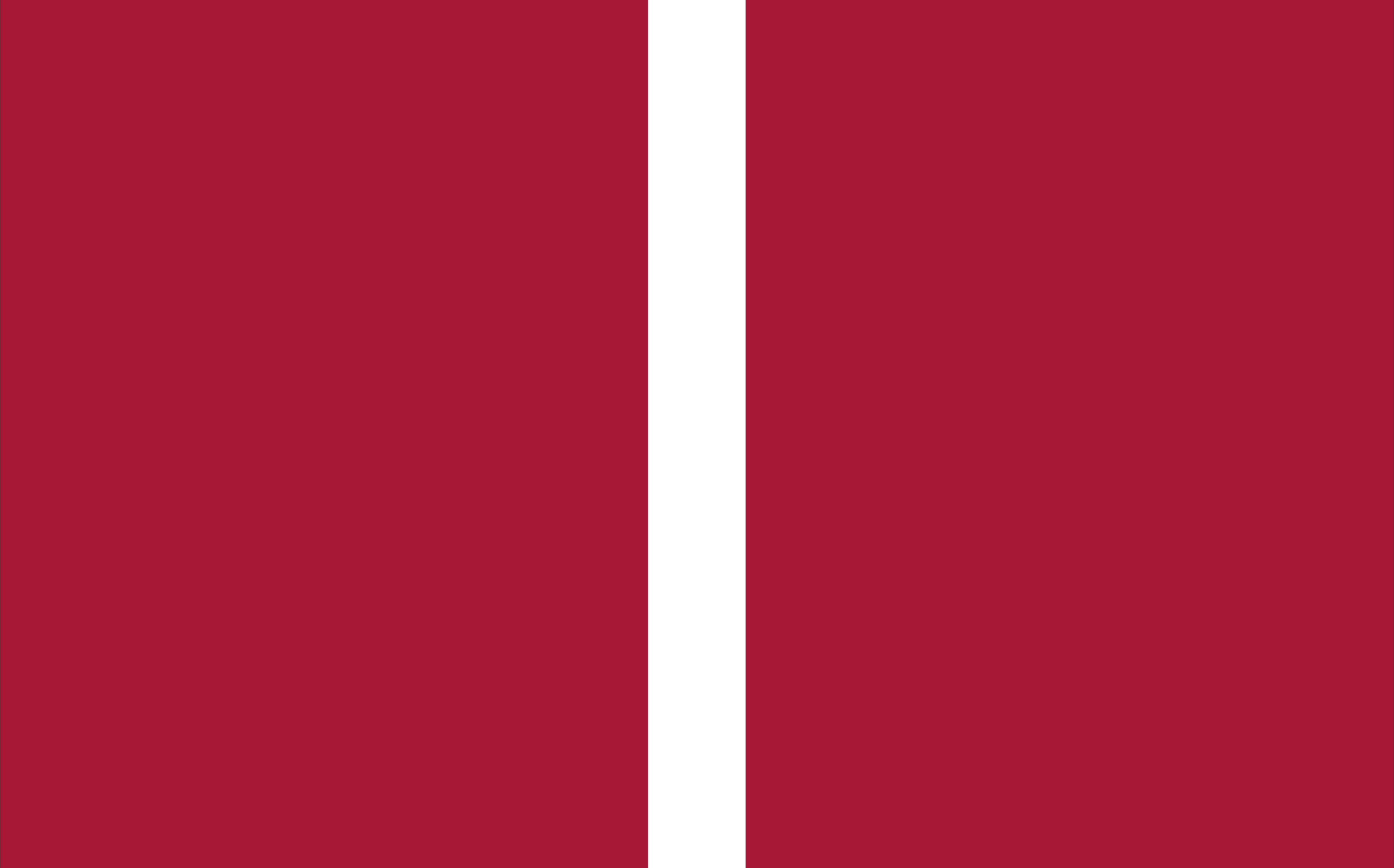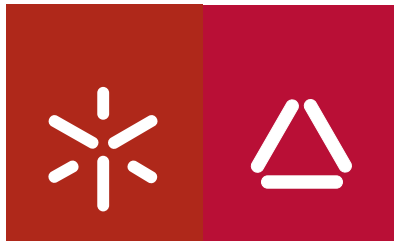Luís António Martins dos Santos

Journalism in transition - a study of change at *Jornal de Notícias*' online newsroom

Setembro de 2011

Luís António Martins dos Santos

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Luís António Martins dos Santos

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If freckles were lovely, and day was night,

And measles were nice and a lie warn't a lie,

Life would be delight, -

But things couldn't go right

For in such a sad plight

I wouldn't be I

If earth was heaven, and now was hence,

And past was present, and false was true,

There might be some sense

But I'd be in suspense

For on such a pretense

You wouldn't be You

If fear was plucky, and globes were square,

And dirt was cleanly and tears were glee

Thing would seem fair, -

Yet they'd all despair,

For if here was there

We wouldn't be We.

(E. E. Cummings, 1911)

Em memória do meu pai.

Esta tese foi escrita em língua inglesa na sequência da aprovação, em Conselho Científico do Instituto de Ciências Sociais realizado no dia 2 de Dezembro de 2008, de pedido nesse sentido formulado pelo candidato.

Journalism in transition

- a study of change at Jornal de Notícias' online newsroom

Abstract

Internet's rapid growth and especially its cross-medium nature is moving journalism away from a traditional linear media system into a more complex environment where new and old were to coexist and where 'established ways' – both in production and in consumption – no longer hold absolute rule. This being said, the research field has been marked by a strong initial normative thrust which would determine both academic inquiry and professional self-perceptions. Online journalism would be portrayed as being 'better' or 'worse' when measured up against idelalized propositions of 'what it should be' and online journalists' performance would also be evaluated according to their relative proximity to arguments on incorporating users' contributions and on accepting them in the newsgathering and production processes.

Awareness that change is indeed happening but outcomes are not pre-determined, rather resulting from interplay between technological possibilities, historicity, and social adoption, moved our research interest into the broad area of new media production ethnography.

Through a triangulated case study approach based on observant participation at *Jornal de Notícias*' online newsroom, we set out to observe online journalists' daily work in order to assess why some procedures were adopted and others were not, in order to map out what external inputs influenced and/or determine content production, and to attempt an identification of what (if any) traces of distinctiveness does the 'online' tag bring into their professional ethos.

We have noted that: one of the proposed advantages of online news, immediacy, did indeed become central in the new production dynamics; the increased relevance in the new online news operation of marketing concerns; transition in terms of online news production was accompanied by significant changes in the print newsroom; online newsroom production routines did not result

from the pre-arranged combination of inputs from professionals with distinct competences (as it would in print) but were rather output determined, which meant that journalists performed a wide range of tasks when giving attention to a specific area; first real interactions with users helped to create a non-uniform image of their potential contributions; between our first and second observation periods, significant changes in terms of professional 'ethos' have occured; and finally, thematic anchoring points for journalists have disappeared - unlike their Sports, Culture, or Economics counterparts in the print newsroom, online journalists' strongest attachment seemed to be to the online newsroom itself.

In summation, this first detailed observation of a transition in the online newsroom of a major Portuguese media outlet has highlighted the richness of detail which can be present in periods of greater fluidity and has presented hints of the emergence of a possible autonomous identity for online journalists based on their increasingly outcome oriented production roles, and on their perception of valuable acquired knowledge in areas like users' patterns of consumption, users' participation preferences and competitor's relative strengths and weakenesses.

Jornalismo em transição – um estudo da mudança na redação online do Jornal de Notícias

Resumo

O rápido crescimento da internet e sobretudo a sua natureza multi-plataforma estão a deslocar o jornalismo de um tradicional sistema linear para um ambiente mais complexo, onde novo e velho coexistem e onde 'formas de fazer' estabelecidas – tanto em termos de produção como de consumo – deixaram de ter validade absoluta.

A investigação do campo tem, porém, sido marcada por um ímpeto inicial deliberadamente normativo que determinou tanto questionamentos académicos como auto-perceções profissionais. O jornalismo online passou a ser categorizado como sendo 'melhor' ou 'pior' quando avaliado à luz de propostas idealizadas e a prestação dos jornalistas neste novo espaço passou a ser julgada em termos de proximidade a noções que antecipavam a incorporação de produção não-profissional nos processos de recolha e construção de materiais noticiosos.

A consciência de que uma mudança está, de facto, em curso mas a percepção de que não estão ainda estabilizados os seus efeitos – resultantes de uma intensa negociação entre possibilidades tecnológicas, a sua adoção social e o contexto histórico em que isso acontece – moveram a nossa investigação para a área da etnografia da produção de novos média.

Através de uma abordagem triangulada a um estudo de caso com base em observação participante, propusemo-nos observar a produção diária de jornalistas online tentando identificar razões para a adoção de determinados processos, influências externas na produção de conteúdos jornalísticos e eventuais traços distintivos de uma possível nova identidade profissional.

Deste trabalho resultou claro que: uma das anunciadas vantagens do jornalismo online, a instantaneidade, tornou-se efectivamente central na dinâmica de produção; a dimensão

empresarial do negócio tornou-se mais presente no dia-a-dia dos jornalistas; a transição, em termos de jornalismo online, não foi um episódio singular, tendo antes decorrido a par com outras alterações significativas no seio da redação traditional; as rotinas de produção online não resultavam da combinação pré-estabelecida de conteúdos por jornalistas com competências diferenciadas, sendo antes um processo orientado por objectivos – isto significava que os jornalistas desempenhavam um conjunto vasto de tarefas quando dando atenção a uma área específica; as primeiras interações concretas com os utilizadores (usuários) ajudaram a criar nos jornalistas uma imagem não uniforme sobre o valor das suas potenciais contribuições; entre o primeiro e o segundo período de observação registaram-se alterações significativas em termos de 'ethos' profissional; a ancoragem dos jornalistas a áreas temáticas específicas, como ainda acontece na maioria das redações da imprensa escrita, despareceram.

Em resumo, esta primeira observação detalhada de um momento de transição na redação online de um dos principais jornais portugueses sinalizou a riqueza de detalhe que pode ser detectada em momentos de maior fluidez e apresentou indicações sobre a emergência de uma possível identidade diferenciada dos jornalistas online, baseada em rotinas de produção orientadas para objectivos concretos e na perceção de conhecimento adquirido sobre padrões de consumo dos utilizadores, suas preferências e fragilidades e mais-valias da concorrência.

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1 Introduction

This project was born out of the challenges put by two reflections that somehow got interconnected in the researchers mind.

Idea one was that a significant portion of what was being said and written about journalism and the internet departed from outcome presumptions based on digital technology possibilities. One of the precursors of this trend, John Pavlik, would write in 2001: "In the twilight of the twentieth century and the dawn of the twenty-first, there is emerging a new form of journalism whose distinguishing qualities include ubiquitous news, global information access, instantaneous reporting, interactivity, multimedia content, and extreme content customization. In many ways this represents a potentially better form of journalism because it can reengage an increasingly distrusting and alienated audience. At the same time, it presents many threats to the most cherished values and standards of journalism. Authenticity of content, source verification, accuracy, and truth are all suspect in a medium where anyone with a computer and a modem can become a global publisher" (Pavlik, 2005: 13).

If we take the time to carefully scrutinize this statement we can easily detect a whole normative programme and, significantly, also sketches of the delimitation of a new field. Indeed, we have the suggestion of precise parameters under which to assess online news operations henceforth – ubiquity, immediacy, interactivity, multimedia, customization – we have a reason to act – better journalism and reengagement with audience – and we have the signaling of potentially conflicting areas, namely related to journalism practices and values.

Pavlik's enticing writings, like those of a few others, were not taken for what they were: thought provoking elaborations on possible paths for journalism on digital platforms; instead they were – with various degrees of enthusiasm, no doubt – taken by many as solid ground on which to base management strategies, research endeavours, and even education programmes.

Online journalism would be portrayed as being 'better' or 'worse' when measured up against most of these propositions and online journalists' performance would also been seen as more or less in tune with 'what should be' according to its relative proximity to arguments on

incorporating users' contributions and on accepting them in the newsgathering and production processes.

It is difficult not to recall, under these conditions, that which is perhaps Rousseau's most know quote: "In order then that the social compact may not be an empty formula, it tacitly includes the undertaking, which alone can give force to the rest, that whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be compelled to do so by the whole body. This means nothing less than that *he will be forced to be free*; for this is the condition which, by giving each citizen to his country, secures him against all personal dependence." (Rousseau, 1762).

This description, albeit referring to an altogether different historical context, seems helpful at this stage such was the predominance of the normative thrust. The rather muted voices of alternative readings were, especially in the middle part of this century's first decade, overpowered by a series of intricate discursive constructions funneling into undisputed 'facts' on what online journalism should be, and on what roles journalists and users should have in the new reality.

This effort to 'force us to be free' was mostly determined by views anchored on the prevalence of technological developments as promoters of social change (Mosco, 2005c) but also on readapted arguments on the necessity for journalism to be closer to the public (Rosen, 1995).

In a special report on the future of news, published in July 2011, The Economist, would write a series of compelling, mostly optimistic, texts best summed up by the the line: "There is a great historical irony at the heart of the current transformation of news. The industry is being reshaped by technology – but by undermining the mass media's business models, that technology is in many ways returning the industry to the more vibrant, freewheeling and discursive ways of the pre-industrial era" (Economist, 2011). It would be unwise to detach this evaluation from the publications own particular success story[1] yet this posture is testament to the enduring nature of

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[1] The Economist is frequently presented as one of the few print publications which have in fact thrived in recent years (http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2009/07/the-newsweekly-rsquo-s-last-stand/7489/; accessed on 2011-04-22). Indeed its circulation in the UK broke the 200,000 mark in the beggining of 2011 and its global circulation reached almost 1.5 million in the same period (http://www.journalism.co.uk/news/magazine-abcs-economist-uk-sales-break-200-000-mark-/s2/a542851/, accessed on 2011-04-22). Most significantly, revenues have been rising at a pace other publications can only dream of; overall revenue for the fiscal year ended March 31 2011 jumped nine per cent and operating profits were up 10 per cent. Subscriptions remain the largest revenue stream but digital advertising rose by some 23 per cent for the same period (http://www.foliomag.com/2011/economist-enjoys-advertising-rebound-fiscal-2011, accessed on 2011-07-10).

a vision which presents technology as the mostly bening predominant promoter of change in journalism.

Idea two was that the internet's rapid growth and especially its cross-medium nature was indeed moving journalism away from a traditional linear media system into a more complex environment where new and old were to coexist and where 'established ways' – both in production and in consumption – no longer held absolute rule.

Recent data from TeleGeography's Global Internet Geography indicates that internet traffic grew 62 per cent in 2010 after growing 74 per cent in 2009[2], and the Internet Innovation Alliance noted that by 2010 the amount of bandwidth consumed by 20 north-American households was greater than that of the entire internet in 1995 (Sagan, 2010: 123). A 2008 study conducted in Portugal by Obercom would show that more than 40 per cent of respondents were internet users and that among the 15-24 age group that usage increased to more than 80 per cent (Obercom, 2009b).

This rapid expansion of the internet, undoubtedly connected to the popularization of both wireless networks and mobile devices, contributed to an alteration of consumption patterns. A recent report by British media regulator, OFCOM, on a 'Consumer's digital day' would indicate that the average British person spent 45 per cent of its waking hours (more than seven hours) engaging in media and communication activities and that 1/5 of that period was spent using more than one form of media concurrently. Significantly, 16-24 year old's spent less time engaging with media than the average (less than seven hours) yet almost 1/3 of their time with media was concurrent and over half of it was spent facing a computer or a mobile phone (OFCOM, 2010). Data from an earlier study conducted in Portugal by Obercom would already point out in this direction – multitasking as a new form of engagement with media – by noting that 1/3 of contacted Portuguese respondents indicated that they normally used the mobile phone while watching television (Obercom, 2009c).

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[2] http://www.telegeography.com/products/commsupdate/articles/2010/10/06/global-internet-traffic-growth-remains-strong-in-2010/, accessed on 2011-08-23.

This accelerated expansion has even led researchers to question the adaptability of models of media evolution as life cycles to this new space; "From the model's perspective, the 'natural history' of the internet is paradoxical. While following the same pattern of stages found among its predecessors – if at a somewhat accelerated pace – in its threat to older media we find a reversal of the historical pattern. (...) Media started out simply (speech, drawing) and have been multiplying since the dawn of the human race – that is, until the internet. While this multimedium is a new species too, it also 'threatens' to swallow up most, if not all, of the other media in an orgy of digital convergence – a super-species rendering most (or even all) others extinct as separate communication organisms" (Lehman-Wilzig, 2004: 726).

The paradoxical nature of the internet is present in its 'un-historical like' pattern of adaptation to pre-existing media but also in the unprecedented opportunities it opened to self-publication and personalization in an environment of far greater interconnectedness. And, as Singer as so aptly noted, messages stoped being discrete: "message producers and message consumers are interchangeable and inextricably linked" (Singer, 2008b: 162).

This fluidity – the absence of a single strong and clearly identifiable factor yet the intricate relation between a myriad of small developments – is precisely what gives the internet its novel appeal yet it is also what has baffled and eroded pre-internet media structures. Scott's elegant proposal to think of what is happening to traditional media as akin to the fall of an empire with the help of W. H. Auden's 'The Fall of Rome' poem seems very appropriate (Scott, 2009):

The piers are pummelled by the waves;
In a lonely field the rain
Lashes an abandoned train;
Outlaws fill the mountain caves.

Fantastic grow the evening gowns;
Agents of the Fisc pursue
Absconding tax-defaulters through
The sewers of provincial towns.

Private rites of magic send

The temple prostitutes to sleep;

All the literati keep

An imaginary friend.

Cerebrotonic Cato may

Extol the Ancient Disciplines,

But the muscle-bound Marines

Mutiny for food and pay.

Caesar's double-bed is warm

As an unimportant clerk

Writes I DO NOT LIKE MY WORK

On a pink official form.

Unendowed with wealth or pity,

Little birds with scarlet legs,

Sitting on their speckled eggs,

Eye each flu-infected city.

Altogether elsewhere, vast

Herds of reindeer move across

Miles and miles of golden moss,

Silently and very fast[3].

A poem about an empire with no emperor to be seen – a deliberate effort by the author to show us decline in little pieces of real life instead of big defining moments or relevant actors' prowesses. "There is no *one* reason empires fall. Why those forces that generated such success, such wealth, such dominance seem to loose their potency and impact. Why the points on the compass suddenly shift, and that which once made us great becomes instead the source of our demise" (Scott, 2009: 3).

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[3] (Auden, 1995: 125).

And yet, as life continues – "*Unendowed with wealth or pity / Little birds with scarlet legs,/ Sitting on their speckled eggs,/Eye each flu-infected city.*" – signs of realignment come to the fore:

Altogether elsewhere, vast
Herds of reindeer move across
Miles and miles of golden moss,
Silently and very fast

There is, in Auden's deliberately understated irony, a sense of historical continuity assured by an enduring organicity. In their pervasiveness, simple gestures and natural actions are there to show us an image which is complex yet fluid and where transitions are much more than a bland hiatus in between major historical developments – they are born out of specific conditions and they play a role in the development of future events.

Awareness that change is indeed happening but outcomes are not pre-determined, rather resulting from interplay between technological possibilities, historicity, and social adoption, moved our research interest into the broad area of new media production ethnography (Paterson, 2008).

Our main purpose was hence not to search for ways to 'improve' online journalism nor was it to search for evidence dismissing either optimistic or pessimistic discourse about it. Our research queries had a rather more plain aspiration – to observe online journalists' daily work in order to assess why some procedures were adopted and others were not, in order to map out what external inputs influence and/or determine content production, and trying to identify what (if any) traces of distinctiveness does the 'online' tag bring into their professional ethos.

This 'behind-the-scenes' approach, which ows much to a vast group of researchers, like Gaye Tuchman or Herbert Gans[4], had very recently found a new lease of life with the advent of online

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[4] For a comprehensive account of the broad field of Ethnography and news production see Cottle, 2007. For a detailed overview of recent works focusing on online (or converging) newsrooms see Singer, 2008c.

or converged newsrooms, yet no work had been produced on the basis of the observation of a Portuguese operation.

The overtly newsroom centred approach still shares some of the frailties of earlier observations, namely by risking an under-valuation of useful macro-lensed readings of media's interplay with political and social agents, by not giving the needed attention to the increasingly professionalized setting surrounding journalism as an activity, and by presenting results which (being normally based on case studies) are rather limited for extrapolation purposes.

Still, we would tend to share Cottle's observation that "these studies help to reveal the constraints, contingencies and complexities 'at work' and, in so doing, provide the means for a more adequate theorisation of the operations of the news media and the production of the discourses 'at play' within news media representations – and possibly, by extension, the media more generally" (Cottle, 2007: 2). Even if, as we have just mentioned, generalizations should not be made from one particular case, a distant observation of different cases could help to identify similarities or peculiarities in this specific new form of producing journalism (Paterson, 2008: 6).

Our purpose and intention when intiating this project was hence to add the first study of a major Portuguese media operation to a growing number of ethnographic observations of online news production and to do so by taking advantage of a very singular opportunity we had been given – to witness the transition of a major newspaper's online news project from a rather limited shovelware operation into a new updated offering produced by a larger newsroom in closer cooperation with its print counterpart.

Alluring as it was (especially because extended newsroom access is becoming increasingly rare) this opportunity was compounded by a series of other factors which made the study of transition at *Jornal de Notícias* a particularly solid research proposition: *Jornal de Notícias* is Portugal's second widest audience daily newspaper; *Jornal de Notícias* was the first Portuguese media company to have a regularly updated online edition; *Jornal de Notícias*'s main newsroom, located in Oporto, offered the possibility of undertaking research with controlled levels of costs.

Our study of change at *Jornal de Notícias* started in November 2007 and newsroom observations took place between May 2008 and March 2009. Collection of data related to this study finished at the end of April 2009.

Ethnography being understood in this study more as an encompassing qualitative methodology (Hartmann, 2007: 259) than as an appropriate method we have constructed a research design much in the manner described by Singer as 'triangulation': "a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning and identify different ways of seeing a phenomenon" (Singer, 2008c: 165). As such, the centerpiece of our study was a participant observation case study analysis focused on *Jornal de Notícias'* online newsroom, yet it also included valid insights and relevant data gathered from in-depth interviews, a journalists' survey, and, significantly, a novel users' questionnaire accessed from *jn.pt*'s homepage and every news story during more than one week. The research was further complemented by documental analysis.

Having already stated our partiality to an understanding of reality which sees historicity and social adoption as relevant components of technologically enabled changes and having also noted our particular interest in moments of transition as periods of time when greater fluidity allows for rich insights into agents behavior we have designed this study as a concentrical juxtaposition of layers around an axis. A path, from the periphery to the centre is suggested and our intention is to make that a journey where signs are always interpreted as related to online journalism activities. Newsroom observation was our focus but an understanding as encompassing as possible of that singular space could not have been developed without analyzing contexts which have an impact on actors' decisions, performance and self-perceptions.

Chapter 2 – *Turning Digital* – offers a broad overview of debates on the expansion of the internet. The extensiveness of the field and the ideologically charged nature of some discussions led us to adopt a cautiously detached approach, as much as possible aware of the significance of novelty yet wary of any misreading of signs (Silverstone, 1999: 10).

In light of what has been previouls mentioned we consider the appearance and expansion of the internet as a very significant and powerful process integrating innovative technological development, its social and individual appropriation, and the ongoing interplay with pre-existing technologies, usages, and knowledge acquisition and dissemination appataruses. We hence adopt an understanding which perceives the internet as a heterogenous reality, in tune with Flichy's description: "It is not a medium but a system which is tending to become as complex as the society of which it is claimed to be a virtual copy" (Flichy, 2002: 147).

In the first part of the chapter we contextualize the 'appearance' of cyberspace as a mythologized theoretical construct based on apparently deterministic supply-demand notions – technology usage will be determined by its potentialities, information access will happen in all available interfaces, interaction will happen to its full potential if only people are given the opportunity. This tecno-optimist 'charter' later influenced readings of the internet and of its most common interface, the world wide web, as a place where central control points have been removed and self-organized and self-stimulated communication can ensue promoting, over time, social change (Weinberger, 2002).

This "latter-day lingua franca" (Mattelart, 2002:592) was based on two interconnected perceptions: a) new digital communication's usage is overwhelmingly benign and 'alteration' is presented mostly as a synonym for 'improvement'; b) the internet paves the way for the correction of pre-existing chronic unbalances acting as a generator of equilibrium in social, economic and political terms; it somehow reduces the uneveness of the playing field between former producers and consumers of knowledge and goods, between those who had exclusive access to the public space and those who were 'mass observers', and between those in positions of political power and those whom they represent.

We further note that, significantly, despite playing such a vital role in social change processes, the internet is presented as an almost traceless clean tool available to individuals (all with the same access, opportunity, and pre-acquired knowledge) who want to become accomplished partakers in the construction of diverse and evershifting communalities of interest. Furthermore, inadequate consideration is given to the user and a sense of historcicity seems also absent.

A discussion on the validity of incorporating a sense of historical measure into the debate ensues and a presentation of media ecology – at the confluence of anthropology and communication, borrowing and reformatting contributions from fields as far apart as linguistics and economics – as a 'casing' which regains usefulness as an interpretative apparatus in the present precisely due to this somewhat hybrid nature is made.

In the second part of the chapter we depart from an operative proposal – the convergence of technologies and their adoption has increased interconnectedness, defying conceptions of what constitutes the social common space and of what types of performances individuals can have in it – to elaborate in detail on the three foundational concepts: convergence, network, and common space. They are presented as autonomous areas of debate, each of them with direct (real and presumed) effects on journalism.

We venture that whatever convergence does exist in journalism outlets – networks, terminals, services, languages, markets, regulatory regimes – it appears to have been far less the result of technological developments than the result of usage/appropriation processes where intervenors have not always shared common perceptions of objectives.

Network journalism, as the descriptor proposed to best illustrate what results from the intersection between the core competences and functions of journalists and the civic potential of online journalism (Bardoel, 2001) is, we content, still very much an advanced projection of strategic thinking. In that sense its attachment to reality is still very feeble, deliberately avoiding pertinent questions related to the journalistic activity (access to the profession, legal and ethical constraints, group and career dynamics), to the feasibility of business models, and to the modalities and constraints intrinsic to the interplay with audiences.

The internet has also fueled a debate on the place of journalism in a presumably changing common space; whilst some would still venture a recuperation of arguments in tune with the proposals of public/civic journalism others would indicate that a more radical agenda ought to be set in motion. The explosion of self-publication, most notably after 2003 (Santos, 2004) and the emergence of a myriad of disintermediated sites (Pinto, 2008: 14) paved the way for a discourse on the 'armies of Davids' and on the need to realign journalism without the participation of

traditional media companies. This demonization whilst (deliberately) failing to show us some of the relevant 'grey areas' had the value of enhancing the importance of alternative production and of keeping journalism on a 'cautious mode', aware that its presence in the common space now ought to be though of in relation to and in collaboration with open source production (Witt, 2006) from an increasing number of personal contributions (Gillmor, 2005).

Chapter 3 – *Online journalism in context* – starts with three cautionary notes:

1) Discourses on the crises of journalism are plentiful and they should always be considered noting their provenance, the relative positioning of the argumentation (media or socio-centric), and their specific nature;

2) The concept of crisis is not, in itself, a novelty for journalism; both confrontation and crisis are less episodical and perhaps more permanent features of an activity so directly linked to the structures of democratic rule (McChesney, 2011a: 151-161);

3) Two lines of argumentation are often presented in such an entangled manner as to lead the hasty reader to presume they are but one: the crisis of the journalistic enterprise and the crisis of journalism. For some authors the existence of the industry is still the best guarantor of a sense of order in an otherwise messy, muddled, riddled with uncertainty, and danger saturated free-for-all information universe. The alternative view is that journalism itself is more important than the particular vessel it uses and the failure to distinguish that is one of the problems of current media debate (Cole, 2009: 6). As such, the end or substantial reduction of a particular type of journalism (journalism produced by large corporations for large audiences) might indeed be a possibility and that should not be taken as a downright demise of journalism itself (Fogel & Patino, 2005).

The first part of this chapter focuses on *journalism and change* departing from a useful differentiation between two discursive inclinations; one which upholds that digital communications and what they represent (mobility, increased interactivity, etc.) will dramatically change the face of journalism, and the other which accepts digital communications induced

changes to journalism – as a social phenomenon, as a professional practice, as an economic activity – but it presumes the permanence of some of its distinctive traits (Heinonen, 1999).

For the purpose of this study, we would feel inclined to follow the second inclination and share in Singer's skilfull normative proposal on the socially responsible existentialist (Singer, 2006a). It naturally follows that we take both change and adaptation to be key components of journalism as a socially evolving phenomenon and we would prefer to shy away from simplistic observations on the emergence of digital communications as either promoter or panacea for journalism's current situation.

The second part of the chapter, *online journalism discourses*, centres it attention on the emergence of online journalism (with special attention to the Portuguese situation) and on the theoretical constructions erected around that phenomenon.

The accelerated expansion, often abusively presented as the reason for the demise of traditional journalism (Dahlgren, 1996), was nevertheless responsible for a flurry of discourses.

The most exuberant were particularly relevant because, operating on a 'should be' basis, they have significantly influenced research and permeated the construction of popular and professional frameworks on the subject. On this specific account we found it useful to follow Domingo's division of these arguments into three separate groups: hypertext utopias, multimedia utopias, and interactivity utopias (Domingo, 2005; Domingo, 2006).

A different type of research production centred on an empirical evaluation of online journalism; studies were developed with attention being given to the output made available through websites, to the new professional, and to the users. In general, these works have noted that a disparity was clearly observable between early predictions and reality. Explanations were sought in the notion that 'old media' were to blame for 'not getting the web' (Hall, 2001) or in the fact that online journalism was simply at an early stage in its development (Pavlik, 2005) yet we would venture that these deterministic considerations stood on frail ground. Boczkowski's reading of the same phenomenon offered us an explanation which seemed simultaneously more unceremonious and challenging. In his words, at least for the established news operations, the appropriation of non-

analog alternatives – which he fittingly called hedging – always had one simple underlying purpose, to change by remaining the same (Boczkowski, 2005).

The third and final part of this chapter brings to the fore *the newsroom as a privileged observation point.* After noting, earlier in the chapter, that most initial predictions on online journalism had failed to materialize, and that empirical research attempting to verify those predictions revealed a much more complex environment, marked by differences in rhythm and intensity and, significantly, by permanent negotiation processes, we present a series of recent studies which have adopted a broadly ethnomethodological approach and centred their attention on actions taking place at in the newsroom floor. Given their specific nature these studies are deliberately presented as autonomous units. The sequential reading of micro-observation results not being able to promote generalizations it can nevertheless provide us with insights to better understand actors' endevours.

Chapter 4 contains a detailed explanation of the adopted *methodology* in this study. In keeping with our overarching idea for this project – that of a concentric design – it somehow follows from what has already been said that we espouse a view which perceives technology adoption as an interdependent process with simultaneous effects – the actor shapes the artifact whilst taking advantage of its social interplay – and with a historically grounded 'permanent circularity'. As Singer notes, qualitative ethnography is still very much 'a good fit' for studies on newsrooms changes because it gives prominence to the meanings of behavior and interactions among members of a culture-sharing group, because it puts the researcher in the middle of the topic under study, because it implies an openness to the unexpected, because if focuses on specific cases, and because it apprehends debates among actors at play in a given environment (Singer, 2008c).

Detailed arguments are presented to support the undertaking of a case study research and reasons are presented to account for the specificity of *Jornal de Notícias* at that singular moment in time.

Newsroom observation was assumed in a role closer to that of 'observer as participant', given that we did not engage in any news production activities during our observation period yet we could not help but notice that our simple presence there might have induced some behavior alterations. We would, thus, tend to follow Hammersley and Atkinson's notion that, in a sense, "all social research is a form of participant observation, because we cannot study the social world without being a part of it" (Hammersley, 1983). In all, observation took place at different moments over a 10 month period. The initial design of the project envisaged a somewhat more geometrically balanced pattern – two-week periods over six consecutive months – yet that was not possible mainly for logistical reasons. During that period interviews and informal conversations provided both added details on occurrences and also useful annotations on journalist's perceptions.

Our work was complemented by two questionnaires.

The first one was distributed to both online and print newsrooms before the beginning of our observation period and significantly before the start of the new online news venture; the final and revised version was delivered in hand by the researcher to 86 journalists of *Jornal de Notícias*' main newsroom during the course of three consecutive mid-week working days: 27-30 November 2007. Out of the 86 questionnaires 65 were accounted for as valid (a return rate of 75.5 per cent).

The second questionnaire, centred on *jn.pt*'s users, was made available after the conclusion of our observations. It was available, through *Jornal de Notícias*' homepage and also through all news stories from the first minute of April 27th 2009 through to 6.30 p.m. of May 4th 2009. Data was collected from 338 valid answers (113 questionnaires were not finished).

Chapter five – *a project for change* – presents an overview of *Jornal de Notícias*' past history, a recollection of its (pionnering) first online news venture, a detailed account of the particular business under which the new project was developed and, finally, an indication of what were journalists' thoughts on change at the end of 2007.

Having previously stated the relevance of specific conditions and especially of a distinct historical background – as Boczkowski would put it, 'the past survives in the future' – this chapter hence attempts to map out those relevant areas: an historical Portuguese newspaper, with an image built over more than one hundred years under specific conditions and with specific objectives; a pioneering bold online experience which did not evolve; finally, a newsroom, aware of this history and with a very peculiar 'acquis' in terms of online possibilities perception.

Jornal de Notícias's past history helped to cement a respected position among Portuguese daily newspapers, linked to a set of features like a strong attachment to a particular region of the country (the North), and an inclination to cover in more detail a few thematic areas (like social issues and sports, for instance).

Regarding the first online news project, it could be said that those responsible for it had been taken in by some of the more utopian postulations on online journalism and acted accordingly; attempting to create an area which maintained a connection to the 'mothership' whilst exploring new possibilities and especially inaugurating a closer relationship with a new and less geographically bound audience. In any case, the adoption of online journalism was much bolder as a projection than as an implemented process. Having been an editorially fueled idea, rather than a business inspired decision, that 'newsroom floor' beginnings did not, however, turn it into a newsroom issue; it ensued from the discussions of a few and was never fully explained to the rest.

The new online project was part of a larger tranversal group level strategy; notwithstanding editorial initiatives to create autonomous and distinctive new online presences, the thrust of the process was top-down and presumed a new level of interaction with newly created transversal units within the group. Furthermore, the overall strategy of the group was in accordance with the behavior of similar operations in other parts of the world and also in tune with business guided theoretical discussions on the matter of 'adapting to digital communication enabled environments'.

Regarding the newsroom, we have noted that a predominantly male population, substantially changed in the last 15 years (hence reducing the possibility of linkage to perceptions related to

the beginning of the first online news experience) showed some degree of personal contact with digital technologies and expressed willingness to spare time to learn new skills. Journalists felt strongly about traditional professional assumptions on the predominance of print, on the relative biased nature of audiences, and on the pivotal role they should continue to play.

Chapter six – *observing the online newsroom* – presents the results of our observation process, combining observation notes, interviews, and documental materials. We have divided the chapter into four distinct parts – a description of the work environment, an analysis of roles and newsroom culture, gathering and writing the news, and innovation and output.

Our observation documented the shift from an initial cramped area onto a more spacious and more visible room in the overall floor plan. Despite being planed to happen before the launch of the new online news project it would only really happen on the 23rd of July – almost two months after the new web presence went live. From a cramped separate space – where visual contact with the main newsroom was only possible through the door opening – journalists and equipment moved to a glass walled room, with more than twice the area of the previous one, in direct visual contact with the main floor. The space had been previously used as the editors meeting room. This was, we content, much more that a simple change of venue; it entailed a symbolic dimension which would contribute to a shift in online journalists' self-perception.

The workflow, as implemented from mid-May 2008 onwards, would anticipate a 15-hour constant update daily news cycle (far from the utopian 24/7 model) which involved three different shifts for journalists and interns and looking at it in detail would give us the possibility to also apprehend what were the most relevant thematic areas for the online newsroom: breaking news on matters related to police, sports, country, people & technology, autonomous multimedia production and community related pages management.

This clear editorial positioning owed as much to a strategic orientation as it did to a specific set of perceptions on what online journalism should be and the most striking aspect of that concrete set of perceptions is that it changed significantly during our observation period.

A first moment, which involved the run-up to the news site's launch and the first few months of activity was mostly characterized by the 'planned' framework , in an attempt to somehow 'fulfil the online promise', yet a second moment, which we would identify with our observation periods in January and March 2009, would present us a somewhat altered self-perception layout. Although journalists still saw themselves as independent, higly trained, mostly skeptical yet objective professionals the fact is that – perhaps without even noticing it – they had also incorporated new interconnected distinctive traits. The first was the less enthusiastic posture regarding both multimedia production and interaction with users. The second was the increased integration into permanent journalistic decision making of factors like webmetrics and competition comparison.

In terms of performed tasks, we would say that journalistic work in the online newsroom was somewhere in between the traditional newsroom model and those adopted by other occupations linked to digital production, reflecting much more a final outcome oriented focus (Weiss, 2009). Journalists would often oscilate with apparent seamlessness between production involving traditional gathering, verifying, and writing tasks and a type of production based on a more modular occupational structure in which specific tasks were not assigned to specific people. This outcome determined production meant that no single set of procedures could be identified as representative of an online newsroom working routine. During our observations we have noted at least five 'ways of doing things' each relating to a specific intention: breaking news, autonomously produced breaking news, content transportation, multimedia production, social networks updating and user interaction management. Some were notoriously more present than others yet their adoption was flexible and sometimes intertwined which meant that one journalist could, during his/her work day, adapt and tune his/her production to the sequential or overlapping rhytms of one or more of them.

 In terms of innovation and output we noted that during the last semester of 2008 *Jornal de Notícias*' online news operation produced 278 videos, 29 infographies, 305 photo-galleries, 59 audios, and 11 multimedia special features. The fact that this increased and especially more diverse production, deserved peer and academic recognition helped to naturalize outcome

oriented production hence hinting at the creation of a online newsroom culture slowly advancing towards differentiation in comparison to its print counterpart.

Chapter seven – *users and interactivity* – aims at presenting an overview of the evolution of interactive features, their adoption by users, and journalists' evalutions of that process, combining it with results from our users questionnaire.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, initial expectations on user involvement with the new online news venture were proved over-optimistic; hence journalists' evaluation of that involvement resulted in the attribution of differentiated relevance to different forms of participation.

Data from our questionnaire suggests – even if we should emphasize that results were only representative of the opinions of 338 *jn.pt* users –an image of a reasonably educated avid information seeker who visited *jn.pt* for its perceived immediate virtues in the context of a constant comparison between competing online news producers. This user trusted *JN* but did not seem to pay too much attention to presumably more user oriented areas on the site. This having been said, a considerable number of respondents felt sufficiently involved with the product to finish answering the questionnaire with additional comments. Relevantly though, out of the 130 expressed comments, none asked for increased interactivity.

Regarding interactive features we have broadly described three areas: customization, user's feedback, and user's direct contributions.

Customization at *Jornal de Notícias'* new online project was initially confined to user registration and the initiative was mostly intended to promote a sense of civic responsibility.

Users' feedback was felt directly, through e-mails, telephone calls, and comments, or indirectly, via their identified behaviours after entering *jn.pt*.

E-mails were seldom originators of significant changes in both product and production routines and users' comments – especially after the end of moderation – were seen by journalists as an environment which at best offered curious insights into human behaviour. Data on users' online conduct, on the other hand, were – even if unwittingly – considered much more relevant.

Journalists would assume traditional news selection criteria as their main guidance yet it soon became noticable that permanently available data on users preferences started to seep in to equation. Especially after the summer of 2008, more and more stories related to celebrities, curiosities, or connected to videos of bizarre events (sometimes accidents), started to find their way into the top spot of the far left column in the homepage.

The integration of user produced content was, as mentioned earlier, perceptible in the creation of three autonomous user oriented areas – Blogs, Community, and Citizen Journalism – yet a clash between expectations and outcomes soon resulted in changes and, most relevantly, in the process helped to establish what was perceived in the newsroom as a more accurate acquis of knowledge on 'what users really want'.

Faced with partially unintended results, and pressured by an assortement of constraints, journalists withdrew to more traditional grounds and created a 'workable' (as one journalist would tell us) interaction framework with users which mostly encompassed contributions on popular culture oriented or personal/daily life themes.Direct user involvement in newsgathering, news selection and news production at *Jornal de Notícias* was reduced to a minimum. Online journalists enjoyed the higher levels of interaction with users in comparison to those experienced by their print counterparts yet they adapted the site and their own procedures so that such occurences did not hinder what they though of as their (more traditional) primary role.

Chapter eight presents a set of seven concluding observations highlighting both constrantaits to online journalists work and their changing perceptions of users and their own specific indentity. Three others questions are further presented as desirable future lines of inquiry.

2   Turning digital

The expansion of the World Wide Web from the mid 1990's onwards, especially after the appearance in 1993 of Mosaic (Abbate, 1999: 212-218), has triggered a wide variety of interpretations ranging from 'catalyst for profound social change' to 'promoter of pre-existing socio-economic structures'.

The factual growth is, in itself, unquestionable; estimated internet users worldwide (2,13 million in 1990) have grown 201.15 per cent in the last decade alone, from 1,036 million in 2000 to an estimated 2,084 million in 2010 (30.1 per cent of the population), whilst mobile broadband subscriptions have grown 1287 per cent, from 73 million users in 2000 to an estimated 940 million users in 2010 (13.6 per cent of the population) (ITU, 2010). Usage patterns increasingly incorporate sharing, adaptation, and co-creation of contents (PEW, 2011).

The debate nonetheless takes this or very similar data only as a departure point to elaborate more often than not on pre-existing discussions on the nature, implications, and effects of technology in society. The upside of what sometimes could easily be described as akin to a series of fencing contests between academic postulations is of course the depth and breadth of the proposed argumentations. To present them in detail would go beyond the purpose of this particular study; instead, as that is the prime object of this work, we will attempt to focus on contributions which might help us to shed light into the present and future challenges of journalism, understood as a social phenomenon (Zelizer, 2004), and encompassed by McNair's broad definition: "an account of the existing real world as appropriated by the journalist and processed in accordance with the particular requirements of the journalistic medium through which it will be disseminated to some section of the public (quoted in Franklin, 2005:124).

Opening up a discussion in an aptly named 'What's new about new media?' themed section of *New Media & Society* inaugural volume, Roger Silverstone would write: "It is easy to be seduced by the simplicity and the significance of novelty. It is easy to misread the signs." (Silverstone, 1999: 10). Presenting the issue in a perhaps wittier fashion Lister et al. would say: "the critical critics are so deep underwater that they don't see the wave. Meanwhile, the uncritical utopians

are so focused on the crest of the wave itself that they cannot see the ocean of which it is part"
(Lister, 2003: 4).

Not wanting to risk getting entagled in this almost self-consuming opposition we would favour a
reading which accepts the porous, sometimes overlapping, and necessarily more complex nature
of both this particular reality and its multiple observations. For operative reasons we would also
eschew the 'name discussion' (Interactive communication? Hypermedia? Networked media?
Cybermedia?) rather preferring to adopt Scolari's notion that digitalization – understood as the
technological process that reduces non-digital contents to "something that can be easily
fragmented, handled, linked, and distributed" – is at the fulcrum of activities like networking,
multimedia production, collaborative and multidireccional communication (Scolari, 2009:946).
Attempting to promote an understanding of the 'new' without dismissing what historians would
call a *longue durée* view (Braudel, 1958), and for the purposes of this study, we consider the
appearance and expansion of the internet as a very significant and powerful process integrating
innovative[5] technological development, its social and individual appropriation, and the ongoing
interplay with pre-existing technologies, usages, and knowledge acquisition and dissemination
appataruses. It follows that we favour an understanding which perceives the internet as an
heterogenous reality, in tune with Flichy's description: "It is not a medium but a system which is
tending to become as complex as the society of which it is claimed to be a virtual copy" (Flichy,
2002: 147).

2.1 A morphing new environment

First coined in William Gibson's 1982 *Burning Chrome* short story the term cyberspace appeared
to be initially confined to an alternative futuristic universe[6] (Gibson, 1986). The prolific presence
in what would become the author's most successful novel, *Neuromancer* (1984) would expand
its reach although still maintaining it within that very peculiar framing: cyberspace as a place of

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[5] For an interesting discussion on the symbolic dimension of innovation processes see Cavalli, 2007

[6] "I knew every chip in Bobby's simulator by heart; it looked like your workaday Ono-Sendai VII. the "Cyberspace Seven," but I'd rebuilt it so many time that you'd have had a hard time finding a square millimeter of factory circuitry in all that silicon."

freedom, seemless speed and exciting action, where consciousness could be 'jacked up' and individuals could escape being 'trapped in the meat' of their physical bodies ('bodiless exultation') (Gibson, 2000). Usage has since then mainstreamed, to the point where it can both be a synonym for a more symbolically charged reading of internet centred human interaction or for the plain network itself. Still, it seems appropriate to recall its origins as they might contain hints as to why some scholars have adopted it wholeheartedly whilst others still shy from using it. In an article published in the August 1995 issue of Harper's magazine, John Perry Barlow, prominent figure of the Electronic Frontier Foundation (and founder of *Wired* magazine) wrote: "With the development of the Internet, and with the increasing pervasiveness of communication between networked computers, we are in the middle of the most transforming technological event since the capture of fire. I used to think that it was just the biggest thing since Gutenberg, but now I think you have to go back farther. There has been much written both celebrating and denouncing cyberspace, but to me this seems a development of such magnitude that trying to characterize it as a good thing or a bad thing trivializes it considerably. I also don't think it's a matter about which we have much choice. It is coming, whether we like it or not (Barlow, 1995:36).

One year later, during the renouned Davos Summit, Barlow would present his '*Declaration of Independence of Cyberspace*' an inflamed warning to the 'governments of the industrial world' – described as "weary giants of flesh and steel" – emanating from cyberspace, "the new home of the Mind". In broad terms, the document laid claim to a world ("both everywhere and nowhere") where a new civilization was to be created far from the legal concepts of property, expression, movement, and context, and based on bodyless identities freed from the constraints of an order which was based on physical coercion. Removed from 'increasingly obsolete information industries' and 'hostile and colonial measures' this new construct – it was hoped – would spread across the planet and aspire to be more humane and fair than the world governments had made before (Barlow, 1996: 1-2).

Barlow's powerful images have since been appropriated by many with good reason. They share the same binary common ground of myth-building narratives (good and bad, big and small, clever and stupid) and as such they seem to be beyond the limits of simple 'prediction territory';

their appeal lies in the fact that they "comprise a clear-cut and convincing explanation of the world" (Schoenbach, 2001: 362). This mythology of 'the wonderful new medium' seemed to be supported by a belief set grounded on supply-demand notions: if the technology allows us to do something we will most definitely do it; if information is at our disposal through different interfaces we will want to access them; if interaction is permitted we will indeed interact extensively (ibid.: 367-368). In tandem with its nemesis, the myth of 'any new medium is dangerous', this construct dominated what Barry Wellman would describe as the 'first age of internet studies', a euphoric period marked by almost utopian extrapolations from mostly anecdotal evidence (Wellman, 2004:124).

In his 1995 *Being Digital* best-seller (where the 'Daily Me' idea was first presented), the head of MIT's Media Lab and also founder of *Wired* magazine, Nicholas Negroponte, would further subtanciate this over-optimistic vision: "Tomorrow, people of all ages will find a more harmonious continuum in their lives, because, increasingly, the tools to work with and the toys to play with will be the same. There will be a more common palette for love and duty, for self-expression and group work" (Negroponte, 1995: 221). It could be said that cyberspace was, by this account, no longer perceived solely as an alternative to reality – "Computing is not about computers anymore. It is about living" (ibid: 6) – yet the premises of a new, different, almost sterile space were very much the same – "we will socialize in digital neighborhoods in which physical space will be irrelevant and time will play a different role (ibid: 7) (...) The access, the mobility, and the ability to effect change are what will make the future so different from the present. (...) As children appropriate a global information resource, and as they discover that only adults need learner's permits, we are bound to find new hope and dignity in places where very little existed before" (ibid: 231).

We find this same blissful tone in David Weinberger's 2002 extremely engaging *Small pieces loosely joined – for a unified theory of the web*. In fact, we need to go no further than the table of contents to notice it; chapter headings are named as follows: a New World, Space, Time, Perfection, Togetherness, Knowledge, Matter, and Hope. A whole tecno-optimist 'charter', right there, to present the internet and its most common interface, the world wide web, as a place where the central control points have been removed and self-organized and self-stimulated

communication can ensue: "The result is a loose federation of documents – many small pieces loosely joined" (Weinberger, 2002: ix). The argument follows that the web will over time promote social change because it increasingly puts the individual before doubt (regarding existing social, cultural, and economic structures): "The web will have its deepest effect as an idea. Ideas don't explode; they subvert. They take their time. And because they change the way we think they are less visible than a newly paved national highway or the advent of wall-sized television screens. After a while, someone notices that we're not thinking about things the way our parents did" (ibid: 173-174).

The extended sophistication and appeal of Weinberger's arguments could easily be dismissed as little else than a polished-yet-dying version of a perspective anchored on a specific historic period. On the contrary, its underlying assumptions – those of a generally benevolent, techo-centred observation – are very much present in writings of many other influencial authors and its reach permeates substantial portions of both present day academic and non-academic writings about 'new media' (some of them having become instant best-sellers). We can identify traces of the same mostly unproblematic posture in Leadbeater – "*We-Think* will really make a difference when we use it creatively to tackle major shared challenges: to spread democracy and learning, to improve health and quality of life, to tackle climate change and the threats of extremism" (Leadbeater, 2008: 239) – in Tapscott – (mass collaboration) "It's a new way for people to socialize, entertain, and transact in self-organizing peer communities of their choosing. Companies can design and assemble products with their customers, and in some cases customers can do the majority of the value creation. Scientists can reinvent science by open sourcing their data and methods to offer every budding and experienced scientist in the world an opportunity to participate in the discovery process. Even governments can get involved, by using the new digital collaboration tools to transform public service delivery and engage their citizens in policy making" (Tapscott, 2008: 314) – in Anderson – "In the worlds of entertainment and information, we've already lost the capacity constraints of shelf space and channels, along with their one-size-fits-all demands. Soon we may lose de capacity constraints of mass production, too.The explosion of variety we've seen in our culture thanks to digital efficiencies will extend to every other part of our lives. The question tomorrow will not be whether more choice is better,

but rather what do we really want? On the infinite aisle, everything is possible" (Anderson, 2007: 226) – and in Jarvis – " Previously, the powerful – companies, institutions, and governments – believed they were in control, and they were. But no more. Now the internet allows us to speak to the world, to organize ourselves, to find and spread information, to challenge old ways, to retake control" (Jarvis, 2009a: 11) – to name but a few.

Besides the production of testimony, new and interesting data, and competent and enticing discourse – "This technological newspeak operates like a latter-day lingua franca, making its pronouncements as if they were self-evident truths requiring no discussion" (Mattelart, 2002:592) – these texts share two interconnected perceptions: a) new digital communication's usage is overwhelmingly benign and 'alteration' is presented mostly as a synonym for 'improvement'; b) the internet paves the way for the correction of pre-existing chronic unbalances acting as a generator of equilibrium in social, economic and political terms; it somehow reduces the uneveness of the playing field between former producers and consumers of knowledge and goods, between those who had exclusive access to the public space and those who were 'mass observers', and between those in positions of political power and those whom they represent. To use Sidney Lumet's 1976 *Network* iconic scene it is as if, by way of interaction with the internet, everyone decided to approach their lives by shouting out loud: "I'm mad as hell, and I'm not going to take this anymore"(Chayefsky, 1976) and that act promoted almost instant enduring change.

Significantly, albeit playing such a part in all these changes the internet appears to be presented as an almost surgical instrument, leaving no 'scent', 'sound', 'taste' or impressive 'image'. It is as if we are in the presence of a traceless clean tool available to individuals (all with the same access, opportunity, and pre-acquired knowledge) who want to become accomplished partakers in the construction of diverse and evershifting communalities of interest.

Furthermore, inadequate consideration is given to the user, frequently presumed to be a 'clean slate' itself; despite such a wide range of positive alterations in its life, very little attention is given to its specific set of knowledge competences, to its desire and need to adopt, and to its anxiety toward innovation. In Boiarsky's words: "We have been asking if media changes our mental

capacities; instead we should be asking how our mental capabilities affect how we use electronic media" (Boiarsky, 1997: 110).

