work in the morning
- Before / during the morning briefing
- During the morning
- At lunch break

- During the afternoon
- While commuting home in the afternoon
- At night (e.g. before you go to sleep)
- Other: _____

23.6. Characteristics of YouTube in journalistic work.

Please indicate your opinion about the following statements by selecting select the option that applies the most to your opinion, in a scale that goes from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”.

YouTube:	Strongly agree	Agree	Nor agree / nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
is useful in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to perform more efficiently (time and resources) in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to produce better quality journalism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
has made me more aware of my audience’s opinions and thoughts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
helps me reach wider audiences for my stories	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
helps me to engage with my audiences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. Do you use LinkedIn in journalistic work? *

- Yes
- No

If your answer is “Yes”:

24.1. For what purposes do you use LinkedIn?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Production: to identify new stories
- Production: to contact sources directly
- Production: to contact sources indirectly (to get contact information)
- Production: to gather information that complement and/or deepens stories
- Distribution: to publicise stories and attract audience attention for the stories and/or the news media outlet
- Feedback/follow up: to correct information that may be erroneous, using the suggestions made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to correct spelling / grammar / style using suggestion made by the audience
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience questions
- Feedback/follow up: to respond to audience criticisms
- Feedback/follow up: to follow up stories and gather additional information that may complement or extend stories
- Feedback/follow up: to generate debate / conversation with or among the audience about stories
- Other: _____

24.2. What type of LinkedIn account do you use for your work?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Your personal account (e.g.: www.linkedin.com/journalist1)
- Your news outlet official account (e.g.: www.linkedin.com/mynewsoutlet.cl)
- Other: _____

24.3. In terms of produced news stories, how often do you use LinkedIn in journalistic work?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- For every story
- In most of the stories
- In some stories
- In few stories
- Rarely
- Never

24.4. On average, how often do you access LinkedIn for journalistic purposes?

Please select the option that applies the most to your case.

- Continuously along the day
- up to 5 or more times a day
- 2 to 3 times a day
- Once a day
- Once every 2 to 4 days
- Once a week
- Once every two or 3 weeks

- Once a month
- Less than once a month

24.5. At what moments of your day do you access LinkedIn for journalistic purposes?

Please select all that apply. If you select “other”, please specify.

- Early in the morning (e.g. during breakfast)
- While commuting to work in the morning
- Before / during the morning briefing
- During the morning
- At lunch break
- During the afternoon
- While commuting home in the afternoon
- At night (e.g. before you go to sleep)
- Other: _____

24.6. Characteristics of LinkedIn in journalistic work.

Please indicate your opinion about the following statements by selecting the option that applies the most to your opinion, in a scale that goes from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”.

LinkedIn:	Strongly agree	Agree	Nor agree / nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
is useful in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to perform more efficiently (time and resources) in my journalistic work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
allows me to produce better quality journalism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
has made me more aware of my audience’s opinions and thoughts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
helps me reach wider audiences for my stories	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendices

helps me to engage with
my audiences

)

Than you very much

Appendix C – Invitation email and explanatory statement for the online survey

Email de invitación

Subject: Invitación a encuesta online

Estimado / estimada:

Mi nombre es Claudio Jofré Larenas, candidato a PhD of Arts en Monash University, Melbourne, Australia, y académico del departamento de Comunicación Social de la Universidad de Concepción.

Me dirijo a usted, junto con saludarle, para pedirle su colaboración, participando en una encuesta online, de carácter voluntario y anónimo, dirigida a periodistas y editores de medios informativos chilenos. Esta encuesta forma parte de la primera fase de mi proyecto de investigación doctoral en Monash University. Mi estudio busca develar las prácticas periodísticas en relación a los usos de las herramientas online para la interacción y feedback de la audiencia, por parte de los periodistas y medios noticiosos chilenos. El proyecto es guiado por el Dr. Brett Hutchins, profesor asociado de School of English, Communications and Performance Studies, de Monash University.

Completar esta encuesta debería tomarle un máximo de 20 minutos y puede hacerse a su conveniencia. No es necesario contestar cada una de las preguntas, aunque hay algunas obligatorias. Para los objetivos del estudio, sería de gran ayuda si contestase la mayor cantidad de preguntas posible.

Para acceder al cuestionario por favor clique el siguiente enlace:

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1dk9hDQq7-RaM_e-3ld-gGSE_qIB0aHJW3iSq0YhqNxw/viewform

Si ya ha respondido esta encuesta, por favor ignore este correo electrónico. Sin embargo, como favor especial, le pediría que hiciese circular este email entre sus colegas, si usted considera que alguno o alguna de ellos o ellas también pudiera interesarse en participar en esta encuesta. Siéntase en completa libertad de reenviarle esta información. Así contribuiría a un mayor alcance de los resultados de esta investigación.

La declaración explicatoria de esta encuesta, con mayores detalles sobre el estudio, puede ser revisada en:

<https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B7sn6CcNX0t2dnBOTUwyX3BxSXM/edit?usp=sharing> o en el blog del proyecto, en <http://chilean-newsroom.blogspot.com>).

Agradeciendo su tiempo y buena disposición, le saluda cordialmente,

Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
Estudiante de doctorado (PhD)
School of English, Communications and Performance Studies (ECPS)
Monash University, Melbourne, Australia.

Declaración Explicatoria

Lunes 24 de junio de 2013

Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
Estudiante de Doctorado (PhD)
School of English, Communications and Performance Studies
Faculty of Arts
Monash University
Caulfield campus, Melbourne,
VIC, Australia

Título del proyecto: News cultures and journalism in Chile: journalistic practices and online media in the newsroom.

(Culturas noticiosas y periodismo en Chile: prácticas periodísticas y medios online en la sala de redacción).

Mi nombre es Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas y actualmente conduzco un proyecto de investigación con el profesor asociado del Department of English, Communications and Performance Studies, Brett Hutchins, dirigido a la obtención de mi Doctorado (PhD) en Artes en Universidad Monash, de Australia. Esto implica la elaboración de una tesis doctoral de una extensión máxima de 100,000 palabras, equivalente a un libro de 300 páginas, además de varios artículos científicos.

Este proyecto de investigación explora las prácticas y creencias periodísticas existentes en relación a los mecanismos digitales para la interacción y participación de la audiencia en medios informativos chilenos. El objetivo de este estudio es investigar las funciones de herramientas interactivas y de retroalimentación online - tales como formularios para comentarios, Facebook, Twitter, correo electrónico y otros - en las informaciones publicadas, desde la perspectiva de los periodistas chilenos. La significancia de esta investigación reside en el análisis de los cambiantes roles profesionales de los periodistas y en el delineamiento del rol de los medios informativos en la era digital, en una región donde los desarrollos en tecnología, periodismo y medios no han sido suficientemente investigados.

Este estudio contempla dos fases. En esta primera etapa, busco como individuos a periodistas y editores actualmente desempeñándose en alguno de los siguientes 12 medios informativos:

- Emol.com
- LUN.com
- LaTercera.com
- LaCuarta.com
- Publimetro.cl
- El Mostrador
- BioBioChile.cl
- Cooperativa.cl
- Chilevisión Noticias Online
- 24Horas.cl
- Teletrece.cl

- CIPER Chile.cl;

y que estén dispuestos/as a completar en forma VOLUNTARIA y ANÓNIMA la siguiente encuesta, disponible en el siguiente enlace:

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1dk9hDQq7-RaM_e-3ld-gGSE_qIB0aHJW3iSq0YhqNxxw/viewform

Usted y otros/as periodistas y editores de estos 12 medios informativos, han sido seleccionados/as para participar en este estudio, sobre la base de su experiencia y conocimiento de primera mano sobre el trabajo periodístico cotidiano. Su información de contacto ha sido obtenida desde fuentes públicamente disponibles, como el sitio web del medio, o ha sido redirigido acá por algún o alguna colega que considera que usted puede estar interesado/a en participar en este estudio.

Es importante destacar que:

- La participación en esta encuesta es de carácter voluntaria y usted no está obligado/a a dar su consentimiento para participar.
- La participación en esta encuesta es de carácter anónimo.

Si desea participar, completar esta encuesta debería tomarle un máximo de 20 minutos y puede hacerse a su conveniencia. Se agradece si pudiera responderla dentro de las siguientes dos semanas.

No es necesario contestar cada una de las preguntas. Participar en la encuesta es voluntario, sin embargo, es condición para hacerlo el responder el cuestionario.

Toda la información recolectada en esta encuesta es anónima, permanecerá anónima en cualquier futura publicación. Los datos no serán usados con ningún otro propósito diferente al de esta investigación, bajo ninguna circunstancia.

La segunda etapa de este estudio consiste en entrevistas en mayor profundidad acerca de las funciones de las herramientas online de interacción y retroalimentación en los medios informativos chilenos, para así ayudar a entregar una visión más clara de los cambiantes roles profesionales del periodista y de los medios informativos en la era digital.

Los resultados de esta investigación serán publicados en mi tesis y en publicaciones académicas.

El almacenamiento de la información obtenida adhiere con las regulaciones de la Universidad Monash y será mantenida en sus dependencias, en un gabinete con llave durante cinco años. Reportes del estudio pueden ser enviados a publicación, pero los participantes individuales en el estudio no serán identificables en tales reportes.

Si desea ser informado sobre los resultados finales de esta investigación, por favor contáctese con Claudio Jofré Larenas al fono [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Los resultados estarán disponibles durante dos años.

Si desea contactar a los investigadores acerca de cualquier aspecto de este	Si usted tiene alguna queja respecto a la manera en que este estudio
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estudio, por favor comuníquese al Investigador Jefe y mi supervisor:	Journalism, News Cultures and online media in the Chilean newsroom está siendo conducido, por favor contacte a:
A/Prof. Brett Hutchins, Teléfono (llamada Internacional) [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]	Sergio Hernández Informante independiente para Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

Muchas gracias,

Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
Estudiante de doctorado (PhD)

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Studies (ECPS)
Monash University

Invitation email

Subject: Online survey invitation

Dear journalist:

My name is Claudio Jofré Larenas, PhD student in the Faculty of Arts of Monash University, Melbourne, Australia, and professor at the Social Communication department at the Universidad de Concepción.

I am writing to ask your collaboration by participating on an online survey, which has an anonymous and voluntary character. This survey is aimed at journalists and editors from Chilean news media organisations and it is part of the first stage of my doctoral research project at Monash University. The study seeks an understanding of the journalistic practices around the use of online tools for feedback and interaction with the audience. The project is supervised by Brett Hutchins, Associated Professor in the School of English, Communications and Performance Studies at Monash University.

The completion of this online survey should take no more than 20 minutes and can be done at your convenience. It is not necessary to answer every question, although there are some mandatory questions. For the purposes of this study it would be a great help if you answer most questions. To access the online survey please click on the following link:
https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1dk9hDQq7-RaM_e-3ld-gGSE_qIB0aHJW3iSq0YhqNxw/viewform

If you already responded to the survey, please ignore this email. However, as a special favour, I would ask you to please circulate this email among your colleagues if you consider some of them could be interested in participating in this study. Please feel free to re-send this information. In this way, you will contribute to a wider reach of the results for this research.

The explanatory statement of this survey, with further details about the study, can be reviewed online in:

<https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B7sn6CcNX0t2dnBOTUwyX3BxSXM/edit?usp=sharing> or in the blog of the project, in <http://chilean-newsroom.blogspot.com>).

Kind regards,

Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
PhD student
School of English, Communications and Performance Studies (ECPS)
Monash University
Melbourne, Australia.

████████████████████
██

Explanatory Statement

Monday 24 June 2013

Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
(PhD) student
School of English, Communications and Performance Studies
Faculty of Arts
Monash University
Caulfield campus, Melbourne,
VIC, Australia

Project Title:

Journalism, News Cultures and online media in the Chilean newsroom

My name is Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas and I am conducting a research project with Associate Professor Brett Hutchins; in the Department of English, Communications and Performance Studies, towards a PhD in Arts at Monash University, Australia. This means that I will be writing a thesis with a maximum length of 100,000 words, which is the equivalent of a 300 page book, and several journal articles.

This research project explores the journalistic practices and beliefs that exist in relation to digitally enhanced mechanisms for audience interaction and participation in Chilean news media outlets. The aim of this study is to investigate the functions of online feedback and interaction tools – such as comment forms, Facebook posts, tweets, email and others – in the news from the perspective of Chilean journalists. The significance of this research lies in the analysis of the changing professional roles of journalists, and the outlining of the role of news media in the digital age, in a region where developments in technology, journalism and news media are poorly understood.