Lastly, a sense of historcicity seems also absent; present day transformations are often presented as uccuring through an innocuous technical apparatus to featureless users without (or with very little) interference from past structures, discourses, and social processes. A valid argument on this exact point is made by Mattelart: "The discourse accompanying the information society has promoted the notion of tabula rasa to the status of a principle. There is nothing that cannot be considered obsolete. Techno-mercatile determinism gives rise to an amnesiac modernity, bereft of any social project. Endless and unlimited communication is being established as the heir of endless and unlimited progress. In the absence of memory, we are seeing eschatology come back into favour, with religious connotations drawn from prophecies concerning the advent of the noosphere. The notion of 'complexity' itself has been perverted and turned into an alibi. The increasing complication of contemporary society dissolves into simple explanations" (Mattelart, 2003: 159).

On the whole, though, these readings carry some relevant virtues: a) they act as advanced awareness signposts, bringing us nearer to areas where transformation is occurring; b) they rightly emphasise the determinant role played by a concurring set of technological developments to make the internet a social place of being; c) they highlight shifts in power relations – between producer and consumer, between citizen and State, between individuals and pre-existing social organization modes and structures. Moreover they are testimony to the endurance of a perspective which has not evaporated after the so-called early web years and which – by way of its massive appeal – keeps on inspiring debate and controversy.

In a comprehensive mapping exercise of the most prominent 'conversations' about digital communication, Scolari presents us a multifaceted territory, made up of an overlapping mesh of theoretical proposals, methodologies, technics and even preferential word usages. In such a complex environment, the author proposes an analysis grid which forces us to go beyond the observation of (important as they may be) single opposition indicators (pessimistic/optimistic, critical/uncritical).

Much of what is written can still be placed into what the author considers the 'three

epistemological containers' of theories of mass communication: the critical paradigm, the empirical paradigm and the interpretative/cultural paradigm (Scolari, 2009: 946-947).

The critical paradigm (based on the Frankfurt School and Cultural Imperialism studies) is very much present in the writings of authors like Mattelart – "The conquest of the cyber frontier is a sequel to the grand technological narrative of the conquest of space: The latter gave us the cliché of the 'global village', while the former has already enshrined the expression 'global information society'. (...) Alongside the two notions, a whole machinery of apologetic discourse has developed, including promotional sales pitches, official proclamations, trendy manifestos and scientific or quasi-scientific studies, purporting to show that these terms are self-evident" (Mattelart, 2003: 1) – or Murdock – "Machines may proliferate but institutions and systems are proving more resilient. The last half decade has seen an unprecedented concentration of corporate power in the cultural industries" (Murdock, 2004:21).

The empirical paradigm (based on traditional Mass Communication research) can be identified in studies which apply the uses and gratifications theory to digital media audiences and broader studies of internet diffusion and sociological research of the network society. Castells could be presented as one of the most influential authors in the area: "We are indeed in a new communication realm, and ultimately in a new medium, whose backbone is made of computer networks, whose language is digital, and whose senders are globally distributed and globally interactive" (Castells, 2007:248).

The interpretative paradigm (inspired by anthropological research and developed mostly by British and Latin-American researchers and often presented as 'Cultural Studies') can be recognized as present in studies of digital media consumption, 'active audience' analysis and ethnographically centred observations (Scolari, 2009: 949-950).

This provisional exercise is helpful because whilst accounting for a (sometimes ill perceived) human trait – the impetus to observe the new by contrast / in dialogue / as a result of the past, or as Landow would put it:"our tendency of putting old wine in new bottles" (Landow, 2003: 36) – it helps us to put into context some of the above mentioned perpectives asserting the denseness of the field, its inherent complexity, and the relevance of a sense of historicity which seemed to be lacking. Precisely because "continuities do not outweigh discontinuities or vice

versa" (Sousa, 2006: 376) changes and continuities are entangled and a reflection on their relative weight would always be partial if we were not to admit the contributions of a 'time focused' observation.

Braudel's notion that social time is plural could be helpful in this endeavour (Braudel, 1969; Braudel, 1981) because it provides us with a sense of non-simultaneous-yet-confluent flow of three connected measures of duration: temporality of events, intermediary duration of conjunctures and long-term structural time.

The temporality of events pertains to technological irruptions, innovations, episodic stories, and fast changing transformations. It could straightforwardly be presented as the time of narration, the time most relevant for journalistic work; "the *événement* is explosive, 'sounding of new' as they would say in the XVI century" (Braudel, 1958: 728). Under these lenses the past is seen as a list of "never ending shiny and obscure facts that tend to keep micro-history and micro-sociology busy" (Sousa, 2006: 375) yet making scientific reflection a very troublesome exercise: "the temporality of events is the most capricious and deceptive of all durations" (Braudel, 1981: 11).

The temporality of conjunctures is a *récitatif* that looks at reality no more as a succession of events but rather as an aggrupation of larger bundles, like cycles, trends, regimes or cultural movements. Episodes' relevance withers away in favour of units of measure comprising 10-, 25-, or even 100 years. Often linked with social and economic history this specific operationalisation of time has paved the way for discussions centred on concepts like 'oscilation' or 'recovery', for instance.

The temporality of structures refers to units which are seen as very stable, to the point of almost seeming perennial and non-erodable by the passing of time. This is, in Braudel's conception, 'longer breath' duration, or at it became commonly known, the *longue durée*. Structure is an *architecture* "that time uses poorly and can be observed only from a distance" (Braudel, 1958: 731) and it constitutes the ground where forces for change and against it face each other. The most obvious is geography, but biology, climate, and culture also constitute units of "slow building construction" (ibid.) from which the individual cannot disentangle himself without risks.

Mental frameworks are also seen as long duration prisions (Sousa, 2006: 375) and they play a determinat role in the apparent immobility of individuals or groups.

If we were to design a parallel observation exercise between these examination processes we could perhaps venture the possibility that tecno-centred readings seem to focus more acutely on episodic eruptions, innovations, and fast changing developments thus appearing to be closer to an historic reading which values events as the key operative instrument. By the same token, what would be described as recent approximations to the empirical paradigm could be seen as nearer to a temporality of conjunctures, and writings confortable with a critical paradigm inspired analysis appear to be closer to a temporality of structures. The relevance attributed to a specific moment, to a specific technology, to a specific social movement is linked to a singular understanding of historicity and that notion whilst ad33ding a layer of intricacy to our interpretations should not be discarded.

None of these exercises – the endeavor to agglomerate observations into clusters or the effort to further equate them in tandem with a scrutiny of their relation with temporality – should however claim to be more than draft attempts. As duly noted by Scolari many relevant readings seem to be beyond convenient descriptive tagging especially in a territory awash with intersections and characterized precisely by its 'happy acceptance' of "partners of any kind" (Scolari, 2009: 955). One such case of non-conformity to the three-paradigm portrayal is Marshall McLuhan, one of the most quoted authors in digital communication discourses, either as an inspiring figure or as an almost abhorrent symbol of unscientific work. Moreover (although McLuhan's centrality, for better or worse, almost eclipsed all others) the non-conformity could be extended to the whole media ecology theoretical field[7].

The centrality of technology, the 'sensorial immersion' imagery, and the idea that humans model communication tools whilst being inequivocaly remodeled by them have made some notable media ecology writers highly influential with the above mentioned tecno-optimism supporters (in no small measure thrusted by *Wired*'s opening issue[8] declaration of McLuhan as its 'patron

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[7] Compreensive accounts of the development of the field can be found in Strate, 2006 and Scolari, 2010.

[8] http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/1.01/ (2011-04-15)

saint'[9]), whilst the broad common departure point – understanding the effects of media – puts it in contact with the empirical paradigm. By the same token, misgivings towards the mythologisation of technology (to a point of being equated as part of the 'natural world', to borrow from Barthes) brings it closer to ideas put forward by critical paradigm writers, and the value given to a sense of pervasiveness in the relation between communication and culture hints at contact points with the interpretative/cultural paradigm.

Sitting at the confluence of anthropology and communication, borrowing and reformatting contributions from fields as far apart as linguistics and economics, media ecology seems to regain usefulness as an interpretative apparatus in the present precisely due to this somewhat hybrid nature.

As Scolari suggests, if we were to take a Marshall McLuhan text and replace the word 'television' with 'world wide web' the results would be surprising; "McLuhan spoke in the 1960's about the transition of the written worlds to 'electronic communication' (television) but it's as if he were describing the digitalization processes that occured thirty years later" (Scolari, 2010:23).

The basic idea of media ecology's 'mainstream' – communication technologies, from orality to digital media, generate environments that affect those who use them (Scolari, 2010: 22) – is pertinently made clear by Postman's famous analogy: "What happens if we place a drop of red dye into a beaker of clear water? Do we have clear water plus a spot of red dye? Obviously not. We have a new coloration to every molecule of water. That is what I mean by ecological change. A new medium does not add something; it changes everything." (Postman, 1998).

Often portrayed as tecno-determinists (McQuail, 2010:101-103) media ecologists prefer to see themselves as medium-centred in focus, using broad categories like oral, scribal, print and electronic cultures; "these are alternatives to divisions such as agricultural, industrial, and information societies, based on the notion that it is communication, not economics, that most influences social life" (Strate, 2008: 134). This study of media as media (and no more) is precisely how media ecology wants us to read McLuhan's famous maxim, "the medium is the

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message" (McLuhan, 1964: 7). By the same token, information is not conceived of as existing in a vacuum.

The biological metaphor assumes that the communicative environment takes precedence over content; changes in the former affect the latter whilst the opposite happens only under certain circumstances; "You will remember from the time when you first became acquainted with a Petri dish, that a medium was defined as a substance within which a culture grows. If you replace the word "substance" with the word "technology," the definition would stand as a fundamental principle of media ecology: A medium is a technology within which a culture grows; that is to say, it gives form to a culture's politics, social organization, and habitual ways of thinking. Beginning with that idea, we invoked still another biological metaphor, that of ecology. In its origin the word had a considerably different meaning from how we use it today.(...) (it refered) to the interactions among the elements of our natural environment, with a special emphasis on how such interactions lead to a balanced and healthful environment. We put the word 'media' in the front of the word 'ecology' to suggest that we were not simply interested in media, but in the ways in which the interaction between media and human beings give a culture its character and, one might say, help a culture to maintain symbolic balance. If we wish to connect the ancient meaning with the modern, we might say that the word suggests that we need to keep our planetary household in order." (Postman, 2000: 10-11) .

The field is by no means cohese in its proposals and observations. Some authors clearly favour a more morally charged interpretation of the human interaction with new forms of communication – "The computer and its information cannot answer any of the fundamental questions we need to address to make our lives more meaningful and humane. The computer cannot provide an organizing moral framework. It cannot tell us what questions are worth asking. It cannot provide a means of understanding why we are here or why we fight each other or why decency eludes us so often, especially when we need it the most. The computer is, in a sense, a magnificent toy that distracts us from facing what we most needed to confront – spiritual emptiness, knowledge of ourselves, usable conceptions of the past and future." (Postman, 1990) – while others play down these concerns in favour of a more usage/perception centred observation – "what we are considering here, however, are the psychic and social consequences of the design or patterns as

they amplify or accelerate existing processes. For the 'message' of any medium or technology is the change of scale or pace or pattern that it introduces into human affairs" (McLuhan, 1964). Another clearcut epistemological distinction is detectable between the predominant intellectual tradition that studies media as environments, focusing on mass communication and on *intra*personal communication, and one other that focuses on studying environments as media, emphasizing *inter*personal communication. Presenting them as the embodiment of a yin/yang metaphor (thus assuming an ecological ethos of balance, proportion, and harmony between them) Sternberg says that the first one, currently dominant, is the yang of media ecology and it involves "the cultural and psychological consequences of technologies and techniques of mass communication and of intrapersonal communication" (Sternberg, 2002:3). The second intellectual tradition is the yin of media ecology, "the more obscure and less familiar study of environments as media", and it involves "the social impact of the mysterious silent languages and hidden dimensions of interpersonal communication" (ibid.).

Arguing for the conciliation of these two 'paths to knowledge', Sternberg significantly points out instances where 'yang' authors seem to present 'yin' concerns and vice-versa thus avowing a belief that the above mentioned hybrid origin and encompassing multi-disciplinary openness of media ecology can simultaneously be construed as its main strength and most debilitating trait. It should, in fairness, be said that such a rich and potentially problematic existence was at the heart of some relevant authors concerns from an early stage: "Media ecology is very much in its infancy. (...) (Researchers do not, as yet) have a coherent framework in which to organize their subject matter or their questions. Media ecology is, in short, a preparadigmatic science" (Nystrom, 1973).

2.2 Concepts in flux

Digitalization expanded human communication not only in volume but in nature and although valid arguments continue (should continue) to be put forward as to force upon us much needed reflection on sometimes banalized concepts like information (Terranova, 2006), globalization (Ferguson, 1992; Kramarae, 1999; Shah, 2008), content creation (Preston, 2000), or access

(Mansell, 1999, 2002), we would be cautious towards attempts at diverting us from that essencial point.

As Poster so suitably puts it: "The Internet carries forward the modern subject/object relation by vastly increasing the efficiency of producing mass cultural objects and distributing them around the globe. The internet carries forward the late modern broadcast subject/object by incorporating radio, film, and television and distributing them through 'push' technology. But the internet transgresses the limits of the print and broadcast models by 1) enabling many-to-many communications; 2) enabling the simultaneous reception, alteration, and redistribution of cultural objects; 3) dislocating communicative action from the posts of the nation, from the territorialized spatial relations of modernity; 4) providing instantaneous global contact; and 5) inserting the modern/late modern subject into a machine apparatus that is networked. The result (...) is a self that is no longer a subject since it no longer subtends the world as if from outside but operates within a machine apparatus as a point in a circuit" (Poster, 1999: 15-16). This elegant observation summarizes what could be described as an inclusive perspective in the sense that it incorporates the presence of historicity and the organicity of the relations between humans and communication apparatuses; it accounts for transition and it identifies what is distinctively different in terms of self-perception, production and dissemination of contents, and power relations.

Such a broad outlook has enough leeway to accommodate the bi-univocal character of Bolter & Grusin's concept of remediation – "the formal logic by which new media refashion prior media forms" (Bolter, 2001: 273) – assuming that these relations take place in a context of evolution (Stöber, 2004). Furthermore, it benefits from a reading exercise in tandem with Roger Fidler's concept of mediamorphosis – "the transformation of communication media, usually brought about by the complex interplay of perceived needs, competitive and political pressures, and social and technological innovations" (Fidler, 1997: 22-23) – insofar as it also stems from the recognition of human communication as a complex, dynamic, and self-organizing system. In fact, Fidler's 'six fundamental principles' offer a useful grid for reading such complexity: 1) *Coevolution and coexistence* – all forms of media habit within an adaptive space; 2)

Metamorphosis – new media are not spontaneous creations rather emerging from older forms and forcing these to adapt; 3) *Propagation* – emerging media propagate dominant traits from previous forms namely through 'languages'; 4) *Survival* – in an everchanging environment media forms (and enterprises) are forced to evolve; 5) *Opportunity and need* – the 'new' is not adopted on its technological merits alone, rather in the combination of opportunity and social, political, and economic motivations; 6) *Delayed adoption* – new media takes longer than expected to become commercially successful, requiring at least one human generation (ibid: 29).

In order to further equate these changes in a manner which makes them useful to our overall purpose in this study we would thus like to put forward a detailed observation of the following operative proposal: the convergence of technologies and their adoption has increased interconnectedness, defying conceptions of what constitutes the social common space and of what types of performances individuals can have in it (Figure 1).
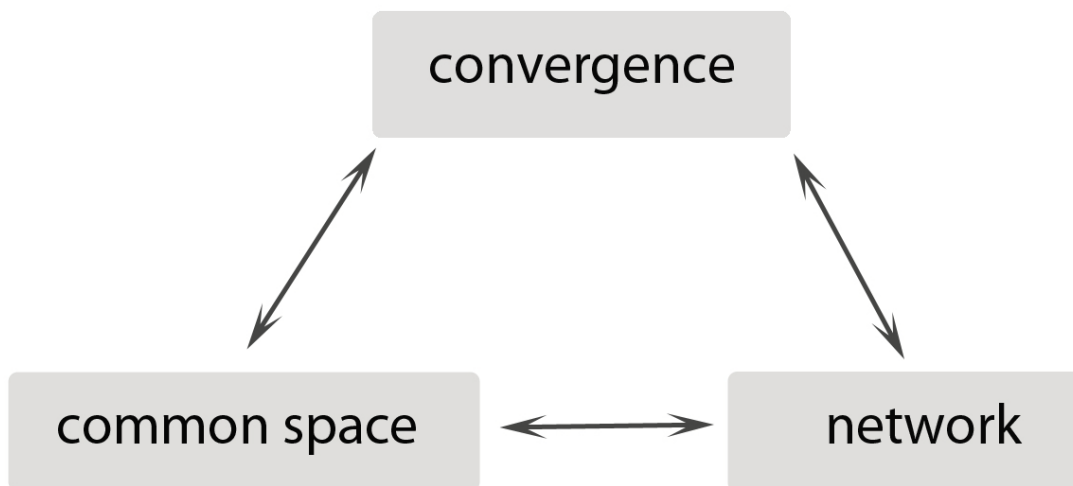
Figure 1 :: Operative proposal - convergence, network, common space

2.2.1 Convergence

A Latin word in origin – from *convergere*, which means coming together – it basically describes a deliberate approximation process[10]. Although recent (at least with the prominence it has acquired in the last two decades) its appeal is sustained by the fact that it conveys a long term-vision about technological progress. As mentioned by Storsul and Stuedahl several exemples of these visions can be identified in fiction writing long before digital communications existed; the 'music-telephone' described by Edward Bellamy in his 1988 *Looking Backward*, human control over time, as described by H. G. Wells in his 1895 *The Time Machine*, the post World War II negative utopian image of an authoritarian surveillance society in George Orwell's 1949 *Nineteen eighty-four*, or even the presence of an immaculate supercomputer (HAL) in Stanley Kubrick's 1969 *2001: A Space Odyssey*, all represent visions of an imagined future where that approximation process occurs (Storsul, 2007: 10-11).

The beginning of the deliberate usage of the concept in reference to digital communications is commonly attributed to Ithiel de Sola Pool, who in his 1983 book, *The technologies of Freedom*, referred to 'a convergence of delivery mechanisms' and to 'a convergence of modes' responsible for a blurring of the distinctions between media: "The explanation for the current convergence between historically separated modes of communication lies in the hability of digital electronics. Conversation, theater, news and text are all increasingly delivered electronically ... [E]lectronic technology is bringing all modes of communications into one grand system" (Pool, 1983: 27-28). As Gordon puts it, though, Pool reflected an environment which had already produced some consistent approximations to the same broad idea; as early as 1978, Nicholas Negroponte was using the now famous 'three overlapping circles image' to convince businesses to invest in MIT's MediaLab (Figure 2) and

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[10] http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/converge (2011-06-17)
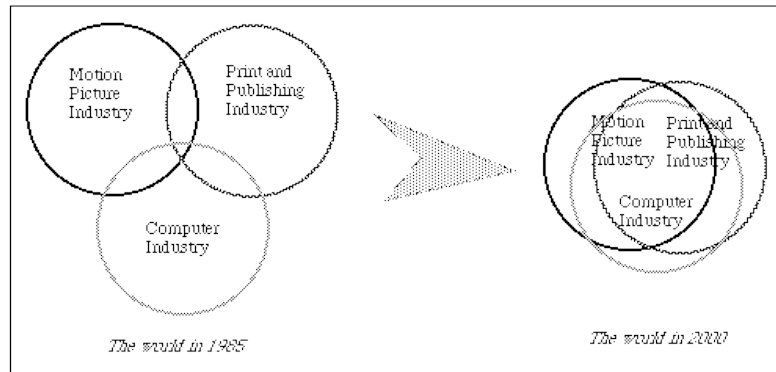
Figure 2 ::Negroponte's convergence scheme

a few years later Apple's CEO, John Sculley, illustrated his vision of the company's future with two images: one, presenting the state of the 'information industries' circa 1980, with seven separate boxes – media/publishing, information vendors, computers, consumer electronics, telecommunications, office equipment, distribution –, and the other, projecting into the year 2000, with a graphic named 'Convergence' and showing the above mentioned industries as overlapping ellipses (the overlapping spaces had new descriptors, like 'interactive news', 'virtua reality', info on demand', or '2-way TV') (Gordon, 2003: 58-60).

A Europen Comission Green Paper on convergence, published in 1997, would define it as "the ability of different network platforms to carry essentially similar kinds of services, or the coming together of consumer devices such as the telephone, television, and personal computer" (Comission, 1997: 8). It stands to notice the focus on the technical, industrial, and regulatory dimensions of the phenomenon; whilst providing a reflection on the subject, the EU clearly presented us with an agenda to harness this impetus for change in a manner which most suited its overall goals. The concluding remarks of the document are self-explanatory: "Convergence is not just about technology. It is about services and about new ways of doing business and of interacting with society. The changes described in this Green Paper have the potential to improve substantially the quality of life for Europe's citizens; to integrate Europe's regions better into the heart of the European economy, and to make businesses more effective and competitive on global and national markets. The emergence of new services and the development of existing services are expected to expand the overall information market, providing new routes to the

citizen and building on Europe's rich cultural heritage, its potential for innovation and its creative ambitions. The global nature of communications platforms today, particularly, the Internet, are providing a key which opens the door to the further integration of the World economy. At the same time, the low cost of establishing a presence on the World Wide Web, is making it possible for businesses of all sizes to develop a regional and global reach. Globalisation will be key theme in future developments, as changes in Europe are mirrored by developments all over the World. If Europe can embrace these changes by creating an environment which supports rather than holds back the process of change we will have created a powerful motor for job creation and growth, increasing consumer choice and promoting cultural diversity. If Europe fails to do so, or fails to do so rapidly enough, there are real risks that our businesses and citizens will be left to travel in the slow lane of an information revolution which is being embraced by businesses, users and by Governments around the World" (ibid: 35).

Convergence thus became a political buzzword[11], a sort of high powered lever through which big and small industries would prosper, European regions would flourish, and globalization – with all its supreme blessings – would redeem the world as a whole, if only naysayers would keep themselves to themselves. This understanding presumed technological convergence to be both inevitable and necessary – without it no successful future could be attained; furthermore, as Silverstone notes, it presumed that technological convergence would drive convergence in use (Silverstone, 1995: 11).

This political adherence to a very singular take on convergence would lead Cuilenberg and McQuail to state that a new communications policy paradigm was emerging (following the paradigm of emerging communications industry policy – until the Second World War – and the paradigm of public service media policy – 1945-1980/90). This emerging framework was essentially driven by an economic and technological logic, although retaining certain normative elements; significantly, "the latter cover a wider range of values and are less exclusively supported by the normative underpinnings of democratic theory. The relevant norms are in fact

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[11] According to a 2004 study, which analysed US business newspapers between 1990 and 2003, the usage of the word convergence peaked in the year 2000 at nearly 80 references per month (Lind, 2004: 8).

noticeably more 'communicative' and less 'political' or 'cultural' in character." (Van Cuilenberg, 2003: 198).

Under such an understanding it seems useful to briefly present Fagerjord and Storsul's reading of the emerging six dominant interpretations of media convergence – the convergence of networks, terminals, services, rethorics, markets, and regulatory regimes (Fagerjord, 2007).

Network convergence implied that after digitalization any network could be used to transmit all types of signals (as opposed to the specific analogue networks for sound, text, and images). What reality has shown us, a few years later, is that such a convergence indeed exists (cable operators offer internet, data, and telephony services whilst telephone operators offer equal variety) but the number of networks (multi-purposed as they all are) available to an urban household in an average development country have increased significantly (we now have access to WLAN, GSM, UMTS, etc.). Terminal convergence implied the above mentioned 'coming together of consumer devices', as presented in the European Comission Green Paper in 1997. Insights – ranging between the plain and the fantastic – envisioned devices capable of incorporating the power of video, computer, and telephony, much in the manner of Gilder's 1994 'teleputer' (quoted in Fagerjord, 2007: 21). Once again, the benefit of hindsight grants us the leeway to say that distinctions between devices are becoming more difficult to judge and indeed present day smartphones, or interactive TV devices like Apple TV are close to representing those projected images. Still it should also be noted that for the last two decades the number of available communication devices has increased substantially with overlapping functionalities not being (for the time being) sufficient to discard most of them. In an almost neo-functionalist mode (McQuail, 2010: 98-99) it could be said that because pre-conditions were ripe for network and terminal convergence the same ought to be envisaged in regards to the provided services. The use of integrated networks and the access through integrated devices would expectedely result in a service convergence, which is to say individual media would 'cross-fade' into multimedia. It is easy to identify many present-day instances where that occurs – TV providing access to telephony or web based messages, web based services (like iTunes, for instance) where visual, audio, and multimedia contents are available – yet no clear path towards no single 'optimal' service is

recognizable. Rethorical convergence describes a line of reasoning which suggests that beyond services change via a merger process will also come to genres and specific languages (Nielsen, 1998). Undoubtedly, new formats have emerged, some of them resulting from the new possibilities of integrated networks and terminals and others from the congregation of traits from one or more pre-existing genres and/or discursive languages. If we were to think of journalism alone we could mention 'clikable interaction', 'slideshows', 'audio stories', 'animated stories', 'narrated slideshows', 'live-chats', or 'interactive webcasts' (Dube, quoted in Bertocchi, 2006: 42-47) as clear examples of this ebullience of the field although we should also note that none of them has replaced existing genres or turned obsolete any singular language. As Fagerjord and Storsul note: "Rethorical convergence is not a process of all media coming into one, but a proliferation of genres as forms of expression that may be reused across media" (Fagerjord, 2007: 24). Market convergence refers to the perceived blurring of distinctions between operators in the infrastructure, services, software, and media contents markets; the rationale would envisage mergers between ICT, telecom and media organizations, giving way to new multimedia conglomerates. This 'verticalization' rationale was indeed the approved strategy for some companies; the AOL / Time Warner merger was the most prominent case and the Portuguese equivalent was Portugal Telecom's acquisition of the Lusomundo group by the end of the year 2000 (Santos, 2009). The fact of the matter is that the proliferation of networks, terminals and services also altered the structure of the markets themselves and new, dynamic, thematic oriented, and smaller scale sub-markets have appeared "not only as a result of digitalization, but also because of political and economic driving forces" (political induced liberalization and globalized nature of web based businesses, for instance) (Fagerjord, 2007: 25). In other words, what in reality has happened was not the convergence of markets, rather de co-existence of verticalization and micro-vaporisation strategies. Lastly, regulatory convergence refers to political and economic guided legal frameworks changes. Perceptions of overwhealming and far reaching alterations in networks, terminals, services and markets led political institutions (national and supra-national) to assert that technically oriented regulatory instruments were outdated and should be replaced by horizontal common frameworks – one for electronic networks and one other for all media services. Whilst the former was achieved with relative ease, the latter is still far

from completion: "The reason for this is, partly, that institutional legacies are slowing regulatory reforms. In addition, the convergence processes have been less pervasive than predicted in the 1990s. The media are much more than just technology (...) Different media play different roles in society and politicians and regulators still perceive the need for regulation to be different" (Fagerjord, 2007: 26).

These very much unidireccional visions assumed that the whole process was to be mostly industry led. By the mid 1990's convergence was perceived as relevant because it might predominantly demand changes in the production, delivery, business model, and legal frameworks of the industry. Even when the 'user' was considered, views more often than not portrayed it as an 'active consumer': "A profound change is overcoming the communication industries. They are on the verge of an exceptional service to residential and business users, offering potential access to the entire world supply of information interactivity in data, voice, and video. (...) media, information, and communication industries need to redefine themselves, amass tremendous amounts of capital, engage in substancial construction and reconstruction, and then create markets for new products. New relationships between suppliers, the broadband networks, and the consumers will form" (Baldwin, 1996: 399-400). The use of the expression 'full service networks' stems precisely from such a uneven mindset and when centring attention on the 'individual' Baldwin chooses to discuss almost exclusively the possible dangers of this technological confluence, such as 'overload' – "choosing what to do becomes a problem" (ibid: 384) – 'consumerism' – "We may be too weak to resist sales messages so precisely matched to our own behavioral profiles" (ibid: 386) – 'social isolation' – "the urban hermit, salefy in rooms isolated from all physical human contact, electronically buying food, clothing, other necessities and amusements, working at a computer terminal, with perhaps an occasional video conference" (ibid: 387) – or 'privacy' – "Some of the benefits of full service networks require that the user sacrifice privacy, at least to the extent of giving information to the provider" (ibid: 390). Fagerjord and Storsul's useful organization of convergence's multiple facets helps us to discern three relevant points: firstly, a tecno-oriented deterministic discourse permeated much of what was perceived as the future of communications as a result of digitalization. As we have even mentioned earlier, the outlook seemed to be based on a fawltless incremental process, close to a

neo-functionalist approach; secondly, convergence has, in most cases, proved to be a far more complex and 'ilogical' reality than envisaged – if we look at networks, terminals, services, markets, or even rethorics, we find that convergence has become if anything an uneven mix between new and old realities, some of them overlapping but very few being responsible for the complete obliteration of others. Verticalization and horizontalization, agglomeration and micro-specialization all seem to co-habit the same space which has now, via de disintegrating power of the internet become borderless (Mueller, 1999: 23-24); thirdly, the citizen, the user, the individual were very much descriptions of an entity which was supposed to determine, use, and interact with all these convergent flows in very much the same way as before – as a consumer, perhaps inundated with more options than ever before (Salecl, 2009), yet still a mostly passive actor.

If we take these three observations in bulk we might be lead to the immediate conclusion that convergence was an ill conceived, hyperbolized, and poorly assessed phenomenon. Valid as they might be, these observations should not however lead to an absolute dismissal; the incremental thrust did produce relevant developments and was responsible for the relative placement of emerging businesses, services, terminals and discourses in the broad altered market. In other words, it was precisely the quirckyness of some strategies, their failure and ensuing repositioning of companies, that provided the necessary conditions for the emergence of new terminals, new services, new languages and new markets (Anderson, 2007).

The result, as unintended as it may have been, was to be the effective breeding ground for a different vision of convergence, closer to a reality of micro-production and closer to the admission that the user's relative position was no longer the same. One of the most forthright authors advocating the need to change our 'convergence observation lenses', Henry Jenkins, would write in 2001: "what's all this talk about media convergence, this dumb industry idea that all media will melt into one, and we'll get all of our news and entertainment through one box? (...)There will never be one black box controlling all media. Rather, thanks to the proliferation of channels and the increasingly ubiquitous nature of computing and communications, we are entering an era where media will be everywhere, and we will use all kinds of media in relation to one another."

(Jenkins, 2001). The increased usage of the pronoun 'we' is a clear indication that what the author understands convergence to be is a far less technic and far more human centred occurrence: "(Convergence is) a word that describes technological, industrial, cultural, and social changes in the way media circulates within our culture. Some common ideas referenced by the term include the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, the search for new structures of media financing that fall at the intersticies between old and new media, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who would go almost anywhere in search of the kind of entertainment experiences they want. Perhaps most broadly, media convergence refers to a situation in which multiple media systems coexist and where media contents flows fluidly across them" (Jenkins, 2006: 282).

Furthermore, that human presence is presented as the nexus of the whole process: "Convergence doesn't just involve commercially produced materials and services travelling along well regulated and predictable circuits. It doesn't just involve the mobile companies getting together with the film companies to decide when and where we watch a newly released film. It also occurs when people take media in their own hands. Entertainment content isn't the only thing that flows across multiple media platforms. Our lives, relationships, memories, fantasies, desires also flow across media channels" (ibid: 17). In a later text, Jenkins and Deuze, would further emphasize the observable non-stable nature of the phenomenon, the conflicting forces at play, and the emergence of the user as part and parcel of what they describe as a 'new ecology': "On the one hand, this 'democratization' of media use signals a broadening of opportunities for individuals and grassroots communities to tell stories and access stories others are telling, to present arguments and listen to arguments made elsewhere, to share information and learn more about the world from a multitude of other perspectives. On the other hand, the media companies seek to extend their reach by merging, co-opting, converging and synergizing their brands and intellectual properties across all of these channels. In some ways, this has concentrated the power of traditional gatekeepers and agenda setters and in other ways it has disintegrated their tight control over our culture.

Convergence therefore must be understood as both a top-down corporate-driven process and a bottom-up consumer-driven process. Media companies are learning how to accelerate the flow of media content across delivery channels to expand revenue opportunities, broaden markets and reinforce consumer loyalties and commitments. Users are learning how to master these different media technologies to bring the flow of media more fully under their control and to interact (and co-create) with other users. Sometimes, these two forces reinforce each other, creating closer, more rewarding, relations between media producers and consumers. Sometimes the two forces conflict, resulting in constant renegotiations of power between these competing pressures on the new media ecology." (Jenkins, 2008: 6).

Significantly, by the end of this century's first decade, with the explosion of self-publication (Santos, 2004), social networking (Economist, 2010) and mobile communications (Kennedy, 2008; Obercom, 2009a) the centrality of the user had found its way (albeit in varying degrees) into most economic strategies, political discourses and also regulatory frameworks on the matter. Following the British government's 2007 decision to create a 'Convergence Think Tank', the national media regulatory entity, OFCOM, produced a fittingly called 'What is Convergence?' document where it presented the following definition: "The ability of consumers to obtain multiple services on a single platform or device or obtain any given service on multiple platforms or devices" (OFCOM, 2008: 1). The 'Consumer experience of convergence' notably appears right after the introduction of the report and although the ideological locus remains the necessity to present a sense of common direction to service providers the end user is portrayed as a more autonomous agent: "(its) desires for control, mobility and participation are at the heart of the evolution of our communications markets and the demand for convergence" (ibid: 10).

Journalism was/is very much enthralled in the convergence debate, sometimes as the conduit for discussions but notably also as the target for experiences and as a singular arena where forces at play and ensuing effects could/can still be observed (Mosco, 2005a, Blöbaum, 2011). Journalism centred companies are more often than not part of a media group, with unique vertical and horizontal structures, workflow processes, production techniques, professional regulations and legal boundaries (Eisenhart, 1994). Focusing directly on these companies Rich

Gordon observed that occurring convergence motivated movements were happening at five distinct levels: ownership, tactics, structure, information gathering, and presentation (Gordon, 2003). It is difficult to argue that there is a clear distinct 'level progression' in this analysis but it would be equally difficult to encounter many instances where information gathering and presentation have changed radically without at least an important alteration of newsroom structures and even the company strategic positioning.

A macro level observation clearly identifies instances, from the mid-1990's onwards, where using the convergence banner and benefiting from a relaxation of concentration rules (Mosco, 2005a: 55), efforts were made to integrate under one large corporate umbrella multiple content distribution outlets (Pinto, 2008). The previously mentioned AOL-Time Warner (content and distribution) venture was the most significant one (Faber, 2009), reflecting a political/economic rationale which at some point also involved government initiatives, private economic diplomacy, bilateral negotiations between states, and multilateral organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund or the World Trade Organization (Mosco, 2005a: 54-55). Most of the so-called global media players were involved in either horizontal or vertical concentration operations (Silva, 2004: 35-52) and Portugal was no exception, with the PT-Lusomundo deal almost mimicking (albeit at an altogether different scale) the AOL Time Warner arrangement (ibid: 94-105). Ownership convergence was the bedrock for a professed outlook where fewer players would be given the opportunity to increase their presence in multiple markets whilst decreasing overall costs. 'Synergy', 'cross-promotion', and 'content sharing' were management goals and soon percolated into the whole structure of the companies, including the newsrooms, even if not as readily accepted as envisaged.

More than a decade later, both the above mentioned alliances (the major global one and its Portuguese equivalent) have by now collapsed and the anticipated convergence of services under single ownership has not lived up to the ebuliant early predictions. Still, as Kung et al. duely remark some businesses have adopted – sometimes in differing degrees – "what could be described as converged business models" (Küng, 2008: 176). Endemol is probably one of the most successful cases to point out, with its revenue gathering strategy embracing the production

of contents for traditional media sources and its parallel monetization through internet sites and telephone voting channels.

Tactical convergence is Gordon's descriptor for the establishment of close relations between companies operating in different media (Radio and TV, for instance). In some cases the crossed promotion of specific contents and/or products is the initial purpose of the arrangement but in some instances collaboration in newly created joint-ventures can develop into a more intricate flow of information and/or resources between partners. In the Portuguese case we can easily identify cases of tactical convergence in the requisition of outsourced services (i.e. polls), in the creation of new joint projects (SIC, Expresso and Rádio Renascença with Parlamento Global, for instance), or in the usage of original reporting materials (recent history has shown us more than a few cases of temporary tactical convergence between media companies in order to share materials and costs of orginal journalistic production coming out of disaster stricken areas – the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, the 2011 tsunami and nuclear disaster in Japan).

Whilst both ownership and tactical convergence can happen with little impact on newsroom organization and journalists production routines structural convergence pertains precisely to alterations in those domains. A more aggressive strategy might involve changes in job description (i.e. the inclusion of video capture and editing skills for newspaper journalists), production schedules (from a deadline centred into a 24/7 oriented cycle) , and even the re-organization of newsroom space (by creating new 'rapid response' multimedia enabled desks or, as it would become apparent after the Daily Telegraph's 2006 pioneering effort, by implementing some sort of radial inspired space management approach[12]).

Once having acquired a foothold in the newsroom, convergence can occur in information gathering and news presentation. The first is still a topic of heated debate among professionals and scholars alike – should a journalist be prepared to report an event with the help of multiple media tools? Is that desirable? Do benefits surpass the natural shortcomings? What amount of attention diversion to technical issues is or is not acceptable? – although it can be argued that in

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[12] The Daily Telegraph's plans were announced in Spetember 2006 (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/2946710/Telegraph-raises-its-game-at-news-hub.html, 2011-07-12)

differing degrees it has found its way into most journalistic companies operations. Even if many journalists are still not expected to gather and produce contents for different platforms the ability to do so is now perceived as 'added value' and becomes increasingly prominent as a career promoter (at the time of entering the profession but also at the time of being though of for a specific high visibility assignment). The second refers to the development of new languages, conventions, genres, best suited for usage in what Gordon describes as the three emerging new digital presentation platforms: desktop computers, portable devices, and interactive television (Gordon, 2003: 69-71). The aggregate value of limitless space and time, immediacy, interaction, and multimediality was indeed expected to promote not only the appearance of new journalistic storytelling formats but also the dynamic establishment of a new relationship with the audience. Bertocchi showed us that some of those promises were (and still are) hard to accomplish namely as a result of the severe cultural clash between the established media narratives (linear, mono-media, unaccessible, static, closed) and the set of proposals for multimedia narratives (multilinear, interactive, dynamic, connected, updatable) (Bertocchi, 2006: 60-61); 'infinite space usage', 'added context', 'hyperlinking', 'closer relation with the audience', and 'multimediality' have become identifiable traits in some news production but change is less speedy and evident than envisaged (ibid: 169-172).

As mentioned earlier Gordon's enunciation comes close to an incremental (almost functionalist in style) operational guideline and although in fairness it should be said that caveats are included a presumption of inevitabilty in the whole process is present. Though not as clearcut and definitely business oriented as Lawson-Borders outline – "There are seven observations of convergence that can be used by media organizations in their efforts to operationalize convergence across business units. They are not mutually exclusive, nor do they require a specifi order. They do, however, overlap at different points to advance convergence within organizations. The seven observations of convergence are: communication, commitment, cooperation, compensation, culture, competition, and customer (Lawson-Borders, 2006: 15)" – they reflect nonetheless a specific viewpoint which seems to downplay noted difficulties in favour of a 'natural' progression towards a goal.

One such difficulty lays precisely in a clash of expectations between the broad managerial and

journalistic views of the same developments. Whilst one seeks efficiency gains, production and packaging flexibility and overall cost reductions, the other seeks an increase in the quality of production and presentation. As Quinn noted, "the fundamental dichotomy, then, is the potential conflict between a business view of convergence – multiple-platform publishing as a tool for increased productivity and marketing – versus journalists' aspirations in which convergence offers them the potential to do better journalism" (Quinn, 2005a: 29-30). After an indepht analysis of the process of convergence at a particular north-american company, Metro News, Eric Klinenberg would be even more specific: "Convergence news companies expect their journalistic staff to be flexible and fast, and both editors and corporate managers are already revaluing their workers, considering multimedia skills in their story assignments as well as in hiring and retention decisions. Many journalists and media critics complain that the additional labor demands and the work speedup required for convergence have undermined the conditions of news production, mainly by reducing the time available to report, research, write, and reflect on stories." (Klinenberg, 2005: 59-60).

Summing up, whatever convergence exists at the present – networks, terminals, services, languages, markets, regulatory regimes – it appears to have been far less the result of technological developments than the result of usage/appropriation processes where intervenors have not always shared common perceptions of objectives (Quinn, 2005b: 12-17). In addition, implementing 'the vision' – as Pfeiffer called it – is proving to be far more challenging than presumed: "Setting up systems for multi-channel publishing is a complex and costly task. While defining a multi-channel publishing system is relatively easy on the conceptual level, making it work is far more challenging" (Pfeiffer, 2000).

2.2.2   Network

When they wrote *Power and Interdependence*, in 1989, Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye were directly questioning the realist paradigm of international politics between sovereign states. The predominant interpretation by then determined that at the heart of all actions was a struggle for power, but one which was dominated by organized violence. The most influential post-war

realist work, Hans J. Morgenthau's 1948 *Politics among Nations*, presented the stuggle for power as a natural trait of human condition – present in personal, family, group, organizational relations – and as such unsurprisingly the dominant feature of relations between states. Morgenthau clearly noted: "All history shows that nations active in international politics are continuosly preparing for, actively involved in, or recovering from organized violence in the for of war" (Morgenthan, 1993: 50). Keohane and Nye disputed such a view by saying that it it departed from flawed assumptions: states are coherent units; states are the predominant actors in world politics; force is a usable and effective instrument of policy; there is a hierarchy of themes in world politics, headed by matters of military security ('high politics' as opposed to the 'low politics' of economic and social relations). It was, in their words, an idealized vision, no longer in tune with the world as it existed in the last quarter of the 20th century. Realism was – they argued – still relevant, but not as an exclusive outline of observation; instead they put forward the idea of 'complex interdependence', recognizing that multiple channels connected societies (both formal and informal, at individual, organizational and state levels), that agendas for those relations were not arranged in a predetermined way, and – significantly – that the greater the complexity and interdependence between states the lesser the relevance of military force (Keohane, 1989:3-37).

Observing this dispute from afar one cannot fail to identify approximations with some of the enduring debates in media studies. On the one hand a view which tends to emphasize the strength of larger structures and on the other a perception more acutely focused on signs which represent 'flaws' in the predominant flow of events and their cumulative sturdyness.

Yet approximations can also be seen if we are to consider the specific discussions on media and its social presence and relevance. Indeed, we could venture that media companies too were for decades finished contents production powerhouses evaluating their successes and failures based on power related indicators – market dominance, market share, cost leadership – on power induced strategies – economies of scale, dumping, product differentiation – and even on a power lexicon – leader, challenger, follower, nicher. Few and selected outlets dominated markets with prowess (and high profitability) and audiences were perceived as little else than 'territories to be conquered'.

Were we to further pursue the same line of reasoning we could say that the digitalization of communications contributed to the creation of a new media landscape where powerhouses are still predominant but where they gradually lost prominence and where a multitude of options (including self/amateurial media production) challenge business models and strategic visions of the audience alike.

For some authors this change has been so dramatic that it amounts to a revolutionary social transition. At its heart lay the network[13].

As Nicholas Carr puts it: "Today we're in the midst of another epochal transformation (...) what happened to the generation of power a century ago in now happening to the processing of information. Private computer systems, built and operated by individual companies, are being supplanted by services provided over a common grid – the internet – by centralized data-processing plants. Computing is turning into a utility, and once again the economic equations that determine the way we work and live are being rewritten" (Carr, 2008: 22).

Early usage of the concept as a sociological tool can be traced to the first half of the 20th century and its development and sophistication were mainly taken up by anthropologists, focusing on it as a method for studying social structures rather than as a structure itself (Cavanagh, 2007: 27-32). Yet the now predominant understanding of the concept is much broader in scope and reach: "we see networks everywhere we look – military organizations, social movements, business formations, migration patterns, communications systems, physiological structures, linguistic relations, neural transmitters, and even personal relationships. It is not that networks were not around before or that the structure of the brain has changed. It is that the network has become a common form that tends to define our ways of understanding the world and acting in it" (Hardt & Negri, 2005: 142).

Seminal work on this new broader outlook was developed by Barry Wellman and Hiltz and Turoff in the late 1970's yet the expression 'network society' was first presented as a coherent argument by Jan van Dijk in 1991. Eventhough common usage and some academic writings

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[13] A very detailed discussion of the concept of 'network' can be found in Loon, 2006.

present the 'network society' as a synonom to some other epistemological proposals broadly presented as faces the neo-technological determinism (McQuail, 2010: 104-107), like 'knowledge society' or 'information society', Van Dijk establishes a significant difference between these notions; information society – he argues – focuses on the *changing substance* of activities and processes whilst network society shifts attention to the *changing organizational forms* and infrastructures of societies (Van Dijk, 2006: 19-20).

An information society is characterized by intense information activities which in turn promote "an organization of society based on science, rationality and reflexivity; an economy with all values and sectors, even the agrarian and industrial sectors, increasingly characterized by information production; a labour market with a majority of functions largely or completely based on tasks of information processing requiring knowledge and higher education (hence, the alternative term knowledge society); a culture dominated by media and information products with their signs, symbols and meanings." (ibid.).

All this intense information activity shares, according to Van Dijk, one common feature – the semi-autonomous character of information processing; the 'enabling' activities, those that permit and foment such intense flows, are presented as being distant from their aims and as being able to gather their own momentum and thus validate self-sufficiency. As such, the network society is defined as "a social formation with an infrastructure of social and media networks enabling its prime mode of organization at all levels (individual, group/organizational and societal). Increasingly, these networks link all units or parts of this formation (individuals, groups and organizations). In western societies, the individual linked by networks is becoming the basic unit of the network society. In eastern societies, this might still be the group (family, community, work team) linked by networks." (ibid.).

In Van Dijk's proposal the network society is thus the wider concept, embracing – as autonomous yet complementary realities – both contents and multiple channels.

Perhaps the most notorious proponent of the network as the decisive social metaphor, Manuel Castells, would, still in the 1990's, put forward his *The Information Age* trilogy, starting precisely with a volume called *The Rise of the Network Society* (Castells, 2000c). In it, Castells puts

forward the idea that globalization should not be regarded as a helpful analytical concept but rather as one of the consequences of a global network society: "Networks constitute the new social morphology of our societies, and the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in processes of production, experience, power, and culture" (Castells, 2000c: 500) [14].

Having observed in detail the history of the technological evolution in the 20th century by comparison to the Industrial Revolution, Castells concludes that a distinct pattern emerges in the former, an 'informational mode of development', much more plastic, much more enveloping, and much more impulsive in its functioning.

This plasticity and all-encompassing nature – everything can be both finished product and raw material – fomented creativity and innovation at a previously unseen pace paving the way for a new economic environment, the informational and global economy (informational because competitiveness depends on companies' ability to process information, and global because key functioning areas are determined at that level, and not only in the case of multinational firms): "the shift from industrialism to informationalism is not the historical equivalent of the transition from agricultural to industrial economies, and cannot be equated to the emergency of the service economy. (...) What has changed is not the kind of activities humankind is engaged in, but its technological ability to use as a direct productive force what distinguishes our species as a biological oddity: its superior capacity to process symbols" (Castells, 2000c: 100).

In this enunciation Castells clearly seems to be in tune with Kehone and Nye's broader stance when stating that this global economy is clearly marked by the interdependence of governments and corporations alike, by a notorious asymmetry, by its regional character, by increased diversification within each global region, by its selective inclusiveness, its exclusionary segmentation, and, as a result of all those features, an extraordinarily variable geometry that tends to dissolve historical, economic geography (Stalder, 1998).

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[14] Convergent observations can be found in Benkler, 2006; Benkler, 2011; Cardoso, 2008.

The only common pattern to such a flowing milieu is the use of information technology and that particular aspect leads Castells to propose the existence of a new space, the space of flows (as opposed to the space of spaces), where private, corporate, semi-public and public open networks establish multiple and variable connections thus promoting structural social reform (Castells, 2000a, Castells, 2000b).

This space of flows is supported by three pillars: technology (infrastructure of the network), places (the topology of the space formed by nodes and hubs) and people (referring to the managerial elite controlling substancial parts of the networks) (ibid.). Such an arrangement promotes a culture of real virtuality where time and space are equated in an altogether different way ; biological and social rythms are broken down, sequences of events are disordered, timelessness and simultaneity co-exist in a tight embrace: "it is a culture at the same time of the eternal and of the ephemeral; it is eternal because it reaches back and forth to the whole sequence of cultural expressions; it is ephemeral because each arrangement, each specific sequencing, depends on the context and purpose under which any given cultural construct is solicited. We are not in a culture of circularity, but in a universe of undifferentiated temporality of cultural expressions" (Castells, 2000c: 492).

In essence, events, developments, innovations, disruptions, agglomerations can happen at any time, anywhere, and their relevance stems mostly from their degree of connectedness to networks; objects are either present or distant (ie, a text available on the internet), and unavailability is presumed as almost inexistence. Furthermore, any one event can have effects far beyond the time of its occurence and the space where it was generated (ie, a strategic reorganization of a multinational enterprise).

Castells space of flows is a strange bedfellow to the still very much relevant space of spaces, where temporality is a much less customizable feature and, in fairness, the author never attempts to present us with an unproblematic scenario: "while the emerging logic of the new social structure aims at the relentless supersession of time as an ordered sequence of events, most of society, in a globally interdependent system, remains on the edge of the new universe.

Timelessness sails in an ocean surrounded by time-bound shores, from where still can be heard the laments of time-chained creatures" (ibid: 497).

Castells proposes that in this new society we're living in communication is "the core field of social sciences at large" (Rantanen, 2005: 146) and because culture is mediated by and enacted through communication, our historically produced systems of beliefs and codes "become fundamentally transformed, and will be more so over time, by the new technology system" (Castells, 2000c: 357). In other words, communication is far more relevant today yet such relevance derives in a very considerable way from the establishment of a new technologically determined networked system. In such a setting media are increasingly perceived "as only a subspecies of communications" (Rantanen, 2005: 138), characterized by an increased interconnectedness at the business and content production & distribution end and by a fragmentation of consumption patterns (multiplicity of channels, availability of time/schedule personal management apparatus and tools) at the user's end. As such, the author disputes McLuhan's most well known postulations, by saying that, in fact, due to the range of production/reception possibilities and the inherent interoperability among them 'the message is the medium' – "the characteristics of the message will shape the characteristics of the medium" (Castells, 2000c:368) – and that we are not also living in a global village, "but in customized cottages globally produced and locally distributed" (ibid.: 370).

The similarities between Castells' and Van Dijk's proposals are instantly recognizable but one interesting distinction seems to emerge – Castells is less concerned with the frontiers between usage and structure of networks to the point of deliberately taking one for the other: "for the first time in history, the basic unit of economic organization is not a subject, be it individual or collective (...) the unit is the network" (Castells, 2000c: 198) . As he himself put it in a 2005 interview, multimodal communication ("we are now clearly moving towards an integration of all kinds of media and communications, which are deeply interconnected") can only begin to be understood (and researched) if departing from a interdisciplinary, interactive, and cooperative position. In fact, "it is not only interdisciplinarity. (...) It is interthematicity, to use French philosophical jargon" (Rantanen, 2005: 139). In attempting to further that distance, Van Dijk

would make the distinction abundantly clear: "networks are becoming the prime mode of organization and among the most important structures of modern society. However, they are not (increasingly) *the content* of our society, as they are for Castells" (Van Dijk, 1999: 133). In this author's opinion, society is still mainly formed by individuals, groups and organization that often form external and internal relations yet not to the point of becoming the fabric of society itself. More to the point, "even a totally mediated society where all relations are fully realized by, and substantiated in, media networks, where social and media networks equal each other, would still be based on bodies, minds, rules and resources of all kinds" (ibid.).

Van Dijk's stresses Castells allegedly oversimplified framework – the binary logic (inclusion/exclusion) of the space of flows (Castells, 2004: 4), the downplay of the 'organic' traits actors bring into 'virtual' existence, the diminished attention given to struggle and other power related conflicts within networks[15], and most relevantly, the inherent assumption that both regressive and progressive social movements are inevitably marginal – to be able to conclude that his is a vision of a dynamic, full of opportunities, but controlled by no one, one-dimensional society. In such a setting
 (eventual) conformity and not diversity seems to be the only available option to individuals, groups, organizations, companies and states (Kitzmann, 1998).

In so doing, Van Dijk appears to share the notion that no supersession of pre-existing social relations has indeed occurred (Schiller, 2009) and although still very much distant from critical voices (Murdock, 2004) he seems to tread a terrain closer to the 'reflexive modernization' proposal which perceives present day social changes as somewhat part of a process of reform of modernity rather than a radical departure towards a new model (Beck, 1994).

As with convergence, the network has also become an operational concept in regards to journalism and ongoing changes in production, delivery, and audience intervention in both processes have lead some authors to propose a new definition of the activity; network journalism is the descriptor proposed to best illustrate what results from the intersection between the core

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[15] An enticing discussion of the network society precisely as a place of struggle and of global network capitalism as an antagonistic system ("transnational networks are both spaces of domination and spaces of potential liberation from domination") can be found in Fuchs, 2007.

competences and functions of journalists and the civic potential of online journalism (Bardoel, 2001). In their presentation Bardoel and Deuze tell us that the journalism of the future will be fundamentally different from the one we still find today, with technological developments and especially trends in civil society (Giddens, 1991) forcing a profound reassessment of the profession. The abundance of information, the public's ability to autonomously access it, and institutional players active pursuit of direct (alternative to journalism) channels of communication with their specific constituencies will contribute to the funneling of available options: "The journalism of tomorrow is a node in a complex environment between technology and society, between news and analysis, between annotation and selection, between orientation and investigation" (Bardoel, 2001).

This new network journalism is not to be associated with any single medium format, type, genre or modality, rather becoming, in that particular sense, an embracing new definition of the whole activity; collaboration will be increasingly relevant in newsrooms – 'content production systems' will ensure that a particular story can be published in manifold ways and platforms –, production will be much more in tune with specific audiences requirements, and journalists will adopt a posture which goes beyond the duty to inform and most definitely enters the 'critical and orientational storytelling' territory (ibid.).

Albeit departing from the observation of some effective current developments this proposal is still very much an advanced projection of strategic thinking. In that sense its attachment to reality is still very feeble, deliberately avoiding pertinent questions related to the journalistic activity (access to the profession, legal and ethical constraints, group and career dynamics), to the feasibility of business models, and to the modalities and constraints intrinsic to the interplay with audiences.

2.2.3   Common Space

The above mentioned increased convergence, the emergence of the network as a possible parable to describe present day social, economic, and political interactions, and significantly, discourses erected around the 'technologies are/are not able to singlehandedly have an effective

role in transforming society' have inevitably promoted a lively debate on the nature, shape, value, and relevance of the shared common space of social interaction.

Despite the fact that such a conversation – or sequence of monologues in some cases – has been present throughout the better part of the last two decades it still envelops on uneasy terrain and as such we would find it prudent to privilege questionings rather than assertions. As Schudson so wittily remarks, "the world is spinning us around so swiftly and the media changing so rapidly (...) that a clear vision of where we are and where we may be headed remains unattainable" (Schudson, 2006: 6). Still, even if we depart from an ostensively unaligned terrain which simply views technology as 'non-neutral' – possessing neither intrinsically good nor bad characteristics but still not being amorphous (Kranzberg, 1985) –, we should be prepared to extol the virtues of such a dynamic ongoing evaluation.

A pivotal point in the whole debate seems to be the notion of order. The more permanent nature of some pre-digitalization power relations would indicate that a *modus operandi* remains, on the whole, very similar to that which characterized the 20ᵗʰ century; the erosion of precisely those power relations and the pervasive (an non-schematic makeup) of emerging, communication bound, forms of social, political, and economic relations would edge us towards an almost oppositional veredict.

As distant as it might be from our present day concerns, Augustine's 5ᵗʰ Century proposal of order as "a good disposition of discrepant parts, each in its fittest place" (quoted in Bull, 1977) has held its appeal for long and it could still be appropriately used to describe far more than the media in a pre-digitalization world. Indeed, the purpositive tone of Augustine's description – the 'good' as most certainly opposed to a 'bad', the presumption that there is a 'fittest place' and, on the whole, the emphasis given to the presentation of such concept as a shared natural aspiration – is most surely identifiable in some later normative proposals on society or on citizenship, starting with Hobbes' seminal discussion in *Leviathan* (1651) of what has come to be known as

'social contract theory'[16], a methodology to justify political arrangements based on an appeal to common understanding between rational, free, and equal persons (Hobbes, 1991).

In his most prominent writing, *The Anarchical Society* (1977), Headley Bull would refrain from pairing with Augustine's proposal although he would put forward an argument sustained by the same core assumption that societies (all of them) seem to share basic goals and to embody arrangements to promote them. Three such goals were presented as elementary: assurance that life is secure against violence; assurance that promises, once made, will be kept, or that agreements, once undertaken, will be carried out; assurance that the possession of things will remain stable to some degree (Bull, 1977: 4-5). The 'technological unification of the world' was, under such a casing, presented as a possible contributor to the disintegration of the 'states system' and to the ensuing emergence of a 'new medieval' form of universal order (ibid: 273-276). Bull does not go as far as openly promoting an 'either /or' apocalyptic scenario but it clearly emerges from his writings a perception that disruption to established order would force far reaching social and political transformations.

The attempt to advance a historically grounded reflection on the ill effects of a sensed unordered social and political disruption has also been at the heart of one of the most relevant theoretical contributions on this matter, Jurgen Habermas' discussion of the public sphere. As the author would write in a text originally published in 1964 that was the description of "a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. (...)They then behave neither like business or professional people transacting private affairs, nor like members of a constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state bureaucracy. Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion – that is, with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions – about matters of general interest. In a large public body this kind of communication requires specific means for transmitting information and influencing those who

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[16] A discussion on the eventual re-invention of the social contract can be found in Sulkunen, 2007.

receive it. Today newspapers and magazines, radio and television are the media of the public sphere." (Habermas, 1974: 49).

This proposed space, midship between the private universe of the masses and the power universe of the elites (Kellner, 2000), was to be a mostly media interfaced arena for common, equitable, and scrutinisable debate within a society which had become too complex to be ruled by direct representation. For Habermas the core feature of such a realm was the possibility to discuss state related affairs away from the state in a space where rationality and shared common rules promoted debate which went beyond the clash between individual interests and a *his-masters-voice* type style of established power affirmation. The author's argument contrasted what he identified in a *burgeois public sphere* of the late 17th and early 18th centuries with what he depicted as a contemporary condition of near collapse, due to mass cultural consumption and over bearing political and economic administration by corporations and dominant elites (ibid.). As he himself would put it: "the communicative network of a public made up of rationally debating private citizens (...) collapsed: the public opinion once emergent from it has partly decomposed into the informal opinions of private citizens without a public and partly become concentrated into formal opinions of publicistically effective institutions. Caught in the vortex of *publicity that is staged for show or manipulation* the public of nonorganized private people is laid claim to not by public communication but by the communication of publicly manifested opinions" (Habermas, 1989: 247-8, original emphasis).

Even if appearing from almost opposite ends of the discussion it is nonetheless interesting to note that both Bull and Habermas seem to favour the existence of order and, relevantly, they both appear to underestimate 'the mass'; despite the fact that one would prefer it to be under the guidance of political and economic elites and the other would prefer it to have regulated access to a prototype space of seameless interaction the downplaying of the capabilities, interests, and powers of a significant portion of the population seems evident. In fairness it should be emphasized that Habermas considers that to be a problem, although he assigns responsibility for it at the doorstep of large corporations and political power interests; in

combination they have transformed rational debate into manipulative discourse directed at increasing passive consumption (Papacharissi, 2009: 232-234).

One key assumption of Habermas' discourse should be duly accentuated – the relevance attributed to the media in contemporary society. Although presented in a very negative light – as having mutated from facilitator of rational conversations to promoter of interest-bound previously sanctioned themes – the media retain nonetheless a pivotal role in his reading of social interaction.

It is precisely this intricate relation that keeps media so vitally connected to debates on the nature, shape, and value of present day shared common space. Discussions on the existence/promotion of a new public sphere, encompassing renewed conversations on access, freedom, and democracy all seem to accept that (Cavanagh, 2007).

The new electronic media have been very frequently presented as a decisive tool to shatter the 'dominance of the few' – the 'levelling effect'(Keohane, 1998: 87) –, the commercialism of media operations, and its role in the non-promotion of active public participation. Nonmarket and nonproprietary production, both by individuals and by cooperative efforts are presented as proof of the emergence of a new information environment, "one in which individuals are free to take a more active role than was possible in the industrial information economy of the twentieth century" (Benkler, 2006). This new space, marked by more fragile but also more versatile associations between individuals, organizations, and institutions is presented as intrinsically wholesome, proping up individual freedom, improving democratic participation, and creating a more 'in-touch' and dynamic culture. The means seem indeed to be in place for a more fragmented production and consumption of information and examples have been accumulating over the last few years of the (sometimes) immediate effects that uncontrolled communication apparatus can have on economic, social, and political structures (namely BP's PR backlash in the wake of the 2010 Gulf of Mexico oil spill and the regime changes in North Africa in 2010 and 2011).

For some authors, the signs are very clear. In the introduction to the iconic *Cluetrain Manifesto*, Christopher Locke would affirm: "What if the real attraction of the Internet is not its cutting-edge

bells and whistles, its jazzy interface or any of the advanced technology that underlies its pipes and wires? What if, instead, the attraction is an atavistic throwback to the prehistoric human fascination with telling tales? (...) In many ways, the Internet more resembles an ancient bazaar than it fits the business models companies try to impose upon it. Millions have flocked to the Net in an incredibly short time, not because it was user-friendly – it wasn't – but because it seemed to offer some intangible quality long missing in action from modern life. In sharp contrast to the alienation wrought by homogenized broadcast media, sterilized mass "culture," and the enforced anonymity of bureaucratic organizations, the Internet connected people to each other and provided a space in which the human voice would be rapidly rediscovered" (Levine, 1999).

Given the fact that this is a manifesto we need to go past the ornate tone to be able to detect an interesting mixture between a sense of urgency and a sense of hope; the former stems from the necessity to cement the 'insurgence' before homogeneized, sterile, and bureaucratic structures regain control of society, and the later is grounded on the belief in an untarnished, benign, altruistic human existence. Albeit in a more sophisticated record (and with significant nuances) the same hue is is present in Weinberger's unified theory of the web: "the changes we can see generally feel like a return to our best nature. (...) That's why the web, for all its technological newness and oddness, feels so familiar to us. And that's why it feels like a return even though it is the newest of the new. The web is a return to the values that have been with us from the beginning. It is even a return to our basic self-understanding – a return from the distraction of modernism and the antihuman untruths embodied in the default philosophy we all carry with us like a hundred-pound backpack [individualism, realism, relativism]. When you set it down, you feel like you can fly" (Weinberger, 2002: 179-181).

Clear Habermasian undertones are observable, most notably the assumption of a natural human inclination towards rational, equitable, debate of common matters and the harcking back to an undefined period where behavior was unspoiled by modernity, yet an apparent disregard for the value of order seems to emerge as a relevant diverging note. Weinberger's proposition, in fact, appears to suggest that the 'looseness' of human association and the assembly of a phatic culture (Miller, 2008) is not only a key feature of the new environment but also a positive one at it.

In a proposal which might be presented as perhaps holding wider affinities with Habermas and might be described as more normative than those previously mentioned, Castells tells us that a new public sphere is indeed emerging, no longer attached to the national institutions of territorially bound societies but rather to a global media system. That system, which includes television, radio, and the print press, but also a variety of multimedia and communications systems – decribed as 'mass self-communication': "networks of communication that relate many-to-many in the sending and receiving of messages in a multimodal form of communication that bypasses mass media and often escapes government control" – is nonetheless perceived as an integral part of new political system in a globalized world, formed by a global civil society and by a global network state "that supersedes and integrates the preexisting nation-states without dissolving them into a global government." (Castells, 2008: 89-90). The fact that, through the media, nonstate actors are able to influence people's minds and foster social change, with far reaching consequences on political behavior, on voting patterns, and on the decisions of governments, turns it into a highly sensitive area, "where it appears that societies can be moved in a direction that diverges from the values and interests institutionalized in the political system". As such, "it is essential for state actors, and for intergovernmental institutions, such as the United Nations, to relate to civil society not only around institutional mechanisms and procedures of political representation but in public debates in the global public sphere." (ibid.).

In clear contrast with previous proposals, Castells' is most definitely a pro-active stance; a rich, eloquent, and meticulous reading of digital communications' induced transformations is followed by an assertive prescription, as close to a 'to do' list as we could possibly imagine: "Because we live in a globalized, interdependent world, the space of political codecision is necessarily global. And the choice that we face is either to construct the global political system as an expression of power relationships without cultural mediation or else to develop a global public sphere around the global networks of communication, from which the public debate could inform the emergence of a new form of consensual global governance." (ibid: 91).

It is relevant to note that even if departing from a much more cautious reading of the role of the global media system Keohane and Nye would still state that "geographically based states will

continue to structure politics in an information age, but they will rely less on material resources and more on their ability to remain credible to a public with increasingly diverse sources of information". (Keohane, 1998: 94).

In both these readings – Castells' and Keohane and Nye's – we sense the presence of order; a preoccupation with the overall equilibrium of global economic, political, and social governance. Some relevant cogs might need to be changed and that might require effort but the mechanism is presumed to maintain functioning under roughly the same basic precepts. Whatever changes or disruptions do occur they are to be assimilated and guided towards some type of 'productive' outcome. Keohane and Nye call upon states to engage further through soft power; Castells believes that to be insufficient and proposes the fostering of a public diplomacy, with the purpose of harnessing dialogue between different 'social collectives'. Such an active involvement of the elites is not to be mistaken for government diplomacy and as such its purpose is not to assert power or to negotiate a rearrangement of power relationships. Instead, through 'not to declare but to listen' practices a new (renewed perhaps) public sphere where "voices can be heard in spite of their various origins, distinct values, and often contradictory interests" should emerge. The overarching purpose of the exercise, though, is candidly presented as "creating the conditions under which different projects can be channeled by the global civil society and the political institutions of global governance toward an informed process of decision making that respects the differences and weighs policy alternatives". (Castells, 2008: 91).

What all these strands of readings however seem to have in common is what we might describe as the benevolent eye. Both authors more inclined to emphasize the emergence of the self as a powerful new agent and those more receptive to talk of the increased individual relevance in a modern global grand design seem to equate this new public space of exchange as a mostly unproblematic platform. Either through personal endowment or elite driven guidance the two-way possibility of communication and its inherent decentralized nature are almost self-explanatory reasons for the appearance of relevant rational-critical discourse spaces away from state and economic direct interests. These renderings, more often than not, garner support on the immense flow of data on increased internet penetration, home and personal usage of new communication technology devices, or the expansion of self-publication formats and social

networks. Undisputed as they are, those sets of data do not tells us much more than the obvious – communication technologies are now more easily available to more people than ever before and, significantly, combined self-publication and networking processes can unfold at very reduced costs.

In other words, we can safely establish that conditions for the expression of human interaction have changed significantly; what is a matter of contention is the ensuing leap, that some of the above mentioned writers seem to make with very little hesitation, proposing that those new digital communication capabilities have in fact altered the essence of social interaction (Yzer, 2008: 16).

In a detailed study about the internet and civic engagement among american adults (which included data gathered from high school classes from 1965, 1982, and 1997), Kent Jennings and Zeitner have drawn some interesting conclusions: 1) the internet appears to have mapped onto or even exacerbated already existing inequalities in civic engagement; 2) contemporaneous connections between internet usage and civic engagement were substantially reduced (although the 'more actively engaged individuals' have incorporated the internet into their political repertoires); 3) the origins and dynamics of political trust orientation appear to be immune to the workings of the internet (Kent Jennings, 2003).

In a study about the democratic effects of the internet (a cross-national inquiry of 152 countries with data from 1994-2003), Groshek would propose that the internet has a positive effect on democracy, but that such an increase is most likely to be achieved in countries where democracy is already established. "It would therefore be rather imprudent to suggest a totalizing concept of the internet as a democratic silver bullet, since positive democratic effects of the internet were primarily observed in countries that were already developed and at least partially democratic. [Although results of hypothesis testing would give indications towards that possibility] Internet diffusion in this study did not conclusively show an appreciable democratic effect in developing and non-democratic countries" (Groshek, 2009).

In a reading which attempted to identify Habermas' normative conditions of the public sphere (autonomy from state and economic power, exchange and critique of criticizable moral-practical

validity claims, reflexivity, ideal role-taking, sincerity, and discursive inclusion and equality) in digital communications enabled discourse, Dahlberg has also concluded that whenever people enter into deliberation on political matters "an expansion of the public sphere that is constituted" occurs (Dahlberg, 2001: 13).

Civically active, knowledgeable, affluent individuals hence appear to use digital communications to expand their participation in common activities and that, for some authors, is no more than "an informatisation of life which stems from the continuity of established forces" (Webster, 1995: 218).

Matthew Hindmand takes this one step further and posits that such a state of affairs means that between the elites and the excluded there is a fragile middle ground unhelped precisely by some of the features and characteristics of the new environment (Hindman, 2009: 129-142):

1) information centred and political discussion oriented spaces accessed through digital communications have increased but two trends are noticeable: concentration of attention among the most popular outlets and fragmentation among the least read ones. The image of a long tail (Anderson, 2007)[17] is actually presented as a pernicious misrepresentation given that the smallest outlets, taken together, still amount to no more than marginal traffic and that very little appears to exist in between the top and the bottom of the tail (accordingly a very large dog with an incredibly thin tail would perhaps be a more appropriate description);

2) the predominant organization form of digital communication accessed information is categorization and self-replicating patterns ensure that "the missing middle is not something that one can escape just by looking further down the rankings or by dividing the web into smaller and smaller categories of sites" (Hindman, 2009: 136);

3) the design of online spaces favours consumers over citizens, and corporate interests over the public interests (Lessig, 2001);

4) the non-presencial and deferred interaction format of online discussions constitutes a softer ground for polarization than for the promotion of the mutual respect required by democratic

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[17] The proposal was originally presented in a 2004 Wired magazine article (Anderson, 2004)

engagement, and thus foments the empowerment of an 'aristocracy of intellectuals' and highlights the dangers of a deliberative democracy (Berkowitz, 1996).

This last point in particular, the increasingly optional disembodiment in social action, is also construed as being at the heart of an enclave society (Turner, 2007) where members crave for connectedness but not for intimacy (Turkle, 2011).

As such, a number of authors seem to be telling us that the new digital communications enabled common space is pretty much the same as before acquiring and sometimes enhancing rather than diluting complex problems of access, freedom, and democracy.

It thus follows that key analytical elements of modernity might still retain their centrality and Golding uses them in identifying what he considers a series of fallacies of 'the information age thesis'(Golding, 2000: 166). The first is identity, which is presented as less playful and malleable as expected by some and rather still very much attached to materiality, like nation and state boundaries (Billig, 1995) or transnational companies' control over the flows of "the raw resources of identity construction". The second is inequality, or 'the fallacy of universal abundance'; digital communication apparatuses are not replicating diffusion patterns of previous communication related consumer goods mostly because they presume connectedness related costs and the recurrent updating investment. The third fallacy concerns power; governing is an increasingly commodified activity and under the semblance of greater democracy citizens are given "the ultimate shopping experience: shopping for better government" (Huber, 1995: 142). The forth relates to change itself; some of the predicted auspicious outcomes of the 'death of distance' (as presented by Giddens), like the increase in leisure hours for workers, or the expansion of home working, have substantially failed to materialize (Golding, 2000: 172-178).

Whilst taking in the positive of all these observations – both the ones which seem to privilege the opportunities permitted by the new and those which seem to focus on the strength of continuities – one cannot escape sharing Noam's disconcerting remark on the debate itself; the new common space – he argues – is not Athens, nor Appenzell, nor Lincoln-Douglas. "It is, if anything, less of a democracy than those low-tech places. But of course, none of these places

really existed either, except as an ideal, a goal, or an inspiration (quoted in Papacharissi, 2009: 243).

Digital communications have perhaps not shaped a new citizen operating in an altogether more equitable common space but they have provided the opportunity and the means for new and more flexible civic practices. Even if those practices do not fit some of the established notions regarding what constitutes participation they should not simply be dismissed as irrelevant irregularities. As Papacharissi notes, some recent tendencies in online deliberative spaces result from a tension between the public and the private expressions of more than ever before empowered individuals; such a tension is managed by impulse rather than by carefully though out strategy and it can be identified on the mostly self-centred expression of political opinion on weblogs, on the subversive actions articulated through discourse on multiple outlets, and on privately generated narratives published in commercially public spaces. Contrary to an idealized notion of democratic engagement, where the citizen would only come into being through the public sphere, in present day conditions the citizen has retreated to the private sphere, from where confortably reflects, expresses, and sometimes also behaves in public contexts (Papacharissi, 2009: 244).

These haphazard rather than structurally determined citizen practices – as Hermes calls them – mean that individuals go back and forth between the roles of audience member and active public discussion participant with some ease (Hermes, 2006). In that sense, we are closer to accept Bourdieu's concept that individuals do not simply act to maximize their rational self-interest; most of what is 'real' is also 'relational' and hence to exist socially "is to mark one's difference vis-à-vis others in an ongoing process that is enacted for the most part unconsciously without strategic intention" (Benson, 2005: 3). Bourdieu's writings are, in this regard, especially challenging given that on the one hand they account for this volatility in social behavior whilst on the other hand they seem to impose an – albeit more fragmented – substitute structural framework. The author himself admits to being a constuctivist structuralist or a structuralist constructivist (Bourdieu, 1989: 14) by means of proposing the concept of the field: "a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they

take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field" (Bourdieu, 2005: 30). His proposal has the clear added value of exposing the complexities of a less than uniform public sphere – in that sense the notion of the field appears to be close to Gitlin's description of the 'public sphericules' (quoted in Cammaerts, 2007: 4) – although it has clearly frail undertones, namely in the disqualification of the public, still very much viewed as an exterior, passive, amorphous and manipulable entity (Pinto, 2008: 4-5).

A perhaps more encompassing yet conceptually close rendition of this uneasy relation between the private sphere and the public sphere, between individuals' active participation and passive observation stances is present in Lars Qvortrup's presentation of today's society as an hypercomplex one. Considering Castells' network society an oversimplified concept – "it is misleading to claim that world society functions as one global network in which everything can happen, and in which everybody is connected to everubody else"[18] – and also presenting Giddens' argument on the 'runway world' and Beck's discussion of the 'risk society' as equally simplistic (Qvortrup, 2006: 346), this author suggests that the emerging common space of interaction can be characterized as a polycentric and polycontextural social system. Hypercomplexity, which should not be considered as a quantitative enhancement but rather as second-order complexity, has replaced modernity's anthropocentrism by polycentrism, and unlimited rationality by bounded rationality. As such, social interactions in the common space are presented as not having an aggregate coherent goal. Instead, "when organizational and social procedures develop, they do so not in order to reach a final state of total control or stability, but in order to compensate for their bounded rationality". That stability results from "a dynamic state of equilibrium in which mechanisms and procedures for mutual observation and communication have developed to neutralize tendencies towards social entropy" (Qvortrup, 2003: 5).

The distance between Qvortrup and Bourdieu is indeed reduced. They both seem to identify a more fragmented reality and they both assume a degree of instability in the system. Similarities,

[18] A detailed discussion of Qvortrup's theoretical disagreements with Castells can be found in Qvortrup, 2007.

though, extend to the shortcomings: they both appear to playdown the role of the individual – insofar as having the ability to belong/participate/change between fields and/or centres of observation – and they seem to attribute an almost hegemonic role to the media in their relations with audiences. Qvortrup's argument strikes us for its particular crassness when presenting the media as an irritating self-contained subsystem in society: "the point is that there isn'ts anybody in particular outside the media who can decide what the media will say: they do it themselves" (ibid: 153).

A macro-level observation which – to regain a previous theme – sees the alteration in order as a key factor in the changes experienced in the shared common space of interaction is Zygmunt Bauman's. His confrontation with modernity – as a social project with structural agency to deal with trust and risk – lead him to see contemporary society in terms of liquid modernity (Bauman, 2000). In a tone which has sometimes been considered pessimistic he tells us that a liquid modern society is "a society in which the conditions under which members act change faster than it takes the ways of acting to consolidade into habits and routines. Liquidity of life and that of society feed and reinvigorate each other. Liquid life, just like liquid modern society, cannot keep its shape or stay on course for long" (quoted in Deuze, 2007a: 672).

In such a setting, uncertainty, flux, change, conflict, and revolution are permanent traits of an everyday life which no longer has a long term plan and is rather managed by projects: "Following a precedent is not a good advice any more. Accumulating knowledge and relying on knowledge accumulated a long time ago, is not a good proposition today. Relying on unchanged routine which you can actually imbibe and follow blindly, is not also a good recipe. The same is true for acting according to habits and customs. All this is counterproductive in a rapidly changing world in which there is no longer one dominant authority but a competition of authorities, very often at cross-purposes, very often mutually contradictory. The responsibility for choosing between these authorities falls entirely upon the person involved" (Bauman, 2004: 5).
In contrast with previous accounts, the individual assumes a clear centrality, although his 'life pursuits' are seen as facing daunting challenges. The first is the above mentioned crumbling of social forms (structures, routines, patterns of behavior). The second is the increased separation

between power and politics with the former moving away to the uncontrolled global (in many instances extraterritorial) space and with the later, in the form of political institutions enforcing or encouraging the transfer away of a growing number of previously performed functions. The third is the progressive reduction of state-promoted communal insurance against individual failure and the ensuing curtailment of incentives to collective action and motivation for social solidarity. The fourth is the collapse of long term thinking, planning, and acting; previsible orders of succession – involving concepts like development, maturation, career, or progress – have been replaced by a life of fragments which stimulates 'lateral' rather than 'vertical' responses. The fifth and final challenge is the burden of responsibility for resolving problems arising from volatile and constantly changing circumstances; individuals, now a 'free chooser' must face like never before the consequences of their choices (even if and when the risks involved in choices are produced by forces which far exceed their compreenshion or capacity to act).

In this new liquid common shared space the individual is expected to be both emancipated but flexible in order to negotiate its personal presence and position on a recurring basis (Bauman, 2007: 1-4) and the fact that new digital communications allow such an individual to be equiped with 'disconnect on demand' devices does not necessarily create new communities (quoted in Deuze, 2007a: 674). In a strikingly gloomy metaphor, the author assures us that the "powerful flow of information is not a confluent of the river of democracy, but an insatiable intake intercepting its contents and channeling them away into magnificently huge, yet stale and stagnant artificial lakes.

The more powerful that flow is, the greater the threat of the river bed drying up" (ibid.).Weblogs and other forms of participation are even considered to be dangerous, giving people who are engaged an illusion of action whilst present day journalism is seen as both part and promoter of the liquidity of life; the way a theme is promoted as relevant and then 'evicted' from public consciousness, or the alterations in the rhythm of production – "just try to convince people to give you a hierarchy of what's important and what's less important, instead of just knowing about events" – make it impossible to digest any news in any depth (ibid: 678).

Bauman offers us an undoubtedly lively and in some respects accurate depiction of life in these 'after modernity' times, yet a sense of partiality (perhaps marked by his own personal life experiences) is noticeable. What can be presented as lucidity can also be seen as deeply seeded disappointment and, most relevantly, as an almost absolute lack of trust in the regenerative and morphing nature of human spirit and behavior. With perhaps undue bluntness it could even be said that such a posture is at odds with the notion of liquidity itself, insofar as it appears to exclude any unsettling of the status quo promoted by 'bad globalisation'.

Social cohesion erosion in tandem with increasingly fragmented production / consumption of relevant information and with increased (endemic almost) reduction in attention spans might indeed present us with a new and challenging scenario and perhaps the debilities of some readings are to be found not on the identification of such factors but rather on the usage of a 'panopticon-centred' observation framework. In other words, randomness, volatility, increased individual choice might, as Katz showed departing from the segmentation of audiences through cable television, ultimately weaken the modern democracy (Katz, 1996), yet that should not immediately suggest more that what it is: the magnification of the frailties of a 'delegated responsibility' system of political management at odds with the mixture between the effects of some strategic decisions (namely the push towards globalization), the ensuing state presence reduction, and the emergence of digital communications. Weaker states with (even if forcibly) empowered citizens enabled by digital communications propitiate the dilution of the common space of interaction, with lesser massive nodes (to use Qvortrup's terminology) and with more specialized (according to subject or with only micro-community level interest), fragmented, and often polarized ones (Tewksbury, 2009: 195-196).

Yet the potential is also in place for more agile action (exemples abound, like the above mentioned political transformations in North Africa countries, or Lisbon's and Madrid's 2011 youth protests) and some media outlets have – to appropriate Castells' earlier wording – attempted to channel some of the intermittent jolts of participation, by actively dedicating spaces to citizen provided information, to weblogs, to social network interaction with readers, to the promotion of multiple support interventions in political debates and / or political interviews, and

also by opening up to greater public scrutiny their own news agenda and news gathering procedures (namely through a number of 'editor's blog' variations) (Pinto, 2008: 11-12). Specific features of digital communications enabled environments – the 24/7 news cycle, the absence of space limitations, the absence of an 'end product', the possibility to incorporate non-professional contributions – have given editors the possibility to rapidly change their content offerings (Singer, 2001), particularly when faced with very relevant issues (Salaverria, 2005a).

For some, nevertheless, that has not been near enough and journalism, if perceived as the primary sense making practice of modernity (Hartley, 1996: 12) and as sitting at the heart of the modern nation-state – "Journalism is another name for democracy or, better, you cannot have journalism without democracy. The practices of journalism are not self-justifying; rather, they are justified in terms of the social consequences they engender, namely the constitution of a democratic social order" (Carey, 1996) – should itself be questioned.

Some authors, especially those more in tune with the proposals of public/civic journalism – "the most important north-american journalistic movement since the 'new journalism' of the 1960's" (Traquina, 2003) –, saw the opportunity to push forward an agenda based on the original founding principles: a reduction of the distance between journalists and their audiences and a reduction of the distance between citizens and politicians (Rosen, 1995). It appeared as though arguments like those advanced on the necessity to turn journalism from an aseptic, highly professionalized structure of procedures to convey information into a looser space of conversation where public discourse could be more encompassing became more relevant than ever.

Yet, proposals like the teaching of journalism as one concentration in a network of complementary communication disciplines (instead of as an isolated profession), the promotion of narrative knowing, and the predisposition of journalists to start conversations rather than to put an end to them (Anderson, 1994), while holding their intrinsic validity, faced both a reality and a new discourse which would put the debate on another level.

The explosion of self-publication, most notably after 2003 (Santos, 2004) and the emergence of a myriad of disintermediated sites[19] (Pinto, 2008: 14) paved the way to a wave of independent journalistic publishing and to the consequent increasingly more frequent references to the end of journalism. This amalgamation of very different non-professional inputs into the information flow, sometimes euphorically described as 'an army of Davids' or as 'gate crushers', was to become known as citizen journalism and its most emblematic example is, still today, the South Korean 'OhMyNews' founded in 2000 under the slogan 'Every citizen is a reporter'.

When, in 2006, Jay Rosen wrote a (now famous) post on his personal blog, entitled 'The people formerly know as the audience' he was somehow suggesting that public journalism had had its day: "The people formerly known as the audience are those who were on the receiving end of a media system that ran one way, in a broadcasting pattern, with high entry fees and a few firms competing to speak very loudly while the rest of the population listened in isolation from one another— and who today are not in a situation like that at all. (...)The people formerly known as the audience are simply the public made realer, less fictional, more able, less predictable. You should welcome that, media people. But whether you do or not we want you to know we're here" (Rosen, 2006). By the same token, when Jeff Jarvis wrote, in 2009, 'The speech the NAA (*Newspaper Association of America*) should hear', he was proposing far more than a reform of media and of its role in the common social space: "So now, for many of you, there isn't time. It's simply too late. The best thing some of you can do is get out of the way and make room for the next generation of net natives who understand this new economy and society and care about news and will reinvent it, building what comes after you from the ground up. There's huge opportunity there, for them.You blew it" (Jarvis, 2009b).

Both Rosen and Jarvis – perhaps two of the most boisterous 'end of media' speakers – still account for the relevance of journalism and Rosen especially sees in it the potencial for functioning much in the manner as envisaged by the core civic journalism proposals; the relevant difference is that they seem to consider the major media companies as more part of the problem

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[19] On of the first emblematic cases was that which envoled the revelation of the Monica Lewinky affair in 1998 not by Newsweek – which had the original information but chose to 'bury it' – but by a freelance journalist in his own personal online space, the Drudge Report (http://www.drudgereportarchives.com/data/2002/01/17/20020117_175502_ml.htm, accessed on 2010-05-23).

than as part-takers in any future solution. This demonization (most of it should probably be related to the specificities of the north-american media landscape) whilst (deliberately) failing to show us some of the relevant 'grey areas' has the value of enhancing the importance of alternative production and of keeping journalism on a 'cautious mode', aware that its presence in the common space will now have to be though of in relation to and in collaboration with open source production (Witt, 2006) from an increasing number of personal contributions (Gillmor, 2005). Content value will be increasingly set by the interactions between producers and users and this will leave us, in the foreseeable future, with a flimsy co-existence between highly professional enterprises and peer-driven (sometimes crowdfunded) amateurial projects. As Deuze bluntly puts it, "in a way, it will be a mess" (Deuze, 2008a), but that is possibly the only socially relevant alternative available.

3   Online journalism in context

"I t must be considered there there is nothing more difficult to carry out, nor more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to handle, than to initiate a new order of things. For the reformer has enemies in all those who profit by the old order, and only lukewarm defenders in all those who would profit by the new order, this lukewarmeness arising partly from fear of their adversaries, who have the laws in their favour; and partly from the incredulity of mankind, who do not truly believe in anything new until they have had actual experience of it"(Machiavelli, 1952: 49-50).

This quote, by Niccolò Machiavelli, in chapter 6 of his most famous writing, *The Prince*, is particularly interesting for two reasons. First and foremost it perhaps suggests that the human predisposition for change at a macro level is rather muted and that such a trait has roots that run depper and go beyond the construction of modernity. In that sense, claims suggesting that modernity imposed structural social and political rigidity is at the heart of some of the above mentioned legitimacy issues may be overstated. Secondly – even if departing from a very singular and naturally time-stamped observation – it hints that uncertainty might also be a more familiar feature of the shared common space than we might be lead to assume from some contemporary readings.

In tandem, these observations counsel prudence and that seems precisely the oar most needed to travel the tumultuous waters surrounding journalism's present and future. As such, three cautionary introductory notes should relevantly be made before we go any further.

Firstly, as remarked by Manuel Pinto (Pinto, 2008), discourses on the crisis of journalism abound and they can vary in focus depending on:
1) their provenance or source – those emanating from inside the profession (Ramonet, 2002; Keller, 2007; Fogel & Patino, 2005; Currah, 2009) or those emating from outside the profession, namely from academic researchers (Singer, 2003; Nguyen, 2007);

2) the relative positioning of the argumentation – media-centric (Meyer, 2004)/tecno-centric (Hemmingway, 2008) or socio-centric (Dahlgren, 1996; Sparks, 1996; Trappel, 2011);

3) their specific nature – mostly research based (Fidalgo, 2009; Gans, 1980; Boczkowski, 2005), mostly argumentative (Gant, 2007; Gillmor, 2010).

Secondly, the concept of crisis is not, in itself, a novelty for journalism. If haphazardly presented with the following statement – "There is today a widespread and growing doubt whether there exists such an acess to the news about contentious affairs. This doubt ranges from accusations of unconscious bias to downright charges of corruption, from the belief that the news is colored to the belief that the news is poisoned" – we would conceivably venture that it has more to do with present day journalism's woes that with past problematic eras. The opposite, naturally, is the case; the line was written by Walter Lippman and Charles Merz in their 1920 text, *A Test of the News*, and as McChesney suggests, the normative tone of the exercise – journalism producing outlets ough to be though of as public institutions rather than simple enterprises – allows us leeway to identify both confrontation and crisis as less episodical and perhaps more permanent features of an activity so directly linked to the structures of democratic rule (McChesney, 2011b: 151-161).

Thirdly, two lines of argumentation are often presented in such an entangled manner as to lead the hasty reader to presume they are but one. The mentioned objects of misconstruction are the crisis of the journalistic enterprise and the crisis of journalism. We are not denying the obvious connection between these two realities yet we would still emphasize as vital that precise understanding – that they are two. As Welsh so appropriately puts it this confusion more often than not extends further: "mistaking the fate of journalism's biggest manufacturers with the fate of the industry as a whole (...) and the further muddying the waters by confusing the fortunes of big media companies with the health of democracy itself" (Welsh, 2011: 215-216).

Adressing a graduate school commencement at the University of Albany, USA, Pulitzer Prize-winner William Kennedy would in 2004 give an impassioned example of precisely this: "But the press is those 'other people'; the press is all the people, including those who stand for election.

How else do candidates become visible except through the press? And that check-and-balance function is central to a democracy. No checks and balances by the press ever existed in the Soviet Union, or in Saddam Hussein's Iraq. And the consequence was the tyrannical victory of silence and secrecy" (Kennedy, 2004) . One year later, curiously also during an address to an audience of possible future journalists (at the Escuela de Periodismo UAM/El País, Madrid, Spain), the renowned Bill Kovach, would present a more sophisticated reasoning to put forward the same idea. Departing from the reconnaissance that technology is enabling a cyberspace awash with a multitude of views of reality ("undifferentiated information"), and though admitting the shortcomings of both the industry and newsroom management, the reputed journalist would say that this new environment required "a new journalism to assure that the view of the world in which people live is one constructed with the integrity and reliability self-government requires" (Kovach, 2005) .

In a sense, with very different styles, both these views seem to share the notion that journalism's claim to being mostly the occupation of independent, impartial, objective individuals operating in the interest of society (rather than employees of a corporation with at least autonomous business oriented interests) remains even more relevant today; the task of 'helping people (who need 'mental moorings') master their world' (Fuller, 1996: 185-195) superseding all other considerations and constituting a type of ancestral ground to which companies should return in order to survive: "For all of us and for our continued freedom in a dangerous, anarchical world depends upon not forgetting the past – not forgetting the values that have made self-government possible. For, in the end, if history teaches us anything it teaches us that freedom and democracy do not depend upon technology or upon the most efficient organization. Freedom and democracy depend upon individuals who refuse to give up their belief that the free flow of timely, truthful information is what has made freedom, self-government, and human dignity possible" (Kovach, 2005).

Conceivably the most accomplished example of this standpoint is Philip Meyer's 2004 book, *The Vanishing Newspaper – Saving Journalism in the Information Age*. The title is pretty much straightforward and the book attempts to be a roadmap for the adaptation of an industry which is

always equated as a synonym for journalism. The essence of the argument does not astray from the 'adapt or die' notion although one relevant note should be made on the emphasis this author puts on journalists' (as individuals and as a group) responsabilities. The profession – Meyer argues – should abandon its perception of being a craft and advance towards a more normative professional setting (Meyer, 2004: 228-244).

If we were to pick up on a previously discussed concept, we could say that for these authors the existence of the industry (despite all its past and present 'sins') is still the only / the best guarantor of a sense of order in an otherwise messy, muddled, riddled with uncertainty, and danger saturated free-for-all information universe. The position is inherently benevolent for it seeks to address a perceived grievous social danger yet its failings mostly stem from a predominantly massifyied vision of the audience and, some would argue, from a downplaying of its discerning abilities[20]. To use Peter Horrock's opportune image (Horrocks, 2008), proposals are put forward to change the height and disposition of the walls (allowing for more diverse points of entry) and their thickness (making them less opaque) but the notion that some type of fortress is still needed goes undisputed.

The alternative view is that journalism itself is more important than the particular vessel it uses and the failure to distinguish that is one of the problems of current media debate (Cole, 2009: 6). As such, the end or substantial reduction of a particular type of journalism (journalism produced by large corporations for large audiences) might indeed be a possibility and that should not be taken as a downright demise of journalism itself (Fogel & Patino, 2005). Taking this argument further, Welsh adds: "Audience empowerment (...) is not just about the ability for humans to send text messages or create ad hoc social networks free from government sactions, though both of these development are revolutionary on their own. Nor is it chiefly about individuals creatively repackaging the journalistic spadework of deep-pocketed media institutions, though that, too, has been remarkably beneficial, not detrimental, innovation. No, the reality rarely broached in the

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[20] The sense of a bewildered existence coupled with a somewhat condescending view of audiences is quite explicit in a more recent text by Jack Fuller. The 'revolution' diminished attention spans and that increased the difficulty of "getting important things through to people". Journalism's social mission – "to educate people about matters that are important to the community's well-being" – is hence at risk given that the said people is failing to "assimilate the information" (Fuller, 2010).

media's own drumbeat of doom is that members of the formerly captive audience are, on a daily basis, beating the professionals ate their own game, in the process rendering hollow the claim that our democracy is imperiled when newspapers tremble" (Welsh, 2011: 219).

3.1 Journalism and change

The presentation of these notes, whilst giving us a brief panoramic view of both the variety of discourses on the way journalism faces/should face the challenges posed by the emergence of digital communications, does not intend to suggest a directionless field where everything and its opposite seem to hold the same value.

We would here conveniently summon Bauman's notion of liquidity and abusively mix it with Qvortrup's image of multiple poles of social enunciation to propose that we share the understanding that journalism is a social phenomenon which is both determined by and determins developments in society. In a reading which is close to that contained in Schudson's 'sociology of the production of news' (Schudson, 1996: 142) we would perhaps venture that journalism is one of those enunciation poles which has evolved bound by the uneasy relation between its internal (professional culture and constraints) and external (political, economic, technological) dynamics. That evolution

has a very particular historical context (Chalaby, 1998) and as Fidalgo duly indicates, it has led the professional collective to pursue – in a far from functionalist logic – the confrontation with the typical-ideal dimensions of the concept of professionalism: value (autonomy, prestige, association), credentialing (knowledge, skills, formation), norms (predisposition to service, responsibility, ethics, self-regulation) (Fidalgo, 2009: 155).

While attempting to push forward the proposal of journalism as an occupational ideology, Deuze argues that the traits arising from such a collective pursuit – public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy, and ethics – are presently "not only naïve, but also one-dimensional and sometimes nostalgic for perhaps the wrong reasons" (Deuze, 2005: 458). This not being a view

we share – notably because it deliberately perceives those journalism markers as rigid formulations and not as evolving parameters[21] and because in an over-generalized fashion it presumes their demise without presenting any alternative setting (other than the vague allusion to a more holistic understanding) – it nevertheless is helpful in encapsulating what Heinonen describes as 'basic inclination one' with regards to the effects of digital communications on journalism. The revolutionary inclination, as the author calls it, broadly upholds that digital communications and what they represent (mobility, increased interactivity, etc.) will dramatically change the face of journalism. Inclination two, the evolutionary inclination, accepts digital communications induced changes to journalism – as a social phenomenon, as a professional practice, as an economic activity – but it presumes the permanence of some of its distinctive traits (Heinonen, 1999: 74-75).

For the purpose of this study, and incorporating much of what has been hinted at in previous pages, if faced between such an unambiguous (and naturally 'purified for analytical purposes' dichotomy) we would tend to veer towards the second inclination and we would share in Singer's skilfull normative proposal on the socially responsible existentialist (Singer, 2006a). Faced with a changed media environment, where access to sources of information is open to more than just a few and where barriers of access to self-publication are much lower than ever before becoming a publisher is no longer a scarce opportunity. Under such conditions, journalism should aim at a differentiation strategy based on expressed commitment rather than on more challenged (and perhaps less relevant in fact) attachments, like procedure or professional entitlement. As Singer notes: "The distinctiveness of the journalistic role thus lies in a normative definition that emphasizes responsibilities to the public as a whole but incorporates existential ideas of individual integrity and autonomy, particularly in the sense of freedom from faction" (ibid: 13-14); trust thus becomes the pivotal concept to an activity which, as the famous photojournalist, James Nachtwey, once described it "is a service industry – the service it provides is awareness" (Weller, 2007).

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[21] For argumentation on the necessity of a sociologically centred acknowledgment of plasticity while dealing with journalism see McNair, 1998, 2003.

From what has been written it follows that we take both change and adaptation to be key components of journalism as a socially evolving phenomenon and we would prefer to shy away from simplistic observations on the emergence of digital communications as either promoter or panacea for journalism's current situation. We are also wary of discussions which seem to dismiss the remediative (to use Fidler's previously mentioned notion) nature of a media landscape which historically incorporates rather than excludes, which reshapes rather than solidifies. Transitions may happen in what evolutionary biologists call 'punctuated equilibrium' – short moments of profound change followed by a stability period (Singer, 2008a: 125) – and while efforts should be made to incorporate the richness and boldness of much of what is made during those periods and written about them we should nevertheless be able to perceive the somewhat cyclical nature of such events and to read them in sufficiently situated settings.

Drawing heavily on Schudson's writings (Schudson, 1978, 1996) Heinonen has provided us with a useful analysis grid of journalism's 'reasoning of change', revolving around four axis: socio-cultural, business, technological, and professional-normative. The author stresses that these reasonings operate in continuous interaction; balances are attained yet they are always precarious and in permanent mutual negotiation processes, both within journalism and with society at large (Heinonen, 1999: 21-26).

'Socio-cultural reasoning' is used to describe mostly external factors which influence journalism – social, cultural, political, economic or even demographic changes (population movements, urbanization, literacy, access to digital communications). Its umbilical link with democracy results in a set of particular expectations and those might sometimes be perceived as contentious territory (McChesney, 2011a). The fact that journalism itself is considered a form of human culture (Carey, 1989: 21, quoted in Heinonen, 1999) could mean that, with its practices and methods, it is also seen as corresponding to the prevailing culture in a society.

'Business reasoning' is presented as having two faces. The first, a tradition normally perceived as being beyond the scope of journalism research, focusing primarily on the business side of the activity. Heinonen described it as 'the business-economy view', originating more in the field of economics. This approach has a particular vocabulary – news as a product, media as industry,

and the public as consumers or customers – and it is mostly concerned with the survival of the enterprises[22].

The second tradition is that of political economy, which presents a critical attitude towards the perceived overpowering of journalism by business interests. Criticism centres on the discrepancy between the professional ideals of journalism and corporate business culture and/or the broad assertion of journalism as a commodity and of mass media businesses as "industrial and commercial organizations which produce and distribute commodities" (Golding, 1979: 210, quoted in Heinonen, 1999). A different approach within the broad scope of political economy emphasizes the political factor placing journalism as akin to an operational mechanism of the dual structure of state and (capitalist) economy. Journalism is thus more than a bland commodity, pertaining to an intentionally created universe "to defend the economic, social, and political agenda of priviledged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state" (Herman, 1988: 298, quoted in Heinonen, 1999).

'Technological reasoning' is a controversial one, particularly because undisputed as it has been the presence of technology in journalism's historical course (Carey, 1989), arguments tend to oscilate (as we have hinted at in previous pages) between two extreme positions – technology as vital and technology as an incidental repercussion of political economy business guided decisions. Heinonen tells us that such a debate should not however pull us away from two clear ideas: 1) journalism and technology interact on a ground mediated by the rules, demands and constraints of the profession; 2) technological reasonings, as all others previously mentioned, also operate in context.

Finnaly, 'Professional-normative reasoning' describes the set of conditions mostly determined by journalists themselves. They can be personal attributes (age, education, gender, political inclination), they can be professional routines, they can be ethical considerations, and they can be socially originated professional norms and values (Heinonen, 1999).

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[22] Enticing, informative, but also provocative (given that they have been written by journalists) accounts of the 'When the MBA's rule the newsroom' movement in Noth-America can be found in Dugger, 2000; Underwood, 1993. Updated and complex readings of present day problems news organization are facing can be found in Levy, 2010; Picard, 2010a. For complementary takes on the Portuguese situation see Correia, 2006; Silva, 2004.

3.2 Online journalism discourses

Writing in 1979 about 'Delivering the news of the future', Carolyn Marvin would say: "When people find themselves in the midst of rapid technological change, its most significant dimensions often elude them. The apparent impact of computers, satellites and lasers on the production and distribution of news is a case in point" (Marvin, 1979: 36). In its visible simplicity this statement both reaffirms the argument that journalism's dialogue with technology has some historical ballast (Boczkowski, 2002: 270-273) and the notion that 'on-the-spot' evaluations of perceived momentous changes are sometimes misguided.

In little over 15 years the expansion of digital communication technologies has contributed to an acceleration of the de-territorialization of news markets, to a pulverization / new agreggation of audiences, to the transformation of production and reception of information, and to the discussion of the reconfiguration of journalism as a profession.

Some US newspapers had their online editions available since the first half of the 1990's; the San Jose Mercury News, for instance, was one of the 20 titles available online in 1993, having also been the first to pioneer a value added service such as a news archive (Gunter, 2003: 22). By 1994 that number had risen to 60 and four years later, depending on the source, to something between 1,600 and 2,000 (Stanyer, 2009: 201). The rapid growth was not a US exclusive phenomenon; by 1994 titles like the *Irish Times* and *The Guardian* were already placing original reporting on the web before it appeared on paper (Hall, 2001: 27) and by March 1999 there were 247 online news sites in the United Kingdom, accounting for almost one third of all recorded European experiences, Asia had 223 online newspapers, South America had 161, Africa had 53, and Australia 64 (Gunter, 2003: 30-31). A listing of worldwide online news publications made available by US based Editor & Publisher Interactive (E&P) noted that by 2001 they exceeded 14,000 (Deuze, 2003: 204).

As the number of internet news sites increased so did the proportion of people who regularly consumed news online. As Stanyer shows, based on data made available by the US Pew

Research Data Center, the number of those regularly consuming online news increased from 2 per cent in 1996 to 31 per cent ten years later (Stanyer, 2009: 202). Albeit departing from a different research question – 'Where did you get your news yesterday from?' – the same research centre would register a difference of some 20 per cent between those who answered 'newspaper' and those who answered 'online' in that same year of 2006 and would announce, in their 'The State of the News Media – 2011' report that in 2010, for the first time ever, more US citizens got their news online than from newspapers (PEJ, 2011).

In Portugal, the first news outlet to register its domain was *Radiotelevisão Portuguesa*, RTP (rtp.pt), in May 1993 (Granado, 2005). The national television operator (and sole player in the market at that time) would nevertheless take more than two years to debut its site. The year of 1995 could, in fact, be considered the founding moment for the arrival of the national media to the new online environment. Indeed, on July 26th, *Jornal de Notícias* became the first to make available a daily updatable online news site and was followed by *Público*, on September 22nd, by the above mentioned *RTP* (with a website anchored on its International operations) in early November, and by *Diário de Notícias*, on December 29th (Bastos, 2010; Sousa, 2009: 550-551). In November 1996, the Portuguese directory service, *SAPO*, accounted for 39 online news editions, including those developed by Portuguese in other countries, like Macau and the US (Bastos, 2000: 149). The most important weekly newspaper, *Expresso*, would start its own online operation in July 1997 and the first exclusively online news venture (a regional one), *Setúbal na Rede*, would iniciate its personal history in January 1998 (Zamith, 2006). By 1999, as it happened elsewhere, Portugal was also witnessing the signs of what Bastos called the febrile period, with major media groups investing in aggregating portals, hiring considerable number of mostly young journalists and anticipating windfall earnings that would never substantiate (Bastos, 2010). The first signs of post-internet-bubble contraction were felt as early as late 2000, with the beginning of a series of cutbacks (both in resources and personnel) that would usher in a new period, marked by disappointment fueled prudence. According to Bastos, that description could aptly describe what happened in Portugal in the first decade of the new century (ibid.).

Unlike the US situation, however, the adhesion to online news as a primary source of information has never reached significant numbers in Portugal. In a report published in July 2011 and with a data set resulting from the application of a questionnaire similar to that used by the Pew Research Data Center, Obercom has concluded that combined newspaper/online readership increased substantially in comparison to 2008 – from 3,5 per cent to 9,6 per cent – although exclusive online usage apparently remains a marginal activity (1,5 per cent of respondents in 2010, an increase of 0,3 per cent in comparison to 2008) (Obercom, 2011b: 6).

The thorough exploration of this very significant discrepance between the US and Portugal is beyond the scope of our study and no doubt should commence with an observation of comparative data on media access and adoption (Leckner, 2011), yet one key observation should be made – as Ahlers has hinted at right at the onset of online journalism as an alternative source for news readers lost by print journalism do not transfer directly to the online environment (Ahlers, 2006). In the Portuguese case it is also clear that the overall number of news oriented text based outlets (print and online combined) has started to decrease since 2004 at a moderate yet steady rhythm (Obercom, 2011a: 81).

From what has been said it is possible to extract two relevant annotations: first, Dahlgren's above mentioned idea that 'classical' journalism waning fortune is only parcially explained by the onset of new digital communications opportunities seems to be supported; second, the swift rate of expansion of online journalism was nevertheless bound to create a propitious setting for the emergence of exuberant discourses.