This study involves two stages. In this first stage, I am seeking individual journalists and editors currently working at any of the following 12 Chilean media outlets:

- Emol.com
- LUN.com
- LaTercera.com
- LaCuarta.com
- Publimetro.cl
- El Mostrador
- BioBioChile.cl
- Cooperativa.cl
- Chilevision Noticias Online
- 24Horas.cl
- Teletrece.cl
- CIPER Chile.cl;

who are willing to complete a VOLUNTARY & ANONYMOUS questionnaire available in this link: https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1dk9hDQq7-RaM_e-3ld-gSE_qIB0aHJW3iSq0YhqNxw/viewform

You and other journalists and editors from these 12 Chilean media outlets have been selected to participate in this study, based on your experience and first-hand knowledge of the everyday journalistic work and the roles currently played by Chilean news workers and news media in the digital age. Your contact information has been obtained from public available sources, such as your news media outlet website, or you have been directed here by a fellow / colleague who thinks you may be interested in participating in this study.

It is important to remark that:

- Participation in this survey is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation.
- Participation in this survey is anonymous.

If you wish to participate, completing this survey should take a maximum of 20 minutes and can be done at your convenience. It could be appreciated if you could return the survey within 2 weeks.

If you complete the survey, you do not need to answer every question. Participation in this study is voluntary. However, a condition of participation is completion of the questionnaire.

All the data collected on this survey is anonymous and will remain anonymous in future publications. The data collected will not be used for any other purpose than this research under any circumstances.

The second stage of this study consists of interviews in more depth about the functions of online feedback and interaction tools in the Chilean online news media to help provide a clearer picture of the changing professional roles of journalists, and the role of news media in the digital age.

The results of this research will be published in my final thesis, and in academic publications.

Storage of the data collected will adhere to the University regulations and be kept on University premises in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet for 5 years. A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report.

If you would like to be informed of the aggregate research findings, please contact Claudio Jofré Larenas on [REDACTED]. The findings are accessible for 2 years.

If you would like to contact the researchers about any aspect of this study, please contact the Chief Investigator and my supervisor:	If you have a complaint concerning the manner in which this research Journalism, News Cultures and online media in the Chilean newsroom is being conducted, please contact:
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<p>A/Prof. Brett Hutchins, [REDACTED] [REDACTED]</p>	<p>Sergio Hernández Independent Informer to Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) [REDACTED] [REDACTED]</p>
--	---

Thank You.

Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
(PhD) student.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

School of English, Communications and Performance Studies (ECPS)
Monash University

Appendix D – Semi-structured interviews questionnaire

Antecedentes

1. Nombre
2. Edad
3. Cargo
4. Tiempo trabajando en el medio y en el cargo
5. Brevemente, experiencia previa como editor y reportero
6. Qué lo motivó a ser periodista

Actitud hacia la tecnología

7. ¿Es usted usuario cotidiano de tecnologías digitales? ¿Qué tan conectado está usted con las tecnologías digitales (smartphone, tablets, computadores, redes sociales)?
8. ¿Qué opina usted de la creciente inclusión de tecnologías digitales en las tareas periodísticas?

Con respecto al medio informativo

9. ¿Cómo podría caracterizarse la sala de redacción del medio en que trabaja: sala integrada con la versión digital del medio, o salas de redacción independientes?

Uso de herramientas digitales en el medio

10. Tradicionalmente, los autores identifican tres etapas en el ciclo noticioso: producción, distribución y feedback / seguimiento. En su experiencia, ¿de qué manera los periodistas a su cargo integran (o no) herramientas digitales (llámese email, chat, redes sociales) en estas etapas del trabajo periodístico cotidiano?
11. ¿Cuál es la política y con qué propósitos el medio en que trabaja incorpora o no herramientas digitales de interacción en el trabajo periodístico?
 - a. Redes sociales (Facebook, Twitter) son las herramientas más usadas (después del email) por los periodistas chilenos: ¿Cuál es la política del medio con respecto a su uso? ¿y con qué propósitos el medio incentiva (o no) su uso por los periodistas? (Y con respecto a la relación con las audiencias, ¿qué sucede con las críticas al medio, los comentarios violentos, racistas, etc.? <<Política de reposteo, retweet>>
 - b. De acuerdo a la encuesta que apliqué, muy pocos periodistas utilizan las secciones de comentarios establecidos por los medios en su trabajo, ya sea en la producción (para descubrir nuevas historias) o para obtener feedback.

¿Existe alguna política en el medio con respecto a estas secciones de comentarios?

- c. Email sigue siendo por lejos la herramienta online más utilizada por los periodistas en su trabajo cotidiano. ¿Cuál es política del medio con respecto a las comunicaciones por email desde / hacia la audiencia?
- d. Entre los usos de las herramientas digitales de interacción, uno de los menos mencionados por los periodistas es el de “generar debate o conversación con la audiencia”. ¿Qué sucede en su medio? ¿Se estimula este debate conversación con la audiencia entre los periodistas? ¿Cuáles han sido los resultados?
- e. Con respecto al llamado “contenido generado por el usuario” ¿Qué ocurre con los blogs y el “periodismo ciudadano” en su medio. ¿Cuál es la estrategia en su inclusión o no.
- f. YouTube es otra herramienta digital que muestra un interesante uso entre los periodistas de medios chilenos. ¿Qué ocurre en su medio, hay alguna política en su uso?

12. ¿Cuáles son los principales beneficios de usar herramientas digitales para la interacción en las tareas periodísticas?

13. ¿Cuáles son los principales problemas que genera su uso?

14. ¿Puede darme algunos ejemplos de buenas y malas experiencias con estas herramientas en su medio?

15. Tradicionalmente, el rol de gatekeeper es mencionado como uno de los aspectos más importantes del trabajo del periodista. Ahora, con la actual capacidad potencial de las audiencias para ser también productores de contenidos (blogs, redes sociales), ¿qué piensa usted sobre el futuro de este rol en la profesión periodística?

El futuro

16. ¿Qué desafíos enfrentan los periodistas y los medios en relación al uso de estas herramientas digitales de interacción, en términos de prácticas, nuevos roles, y aspectos éticos?

17. En términos amplios, ¿cuáles son los desafíos para el periodismo chileno en el futuro próximo?

Background questions

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Position:
4. Years working in this outlet, and in this position.
5. Previous experience as a journalist and editor.
6. Why do you like journalism, how did you become journalist?

Attitude towards technology

7. Are you a user of digital technologies in your everyday life? How connected are you with technology, such as digital communication devices, social networks, etc.?
8. What do you think about the growing inclusion of technology in journalism tasks?

News outlet

9. How does your news media outlet's newsroom work: independent from or integrated with online/legacy version?
10. Traditionally, authors identify three stage in the news production cycle: Production / Distribution / Feedback. How do journalists integrate (or not) the use of online interaction / feedback tools in the journalistic work in your media outlet?
11. What are the <purposes / policies / strategies / mechanisms> behind the use of interaction / feedback tools in the journalistic work by news workers in your news media outlet?
 - a. Social networks (Facebook, Twitter) are the most used interaction/feedback tools (after email) by Chilean journalists: What is the outlet's policy about their use and the purposes behind their use? [Re-channel: And regarding the relation with audience: angry comments, questions, criticisms]
 - b. According to my survey, very few Chilean journalists use online comment forms in their work. What is the policy about online comment forms for the audience in your news media outlet?
 - c. Email is the most used online tool by journalists for interaction with sources and pairs. What's the news organisation policy regarding email communications from/with the audience?
 - d. Among the uses of online interaction tools by Chilean journalists, one of the less mentioned is "to generate debate / conversation between/with the public". What's the policy about this in your news media outlet, why, and what are the results?

- e. User generated content: audience's tweets, blogs, and citizen reporters. What is the policy / strategy for their participation in the news media outlet?
 - f. YouTube is another online tool/ resource that has an interesting usage, in terms of percentage of journalists. What are the policies about its use in your news media outlet?
12. What are the main benefits in the use of these interaction/feedback online tools in the journalistic work by news workers in your news media outlet? Newsworthy items and better awareness of what's happening out there, feedback from the audience, more online traffic?
13. What are the major issues / problems in the use of these tools?
14. Are there any examples of good and bad experiences with feedback & interaction tools in news stories that you can provide about this news outlet.
15. Traditionally, the gatekeeping role is seen as one of the most characteristic aspects of journalistic work. With the capability of audiences of being not only users but producers of content (through blogs, social networks, etc.), what do think about the future of this role for the journalistic profession?
16. What are the challenges for the journalists and news organisations in relation to the use of technological features for interaction/feedback online tools for the audience, in terms of the journalistic practices, roles, news values and ethics?

The future

17. What is the future for the journalistic profession in relation to the use of technological features for interaction/feedback online tools for the audience?
18. In broader terms, what are the main challenges for Chilean journalism and news media in the near future?

Appendix E – Invitation email and explanatory statement for semi-structured interviews

Email de invitación

Subject: Invitación a entrevista

Estimad<o/a> <nombre>

Mi nombre es Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas y actualmente conduzco un proyecto de investigación dirigido a la obtención de mi Doctorado (PhD) en Arts, en Monash University de Australia. Desde hace algunas semanas he estado invitando a periodistas y editores de medios de comunicación chilenos a participar en la primera fase de mi investigación doctoral, consistente en una encuesta online destinada a explorar las prácticas y creencias de los periodistas chilenos en relación a los mecanismos digitales para la interacción y participación de la audiencia en medios informativos.

En esta ocasión, junto con saludarle, me dirijo a Usted para invitarle a participar en la segunda fase de mi proyecto de investigación, para lo que me gustaría concertar una entrevista con usted en su calidad de <editor> de <medio>

Usted y otros/as editores periodísticos y de social media (community managers, editores sociales, o funciones similares en medios informativos) han sido seleccionados/as para participar en esta etapa del estudio sobre la base de su experiencia y conocimiento de primera mano sobre el trabajo periodístico y editorial cotidiano.

Su participación es altamente valorada y aportaría al conocimiento sobre los cambiantes roles profesionales y los desafíos de la profesión periodística en la era digital, en una región donde los desarrollos en tecnología, periodismo y medios no han sido suficientemente investigados. Asimismo su participación ayudará a acercar los mundos profesional y académico, que en ocasiones son distantes y redundan en vacíos en la formación profesional de las nuevas generaciones de periodistas.

La entrevista no debiera extenderse más allá de entre 30 minutos a una hora, en una fecha y hora fijados por usted, a su conveniencia. La entrevista se realizaría a través de Skype, debido a que en estos momentos me encuentro en Australia cursando mis estudios.

Sin embargo, si esta opción resultara complicada, estaré en Chile entre el 17 de noviembre y 24 de enero, por lo que le escribo con anticipación para poder agendar una entrevista presencial en cualquier fecha que le resultara conveniente en ese período.

Es importante destacar que:

- La participación en esta entrevista es de carácter voluntaria y usted no está obligado/a a dar su consentimiento para participar.
- La participación en esta entrevista puede ser de carácter anónimo, si usted así lo desea, para lo cual se tomarán las providencias del caso asignándole un pseudónimo inidentificable.

Los detalles sobre la investigación, procedimientos de la entrevista, manejo, almacenamiento y publicación de la información proporcionada en ella, así como la información de contacto de mis supervisores y mecanismos dispuestos para quejas u observaciones, pueden ser revisados en la declaración explicatoria adjunta a este correo.

Esperando su favorable acogida y atento a sus comentarios, le saluda cordialmente,



Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
Académico del Depto. de Comunicación Social, Universidad de Concepción;
PhD Student, School of English, Communications and Performance Studies (ECPS),
Monash University
Melbourne, Australia.



Declaración Explicatoria

Lunes 16 de septiembre de 2013

Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
Estudiante de Doctorado (PhD)
School of English, Communications and Performance Studies
Faculty of Arts
Monash University
Caulfield campus, Melbourne,
VIC, Australia

Título del proyecto:

Journalism, News Cultures and online media in the Chilean newsroom
(*Periodismo, culturas periodísticas y medios online en la Sala de Redacción chilena*)

Mi nombre es Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas y actualmente conduzco un proyecto de investigación con el profesor asociado del Department of English, Communications and Performance Studies, Brett Hutchins, dirigido a la obtención de mi Doctorado (PhD) en Artes en Universidad Monash, de Australia. Esto implica la elaboración de una tesis doctoral de una extensión máxima de 100,000 palabras, equivalente a un libro de 300 páginas, además de varios artículos científicos.