Dahlgren – writing in 1996 – would say that the ensamble of historical factors on which journalism had been predicated were changing, and that although contours of such a mutation could not be clearly defined, some relevant trends should be noted: 1) the increase in the amount and density of available information – both journalistic and non-journalistic – brings 'competition for attention' to an heightened level; 2) the distinction between journalism and non-journalism is increasingly blurred. The abundance of socially relevant raw information makes it more difficult to isolate what is journalism in online environments, and the overall pushes towards infotainment and a generalized popularization of journalism – large scale audiences'

centred media are shifting away from print to audiovisual formats – further promote a less than clarified landscape; 3) the self-understanding of journalism as a professional culture with a specific identity are becoming heterogeneous, as a result of permeability to other media related occupations (marketing, public relations, design) and, in online contexts, to emerging information-handling occupations; 4) mass media are enthralled by a consolidating self-referencial symbolic world, increasingly detached from daily experiences of most people; 5) audiences are becoming more fragmented and hierarchical differentiation between informed elites and entertained majorities is increasing in many countries (instead of 'the public' we have a mass media spectatorship complemented by a myriad of smaller, more exclusive, 'interpretative communities') (Dahlgren, 1996: 62-63)[23].

This enunciation of the emergence of online journalism as part of a process of social, economic, and professional transformations occurring within the broader scope of journalism as a historically grounded social pheonomenon was, nonetheless, not the predominant view in studies which paned out in the immediate aftermath of the emergence of online journalism.

3.2.1   The 'fantasy trip'

As hinted in our second annotation, the first batch of theoretical works was mainly normative and predominantly utopian (a 'fantasy trip' according to Nguyen, 2008). In a very pertinent formulation, Domingo would describe this as a 'first wave' of production, centred on building up ideal models for future development of online news on the basis of the perceived advantages of the new digital communications enabled environment (hypertextuality, multimediality, interactivity, personalization, immediacy) (Domingo, 2008b: 15).

It should be noted that most of the texts are marked by what Barthes once described as 'euphoric clarity' and as such they should be taken as complex constructs far beyond the reach of 'true/untrue' analysis. As Mosco would put it these edifices are somewhat protectors of the

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[23] An enunciation of the fragilities of newspapers at the onset of online journalism is present in Sparks, 1996. An updated mapping of the factors determining journalism's crisis broadly pointing the same problematic areas can be found in Gitlin, 2011.

truth, by conjuring up a desired end, rather than suggesting how to deflect or to critique it; they "transform the messy complexities of history into the pristine gloss of nature" (Mosco, 2005a: 30). Their relevance hence lays not only on their specific and individual merits but also, significantly, on the fact that by operating on the basis of 'what should be' premises they have both layed out the terrain for ensuing research and also seeped in to popular and professional discourses on the matter (Domingo, 2006: 65-66). In a sense, as Wilbert Moore would state, the 'pull from the future' is the cause of the present in a substancial degree; "the present might be the locus of both individual and collective action but visions of the future, ideals and utopias guide those actions. Images of the future are reality in the sense that they orient human action and produce social effects" (Sousa, 2006: 381).

Despite the fact that many of these early texts seemed to begin by stressing the lack of agreement on the direction of online journalism, they would all converge towards very similar postulations on what it should be, broadly aggregated around two general themes: journalism skills to function in the new environment and general standards of production and presentation for the new journalistic output (Deuze, 1999: 380). As to the first point, journalists were seen as needing to resort to storyboarding skills when writing an online news story, as having to learn how to produce in a non-linear form (the inverted pyramid increasingly seen as a rule to be subverted)[24], as having to incorporate different language codes, and as having to use interactive tools to broaden the scope of content. Regarding the second point, news items should offer hyperlinks to sources, background material, related content, archives and they should also give users the ability to trace back the reporting; 'about us' sections should be extensive, readers' messages should all be answered, personalized e-mails should be made available, and when operating on a local level online news ventures should work as community resources (ibid: 380-385). For some, the radical change all this entailed combined with future (predictable) technological advances might even lead to the disappearance of journalism altogether:

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[24] The debate on what can best substitute the inverted pyramid for online journalism has continued and is still far from closed. João Canavilhas proposes the concept of a 'tumbled pyramid' (Canavilhas, 2007a, 2007b) and Bradshaw expresses a very similar underlying notion with his 'News diamond' scheme (Bradshaw, 2007b).

"Moreover, some part of pathfinding, perhaps even a very substantial share, may exist one day as a ''job'' for a computer program and not for a human editor at all" (Newhagen, 1996: 5).

The 'fantasy trip' was compounded by the fact that it aggregated the interests of those who saw an opportunity for journalism's return to its ideal core values and mission ("The new technologies offer a long-awaited opportunity for journalism to get its house in order. Journalists can keep – and expand – their role if they take steps now" (Hume, 1996: 152)) and of those who saw an opportunity precisely for a complete reinvention of the activity; furthermore, even if as late arrivals, the bandwagon would also attract business managers seeking to reap the potential economic gains of the new milieu.

Some "hoped it would alleviate or redress the conditions of crisis and lift journalism back into its hallowed role as public servant" whilst others "saw it as a vast new market, a streamlined delivery system, and a rethorically legitimate way to deflect the claims of public service journalism to an enclave in cyberspace" (Scott, 2005: 91).

As such the 'ideal-typical' online journalist – as described by Deuze based on an extensive review of dominant themes in literature on the subject – has "to make decisions on which media formats best tell a certain story (multimediality), has to allow room for options for the public to respond, interact or even customize certain stories (interactivity) and must consider ways to connect the story to other stories, archives, resources and so on through hyperlinks (hypertextuality)" (Deuze, 2001: 5).

Departing from this universally accepted set of singularites (Salaverria, 2005b:21-36) Domingo developed a very helpful grid of utopian literature on online journalism research: hypertext utopias, multimedia utopias, and interactivity utopias (Domingo, 2005; Domingo, 2006).

Hypertext[25] **utopias** are centred on the perceived limitless potentialities in terms of space and time. The real limits of journalism are no longer imposed by the constraints of the analog media

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[25] Hypertext is here understood in reference to a nonlinear group of autonomous pieces connected by semantic or structural links. First coined by Ted Nelson the term could be even assumed as a description of the internet itself, insofar as it is structured on a framework of links.

and formats, rather becoming solely the technical capacities to connect to a a network and to transmit data over it (Pavlik, quoted in Domingo, 2005: 5).

In its process of adaptation to the online environment journalism should somehow regain the apparent purity of ancient oral storytelling by learning how to compose a particular trajectory through a series of texts rather than simply producing the texts themselves (Hall, 2001: 66). Those texts are, in any case, no longer understood as pieces of written word but rather as packages of information, much in the manner of 'lexias' (a concept developed by Roland Barthes and further enhnaced, for this specific context, by Landow, 1992: 52-53).

The new news production should include written word, photography, infography, sound, as well as contextual information, such as profiles, relevant data, or links to alternative information. Each of these micro-components should be able to be 'read' on its own and should be able to rechannel audiences towards the others (Hall, 2001: 68-69).

By taking advantage of this rupture in the need for containment which had henceforth constrained journalism a new language was to emerge – the organization of layers (Deuze, 1999: 382) replacing a priority oriented construction and paving the way for a new 'contextualized journalism' (Pavlik, 2005: 25)[26]. Against the confinement of the news hole (Paul, 2005) a new 'botomless pit of resources' (Deuze, 1999: 382) which might always be perceived as an unfinished, incremental, 'work in progress' construct. Journalists, audiences, and sources (more than ever before) come together via the process of linkage at a pace which is also new.

Indeed, if the ability to hyperlink changes journalism's usage of space it also determines a major shift in the way it relates to time. The news cycle, no longer attached to a product (the newspaper) or to scheduling obligations (radio and television) can, in effect, become no longer a cycle and rather a continuous flow of updated information. Furthermore, the existence of hyperlinks might almost suggest the downgrading of time as a relevant factor in journalism, insofar as the user can now have the latest news in tandem with all the other news. Past

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[26] This push towards the redefinition of journalism based on its new digital communications enabled context is still very much a topic for debate among researchers. Charlie Beckett proposes the notion of a 'Networked journalism' (Beckett, 2008b, 2008a) whilst Paul Bradshaw favours 'Distributed journalism' (Bradshaw, 2007a).

(archive) and present (last minute news flow) combined in a constantly upgradable manner so the reader can contact with events as they unfold or choose to find a more encompassing view of the story at a subsequent moment (Domingo, 2006: 68-70).

This 'warp speed' version of journalism (as Kovach and Rosenstiel have called it – quoted in Singer, 2003: 152) was seen as pernicious by some authors, especially because it favoured a less intermediated presentation of information and accentuated the difficulties of verification (ibid.) yet it was also presented as precisely the deciding factor in shifting from a time-bound journalism to a 'get-the-story-right' journalism; the continuous deadline was supposed to usher in "an era of journalism dominated less by the clock and more by the need to get the facts – and the story – right" (Pavlik, quoted in Domingo, 2006: 70-71).

Multimedia utopias mainly developed along the combination of two strong ideas: media formats should undergo a process of dilution / aggregation and as a result they should be distributed in a coordinated manner across different channels: "There are two ways of defining multimedia in journalism: first, as the presentation of a news story package on a website using two or more media formats, such as (but not limited to) spoken and written word, music, moving and still images, graphic animations, including interactive and hypertextual elements (Deuze, 2003); secondly, as the integrated (although not necessarily simultaneous) presentation of a news story package through different media, such as (but not limited to) a website, a Usenet newsgroup, e mail, SMS, MMS, radio, television, teletext, print newspapers and magazines (a.k.a. horizontal integration of media). Both definitions are ideal-typical and should be understood as possible 'end-points' on a continuum from no convergence to full convergence" (Deuze, 2004a: 140).

The digitalization induced transformation of all contents into their lowest common denominators – series' of bytes – would allow journalism to be 'taken back to the future' (Kolodzy, 2006: 21) thus promoting a more creative reshaping of news production; journalists would have the possibility of chosing how to cover one particular story (with video, sound, text, graphics, etc.),

and the liberty to build it up in a manner which both best suited the narrative flow and the understanding of the audience.

This, in turn, would give journalists the opportunity to increase their information gathering abilities and their control over the production; the constant evolution towards more compact and simpler to operate equipments in tandem with the generalization of wireless access to communication networks would make reporters more autonomous and self-suficient (Pavlik, 2005: 87-101).

At a different level multimedia would facilitate newsroom convergence towards multi-platform flexible, adaptable, and efficient models. The integrated management would bring agility to the operation and the integrated newsroom filled with multi-task prepared journalists would enable a structure more apt to cover a wider range of events and to produce and distribute a wider variety of contents (Quinn, 2005a: 29-32). The proposition was presented as favourable for journalists (for the above mentioned reasons – increased autonomy and creative freedom), for the audience (able to access whatever they wanted in whatever device at whatever time of day), and significantly, also for the business side of the operations: "While digitization does not necessarily lead to cooperation across media platforms, it makes it easier. Digital production infrastructure allows for immediate sharing of information and content, in formats that are ripe for editing and republishing. This inevitably leads to increased focus on the relationship and interplay between different media as platforms, rather than separate entities" (Erdal, 2007: 73).

Interactivity utopias were focused on the predictable changes in the relation between journalists and their audiences. Once the audience had the ability to access the same or even more information than the journalist, and once they had access to the some of the same means of production and diffusion, they could decide what and where to see and they could also participate in the process. As Deuze notes, regardless of whether members of the audience actually did so or wanted to do so this became a very present reality when dealing with journalism and news on the Internet (Deuze, 1999: 385).

A more radical view would propose that a full blown process of disintermediation was underway: "The roles that journalism assigned to itself in the mid-nineteenth century, on the strength of its

newly acquired professionalism, as gatekeeper, agenda-setter and news filter are all placed at risk when its primary sources become readily available to its audiences. The commentary, fact-checking and inflection that journalism places on such material remain available to readerships as secondary texts but the web itself has taken over the role of mediating those sources for audiences" (Hall, 2001: 53)

Under an appreciation of the same factors, a less robust proposal would affirm journalism's continued importance, albeit no longer as a purveyor of information but rather as recognized filter (Singer, 1997a: 15) of what is relevant: "on-line delivery of vast amounts of information creates an even greater need for someone to make sense of it all – someone skilled not only in selecting information but, more importantly, in evaluating it" (Singer, 1997b: 77).

Interactivity would, in any case, bring journalists and audiences closer (Pavlik, 2005: 205); the former in a role more resembling that of the 'knowledgeable friend' than that of the 'authoritative voice' and the later empowered in its status of 'active user' or 'information seeker'. According to McMillan, that interactivity would develop at three distinct levels: user-to-user, user-to-document and user-to-system. In combination, they would promote interface and content customization, user's feedback to journalists, user's comments and discussions on given topics, and also direct involvement of individuals in the news production process (quoted in Domingo, 2006: 80).

The assumptions on a richer and more leveled relation would result in a much more acute mutual knowledge, in a widening of journalism's potential news source base and, relevantly, in the sedimentation of interest communities around the online journalism outlet or specifically promoted themes. This last point, in particular, would allow for the possibility "of having an audience limited less by geography and more by factors such as language and topics of interest" which in turn might also promote a re-location of diasporic communities in cyberspace. As such, Portuguese language online journalism outlets might, for instance, find new audiences in Portuguese language markets to which analog access was all but impossible and they could also tap into a hitherto less relevant market: "online publishing has made it possible for migrants to consume their hometown newspaper on a daily basis and even participate in local political

debate through discussions with current residents in forums and chat rooms" (Boczkowski, 1999: 108).

Taking the interactive utopia to its full would (as suggested by Hall) put us in 'citizen journalism' and 'participatory journalism' territory. The individual as a promoter of innovation in combination with the perceived power of digital communications enabled networks have given form to a new type of journalism which borrows heavily – in terms of underlying assumptions, purposes, and even promoters – from above mentioned proposals on civic journalism and "flourishes in social media — the interpersonal communication that takes place through e-mail, chat, message boards, forums — and in collaborative media — hybrid forms of news, discussion and community" (Bowman, 2003: 21).

Discussion groups, user-generated content, weblogs, collaborative publishing, peer-to-peer communication are all presented as parts of the same ongoing process of construction of an alternative journalism path which will have repercussions in 'journalism proper'.

The first is the increased democratization of media (now under the potential gaze of 'weapons of publication' armed millions); the second, is the challenge to media hegemony: "The role these sites play as filters, simplifiers and clarifiers of news is adding a new intermediary layer. They might not be the ultimate authority, but the new intermediaries - forums, weblogs, search engines, hoax-debunking sites - are helping audiences sort through the abundance of information available today" (ibid: 48); the third is a redefinition of credibility (it no longer needs to be solely associated with journalists working for established news outlets); the fourth is the rise of new experts and watchdogs (no longer needing the umbilical /intermediated connection to a journalist or to a specific media company to make their voice heard).

These changes should be assumed by established media outlets – "media companies that dig in their heels and resist such changes may be seen as not only old-fashioned but out of touch" (ibid: 50) – and citizens should be welcomed as 'stakeholders' in the journalistic process. The positive effect of such initiatives would be clear: increased trust, shared responsibility in informed democracy, creation of memorable experiences, access to better stories, aggregation of a

'scalable' virtual staff, fostering community, and promoting an attachment with the next generation of news consumers (ibid: 53-56).

Although somewhat complexified over time this underlying notion that non-professional contributions should constitute a significant part of the overall journalistic output is still very much at the heart of ongoing debates. In a 2011 text, Bruns would state that the aim is (now) not to replace 'the industrial counterpart' outright, but instead to challenge, complement and extend it according to three dimensions: (participatory journalism) "can extend the *breadth* of journalistic coverage by reporting (first-hand) from areas the mainstream journalism is now too underresourced and inflexible to cover (...); it can improve the *depth* of journalistic coverage by offering a more detailed evaluation of current affairs, incorporating a greater variety of voices and thereby achieving a more multiperspectival coverage of the news; it can extend the ongoing journalistic coverage of issues over *time*, by being able to exist outside the 24-hour news cycle and utilizing web technologies to compile growing dossiers of information about specific topics" (Bruns, 2011: 137, original emphasis).

3.2.2   Empirical studies: the new format, the professional and the user

Domingo's rather helpful compartmentalization of discourses and research on online journalism into waves might lead us to presume that they were successive, one coming after the other. We should, however, stress that such a division was mostly based on analytical purposes and as such it should also be mentioned that some of the production presented as being included in the utopian and normative grouping coincided chronologically with works pertaining to the 'second wave', that which mainly sought to gather empirical data on ongoing developments (Domingo, 2005: 9).

It could in fact be argued that the second group of studies drew heavily on a framework layed out by the first and its main general purpose was to confront some of the proposed ideas with concrete facts thus avoiding what Gil humorously described as more "prognosis derived from a scientific method similar to that of an ebullient radio conversation or to that of a local pythoness" (Gil, 2004).

Domingo's enunciation separates these 'data gathering' studies into three distinct branches: the first one focused on the products themselves (website presentation and available features), the second one centred on journalist's perceptions about changes in their profession (namely through surveys), and the third one payed attention to users' interests, expectations and habits (Domingo, 2005: 9).

Once again, Domingo's analytical option might induce a discussion on the much more fluid nature of these studies (some of them, for instance, addressing issues pertaining to more than one of these branches or being part of broader observations) and on the oversimplification of a much more complex grid of research paths. This being said, for the purposes of this study, we would rather focus on the evident merits of such a construct and we would henceforth borrow seriously from it.

The observation of online journalism websites attracted a considerable amount of attention from the late 1990's onwards given researchers interest in putting some proposals to the test and especially the ease of access to the necessary materials.

Chosing to focus on the design features of the home pages of a selected group of 15 newspaper based online journalism sites from France, Canada, Brazil, Mexico and the United States, Touboul would notice that no consensus was discernable regarding the graphic reproduction of the title of the printed product; whilst some titles seemed to prefer a clear alignment, others would opt for a cross between old and new (normally the 'new' would somehow refer to the online environment), and others still would go for a complete reinvention. What seemed more consensual was the prolific usage of references to the title's name across the homepage. Other uniformity indicators were the verticalization of the website, the adoption of the column as the basic element of the whole edifice, and the predominance of other printed journalism codes – text and still image. A typical online journalism webpage would include an identifying header (sometimes sharing the top of the page with an advertising banner), a far left column with a menu (sometimes in coordination with an horizontal one just bellow the header), a centre space

dedicated to news breaking stories, and a far right column often presenting themes and giving ample space to diverse advertising materials.

Hyperlinking is mentioned as being too abundant, with a great number of duplications perceived as being part of a rather circulatory browsing logic, far removed from the free and open image that "enthusiast discourses might have lead us to believe". The whole homepage appears to have four objectives: to establish the presence of a brand name in a new environment, to ensure enough visibility to advertising, to promise quantity, organization and help, and to capture and maintain the user's attention. In summation, websites appear to be hybrid entities, with greater attachment to transposed formats than to innovation (Touboul, 2001).

Perhaps because of whatever else might be read into it beyond the strict scope of journalism the analysis of interactivity inducing features merited extensive attention. Two meticulous studies would, even at a period when euphoric discourses were still gaining prowess, provide us with a harsh image of reality.

The first was Tankard and Ban's content analysis of 135 US online newspapers with the purpose of identifying not only signs of interactivity but also multimedia, hyperlinks, rate of update and connections to external sites. The authors concluded that the average online newsroom had 4.8 full time journalists and that the actual rate of update for 57 per cent of the observed homepages was 'once every 24 hours'. Hyperlinks were not present in 94 per cent of the sample, and multimedia accounted solely for the inclusion of photographs in 77 per cent of the online ventures (fewer than 10 per cent of the sites offered animated graphics, audio or video clips, tables or graphs). A majority of web sites offered e-mail addresses for the editor or webmaster (96 per cent). As to the existence of original content, most online newspapers (73 per cent) contained material not included in the print newspapers associated with their sites, but this extra material often consisted of dining guides, tourism information, information about the region, and special project stories. In conclusion, the two authors stated: "Putting these findings together, it appears that many online newspapers are simply using the online site to mirror or reproduce the content of the print newspaper associated with the site. While some online newspapers appear to be taking advantage of such features of the World Wide Web as frequent updating, hypertext links

embedded in stories, multimedia features other than photographs, and interactivity features other than e-mail addresses and search engines for archives, most online newspapers are not" (Tankard, 1998).

The second was Schultz's content analysis of 100 US online newspapers to test the assumptions on the role of the internet in terms of extending interactive options in journalism, namely by observing in details four 'feedback tools': e-mail, live chats, online polls and surveys, and online forums.

Regarding e-mail, the author found that almost every newspaper in the sample provided at least one general newsroom contact (only six did not); 29 of them made available directories with editors' and reporters' personalized e-mails. Most online newspapers (67) did not however provide direct e-mail links from the stories to the authors: "presumably they tried to minimize the amount of personally addressed e-mail that editors and reporters receive".

Regarding chat-rooms, most newspapers seemed reluctant to accept them: 92 out of the 100 online newspapers did not offer any. Three provided links to outside chats and only five had their own; three out of these presented chat rooms with no specific themes or schedules.

As far as polls and surveys, the study found that 24 titles had them; most of them were simple and quick, asking readers about their preferences regarding the online newspaper. Only seven "used polls that were slightly more sophisticated".

Discussion forums were run by 33 out of the 100 online newspapers sample; 15 required simple e-mail and password registration whilst 18 did not require any type of registration process. The number of forums was diverse, with 13 titles running more than 30 each. The fact that they were mostly unmoderated and that only rarely did they offer links to articles or background providing external sites lead the author to suggest that online newspapers might be viewing these spaces as 'reader playgrounds'.

Tough admitting that it would not be fair to say that newspapers had totally ignored the internet's conversational potential Schultz would nevertheless add that "one clearly has to go beyond questions of the mere availability of communicative tools and setting (...) Journalistic websites are not necessarily interactive at all"(Schultz, 1999).

We have presented the data from these early studies in details because they have established a clear contrast between the potentialities and the realities; journalism's foray into non-linear environments was slower and much more prudent than expected and maintained very strong attachments to non-analog production. Studies of how online news sites make use of the typical advantages of the Internet – hypertextuality, multimediality and specifically interactivity – showed that most sites did not offer much 'extra' online (Deuze, 2001; López, 2001; López, 2005).

With a sample of 100 newspaper websites in hand (62 US based and 38 from around the world), Kenney, Gorelik and Mwangi attempted to analyse several 'measures' of interactivity and they have concluded the following: in 83 cases information was difficult to find by users; in 63 online newspapers users were offered low or very low levels of choice; in 36 websites there was no way to send a question to the reporter of the main story; 58 of them presented few opportunities or had no means for interpersonal communication; only seven outlets offered any means for users to add any information to the websites (Kenney, 2000).

Trench and Quinn would, in 2003, using data gathered from a sample of 24 european news websites, tell us that levels of usage of interactivity features were still low, pointing out that net-native online news sites faired somewhat better than those associated with traditional media outlets; the production model of the newsroom followed traditional lines (Trench, 2003).

Comparing the outputs of online newspapers and their print counterparts in the same organizations, Hoffman would by 2006 conclude that differences in terms of contents were not significant: "The relative similarity between print and online versions of the newspaper – even accounting for value-added items such as links to archived content, audio / video links, and discussion boards – is startling" (Hoffman, 2006: 67).

Although still distant from the most enthusiastic predictions a sense of evolution was nevertheless also detected. In 2006, a study of the websites of the 100 most circulated newspapers in the United States would show that 76 of them offered RSS feeds, 31 offered podcasts, and 80 had at least one reporter blog (on 67 of them readers could comment on those blogs). Author/reader engagement was still, however, not very popular; only 19 newspapers allowed readers to comment on articles (Bivings, 2006: 2).

A study of the evolution of online news sites' features in 83 US titles from 1997 to 2003 concluded two strong observations emerged: firstly, online newspapers were offering more of everything – "instead of discontinuing one type of feature when another one is added, the sites, on the whole, have added to their offerings" –, secondly, size seemed to matter – "Although medium and large sized newspapers' sites are virtually identical in the total number of features offered, the offerings of the small papers' sites are significantly less varied" (Greer, 2006: 26-30).

A content analysis of the online homepages of the four biggest print circulation Portuguese newspapers (*Correio da Manhã, Diário de Notícias, Jornal de Notícias* and *Público*) in 2003 would note that two of them updated their editions frequently (*Correio da Manhã* and *Público*), a third (*Diário de Notícias*) would maintain its main contents throughout the day updating only a small 'latest news' column, and the fourth (*Jornal de Notícias*) would present a static daily edition. In all titles multimediality was very marginal, with hints of audio in *Diário de Notícias* and a spartan usage of photography in all others. Links were non-existent in *Jornal de Notícias* and *Diário de Notícias* and operated on a self-referencial logic in the other two websites. The possibility to comment news was also not allowed in *Jornal de Notícias* and *Diário de Notícias* (Neto, 2005).

In a study of 22 Portuguese online news outlets Zamith equally concluded that their ability to take advantage of digital communications enabled possibilities was low; the average rating in uniformized analysis framework was 23,3 per cent; hypertext was used by only 10,7 per cent of the sample and non-textual (multimedia) content was present in only 26,5 per cent of the online newspapers (Zamith, 2006: 107-110).

A very recent content analysis of 19 online news operations based in Latin America also appears to corroborate the incremental argument: all the operations had RSS feeds; 12 of them had an edition for mobile devices; all but one included Twitter and Facebook profiles; only two listed a YouTube account, although 16 presented a video section in their homepage; a total of 14 publications had links to weblogs. Some of the already identified 'areas of greater difficulty' appeared to register a more muted adhesion: only one online outlet (Folha de São Paulo) offered a direct link on its homepage to report errors; in five of the total 19 there were no in-story links

and less than a fifth of the analysed stories listed the author's e-mail or other contact information. Interactivity and participatory features still very much on a slower path than other traits (Bachmann, 2011: 14-17).

The 'news refreshment' rate has also diminished; a micro-longitudinal analysis of news updates in CNN, BBC and Al-Jazeera websites found that changes (to text or image) were happening at an average hourly rate although half of them were categorized as clarifications, retractions, repetitions or ideologically based alterations; furthermore, most happened during office-hours in the countries where newsrooms were located. Most headline stories remained prominent on the page for a period between 250 and 500 minutes (6 hours to 12 hours) (Kutz, 2005).

The fact that stories are being updated more often tells us very little about their character in terms of originality. López, Soler and Sanchez observed the coverage of three particular events in over 700 Spanish language online news outlets (using Google News as a data collecting tool) and have concluded that the amount of newswire information reached 85 per cent in one case, 76 per cent in another and almost 50 per cent in a third. Significantly, the dependency on agency 'McDonaldized' material (to use Ritzer's powerful image) seemed more acute in smaller (mostly web-based only) outlets than in bigger and more traditional news operations. These authors would then affirm that "the information ecosystem is characterized not by the abundance of information sources but by the abundance of placements for the same information" (López García, 2005). Quantity and speed thus appear to emerge as predominant factors (Salaverria, 2005a: 79) determining online journalism output, rather that accuracy, context, interactivity or multimediality.

Concerning this particular aspect, multimediality, Micó and Masip's study of video usage in four major Spanish outlets (El País.es, El Mundo.es, La Vanguardia.es and Libertal Digital) concluded that this resource is used to legitimize or to contextualize what has been presented in text or to show some event hard to describe by words. As such, its role is still subsidiary. In addition, video seldom integrates genuine multimedia narratives (El País.es being the noted exception) and its technical quality is meager. Having made these annotations the authors add that "the profile of the multitasking professional, able to collect different types of news worthy materials and

organize them in different formats with different languages is not very common" (Micó, 2008: 103-104).

The breath and complexity of these studies and their continued reinforcement of the idea that a disparity was clearly observable lead some authors to advance possible decoding reasonings. Hall would suggest that perhaps 'old media' failed to understand ('not getting the web') the principles of interactive media and net culture (Hall, 2001: 28) whilst Pavlik would develop an explanatory buildup 'use of internet features' model. As he would put it in 2001: "News content on the internet has been evolving through three stages. In stage one, which still dominates many news sites, online journalists mostly just republish, or 'repurpose', content from their motherships. In stage two, which is gaining momentum and characterizes most of the better news sites, the journalists create original content, augmenting it with such additives as hyperlinks to other websites; some interactive capabilities, such as search engine and electronic clickable indexes where the reader uses a mouse to select different content; some multimedia content, such as photos, video, and audio; and some customization of sites and information, where readers create their one own personal news categories, stock listings, and other content. Stage three is only beginning to emerge, and onle a handful of sites have attempted to enter it. This stage is characterized by original news content designed specifically for the web as a new medium of communication and frequently of increasingly specialized focus, with full awareness and treatment of the internet as a legitimate medium of news delivery, a willingness to break news online aggressively and to rethink the nature of a community online (with communities of interest frequently taking precedence over geography), and, most importantly, a willingness to experiment with new forms of storytelling, such as immersive storutelling, which allows the reader to enter and navigate throughout a news report rather than simply look at it in linear fashion, as is the case with traditional news reporting, still photography, motion video, and audio." (Pavlik, 2005: 83).

In essence these readings explained the demise of earlier predictions with external factors; online journalism had not evolved as it should have but efforts needed to be made to regain momentum

rather than to question the original assertions. Those were – apparently – still very much undisputable 'truths': "The opportunities for developing multimedia integration are staggering. The integration of media creates a 'turbine effect' that is, the 'information engine' integration produces more results and more momentum than each media would create on its own. The information engine's turbine effect creates more synergy in five key areas: efficiency, profitability, usership, imporved journalism, and user satisfaction" (Stone, 2002: 3-4).

Boczkowski's reading of the same phenomenon strays away from deterministic merit-oriented considerations (there is no better or worse 'state of being' for online journalism) and offers us an explanation which seems simultaneously more unceremonious and challenging. In his words, at least for the established news operations, the appropriation of non-analog alternatives – which he fittingly called hedging – always had one simple underlying purpose, to change by remaining the same; actors "have been persuaded to undertake significant transformations in their pursuit of permanence. Even though innovation has been carried out reactively, defensively, and pragmatically, it has nonetheless triggered a tremendous change. Imagining a future that would be an improved, but not radically different, version of the present, newspapers have pursued innovation efforts moving them along paths divergent from those initially foreseen (...) contemporary online papers have been able to simultaneously be and not be: they have been able to either repurpose existing products and processes, or recombine them, or recreate them, or do everything at once" (Boczkowski, 2005: 71-72).

The second large group of empirical studies focused on journalists, their perceptions, their capabilities, their working routines and also the possible ongoing changes in their professional profile.

The usage of online digital communication tools by journalists was one of the areas analysed and indicators suggest that the adoption process began in earnest from the mid-1990's onwards and had almost become a settled matter one decade latter. As Garrison shows, reporting to the US reality, 57.2 percent of journalists used online resources in 1994 and four years later that number had risen to 95.1 per cent. Daily usage had also increased, in the same four year period,

from 27.4 per cent to 63.2 per cent. The internet was the most frequently accessed online resource (Garrison, 2000). A similar study conducted in Portugal in 1998 would conclude that 87 per cent of respondents used the internet on a daily basis (Bastos, 2000: 151-159) and work developed in other countries would bring back very similar results (Heinonen, 1999; Masip, 2002). Interestingly, researchers noted that journalists largely perceived the new resources according to the same lenses as they would non-linear sources. As such, issues of accuracy and trust came to the fore: difficulties to verify online data, unreliability of information, unclear sources (Bastos, 2000; Canavilhas, 2004; Domingo, 2005). In an interesting observation Garrison would posit that journalists seemed to equate online usage success with content related issues (enhanced background stories, locating awkward information, increasing access to sources) and online usage failure with much more institutional factors (not taking advantage of web-based research, lack of training, lack of management support) (Garrison, 2001: 234).

Summing up, journalists' adherence to non-linear environments was apparently easy yet it seemed to follow very utilitarian purposes still centred on practices and codes transposed from the analog environments. Hints towards that almost 'we're in for the ride' attitude had been already made very clear by one of the earliest studies on journalists and their perceptions of the future; collecting answers from a sample of 27 US journalists, Singer would elaborate an appealing typology – the benevolent revolutionary, the nervous traditionalist, and the rational realist[27] – and she would conclude that most of them saw themselves not only as storytellers but also as interpreters of reality whilst adding that techonological induced changes to their role would not be significant; hence the majority would fit the rather more suspicious/vigilant profiles, the nervous traditionalist and the rational realist (Singer, 1997a).

Negative (or cautious) reaction to change in newsrooms seemed to be anchored in journalists' perceptions that it might hinder their ability to respond effectively to the core demands of the profession (Daniels, 2002: 675; Killebrew, 2003: 43) and those fears might have been

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[27] The benevolent revolutionary is the most enthusiastic about new technology; it perceives it as an opportunity to perform better. The nervous traditionalist is more likely to fear new technology than to welcome it; one subset sees it as a sign that journalism is doomed and one other sees it with mistrust. The rational realist has nothing relevant against technology, mainly because change is not perceived as having anything to do with his/her job description (Singer, 1997a).

compounded by the realization that the newsroom could not have a leading role in developing online projects (Domingo, 2005: 18).

Online journalists, however, appeared to signal a somewhat less defensive stance. Whilst mostly upholding that online journalism procedures should be based on the same principles and rules as traditional journalism, thus enforcing their belonging to an established professional identity (LeCam, 2001; Quandt, 2006 ; Bastos, 2008b), they nevertheless appeared to be more in tune with new concerns and challenges. Quandt *et al.* noted that some of them derived from the fact that online journalists performed more technologically induced tasks yet the authors have also noted what has been described as 'mass compatibility' (Quandt, 2006: 178). Brill's studies indicated that when asked to rate aspects of 'appealing to the audience' online journalists mentioned as very important 'competing with other media', 'understanding the audience', 'providing an alternative to other media', and 'provinding content for the widest possible audience'. The author suggests that in combination "those items serve to portray online journalist as very concerned with the functions of competititon and appealing to a large audience, what could be termed as performing a marketing function". Another relevant indicator of that distinct awareness was the fact that online journalists also mentioned the importance of measuring the audience: "the number of 'hits' received each day was a topic discussed during every staff meeting and usually either posted on a company website or somewhere in the newsroom. Indeed, these online journalists have learned to track not only their daily audience, but monitor their audience in hourly and even quarter-hour increments. Many site managers have responded to what they have learned in audience tracking by setting their production schedules around those habits. They also have quickly learned to spend their time on sections where the hits are greatest, usually sports and community information" (Brill, 2001: 36-37).

A more recent study, based on 239 interviews to journalists from 11 European countries, found that nearly half (48 per cent) of questioned mono-media journalists reported ignorance of detailed information on reader behavior, whilst all online journalists indicated some degree of awareness of such data (O'Sullivan, 2008: 364).

Significantly, in the most recent survey of Portuguese online journalists, 'new forms of

commercial and marketing pressure' was the third biggest reason for concern of the sample, right after 'legal indefinitions' and 'hyperlinking guidelines' (Bastos, 2008b: 188). Those two items have been also identified as concerns for online journalists in other countries and environments (Domingo, 2006: 109-110)[28].

Accounting for these new challenges, Quandt et al. would write: "Overall, the answers (...) are a mixed bag: both mass compatibility and quality are seen as being very common, while the generation of profit still gets some support from the respondents. One has to doubt that it is possible to fulfil all of these goals at once and in every case, so we suspect that these goals are sometimes (at least to some degree) 'wishful thinking', but not real-life orientations" (Quandt, 2006: 181).

One other visible point of friccion was the non-conformity between their daily activities and the most commonly accepted dictates on online journalism. After conducting a survey of Flemish (Netherlands) online journalists and noticing that some of the announced added-value features – interactivity, multimediality, hyperlinking – ranked lower in their priorities, Paulussen would conclude: "Nevertheless, online journalists seem to be aware of the potential of the internet. (...) Most of them are convinced that interactivity, hypertext, and multimedia are at the core of efficient online media production. Put together (...) [this would] indicate a gap between, on the one hand, the (perceived) potential of several internet-specific facilities for online news production and, on the other hand, the actual use of these added values by online media professionals" (Paulussen, 2004: 9).

Online journalists seem, because of all this or despite it all, to have made more decisive steps than their mono-media counterparts in the process of re-conceptualizing their ideas about gatekeeping in the online environment. In a study examining online newspapers coverage of the 2004 US presidential elections Singer shows that users were offered opportunities to contribute ideas and relevant data to the general output, reflectin a move "toward a partnership between

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[28] In August 2006, Poynter Institute gathered a team of online journalists from across the United States to discuss the issues surrounding the work. They have created a set of guidelined "for doing ethical journalism on the web" (http://www.poynter.org/uncategorized/80445/online-journalism-ethics-guidelines-from-the-conference/, accessed on 2007-02-08).

users and journalists to construct meaningful information" (Singer, 2006b: 275). A later study on online news credibility found evidence to substantiate that assessment (Cassidy, 2007) and another would point out that print journalists seem to be more distrustful of alternative forms of publication, like weblogs, as contributors to the journalistic output than online journalists (O'Sullivan, 2008: 362).

After a series of interviews with senior journalists at national and regional news websites in England and Scotland, Thurman concluded that in interactions with non-professional production "they were seeking to defend established editorial practices while, at the same time, exploring the possibilities that user generated content offers" and this involved dealing with complex issues, some of them not so new, like news values and standards, but others having acquired distinct proportions in the new environment, like moderation, reader remuneration, or implications of syndication (Thurman, 2006). In a subsequent later study of 12 national newspapers in the UK, despite noticing a dramatic increase in the oportunities for audience participation, Hermida and Thurman would nevertheless state that while there was recognition that contributions from readers could help journalists identify and reports stories, lack of a model to monetize these initiatives remained a problematic issue; in addition, the opening up to user generated content had happened in tandem with increased moderation practices (for instance, only 12 out of the 118 weblogs identified allowed direct reader comments): "Our findings show that news organizations are facilitating user participation, by filtering and aggregating user generated content in ways they believe to be useful and valuable to their audience" (Hermida, 2008).

An image seems to emerge out of all these studies portraying journalism's foray into new environments as maintaining clear attachments to core professional ideas whilst attempting to deal with new challenges. That tension seems to be resulting in a move towards a new definition of the profession which appears to take in factors pertaining to the direct relationship with the audience – marketing related concerns and an increased willingness to incorporate non-professional contributions to the final journalistic output.

These changes are often presented as means to reinforce the profession's perceived waning credibility with audiences yet they might also be interpreted as precisely the opposite; after conducting a series of interviews with journalists Robinson stated: "Ironically, in producing the news in this manner, the industry is also (perhaps unwittingly) undermining its own role as a societal institution whose jurisdiction has been over life's facts" (Robinson, 2007: 317). Robinson's argument – one which should perhaps be questioned under Bauman's liquidity concept and one which (considering what has been previously mentioned) seems to perhaps presume too much in terms of actual implementation of predicted potentialites – is that by seeing themselves no longer as part of an institution but as part of 'platforms', by giving added relevance to 'technological considerations' like multimedia and interactivity, by offering access to raw materials and to explanations of the news-gathering process, and by encouraging audience participation, journalists are actively sharing their 'authoritative space'. That "must have implications for the press's power to dictate knowledge to society" (ibid: 318).

The third large group of empirical studies aggregates precisely those which have focused on the user. As Domingo argues, "users have probably been the most neglected piece of the puzzle of online journalism academic research" (Domingo, 2006: 119) yet significant steps have been made since the days of Herbert J. Gans 1980 seminal study (*Deciding what's news*) where he identified audiences as being perceived in a more agglomerated fashion and where he described journalists as, at most, gathering input from the 'known audience' (family, friends, neighbours) disregarding all the rest (a top TV produced would tell Gans: "You do the show for a cell of people – the office staff, the wife, and the kids. These are the only known audience. I know we have twenty million viewers, but I don't know who they are. I don't know what the audience wants, and I don't care" (Gans, 1980: 234)). This framework – which was suitably described as 'the idiom of insanity' (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007: 137-140) – is much less evident. Although remnants of such a discernment can certainly still be identified in the above mentioned increased reluctance of journalists towards interactive features and in research conducted solely along 'news consumption habits' much else has henceforth been done in this particular area.

Examining 308 responses to an online survey assessing web users' perceptions of credibility in 1996, Johnson and Kaye would conclude that online newspapers, news magazines and political issue-oriented sites were judged as 'somewhat' credible by the majority of respondents; online newspapers seemed, however, to fair better than their print counterparts (Johnson, 1998: 331). In a later study the same authors would add that the percentage of those who judged online sources 'moderatly or very' credible increased substancially (Johnson, 2002: 633).

Attempting to assess differences in the perceptions of credibility between adult news consumers and students, Bucy would find out that younger audience members both evaluated TV and online news credibility significantly higher than older audience members. Within age groups, adults rated online news to be significantly more credible than TV news, while students rated TV news more credible (Bucy, 2003: 258).

Extracting data from a almost 1,500 telephone questionnaires made in 2001, Lowrey would submit that audiences were defining news in a wider manner; around two thirds of respondents said they seeked news information from sites other than traditional news outlets and more than a quarter of the sample indicated they were likely to personalize news on their browsers. That being said, the author also noted that audiences did not seem to regard that as a challenge to the social role of journalists: "The results suggest only limited support for the idea that using participatory online news functions makes journalistic work seem less exclusive" (Lowrey & Anderson, 2005: 9-11).

Following extensive quantitative and qualitative work developed with French users of online journalism sites, Jeanne-Perrier would come to a similar conclusion, indication taht the journalist had, in fact, become a sort of broker and that in a context of information overload readers would tend to gather near "known and well established references" (Jeanne-Perrier, 2001: 142). The journalist still is, in users discourse, "the one who interprets and selects large amounts of attention worthy information" (ibid.).

Observing the usage patterns of a sample of more than 50,000 US web users, Tewksbury would find that users were becoming more specialized in their consumption of online news, not online favouring specific categories or subjects to follow in one particular outlet but also identifying

providers with demarcated themes; this quest for specialization might lead 'generalist' traditional news providers to rethink their online offerings: "The external specialization these outlets see online represents a radical redefinition of their role in the media environment" (Tewksbury, 2005: 345).

A different approach involved studies on how the online environment affects news consumption and theme recall. After exposing a selected group of users to the print and online editions of the *New York Times*, Tewksbuty and Althaus have noted that readers of the online version were less likely to begin their reading with international, national, and political news. According to those authors, "by reducing and reorganizing story salience cues online news formats can alter consumption and retention". In comparison, the online version of the newspaper thus appeared to give reader interests an advantage over its printed version, "by organizing the stories topically and by supplementing articles with additional information" (Tewksbury, 2000: 472). Sundar would sign that recollection of text only version's contents was greater that that of multimedia versions – "Our findings with multimedia downloads are also consistent with research in broadcasting which shows that people learn comparatively less about news content from audiovisual media than from print communications. (...) The addition of pictures to text appears to have a positive effect overall (...) however, contrary to the prediction on dual coding theory, the addition of newer modalities such as audio and video appear to take away the advantage offered by pictures" (Sundar, 2000: 492-493) – and Bucy would indicate that websites with more interactivity lead testers to a sense of confusion (Bucy, 2004).

A more recent line of inquiry has centred on the observation of cases of user production.
In a study of crowdsourcing news oriented activities, Metzeger concluded that almost half of the participants in an online survey "were professional journalists themselves", and many of them adhered to 'traditional' conventions like objectivity. They also upheld a conception of the public as empowered and competent, whilst maintaining that "professional journalistas are still crucial for certain pursuits" (Metzger, 2007: 32).
Using materials from case studies of emerging participatory news practices in four different countries – Netherlands, Germany, Australia and the United States – Deuze *et al.* would draw

some interesting conclusions; firstly, alternatives to the traditional separation between journalists, sources, and public, do exist; secondly, the observed sites tend to present predominantly 'soft' news, suggesting perhaps that people contribute to participatory journalism websites out of frustration with the focus on traditional mainstream 'hard' news of the mainstream itself: "they may come to citizen journalism not to correct the 'hard' news of the mainstream itself, but to *correct for* mainstream journalism's bias *towards* 'hard' news itself by adding a greater amount of 'soft' news" (Deuze, 2007b).

Having observed in detail Flemish (Netherlands) citizen media sites, De Keyser and Raeymaeckers provide us with further – relevant – details: they do not seem to provide every participatory technology available and, significantly, they all seem to restrict the number of active contributors; some use selection processes to screen would-be participants and others prefer to invite contributors. The authors conclude: "This indicates thata citizen media are to some extent replicating the closed fortresses approach of the traditional news media" (De Keiser, 2008: 5).

In a study centred on the user genenerated content areas of two major European tabloid newspapers, *The Sun Online* and *Aftonbladet.se*, Örnebrink found that although both online newspapers have extensive systems for content production and customization, users are mostly "empowered to create popular culture-oriented content and personal/everyday life-oriented content rather than news/informational content"; user involvement in news gathering, selection, and production is residual and, with the exception of photos of breaking news events, when that happens the resulting content is not presented as professionally produced articles are (Örnebring, 2008: 782-783).

3.2.3   The newsroom as a privileged observation point

As we have seen in the previous pages most early predictions on online journalism failed to materialize or, at least, failed to be embraced at the anticipated pace and with the forecasted purposes.

Empirical research attempting to verify those predictions revealed a much more complex

environment, marked by differences in rhythm and intensity and, significantly, by permanent negotiation processes – between audiences and technology; between journalists, sources, and audiences; between journalists and technology; between journalists and non-professional contributions to journalistic production.

Writing in 1995 after observing newsroom practices at two Canadian daily newspapers, McKercher would state, in controlled disappointment, that journalists were using computers mostly for basic purposes, as electronic typewriters and as devices to check the electronic clipping files. Dealing with a 'strange' reality – "So far, it seems, reporters use computers as new tools to do the same old journalism" – the author would venture some possible explanations: "The fact that reporters are aware of the wider possibilities inherent in computer-assisted reporting but have not made significant steps toward upgrading their own skills suggests that training may be an issue. But is also suggestes that many reporters feel they do their jobs well enough with their existing skills, or believe they have little incentive, time, or energy to spend on acquiring new ones" (McKercher, 1995: 11).

These quotes stand as a very clear warning; they both highlight the difficulties of doing research based on episodic contact with realities and of not accounting for context and a sense of historicity[29]. It is easy to identify in this analysis of a relevant moment – the adoption of computers by newsrooms – a presumption of a path and a (perhaps not intendend) disregard for a set of professional procedures incrementaly developed through the years; in other words, technological developments are presented as being applied to a 'blank canvas', instead of being – to maintain the pictorial image – a new layer of paint which has to sometimes overlay pre-existing ones and some other times to just mix with them. As Cottle would vividly put it: "Today it is easy to mistake technology for an independent causal force determining both the pace and form of change rather than as a 'creature of our own making' – a creature, that is, which

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[29] Other studies, contemporary to McKercher's and also related to the broad topic of 'computers in the newsrooms', have exposed some of those complexities. Christopher noted that the main purpose of the deployment of information technology in US newsrooms in forms of electronic editing and pagination was to reduce staff and increase profit and efficiency: "to replace human bodies with machines, to speed processes, and to gain greater control over the labour process". As such, some 'unintended consequences' might have been "worker demoralization and loss of product quality" (Christopher, 1997: 22-23). Davenport et al. emphasized the "acceleration revolution" in the way news organizations were gathering information (Davenport, 1996: 24) and Garrison presented us with an early account of concerns regarding the internet, portrayed as a possible "double-edged sword for journalists" (Garrison, 1997: 90).

inhabits, was born out of, remains dependend on, and is 'socialised' and put to work within determinant social environments" (Cottle, 1999: 23).

In an encompassing analysis of research on the development of online newspapers Boczkowski would state that this risk – "a tendency to build analysis upon a usually taken for granted technologically deterministic matrix" – was a continued limitation of some observations of the field, despite the fact that "the history of developments in information and communication technology during the twentieth century is replete with events in which supposedly 'unnatural' or 'unrealistic' uses of new artifacts became not only 'possible' but also major commercial turning points" (Boczkowski, 2002: 279).

Attempting to overcome precisely some of the shortcomings of previous pronouncements a group of researchers opted for qualitative methodologies shifting their attention in significant areas: 1) the object of study no longer is the effect of innovation but rather the process of innovation; 2) idealized constructions are not regarded as objectives and/or outcomes but rather as a relevant part of the said process (interacting with other factors); 3) specific cases are observed in detail to gather as much information as possible on routines, structures, and decisions (Domingo, 2008b: 16-17).

Adressing an international gathering of researchers in 2004, Paterson would note that although extensive ethnographic influenced literature had been produced on the practices of traditional media newsrooms there was, at that time, "virtually no equivalent literature in the realm of production for new media"; in his opinion, that was caused by a general decline in ethnographic research on journalism related matters from the 1980's onwards, by the overdominance of the 'network paradigm', by the fact that access to newsrooms had become more difficult, and finally for practical reasons linked to researchers personal and financial constraints (quoted in Domingo, 2005: 27).

Those reasons notwithstanding, and much due to the discerning impetus of researchers like Boczkowski, Paterson himself, and Domingo, the fact is that this particular branch of inquiry grew substantially in the first decade of this century. In a more recent text, Paterson would nevertheless note that despite that online news production research is still very much in its

infancy; "It has many variations, sometimes with little in common apart from a shared claim to the term 'ethnography' (and a number of studies which are, for all intents and purposes, ethnographic do not make mention of that term)" (Paterson, 2008: 4).

Some of the studies rely solely on newsroom observation, whilst others combine it with selected interviews and sometimes even surveys; they focus on what promotes or blocks the adoption of technologies or formats, on changes in the professional profile, on the forces at play during the implementation of given projects. In essence, though, despite these differences and the inherent frailties associated with studying specific cases, "they all share a theoretical background based on the refusal of technological determinism, the historical and social construction of professions, routines and products, and the inevitable diversity of solutions for the use of any given technology" (Domingo, 2006: 125).

The first study which is recognized as integrating this alternative path was developed by Singer in the summer of 1995. The author spent week-long periods at three newsrooms producing or considering online delivery of news and she interviewed a total of 66 journalists (Singer, 1997b) . The richness of the account is altogheter different from previous (mostly survey or questionnaire based studies) and the reader immediately senses humanity – with its fears and contradictions – in the simplest quotes: "Asked what makes a good journalist, a Sun editor offered this prescription: 'Avoid cynicism – but be skeptical'" (ibid: 86). The author noted that journalists though their getekeeping role remained important yet it was in a process of change, from simply choosing the information to making sense of it: "(...) they conceptualise their role as less about regulating the quantity of information than about ensuring its quality (ibid: 87). Regarding ethical considerations and professional values they have shown themselves confident: "In fact, it is precisely that perception that separates them, at least in their own minds, from a steadily swelling sea of rank amateurs; they believe their own skills and values become increasingly vital as the world continues to change" (ibid: 87).

Starting with an inquiry into the preparation routines for news at two newspapers, Martin sough to find out how do stories move from the newspaper newsroom into the website, if they are modified along the way and what type of personal does that selection and transfer of items from one platform to the other (Martin, 1998). The observation of 24 complete news-cycle days (including two weekends) resulted in an image far removed from early utopian perdictions. Both newspapers had distinct newsrooms for their print and online operations and the online staff pulled most of the content from the print editions (complemented, in one of the cases, by wire service stories and by content from an affiliate local TV station). Journalists doing the late night shift would put up the stories from the print edition as soon as they were made available; normally they would finish up at around 2 a.m. partly due to the complexities of transposing materials from one platform to another. Morning staff would start at around 9 a.m. and they would update the webpage throughout the day. Both operations provided fresh news content only after it had been checked by copy editors and paginated as a finished paper-based news product. Online staff rarely questioned or changed the texts, apart from the headlines which sometimes had to be adapted to a particular web space. In essence, Martin argues, work performed by qualified professionals was mostly "tedious and time consuming"; most of those interviewed said they perceived their task as selecting and reformatting rather then writing original news stories (ibid.).

Brannon's PhD thesis (Brannon, 1999) departs from a techno-deterministic question – what are perceived to be the main obstacles to performing journalism on this medium with greater consistency and with more interactivity? – to present us with a detailed scenario of 'impediments'. Research centred on three different online operations, *ABCNews.com*, *USA Today Online* and *National Public Radio Online*, and she combined field work with selected interviews and a subsequent e-mail survey. The author found out that work conditions were far from ideal and that journalists were stressed by it; pressured by the increased relevance of immediacy and also by managerial demands for more sophisticated yet time consuming and technically challenging materials, journalists felt unappreciated. As Brannon stated in a later text, "regardless of tradition of service, online news teams from newspaper, radio, and television

backgrounds shared similar challenges: underdeveloped technology, inefficient production tools, limited and often young staffs, bureaucratic shifts, young managers, and large ambition" (Brannon, 2008: 110).

Through in-house documents, interviews, and participant observation of a major BBC regional newscentre (the one selected by the company to pilot the latest technologies) Cottle and Ashton attempted to assess the institutional context and manegerial context for the introduction of new technologies at the BBC, practitioners' experiences and views on this shift, and the impact on news output (Cottle, 1999). The authors established that technology was seen by management "like cavalry to the rescue", something that they actively sought to take advantage of. For journalists, this strategy meant, in relation to jobs, one of three things: redundancy/redeployment, re-designation, and multiskilling. Career progression changes and 'forced' multiskilling were presented by the authors as being responsible for a sense of frustration and resentment even though the bulk of technological changes benefits have been welcomed by most. Regarding output, pressures to produce news material for multiple media and outlets was seen as severely constraining journalists' ability and creativity in producing news items and as shortening the time allowed for research. In summation, Cottle and Ashton would state that while digital technologies have facilitated changed working practices as the means to achieve cost savings and efficiency gains, "increased pressures of work relating to multiskilled practices and multimedia news production are unlikely to encourage 'radical new directions in programme making'" (ibid: 38). On the matter of potential increased interactivity with the audience, researchers have indicated that it was not even considered by journalists at that time and under those particular circumsntances. As one of the interviewed broadcast journalists would put it: "We don't have the time to be creative; It's not that the equipment will not let us be more creative, it's physically we don't have the time to be as creative as we used to be" (ibid: 41).

Based on repetitive visits to three Scandinavian newspaper organizations – in 1996 and again in 1999 – Eriksen and Ihlström attempted to analyse the shift in design of online news stories

(Eriksen, 2000). Supported by interviews, some unobtrusive measurements, and observation, the authors concluded that having been conceived of as 'electronic newspapers' the studies web news sites had evolved away from that metaphor towards a 'live' scheme of news reporting. Whilst their print counterparts were operating with discrete 24 hour news cycles web news sites were operating continuously; "news is reported as it occurs, the key constraint being the speed and efficiency required putting a story online" (ibid: 9) . As such – argue these researchers – hard news became the key content of the online news stream, contradicting early predictions of the web as a priviledged space for contextual information presentation. Article bodies were presented as being 'fluid' over time, being re-edited as new information became available to journalists. Once they moved from being a novelty into being an historical fact articles were edited again to reflect future anticipated usage. In conclusion, between 1996 and 1999, the three analysed online news operations had become more centred on hard news presentation and immediacy had risen to prominence as a key deciding factor. Presentation had adopted a more fluid structure, veering away from the printed 'priority-based' organizing scheme into to simple chronological listings (ibid: 10).

Conceivably the most detailed and theoretically substantiated work on this particular route has been developed by Boczkowski on the basis of an analysis of the processes of adoption of multimedia and interactivity in three online newsrooms (Boczkowski, 2004 ; Boczkowski, 2005). Combining newsroom observation, document analysis and open-ended interviews the author attempted to find evidence to support the argument that technology adoption was a complex environment and that factors determining it should be looked into in detail, namely organizational structures, work practices and representations of users.

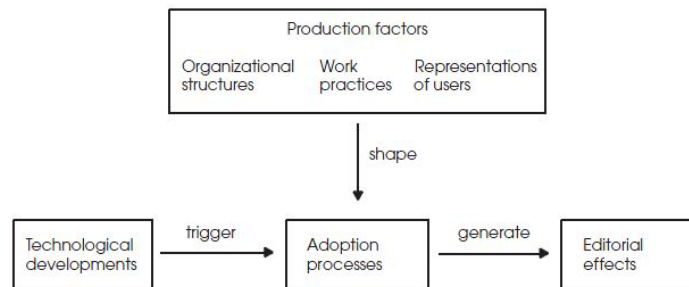*Processes of Adopting Multimedia and Interactivity*

Figure 3 :: Boczkowski's alternative approach to assess effects of technology on news production

In order to pursue that goal Boczkowski chose three very distinct examples, the *New York Times* online 'Technology' section, *Houston Chronicle.com*'s 'Virtual Voyager project, and *New Jersey Online*'s 'Community Connection' (the first showed limited adoption of both features, Virtual Voyager featured extensive multimedia materials, and Community Connection centred on interactivity features). His analysis showed that actors aware of and taking advantage of multimedia and interactive capabilities did it in very different forms and, at least partially, that was attributed to variations in the dynamics of technology adoption processes. In the case of the newsroom with the closest link to its print counterpart, Boczkowski noted that the relation was asymmetrical; in their efforts to conform/coordinate with print, online journalists at the online New York Times' Technology section seemed to align their processes and products much more than the other way around. As one print editor would put it: "[they] come to our meetings and when we talk about stories, sometimes we talk about how they'll be extended for the web" (Boczkowski, 2004: 204). By contrast, online newsrooms least attached to non-digital production were more prone to develop multimedia and interactive features/products. Regarding the relation with the audience, the author assessed that newsrooms' visions of what kind of users they would like to reach also shaped their adoption of new technical capabilities. Furthermore, that relation was also shaped by the nature of the information flow; once again, online newsrooms with closest links with the print product tended to reproduce the 'we-publish-you-read' model: "users

were seen as technically adept consumers, but not as content producers" (ibid: 206).

In a study that might be understood as a follow-up from her ground-breaking work in this field, Singer attempted to observe convergence in four different newsrooms and by combining observation, interviews and a questionnaire she concluded that journalists see numerous advantages in convergence oriented newsrooms, for reasons related to external competition, public service, and even personal career growth. Despite that, they maintained a series of concerns: the compatibility of different newsroom cultures, lack of training to diffuse complexity related technical issues, and lack of 'tangible' rewards for their adhesion to convergence (Singer, 2004: 16).

Giving sequence to an earlier quantitative assessment (Masip, 2002), Masip would observe three Catalan news operations – *Televisió de Catalunya* (TV3), *Catalunya Ràdio* and *La Vanguardia* – to evaluate the routines involved in the production of the main news story in three days. Although playing an integral part of the work routines, the internet was not perceived by journalists with over enthusiasm; they seemed aware of the opportunites digital technologies brought to the profession yet they also expressed the notion that some of those opportunities did not translate into 'better journalism'. According to the author, online environments allow for faster access to and wider availability of data although some of it is perceived by journalists as not being worthy of note in terms of the news production process (Masip, 2005).

Expressing an underlying idea which had already been hinted at in previous studies – "Digital technologies have changed journalistic production in newsrooms, but not according to journalists' preferences" – Klinenberg's observation of *Metro News*' New York newsroom presented an image of an advanced synergistic mode of production. Being an emerging second-tier media corporation, producing in multiple branches and distributing in multiple platforms, the company treated production as 'content', a categorization which was contested by journalists. Maybe the deepest source of journalists' frustration though was the perception that changes forced them to

take on additional tasks in the same work period; as one would put it: "There's a writing process that's just constant, constant, constant...in everything we're doing we're dealing with the clock. Bang. Bang. Bang. Bang. Bang. And the clock just goes on" (Klinenberg, 2005: 54).

Following a design inspired by Boczkowski, Domingo would develop a study of four Catalan online news sites – *El Periódico Online*, *laMalla.net*, *CCRTV*, and *Diari de Tarragona* – to attempt to find answers to the broad question: 'why do media companies produce online publication the way the do? (Domingo, 2006). Based on a combination of observation, interviews, and qualitative data analysis the author would draw two inter-related conclusions: 1) Online journalism utopias are still very much influential as a model, despite not having a direct impact on actual online news production. Usage of the internet is mainly shaped by contextual factors which are not the same for all companies. The prescriptions of utopias – permanent references in journalists' pronouncements as they are – are limited by human and technical resources and by "the weight of traditional journalistic culture" (ibid: 505-507); 2) the tradition of a media company (having started as a newspaper, a radio, or a television) is still the main factor that determines internet usage for news diffusion. As such, "independent online projects are more likely to develop along the lines suggested by online journalism utopias while online projects embedded in print or broadcast companies will tend to reproduce their parent medium routines, definitions and features" (ibid).

Avilés and Carvajal observed two different Spanish newsrooms – *Novotécnica* and *La Verdad* – searching for insights into convergence processes (Aviles & Carvajal, 2008). From the gathered data they have established the existence of two different models – the 'integrated model' (centred on content and not on platform, managed by a single editorial structure, based on a central desk and with one basic newsroom culture) and the 'cross-media model' (possibly separate newsrooms, more than one editorial structure, no specific multiskilling training for journalists, and a diversity of newsroom cultures). The authors concluded that both models are 'wokable' if management takes decisive steps, both at the implementation level and at anticipating

expectable disruptions and challenges. When conditions for whichever model are not in place, journalists tend to adopt a "wait and see attitude" (ibid: 237).

A broader study, also headed by Avilés but involving the observation of six 'convergence inclined' media companies in three European countries, Austria, Spain, and Germany, would propose a third model of convergence in the newsroom – 'Co-ordination of isolated platforms' ("Cooperation in news production takes place – if at all – as a bottom-up process and more or less by chance, depending on individual journalists") – which was identified as a success model in Austrian *Der Standard* (Aviles, 2009). The study concludes that, having looked deep at journalistic production, "reality is still different from wishful thinking" (ibid: 301).

Also centred on convergence, Colson and Heinderyckx observed the newsroom of *La Libre Belgique*, noting that in terms of mutual representations between print and online journalists, the language was still very much one of 'us' versus 'them'. Even if considering the shifting nature of some relationships authors indicate that print journalists, in general, do not view online counterparts as equals. Concerns and aspirations of both groups were also distinct; while print journalists worried about their articles and their sources, online journalists' attention was direct towards 'time-consuming' factors like the website's settings and layout, renewal of top stories at the homepage or the moderation of forums. As one online editor would explain: "Our priority is to react quickly (...) we don't have time to verify every news wire before putting it on the website (...) on the web it's easier to rectify" (Colson, 2008: 150). Management decisions regarding the physical integration of both newsrooms (united and separated five months later) did not involve journalists' opinion and no training was provided to adapt to changing labour circumstances.

Centring his attention no longer on online journalism in general but on the 'neglected' reality of currently emerging styles and genres, Steensen decided to study the devolpment of a section for feature journalism in the Norwegian online newspaper *dagbladet.no* (Steensen, 2009). Based on observations in four distinct moments (starting in Mat 2005 and ending in November 2007) the author concluded that the implementation of new genres in online journalism might minimize the

importance of immediacy (as noted by several of the previously mentioned analysis) hence boosting innovation. He further noted that autonomy regarding traditional media newsrooms was relevant yet autonomy within the online newsroom itself should also be considered (a determinant role, in the studied case, being played by management's 'democratic culture', which "made innovation random, dependent on individuals, and open to the influence of informal power structures"). As such, Steensen notes, the importance of individual actions (much more than routines) should not be underestimated.

Smyrnaios and Bousquet attempted to see if a regional georgraphical context and a more peripheral economic reality would determine online newsroom production in a different manner by observing a French regional outlet, *La Dépeche du Midi* (Smyrnaios, 2011). The image presented by the study is that of a fragile institution, willing to invest very little in its online operations. The emphasis, thus, is put on increased productivity, based on desk work repurposing, leaving very little room for either original reporting or innovative formats. Online journalists are payed less than their print counterparts and their working conditions are also worse.

Brown and Groves observed mainly organizational culture and leadership whilst evaluating the process of change in three different news organizations (Brown & Groves, 2010). Drawing upon participant observation and in-depth interviews the study focused on the role journalistic core values played in the transition to the web and it noted that a direct commitment by managers was essential; in cases where that impetus was not felt staff would soon start avoiding further personal investment in the process of change. For that reason the authors also stressed that the process was more fluid where involvement of staff from all layers of the organization was more effective.

In a broad project which could well be perceived as a follow-up to his *Digitizing the News* work, Boczkowski analysed in detail two Argentinian newspapers, *Clarín* and *La Nación* (Boczkowski,

2010). The observation went beyond online newsroom practices and extended to printed front page and homepage presentation, and also to the consumption of online news. Through the presentation of extensive data and rich testimony, the author argues that pressed by the already identified constraints and faced with a pattern of online news consumption peaking at office hours newrooms reacted with increased monitoring of external output and with an increased rhythm of production which materialized in a homogenization of news production. As such, the author notes, a 'spiral of sameness' has been created, which neither seems to please journalists nor users. Journalists "feel powerless to alter it" and users experience "a reaction of detachment and retreat" (ibid: 173). Three cross-cutting trends are presented as emerging out of this evolving scenario: 1) an intensification of tensions between the occupational and market logics of journalism; 2) the changing character of the production and consumption of hard news on the web; 3) the increase in the relative contribution of wire service agencies in the provision of such news. Its combination creates a media landscape "marked by the dominance of generic content shared across many outlets, a narrowing of the resulting news agenda, and the concentration of power to set this agenda among a smaller number of players than before" (ibid: 180). In this setting, users are broadly presented and not very willing to 'cross the participatory gap' (ibid: 181).

These studies represent a sample of some of the most relevant work produced in this particular area over the last decade. They were deliberately presented in a non-aggregated form in order to avoid unfounded generalizations based on their admitted biggest vulnerability – the fact that they emerge from case studies. Extrapolations being hazardous, as we said, the fact remains that these individual experiences present us with an ultra-wide image of the complexities involved. Some observations seem to cut across several examples whilst others are much more specific. They all provide inestimable insights into the workings of a very singular setting where change is influenced by a number of factors far beyond the simple introduction of new technologies.

4 Methodological approach

Walking through any university library or surfing web research repositories, one can find massive information about scientific methods both for so-called exact/hard sciences and for social sciences. Since the initial academic years, we are inundated with information about research methods. It might be assumed that at a Ph.D. level research methods have been fully appropriated and, therefore, the results would stand up by themselves without the need of an autonomous chapter detailing choices, paths, doubts and field hardships. We take however the view that this is an important moment to rethink – even if in a synthetic manner – the scientific discourse and our own relation with scientific production both as a Ph.D. candidate and as a former journalist.

So, before clarifying our methodological choices, we will highlight some established dichotomies to try to explain how we have dealt with their limitations and deadlocks: theory vs. empirical research, academic discourse vs. professional know-how and individual choices vs. collective construction of science.

On the 'theory/empirical evidence' dichotomy, we believe that considering social sciences as a combination of these two separate elements does not clearly expresses the most critical dimension of social sciences – scientific facts are mediated through theory. Facts do not exist by themselves. Theories are the indispensible tools to construct social reality, to 'read' objects and processes. Theories and empirical evidence are so profoundly embedded that the artificial distinction (even if useful for organizational and practical reasons) risks to mystify rather than to illuminate. Any attempt to understand social reality using scientific methods is bound to articulate pre-existing theory or theories with the newly recognized relevant scientific evidence. Although this thesis incorporates what might be understood as more 'theoretical' and more 'empirical' dimensions, we would like to clarify that for us 'the field' was never a place apart from the existing theoretical ground. Similarly, the theory (or the theories) we have examined and produced are also dynamically related with past personal newsroom experience and, more recently, newsroom scientific observation.

Regarding the divide between scientific production and journalistic know-how about the profession, newsrooms and audiences, we would like to recognize the differences between the modalities of constructing knowledge in both cases. Academics and journalists have disparate tool boxes to build knowledge and to develop narratives about social reality. Academics and professional journalists also apprehend reality from a different point of observation. Academics draw the frontiers of their research objects and examine them as external observants. Journalists are emerged in professional environments with diffuse boundaries and unclear settings.

Unless journalists are also academics or have to produce materials on journalism itself due to its news value (e.g. the recent News Corporation 'hacking' scandal in the UK or the Impresa/Ongoing battle for the private channel SIC in Portugal), they do not analyze their professional context on a regular basis. However, their knowledge is based on the systematic observation and experience. This organized system of ideas about the journalistic social reality might be perceived as 'journalistic discourse' or even 'common sense' because it does not incorporate the usual apparatus of scientific methodological capital to apprehend the social world.

Indeed, just like we are trying to do in this thesis, academics develop the necessary methods to move forward theoretically and empirically in ways that shed light on reality and, not less relevant today, that are recognized by peers as convincing and valid knowledge. Differently from journalists and most people, academics (when producing science) combine multiple resources that inspire their production, make its development possible and legitimate its results. The differentiation between scientific production and journalistic know-how about journalism is fully recognized in this work whilst acknowledging that dissimilarities about modalities of building knowledge should not conduct to any a priori devaluing process.

The last dichotomy we have mentioned above (individual choices vs. collective construction of science) seems very relevant to us because the theoretical and methodological choices of this thesis are not merely individual but also collective choices. First of all, the dissertation is produced in a specific research centre, *Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade*, with a particular ethos and a deliberate multi-disciplinary approach to Communication

Sciences.Therefore, both the objectives and methods of this work fit in with a broader project of transversal knowledge acquisition centred on the dynamic relation between Communication and Society. The overall scale of the project is therefore larger than the scope of this thesis. Furthermore, this thesis is the end result of a permanent dialogue with a series of other researchers and particularly with the Thesis Supervisor, Professor Manuel Pinto. He was indispensible in pointing out options, in clarifying strategies and especially in ascertaining the need to incorporate the malleable and complex nature of human relations with technology into the overall project. No matter how many books on methodology one can read, each path is unique and every meaningful scientific journey requires critical dialogue and solid companionship.

Having said that, we will now try to specify the methodological choices we have made and the reasons for each one. As always, methods must be designed according to the scientific objectives of the project. There are no aprioristic adequate methods for a given study. Discovering the best ways of addressing a particular research question is in itself a matter of study and patience. Methods are not self-evident but as we moved along it seemed to us that classic methods in social science such as documental analysis, case study and newsroom observation were still the most relevant even for a new and fast changing digital environment.

From most of what has been said in previous chapters of this work it results clear that we espouse a view which perceives technology adoption as an interdependent process with simultaneous effects – the actor shapes the artifact whilst taking advantage of its social interplay – and with a historically grounded 'permanent circularity'. In other words, technologies both shape and are shaped by social interactions (Boczkowski, 1999: 114) in a never-ending process which takes place on specific and particularly erected historical contexts (Boczkowski, 2005: 9-12).

This understanding, which mostly results from an attempt to avoid techno-deterministic macro level readings (both the enthusiastic and the catastrophist ones), often leads researchers to centre their attentions on the abundance of detail inscribed in case studies through broad ethnographic inspired methodologies.

The study of newsrooms through ethnometodological lensed is not, as we have mentioned earlier, a novel activity. Its heyday could be traced back to the 1970's and early 1980's, when researchers like Schlesinger, Elliot, Burns, Tuchman, Gans, and Fishman developed their 'realist tales' of newsroom practices.

Tuchman, for instance, proposed that news routines served strategic purposes for journalists (Tuchman, 1972; Tuchman, 1973) and Gans noted that journalists operated by adopting a set of 'enduring values' which, although not being timeless, could be found in many different types of news stories over a prolongued period of time (Gans, 1980: 42-52)[30].

Often written in a 'documentary style', filled with apparently mundane details, these accounts were nevertheless extremely relevant to the field of communication studies because "they masterfully interrogated many of the reigning commonsensical assumptions about news work, showing that news reality was constructed, often in the name of agendas like practical work accomplishment" (Zelizer, 2004: 69).

Following substancial criticism, notably on the limited generalizability but also on the excessive prominence given to a setting – the newsroom – which might not be as relevant to the shaping of production practices as before and on the observation of newswork only from the moment at which an event was approached by a journalist, this methodology was gradually abandoned by researchers (ibid) having, as we have seen, acquired a new impetus when applied to online news production mostly in the first decade of this century.

Why, then, this insistence on an approach so brittle, so porous, so fraught will potential risks?

If a short answer was required, we would feel compelled to share Hartmann's simple assertion: [because] "the everyday is where the changes in social life show their most radical consequences" (Hartmann, 2007: 252).

As Singer notes, qualitative ethnography is still very much 'a good fit' for studies on newsrooms changes because it gives prominence to the meanings of behavior and interactions among

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[30] Gans' noted enduring values, sometimes referred to as 'motherhooh values', were ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, small-town pastoralism, individualism and moderatism (Gans, 1980).

members of a culture-sharing group, because it puts the researcher in the middle of the topic under study, because it implies an openness to the unexpected, because if focuses on specific cases, and because it apprehends debates among actors at play in a given environment. Furthermore, in a trait which admittedly (even if at a non-conscious level) had its influence on our particular work, "ethnography and journalism bear a close relationship, most obviously through their shared information-gathering methods of observation and interview" (Singer, 2008c: 158-162).

Ethnography, thus, is also understood by us not as an appropriate method but rather as an encompassing qualitative methodology (Hartmann, 2007: 259), attempting to observe the 'everyday' in order to draw possible answers to pre-posed questions. The nature of the case itself, the aims of the research and the involved constraints have determined that our methodology should be supported by different methods, much in the manner described by Singer as 'triangulation': "a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning and identify different ways of seeing a phenomenon" (Singer, 2008c: 165). As such, the centerpiece of our study is a case study analysis focused on *Jornal de Notícias* online newsroom, involving participant observation, in-depth interviews, and journalists' and users' surveys. The research was complemented by documental analysis.

We henceforth describe the research design in more detail.

4.1 Case study

As a research method, case studies have been used intensively in almost all social disciplines, from psychology to economics. Its use is so diverse and widespread that case study is both used as a research method and as a synonymous for the research object that is studied whose examination, in turn, implies various other methods such as interviews, data gathering, etc. This conceptual confusion probably explains why frequently case studies are absent on research methods books. For the purposes of this Ph.D. thesis, we took Yin's view of case study as 'a research method that allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of

real-life events – such as life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, neighborhood change (...), and the maturation of industries' (Yin, 2003: 2). In further detail, a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (ibid: 13). In this line of thought, a case study strategy seems to be particularly relevant when we deliberately intend to cover contextual conditions because they seem particularly relevant to the understanding of the phenomenon. Yin also underlines that a case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points (ibid: 13-14). That is, the case study as a research process comprises an all-encompassing method – covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis. In essence, the case study is 'a research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings' (Eisenhardt, 1999: 534).

For our project, the in-depth analysis of one single case study appeared as extremely important to develop a profound understanding of the pressures and new possibilities which are at play when a print oriented media outlet decides to invest in online journalism, its effects on professional self-perception, work routines and realtion with the audience.

After much discussion and consideration, we have chosen the daily Portuguese national newspaper *Jornal de Notícias* as our case study due to a compelling combination of factors:

1) *Jornal de Notícias* is Portugal's second widest audience daily newspaper (average 2008 circulation of 101.000)[31];

2) *Jornal de Notícias* was in the process of undertaking a significant strategic change in terms of online journalism operations. The timing of the said process fit the demands of our particular work development;

3) *Jornal de Notícias* was the first Portuguese media company to have a regularly updated online edition;

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[31] Data from Associação Portuguesa para o Controlo de Tiragem e Circulação (APCT), available from http://www.apct.pt/homepage_00.aspx (access on 2009-04-07)

4) *Jornal de Notícias*'s main newsroom, located in Oporto, offered the possibility of undertaking research with controlled levels of costs;

5) *Jornal de Notícias*'s editor-in-chief accepted the proposed challenge (denying the presence of researchers in newsrooms is, according to some authors, increasingly more common in an industry which tends to perceive itself as being under threat).

Some of these considerations are more directly related to relevance than others; indeed, a cynical eye would most probably signal that contingency perhaps played a significant role in establishing this as our case study. Not wishing to deny the contingency factor we would, nevertheless, point out that excluding contingency as a matter of principle from an ethnographic oriented study rather seems like a contradiction in terms. Contingency is, in fact, at the heart of most of the research processes involved in our endeavours and it provided us both with risks and opportunities.

Jornal de Notícias (JN) was, as we have just mentioned, the first Portuguese newspaper to have a web presence. The online edition was launched on the 26th July 1995 and resulted from the efforts of a very small team of computer engineers and journalists. Despite its initial impact – namely near the Portuguese speaking communities in Northern America and Europe (Bastos, 2000: 173) – the fact is that during the following years the project never gained enough momentum to overcome the sholverware phase. Two journalists had the task to carry newspaper content from one CMS to another (via Wordpad) whilst making an effort to update newly created user-oriented areas (Molinos, 2006).

Figure 4 :: Jornal de Notícias' homepage in September 1996

From 2000 onwards two distinctive realities would combine to hinder any significant change: the contraction effects of the dot.com bubble vaporisation and the acquisition of *Jornal de Notícias* (until then part of the *Lusomundo* group) by the telecommunications giant, *Portugal Telecom* (PT) (in a deal which, as we have mentioned earlier, could be seen as the Portuguese equivalent of the *AOL-Time Warner* venture). PT clearly invested in aggregator portals – like *zip.net* and *sapo.pt* – and placed established content brands under their control.

When *Controlinveste* acquired JN in 2005 its online operation was bound to *sapo.pt* by an unfavourable long term deal. The renegotiation of that precise deal, in 2007, paved the way for more ambitious plans. During a meeting of Controlinveste's top editorial and business managers, in November 2007, the head of the group, Joaquim Oliveira, announced the intention to present new sites for *Jornal de Notícias*, *Diário de Notícias*, and *TSF* (news radio station) during the first semester of 2008.

Internally, the renovation process had already been set in motion (last quarter of 2007) and involved the intention to initiate a broader transformation, as the deputy editor-in-chief[32], Alfredo Leite, mentioned during a January 2008 interview: "we need to change the whole editorial structure; I cannot have work shifts from 20 years ago providing for the demands of three distinct products – JN, JN online, and Global[33]". His intentions, as expressed in an internal document to the group's board, were to be given the capacity to change practices in order to achieve changes in content and form. Nevertheless, those changes were not meant to extend to full newsroom integration: "that particular solution could make a newsroom like this one unmanageable; rather than having everyone working for both paper and online I would prefer to have everyone more alert to the possibilities; that would be an important step forward"[34].

Having opted for this incremental strategy – which we could perceive as somewhat preceding the four dimensions of convergence that Domingo et al. proposed when analysing Spanish examples (Domingo, 2007) – it followed that discussions on the editorial objectives, structure and visual look of the new site (commissioned to an external designer) were mainly conducted between the deputy editor-in-chief, senior editors, the online editor and sub-editor, some section editors, and the art director (on a different level, discussions occurred with *Controlinveste*'s head of e-business and multimedia, with the externally commissioned implementation company, and naturally with the group's administration). By May 2008 the offline new site was already being

[32] During the period of our study the newspaper's deputy editor-in-chief was the person in charge of the online venture's editorial output.

[33] *Global* was a free daily newspaper held by *Controlinveste*, with contents partially provided for by three of the groups newspapers: JN, DN, and *O Jogo*. It started out in September 2007 and by the end of 2008 it was the highest circulation free daily in Portugal (around 200.000, according to the APCT), distributed in six major cities. The title was closed in July 2010 (along with another title belonging to the group, *24 Horas*) due to the "profound structural change in the press market, which demand new business models' strategic decisions" (Marcela, 2010).

[34] Interview at JN's newsroom on 2008-01-08.

consistently updated and on the last day of that month it went online (two days shy of JN's 120th anniversary).

Our research started in November 2007 and data was gathered from a series of processes: a journalist's questionnaire, a users questionnaire (accessed through the site), a series of semi-structured interviews (journalists and editors of the online newsroom and editors of the paper newsroom), and selected interviews with board members, and the heads of technical and e-business divisions.

The first period of direct newsroom observation took place between May 2008 and July 2008 – we were able to observe the newsroom on a daily bases during final preparation period for the beginning of the new online news venture and during its first month of operation – and subsequent periods took place in September 2008, in January 2009 and in March 2009.

Complementary research data was also gathered during the same period.

A declaration of interest should, for the purpose of clarity, be made at this point. The researcher worked at *Jornal de Notícias* in the late 1980's and early 1990's and has personal contact with some of the journalists who took part in this study.

That situation might have had an influence in the facilitation of daily interactions with other newsroom staff but might also, at particular moments, have constituted an impediment (namely because some actors could feel more inclined to ask for specific comments to be considered 'off-the-record').

The researcher was fully aware of these opportunities and limitations when the study was initiated and has, in an overall appreciation of the ensuing work, remained confident that their effect did not change the end result of the endeavour.

The opportunities for a smoother adaptation process soon lost relevance as the days went by and the newsroom started to naturalize the external presence, and while there is no guarantee that information suppression requests were higher than in other circumstances they were mostly incidental.

4.1.1   Newsroom observation

A distinction is sometimes drawn between participant and non-participant observation, broadly establishing a division between observation carried out when the researcher is / is not playing an established and concrete role in the studied environment. Although distinctions should be made and clarification should be offered as to what level of interactions did exist we feel this clearcut dichotomy to be rather crude and unhelpful. A more subtle typology has been proposed – complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer, and complete participant – yet, as Atkinson and Hammersley note, even this tends to constraint relevant variations (Atkinson, 1994: 248).

If put before a difficult choice – opt for one of those four descriptions – we would consider our involvement in the field as closer to that of an 'observer as participant', given that we did not engage in any news production activities during our observation period yet we could not help but notice that our simple presence there might have induced some behavior alterations. We would, thus, tend to follow Hammersley and Atkinson's notion that, in a sense, "all social research is a form of participant observation, because we cannot study the social world without being a part of it" (Hammersley, 1983).

As Gans has highlighted, participant observation is a method that gets academics close to people: "it allows researchers to observe what people do, while all other empirical methods are limited to reporting what people say about what they do" (Gans, 1999: 540).

Several authors (Labaree, 2002;Cohen, 2000) have however observed that the pitfalls in its use are multiple and difficult to overcome. In the particular field of online journalism research some of the most obvious weaknesses have been summarized by Domingo: 1) observation is time consuming and many times actors fell disturbed; 2) it is not always easy to take notes of all observations, namely technical actions; 3) actors might ask for the omission of some of their statements; 4) anecdotal evident might lead to unwarranted generalizations; 5) researchers

prejudices tend to prop up and might hamper the fair development of the study (quoted in Paterson, 2008: 5).

Cohen has suggested that researchers should openly admit these frailties whilst also recognizing that the observed field changes over time – relationships between informants and between informants and researcher are in a constant state of flux – that researchers' relative position in the given environment changes accordingly, and that inequalities that characterize relations between informants and researchers do not disappear (Cohen, 2000: 329).

Despite these difficulties we considered the method extremely rich. During our visits to *Jornal de Notícias*, we have tried to deal with the difficulties which have been identified in the literature and we have moved in the newsroom as sensitively as we possibly could, being well aware that our presence was never neutral. We also took very seriously the 'fidelity of the data' (Hébert-Lessard, 2005: 81) taking notes on site or following the' 24-hour rule' for the writing down of additional thoughts regarding the observation. Field notes were, in fact, more than a mechanism to ensure fidelity. Indeed, as the overall research developed the research notes became themselves research texts that deserve to be revised for reflective purposes (Olabuénaga, 2003). This circularity proved to be extremely important to our research because the theoretical densification put new questions to the field notes and the field notes opened new avenues of enquiry.

The initial contact with *Jornal de Notícias* was established at the end of 2006, by addressing a letter to the editor-in-chief, explaining our intentions, the rationale behind the option, the perceived scope of the study, its possible implication with newsroom routines, and a proposed timetable for visits.

Preliminary conversations with the editor-in chief, the deputy editor-in-chief and the online newsroom editor ensued in the first half of 2007 and a decision was made to postpone the beginning of the study to a period which better suited one of the above mentioned 'influencing factors' in the decision to choose *Jornal de Notícias* – the scheduled change in the company's online presence.

Accordingly, and after a one week period of visits to the newroom in November of 2007 to apply a preliminary survey to journalists and several other visits in the first quarter of 2008 to ascertain

both renewed commitment to the study and plans for the beginning of the online venture's new phase it was decided that newsroom observation would begin on the week starting on May, 19th 2008.

This decision was both agreeable to editorial managers, given that at that moment plans were already in motion to prepare the transition - "if you had started earlier you would not have much to see", was noted by one reporter in one of our first informal conversations –, and to the researcher, given that it allowed the rare opportunity to witness a defining moment.

Newsroom observation took place in four consecutive weeks – between May, 19th 2008 and June 14th 2008, in two non-consecutive weeks in July – 14th to 19th and 28th to 31st – in one week in September – 15th to 20th – and in two other 'two-week' periods in 2009 – January 12th to 24th and March 2nd to 14th.

In all, observation took place at different moments over a 10 month period. The initial design of the project envisaged a somewhat more geometrically balanced pattern – two-week periods over six consecutive months – yet that was not possible mainly for logistical reasons. In retrospect, and naturally benefiting from hindsight, it could be argued that these conjunctural difficulties prolongued the contact with the newsroom, allowing for the opportunity to sense alterations from a greater distance and to accompany one relevant moment in mid January 2009, the collective dismissal of 122 staff at *Controlinveste* which also directly affected *Jornal de Notícias*.

Normal observation cycles included arriving at the newsroom around 10 a.m. and leaving around 7 p.m. This would give the researcher the opportunity to be in contact with the greatest number of journalists at one time and also with the biggest flux of production. The only significant part of the work cycle left out by this option was the late night transposition of some print originated news material to the online platform (a parcial remnant of the shoverlware phase). Normal observation cycles did not include weekends.

The researcher always had access to a desk in the online newsroom and was often able to use a local network connection to maintain visual contact with the 'end product'. Whenever that access was not allowed (for reasons exclusively pertaining to the scarcity of resources in the space), the researcher used a personal wireless connection. The desk was always located at one vertex of a

rectangular shaped newsroom with a privileged view over the whole area yet interfering as less as possible with the normal management of the physical space. Some observation – especially of task development – demanded a different approach and was conducted either standing up over the journalist's shoulder or by his/her side. In many instances the researcher was told "not now, not now" and promptly withdrew to his corner desk to conduct less interfering tasks.

These observations were naturally accompanied by casual conversations with journalists. The researcher noticed that taking notes in permanence seemed to guide journalists towards a more constrained discourse and soon opted to converse without the notebook (converting conversation into written notes at a later moment).

This being a terrain which could pose ethical problems, they were somehow abated by the mutual understanding that all notes made from conversations would only mention the journalist's position in the newsroom (editor or reporter) and never his/her name. This decision had been taken earlier, following exploratory informal conversations with newsroom staff before May 2008, and seemed appropriate to ensure the existence of a confortable 'common ground' where journalists and researcher could meet. All journalists were made aware of this decision.

Besides these informal conversations, which took place in the newsroom, the researcher also gathered material – mostly notes – from other non-formal conversations with journalists, namely during 'smoke' and lunch breaks. Sometimes the researcher was invited to accompany journalists and the ensuing conversations, although not being 'direct quotable' material – once again, given our ethical concerns – helped to create or to enlighten operational and/or relational frameworks, giving insights into the ongoing processes.

Throughout the entire observation period the researcher, a former journalist and journalism lecturer with his personal opinions on the direction most of the observed processes should undertake, was very much aware of his own biases and attempted to shy away as much as possible from emiting opinions. This has, sometimes, left him in awkard positions, between the risk of interfering with the field under observation and the risk of appearing to disdain a token of trust. The fact that the researcher spoke 'journalese' and was very much in tune with basic

newsgathering routines has perhaps been, in this respect, a double-edged sword as well; easing-off barriers whilst also confusing its role/image in the newsroom setting.

Finally, the observation has also played a role in terms of developing the indispensible trust to move to other complementary research methods such as interviews. The identification of key actors to be interviewed – both in the online and printe newsrooms – has benefited from what Rubio has called 'key informants'. For this author, 'key informants' are exceptional members of the world we first wish to know: "they are the best placed to tell us how it is, how people think and act in every concrete moment" (Rubio, 1995: 135).

4.1.2   Interviews

Interviews are an extremely common and resourceful method in social sciences. They may take place during the exploratory phase, during the conduction of the bulk of research, or even at a later date to help clarify some other data. As Bouchard would say, the popularity of the interview (and its sibling, the questionnaire) is not an 'accident' – "they both capitalize on language, the human being's most powerful form of communication" (Bouchard, 1976: 368).

In the specific case of our study, interviews also offer, as we have mentioned earlier, one possible contact point between research and journalism given that they are used profusely by both activities and in both they follow similar outcome oriented goals. In other words, they are helpful to the researcher and they constitute a very familiar setting for the involved actors – journalists.

Although one can find numerous typologies of interviews in any qualitative research handbook (see, for example,Burgess, 1995), we will merely mention the types we have used and briefly expose the reasons for such usage.

The most common type in the scope of our research has been the the open-ended (sometimes also described as semi-structured) interview. It departs from a set of specific questions yet it opens up to any kind of response and sometimes branches out accordingly (perhaps the one closer resembling normal journalistic inquiry).

Other interviews conducted during our study would fall under a diferente categorisation, closer to a type often designated as conversational interviews or unstructured interviews – 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess, 1995: 101-122). The broad goal of the conversation was previously established yet questions apart from the initial one would derive from previous answers.

Interviews which happened during the course of newsroom observation were undoubtedly influenced by some issues raised during that information gathering task. The circular nature of ethnomethodological research is, once gain, marked by such occurrences.

As reiterated by literature and confirmed through our own experience, face-to-face interviews are highly valuable and reliable mechanisms to gather information. Inter-personal communication gets us closer to some sort of momentary truth when trying to assess a consistent understanding of a specific social reality; answers are complemented by hesitations, variations in the tone of voice, silences, facial expressions, and gestures to help us compose a rich and contextualized account of the provided information.

At the onset of our project, we have undertaken exploratory interviews with editorial management staff – editor-in-chief, deputy editor-in-chief and online newsroom editor – mostly to understand the main goals of the new online project. They were based on a set of basic topics yet they were mostly unstructured.

Semi-structured interviews were, at a later date, conducted with those same actors, editors from print newsroom beats which established greater immediate contact with the new online news production, heads of technical and digital marketing operations and one member of *Controlinveste*'s board of administrators.

4.1.3   Questionnaires

Despite their potential, face-to-face interviews are not an adequate method to gauge the opinions of large numbers of people on specific issues. The questionnaire, thus, constitutes an option when faced with precisely such a challenge. In some cases they are even the only feasible way to reach a number of subjects large enough to allow statistically analysis of the results.

Choice of the questionnaire, in our particular case, seemed to meet two important criteria: it was the quickest and more efficient (in terms of time and resources) way to gather the required information and it – if administered under the right circumstances – ensure confidentiality and protect the privacy of respondents.

In the course of this work we have used this tool in two different occasions, through different means, and with different objectives.

At the onset of our work we sought to gather basic socio-demographic information on the whole newsroom (print and online) whilst also attempting to gather answers to questions relating to journalists overall perceptions on the upcoming changes. We specifically wanted to know if journalists showed themselves ready to do more work, to change their working hours, and to increase their relation with the audience.

A initial questionnaire, parcially inspired by an earlier survey of journalists' opinions in 14 Portuguese newsrooms (Obercom, 2006), was developed and pre-tested with journalists from other newsrooms. A detailed e-mail message was sent to the deputy editor-in-chief with the intention of being forwarded to all journalists. The said message presented the researcher, the broad lines of the research and the rationale for the questionnaire which would be handed out in the newsroom in the following days.

After receiving confirmation that information had been passed on to all, the final and revised version was delivered in hand by the researcher to 86 journalists of *Jornal de Notícias*' main newsroom during the course of three consecutive mid-week working days: 27-30 November 2007. Choosing mid-week days had the purpose of reaching the biggest possible number of journalists and opting for consecutive days aimed at reinforcing the 'polite urgency' of the task. Questionnaires were handed in with a small introductory conversation which also helped in securing a possible delivery time; if and when completed all questionnaires were introduced directly by journalists into a 'one opening only' sealed box. The cardboard box was deliberately not small and was ostensively 'walked' through the newsroom by the researcher in hope of more

completions. The box was only opened in the following week away from the newsroom. Out of the 86 questionnaires 65 were accounted for as valid (a return rate of 75.5 per cent).

O que penso do JN online?
Inquérito UMinho/JN

Figure 5 :: Users' questionnaire banner

The second questionnaire started to be prepared in January 2009 and ensued from the idea that roughly one year after the beginning of the new online news operation it would be relevant to assess the opinion of users. We wanted to know who they might be, where they lived, what type of frequency of acess to *jn.pt* did they have, and in what ways did they get involved with the online news production.

A proposal was made to the editorial managers of *Jornal de Notícias* in March 2009 and it was accepted under the condition that gathered data would also be made available to the company's editorial structure. The researcher accepted the condition given that it would not hinder the ultimate goal of the initiative. After pre-testing with a group of university lecturers and students (all admittedly regular users) a final proposal was made available through a well known open source tool, Limesurvey[35], with data gathering being made at a *Universidade do Minho* based web server.

Jornal de Notícias agreed to have a distinctive banner in its homepage, in secondary pages, and in all news items. As far as we can recall this was the first time that an academic research project was able to promote such a task on a large scale commercial online news outlet in Portugal. The users' questionnaire was available on *Jornal de Notícias* from the first minute of April 27th 2009 through to 6.30 p.m. of May 4th 2009. Data collection was temporarily unavailable due to technically related issues during some 18 hours on April 29th.

Data was collected from 338 valid answers (113 questionnaires were not finished).

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[35] http://www.limesurvey.org/

Figure 6 :: Homepage and news item page samples showing the user's questionnaire banner

4.1.4   Documental analysis

Document analysis continues to be an absolutely fundamental research method is social sciences. Although for different reasons, this method was critical for our work from the early stages up until the very end. In our particular case, documental analysis consisted on the systematic mapping of the literature on broad areas of inquiry like social transformations induced by digital communications, journalism and convergence, journalists attitudes towards digitalization promoted professional changes, and on the newsroom as privileged observation point for mostly ethnographic inspired analysis.

Most of our work was done in libraries and online data bases – a key tool for accessing recent papers on digital versions of traditional journals, free access online journals and university repositories. The state of the art has helped us during the formulation of the research project and to define more clearly the research question. Although we have worked more intensively on documental analysis during the first stages of the Ph.D. programme, triangulation was necessary through the entire process.

In addition to books and written papers, we have also examined numerous reports on matters related to our inquiry (namely those produced in Portugal by Obercom) and we have gathered detailed information on *Controlinveste* and *Jornal de Notícias*' activities published in other media (newspapers, online editions) and in weblogs (spaces maintained by journalists were especially scrutinized for references). We have systematically collected data from Marketest's 'Netscope' ongoing web traffic rankings.

These informations allowed us, in the initial stages of our work, to have a wider understanding of the object of study and, during the observation period, helped in framing conversation opportunities.

Internal documents, mostly pertaining to production routines of *Jornal de Notícias* online operation, were also collected.

During the observation period photographs were taken, to illustrate routines and provide the researcher with interesting visual annotations of the working space, and printscreens were made of relevant news items, homepages, and specific initiatives.

Figure 7 :: The online newroom – old space / new space

Documental analysis was transversally relevant to our project. Based on the research and critical thinking of numerous authors, we were able to develop our own thinking about changes in the journalistic arena, we managed to put forward new research questions, we have imagined methodological possibilities and, when the first results were available, we could cross-examine and challenge some of the views. The existing literature – understood in an encompassing sense – has thus contributed to organize our own thoughts and it has helped us to identify the gaps and shortcomings of the field.

5   A project for change

The purpose of this chapter is to present the environment and historical context which enveloped *Jornal de Notícias*' new online venture.An historical Portuguese newspaper, with an image built over more than one hundred years under specific conditions and with specific objectives; a pioneering bold online experience which did not evolve; finally, a newsroom, aware of this history and with a very peculiar 'acquis' in terms of online possibilities perception.

Figure 8 :: Jornal de Notícias front pages – 120 years between them

5.1 An historical reference with an established market position

Following the 1974 coup d'etat, Portuguese media underwent significant changes. Major newspapers, like *Jornal de Notícias* and *Diário de Notícias*, were nationalized, and the State's right to pre-censor was abolished and a fierce confrontation for the control of the most important

media had just started. Among the so-called 'winners' of the revolution there were very different sensibilities and as such reaching a consensus on what role the media should play was near to impossible. Mesquita identified three conflicting tendencies in the aftermath of the revolution:

1) Inheritors of the old regime, trying to delay the dismantling of censorship mechanisms, favourable to *a posteriori* censorship;

2) Defenders of revolutionary Marxist ideas, also favourable to *a posteriori* censorship;

3) Adherents of a pluralist concept of the media, based on a Western model of democracy. This faction argued for the abolition of any form of censorship mechanisms, defending that the courts would be the appropriate stage for media disputes (Mesquita, 1994).

These tendencies – their relative strengths, their changing nature, their interplay – would shape the creation of new legislation and the institution of a Press Council which would determine the shape of Portugal's media until the mid 1980's. As Sousa indicates, "this aspect suggests that the authoritarian nature of the provisional leftist governments suited the newly created democrats. Despite the 1976 Constitution (with its impressive display of civil liberties), no elected government was prepared to grant freedom to the press. Generally, following the political measures introduced during the revolutionary period, politicians from all affiliations have not openly designed media policies but have merely taken the necessary steps to ensure that the nationalised media would be favourable to those in power" (Sousa, 1996).

Economic, political, and technological developments in the mid-1980's pushed for change. At the European level, a series of strong conservative governments (UK, Germany and France) set out to enforce liberalization policies based on the reduction of state ownership or control and on ensuing privatization of markets. The technological 'card' was used emphatically; the development of satellite and optic fibre and the subsequent convergence of distribution technologies led to a proliferation of European satellite TV channels, which was used as a political argument to break up the national broadcasting monopolies (radio and television). These developments were coincidental with Portugal adherence to the EEC, in 1986, and with the election of its first majority government since 1974, in 1987. The ensuing (mostly EEC fueled)

economic boom gave way to a substantial increase in advertising revenue which grew eight-fold between 1986 and 1994 (Sousa, 1996).

This ebullient and attractive growth allowed for the appearance of new newspaper projects – *O Independente* and *Público* – which thrived on presenting an autonomous position in the market; this, in turn, made it much more difficult for the government to control potentially damaging information. It should be noted in fairness that ideologically the majority social democrat government was itself partial to liberalization as a strategic goal. Change was much more conditioned by the choice of future private owners than by any specific attachment to state ownership.

As Sousa puts it, in Portuguese recent history, "this would be the second time that a government opened up the media and picked winners. In the 1970's, Marcello Caetano tried to maintain power over the press by allowing economic groups close to the regime to own periodicals. As the country was supposedly opening up and censorship was bound to be abolished, Marcello urged economic groups to buy out newspapers. In a different context, in the late 1980's and early 1990's, Cavaco Silva chose carefully the actors which would be allowed to participate in the newly liberalised broadcasting market and privatised state press. In other words, if liberalisation and privatisation could not be avoided, the media should be in the safest possible hands" (ibid).

Governamental programmes for 1987 and 1992 were clear as to the political objectives: the nationalised press should return to the private sector, a reduced radio and television public service should continue to be provided by the state, the radio sector should be liberalised and/or privatized, a television act should be approved so that two TV channels could be granted to private operators, and the national news agency, *Lusa*, should continue to be publicly owned.

In 1991, the two most important State owned and controlled newspapers – *Jornal de Notícias* and *Diário de Notícias* – were privatized in a very controversial process; control was given to *Lusomundo*, an established media group understood to have close ties with the government.

These 'careful privatisations' (not only in print but also in the radio and television sectors) ensured the fulfillment of a liberalization agenda in tune with European *doxa* whilst allowing the

government to maintain some degree of control, via close relations with the majority of 'bid winners'.

Privatisation and market liberalisation in the late 1980s and early 1990s have created unprecedented conditions for the setting up of cross-media groups and, in fact, new actors have joined the traditional ones such as the Catholic Church and Impresa (formerly Controljornal).

As Sousa would put it, at that moment, media groups could be presented as belonging to one of three broad categories: historic actors – those involved in the media since the 1930s (the State and the Catholic Church); established groups – those somehow involved in the media since the 1970s (Controljornal, Presslivre, Projornal) and even since the 1950s (Lusomundo); and newcomers – those who have invested in media, for the first time during the 1980s and/or 1990s (Sonae, Emaudio, SOCI, FNAC,PEI, among others) (Sousa, 1996).

This design has not remained static and some changes have henceforth occurred. The state and the Catholic Church have lost media property (through privatization and selling off), and therefore political and societal power. The Catholic Church has nevertheless maintained its presence in two important areas; it still owns Portugal's most popular radio station, *Rádio Renascença*, and several hundred regional newspapers.

Putting the State and the Church aside, the most important media groups in Portugal are currently: PT Multimedia (renamed Zon), formerly part of the biggest Portuguese company Portugal Telecom; Impresa, led by the former Prime Minister Pinto Balsemão; Media Capital, controlled by the Spanish media group Prisa; Controlinveste, run by the Oliveira family and owner of *Jornal de Notícias*, Cofina whose figurehead is Paulo Fernandes, and a still somewhat shrouded in mistery Ongoing – a holding which detains significant financial participations in both Impresa and Media Capital and diversified media interests in Brazil and Portuguese speaking African countries.

PT Multimedia is the dominant actor in the cable subsector (through TV Cabo Portugal) and it is very strong in film distribution, internet and telecommunication services. Impresa and Media Capital have grounded their cross-media strategies on their national terrestrial television channels, SIC and TVI, respectively (TVI was initially attributed to the Catholic Church but it was

sold to Media Capital in 1997). Controlinveste group has the most reputable Portuguese news radio, TSF, newspapers and magazines, companies that it has aggregated to its former assets (Sport TV, a sports newspaper and a company dealing with sports transmission rights). In 2005, Controlinveste has bought two of the most important quality newspapers in the country – *Jornal de Notícias* and *Diário de Notícias* (formerly part of the Lusomundo group). Lastly, Cofina concentrated its activities in the newspaper and magazines market (Silva, 2004; Correia, 2006; ERC, 2007).

Focusing closer on the press sector, it could be said that after the 1974 revolution, Portugal has a Press Law which guaranteed freedom from all forms of censorship and dependency (Agee, 1984) yet a substancial number of newspapers had been 'transferred' to public ownership (e.g. *Capital*, *Record*, *Jornal de Notícias* and *Diário de Notícias*).The nationalised (not necessarily free) daily press played a central role as newspapers did not loose their readership and did not face any serious competition from the private sector up until the above mentioned economic boom of the mid-1980s. Unlike broadcasting, the press had been open to private initiative since the revolution but it was only after the mid-1980s that new and more critical newspapers, such as *O Independente* (1988) and *Público* (1990) were set up. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, during the majority social democrat governments led by Cavaco Silva, nationalised newspapers were, as mentioned, sold off to private initiative.

In legal terms, the Portuguese press is in line with most advanced western democracies. The existing Press law (n°2/99, revised in 2003) protects the right to publish and to disseminate information. The press market is fully open and publishers have significant guarantees. Furthermore, citizens themselves have the right to be informed. In order to ensure this right, the law does not allow for high levels of concentration (though limits are not clear), it requires that publications should have editorial statute, it guarantees the right to reply and ratification, the access to the complaint mechanism of the media regulatory body (*Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social*) and demands the full respect for journalistic deontological rules. Since 2007, it is up to the *Comissão da Carteira Profissional* (entity responsible for granting

professional licenses) to ensure the implementation of the journalists' code and to impose sanctions if and when the code is not respected. In strictly ethical terms, there is also a journalists' union ethical council which defends the journalists' code but can only impose moral sanctions (e.g. public reprehensions). Presently, there are press ombudsmen in two national daily newspapers (*Público* and *Diário de Notícias*) appointed by the respective administrations, after written agreement from the companies' respective newsroom council's.

	Mar/Abr 2011	Maio/Jun2011	Var. bimestral	Var. Exemplares	Jan/Jun 2010	Jan/Jun 2011	Var. Homóloga	Var. Exemplares
Correio da Manhã	122.004	124.152	1,76%	2.148	122.710	124.412	1,39%	1.702
Jornal de Notícias	83.536	90.797	8,69%	7.261	84.935	86.993	2,42%	2.058
Público	32.987	33.812	2,50%	825	33.039	32.549	-1,48%	-490
Diário de Notícias	28.311	34.461	21,72%	6.150	30.440	29.368	-3,52%	-1.072
I	8.262		-100,00%	-8.262	12.289	7.736	-37,05%	-4.553
Total	275.100	283.222	2,95%	8.122	283.413	281.058	-0,83%	-2.355

Figure 9 :: Circulation figures for the five national payed daily newspapers in Portugal (1st semester 2010-2011)

The current newspaper daily market (Figure 9) is occupied by five national generalist dailies (*Correio da Manhã*, *Jornal de Notícias*, *Público*, *Diário de Notícias* and *I*), five weekly generalist newspapers and news magazines (*Expresso*, *Sol*, *Visão*, *Sábado*, *Focus*; '*O Independente*' was closed down in 2006), three daily sports newspapers (*A Bola*, *Record*, *O Jogo*) and five economy newspapers (*Diário Económico*, *Jornal de Negócios*, *Semanário Económico*, *Vida Económica*, and *Oje*). Free newspapers experienced a boom in the middle of this century's first decade yet from a maximum total of five titles only two remain active – *Destak* and *Metro*.

In order to have a comparative perspective on newspapers circulation, Obercom analysed countries with equivalent or lower figures in terms of population (Greece, Belgium, Check Republic, Hungry, Sweden, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Leetonia and Luxemburg). Within the context of these countries, Portugal had the lowest statistics both in terms of daily circulation (570.000) and in terms of average circulation per adult population (68,8 copies per 1000 people). Looking at weekly circulation, figures were even more disappointing: circulation of 347.000 and an average of 41.8 copies per 1000 inhabitants. With the exception of Greece for daily newspapers, Portugal had the lowest circulation of newspapers per 1000 inhabitants in the

analysed countries. In Portugal, just like in many other countries, there has been an overall slow decline in circulation figures (Obercom, 2007).