Este proyecto de investigación explora las prácticas y creencias periodísticas existentes en relación a los mecanismos digitales para la interacción y participación de la audiencia en medios informativos chilenos. El objetivo de este estudio es investigar las funciones de herramientas interactivas y de retroalimentación online - tales como formularios para comentarios, Facebook, Twitter, correo electrónico y otros - en las informaciones publicadas, desde la perspectiva de los periodistas chilenos. La significancia de esta investigación reside en el análisis de los cambiantes roles profesionales de los periodistas y en el delineamiento del rol de los medios informativos en la era digital, en una región donde los desarrollos en tecnología, periodismo y medios no han sido suficientemente investigados.

Este estudio contempla dos fases. La primera consiste en una encuesta anónima a periodistas y editores de medios informativos chilenos de alcance nacional con presencia en Internet. La segunda etapa, consiste en entrevistas individuales semi-estructuradas con editores y editores de social media sociales (o cargos similares) actualmente desempeñándose también en medios informativos chilenos de alcance nacional.

Usted y otros/as editores de estos medios informativos, han sido seleccionados/as para participar en este estudio, sobre la base de su experiencia y conocimiento de primera mano sobre el trabajo periodístico cotidiano. Su información de contacto ha sido obtenida desde fuentes públicamente disponibles, como el sitio web del medio, y redes sociales como LinkedIn.

Es importante destacar que:

- La participación en esta entrevista es de carácter voluntaria y usted no está obligado/a a dar su consentimiento para participar.
- La participación en esta entrevista puede ser de carácter anónimo si así lo desea.

Si desea participar, esta entrevista debería tomarle un máximo de 1 hora y puede hacerse a través de Skype en una fecha y hora fijada a su conveniencia. La entrevista puede ser grabada en audio y/o video exclusivamente para facilitar la transcripción de la información, y las grabaciones no serán usadas con ningún otro propósito diferente al de esta investigación, bajo ninguna circunstancia.

Si usted acepta participar en esta entrevista, una transcripción de ella le será enviada para su aprobación antes de cualquier utilización de la información facilitada. Participar en este estudio es voluntario. Sin embargo, si consiente en hacerlo, sólo puede retirarse del estudio hasta antes de aprobar estas transcripciones.

Toda la información obtenida en esta entrevista puede ser anónima y puede permanecer de esa forma en cualquier futura publicación, si así lo prefiere. Si decide permanecer anónimo, la información que proporcione será publicada en mi tesis, artículos científicos y otras publicaciones derivadas bajo un pseudónimo apropiado, que preserve de forma segura su identidad.

El almacenamiento de la información obtenida adhiere con las regulaciones de la Universidad Monash y será mantenida en sus dependencias, en un gabinete con llave durante cinco años. Reportes del estudio pueden ser enviados a publicación, pero los participantes individuales en el estudio no serán identificables en tales reportes si no lo desean.

Si desea ser informado sobre los resultados finales de esta investigación, por favor contáctese con Claudio Jofré Larenas al [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Los resultados estarán disponibles durante dos años.

<p>Si desea contactar a los investigadores acerca de cualquier aspecto de este estudio, por favor comuníquese al Investigador Jefe y mi supervisor:</p> <p>A/Prof. Brett Hutchins, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]</p>	<p>Si usted tiene alguna queja respecto a la manera en que este estudio Journalism, News Cultures and online media in the Chilean newsroom está siendo conducido, por favor contacte a:</p> <p>Sergio Hernández Informante independiente para Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) [REDACTED] [REDACTED]</p>
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Muchas gracias,



Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
Estudiante de doctorado (PhD)



School of English, Communications and Performance Studies (ECPS)
Monash University

Invitation email

Subject: Interview invitation

Dear <name>:

My name is Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas and I am conducting a research project leading to a PhD in Arts at Monash University, Australia. I have been inviting journalists and editors from Chilean news media organisations to participate in the first stage of my doctoral research, consisting of an online survey. This survey aims to explore the practices and beliefs of Chilean journalists in relation to digital mechanisms for interaction with the audience in the news media.

On this occasion, I am writing to invite you participate in the second stage of my research project, for which I would like to schedule an interview with you as <editor/social media editor> for <news media organisation>

You and other news and social media editors have been selected to participate in this stage of the study based on your first-hand knowledge of everyday editorial and journalistic work.

Your participation is highly valued and will contribute to the understanding of the changing roles and challenges for the journalistic profession in the digital era. This is in a region where developments about technology, journalism, and news media have not been researched enough. Moreover, your participation in this study will help to bring the professional and academic worlds closer, which are sometimes distant and translate into gaps in the training of new generations of journalists.

The interview will last between 30 minutes to one hour, in a date scheduled by you at your convenience. The interview can be conducted through Skype, considering I am currently living in Australia. However, if this option is difficult for you, I will be in Chile between 17 November 2013 and 24 January 2014. Thus, I am writing to you to schedule a face-to-face interview at any date that is convenient for you in the mentioned period.

It is important to remark that:

- Participation in this interview is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation.
- Participation in this interview can be anonymous if you wish, and an appropriate pseudonym will be assigned to you to preserve your identity.

The details about the study, the interview proceedings, the management, storage and publication of the information you provide, as well as contact information of my thesis supervisors and mechanism for complaints and observations are provided in the explanatory statement attached to this email.

Kind regards,



Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
Journalism Professor at Universidad de Concepción;
PhD Student, School of English, Communications and Performance Studies (ECPS),
Monash University
Melbourne, Australia.



Explanatory Statement

Monday 16 September 2013

Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
(PhD) student
School of English, Communications and Performance Studies
Faculty of Arts
Monash University
Caulfield campus, Melbourne,
VIC, Australia

Project Title:

Journalism, News Cultures and online media in the Chilean newsroom

My name is Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas and I am conducting a research project with Associate Professor Brett Hutchins in the Department of English, Communications and Performance Studies, towards a PhD in Arts at Monash University, Australia. This means that I will be writing a thesis with a maximum length of 100,000 words, which is the equivalent of a 300 page book and several journal articles.

This research project explores the journalistic practices and beliefs that exist in relation to digitally enhanced mechanisms for audience interaction and participation in Chilean news media outlets. The aim of this study is to investigate the functions of online feedback and interaction tools – such as comment forms, Facebook posts, tweets, email and others – in the news from the perspective of Chilean journalists. The significance of this research lies in the analysis of the changing professional roles of journalists, and the outlining of the role of news media in the digital age, in a region where developments in technology, journalism and news media are poorly understood.

This study involves two stages. The first consists of an anonymous survey of journalists and editors of Chilean media outlets with national reach and an Internet presence. This second stage consist of an individual semi-structured interviews with editors and social media (or similar positions) editors currently working at those Chilean media outlets.

You and other editors from these media outlets have been selected to participate in this study, based on your first-hand knowledge and experience of the everyday journalistic work and the roles currently played by Chilean news workers and news media on the digital age. Your contact information has been obtained from publicly available sources, such as your news media outlet website, or social networks such as LinkedIn.

It is important to remark that:

- Participation in this interview is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation.
- Participation in this interview can be anonymous if you wish so.

If you wish to participate, this interview should take a maximum of 1 hour and can be done though Skype on a date and hour at your convenience. The interview will be video

or audio recorded exclusively for purposes of facilitating the transcription of the data, and the footage will not be used for any other purpose than this research under any circumstances.

If you participate in this interview, a transcription will be sent to you for your approval before any use of the data provided by you. Participation in this study is voluntary. However, if you do consent to participate, you may only withdraw prior to the approval of the transcriptions.

All the data collected for this interview may be anonymous and maintained under anonymity in any further publication, if you prefer. If you prefer to be anonymous, the data you provide will be presented on my thesis, journal articles and other derived publications under an appropriate pseudonym that preserves your identity.

Storage of the data collected will adhere to the University regulations and kept on University premises in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet for 5 years. A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report.

If you would like to be informed of the aggregate research finding, please contact Claudio Jofré Larenas at [REDACTED] The findings are accessible for 2 years.

<p>If you would like to contact the researchers about any aspect of this study, please contact the Chief Investigator and my supervisor:</p> <p>A/Prof. Brett Hutchins, [REDACTED] [REDACTED]</p>	<p>If you have a complaint concerning the manner in which this research Journalism, News Cultures and online media in the Chilean newsroom is being conducted, please contact:</p> <p>Sergio Hernández Independent Informer to Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) [REDACTED] [REDACTED]</p>
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Thank You,

[REDACTED]

Claudio Omar Jofré Larenas
(PhD) student.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

School of English, Communications and Performance Studies (ECPS)
Monash University

Appendix F – Consent form for participating in the interviews

**Formulario de consentimiento
Editores de medios informativos chilenos**

**Proyecto: Journalism, News Cultures and online media
in the Chilean newsroom**

(Periodismo, culturas periodísticas y medios online en la Sala de Redacción chilena)

NOTA: Este formulario de consentimiento permanecerá en manos de los investigadores de Monash University para propósitos de registro.

Entiendo que se me ha solicitado participar en el proyecto de investigación de Monash University especificado anteriormente. El proyecto me ha sido explicado y he leído la Declaración Explicatoria, que mantengo para mi registro.

Entiendo que:	Sí	No
- He aceptado ser entrevistado por el investigador	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- A menos que así lo informe al investigador antes de la entrevista, he accedido a que dicha entrevista sea grabada en audio y/o video	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria, que puedo elegir no participar en parte o la totalidad del proyecto.

Entiendo que me será entregada una transcripción de la información proporcionada en la entrevista para mi aprobación antes de ser utilizada por el proyecto.

Entiendo que puedo retirarme en cualquier etapa del mismo previa a la aceptación de las transcripciones de la entrevista enviadas por el investigador para mi aprobación, sin recibir penalización o perjuicio alguno por ello.

Entiendo que cualquier información que los investigadores obtengan a partir de esta entrevista para ser usada en reportes o publicación de resultados, bajo ninguna circunstancia, contendrá nombres o caracterizaciones que permitan identificarme sin mi consentimiento firmado más abajo.

Entiendo que la información que entrego y que pueda llevar a la identificación de cualquier otro individuo no será divulgada en reporte o publicación alguna del proyecto o a terceras personas.

Entiendo que la información de la entrevista, transcripciones, y grabaciones de audio y video de la entrevista serán mantenidas bajo almacenamiento seguro y sólo serán accesibles al equipo del proyecto. También entiendo que la información será destruida luego de un periodo de 5 años a menos que yo consienta expresamente que sea usada en investigaciones futuras.

Por favor seleccione una de las dos opciones de privacidad

1	Autorizo a que mi nombre y posición en el medio en que me desempeño sean utilizados en cualquier publicación derivada del proyecto.	<input type="checkbox"/>
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O

2	Autorizo a que la información que yo proporcione en la entrevista sea publicada <u>sólo bajo un pseudónimo apropiado</u> que preserve de forma segura mi identidad, en todo momento y en cualquier reporte o publicación del proyecto.	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Nombre del entrevistado: _____

Firma: _____ **Fecha:** _____

**Consent Form
Editors of Chilean News Media Outlets**

Title: ***Journalism, News Cultures and online media in the Chilean newsroom***

NOTE: This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records.

I understand I have been asked to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records.

I understand that:	YES	NO
- I will be asked to be interviewed by the researcher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- unless I otherwise inform the researcher before the interview I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped and/or video-taped	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project.

I understand that I will be given a transcript of data for my approval before it is included in the write up of the research.

I understand that I can withdraw at any stage of the project prior to my approval of the transcripts of my interview, without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics without my signed consent below.

I understand that no information I have provided that could lead to the identification of any other individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party

I understand that data from the interview, transcripts, and audio and video recording of the interview, will be kept in secure storage and are accessible only to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless I consent to it being used in future research.

Please select one of the following privacy options

1	I do give permission for my name and my news media outlet's position to be identified in any reports or publications from the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>
----------	---	--------------------------

Or

2	I do give permission for the data I provide on the interview to be published <u>only under an appropriate pseudonym</u> that keep my identity safe, at all times in any reports or publications from the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>
----------	--	--------------------------

Participant's name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix G – Profile of interviewees

Camila Navarrete

Age: 23

Gender: Female

Position: City branch general editor (senior editor)

News media organisation: *BioBioChile* (online, radio-based news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Online newsroom

Date of interview: 6 October 2013

Place of interview: Skype interview

Interviewee's background: Journalist graduated in 2013 from the Universidad de Concepción. She registered four years of work experience at the time of the interview, most in Bío-Bío Comunicaciones. For three months she has been general editor of the Santiago branch of the news media outlet. She decided to study journalism after an accident and a long hospital stay, where she witnessed several human-interest situations that she though needed to be made public. She claims to be “online” all day.