Figure 10 :: The newsroom in the late 1980's

Focusing closer still, on *Jornal de Notícias* itself, it should be said that the title was first published on June 2nd 1888 (see Figure 9).

From the very beginning up until today the newspapers headquarters and main newsroom were always located in Porto, the second most important city in the country. Like most dailies at the time, *Jornal de Notícias* was in 1888 a four-page long sequence of solid texts fitting into six columns. It was printed on 60cm x 42cm size paper and the first edition went on sale with 7,500 copies.

The origins of *Jornal de Notícias* were deeply ingrained in the political history of the country. According to Sousa, its foundation was linked with the necessity felt by a group of politicians of the Regenerador Party to found a daily paper which held their political ideals and which fought not only against Progressistas who had their main stronghold in Porto but also against dissidents of the Regenerador Party (Sousa, 1988b: 411). Although it promised from its very beginning to be a supporter of the working classes, it was merely in 1899 that its popularity boomed due to the strong defense of the city interests during the bubonic plague by fighting the central government and criticizing the coverage of the plage by Lisbon based press. From then on, Sousa argues that "the working classes started turning to *Jornal de Notícias* in moments of crisis or social unreast" (ibid: 413).

Despite its original political links, *Jornal de Notícias* managed to give voice to alternative revolutionary views hence participating in the effort to enable a smooth the transition from the Monarchy to the Republic in 1910. After the revolution of October 5th, the newspaper argued that the Republic represented 'hope for the people' (ibid: 413) yet that support was shortlived; from 1911 onwards *Jornal de Notícias* openly declare its incompatibility with the government, portrayed as "jacobine, radical, anti-religious, repressive, violent, indisciplined and, at times, anarchic" (ibid: 415).

Besides its strong attachment to regional political interests, *Jornal de Notícias* soon became the interpreter of an alternative view on sports, namely football. As Lima notes, in 1909 *JN* published news of a match between *Futebol Clube do Porto* and *Clube Internacional de Lisboa*, with two accompaning pictures filling most of the front page; "this configuration helped to ensure its place in the daily life of Porto and, gradually, also in the rest of Northern Portugal" (Lima, 2008: 317).

These indications that an alternative path was being carved out, away from direct involvement in national politics and closer to specific regional interests, was also cemented by the early decision – 1907 – to transform the newspaper into a business society, with three founding partners: José Arroio, Aníbal de Morais and Manuel Vaz de Miranda. The first decades of the new century would bring a period of less ebullient survival, compounded by the effects of a fragile national regime and World War I, yet the newspaper managed to continue and even to change its newsroom to the city's main square, in a sign of commercial prowess.

After the regime change of 1926, *Jornal de Notícias* became a supporter of the new regime, *Estado Novo*, with a series of apologetic texts and a very parcial rendering of events concerning the Spanish Civil War, for instance. This departure from its former path led to dwindling sales and following a change of editor-in-chief, in 1935, the newspaper would attempt to regain its former place in the hearts and minds of the city (Lima, 2008: 323-324).

This process of deviation from *Estado Novo* would be gradual and would involve some financial hardship yet the newspaper, under the leadership of Pacheco de Miranda, opted for an approach to the notion of a popular quality newspaper in tune with the region.Although it would exaggerated to describe it as an opposition newspaper, in view of the strong effects of

censorship, *Jornal de Notícias* has occasionally succeed in circumventing the regime's views and has expressed progressive perspectives in authoritarian times (Sousa, 1988a: 288-295).

The 1960's would be a significant decade in terms of regional and national affirmation of the title; it marked the beginning of an ascencion in sales which would take it to the first national positions in terms of circulation. In 1961, it sold 35,000 copies, in 1961, 60,000 and in 1974, 95,000. This was, for Sousa, a 'spectacular recovery' explained by a 'popular journalism' which corresponded to what the average reader, the average citizen, expected from a daily newspaper; "Systematic recourse to photogravure and to colour, the use of cartoons, the appearance of new pages, supplements and specialized features and the renewal of the front page gave the paper a new personality, a different style in presentation which was both functional and aesthetic" (Sousa, 1988b: 416).

Jornal de Notícias' welcome to the 1974 Carnation Revolution was cautious; the newspaper appealed to calm and criticized excessive behavior. After the fall of the First Provisional Government, however, the newspaper placed itself firmly on the side of the so-called 'revolutionary forces', becoming their most important paper in the North of Portugal (Sousa, 1988: 147). It was, for a period, even called the Pravda from the North (Lima, 2008: 350). The decision to nationalize a substantial part of the Portuguese economy, from March 11th 1975 onwards, put *Jornal de Notícias* (by way of the nationalization of some of its share holders) under state control, yet that fact was later played down by it's the editor-in-chief, Freitas Cruz: "in 1974 we had an administrator, a editor-in-chief and a deputy; in 1978 the same three positions were occupied by the same three people" (quoted in Lima, 2008: 356).

Nevertheless, *JN* became one of a series of media outlets where political parties (both in government and opposition) tried to influence editorial content and especially nominations for managerial positions. Manuel Ramos, editor-in-chief from 1978 onwards, was seen as 'the Socialist', and its immediate successors, Alberto Carvalho and Freitas Cruz were perceived as being closer to AD (an alliance between social democrats, Christian democrats and monarchists) – their names were rejected by the newsroom council. The following editor-in-chief, José Saraiva,

was, again, closer to the Socialist Party (he would later become a Socialist member of Parliament).

This constant interplay with political power represented, albeit in a debatable manner, an also constant retuning of the newspaper's political tendency with the majority of its support base; most relevantly, the newspaper maintained throughout the intense relation with regional matters and with regional centred sports activities and/or institutions.

This process would end in the late 1980's with the sale of *Jornal de Notícias* and *Diário de Notícias* to *Lusomundo*. From then onwards, and after a century of autonomous existence, the newspaper would have to integrate into its strategic positioning broader group considerations. These had, as we shall indicate, a significant impact on the evolution of the newspaper's first online venture and on the framing and designing of its most recent one.

5.2 The new online news venture and its setting

As we have mentioned earlier *Jornal de Notícias* was the first Portuguese online news venture. In a detailed account of those first experiences Bastos presents us with an image that, at that particular time, would not have been very different from the ones which could be observed in many other 'early adopter' cases (Bastos, 2000: 173-184). After attending a World Newspaper Congress, in the summer of 1995, the then editor-in-chief, impressed by the debates on online versions for newspapers that he had witnessed, agreed to give way to the requests made by the technical team since 1994 to create an autonomous website. The conception of the initial *jn.pt* combined inputs from some journalists and members of the newspaper design team yet the whole process was led by the technical management (Molinos, 2006: 141). Contents were put into the website on a rather informal basis for the next few months (sometimes by non-journalists), while discussions continued on the nature and purpose of the new experiment. As Bastos recalls (himself a relevant part of the process): "the profile of the website was reviewed during conversations between members of the technical team, journalists, designers and members of the commercial department under the assumption, right from the start, that the

online project should be visibly different from its print counterpart" (Bastos, 2000: 174). The idea was to pursue a new identity, more in tune with the new environment.

In September that same year a decision had been made – two journalists (from the 'Politics' and 'National' beats) were assigned to work exclusively on the online project and they were in charge of an edition which, besides transferring some of the printed newspaper contents before the start of every new day also provided for a real update at around 5 p.m. (mostly based on news wire material) and for the maintenance of non-print related areas of the site. These were introduced gradually and soon gathered significant user interest, namely the thematic forums which were never more than four at a single time. User interaction was mediated – messages were sent via e-mail, evaluated by one of the journalists, and then published. This crass interactivity was extended to other areas, like 'JN corner', 'Let it out', 'Your news' or 'Talent's door' (ibid: 177). It is interesting to note that those responsible for the online project had been taken in by some of the more utopian postulations on online journalism and were acting accordingly; attempting to create an area which maintained a link to the 'mothership' whilst exploring new possibilities and especially inaugurating a closer relationship with a new and less geographically bound audience. If observed from a distance and theoretical discussion notwithstanding, it could be said that it was a bold proposal, at a period, we must remember, when most of the newsroom had not yet heard of the internet and – as Bastos bluntly puts it – was rather "baffled by the whole thing" (ibid: 175).

This rather shy and cautious position of the newsroom towards the novelty was perhaps explained by the combination of two factors: the lack of managerial information regarding the strategic decision and the lack of any pedagogical programme to explain the new digital environment and its possible professional usages. As Bastos notes, "the ice was not broken for months and even when it started to happen it did so at a very timid pace" (ibid: 162-163).

Some three years later, *Jornal de Notícias* maintained a substantively very similar presence in the online environment and the only significant changes had happened in the adherence of the print edition newsroom to the opportunities provided by the internet.

It would be relevante to notice, at this point, that the online journalists never left the physical newsroom area having instead been given a 'spot' in the layout, much in the manner adopted to distribute thematic beats. Hence, their continued effective presence kept them in visual reach of everyone else and singular actions of assistance in information gathering contributed to the sustained merger of their 'existence' into a new naturalized newsroom 'order of things'.

Journalists, from some beats more than from others (namely from Sports), had gradually integrated into their routines a visit to the online section's computer (by then the only one linked to the exterior) to search for relevant additional information or to contact sources via e-mail. By July 1998 management had decided to install three more internet access terminals in the newroom and an additional one in the archive. In any case, as Bastos point out, out of 70 newsroom journalists at the time only 12 used the internet on a regular basis without assistance from their online counterparts.

Recalling these past events could be seen as unnecessary given the focus of out study. We nevertheless tend to think otherwise. Some observations point us in very interesting exploratory directions, namely on the top-down innovation implementation strategy, on the under estimation of journalists potential interest in them, on the more-or-less haphazard adoption processes, on the relation between online and off-line journalists and even on the apparent propensity of some sections to be, in the newsroom context, earlier adopters of some new technology / newsgathering process.

At *Jornal de Notícias* the adoption of online journalism was much bolder as a projection than as an implemented process. It was, at the onset, an editorially fueled idea, rather than a business inspired decision. Its 'newsroom floor' beginnings did not, however, turn it into a newsroom issue; it ensued from the discussions of a few and was never fully explained to the rest. A parallel process of internet adoption for print journalism purposes evolved in an incremental and unplanned manner giving it a bottom-up substance which, in turn, might have contributed (along with the maintenance of online journalists in the main newsroom space) to a greater acceptance of the whole online journalism project.

In a later external observation of *Jornal de Notícias* online presence, Neto would present us with an image of a venture which seemed as it had stoped in time. No doubt influenced by some of the earlier mentioned corporate movements and strategic decisions, *jn.pt* would merit in 2003 a very unequivocal overall evaluation: one single daily update, minimal usage of non-written material, very few interactive features – "Jornal de Notícias strategy seems to be geared towards benefiting its dominant position in the print market" (Neto, 2005: 1165). The same author would, in a global appreciation of the business side of online journalism operations in Portugal, state that digital editions attributed less space to advertising than its print counterparts (the estimated ratio was 3.5 to 1) and a substancial part of it came from cross promotions within the same media group, *Lusomundo* (by then the owner of *Jornal de Notícias*) being the most notable case: "it signals a strong interest in using them as showcases for other groups products" (ibid: 1164).

At that moment in time, the online journalists no longer shared the same physical space with their print counterparts and changing either product or production was a notable non-priority in the bigger strategic design of the telecommunications holding under which the title lived until its acquisition by *Controlinveste* in August 2005[36].

The same could, in any case, be said of what happened for a while longer. Having acquired a group of media outlets for a price which was considered by some above market value (Ferreira, 2007), *Controlinveste*'s list of priorities did not, for some time, include a wager on digital communication enhanced journalism activities, rather involving changes in the editorial management and internal structures of some outlets (Marcela, 2007a), design reformulations of print products, the implementation of a series of mid-management units transversal to all the group, and the launch, in September 2007, of *Global*, the first new title of the group, a free daily based on a mostly synergistic approach to internally produced news content. At the launch event, the president of *Controlinveste*, Joaquim Oliveira, would present the group's immediate strategic goals: "we will try to have a third 'SportTV' channel and we are studying the possibility of a new

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[36] The transition had its first decisive steps in March 2005 yet it only became effective in August (Santos, 2005) and it had an estimated cost of 300,4 million euros (http://tek.sapo.pt/noticias/negocios/pt_vende_lusomundo_a_controlinveste_por_300_m_875675.html, accessed on 2011-04-12).

newspaper" (quoted in Marcela, 2007a). At a later date, in November, during a meeting of the group's top editorial and business managers, Oliveira would add new details: the group intended to start SportTV3, to apply for one of the licenses of the forthcoming digital terrestrial television set up, to launch new thematic radio channels under the TSF banner, to launch a new newspaper, to start distribution of Global in the country's second largest city, Porto, and to promote the renewal of the online journalism projects of *Diário de Notícias*, *Jornal de Notícias* and *TSF* (Marcela, 2007b). In a personal message to his team of collaborators, made available in a document distributed at the event, Oliveira would say: "Given the challenges that we face and in the name of rationality we have changed work methods and teams, we have discontinued products, we have created new ones, and we have requalified the rest. We will soon launch more and we will have a greater presence in multimedia and in other platforms" (Controlinveste, 2007: 1).

Observing in detail the said document we can easily identify some of the groups underlying ideas for the future – team-work, partnerships, synergy, and preparation for new business opportunites in digital environments. It is worthy of note that, taken as a whole, these proposed lines of action were pretty much in sync with what were the broad precepts of a substantial part of the literature on newspaper management and business.

A strategy report by the World Association of Newspapers, called 'Profiting from Digital', would say in 2004 that publishers should think hard about what news meant in an 'activity rich, time-starved world'. Media consumers (no longer readers, but also not users) were – the text said – only willing to pay for four things: "to be entertained, to be more secure or healthy, to enjoy a material benefit, or to save time", and as such publishers should strive to adapt, "replacing classified advertising with auction and transaction models, general news with more niche content, and the more serendipitous content with more instant gratification" (WAN, 2004: 33). The report concluded: "The biggest barrier to progress remains in the heads of employees and managers who are determined to keep our traditional values alive, despite the fact that new media are setting very different rules of engagement and consumer expectations regarding content" (ibid.).

A later study undertaken by IFRA[37], based on answers of publishers from all continents, would note that they feared the volatility of their markets, the decreasing revenues and increasing technology related costs. They were particularly focused on TV and on the internet, considering mobile technologies as the least important threat. They considered that an increasing part of their revenues should, in the future, come from advertising on the internet and on free dailies (the majority of respondents thought their companies would achieve 10 per cent to 20 per cent of their revenue share thorugh these media) thus signaling an important shift from a circulation based strategy to a 'multiple outlet' adversting one. Significantly, the study indicated that cost reduction was fuelling more cooperation between publishers although it noted incongruence between respondents' belief in increased future cooperation in content generation and distribution and the reality of increased cooperation mostly on advertising. The report hence noted: "This reveals a non-clear operationalization of the companies' strategy and way of thinking. The increasing cooperation in distribution and content generation could allow newspaper publishing companies to decrease costs and therefore have more resources available to foster innovations" (IFRA, 2006: 26).

In short, this was an understanding centred on cost reductions and on the development of new business models which might include the sharing of content production and distribution. It warned against 'old thinking' and against 'keeping traditional values alive', somehow fitting in with a preferred description of journalism as a 'market-driven' activity (Cohen, 2002) and of journalists as 'knowledge workers' (Quinn, 2002; Mosco, 2005b; McKercher, 2008) or as free-wheeling "rational actors seeking to promote their own interests, reacting to material and non-material incentives and rewards" (Fengler, 2008: 682). Its development seemed to mix a reaction to the unfulfilment of the over-optimistic 'paradigm of promise' envisaged at the end of the last century (Eisenhart, 1994: 267-269) with a inconsistent understanding of the potential behavioural changes induced by new social appropriations of technology (Corrêa, 2003: 148-150).

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[37] IFRA resulted from the fusion in 1970 of the International Newspaper Colour Association (INCA) and the Fédération Internationale des Editeurs de Journaux (FIEJ). In 2009 IFRA joined WAN to form WAN-IFRA, the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, representing more than 18.000 publications and 15.000 online news sites (http://www.wan-ifra.org/about-wan-ifra, accessed on 2011-07-25).

Being the powerful construct that it was – and an appealing one at that namely for a managerial culture averse to the specificities of news related businesses – it was nevertheless accompanied by cautionary voices; referring in 2006 to the broad problems of the newspaper industry, Picard would posit: "solving this will call upon levels of creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship infrequently found in newspapers in recent years" (Picard, 2006: 10). In subsequent years the same author would clarify its position by arguing that shifting attention from content to sales and marketing, or diversifying into multiple operations was perhaps a short- and mid-term solution but it would not sustain news organizations in the long run because they missed the most important – the creation of significant new value. As the reputed author would see it that should entail emphasizing journalism and news processing, providing users with distinctive content ("salvation from the flood") and opportunities for participation (Picard, 2010a; Picard, 2010b).

Despite this, *Controlinveste*'s position treaded, as mentioned earlier, the most common ground. In February 2008 a new Head of the Multimedia and Electronic Business transversal unit would be announced (Marcela, 2008b) reporting directly to the group's administrator in charge of technology, data processing, information, and archive. The new manager, Nuno Ribeiro, talking in September 2008, would say that his unit's objective was to provide *Controlinveste* with the capacity to evolve in new businesses and to devise operational and strategic synergies, both in internal projects and through partnerships: "we must stop with the 'everyone-for-himself' idea within the group; individual initiatives have been developed but in a unarticulated manner and we now want to stimulate transversal learning about shared realities"[38]. With a staff of one at the beginning of 2008 and a predicted staff of 12 by years-end the new unit presented itself as part and parcel of a programme of 'people and change' management. Aware of the potential for resistence ("I find it at all levels – editorial, commercial, marketing"), Ribeiro would nevertheless state that "strong and serene" steps would be taken; "this initial step is the most delicate – we have to bring people on board; as time goes by everything else will gradually become more natural; it's like a waterfall".

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[38] Interview at JN's newsroom on 2008-09-16.

The same notion of incremental tendency towards greater synergy within the group would be stressed by Administration board member, Gabino Oliveira. During an interview, in December 2008[39], he would indicate that the decision to expand the e-Business operation almost in tandem with the process of online presence renewal was part of that overall strategy: "we wanted to have the commercial end of the operation in place and prepared to help newsrooms; we want this cooperation to extend. Synergy is a natural condition for a group like ours". Looking forward into the future, Oliveira would say that cross-production of brand-less contents would start, that solutions for autonomous production of thematic contents would be studied (namely in areas like Sports and Economy), and that part of the online contents would evolve into some sort of payment model. One clear idea appeared to underly these decisions: "a substantial part of our future endeavours will have to expand beyond core journalism activities".

The new online news project was not perceived as an immediate return financial venture; "investments were thought of according to the dimension of each project – we acquired equipments and hired according to previously set goals. We will continue to invest in this area in 2009 and from then on we expect to start experiencing some returns (...) obviously we want costs to be inferior to revenues but we hope to have a 'floating ship' in two years time". During the same conversation, Oliveira would estimate that a good e-Business return in five years time would be "something like 15 per cent of total news operations revenues".

The transversal nature of the e-Business unit and the intention to broaden revenue sources beyond the bounds of the ongoing deal with *sapo.pt* would become very explicit in at least three relevant operations: 1) in September 2008 *Controlinveste* entered a deal with the Swedish company *PowerChallenge* for the inclusion of two soccer related games on its sites (*Power Soccer* and *Manager Zone*, both with recorded numbers of around 20.000 users a month later and with two ingame advertising deals) ; 2) in February 2009 *Controlinveste* would enter a partnership with four other national media groups (*Media Capital*, *Cofina*, *Impresa*, and *SonaeCom*) and *Portugal Telecom* (via *Sapo*) to use a shared contextual advertising platform in

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[39] Interview at Controlinveste's head office on 2008-12-03.

order to counter *Google* (the platform allows for personalisation and, according to the head of the e-Business unit, it brings in a higher degree of transparency: "we never knew what were *Google*'s revenues and how it shared them") ; 3) from March 2009 *Controlinveste* became the exclusive commercial representative of *CBS Interactive* for Portugal .

Figure 11 :: Controlinveste's shared contextual advertising

As revealed by Nuno Ribeiro in a subsequent conversation, *JN online*'s revenue for the second semester of 2008 represented an increase of 53 per cent over the first one. Furthermore, the *PowerChallenge* deal alone (with the ingaming sponsorships) represented more than the whole *JN online* revenue for 2008[40].

[40] Non-presencial (telephone) interview on 2009-02-27.

Some of the mentioned envisaged future gradual changes were notably within the confines of editorial policy – sharing information, sharing newsgathering teams, sharing contents, and even creating transversal content units.

"I understand the fears of identity loss yet we will not take any risks if things are done well", said Gabino Oliveira. According to this *Controlinveste* administrator, "there are no 'one-fits-all' solutions but we want to tread this path". Nuno Ribeiro shared the same broad idea: "I find it normal that excerpts of sound from TSF find their way into JN or DN platforms and that, for instance, JN and DN share photographic assignments and contents (...) it is still possible to ensure differentiation whilst maximizing resources".

This brief account of both *Jornal de Notícias'* earlier online experiences and of the business context under which the new venture would emerge is relevant because, as Boczkowski would put it, 'the past survives in the future'. This operative framework undoubtedly played a role in actors' decisions, their mutual interactions, and influenced production options and eventually production outcomes. Its broad outline could be summed up by these annotations:

1) In a process which might have some similarities with the 'adoption of videotext' initiative in North-American newspapers in the first half of the 1980's (Boczkowski, 2005: 70), *Jornal de Notícias'* first online experience could be described as both a success and a failure; success in the sense that it helped to appease fears of the 'death of print' and failure in the sense that not having been able to built a substantive alternative role, online journalism was, for a long period, considered as little else than a platform for cross-promotion;

2) The initial online project was created, developed, and implemented by the joint efforts of editorial and technical managers; it was, if we take the telecommunications group where *JN* was integrated at the time as a whole, a somewhat bottom-up initiative;

3) The initial project had strong affinities with some of the most prominent theoretical discussions on what should online journalism be (Pavlik, 2005), yet it was not fully

explained to the newsroom; approximation (and perhaps greater acceptance) would come via online journalists perceived utility as 'online information gatherers';

4) The new online project is part of a larger tranversal group level strategy; notwithstanding editorial initiatives to create autonomous and distinctive new online presences, the thrust of the initiative was top-down and presumed a new level of interaction with newly created transversal units within the group;

5) The overall strategy of the group was in accordance with the behavior of similar operations in other parts of the world and also in tune with business guided theoretical discussions on the matter of 'adapting to digital communication enabled environments'.

As mentioned earlier, inside *Jornal de Notícias*' newsroom, the renovation process had begun in 2007. Newspaper correspondents had been canvassed to assess their multimedia capabilities, and the active promoter of change, deputy editor-in-chief, Alfredo Leite, had already talked to beat editors explaining them the new project and its visible effects on the newsroom structure as a whole. A document, detailing the need to reaorganize the newroom, its beats and working hours, had been sent to the Administration. In a January 2008 interview he would say: "I would like to have a central newsdesk, working on a three shift rotation, with people and capacity to deal with all types of topic events and to make a connection with the online production (...) I do not want more people, I want greater efficiency". Staff would be reduced at some thematic beats, yet that would not be felt in the overall final output: "quite the contrary; having more good and experienced people available to deal in greater depth with the issues of the moment increases our ability to cover what matters to readers/users and decreases the chances of having excellent journalists doing 'snaps' (short, mostly newswire or press release based stories)".

Discussions on the editorial objectives, structure and visual look of the new site had also been going on at a restricted level between the deputy editor-in-chief, the online editor (a sub-editor, hired in January 2008, would also join this process henceforth), the newspaper's art director and the externally commissioned website designer. A brief observation of annexes 1 through to 5 can give us a clear notion of evolution from an initial arquitecture proposal close to the older model

(forums, for instance, are still present) to a more destilled construction including 'user participation' spaces.

As the designer would describe at a later date, the site aimed at being more in tune with updated trends not only in terms of design but also usability (Vargas, 2009)[41].

In terms of overall purpose, Alfredo Leite would say that he wanted *jn.pt* to grow from a rather muted online presence to something "more in tune with its status as a respected news brand", focusing on breaking news whilst maintaining one of the traits of the paper product – a strong attachment to local information on its "natural area of influence".

In the same interview, the deputy editor-in-chief would indicate his opposition to eventual full newsroom integration – "a newsroom like that could become unmanageable" – rather preferring separate production between newsrooms with increasingly closer ties: "I would like to have a print newsroom in tune with digital news production needs and prepared to respond if and when necessary". That response – he predicted – would be enhanced by video capture and editing training scheduled to start before the new website went live.

Regarding this specific issue – newsroom integration – Gabino Oliveira would say: "I believe in the abilities of editorial managers to implement their own transition models, at their own pace; what mostly concerns me is to transmit some key business ideas to be shared by all and to ensure that we do not do more with the same resources"[42].

This development was, thus, editorially managed, which meant that within certain general restrictions each title had a large degree of autonomy. Addressing this particular issue, Gabino Oliveira would note: "each newsroom management team had the possibility to choose design and website structure in the knowledge, naturally, that the CMS would be the same for *Jornal de*

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[41] For detailed discussions on online news website design see Vargas, 2008 and Amaral, 2009.

[42] In the original:"*Com pelo do mesmo gato*" – part of a Portuguese proverb.

Notícias, *Diário de Notícias* and *TSF* and that each new functionality – irrespective of who used it first – became available to all".

Having said that, development – as part of the new strategic group plan – was to be discussed and 'negotiated' with the e-Business unit and through it with the externally commissioned content management system implementation company, *Beyond NewsGen*[43].

As Figure 12 shows, a vertical editoral structure linked the online editor, Manuel Molinos, to his supervisor, the newspapers' deputy editor-in-chief, Alfredo Leite, and on to the administrator in charge of technology, data processing, information, and archive, Gabino Oliveira. That vertical line had two hierarchically 'feasible' links to a production/implementation structure, lead by the e-Business unit. Indeed the figure clearly indicates this unit as the chosen pivot for all relevant exchange actions.

A further interesting detail to note is that the arrow between editorial and e-Business management is unidirectional (from editorial to e-Business). The clarity of this lack of reciprocity could be interpreted as an efficiency indicator or perhaps as a more complex sign of the traditional aversion of editorial managers to discuss the business side of their operations. Indeed, as Overholser posits, this long term avoidance, born out of the 'Church / State separation' principle, is still felt as part of an encompassing set of reasons: a question of loyalty (to brand or to management), an assumption of impotence ("better to buckle down and deal with it"), and a necessity to be perceived as mostly considering the interests of audiences (as opposed to impressing peers or beating the competition): "How, editors asked themselves, did one differentiate between these valid efforts to be responsive – and the marketing pressures thata were requiring them to spend more time at corporate decision-making tables than in their newsrooms?" (Overholser, 2004: 10-11).
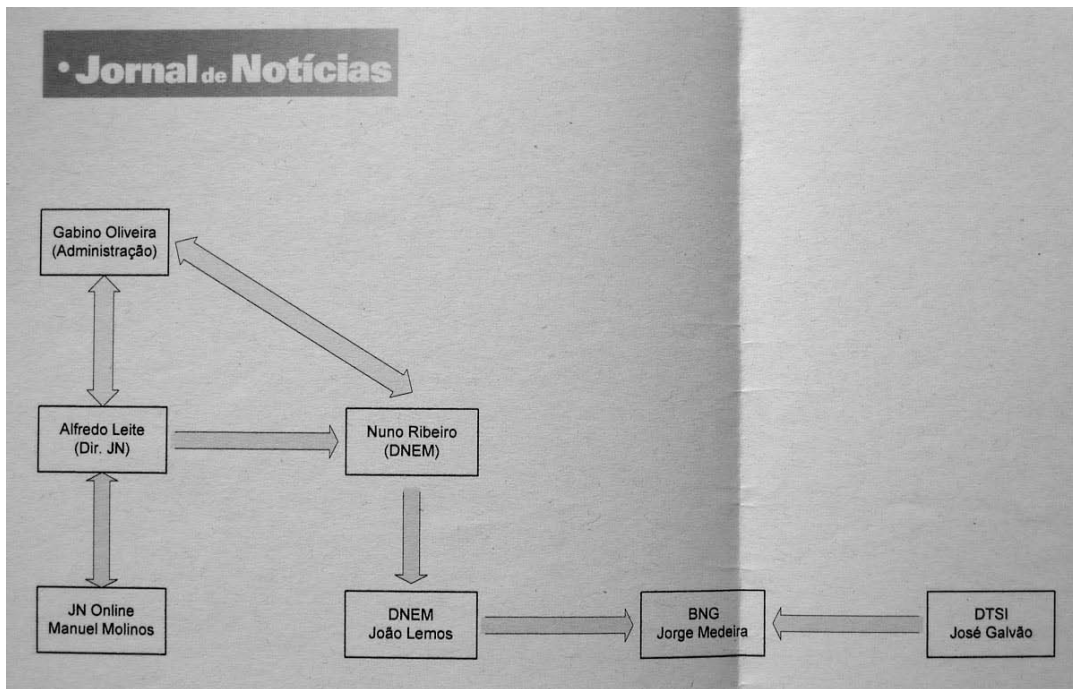
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[43] http://www.newsgen.net/

Figure 12 :: Online news website editorial and technical production workflow

By mid-May 2008 the old website started to receive less attention – minimal updates – and efforts of a growing team (five journalists and five interns) started to be directed towards 'filling' the offline version of the new project with contents trying to adhere to a new set of guidelines (Annexe 6) whilst also interacting with a new CMS.

In a significant shift, the new site would no longer publish all the content of the day's newspaper and it would loose its forums.

In terms of thematic distribution the new *Jornal de Notícias* online would also not adopt the same structure as the newspaper, with the most striking difference being the inclusion of Porto's metropolitan coverage under the broader '*País*' (Country) heading.

Figure 13 :: *Jornal de Notícias'* – the last 'old' and the first 'new' homepages

Three new user geared spaces would appear – '*Comunidade*' (Community), '*Blogues*' (Blogs) and '*Cidadão Repórter*' (Citizen Reporter) – and a Multimedia area (video, photo-galleries, infographics, audio, and special features) would also be created.

At 4.43 p.m. on May 30ᵗʰ 2008, one week after *TSF* presented its own new face (Marcela, 2008a), *Jornal de Notícias'* new project went online. Initial reactions namely on communication related weblogs were positive. Victor Ferreira would write, in his *Prometeu* that this change would

put *jn.pt* on a par with the competititon: "they were prudent, yet they added video, they radically changed news organization, and they have opened upt to the areas like infographics, for instance (...) having said that, the use of colour to highlight specific areas is a poor solution and not allowing users' comments on all stories is also a debatable decision" (Ferreira, 2008). Hélder Bastos, academic and former member of *Jornal de Notícias*' initial online team, would say, in his *Travessias Digitais*: "it is a qualitative jump (...) notorious improvements in terms of design and the incorporation of tools for social interaction. Hints of *elpais.com* in the three column arrangement and of *washingtonpost.com* in the multimedia area – it works" (Bastos, 2008a). Figures from Marktest's Netscope[44] show a significant growth in the number of visits after June 2008; whilst in early 2008 the average was circa 1.5 million per month that figure increased by almost a million in the last semester of the year.

If we make – Figure 11 – a comparative observation between the five major national daily generalist newspapers (*i* is a new newspaper, launched on May 9th 2009[45]) it becomes clear that *JN* was the only one to register such a significant increase at that moment, although relative positions have not changed as a result.

[Besides showing consecutive data between January 2008 and December 2009 our chart also presents data from three consecutive months in the middle of 2010 and 2011. Its analysis is beyond the scope of our study yet a brief observation seems to suggest that the interest in the online news production of these five established brands has increased in the last few years at a far greater pace; visits to Público more than doubled between June 2008 and June 2011 and visits to *Jornal de Notícias, Correio da Manhã*, and *Diário de Notícias* more than trebled in the same period. It should, in fairness, be noted that Portugal had general election at the beginning of June 2011 although that might have only accounted for part of the increase, as numbers for July would suggest.]

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[44] A site-centric audience measurement tool implemented in Portugal as a result of a partnership between Marktest and Weborama. The most relevant national media groups have gradually integrated the observed site listings; the inexistence of a Portuguese equivalent to the British ABCe makes this the most consensually used data by all those involved (available at: http://www.netscope.marktest.pt/)

[45] http://www.tsf.pt/PaginaInicial/Vida/Interior.aspx?content_id=1224426, accessed in 2011-07-23
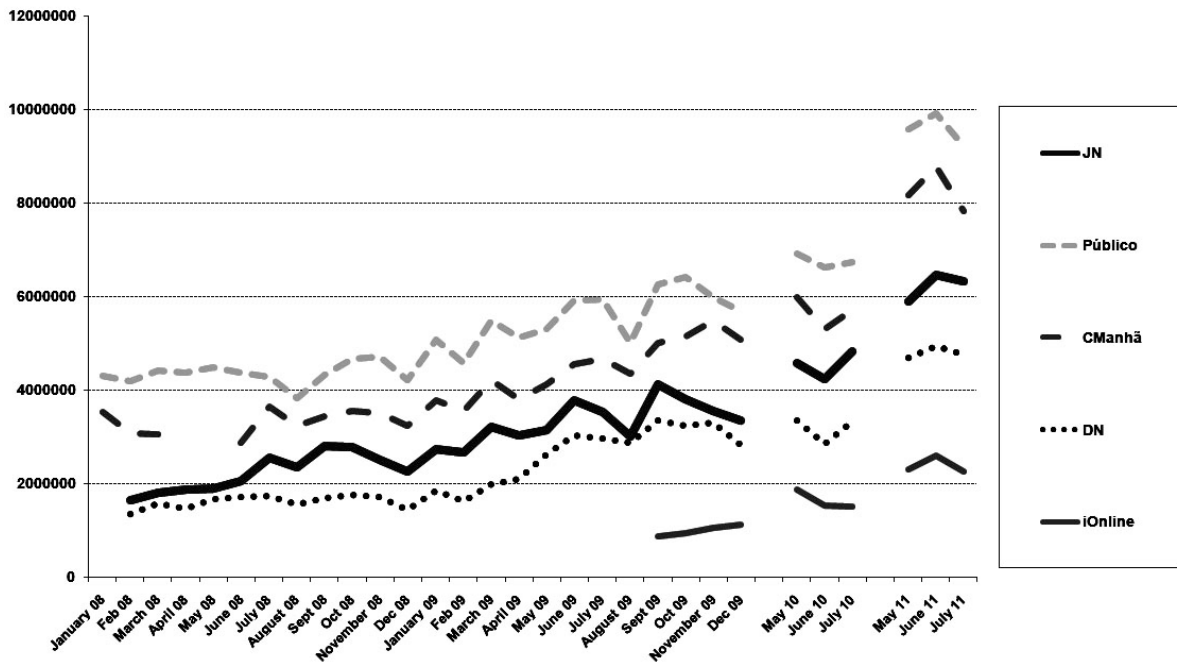
Figure 14 :: Number of visits to online news sites of five major Portuguese newspapers according to Marktest's Netscope research

5.3 Journalists and their setting

We have indicated in previous pages that *Jornal de Notícias*' main newsroom was not part of the process of creation of the initial online presence, that for years *jn.pt* was an almost entirely shovelware operation and, finally, that the new project, albeit resulting from editorial initiative, was part of a larger group strategy.

Considering these factors in sequence, rather than as isolated occurrences, might provide us with a richer understanding of the specific relation journalists developed with online news production and/or with the idea of its feasibility under *Jornal de Notícias*' specific conditions.

In order to further understand the broad professional surroundings we also find it useful to present *JN*'s newsroom in view of more general data on Portuguese journalists. A recently published study, based on data provided by the national body in charge of regulating journalists'

professional activity, the *Comissão da Carteira Profissional de Jornalista*, referring to the years 2006 and (partially) 2009, indicated that three main profile types are predominant:

1) They have entered the profession a long time ago (83 per cent did it before 1976), they have less formal education, and they constitute the majority of those in editorial management positions (3056 journalists);

2) The majority of them entered the profession between 1977 and 1986, they mostly hold an academic degree, and they constitute 45 per cent of those in editorial leadership positions (3259 journalists);

3) Most of them joined the profession after 1986, after concluding their degrees, and only a few have management responsibilities (1087 journalists) (Rebelo, 2011).

The number of journalists grew substantially between 1987 and 2004 – from 1281 to 7349 registered professionals – and appears to have peaked in 2006 (7402) before starting to decrease in 2009 to pre-2004 levels (6917).

Reporting to data from 2009, 59.3 per cent of them were women and 40.7 per cent were men (by comparison, data for the national active population would indicate a 50.5 per cent / 49.5 per cent women/men partition). More women than men have consistently entred the profession since 1997; they constitute the majority in all groups bellow the age of 35 (peaking at 61.7 per cent in the 25-29 age group).

The bulk of Portuguese journalists work for the Press (almost 4,000 in 2009), yet 127 of them mentioned 'Multimedia' as their media in 2006 and 51 did the same in 2009.

As we mentioned earlier, and within an approach which perceives newsroom observation as part of a process requiring more contextual inputs, our project included an attempt to characterize in detail *Jornal de Notícias*' newsroom and to identify its willingness and readiness to embrace the new online venture through a questionnaire. Having been handed in by the researcher to 86 journalists (out of a total of 89 journalists based in the main newsroom, as per a listing available

on 2007-11-21 – paper and online editions) on three consecutive week days in November 2007 it had 65 valid replies (Annexe 7 – questionnaire; annexe 8 – results).

The majority of respondents fit in an age bracket between 30 and 50 years – 20.5 per cent in the 40-49 group and 40 per cent in the 30-39 group – and most of them were men (58.5 per cent). A clear divergence seems to emerge between these figures and the national ones; an almost reversal in fact. As such, men also overwhelmingly held editorial management positions – 11 out of 14 respondents indicating they were editors were men. If we look at cross tabulation between sex and age groups an image more in tune with overall national data emerges – women are the majority in the two younger age groups and, in fact, they amount to one single individual from the age of 40 upwards (Figure 12).
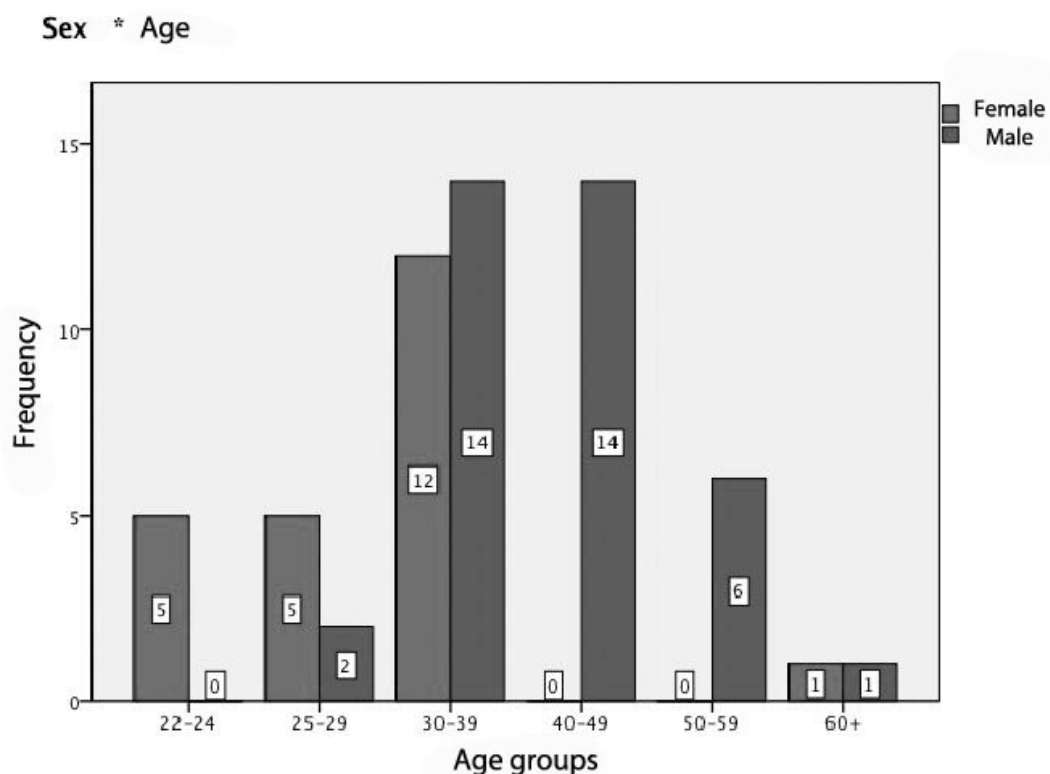

Figure 15 :: *Jornal de Notícias* journalists' questionnaire - sex/age cross tabulation

In terms of academic competences nearly half of the respondents have some type of degree – 49.2 per cent – and an additional 23.1 per cent indicated that they have frequented higher education courses. Here the division is mostly age related; higher education is much more

common below the ages of 40. Communication related degrees are held by 52.3 per cent of respondents; History and Law are distant second and third preferences, with 7.7 per cent and 6.2 per cent respectively.

In general, respondents indicated English as the most common 'read/write/speak' language, followed by French, Spanish and German. In all languages 'reading' gets higher returns than 'writing' and 'speaking'.

Regarding personal contact with digital technologies, almost all respondents said they owned a personal computer, a private mobile telephone, a digital camera, and a home internet connection. Digital sound recorders were not as popular – a little over half of respondents said they owned one.

On the subject of online non-professional publishing, 18 respondents said they had a weblog (27.6 per cent), four indicated they had a fotolog, and four others said they owned a personal web page.

Regarding the question of how many years of professional experience they have (Figure 13), a greater number of respondents filled the 10-15 category – 17. At both extremities of this group were the second and third options: 5-9 years (12 respondents) and 16-20 years (11 respondents). Only seven claimed to have less that five years of experience (six of them had less than two) and only six journalists said they had more than 30 years experience. When asked to continue the sentence "I am a journalist at *Jornal de Notícias* for..." a greater number of respondents said 10-15 years (16). Interestingly, most other respondents opted for categories with fewer years: 14 said 5-9 years, five said 2-4 years, and 10 said 0-2 years.

Looking at the answers to both these questions it becomes clear that *Jornal de Notícias* appears to have changed its newsroom substantially in the last 15 years and, to a degree, that change resulted in the entry of somewhat experienced journalists.
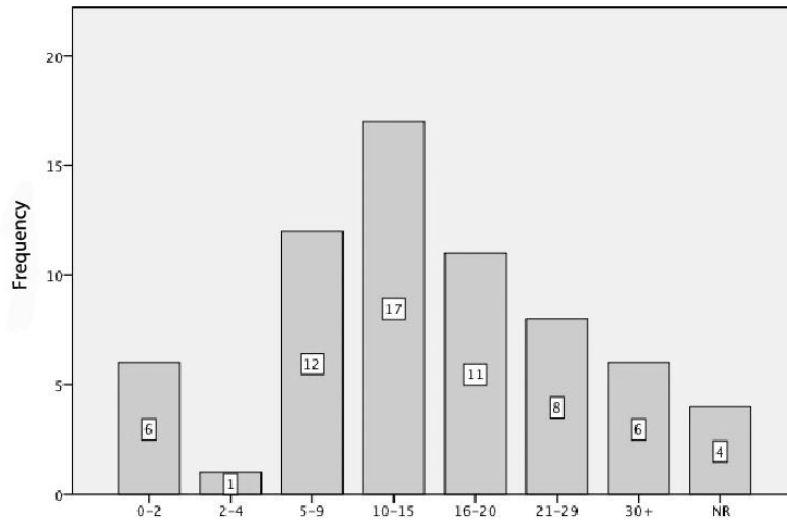
Figure 16 :: *Jornal de Notícias* journalists' questionnaire - number of years as a journalist

Out of the total 65 respondents, 20 (30.7 per cent) indicated they had previous experience in Radio and seven (10.7 per cent) indicated they had previous experience in Television.

In terms of digital communication tools used besides newspaper edition software, most respondents indicated they regularly used (categories 4 and 5) word processing, e-mail, and real time text conversation. In contrast, most of them almost never used sound, photo, and video edition software, the same happening with Voip and productivity tools.

When asked to mention what best describes the work they did, the majority of respondents – 48 – would say they worked 'exclusively for print' whilst 14 (21.5 per cent) would, to varying degrees, indicate a relation with online news production (Figure 14).

Figure 17 :: *Jornal de Notícias* journalists' questionnaire - what would best describe your activity?

On the matter of personal 'competences to deal with the internet', having to use a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 would mean 'insufficent' and 5 would mean 'excellent' no respondents filled either spaces 1 or 2; 14 journalists chose the neutral position (21.5 per cent), the majority would opt for the 'very good' (56.9 per cent) and 12 would indicate 'excellent' (18.5 per cent).

A related question, asking respondents to evaluate these perceived personal competences with the rest of the newsroom (Figure 18), having to use a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 would mean 'way bellow average' and 5 would mean 'way above average', would, again, not return any results for categories 1 and 2. Position 3 was the preferred for 21 respondents (32.3 per cent), position 5 was chosen by four (6.2 per cent) and the majority opted to indicate themselves as somewhat above the newsroom average (50.8 per cent).

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	3	21	32,3	32,3	32,3
	4	33	50,8	50,8	83,1
	5	4	6,2	6,2	89,2
	NR	7	10,8	10,8	100,0
	Total	65	100,0	100,0	

Figure 18 :: *Jornal de Notícias* journalists' questionnaire - Competences to deal with the internet in comparison with the rest of the newsroom

Most journalists said they worked on 1-4 different subjects per working day (46.2 per cent) and a relatively large group indicated that, on an average week, they would prepare 1-4 stories based on personally acquired information (32.3 per cent). It should be noted that on both these questions the number of journalists who decided not to answer was very high – 18 on the first one and 26 on the second one.

A question which asked for a pronouncement on two common definitions of journalism – 'Journalist is an information producer' and 'Journalist as the one which exercises journalism as as its main activity' (one more in tune with an operative/instrumental understanding and one other in tune with the professional definition as it appears in Portuguese Law) – provided interesting results: 1) neutral (position 3) answers were greater on the 'information producer' than on the 'doing it as a full time job' – 13 and 7, respectively; 2) opposition to the first definition was higher than to the second one – 11 and 6, respectively; 3) strongly positive adherence to the second definition (categories 4 and 5) was far greater than to the first one – 46 and 33, respectively.

Regarding the ideal level of academic education a journalist should have, respondents seemed to adhere in greater number and with more emphasis to the 'Professional traning in journalism' option than to the others ('Ba in any area', 'Ba in Communication', 'High School level education'). Opposition to holding a higher education degree as a necessity for journalists also seemed to gather high levels of support.
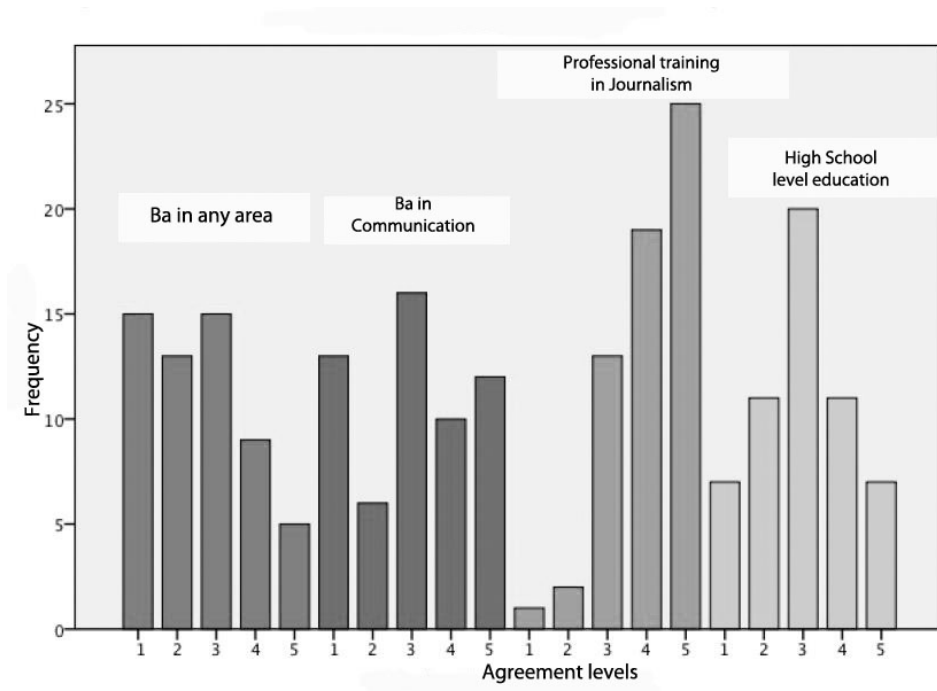
Figure 19 :: *Jornal de Notícias* journalists' questionnaire - Agreement levels on formation necessities

On a series a questions regarding *Jornal de Notícias*' online presence at the time (November 2007), where respondents were asked to chose in a scale from 1 to 5 (1 – absolutely disagree; 5 – absolutely agree), most have indicated that such presence was inadequate (63 per cent).

Quality patterns of the online production were considered bellow those of its print counterpart by 52.3 per cent of respondents. The online edition has the potential to open up areas of complementarity with the print edition for 44.6 per cent of respondents; significantly, on this question, the number of those regarding such possibility as unfeasible was also high – 27.6 per cent.

Does *jn.pt* help the brand to create a greanter audience? 20 respondents chose the neutral answer (almost on third of respondents); an equal number preferred the more optimistic 4 and 13 replied negatively (20 per cent).

On the decisive – 'Does JN online need to change?' – question respondents overwhealmingly said they absolutely agreed (69.2 per cent).

When asked to evaluate *Jornal de Notícias* in comparison with the moment they joined the newsroom, a great number of respondents agreed that it had become a better product (49,2 per cent answered 4 or 5), with a more competent newsroom (38.4 per cent answered 4 or 5).

Would that be sufficient to make it a better product than the competition? Results presented us with a somewhat undecisive yet balanced opinion: 25 respondents went for the middle ground, 15 replied negatively and 17 replied positively.

Commercial pressure was rated as higer by almost half of respondents (49.2 per cent answered 4 or 5), in a market perceived a much more competitive (69 per cent of respondents answered 4 or 5).

 On the matter of managerial competence having increased, 20 of respondents (roughly one third) chose the neutral position, 21 chose to agree or strongly agree, 13 chose negative answers and 9 decided not to respond.

Is there more news agenda bound journalism today? The preferred answer was the neutral 3 category – 24 respondents – yet sentiment towards agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement gathered more support than sentiment inclined to reject it; 22 respondents answered 4 or 5 whilst nine respondents answered 1 or 2.

The majority of journalists saw themselves as better professionals (63 per cent answered 4 or 5) in an environment where relations with sources have become less simple (23 journalists opted for the neutral answer, yet 24 showed inclination towards greater complexity, whilst only 11 indicated the opposite).

Information selection difficulties were not a consensual topic: when asked if seleccion was now easier 22 respondents opted for the neutral 3 category, 17 answered positively whilst 18 said it was less easy.

 On the issue of inter-personal relations in the newsroom, 15 respondents opted for neutrality, 13 indicated they had improved but 28 others pointed in the opposite direction.

Does *JN* now have less contact with its audience? 22 respondents agreed, 15 disagreed and 21 saw no significant change; has feedback from readers increased? 21 opted for the neutral category, 5 indicated agreement and 29 indicated disagreement.

In a more detailed series of questions regarding journalists' interaction with the internet and its effect on work routines and production, a marginally higher number of respondents thought the overall workload had increased (21 agreed or strongly agreed; 17 disagreed or strongly disagreed), and a more substantial number indicated that the internet had a direct impact on the newspaper's choice of themes (30 respondents – almost half of the total – said the agreed or strongly agreed).

The internet appears to be perceived as positive: it has helped in the organization of contents (36 favourable and strongly favourable answers) and it has allowed for more detailed journalistic treatment of issues (36 favourable and strongly favourable answers). It also gave journalists the ability to keep a closer look on unfolding events (34 favourable and strongly favourable answers) and to contact a more varied assortment of sources (45 favourable and strongly favourable answers); hence, speed has been gained (49 favourable and strongly favourable answers). Respondents were, nevertheless, somewhat more temperate when asked if the internet had improved the quality of journalism; 20 opted for neutral ground, 16 disagreed, and only 22 agreed or strongly agreed (Figure 20).

The internet has increased the quality of journalism		
	1	7
	2	9
	3	20
	4	15
	5	7
	NA	0
	NR	7
	Anulado	0

Figure 20 :: *Jornal de Notícias* journalists' questionnaire - the internet and the quality of journalism

In a group of questions based on the potential beneficial effects of the internet on journalism as envisaged mostly by the above mentioned early literature on the subject, respondents reaffirmed the following in very positive terms: increased speed (47 answered with categories 4 and 5), quantity of information (48 answered with categories 4 and 5), diversity of information (46 answered with categories 4 and 5), flexibility of time and space (48 answered with categories 4 and 5), geographical coverage (50 answered with categories 4 and 5), diversified audiences (41 answered with categories 4 and 5), cost reductions (37 answered with categories 4 and 5), and contents sharing (38 answered with categories 4 and 5).

Their positions regarding other possibilities were less exuberant.

On the matter of accuracy, 27 respondents chose to thread the middle ground, 10 noted the internet has having a positive effect, yet 22 others indicated the opposite.

On the matter of transparency, 31 opted for the neutral category (almost half of respondents), eight noted the positive effects and 19 highlighted the negative effects.

On the matter of journalistic balance, a record 42 journalists chose category 3, five have stated the internet's positive effect, and 11 chose to signal the negative.

Ease of access to sources and collaborative production were also issues where opinions varied to similar degrees towards each extreme position and on the delicate issue of 'increased contact with readers' judgements were equally split.

An attempt to gaugue relations with sources was made thorugh two groups of questions, one pertaining to frequency of usage, and one other pertaining to levels of trust.

Official sources are contacted by most respondents on a daily (29) or weekly (15) basis; 14 respondents said they contacted them five or more times a day. Interaction with institutional sources follows a similar pattern.

The personal list of contacts is used by 31 journalists (nearly half of respondents) five or more times per day; a similar pattern was noted regarding consultation of other national media.

Online editions of national and international media are broadly accessed; national media get five or more visits per day from 38 respondents and international media from 34.

So called web 2.0 spaces, like weblogs, Wikipedia, or news aggregators received less frequent visits from *Jornal de Notícias*' journalists and direct contact with readers was admittedly very low: 19 respondents said they never contacted readers (almost one third of the total), 17 indicated one contact per week, and 15 others said they interacted at least once a day. Only five journalists mentioned five or more daily contacts with readers.

In terms of trust, institutional sources were indicated as being more reliable that official ones, yet the most worthy of journalists' confidence were those noted in their personal contact lists; 53 respondents opted for categories 4 and 5 on the scale to classify their degree of trust in them.

Foreign media were seen as more trustworthy than national media; online national editions were somehow slightly more reliable than their printed counterparts and the opposite happened when evaluating international media.

Weblogs were seen as mostly unreliable (40 respondents mistrust them), on a par with forums, newsgroups and chats. Wikipedia somehow seemed to be seen as a more reliable source. Evaluating readers as sources, 21 respondents opted for a neutral position, whilst 24 showed their mistrust and only 10 considered them reliable.

The last three groups of questions were destined to assess journalists' ideas on what should a good online edition have, on the level of their personal involvement with *Jornal de Notícias*, and on their degree of agreement with some common 'catchphrase ideas' about journalism.

What should a good online edition have then? Most respondents believed it should be permanently updated (59 answered 4 or 5 – full agreement and absolute agreement), it should have an open archive (47 answered 4 or 5), its visual identity should be close to that of its print counterpart (37 answered 4 or 5), hiyperlinks should exist on all news stories (43 answered 4 or 5), journalists' e-mail should be included in news sories (48 answered 4 or 5), and video and audio should be plenteous (45 answered 4 or 5).

Answers were less exuberant on other possibilities. For instance, comments on all news stories gathered support (34 respondents answered 4 and 5) yet the number of those with no fixed opinion was 17 and of those opposed was 11. Linkage to documents used in news stories was favoured by 31 respondents, yet 14 showed themselves undecided and 17 showed their disapproval.

Weblogs having been described as mostly untrustworthy naturally raised some doubts as well: 23 respondents though the online news project should host readers' blogs whilst 21 thought the contrary. As to journalists' or editors' weblogs, acceptance was slightly higher: 32 though of it as a good idea, while 15 rejected them.

Focusing on journalists' personal relation with *Jornal de Notícias*, 19 respondents (almost one third of the total) agreed with the statement '*JN* does not take full advantage of my abilities'. A bigger group, of 23 others, disagreed. For the majority, though, JN was perceived as their second home (38 answered 4 or 5).

Pay was poor for 26 respondents, whilst 24 others preferred to maintain a neutral position on the matter.

Most journalists indicated that they worked for a popular (39 answered 4 or 5) quality (33 answered 4 or 5) newspaper with an unsufficient online presence (50 respondents showed strong or very strong disagreement with the statement '*JN*'s online presence is sufficent').

In any case, *Jornal de Notícias* remained mostly a print newspaper (47 answered 4 or 5) with enough economic stability to be the 'bread-winner' within *Controlinveste*; 52 respondents mentioned their strong or very strong agreement with the statement 'JN supports other companies in the group'.

According to journalists, external production of some contents should not be an option (41 respondents showed strong opposition to the idea); *JN* should invest in more journalists (35 answered 4 or 5) and should strengthen its connection to the North of Portugal (40 answered 4 or 5) whilst striving to have a solid presence on all digital communication platforms (50 answered 4 or 5).

According to journalists' perceptions, sources regarded *JN* as a credible news operation (41 answered 4 or 5) and readers trusted it (37 answered 4 or 5).

Finally, journalists showed some division when considering a response to the statement 'Multimedia journalism means cutting costs': 21 disagreed, 16 maintained a neutral position, and 26 showed their consent.

The reader's ombudsperson was not seen as a marketing initiative (40 respondents strongly rejected the proposition).

A strong majority (49 answered 4 or 5) would spare free time to learn. Regarding the possibility of working on a shift basis, 20 respondents showed strong opposition to the idea, 19 were undecided, and 19 others showed willingness to accept.

A significant number does not receive any type of contact from readers who are viewed by some as having a partial notion of themes (29 respondents remain neutral on this statement, yet 22 agree or strongly agree, against 11 who disagree).

Personal publishing is changing journalism? Mixed responses on this one: 16 respondents disagree, whilst 30 agree or strongly agree.

The internet, according to most respondents, does not dilute the role of the journalist as a mediator (27 showed disagreements with the statement 'The internet dilutes joutnalists' mediator role'). The same number of respondents said they would like to work with different formats (15 said they did not).

On a related question, though, proposing the notion that all journalists should work for all formats, answers were significantly different: 28 disagreed or strongly disagreed, 16 remained neutral, and 19 agreed or strongly agreed.

This questionnaire's intention was to scan the newsroom in search for basic information but also – considering the above mentioned historical framework – to gauge its adherence to online

journalism and its readiness to participate in a process of change.

A brief observation of the collected data suggests some interesting markers:

1) The newsroom was predominantly masculine and also led by men;

2) The newsroom changed its composition substancially in the last 15 years; journalists with previous experience have joined the group and that fact could have induced two parallel occurrences – the erosion of a strong, print oriented, internal culture, and the lessening of an attachment to a specific idea of what online journalism is or can be;

3) Journalists seemed to show personal contact with digital technologies and formats and some of them showed the willingness to learn new skills in their spare time and to learn how to use formats other than print;

4) In line with what has been attested by other researchers (and as we have seen in a previous chapter), conservative undertones are identifiable in a few key assumptions: print is the predominant format; readers/users are somewhat biased and their inputs are not very relevant to journalistic output; online ventures should be encouraged as long as the journalist keeps its pivotal role.

5) Attachment to *Jornal de Notícias* is noticeable: references to the newsroom as a second home, to *JN*'s role as 'provider' in the group, and interest in strategic matters – what should it do and where should it invest its energies.

On a final methodological note, and benefiting from hindshight, we should admit that despite the confidentiality assurances mentioned earlier some journalists were perhaps not sufficiently convinced to the point of entrusting us with their answers on some questions. On specific issues we noticed intentional response avoidance. It could be validly argued that such is one of the risks of using a tool less dependent on the build up of personal trust as the questionnaire. It could also be said that potential problems like these, relevant as they may be, certainly fade away in the face of the positive outcomes of the endeavour. We would, in all honesty, like to believe so.

6   Observing the online newsroom

n a paper published in 1976, Altheide and Rasmussen would say: "news is defined in organizational terms by those who work on it" (Altheide, 1976: 224). Subsequent newsroom research would indeed confirm that routines and professional values and beliefs do play a central role in the process of newsmaking (Tuchman, 1972; Tuchman, 1973; Gans, 1980) yet they would also present us with a far more complex input / output scenario than Altheide and Rasmunssen's model of three contextual 'reasons': commercialism, scheduling and technology. Among others, notably absent from their construct were inter-personal relations and especially the individual journalist.

Later newsroom observations studies have added those dimensions and in some cases have given it a determining role in the unfolding of events, in the adoption of strategies, in the acceptance of technological change. A path has hence been treaded in a direction which increasingly perceives journalists not as 'unwitting pawns' (Hicks, 2008: 178) but as actors with agency, in a process much favoured by authors like Bromley, who notes: "the history of journalism is largely devoid of the lived experiences of the majority of its practitioners (...) this reduccionism has largely rendered the majority of journalists historically invisible" (Bromley, 2010: 259).

This chapter will try to address this valid concern by presenting the results of an observation of *Jornal de Notícias*' online newroom as it lived the first moments of a new project. We will attempt to provide useful annotations of what happened in a process of innovation adoption 'in the wild' where, as Boczkowski so skillfully put it, "actors were neither paralyzed by (...) tensions nor did they discard them all at once with some magic black-and-white solution". Instead, "they enacted strategies that represented various shades of grey, dealing with some issues while keeping the tension between the established ways of print and the novel possibilities of online as an ongoing background" (Boczkowski, 2005: 73-74).

6.1 The work environment

Jornal de Notícias' newsroom is located on the second floor of high-rise building inaugurated in 1971. The building stands prominently in a salient area of Porto with an ample and unabridged view over the city's centre. Locals refer to '*JN*'s building' as a visible landmark whenever they give directions to someone visiting that area.

Access to the newsroom was controlled on the ground floor; journalists had personalized security cards which activated turnstile barriers and visitors had to contact the security desk, which in turn would confirm via telephone their appointment with someone working at the company. Our daily routine included, for sometime, this process; it meant, in practice, that access to the newsroom could only happen when one of three people were working: the editor-in-chief's secretary, the deputy editor-in-chief or the online newsroom editor. After a few days, as security personnel started to recognize the researcher as 'that person from the university', the telephone call was no longer needed and access was facilitated.

Leaving the elevator grants access to a small lobby which, if we turned left, took us to a cluster of offices where the editor-in-chief and secretary work. If we chose to walk straight in the direction of an unmarked door (a journalist would later tell us that unmarked doors are a deliberate option to hamper the progression of potential intruders) we would enter the newsroom plan. It was an open plan newsroom, although it would spread from a central body into two split sub-units. In pratical terms this would mean that an encompassing view of the all newsroom was not possible from whichever place we went. Busy with their daily routines most journalists would not have face-to-face contact with colleagues other than those in their immediate desk vicinity unless they intentionally chose to do so.

One of the above mentioned branches gathered journalists working for 'Viva +', 'Culture & TV', and 'Economy', whilst the other would include journalists from the following sections: 'Sports', 'World', 'Porto', 'Country', and 'Police'. At the meeting point of these branches, 'National' and 'Society' sections would share visual space with the copydesk and agenda services with the managing editors cluster, and with photo-journalists. Even if sharing the same plan, deputy editor-in-chief and sub-editors-in-chief offices' were glassed closed divisions. The online

newsroom occupied one other closed area next to the deputy editor-in-chief's office at one corner of the main newsroom space (see Figure 21 – a hand made functional scheme of the newsroom by the deputy editor-in-chief, Alfredo Leite).
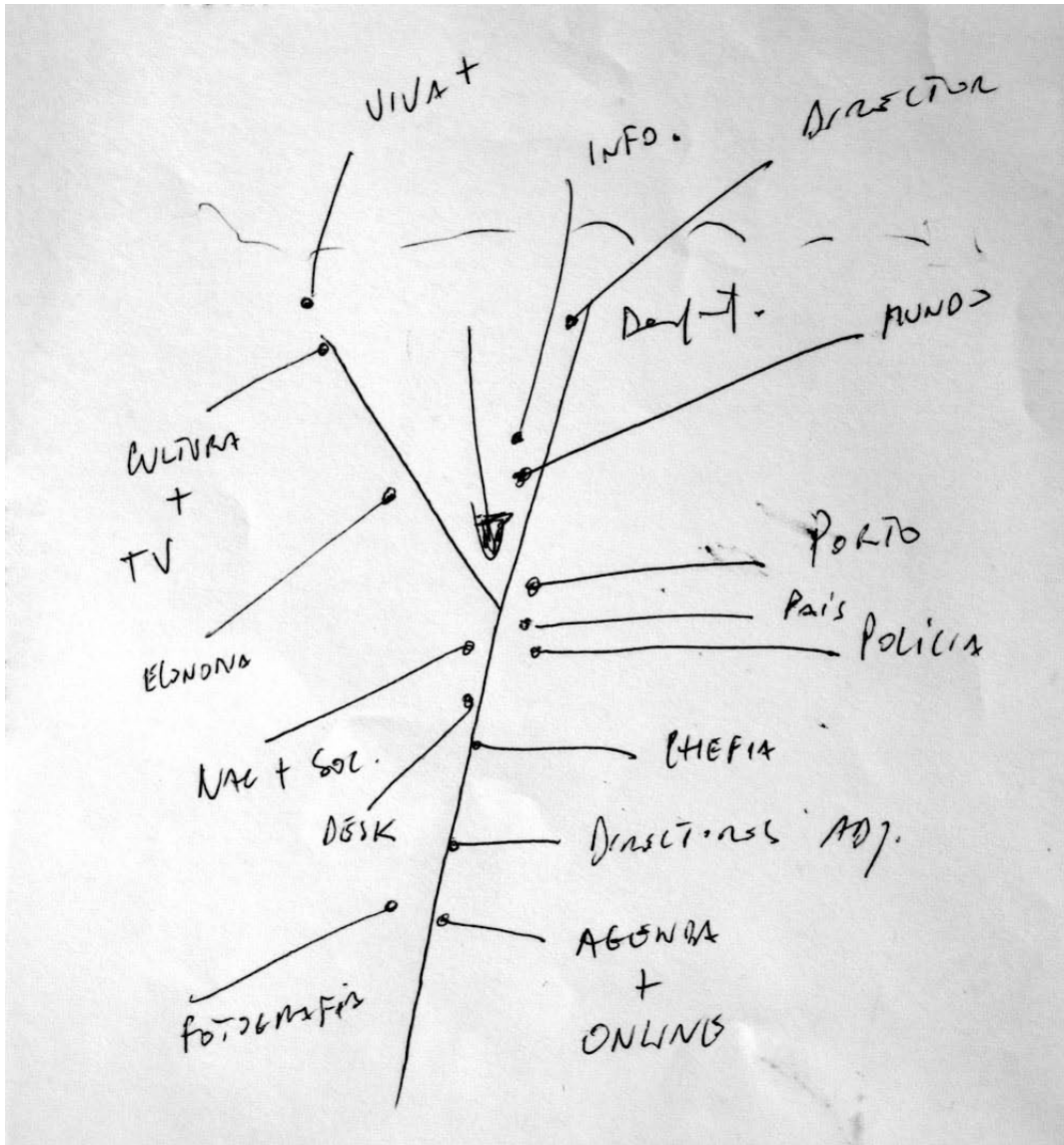

Figure 21 :: *Jornal de Notícias'* newsroom plan in May 2008

We entered the online newsroom for the first time on the morning of May 19th 2008. Having just walked through the open spaces of the traditional newsroom – where ample circulation areas around each section existed – stepping into the online room offered a contrasting experience; space was no longer an abundant commodity. In a reactangular room with no more than 30

square metres (7x4 metres, give or take a few centimeters) five people shared floor space with desks, computers, chairs, equipment cabinet and television and radio monitoring equipment. "Try to find a chair – there is always room for one more", the online editor, Manuel Molinos, noted in an amused tone. "This was fine in January but it is becoming cramped now; we have asked to change to another room a month ago but we are still waiting", he added.

In January 2008 the online newsroom had a staff of three (two in Porto and one in Lisbon); by May it had a permanent staff of five, with the additional input of interns (two of them would join the team on a more permanent basis from June onwards). In the weeks to spare until the estimated lauch date for the new online project things would stay as they were – 'cosy', as the oldest member of the staff (apart from the editor) would often say.

The level of involvement in work related tasks also seemed quite distinct. Mid-morning in a print newspaper meant that the newsroom was still 'running' at a fairly unhurried pace; journalists on morning external assignments were out and the floor presented no more than scattered signs of journalists' presence (the print newsroom only entered a period of increasing ebullience at the beginning of the afternoon). In contrast, the online newsroom presented itself to the researcher on that Monday morning with full occupancy; three staff journalists and two interns were busying away at their computers. "We have started to do minimum updates on the live site and we are now trying to fill all the wholes we still have blank in the new offline project; we are no where near having it as ready as we needed by now", said Molinos.

The mood was tense yet somehow enthusiastic. Journalists were coming to terms with the scale of some of the tasks – for instance, the plan envisaged having at least one news story from each municipality in Portugal available in the newly created 'Country' area at launch and that would mean preparing a minimum of 308 autonomous texts. "This is borderline insane", would say Augusto Correia, a senior journalist with extensive previous printed newsroom experience. A smile on his face would tell us he was, nonetheless, enjoying it. The tension was thus mixed with buoyancy, a combination which the researcher knew only too well. Portuguese journalists would call it *pica* and it amounts to the rush of energy and adrenaline felt at important moments.

Mid-morning in a side room to an otherwise almost eerly quiet floor was, indeed, the place to be: "This is the real newsroom now; this is where you must come to if you want to find out what is really happening", would utter the deputy online news editor, Miguel Coutinho. It was one of those half-joke-half-true statements which can always be dismissed and yet linger on as more than simple wordplay.

Some two months later, the deputy editor-in-chief would recognize that during this specific period – from May 15th until the end of June – journalists from the online newsroom worked at an accelerated pace and with 'remarkable' enthusiasm. It was, in a way, as if they were struggling against the odds; they started to work on a new Content Management System (CMS) without any training, they still had to update the live site, and they had to complement that with the creation and/or re-introduction of older contents in the new platform. On the technical side, the need for permanent interaction with the external company in charge of the CMS was less than smoth; as we have mentioned earlier, all contacts had to pass through the e-Bussiness unit and adding steps to processes in constant need of attention was ostensibly a ill-though out decision. Often, in the run up to the lauch of the new site, the online news editor, Manuel Molinos, would spend late night hours assessing what daily 'bugs' had been solved and what was still in the 'to-do' list he exchanged frequently with his direct counterpart at the e-Business unit. Those were journalism related tasks, in the strict sense that they pertained to the presence of journalistic content on a website; on all other accounts they were not.

Under such circumstances lunch breaks were very often no more than 'sandwich-and-soft-drink-at-the-desk' mini-pauses and non-work related conversations were kept to a minimum. Usual newsroom (and social) banter would only start to seep into the online newsroom at a consistent pace further along the way; by mid July newly acquired routines and decreased difficulties had made room for its 'natural' establishment.

Aware of this reality, the researcher would find its own – as much as possible – unobtrusive spot in the newsroom (see Figure 22) and would develop, as days went by, a more normalized relation with the environment and with journalists themselves. Statements became perhaps less energetic yet perhaps closer to reality in a 'had-he-not-been-here' situation. Discussions

happened unhindered, language became more common. Even if separated by more than 30 years and even if within an altogether different context, the researcher could not help but feeling in tune with Gans' description of its own adaptation process: "At the start, I was occasionally an audience, a visiting academic for whom people performed, especially when explaining their decisions; but this ended once I became a fixture. Once or twice people described me as their conscience, which made me nervous because it implied that I was forcing them to stick with rules they might otherwise have violated. But because I kept a low profile, neither being judgmental about their work nor expressing personal opinions that would give them any indication of how to perform in my presence, I doubt that my presence altered story choices. Besides, the journalists had so much to do and so little time that they could not do much performing in the first place" (Gans, 1980: 76).

Figure 22 :: Researcher's spot in the newsroom as it was in May 2008

The exiguity of space, the new technical demands, and the pressure to produce in bulk appeared to reinforce mutual trust in what could be described as a tight micro-community at that stage. Roles and tasks were clear to all yet involvement in on-the-spot decision making appeared to be flexible; everyone seemed to discuss options – both in formal newsroom meetings and during work hours – with a high degree of openness. Besides that, hints on content related issues and especially on ways to better adapt it to the new CMS were constantly being exchanged.

The requested newsroom change, which was initially supposed to happen before the transition to a new online presence and which was later announced for early June would only really happen on the 23rd of July – almost two months after the new web presence went live. From a cramped separate space – where visual contact with the main newsroom was only possible through the door opening – journalists and equipment moved to a glass walled room, with more than twice the area of the previous one, in direct visual contact with the main floor. The space had been previously used as the editors meeting room.

Newsroom layouts, for what they represent as strategically planed intention and for what they do/do not allow in terms of direct human contact are undoubtedly relevant (Josephi, 1998). Visual contact between journalists – the open plan layout – has been adopted as a rule in a significant number of media newsrooms based on the presumption of greater staff cohesiveness; Josephi's analysis of the Australian experience would confirm just that: "There was overall agreement that a the new layout made communication easier, and more personal, since it now was frequently done face to face rather than by phone or email message" (ibid: 170). This model – mostly inspired by an anglophile tradition (Nerone, 2003) – is not a universal rule and specific national contexts have, as Esser indicates, contributed to different organizational traditions (Esser, 1998).

In any case, Portugal's and specifically *Jornal de Notícias*' traditions are testament to an espousal of the open plan idea and as such measures to approximate online journalists to the print newsroom should naturally be understood under such a context.

The move had functional and technical reasons – namely lack of space to accommodate people and equipment and lack of adjacent space for limited video production – yet it undoubtedly had a symbolic value too.

In his *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson told us that the sense of belonging to a particular group is also reinforced by visions of geography – 'where we are' vs. 'where the others are' – and that these visions contribute to an historical sense of depth (Anderson, 1991).

The online newsroom was, in this framework of an imagined collective awareness, where it had never been before – highly visible to all, transparent, and seemingly closer to the heart of the 'real' newsroom (Figure 23).

Figure 23 :: The new online newsroom after July 2008 (former print editorial meetings room)

It should be noted that this geographic 'upgrade' occurred within months of a significant change in the print newsroom which would cut across what Salaverría and Negredo would describe as one of the main traits of a century-old process (Salaverria, 2008: 9): the division of the newsroom into sections corresponding to the thematic areas covered by the publication. A new section called 'Actualidade' was created in late May 2008, and it physically occupied the centre of the newsroom; comprising 14 journalists and three editors this section was to be bound to no particular subject – its purpose rather being to follow daily developing stories. Its internal organisation was also atypical – a longer active day (starting at 9 a.m.) with three working shifts instead of the more traditional two lead by three shift editors in charge of organising production, liaising with the online edition and coordinating further work on developing issues with the other section editors.

Being part of the broader transformation plan put forward by the editorial management this action was linked to a series of other concurring developments: the main planning meeting started to take place at 6.30 p.m. on the day before printing (and it started to include the online editor); one managing editor would start to arrive earlier than before (at 1o a.m.) to jointly

prepare with this new newsdesk editor the 11 a.m. follow-up editorial meeting. The philosophy was quite clear to Alfredo Leite – "we need the necessary flexibility to be closer to unfolding events and to be able to prepare work for both the online and the paper editions".

The combined effect of all these changes contributed to the beginning of a shift in both the perception of time and the 'deadline rationale' although discourse might not have always been on a par with effective action.

If, as one editor would put it, the print newsroom began to "edge away from the production flow of a newspaper into something closer to a news radio operation", the fact remained that the idea of no longer having a single conveyer belt production line (Singer, 2008b: 64) converging to a single point in time appeared – under the chosen strategy of incremental rather than swift and comprehensive change – to rely heavily on voluntary individual actions, and could thus be characterised as a succession of bursts rather than as a clear new impulse.

In fairness it should be mentioned that 'change initiatives' are in general seldom welcomed by newsrooms as a whole (Gade, 2004) and "journalists tend to be cautious and sceptical towards changes in the institutional and organizational arrangements of their work" (often as the accumulated result of bad experiences with top-down management decisions) (Deuze, 2008b: 8). Negative comments soon arose – like the naming of '*Actualidade*' as the 'mass grave', in a clear allusion to an identity-less place where old and new, experienced and inexperienced are bundled together in an indistinct mass with little direction. A managing editor would tell us: "it is impossible to please them all; for some there is always too much decision making going on. Just imagine what this would be like if we had opted for a complete transformation". The change of shifts was, as we have mentioned when presenting data from the questionnaire, an issue which seemed to divide the whole newsroom into three balanced groups – from a total of 65 respondents , 20 showed strong opposition to the idea, 19 were undecided, and 19 others showed willingness to accept.

On our first visit to the new online newsroom we teased journalists: this is more like it, no?

One of them would reply: "Yes it is. We are now where we should have been from the start – at the head of the newsroom!"

A reply in as much of a teasing tone as the question had been, no doubt. In any case, journalists' conversations were, as observed in subsequent days, more relaxed; their body language appeared to exude more confidance; and even their departures from the room to roam the open space or to check something with non-online journalists grew substantially. A sense of belonging was noticeable yet it was possibly more than that; online journalists 'had arrived' at the precise moment when encompassing changes in the newsroom seemed to edge it towards a more flexible outlook on the profession. As such, they had not only 'arrived' – they felt like they had leaped to the vanguard of the newsroom.

6.2 Roles, culture, and 'dealing with it'

At the end of 2007 the online newsroom of *Jornal de Notícias* had three journalists (one editor and one journalist at the main newsroom in Porto and one journalist in Lisbon); in January 2008 one journalist was transferred from the main newsroom metropolitan section to the online edition and one other was hired to the sub-editor position. In June 2008 two other journalists (former interns) had joined the group which also included the increasingly closer cooperation of a recently hired multimedia trained photo-journalist. As we mentioned earlier, it should be noted that university students on curricular internships – at an approximate pace of two per trimester – also made a relevant contribution to the online newsroom output. Some infographic work was, sometimes, commissioned to an external contributor. These were, in essence, those directly involved with daily online journalism activities.

The number of journalists involved in online news production activity – as noted by scholars over the last decade – has been small, when compared with the numbers of those involved in print and broadcasting; studies conducted in Holland would estimate the average online newsroom staff to be between three and five people (Deuze, 2002; Deuze, 2004b); a later study conducted in Catalonia (Spain) would find an average twice as high, although it highlighted that newspapers seemed to have less journalists working on daily news production than broadcasting operators (Domingo, 2006: 316). Surveys of Portuguese online journalists have noted that women are –

following the national trends for access to the profession – in a majority (Canavilhas, 2005; Bastos, 2008b). The predominant age group in the 2008 study was 30-35 years old and almost half of respondents had between sic and 10 years of journalism experience. One quarter of those who answered the 2008 questionnaire were having their first job experience. In terms of academic formation, almost 80 per cent were holders of a degree, the vast majority of them in areas related to Communication Sciences.

Jornal de Notícias' online newsroom was, in most of these indicators, in tune with these overall readings; only two members of staff had more than 40 years old, three were in their 30's and three others were in their 20's (five, if we account for the two student interns who actively participated in online production tasks). Four of the eight permanent members of staff had had previous professional experiences; two of them had just accessed the profession via their involvement as interns with *jn.pt*. The only noticeable difference was – as it had happened with overall newsroom results (see previous chapter) – in the sex distribution; contradicting the national tendency *Jornal de Notícias*' online newsroom was a predominantly masculine area, although balance was often achieved because student interns were mostly women.

A clear hierarchy and task attribution programme was in place. Manuel Molinos, the online news editor and also the most experienced journalist in the group, headed most editorial meetings, planned feature (mostly multimedia) production with journalists, and also integrated the daily news production routines; he was the newsroom's contact point with other structures both as *Jornal de Notícias* and at *Controlinveste*. That role, especially in the run-up to the transition and also throughout the summer of 2008 involved a series of tasks related to CMS 'problem solving' which were not very agreeable; "sometimes I spend 12 to 14 hours on this desk and I do nothing of what I wanted to do on arrival; too many fires to tend to, so many little things to change. It wears me down" – he would tells us in a mid-June conversation.

The deputy-editor, Miguel Coutinho, had been hired in the beginning of 2008 due to his previous experience handling multimedia production at Portugal's biggest weekly newspaper, Expresso. He was a recent journalism graduate from Porto University, also belonging to the first wave of students who had specific online journalism courses at Portuguese universities. Coutinho

replaced Molinos in his absence yet his tasks were mostly directed towards multimedia output supervision and production.

Two senior journalists – Augusto Correia and Carlos Lobo Ferreira – were in charge of, respectively, iniciating and terminating the news production cycle, and the other journalists had less compartimentalized tasks, which meant that on a working day they could remain indoors updating breaking news or they could go out on multimedia production related assignments. The workflow, as implemented from mid-May 2008 onwards, would anticipate a 15-hour constant update daily news cycle (far from the utopian 24/7 model) which involved three different shifts for journalists and interns – 9 a.m - 4 p.m; 1 p.m. - 8 p.m.; 5 p.m. - 12 p.m. Both the editor and the deputy-editor would have more flexible shifts although they pre-arranged them on an almost daily basis according to production and staff management needs (most staff would have their days off during the week).

If we look closely at the workflow plan as envisaged by Manuel Molinos (Figure 24) it is possible to identify some of the shift distinctions we have just identified yet it is also possible to anticipate the establishment of a set of priority tasks for each one and, on the bottom, a simple and straightforward indication of what were the most relevant thematic areas for the online newsroom: breaking news on matters related to police, sports, country, people & technology, autonomous multimedia production and community related pages management.

This clear editorial positioning owed as much to a strategic orientation – during an interview conducted in June 2008, the deputy editor-in-chief, Alfredo Leite, told us: "I want them to increase as much as possible links with the print production process but I have always told them I want the online news operation to be self-contained and autonomous" – as it did to a specific set of perceptions on what online journalism should be.

Workflow JN::pt

TURNO DA MANHÃ (9-16)	TURNO DA TARDE (13-20)	TURNO DA NOITE (17-24)
- ÚLTIMA HORA	- ÚLTIMA HORA	- ÚLTIMA HORA
- REVISTA DE IMPRENSA online/papel . generalistas, desportivos, económicos	- TRIAGEM E PUBLICAÇÃO ZONA PAÍS	- LANÇAMENTO DE EDIÇÃO . análise com editor de matérias a lançar . análise com editor de destaques na home e capas
- GESTÃO DE COMUNIDADE (*)	- GESTÃO DE COMUNIDADE (*)	
- CONTACTO C/AGENDA . avaliação de notícias de produção própria	- GESTÃO DE DOSSIERS/BLOGUES JN	- EDIÇÃO PEÇAS MULTIMEDIA, incluindo fotogalerias (caso seja necessário)
- EDIÇÃO PEÇAS MULTIMEDIA . incluindo fotogalerias	- EDIÇÃO PEÇAS MULTIMEDIA, incluindo fotogalerias	- GESTÃO DE COMUNIDADE (*)

blogues, fóruns, comentários, cidadão repórter, sms, mms, cartas.

Apostas
Última hora: 1 Polícia, 2 Desporto, 3 País, 4 Gente e Tecnologia. A gestão da última hora faz-se entre a home e as capas dos canais". Ligação com a redacção e com a rede de correspondentes sempre que se justificar.
Multimédia: Produção própria
Comunidade: Potenciar matérias que promovam interactividade

Figure 24 :: *jn.pt* workflow as envisaged by the online news editor in May 2008

The most striking aspect of that concrete set of perceptions is that it changed significantly during our observation period.

A first moment, which involved the run-up to the news site's launch and the first few months of activity was mostly characterized by a framework made explicit in Figure 24 and was marked by the attempt to somehow 'fulfil the online promise'. We can see the commitment to breaking news, we can see the attachment to strong themes for traditional *Jornal de Notícias*' audiences and we can see the attempt to increase multimedia production and contact with users.

"We have here an opportunity to make a very distinctive contribution and to enlarge *JN*'s reach beyond its traditional readership; younger audiences want more from us and we have to give them what they want", noted one of the younger journalists. Multimedia was, during that particular period, perceived by all of those involved in online news production as a key area, where "a clearly different type of journalism work" could be made.
Was it the lure of video usage? – we asked.
"Not at all. It is the possibility to experiment with formats and to understand from experience what works best and what does not work at all", he added.

This sentiment around multimedia production, not being exclusive of *jn.pt* journalists' (Bastos, 2008b: 182-184), was shared by print newsroom counterparts as well. Nuno Marques, editor of

Actualidade, would enthusiastically tell us that they (online journalists) were doing it (multimedia) "as much more than video with text inserts", and Emanuel Carneiro, Culture editor, would add that effects of the change were almost immediately perceptible in the relation readers/users had with the *JN* brand at a musical festival in August 2008: "the fact that we took a mini-newsroom to the festival and that people could interact both with journalists and their multimedia production, via access to the site but also through the on-site screens, took us to a different level".

An attachment to a programme which perceived hitherto untapped online news potentialities as a place of natural growth for *Jornal de Notícias* – "for the first time we have a chance to be attractive to two generations within the same household", would note Carneiro – was combined with a continued attachment to a more permanent set of journalistic core values, like pusuing the truth in a balanced and objective manner through quality journalism. Journalists at *jn.pt* saw described their activity pretty much as print or broadcasting journalists would – bringing raw information into context, organizing it and presenting it in an appropriate manner to an audience. The fact that, particularly after June 2008, some multimedia features would, in adapted form, assume a strong presence in the print product would cement this notion of 'unaltered change in the professional ethos' (Pereira, 2004).

If we were to take Hatcher's list of factors contribution to the framing of individual journalistic freedom, we would venture that during that first stage, online journalists used the same 'got it' rules as their print counterparts to decide what was newsworthy (the most experienced among them had previous print newsroom experience at *JN*), they expressed a shared identity congruence with the rest of the staff and they seemed to share the same 'language' when typifying news or choosing which sources to contact (Hatcher, 2009: 56). In essence, at that point, their increased production autonomy bought them closer to the existing newsroom culture rather than having contributed to the establishment of a new and differentiated one.

A second moment, which we would identify with our observation periods in January and March 2009, would present us a somewhat altered self-perception layout. Although journalists still saw themselves as independent, higly trained, mostly skeptical yet objective professionals the fact is

that – perhaps without even noticing it – they had also incorporated new interconnected distinctive traits.

The first was the less enthusiastic posture regarding both multimedia production and interaction with users. Video, sound and multimedia production had helped *jn.pt* ascend to a position respected by peers yet such an effort had a cost/benefit which was being reviewed by January 2009. Indeed, the deputy editor-in-chief would say that henceforth the online newsroom should perhaps reduce output numbers in favour of greater quality. "Video – ours or user provided – is still vital in breaking news yet some feature stories, which maybe took two days to prepare, sometimes got less than one hundred visits – we need to carefully consider this from now on", he added. Journalists seemed to share this mixed feeling; "we are now closer to knowing what works better with our users than we were when we started (...) sometimes we still have surprises, but they tend to be less now", sayed the deputy online news editor. A similar understanding extended to user contributions, as well – contrary to a somewhat leveled initial appreciation some formats were now clearly much less considered as useful by journalists than others; user comments on news were mostly seen as 'useless' whilst specific contributions to pre-arranged live blogging instant conversations with well know figures or to 'send us your snow photo type' of initiatives were viewed as both extremely positive and as inducers of increased user presence on *jn.pt*'s site. In other words, as Manuel Molinos would bluntly put it: "programmed, controlled, intermediated initiatives – yes sir. Most of the rest, very, very poor".

The second was the increased integration into permanent journalistic decision making of factors like webmetrics and competition comparison. It should be noted that these concerns – circulation and audience figures, comparative daily observation of competition production – has been a constant feature in journalistic production for quite some time; the significant difference, with online journalism, is that updated data can be accessed in permanence and in tandem with news production.

During our observations in the summer of 2008 webmetrics were mostly used to gauge overall news production; journalists would proudly tells us that they had passed the 3 million visits mark in a month or even that a particular day had been "the best so far". The tool was considered as

wholly benign – "this is amazing; in the print days we only had circulation figures and we sort of guessed what people thought of our work. Now we know – we don't have to guess anymore", told us one of the youngest journalists – yet it was still, partly due to the novelty factor, mostly seen as something not directly related to the news production process.

Some six months later webmetrics were much nearer to being an integral part of that process, especially when considering breaking news output. The tools' possibilities were used in greater detail and its presence – as a permanent open window in computer screens – was more common. Significantly, the accumulated knowledge resulting from continuous closer contact with user usage data had a visible impact on the management of the homepage. The top left spot on the page was by now frequently occupied by soft news stories. They were often described as 'sure thing' news and they encompassed themes related to celebrities, fashion, sports, technology, or odd events. Some of them – especially if not specific to the Portuguese reality – could easily be found in the homepages of other online news providers more or less at the same time. The rest of the homepage was managed in such a way to best allow for a balance between hard and soft news.

The underlying presence of webmetrics would be made clear by a half-witty-half-worried remark made by one of the journalists: "we can see immediately if one story caught the users' attention (...) one of these days someone will perhaps decide to pay us on a 'per visit' basis; that would something, would it not?".

Constant measurement of user interactions with production was, as mentioned, accompanied by a more frequent observation of what others – both Portuguese and non Portuguese online news sites – were doing. What was, up until now, a common procedure mostly in broadcasting was now clearly a part of the online news production operative framework. Some of the times, comparisons would result in favourable evaluations – "look what they have done with this; they have just used the wire text and they have not touched it at all" – and some other times they would prop up discussions on the broad 'why haven't we done that' theme. "We are more aware now; we need to be – we have the wires, we have the radio, the TV, and all the others and we have to be constantly focused", noted one journalist.

This detectable sense of urgency would be the third relevant difference we have identified in our observation. What has elsewhere been aptly described as the 'imperialism of the immediate' (Klinenberg, 2005: 56) was more visible during our second period of observation.

During earlier (May 2008) conversations with both editorial managers and journalists we would note that emphasis was by then put on developing an autonomous new online presence; in the second period of observations, procedures had been 'normalized', enthusiasm had been tempered, the above mentioned new considerations had seeped in, and 'internet time' was felt with greater intensity – time had, indeed, become a more compressed reality (Weiss, 2009: 598-599).

Jornal de Noticias' online journalists were, in fact, by 2009, in charge of an online news production process which was far removed from the shovelware era yet it was also distinct from the print model; journalists appeared to incorporate into their concerns a much more acute awareness of both users' consumption patterns ("a culture of the click" – Anderson, 2011) and competitors production, they had a more selective and productivity oriented management of interactions with users and had adopted a far more intense attachment to the pressures of publishing updates – "users will notice if we keep the same news on the homepage throughout one morning", would indicate a journalist – on a continuous basis.

6.3 Gathering and writing the news

Up until the setting up of *Actualidade*, the print newsroom followed an organizational pattern whereby journalists were divided into sections which had a direct correspondence with a sub-heading in the newspaper and were hence in charge of producing a fixed number of pages each day. This bureaucratic form of organizing work (which, naturally, involved decision-making hierarchies) extended to a division of labour into specialized and self-contained areas and to a set of professional roles with clearly identifiable allowed/not allowed circles of interaction between them.The digitalization of substancial parts of the news production process from the late 1980's onwards led to the extinction of some specific jobs yet those which remained kept on performing

their tasks much in the same manner as they had in previous decades. Journalists and photo-journalists, for instance, were among them.

Hence, the setting up of new section, where editorship responsabilities were linked to a specific time period instead of a specific area and where journalists were supposed to be prepared for all types of topical subjects and, relevantly, for a more direct connection with the online operation, was a major change for *Jornal de Notícias'* as a whole.

One other relevant occurrence, which took place during the second of our observations periods, and which visibly impacted online and print journalists alike, was the decision by *Controlinveste* to collectively dismiss 122 out of its estimated 600 staff.

The announcement was made on January 15th by means of a press release which highlighted the fact that such a decision was linked to a "profound downturn in revenues" (Controlinveste, 2009). At *Jornal de Notícias* it meant the formal disappearance of the 'World', 'Special Projects' and photo treatment sections, as well as the dismissal of a number of journalists in Lisbon and in all other regional newsrooms (apart from that of Viana do Castelo), and other professionals in areas like infographics and photograpy. The newsroom council immediately considered such an initiative "precipitate, unjust and unjustifiable" (Conselho-de-Redacção, 2009) indicating that it occurred soon after the group had announced solid earnings and also after having recently been hired journalists for editorial management positions in the newspaper.

The announcement had nationwide repercussions and led the Journalist's Union to support a petition asking for the abandonment of such a strategy[46]. Internally, 'black thursday', as it would become known henceforth, was a day of disbelief and fear. Journalists we talked to in the main newsroom expressed a visible anguish – 'nobody knows who's next' was perhaps the most common expression of such a feeling.

These two developments, apparently non-related to online news production, were in fact part of a sweeping 'organizational climate' (Killebrew, 2003: 43) which naturally did not stop at the online

[46] The petition – Do not silence JN ("*Não calem o JN*") – gathered more than 4,000 signatures (http://www.petitiononline.com/mod_perl/signed.cgi?pelojn, accessed on 2011-04-23)

newsroom's glassed walls. It would be unwise to incorporate into this account the predominantly positive effects of the first without considering the less positive effects of the second. One has undoubtedly promoted greater cooperation among newsrooms whilst the other reminded all journalists of their permanent vulnerabilities in terms of job security.

Although, as we have mentioned earlier, a hierarchy did exist in the online newsroom and some people were in fact more prepared to do a particular type of tasks – especially video recording and editing and usage of Flash software for infographics and multimedia production – a presumption of flexibility was evident.

It could be argued that journalistic work in the online newsroom was, regarding the specific question of performed tasks, somewhere in between the traditional newsroom model and those adopted by other occupations linked to digital production, reflecting much more a final outcome oriented focus (Weiss, 2009).

Journalists would often oscilate with apparent seamlessness between production involving traditional gathering, verifying, and writing tasks and a type of production based on a more modular occupational structure in which specific tasks were not assigned to specific people; "Individual jobs can encompass either one or several roles at a time, and the allocation of roles to jobs is not uniform or stable but instead depends on factors such as the requirements of particular projects, managers' organizational choices, the skills of available workers, and in some cases, negotiation among workers themselves. Furthermore, workers may specialize in a single role or develop skills and credentials in many roles. Thus, although Web production does exhibit distinct types of work that have their own identities, these do not constitute exclusive jurisdictions" (Damarin, 2006: 440).

This outcome determined production meant that no single set of procedures could be identified as representative of an online newsroom working routine. During our observations we have noted at least five 'ways of doing things' each relating to a specific intention. Some of them were notoriously more present than others yet their adoption was flexible and sometimes intertwined which meant that one journalist could, during his/her work day, adapt and tune his/her production to the sequential or overlapping rhytms of one or more.

Recalling what has been previously said about the increased sense of urgency it follows that managing the flow of *breaking news* was the first and most common of those five production modes.

Normally this set of procedures was initiated by the journalist scheduled to arrive earlier and it incorporated – especially under the guidance of the online news editor – relevant contributions by student interns and by other journalists (including the online editor himself).

The basic procedure would involve selecting a text either from regular or 'breaking news' news wire feeds. Breaking news feeds were already integrated into the content management platform, Newsgen06, and could hence be simply transferred to the publishing area for adaptation. Regular news wire feeds were still only available through the print CMS, Millenium, and thus needed to be copied to Notepad, where the new text would be written before being pasted to Newsgen06.

A new article would be created, a new title would be written and decisions would be made on comments (open/close) and on related news. Tags would be added and, if needed, a photo would be sought in a different channel, treated and resized to conform to one of seven available pre-definitions. Finally, the new story would be published in one of the available thematic channels (Figure 25) – National, Society, Police, Economics, Country, World, Sports, Culture, People, Tecnology, Media ('Últimas' would present an automated headline-only direct presentation of the Portuguese wire agency's feed) – and a decision would be made on its relative worth for homepage presence.

Figure 25 :: *Jornal de Notícias*' homepage header in May 2008

Journalists had the ability to select which position would that particular news story occupy in both the thematic and Home pages; that would entail changing the relative numbering of all stories on that page in a CMS provided order preview. A basic blank layout would have ten 'boxes' in two parallel columns – top right was box number one, top left was box number two. Three, four, and five were bellow box one, and six, seven and eight were bellow box two. If no decision was made by the journalist on this count stories would automatically be placed in those relative positions according to a chronological order.

Senior journalists would publish stories directly, discussing homepage possible positioning with the online news editor and/or the sub-editor, whilst interns would simply leave them ready in the CMS; publishing would be made by a senior journalist or by the editor.

Journalists involved in this process would work in an almost continous mode hence ensuring the fulfillment of the need to dominate the immediate. They would search for stories and sometimes discuss their relative worth, either proceding with another search or with the writing /adaptation of the story.

Interns would, in some cases, be given specific areas to be especially attentive to during the course of one work day – they would mostly be less journalistically relevant areas like People or Technology and yet they would many times insure the presence of intern produced material on the homepage (especially on the far left column).

For much of this work there were very precise guidelines. Breaking News on *jn.pt* should mostly focus on the above mentioned four key areas – Police, Sports, Country, People&Technology – and should be made available as soon as possible; an initial news flash (with as much as a two-line snippet of text) including the 'being updated' indication should be build upon everytime new information was gathered. Updates should be clearly noted to readers and the time stamp should be changed accordingly.

Homepage management also followed a detailed set of rules encompassing technical, design related and journalistic considerations (Figure 26).

Figure 26 :: Excerpt from a set of BackOffice operational guidelines distributed to all online journalists in May 2008

The second 'way of doing things' could be described as *autonomously produced breaking news*. In this mode of production we would include news stories which have originated internally and have developed with information gathered by *Jornal de Notícias'* journalists.

A former managing editor of JN in the 1980's, Manuel António Pina, would, during an interview in 2011, recall the days when people contacted the newspaper even before calling rescue services; "I remember arriving at places even before the police or the fire department – people called us to give information and they offered us photos of events", he would say (Fillol, 2011: 15). Unfair as it would be to compare a period of relative information scarcity and energetic prowess of the press with what now exists partial recognition of *JN*'s traditional interest for local and regional events is still noticeable and some of the stories which fit this second category were, indeed, the result of an initial external phone call.

In situations like these the online journalist – notwithstanding the fact that he/she might accumulate these tasks with others – would function as an information hub, using the web to seek for additional relevant information and/or additional relevant contacts, directly contacting external informants, interfacing in permanence with print journalists to get updated information (namely from *Actualidade*, yet sometimes also from the Police, Porto, Sports or Culture sections), and writing and publishing the story and its updates as it unfolds.

Even if we consider that, in these cases, information gathering and selection still occurs within the bounds of traditional journalism gatekeeping we would – having observed some of these processes as they unfolded – perhaps prefer to say that two important distinctions place them in the broader field of curatorship[47]. Those interconnected distinctions, in comparison to traditional print journalism management of unfolding events, would be the lessening of verification and the increased speed involved in the process.

Journalists felt compeled to add snippets of information as they were delivered by recognizable sources and felt somehow reassured by the perceived leeway contained in the 'being updated' line. For a particular breaking news story a journalist could be transferring raw information into the backoffice's text editor, checking what other sites might (or might not) be saying about the issue, and discussing via MSN and/or mobile phone the relevance of the story, its possible

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[47] This not being the appropriate place to enter the debate on 'journalism as curatorship' we would follow McAdams knowledgeable and wise categorization which perceives it as a less detached – both in terms of time and space – activity than gatekeeping. It involves sorting, choosing, and displaying information in permanence and in constant interaction with all the rest that is being produced on the subject at hand (McAdams, 2008)

homepage placement, and follow-up ideas with the editor in charge or – more to the point – with a journalist on assignment. This other journalist could, in time, send over raw video footage or still images which would need to be scrutinized and edited for online publishing. At a later point in the day, the deputy editor-in-chief or a duty managing editor might decide that both journalists should prepare a print-ready package on the whole story for publication in the newspaper's next edition.

Although it could be argued that this description can also be applied to the work of a print newsroom journalist we would venture the notion that these would be peak moments, which would happen momentarily during the normal workday. For an online journalist these tend to be more frequent occurrences and furthermore the result of their ongoing endeavours is permanently on display to be scrutinised.

The presentation of an example could further enlighten our argument. Word (a telephone tip) got to the newsroom that students at Porto's Faculty of Fine Arts had started a protest related to fee increases; a building lockdown had been imposed.

An online journalist was sent to investigate carrying a multimedia enabled telephone. By11.10 a.m. *jn.pt* had made available the first know news on the subject, including information and photos collected by the online journalist on site. At the newsroom, the online news editor was, on this occasion, the 'hub'. He constantly monitored what all other major news outlets were / were not carrying on the subject and he kept on monitoring user visits as well – "more than 10,000", he told us around 12.40 a.m.

The reporter on the spot kept on sending new details – the ongoing attempts to negotiate, conversations with people who had gathered outside the building, video footage and video interviews – and the updated information was made available as soon as possible under the same original heading; time stamps were changed and reference to the fact that it was still being updated was kept. The news maintained its 'urgent' tag and its place as the main story on the homepage until the occupation finished, soon after 2.30 p.m. It would be updated once more before reaching its final version, published at 7.10 p.m. Links to other relevant news and to the

original videos were made available. On the whole, this particular evolving news story, gathered more than 20,000 visits.

Figure 27 :: *jn.pt*'s homepage at 12.24 a.m., the news story at 7.10 p.m. and the homepage at 8.02 p.m.

The third identified set of tasks would be related to ***content transportation*** between print and online platforms. The decision having been made, at the onset of the new online news venture, to terminate the presentation of all print content on the website it nevertheless remained important to the newspapers editorial management to promote the presentation of a selected number of texts and features.

"I think we should continue to publish online the most relevant stories of the print edition and that work should gradually be in the hands of section editors whenever possible", said the deputy editor-in-chief during one conversation in May 2008.

The implementation process of that decision would not, however, be as smooth as anticipated. Section editors had access to the online news BackOffice – export from the print CMS could be made via a special license into a Newsgen06 folder and from there on to the specific channel in the new platform – and two editors in particular had extended privileges; the Sports editor could manage the Sports channel and editors of *Actualidade* could intervene in all areas of the website

apart from the multimedia channel. In early June, however, this strategy had already been partially abandoned given its immediate unfeasibility – "there is too much going one at the same time; a new CMS for the online, an updated CMS for the newspaper, new routines for everyone – it would not work right now", said the online news editor, Manuel Molinos, in an early June conversation. A decision had been made to improve the speed of the process but also to maintain a rather more tight degree of allegiance to the print newsroom editing process; some stories are changed just before print by managing editors or editor-in-chiefs and those changes would not be incorporated if the export process happened at an earlier point in the editorial process. As such, from June 2008 onwards, newspaper editors (excluding the two exceptions mentioned above) would, late in the afternoon, send a list with suggested 'exportation worthy' stories to the copydesk section where the complete print originated package would be, after veting by a managing editor or by editor-in-chiefs, sent to the online news platform. It is relevant to note that, during our detailed interviews with newspaper editors in January 2009, most of them seemed prepared for a far tighter connection with the online news platform and, significantly, they all mentioned lack of specific training and lack of a more pro-active overall strategy as being responsible for a 'shy relationship'. "No one has told the newsroom where is this supposed to take us and everyone is afraid that, as in the past, change can only mean reduction, emptying out, closing down; we should know in detail what is the plan and where should we be heading – lack of information breeds suspicion", told us one editor, whilst one other would venture that an internal policy of 'muscled seduction' was needed.

These editorial management options have dictated that, on a permanent and regular basis, at least one online journalist would be in charge of accompanying and complementing the process of content transferal. This particular set of tasks – normally combined with those described above as pertaining to the treatment of breaking news – would involve validating the publication of print originated news stories put in the BackOffice by copydesk staff, homogenizing it with online publishing rules (title, header, photography, hyperlinks, associated news stories, tags, time stamp, acceptance of comments, etc.) and giving it a position in both their channel page and, when applicable, the homepage.

According to the guidelines the final structure of the homepage should reflect some of the themes transferred from the print platform, but also contents "which have received distinctive treatment during the day", particularly those related to multimedia or citizen interaction areas (Molinos, 2008). Print originary lengthy feature stories – including background information and /or images – should be given special relevance.

The fourth set of tasks involved operations related to the *production of multimedia content*. A strong strategic emphasis on this type of production was felt from the start of the project and eventhough, as we have noted earlier, a reassessment of such a pursuit was being made as early as January 2009, it became a distinctive mark of *Jornal de Notícias*' online presence (it featured prominently in the special 120th anniversary issue of the newspaper).