Sergio Jara

Age: 35

Gender: Male

Position: Section editor (junior editor)

News media organisation: *El Mercurio Inversiones* (online-only news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Online newsroom

Date of interview: 9 October 2013

Place of interview: Skype interview

Interviewee's background: Journalist with experience in economics and technology.

He worked as journalist and editor in *América Economía* (specialised economics news website), where he founded the technology section.

He also worked in *Terra* and collaborates with alternative media and blogs such as *The Clinic* and *El Ciudadano*. He started studying Law at the university, but later he decided to study journalism.

Juan Pablo Martínez

Age: 30

Gender: Male

Position: Multimedia editor (junior editor)

News media organisation: *Emol* (online, newspaper-based news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Online newsroom

Date of interview: 12 November 2013

Place of interview: Skype interview

Interviewee's background: Journalist with experience in online media. He started working in *Emol* when he was a university student and after an internship in COPESA, he returned to work in *Emol*. He defined himself as a “nerd” during his high school years, as he was interested in Internet and digital technologies. He studied Law for two years and decided to channel his interest in digital technologies through studying journalism. He claims to be “always connected” to the Internet.

Claudio Arce

Age: 40

Gender: Male

Position: General editor (senior editor)

News media organisation: *Publimetro online* (online, newspaper-based news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Integrated newsroom

Date of interview: 26 November 2013

Place of interview: *Publimetro* newsroom, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: He has been general editor for *Publimetro online* for three years. He previously worked in *Terra* for nine years. He has a long experience in online media and helped to create the online edition of the *Publimetro* newspaper. He studied electronic engineering, but after unsatisfactory results he decided to study journalism. He started working in broadcast journalism. Working in *TVN* he realised his digital skills and decided to specialise in online media. He left *TVN* for *Terra*, where he became section editor. Among the news events that make an impact on him was the news coverage of the 11-S, as his team had to produce a special coverage while the main online news websites collapsed with online traffic. Another significant news event he covered online was the detention of Pinochet in London in 1998. He claims to be a heavy user of online technologies.

Cristián Bustos

Age: 60

Gender: Male

Position: Section editor (junior editor)

News media organisation: *La Segunda* (print newspaper)

Type of newsroom: Print newsroom

Date of interview: 26 November 2013

Place of interview: Cafeteria at El Mercurio Group, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: Journalist of vast experience in diverse newsbeats, including politics, economics, and current affairs. He had been working for 32 years in *La Segunda*, including 10 years as editor of the sports section. He defines himself as an “old guard” journalist, having witnessed the technological evolution of the Chilean newspaper industry. However, he claims to have adapted well to new digital technologies by working with journalists 30 years younger.

Salvador Carmona

Age: 39

Gender: Male

Position: General editor (senior editor)

News media organisation: *La Hora* (print newspaper)

Type of newsroom: Print newsroom

Date of interview: 26 November 2013

Place of interview: *La Hora* newsroom, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: Journalist with experience in print journalism and public communication. He has worked much of his career in newspapers for the COPESA group, including *La Tercera*, *La Cuarta*, y *La Hora*, in positions such as night shift editor, national section editor, and currently as general editor for the *La Hora* newspaper. He decided to study journalism when he was in high school. He praises the changes brought to the profession by digital technologies, although he recognises that the democratic potential of these technologies has not been achieved.

Sebastián Campaña

Age: 51

Gender: Male

Position: General editor (senior editor)

News media organisation: *Emol* (online, newspaper-based news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Print newsroom

Date of interview: 26 November 2013

Place of interview: Cafeteria at El Mercurio Group, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: Journalist with 27 years of experience, 20 of them in print journalism and six as general editor of *Emol*, an online newspaper from El Mercurio group. He registers experience in diverse news outlets, including newspapers *La Nación* and *La Tercera*, the defunct investigative magazine *Siete+7*, and also in television news. He admits to be a “print journalist”, with “ink running through [his] veins”, although he is positive that the future of journalism is on the Internet.

Mauricio Ávila

Age: 46

Gender: Male

Position: General editor (senior editor)

News media organisation: *Publimetro* (print newspaper)

Type of newsroom: Integrated newsroom

Date of interview: 27 November 2013

Place of interview: *Publimetro* newsroom, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: Journalist with vast experience in print and television. He registers experience in different editorial positions in the newspapers *Las Últimas Noticias* and *La Tercera* (10 years), and television channel *Chilevisión*, in sections such as police, sports, and the night shift. He has been editor for seven years in *Publimetro*, the last four as general editor of the newspaper. He is from the southern city of Osorno and is the first of his family to obtain a university degree. He decided to study journalism when a journalist and alumnus of his high school visited his former school and talked about his journalism career. He is a digital user and has a Twitter account, but uses it mostly to read tweets from other people.

Rodrigo Diez

Age: 38

Gender: Male

Position: Director of digital content division (senior editor)

News media organisation: *TVN / 24Horas.cl* (online, TV-based news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Online newsroom

Date of interview: 27 November 2013

Place of interview: Cafeteria at *TVN*, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: Journalist with experience in television and digital platforms. He worked nine years in *Canal 13*, and he has also experience as consultant on multimedia strategies. He studied for a Master's degree in television and new media in the US and joined *TVN* in 2012 to lead the project of a new digital platform. He became interested in digital technologies when he was working in *Canal 13*, as he witnessed the explosive growth of digital online video platforms.

Cynthia Páez

Age: 30

Gender: Female

Position: Social media editor (junior editor)

News media organisation: *El Mostrador* (online-only news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Online newsroom

Date of interview: 28 November 2013

Place of interview: *El Mostrador* newsroom, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: She joined *El Mostrador* in April 2013 in her current position. She graduated as journalist in 2008 and registers experience in television, online media, communication offices, and private consultancies. After graduating, she studied for a Master's degree in journalism and politics, and at the moment of the interview was studying for a diploma in digital audiences and social media. While her primary area of interest is political science, working in *El Mostrador* (an online newspaper with a core of politics and other 'hard news') allows her to combine this interest with digital media.

Elisa Segura

Age: 32

Gender: Female

Position: Deputy Section editor (junior editor)

News media organisation: *Canal 13* (television news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Broadcast newsroom

Date of interview: 28 November 2013

Place of interview: *Canal 13*, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: She has worked all her professional career in *Canal 13*. She joined the station after an internship in the Internet area of the entertainment division of *Canal 13*. She joined the news division as a reporter, then she was appointed to coordination functions and as deputy section editor at the moment of the interview. She claims to be always connected to the Internet, which is her favourite area of work. She would like to return to work in that area in the future, although in the news division of *Canal 13* she can apply her skills, as social media is an important part of the news gathering practices.

Verónica Franco

Age: 46

Gender: Female

Position: Deputy general editor (senior editor)

News media organisation: *Cooperativa* (radio news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Broadcast newsroom

Date of interview: 28 November 2013

Place of interview: *Cooperativa* studios, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: She graduated as a journalist in 1990. After a short spell in the *El Mercurio* newspaper and *Radio Gigante*, she joined *Cooperativa* in 1991, where she has worked since then. She is a veteran journalist and radio host for *Cooperativa*, with 23 years of experience. She also writes occasionally for *Caras* magazine and teaches radio journalism in the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile and Finis Terrae universities. She is a user of online technologies, although she claims to separate her personal and professional life on social media.

Eduardo Hernández

Age: 40

Gender: Male

Position: General editor (senior editor)

News media organisation: *Cooperativa* (radio news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Broadcast newsroom

Date of interview: 29 November 2013

Place of interview: *Cooperativa* newsroom, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: He registers experience in print and radio journalism, as well as in communication offices in the government. He started writing for cultural magazines such as *Canelo* while studying journalism at the university. After graduating in 1996, he worked as correspondent in Santiago de Chile for the *El Sur* newspaper of Concepción, and also in the *La Nación* newspaper and the defunct *Radio Chilena*. He has always been linked to the judiciary and politics newsbeats, and he reported in the 1990s about several investigations of Human Rights abuses during the Pinochet years. After 10 years working for the Government, he re-joined *Cooperativa* as general editor of the news department.

Jorge Modinger

Age: 63

Gender: Male

Position: Entertainment division editor (junior editor)

News media organisation: *Canal 13* (television news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Broadcast newsroom

Date of interview: 17 December 2013

Place of interview: *Canal 13* cafeteria, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: He has more than 40 years of experience in television, including 33 years in *Canal 13*. Although he has worked more in entertainment production, he has witnessed the technological evolution of Chilean television, including journalistic practices of news production.

César Valenzuela

Age: 35

Gender: Male

Position: Deputy Section editor (senior editor)

News media organisation: *La Tercera* (print newspaper)

Type of newsroom: Print newsroom

Date of interview: 19 December 2013

Place of interview: *La Tercera* newsroom, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: Journalist with experience in the economics newsbeat. He worked previously in *Estrategia* (an economics newspaper), *Radio Agricultura*, and in regional media such as the *El Expreso de Viña del Mar* newspaper. After a short spell in the communications office of the Ministry of Economy, he re-joined *La Tercera* in the economics and business section. He is a Twitter user and claims to use this platform frequently in his news gathering practices.

Cristián Hernández

Age: 37

Gender: Male

Position: Digital division director (senior editor)

News media organisation: *Mega* (online, TV-based news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Online newsroom

Date of interview: 20 December 2013

Place of interview: *Mega* newsroom, Santiago de Chile

Interviewee's background: Journalist with experience in television and expert in digital platforms. He joined *Mega* to lead its digital division, including several new products such as *Mega.cl*, *Radio Candela online*, *ETC TV*, and the women and lifestyle website *Estilo Mujer*.

Alberto González

Age: 27

Gender: Male

Position: Deputy general editor (senior editor)

News media organisation: *BioBioChile* (online, radio-based news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Online newsroom

Date of interview: 8 January 2014

Place of interview: Café near *BioBioChile* newsroom, Concepción, Chile.

Interviewee's background: Journalist graduated from the Universidad de Concepción in 2010. He joined *BioBioChile* during his internship. After a few replacement shifts, he was hired on an undefined term contract as a journalist and editor of the sports section. Since 2012 he has been deputy general director. He defines himself as an "online journalist".

Ricardo Cárcamo

Age: 32

Gender: Male

Position: Section editor (junior editor)

News media organisation: *El Diario de Concepción* (print newspaper)

Type of newsroom: Print newsroom

Date of interview: 9 January 2014

Place of interview: *El Diario de Concepción* newsroom, Concepción, Chile.

Interviewee's background: Journalist with experience in print journalism. He joined the *El Diario de Concepción* newspaper in 2008, and currently works as editor of the sports, and culture and entertainment sections. He started as a sport journalist for the *El Sur* newspaper. He worked also in the *El Gráfico* football magazine and the sports section of the news portal *Terra*.

Christian Leal

Age: 35

Gender: Male

Position: General editor (senior editor)

News media organisation: *BioBioChile* (online, radio-based news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Online newsroom

Date of interview: 9 January 2014

Place of interview: Café near *BioBioChile* newsroom, Concepción, Chile.

Interviewee's background: Journalist and blogger, with experience in web design and development, and online journalism. He started as an online journalist for the defunct *Mouse* magazine of the *La Tercera* newspaper, working online from the city of Concepción. After a short spell in Santiago de Chile, he returned to Concepción, teleworking for the *La Tercera* and *El Mercurio* newspapers. He joined *Canal 9 Bío-Bío TV*, a local television channel of Bío-Bío Comunicaciones, and later he developed the website of *Radio Bío-Bío*, being appointed as its general editor in 2009.

Ángela Bustamante

Age: 30

Gender: Female

Position: Multimedia editor (junior editor)

News media organisation: *SoyConcepción* (online, newspaper-based news outlet)

Type of newsroom: Online newsroom

Date of interview: 10 January 2014

Place of interview: Café near *SoyConcepción* newsroom, Concepción, Chile.

Interviewee's background: Journalist graduated from the Universidad de Concepción.

After working in the Information Technologies Section of the Universidad de Concepción, she joined the *El Sur* newspaper as an online journalist. Later she became multimedia editor of *SoyConcepción*, the local online news outlet of the *SoyChile* network, property of the El Mercurio Group.