Figure 28 :: Multimedia production and user interaction were mentioned as two distinctive traits of *jn.pt*

The original website design anticipated a Multimedia area with four partitions: Photo-galleries, Infographics, Audio, and Video. Very soon, though, a fifth area was incorporated, to aggregate contents which involved richer integrated multimedia production.

Audio, video, photograpy and infography independent production all had distinct task sets and, in a significant number of cases, used contents were not directly authored by online journalists.

Audio and video excerpts could, in some cases, result from external newsgathering activities of print based journalists. During editorial meetings, which started to include the online editor or his deputy from July 2008 onwards, decisions would be made on the potential cross-media nature of a given story and on which would be the best way to cover it. Sometimes, that would involve sending off a print journalist with a multimedia recording enabled mobile telephone.

Online journalists would thus become – in these conditions – both basic equipment handling training instructors and raw materialeditors. They would, finally, gather some contextualizing information from field reporters to write title and header and to conveniently locate and classify the story in the CMS.

Externally commissioned infographies had a very similar treatment – basic adaptation to the system – and those resulting from in-house print oriented production would be adapted to Flash before identical procedure.

Published photo-galleries would come under two categories and would be handled in slightly different manners: news wire photos pertaining to a theme considered relevant (a major accident, a political event, a celebration, etc) would be directly chosen by online journalists, gathered in the same gallery, and adapted to CMS requirements; in house photographies would normally be chosen and prepared by the photo-journalist and the photography editor – the online journalist would simply adapt them to the CMS.

The production of new integrated multimedia narratives – the ones which would appear in the fifth partition – was an altogether different and, in the context of *Jornal de Notícias*, innovative proposal demanding the incorporation of hitherto scattered tasks and procedures into a novel module (to borrow from Damarin's argument).

Traditional journalistic competences regarding story selection, framing, and segment compartmentalization, and traditional journalistic tasks like contacting sources, gathering support materials and documentation, and cross verifying data with different informants would be called upon. Yet, new competences and new tasks would also be incorporated into the production routines.

Most journalists, even those not at ease with the specific tools and languages this challenge entailed, felt extremely motivated to participate in what was – from our observation vantage point – a succession of experiences which only gradually evolved into a structured set of procedures and tasks.

Much of that process resulted from an initial combination of an intense level of cooperation between online journalists holding very distinctive sets of technical and artistic skills and their eagerness to gather knowledge and assistance outside the confines of their specific newsroom. Whilst some online journalist had more traditional newsgathering and news writing experience, others were at ease with both the technical and design sides of sound and video editing, others had had specific multimedia journalism training, and others still were particularly in tune with the intricacies of non-linear narrative construction. External insights (and cooperation) were often sought with the photography, design, and infography editors of the print edition.

It is perhaps no wonder that most of the initial multimedia productions were, therefore, collaboration projects. For instance, the experienced online news editor teamed up with a young journalist, with his deputy-editor, and with a senior infographic designer to produce one of the first multimedia features on the consumption of steroids in gyms[48]. It involved contacting a privileged source, getting raw information, getting additional sources to confirm it, visiting gyms, talking to gym users, checking pharmacies, and talking to a pharmaceutical specialist – tasks we would normally associate with traditional journalism. Yet this was only part of the work and the distinction is very relevant; while print journalists would rarely give much consideration to 'where, why, and how' concerns regarding the final presentation of their daily work these online journalists were integrating attempts to answer those precise questions as they moved along the process. Video was to be the prime vehicle of the work and because interviews with sources which did not wish to be identified constituted 'poor' visual material additional general gym work images had to be captured. Additionally, data on drug abuse and on the effects of some of the most used substances had to be selected in advance and a design mock-up had to be discussed

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[48] http://www.jn.pt/Reportagens/Interior.aspx?content_id=960260, accessed on 2011-06-21.

with the infographic designer. Finally, an overall basic structure – with menu descriptors and narrative path configurations, had to be considered.
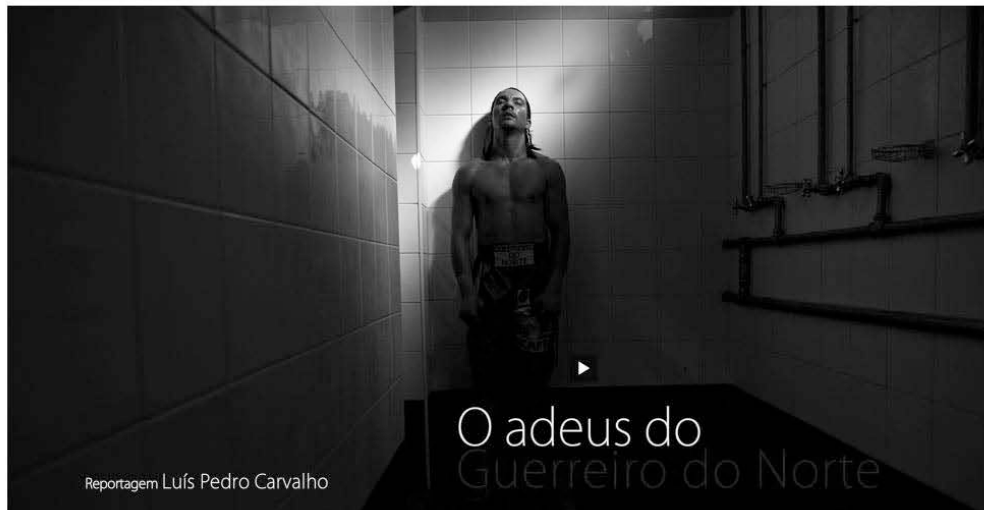
Figure 29 :: Example of *jn.pt*'s design language for multimedia features

All these concerns were being addressed and all these tasks were being developed by journalists who thought of them as part and parcel of their journalistic work. In a sense, keeping close to journalistic conventions on newsgathering, selection of materials, and relations with sources, journalists were adhering to a 'principle of continuity' which granted them a secure ground on the basis of values that both generate and legitimize their practices (O'Sullivan, 2008: 368). Nevertheless, by incorporating into the process a whole set of new tasks they were also signalling a shift in their self-perception and perhaps also a shift in their notion of what journalism is or should entail.

This gradual shared learning curve resulted in the establishment if a singular multimedia production language at *Jornal de Notícias*, marked by a narrative style which flows via textual indications and mostly first person accounts. Design layout was minimalist yet functional and black was the preferred background colour; still images were often mixed in with moving images

and aesthetic photo-journalism influences were very prominent.

Finally, the fifth set of tasks involved *social networks updating and user interaction management*.

The initial plan for the new online project, envisaged a departure from the old forums model into a much more updated vision of what areas of user interaction an online news venture should present. In tune with offerings from some of the most salient online news providers, *jn.pt*'s new online venture had three autonomous areas: Blogs, Community, and Citizen Reporter. As mentioned by the deputy editor-in-chief. Alfredo Leite, during a conversation in June 2008, the objective was to enlarge user opportunities: " we want people to use these spaces to discuss relevant issues and, inf possible, to provide us with relevant new information".

The Community space – not having been sufficiently defined from the start – soon (before the end of the summer of 2008) disappeared; it was supposed to aggregate contributions from small clubs or neighborhood associations yet it never came to be – no member of staff was specifically assigned to promote such participation.

Blogs, provided that users pre-registered and respected *jn.pt*'s terms of use, were an area sometimes scouted by journalists – particularly in search of excessive language and/other signs of disrespect for the established rules – yet they were not perceived as part of the online news production activity until a decision was made to integrate newsroom originary thematic participation in that area.

In technical terms *jn.pt*'s blog platform borrowed heavily from *sapo.pt*'s similar area and users' options were more limited than they would be if a decision had been made to select an open platform like Wordpress, for instance. Although adherence to the creation of blogs was substancial – reaching more than one thousand – most of them were 'one post experiences' and very few were updated regularly.

The realisation that the opening up of a weblogs space for users was less than a success was pretty much clear by January 2009. Rather than extinguishing the area, though, editorial

managers opted to use it as an alternative thematic micro-site platform with contributions being made by journalists and invited guests. Thematic blogs on live music concerts, cinema, books, fashion, pets, infancy, and a few other themes were gradually implemented[49]. During a conversation in March 2009, the deputy editor-in-chief, Alfredo Leite, would admit the parcial failure: "on the one hand, maybe we could have started with a greater number of guest blogs, for instance, to somehow set a standard and to promote a community; on the other hand, maybe this whole idea of having a blog in a news website is less appealing to people than we – and so many others – imagined it would be". The journalist /guest maintained blog was, in his opinion, a good solution: "it offers, under our banner, differenciated contents which otherwise might never appear and, significantly, it gives some print journalists the opportunity to join the online content production in areas where they have expertise – it's a alltogether win-win situation".

The Citizen Journalism area was, out of the three initially envisaged, the one that showed more interesting results during the first year of the new online project. Users were asked to send their information via e-mail and all the process would be henceforth conducted by online journalists – they could contact the informant directly in order to get more details, or they could simply rewrite textual information and adapt photo or video images to best suit publishing criteria and the requirements of the platform.

A cautious deferred comments policy created a problem for online journalists during the first months of the new online venture – one or two journalists saw themselves spending considerable portions of their working days doing little else that managing user inputs (excluding a considerable number of them for inappropriate language usage). A decision, taken later in 2008, would remove filtering from journalists' hands; in alternative a system of user self-management ('denounce this comment' option available) was implemented[50].

Henceforth though, as we have observed during our second period in the newsroom, in early 2009, user comments on news stories became an almost absent reality for online journalists.

[49] Journalists blogs would remain active but users blogs would be discontinued following the break-up of the commercial relation between Controlinveste and Sapo in January 2011 (Marcela, 2011).

[50] *Jornal de Notícias*' online terms of use: http://www.jn.pt/info/termosdeuso.aspx, accessed on 2011-07-24.

Some would voice disconfort – "most of them are pure foulmouthed discourse and we simply do not have enough people to go about deleting them", said one senior journalist – and that perceived impotence (to either 'properly' manage user comments or to determine user behaviour) led to a news production process which maintained only minimum levels of attention to comments.

From December 2008 the online newsroom started to manage a twitter feed, yet that information would only be announced to users in late January 2009 (curiously, on the same day as the Portuguese President, Aníbal Cavaco Silva, announced his own personal account). The updating system would, from then on, combine manual insertions with automatic – BackOffice enabled – periodic insertions. A similar strategy would be adopted for the later management of a Facebook account, although its usage was to be shared by both editorial and commercial branches of *Jornal de Notícias*.

In addition, online journalists managed user contribution editorial initiatives and user participation in live blogging interviews with known Portuguese personalities.

This set of tasks, although not amounting to a "dissolution of the boundaries between makers and users of news" (Deuze, 2008b: 20) it was nevertheless – particularly due to their non-sporadic occurrence – marked a clear distinction between the online newsroom and its print counterpart and, naturally, helped to shape online journalists' perceptions and expectations of users.

These above mentioned 'five ways of doing things' all had a goal oriented coherence and all incorporated tasks or procedures exceeding traditional journalistic roles. Some demanded increased control of technology, others asked for heightened aesthetic sensibility, others demanded organization and coordination skills, others still demanded a regular contact with audiences.

The fact that during one single working day journalists might regularly operate within the confines of more than one of them contributed to the naturalization of fluidity as a constant feature of their

work. This is not to say that journalists appreciated being at the heart of a constant 'news cyclone' (Klinenberg, 2005: 54); in fact, most of them, as some point or other during our observation periods, expressed signs of frustration. "Sometimes I have so many windows open in my screen that I lose track of what I am doing – I have to pause, drink some water, and start again", noted one senior online journalist in July 2008.

It has previously been noted that even within the boundaries of a reduced newsroom some journalists were – due to their individual skills set – more prone to predominantly engage in one particular ensemble of tasks. Advanced video edition, animated infography production and handling of Flash software were some of those tasks. In any case, especially in multimedia feature production, initial collaborative and shared construction of content gradually gave way to operative frameworks (with their own acquis and having established a singular *jn.pt* identity) into which it became easier for less technically prepared journalists to incorporate their work.

6.4 Innovation and output

In the last six months of 2008, *Jornal de Notícias*' online news operation produced 278 videos, 29 infographies, 305 photo-galleries, 59 audios, and 11 multimedia special features. This means that an average of two original videos were loaded up once every three days, one infography and almost two audio snippets were loaded every week, and one new feature multimedia package was presented once every two weeks (photo-galleries are not mentioned in this context because a significant number of them were assembled from news wire content).

For such a small team, in charge of such a diverse number of new and demanding tasks as we have showed earlier, it was a sizeable achievement. "If you had asked me in May last year if we could do half of this in six months I would have told you – no way", noted the online news editor, Manuel Molinos, during a conversation in January 2009.

This sense of pleased surprise was shared by print news editors as well: the editor of the World section, Paulo Silva, would tell us also in January 2009 that "a significant qualitative step" had been given; the editor of the Sunday supplement, Elmano Madaíl, would add that everyone in the

newsroom now had "a much more acute sense of their existence and of their work"; the editor of Sports, Jorge Pedroso Faria, would go even further by saying that having started from zero, *Jornal de Notícias* had become "the most relevant player in the Portuguese market, especially in the autonomous production of video".

At the onset of the new online news project editorial managers had a set of objectives: to put *Jornal de Notícias* on a par with the online news operations of other national newspapers, to focus on traditionally strong thematic areas for the newspaper, to promote a distinguishable presence in non-text based journalistic production and to gradually increase the interaction between print and online operations. Their own activities and decisions were framed by a broader group strategy to upgrade the online presence of their three major 'brands' and to develop new transversal units. Within the scope of their autonomy they opted for a strategy focused on the self-reliance of the online newsroom and on the encouragement of 'invisible' change promoters in key print newsroom sections. Through a deliberately less pro-active strategy, they hoped to insinuate innovation rather than to impose it.

If we observe this decision with the help of Killebrew's recommendations on how to manage journalists in a changing information workplace we soon realize that they fall well short of the normative prescription. Indeed, the author indicates that managers should identify a specific group of 'risk-takers' and they should train them well for the new tasks. In addition, a well-designed plan of action should be presented to all: "This activity should be planned to discuss the new multiplatform delivery systems from both a positive and negative vantage points. Reporters are well trained in misspeak and will understand when actions and words are at odds with one another". Vitaly, "ongoing communication is essential for everyone working in the cross platform environments (...) Corporate myths regarding the competing platforms should be discovered and either exorcised from the lexicon or marginalized by consistent and frequent information to all employee groups" (Killebrew, 2003: 45).

Venturing past a discussion on the perhaps over emphatic normative thrust of this author's position we find it useful to focus our attention on two key issues – training and information.

During our field work the word 'training' made very frequent appearances both in interviews and informal conversations with journalists, editors, and managers. Moreover, as we have mentioned in an earlier chapter, answers to our questionnaire showed that a large majority of respondents would be willing to forego private time to have specific training. Some of our interlocutors, like Nuno Marques, the editor of *Actualidade*, would even suggest that specific training should be complemented by a programme of scheduled rotational transit of print journalists in the online newsroom.

Notwithstanding the fact that some of them had specific video editing training before the launch of the new online news venture, online journalists, due to the increasingly wide range of performed tasks, felt strongly about this subject: "we did not have any training to deal with the new CMS and we have had little else since then", told us one journalist in January 2009. Indeed, despite the fact that the issue was considered vital by the deputy editor-in-chief, Alfredo Leite, at least since May 2008, either because important decisions on the matter were made at group level or because staff constraints hindered large scale initiatives, some of the anticipated initiatives kept on being postponed.

Information regarding the new online venture was – before the formal start of the project – given in detail to print newsroom editors and managing editors and to all *JN* regional correspondents yet no similar action was undertaken regarding the print newsroom. One print editor would tell us in January 2009 that "the whole philosophy of the new online presence was never explained to people on the newsroom floor". One other journalist would add: "this lack of concrete information on a planed direction induces hesitation; for exemple, we still do not know if we should suply the online newsroom with information that might have an effect on the print edition". Significantly, information regarding relevant events for the online newsroom would sometimes only be known by the whole newsroom via a specific news story printed in the newspaper or published online (during our observation periods this happened at least twice, with relevant data on visitor number and with the attribution of prizes to specific content).

The way these two issues were handled certainly had an effect on online news production and also on the relation between the online newsroom and its print counterpart. The deputy editor –

in-chief, Alfredo Leite, would argue that any alternative to the approach management followed on these issues should only be implemented if full integration was the ultimate goal: "a more enforcing strategy would not make any sense if, afterwards, our intention was not to have everyone immediately producing cross platform materials (...) I know them – people would feel let dow". Instead, the aim was to "go about it in a non-obsessive way" and that, according to Leite, has allowed management to "have a better understanding of who is more inclined to adhere to these new proposals".

One visible outcome steming out of this 'let's wait and see who embraces alternative production' policy was the change in profile of those who were chosen by editorial managers to be sent on special assignments, both in Portugal and abroad. Editorial management would, in this regard, follow a position admitted by others, like the Head of BBC News Interactive in July 2007, Pete Clifton (Thurman, 2008), by signaling a preference for multi-skilled journalists. As Alfredo Leite would clearly put it during a conversation in January 2009: "Today I would obviously not even think of sending on special assignment someone who would not fulfill our present needs – and they now encompass (even if on a limited scale) being able to do more than take notes". During our observation periods it was difficult to ascertain if this shift created – as Klinenberg suggests – a new system of stratification inside the newsroom. The fact that our presence was limited to periods inside the first year after the implementation of the new online strategy certainly did not allow us to identify a new type of 'elite reporters' with supposedly ample time to develop larger projects as opposed to a "large staff of second-tier journalists responsible for much of the daily workload" (Klinenberg, 2005: 56). We might perhaps venture that these new demands have added a new layer of complexity; no longer would editorial managers consider only the appropriateness of a given reporter on the basis of his/her's prowess in traditional journalistic parameters but also on their willingness and/or abilities to gather materials suitable for usage in both print and online platforms.

One of the first sections to 'volunteer' for enhanced cooperation with the online newsroom was Sports. Out of the three Nokia 95's that had just arrived at the online newsroom in late May 2008, one was handed in to the Sports journalist covering the upcoming presence of Portugal's

national team in Euro 2008 (which would start on June 7ᵗʰ). Basic information on recording and uploading technics were passed on by the deputy online news editor, Miguel Coutinho, yet the first 'experience' was partially filmed in a 90° counter clock-wise wrong angle. Basically, the journalist had filmed great 'inside the plane' shots with players keeping the phone in the upright position. The whole episode was dismissed as part of a positive 'learning curve', although one journalist told us: "you see, you see – this is not just 'pick that phone and go'; not everyone will be able to do it and we should have had some real instruction on operation and also on basic shooting technics".

Out of the three Nokia N95's initially bought, one was in the Lisbon office and two were used by both online journalists and print journalists on external assignments deemed relevant at the joint editorial meetings. For online journalists usage was confined to breaking news coverage – as was the case with the above mentioned student lockdown action – whilst for print journalists it could also be widened to the recording of accessory video footage, as was the case with the exemple we have just presented. In both cases, journalists would normally send raw footage via FTP whilst still on the field – video would then be edited and appropriate captions and brief introductory text would be added before publishing (Figure 30). After the initial experiences a sort of unwritten 'how-to-do-it' guide –sometimes resulting from a detection of shortcomings during editing – would become common knowledge among the online newsroom.

Figure 30 :: A *JN* Sports journalist using a Nokia 95 to record video of a footballer's statements

Three video recording packs (video camera, microphone, tripod, basic lighting) were mostly used for work beyond breaking news. Depending on editorial decisions, online journalists could take them when accompanying print journalists on a particular assignment ("some people still see them as 'the video guys' that just tag along 'proper' journalists", observed one print editor in January 2009) or they could use them to prepare longer video features or multimedia packages segments. Most of this video content would be edited in a single media station (a self contained proprietary software unit) and occasionally journalists had to take turns. For shorter videos other computers were sometimes used.

The thrust of autonomous video production from the start of the new online venture edged *Jornal de Notícias* into a territory which had hitherto been occupied mostly by television channels and that gave it an increased relative presence in Portuguese online news media. A *Daily Mirror* editor, Steve Purcell, would say in 2007 that if a newspaper was now allowed to break news stories in a video format that would be "a distinct advantage", especially because new (into video) structures would not be "weighed down by the mentality of thinking we can only do this with five men and two cameras" (Thurman, 2008: 444). The lack of pre-existing video capture culture at *Jornal de Notícias* meant that decisions and procedures being undertaken from June 2008 onwards would not be compared to anything else and would in fact themselves be the initiators of a separate new work setting. The scarcity of online journalists and the broadening of their self-perceived roles helped to promote –as mentioned earlier – a goal oriented culture which resulted in substantial original output.

Multimedia production, not being an initial declared ambition of editorial managers for the new project (we mentioned earlier the fact that a specific space for feature packages would only be made available at a later date) was, nonetheless, a perceived ambition for online journalists. "This is what can help us to be truly distinctive; a true multimedia language is not yet set in stone and we can be creative and try things out", told us one journalist as she was editing one such package in July 2008. The deputy editor-in-chief, himself an enthusiast of the journalistic

potential of these productions, would tell us that journalists were gradually encouraged to pursue some stories yet that should happen within the constraints of a common work agenda and considering the available resources. In real terms that would mean that research was conducted whilst dealing with other tasks, video and other material gathering often occurred during slower than usual work periods, and only final editing was given specific time in the overall rota arrangement. Journalists would very often during our observation periods complain that they simply did not have enough time: "sometimes it is not even time as such; it is autonomous time – special time only for this, instead of going back and forth between a complex story and breaking news production for instance", would say one online journalist.

One special world relevance event took place during our second observation period – the inauguration of United States President, Barack Obama, on January 20th 2009. Some six months after the beginning of the new online news venture both editorial managers and online journalists devised an 'operation' which started sometime before the 20th, with planning of pre-made features, infographics, photo-galleries and even 'non-topic' news about President Obama, his presidency, or former presidents. Those contents would be published at pre-arranged moments during the inauguration day and they would be combined with a series of breaking news stories produced by a team of nine people. Three television sets were tuned into three different international channels and each journalist was in charge of following the web pages of three news operations; the exception was the deputy online news editor which had the task of updating the recently inaugurated twitter feed.

The online newsroom was, on that day, mostly focused on this major story – two journalists occasionally published barely retouched news wire breaking news opting to concentrate only on those worthy of making it to the homepage. In many respects the experience was a revealing one mostly because on that specific day the observer felt completely invisible. Journalists' immersion in immediate tasks left little room for conversation on working routines or decision making processes.

Everytime a journalist though he/she had found something new and relevant he/she would say it out loud; sometimes brief comments would ensue and a decision would be made by the online news editor on whether or not to prepare some new news story based on it. The subject would only be mentioned againg when ready – the online news editor would finalize its homepage positioning.

In restrospect it could be said that we had the opportunity to see the new online newsroom in accelerated production mode and to confirm that journalists behaved very much according to traditional procedures in terms of information selection and confirmation, and yet they were in permanent contact with whatever else was being published and – namely through the twitter account – of what might be said about their ongoing work.

The online newsroom would only experience a buzz resembling this one when pre-planed known personalities visited it to take part in live online conversations with *jn.pt* users.
These conversations, using *Cover-it-live*, required anticipated planning – depending on the guest's specific area the online news editor would have the help of a print journalist or editor to establish contact – and were announced to users a few days before they took place. During our second observation period we had the opportunity to follow what was by then the third experience of the kind, a conversation with promising Leixões SC football goalkeeper, Beto (soon to be transferred to FC Porto).

The goalkeeper arrived on time and he was taken to a desk with a computer where, with the help of a Sports journalist and the online news editor, he was to interact with users. A brief explanations on the method ensued while a photojournalist took pictures to be published both online and on the next day's print edition.

The live conversation began on schedule yet it was less than live; indeed, the volume of questions was such – over 500 in less than 30 minutes – that they had to be managed thorough a preview screen manned by the online news editor; the player would choose to answer one specific question, it would appear on the live box and the reply would follow. Beto replied to 68 users' questions (Figure 31).

Besides the Sports journalist, the online news editor, and the photojournalist this production involved one other journalist to record video. The rest of the newsroom ensured the maintenance of the rest of the operation.

"This was our best so far", would say the online news editor soon after the whole task ended. "We tried it at first without too much expectations yet the response was always very positive (...) users enjoy contacting these people directly and they themselves enjoy being part of something different", he would add.

Figure 31 :: Live conversation between users and known footballer (Beto)

The *Cover-it-Live* conversation would remain online for a few days more, it would get special coverage on the print edition and it would also give way to a video including statements from the interviewee evaluating the experience. On the whole, the 'come on and talk to...' operation would have a prominent space on *jn.pt*'s homepage for more than just a pair of days. Although having clear journalistic interest and being handled solely by journalists these initiatives naturally revealed an acute awareness of the value of direct user interactions, contributing to a previously mentioned impression of a reduced reluctance to deal with issues traditionally connected to the commercial side of the print operation.

That mixture between a reduced reluctance to accept new journalistic experiences and a heightened sensibility to user interaction and to competition related issues was also noticeable when *Jornal de Notícias* decided to propose some of its production to the Portuguese

Ciberjournalism Awards, a University of Porto initiative widely accepted as the most prestigious in the field. The fact that a work on the thawing of Greenland's ices (a collaborative work by Alfredo Leite, Luis Pedro Carvalho and Miguel Coutinho) won 'best multimedia feature' for 2008[51] was still talked about in January 2009. In general, online journalists felt it as an important recognition by peers, academics and users of their endevours in the second semester of 2008. The award was brought to the online newsroom and stood in a highly visible spot, on top of the equipment cabinet. In the 2009 edition *jn.pt* would again win the 'best multimedia feature' prize (significantly the final three nominations' list included only *jn.pt* works) yet it would also win the 'best infography' and the most coveted overall 'excellence in cyberjournalism' awards.

Figure 32 :: Examples of nominated and winning multimedia features in the 2008 and 2009 editions of the Portuguese Cyberjournalism Awards

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[51] http://obciber.wordpress.com/premios/, accessed on 2011-06-12.

7   Users and interactivity

I n a recent article centred on responsiveness towards audiences Brants and Haan tell us that "taking the public seriously now looks like becoming a new dogma in a competitive media world inhabited by an increasingly self-assured public. (...) For a long time, trust in the media was self-evident, a non-issue, because journalists were expected and perceived to be responsible and reliable. Now mistrust is the issue, and responsiveness is seen and used as the means of reversing the situation" (Brants, 2010: 424-425). A combination of factors brought the journalism/audiences relation to their current relative positioning: increased competition and shifting patterns of user consumption; new digital technology promoted opportunities for interaction and direct communication; a generalized withdrawal of party politics in favour of a more populist, charisma based and more adapted to market driven tendencies in media markets' kind of democracy; the banalisation of media access and the triumph of unmediated forms of *vox populi* expression in the public domain. These factors have, in turn, led the media to adopt what the authors describe as three models of responsiveness: 1) civic responsiveness: approximation to public journalism ideals by focusing on social responsibility and trying to connect to the audiences in a less paternalistic form; 2) strategic responsiveness: commercial motivation induces persuasive and binding production to grab consumers (no longer citizens); 3) emphatic responsiveness: journalism undertakes a moral position siding with specific groups against perceived state or institutional mistreatment (ibid: 416-418).

Even if this generalization presents us a less than tight fit to both the historical evolution of journalism and its relation with audiences in the Portuguese context and *Jornal de Notícias*' specific situation its value still holds ground insofar as it points towards a more frail state of affairs and, significantly, towards journalism's multiple signs of uneasiness with that scenario.

As we have shown earlier, *Jornal de Notícias*' new online venture was constructed on the basis of an intended enhancement of the relation with users and our observations have noted that online journalists – especially in the widening of their sets of tasks and their growing attention to non-exclusively journalistic user related issues – have perhaps established themselves as professionals with distinctive characteristics as compared to their print counterparts. Initial

expectations on user involvement were proved over-optimistic and journalists' ensuing evaluation of that involvement became more sophisticated, with differentiated relevance being given to different forms of participation.

Journalists' perceptions on this subject seemed to be in tune with studies indicating that "the general audience has not clamored for more direct interaction with journalists and their sources" (Lowrey & Anderson, 2005), at least not the fashion envisaged by early predictions on the relevance of interactivity as the key to a 'cultural change' in journalism (Deuze, 1999: 378). Some authors would even suggest that "online news producers need not worry about adoption of all types of interactivity that are promoted through various interactive features", given that "online audiences are not using interactive features extensively" (Chung, 2008: 671-672).

Other studies would rather suggest that a considerable portion of those audiences, despite having a less rigid outlook on what might constitute journalism (Lewis, 2008), were nonetheless still very much interested in the existence of "a figure who filters the enourmous amount of available daily information using traditional journalistic methods to confirm their veracity" (López, 2001: 116).

It follows that for the purpose of this study interactivity – a concept which stems from the sociological notion of interaction, defining the relationship between two or more people who, in a given situation, mutually adjust their behaviours and actions to each other (Chung, 2008: 660) – is understood as a highly flexible construct where participants hold a degree of control over the message and the timing of communication exchanges (Downes, 2000: 172). This also presumes both parties to be free to engage or disengage, to 'lean-back' or 'lean forward' (Jansz, 2005) according to their preferences.

This choice might be perceived as an excessively sanitized definition which, for instance, deliberately excludes factors like the unevenness of power between journalists and users. It is, in fact, a valid argument and indeed our observation – as mentioned earlier – showed that journalists felt very strong about a definition of their role which was anchored on elements precisely like control. Nevertheless, the same observation process showed us that journalists began the new online news venture with one perception of what could be achieved through interactions with users and soon started to change both their opinions and their procedures to

adapt to a different reality. This definition's validity lies precisely in the fluidity of process it presumes. Users can choose to be consumers at one specific moment and active producers right after that; by the same token, journalists can decide to ignore comments from users or can decide to ask for users help in the elaboration of a given content.

7.1 Who are jn.pt's users?

A study conducted in 2006 by researchers from Universidade Católica Portuguesa, involving a sample of 1033 readers, indicated that *Jornal de Notícias* was the Portuguese daily with highest spontaneous evocation ('top of mind'), perceived as the most nationalist, and noted for its attention to social and ecology related issues. Most sought newspaper sections were those related to national and local news. Men were JN's main readers (67 per cent) and more than half of the whole sample had less than 12 years of formal education (Serra, 2006).

Regarding the online news operation 75.2 per cent of the sample said they had never visited the website; only 12.2 per cent would mention making 1-2 visits per week. Almost 60 per cent of the sample chose to abstain from making comments on *jn.pt* and only 4.5 per cent said they thought of it as being 'very good' (ibid.).

Figure 33 :: Entry screen of the online users' questionnaire

This study presents us an image of an established strong print product with a reputable image among readers; for those same readers, the online news operation, as it existed in 2006, was a much more brittle product – for ¾ of them it might as well not even exist.

The idea of promoting, within the scope of this study, a users questionnaire sometime after the start of the new online news project aimed precisely at gauging not only acceptance levels but also their identification with both print and online products. The fact that an online tool was chosen has clear methodological implications – results only represent the opinions of those who have taken part – yet it also performed a valid additional task which fits the above mentioned interactivity concept by seeking concrete signs of active user engagement. The fact that 338 valid answers were collected after an extensive exposure of the questionnaire in both the homepage and all news story pages for almost a week is in itself a factor to be considered when analyzing user involvement with the online news operation.

Respondents' median age was 34 years old and 66 per cent of them were men. More than 47 per cent of those who answered the online questionnaire had completed a higher education degree and more than 97 per cent of them were of Portuguese nationality (nine respondents indicated being national from Spain, Switzerland, Canada, Brazil, USA, Argentina, Mozambique and France).

As to to their current geographical location (in terms of districts): 39.4 per cent resided in Porto; 19.2 per cent in Braga; 8 per cent in Lisbon; 7.7 per cent in Aveiro; 4.4 per cent in Viana do Castelo. Most other national districts registered values bellow the 3 per cent mark and three of them did not have one single respondent – Beja, Évora, and Azores. Out of the total of 338 respondents, 29 (8.6 per cent) answered 'other' and they have indicated as place of residence: UK-5; France-4; Ireland and Netherlands-3; Spain, Mozambique, Brasil, and Germany-2; and Andorra, Argentina, USA, Italy, Mexico, and Canada-1.

In terms of average monthly net income, almost 50 per cent of respondents indicated that they earned more than 900 euros; 24.9 per cent signaled the 450-900 euros slot. Groups with no fixed income and earning more than 1800 euros per month were very similar in size – 17.8 per cent and 17.5 per cent respectively.

Regarding their relation with the print edition of *Jornal de Notícias*, two questions were posed to users – one to assess their contact with the product as readers and one other to assess their involvement as buyers.

Figure 33 shows that more than 42 per cent of respondents had an occasional contact with the print product – they read, at most, one edition per month – and that only 19 per cent engaged with it on a daily basis.

Distance to the print product was even greater when the question involved the deliberate act of buying the print product; 36.4 per cent of respondents indicated that they never bought *Jornal de Notícias* and only 7.7 per cent said they bought it every day (Figure 34).

I read JN's print edition		
Answer	**Count**	**Percentage**
Never (71)	43	12.72%
Less than 12 times p/year (72)	71	21.01%
Once a month (73)	30	8.88%
Once a week (74)	79	23.37%
3 times p/week (75)	51	15.09%
Every day (76)	64	18.93%
No answer	0	0

Figure 34 :: Answers to question 7 in the online edition users' questionnaire

I buy JN's print edition		
Answer	**Count**	**Percentage**
Never (71)	123	36.39%
Less than 12 times p/year (72)	96	28.40%
Once every month (73)	23	6.80%
Once every week (74)	52	15.38%
3 times p/week (75)	18	5.33%
Every day (76)	26	7.69%
No answer	0	0

Figure 35 :: Answers to question 8 in the online edition users' questionnaire

Almost 19 per cent of respondents indicated that they did not read newspapers at all and an almost identical number said they would normally dedicate more than one hour per day to that activity. The bulk of respondents – more that 40 per cent – would refer an average newspaper readingdaily period in between 30 minutos and one hour.

If this information seeking activity happened online a majority of respondents said they would spend more than 30 minutes every day. In fact, 24.2 per cent answered 'between 30 minutos and one hour', 27.5 per cent indicated that they would spend, on average, one to two hours every day reading news online, and more than 31 per cent would point out the fact that their daily online news consumption exceeded two hours (Figure 35).

How much daily time do I devote to information on the...[Web]		
Answer	**Count**	**Percentage**
None	7	2.07%
15 minutes	19	5.62%
Less than 30 minutes	31	9.17%
30 minutes to 1 hour	82	24.26%
1 to 2 hours	93	27.51%
2 to 4 hours	56	16.57%
More than 4 hours	50	14.79%
No answer	0	0

Figure 36 :: Answers to question 9 in the online edition users' questionnaire

Unsurprisingly the majority of respondents are regular users of *Jornal de Notícias*' online presence: almost 54 per cent said they visited the site several times per day, and 29 per cent said they did it at least once every day. According to their own estimations, average visits to *jn.pt* took between 5 and 15 minutes for 38.8 per cent and between 15 and 30 minutes for 29.6 per cent. Only 9.8 per cent of respondents said they stayed for less than 5 minutes and around 16 per cent noted that their daily visits lasted more than 30 minutes.

Normal regular access was predominantly made via computer (84.6 per cent sayed 'never' when asked about mobile telephone access), and it happened after directly writing the web address or through a search engine. Alternative entry points were considered only by a slim minority; RSS readers had never been used by 84.6 per cent of respondents, the twitter account registered a 'never' of 79.9 per cent, and blogs were only marginally more used (69.2 per cent indicated that they never used them as entry points into *jn.pt*). Visiting *jn.pt* was not an isolated activity; users

indicated that they also regularly visited other Portuguese news information sites, namely those linked to *Público*, *Diário de Notícias*, and *Correio da Manhã*.

When asked to indicate which thematic areas of the site they visited the most, Breaking News got mentioned as a first preference by more respondents; other relevant spaces were National, Society, Country, and World. Significantly, a traditionally very strong print area like Sports was not among these and was even surpassed by Multimedia. Similarly important, areas which might include more user participation, like Blogs or Citizen Reporter, also gathered very little interest as frequently visited areas of the site.

When asked to respond to statements on the possible justifications for their visits to *jn.pt*, more than 81 per cent of respondents would agree or strongly agree with the expression 'because it always has updated information'. The phrase 'because I trust JN' would gather the positive or very positive support of some 73 per cent of those who answered the online questionnaire; 'because it is easy to find what I want' would have a less enthusiastic acceptance – 69 per cent agreed or strongly agreed. The statement 'because it is open to the contribution of users' got a revealing response: 7.6 per cent of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with it; 14.5 per cent took the undefined option; approximately 54 per cent said they agreed or strongly agreed; 18.3 per cent pointed out that they did not know (an option which had never had more than marginal support in previous statements).

A comparison between *jn.pt* and other national online news providers in terms of design would return 15 per cent of worse and much worse responses; 35.5 per cent of users would put it on a par with others and more than 43 per cent would say that *Jornal de Notícias* was better or much better. Apllying the same comparative framework to ease of use, negative responses would be given by some 9 per cent of respondents, whilst positive or very positive ones would be given by 44 per cent of them. Values would be very similar in terms of thematic division. Personalization flexibility at *jn.pt* would be equal to that of its competitors for almost 53 per cent of respondents; some 24 per cent would say that it was better or much better. Multimedia at *jn.pt* was better or much better for 42 per cent of those who answered the online questionnaire.

This data suggests that – similarly to the study for the print readership – respondents were predominantly male (in roughly very similar 6/4 proportions).

Levels of education were, in contrast, distinctively higher.

Most of those who chose to answer the online questionnaire seemed to reside in areas where *Jornal de Notícias* has a traditional strong presence – Porto and those district which surround it. The only noticeable exception wass Lisbon (which gathered as much responses as all those who were sent from outside Portugal).

Users of *jn.pt* who answered the questionnaire did not seem to have a strong attachment to the print edition; only 19 per cent said they read it and only 7.7 per cent said they bought it on a daily basis. Despite (apparently) being distant from print, respondents were very much engaged in activities pertaining to the interaction with online news ventures; they would spend a significant amount of time every day on information related websites, including *jn.pt* and some of its direct competitors.

Access via devices other than computers was very low and most visits were ignited by the desire to follow breaking news. Trust in *JN* was strong but adherence to the notion that *jn.pt* had permanently updated information was even stronger. Regarding the matter of users' contributions, almost 1/5 of respondents did not have a defined position.

For most respondents, *jn.pt* was better than other national online news providers in terms of design, thematic division and multimedia contents.

What seemed to emerge – even if we should emphasize that these results were only representative of the opinions of 338 *jn.pt* users – was an image of a reasonably educated avid information seeker who visited *jn.pt* for its perceived immediate virtues in the context of a constant comparison between competing online news producers. This user trusted *JN* but did not seem to pay too much attention to presumably more user oriented areas on the site.

This having been said, a considerable number of respondents felt sufficiently involved with the product to finish answering the questionnaire with additional comments. Some of those remarks were, indeed, very interesting and coul be summed up into a few categories: comments asking

for a closer approximation between the online and print editions (it should have the print cartoon, it should include obituaries and crossword puzzles, the Sports section should include more regionally relevant news; regional information should feature more prominently); comments asking for greater distinction (it should have a Science section, it should have editions in other languages); comments asking for increased ease of use (better search tools, better access to the archive, comments on all news); and comments asking for greater editorial stringency (higher writing standards, tighther control of abuse in comments and blogs, less political bias). Relevantly, out of the 130 expressed comments, none asked for increased interactivity.

7.2 Interactive features

In a detailed categorization of roles users can assume within the broad scope of interactivity, Slot and Frissen mention large macro-areas, like consume, create, share, facilitate, and communicate. As consumers, users can read, view, listen, download, buy, play or search; as creators they can customize and produce content; as sharers, they can publish, upload, send to others; as facilitators, they can tag, recommend, filter, or subscribe (RSS); finally, as communicators, they can send direct messages, comment, rate, or chat (Slot, 2007: 205). Picone offers us a conceptually very similar organization of possible dimensions of interaction yet he significantly emphasizes the need to lower expectations as to their multiple and varied adoption. Indeed, he suggests that "opinion, expertise and local news seem to be more adequate for non-professional users to produce than in-depth news converage (...) The end of a newspaper as a content provider is therefore rather exaggerated" (Picone, 2007: 105-110).

Ours being a newsroom centred study, we are naturally mostly focused on those dimensions which influence journalistic activity. As such, we would feel more inclined to share an evaluation which privileges signs of what Boczkowski describes as "the inscription of a representation of the intended user in the media artifacts produced by online newspapers" (Boczkowski, 2005: 175). In other words, areas in which journalist work has been influenced by a given understanding of who the user is and of what he might want from the online news venture.

Thus, if we exclude some of the above mentioned more 'lean-back' possibilities we should be left with three major categories: customization, feedback, and user produced contents (Domingo, 2008a: 692-696).

Customization at *Jornal de Notícias*' new online project was initially confined to user registration and the initiative was mostly intended to promote a sense of civic responsibility. "I accept the idea that in another setting, with another type of news operation and especially with different users, that might be a valid proposal; for us it is not", said the deputy editor-in-chief, Alfredo Leite, during a conversation in May 2008. His views were shared by the online news editor, Manuel Molinos, who added: "we should focus on broadening our offer and improving the overall quality of what we do – people will choose us for that and they (...) surfing back and forth between our site and others is already user customization".

Notions like 'prosumerism' (Toffler, 1980) or like the 'Daily Me' (Negroponte, 1995) were seen as almost dislocated from reality constructions.The new online project was designed as an exclusively newsroom controlled interface and that option held its own during both our observation periods; as noted elsewhere after observation of two other distinct online news operations the 'we write, you read' model was still very much predominant and innovations like user accreditation and differentiated relevance, crowdsourcing or user-recommended news were non-existent (Örnebring, 2008: 782).

The fact that this 'low involvement' option was, at that time, the one adopted by all other major Portuguese online news providers was regarded as a ratifying sign.

An initial general RSS feed was, still in 2008, replaced by thematic ones yet they were never mentioned by journalists as opportunities users might have to challenge some of their editorial control. In fairness, RSS readers were not widespread popular tools in Portugal and our users' survey indicated that by 2009 respondents were still very much distant from them (out of 338 users only 9 said they accessed *jn.pt* via RSS feeds on a daily basis).

Users' feedback was felt directly, through e-mails, telephone calls, and comments, or indirectly, via their identified behaviours after entering *jn.pt*.

In the former online presence – which was managed by three journalists – user contact was mostly established through generalist moderated forums. As previously mentioned, users would send their messages and journalists would post them.

The new online venture brought with it a more dynamic online presence increasing the possibilities of user initiated contacts either via e-mail or telephone. No personalized journalist e-mails addresses were provided which meant that users had to channel all their questions to one generalist mailbox. In most instances the mailbox was checked by the online news editor or by his deputy (being replaced by a senior journalist whenever they were not available) and issues were addressed or redirected to more appropriate services : "You should see some of the things we get; from complaints about newspaper gift promotion campaigns to trivia questions on the most varied subjects (...) sometimes, among all that, we get some relevant information or some genuine suggestion to change this or that", would indicate the deputy online news editor during a March 2009 conversation.

When asked about their own interactions with *jn.pt* only 14.2 per cent of respondents to our users' questionnaire would indicate that they had already contacted the newsroom directly via telephone or e-mail.

User comments on news stories were, at first, managed on a much more cautious basis. An early decision was made to allow comments on local or national news stories that made it to the homepage yet we noticed – especially in June 2008 – that neither the policy seemed to have been discussed at length and agreed upon by all nor that it was being applied evenly. During one editorial meeting in early June 2008 it was possible to notice that the matter was not consensual – some journalists thought all news stories should have comments whilst other preferred the 'case by case' strategy – and the fact that this was just one more issue to deal with at a moment of such enourmous energy strain hampered any decisive change on the matter. At that stage – June and July 2008 – comments by users were still not being published directly on the website and as such the management of the increasing flow was being made by the online news editor

and by the deputy online news editor. As the scale of the endeavour increased it became a strenuous task: "This is growing out of all proportion", noted the deputy online news editor. "We need to solve this, because instead if being a enhancement it is becoming a huge problem", he added.

Some three months after the start of the new project, accepted comments had passed 10,000 and before the end of 2008 they had more than doubled. Later in 2008 a decision was made to stop comment moderation and to follow a path taken by other short staffed online news operations – comments were henceforth to be published directly (albeit by pre-registered users), and peer managed filtration mechanisms were introduced.

Out of those who have answered our users' questionnaire only 24.9 per cent said they were registered users of *Jornal de Notícias*' online operation.

Both e-mail contacts and users comments were certainly signs of a closer proximity between online journalists and the users of the news site yet we would venture that they were still very much unbalanced exchanges; e-mails were seldom originators of significant changes in both product and production routines and users' comments – espcially after the end of moderation – were seen by journalists as an environment which at best offered curious insights into human behaviour.

Data on users' online conduct, on the other hand, were – even if unwittingly – considered much more relevant. Journalists would always, as we have seen previously, assume traditional news selection criteria as their main guidance yet it soon became noticable that permanently available data on users preferences started to seep in to equation. Especially after the summer of 2008, more and more stories related to celebrities, curiosities, or connected to videos of bizarre events (sometimes accidents), started to find their way into the top spot of the far left column in the homepage. "A video with a stage accident of someone like Lady Gaga is a sure thing", would jest an online journalist. "Seriously, we now know much better how to compose an attractive homepage for our readers (...) we could keep Lady Gaga's fall out of it, but users would certainly find it elsewhere", he concluded.

The integration of user produced content was, as mentioned earlier, perceptible in the creation of three autonomous user oriented areas – Blogs, Community, and Citizen Journalism – yet a clash between expectations and outcomes soon resulted in changes and, most relevantly, in the process helped to establish what was perceived in the newsroom as a more accurate acquis of knowledge on 'what users really want'.

The early decision was no doubt influenced by debates on the relevance of participatory journalism (Deuze, 2007b) and by the emergence of a discourse on the 'user as king', as emphasized by Time magazine's last cover of 2006 (Nafria, 2007). Indeed, for years newspaper managers had been criticized for being too conservative (Gillmor, 2005) or even stagnant in an age of interactivity and for not having the willingness to abandon traditional newsgathering and news production practices (Matheson, 2004: 444-446).

The three spaces had hence been created in the genuine expectation that they might help journalists in their daily activities and that they might foster a strong sense of community around *Jornal de Notícias*' new online project. Despite the fact that the matter was never put to users in such terms, they had, for both editorial managers and journalists, essentially journalism oriented goals; as Hermida and Thurman would put it, after analysing the effects of users contributions at 12 UK news online sites, journalists "are putting out a call for user content to be published under the mastehead of a newspaper but perceive a need for it to fit the identity and values represented by the brand" (Hermida, 2008).

During our first period of observation these areas however grew in disparate directions, most of them far removed from journalism. Blogs were mostly used for one off experiences; those that maintained a degree of regularity were very few. The Community area – one that had been described to us in early 2008 as a potential mark of qualitative distinction for *jn.pt* (as it was supposed to integrate contributions from associations, small sports clubs, etc.) – soon became stale and was even removed from the website. The Citizen Journalism area gradually became a repository for testimonial (sometimes with photographies) accounts of odd daily life events – the falling of a tree, a sudden pothole, a car accident – or for complaints about public local or national services.

Reasons for the apparent failure of these areas in aggregating the expected user interest were never fully discussed by editorial managers and journalists. We might venture – ensuing from our observations – that possible justification should be sought in a combination of factors, like the absense of initial pro-active administration of the Community area, like the absence of a series of anchor (guest administered) blogs from the onset of the project, like the limited design and customization features of the adopted blog platform or like the deferred publication option for all matters related to the Citizen Journalism area.

Instead, changes were soon operated to 'remedy' the situation. The Community area disappeared, Citizen Journalism – being the most 'successful' of the three initial spaces – remained as it was and the Blogs area started to integrate journalist administered thematic spaces, assuming the role of alternative micro-content areas.

User direct constributions would very soon become mostly limited to participation in live blogging initiatives, or in topic oriented 'send us your impressions / photos' contents.

Faced with partially unintended results, and pressured by an assortment of constraints, journalists withdrew to more traditional grounds and created a 'workable' (as one journalist would tell us) interaction framework with users which mostly encompassed contributions on popular culture oriented or personal/daily life themes. As noted in other studies, and even if set in motion by different reasons, direct user involvement in newsgathering, news selection and news production at *Jornal de Notícias* was also reduced to a minimum (Örnebring, 2008: 783; Paulussen, 2008: 36).

Online journalists enjoyed the higher levels of interaction with users in comparison to those experienced by their print counterparts yet they adapted the site and their own procedures so that such occurences did not hinder what they though of as their (more traditional) primary role.

Users constributions on breaking news were the noted exception; video or photographic materials gathered by non-professional would, after verification of provenance, find their way into the professionally managed homepage environment yet those were mostly testimonial contents and in some cases they were adapted and/or edited before publication.

One exemple of the 'new-found' perceived equilibrium was observed in early January 2009 when a very rare snow storm covered large portions of the country. The homepage was used to publish a 'send us your snow photos' message and by midday a slideshow with the first contributions already featured prominently in the first screen of that homepage. Over 500 pictures were sent by users; they were all adjusted, adapted to the required size, and added to the growing slideshow with an individual caption (When, Where, taken by Whom). This work alone meant that at least two journalists dedicated a considerable portion of their workday to that single feature story. They seemed to revel in the task – "this is brilliant; we are getting pictures from all over the place; no one else has them", told us one of them – expression a satisfaction no doubt born out of the real journalistic interest of the story but also supported by two other factors – knowledge of instantaneous advantage over competitors and knowledge of the growing success of the initiative in terms of visitors. Indeed, the constantly updated users' photos slideshow registered, in little over seven hours, more than 20,000 visits.

Users generated content thus gradually became a less than initially envisaged reality yet a relevant and interesting presence in the daily work of online journalists. Although maintaining a strong attachment to traditional newsgathering and producing rules and principles, online journalists seem to have carved a 'confort zone' where the presence of users is relevant. Perhaps not as relevant and not as intense as antecipated by optimistic outlooks on citizen participation in news production yet far more intricate than could even be presumed by online journalists before May 2008.

8 Conclusion

Writing about media and daily life in 2003 Martins would tell us that "vested by technic, time has accelerated to the point of limiting our scope of historical appropriation" (Martins, 2003). The statement could easily be read as a pessimistic assessment of human interactions with digital technologies yet we would venture that rather more useful would be to think of it as a reading of a singular time of transition, where media forms which helped to organize both collective and individual historicities are experiencing erosion and have not been replaced by singular alternatives.

Some readings tend to disregard the richness of the transition period itself hurrying solutions to somehow order what seems chaotic (Castells, 2000c) whilst others accept with greater ease the fluidity of social attachments (Bauman, 2000) and others still venture that organic ever-adapting reciprocity is precisely the most natural environment for social interchanges (Postman, 2000).

Journalism finds itself, in the first years of this new century, very much in a transition and responses also tend to oscilate between proposals to either repair existing structures (Fuller, 2010) or replace them altogheter (Jarvis, 2009b) and proposals accepting the possibility of a more fragmented future arrangement where users will have greater influence in the determination of players' relative position (Rusbridger, 2009).

If evidence abounds on the progressive erosion of a particular business model for media companies and of a particular mode of interaction with audiences for journalism as an activity it is as yet very hazardous to venture concrete stable alternative paths. If we might be allowed to recuperate Auden's poem strong imagery, we would say that eventhough indications of 'raindeer' are visible in the horizon they still roam "miles and miles of golden moss" in erratic movements.

"Insecurity is the condition of our journalistic age", told us Guardian editor, Alan Rusbridger, during the Hugh Cudlipp Lecture in January 2010 (Rusbridger, 2010). This 'condition' is clearly seen as highly problematic (dangerous even) by some – "News coverage is not all that newspapers have given us. They have lent the public a powerful means of leverage over the state, and this leverage is now at risk" (Starr, 2011: 37) – and as a challenge by others –

"(common ground) cannot now be based on a single set of views about the world. It has to be a shared set of approaches to understanding the world, a willingness to receive information that challenges assumptions, of hearing views with which one disagrees and the ability to debate and interact to form a variety of views about a diverse society" (Horrocks, 2006). Either option labours under a specific perception on change and on the intrinsic value of transition.

In her thorough and innovative examination of the beginnings of the printing press, Eisenstein noted two very interesting occurrences: firstly, systematic compartmentalization of historical research meant that no single wide ranging account seemed to exist and that partial observations sometimes missed the impressive social implications of that singular technological development; secondly, those same sectorial accounts appeared to mostly centre their attention on describing the pre- and post-printing press environments, leaving aside what happened in between and especially what circumstances have allowed it to be a pivotal agent in modernization in some areas more than in others (Eisenstein, 1980). As it turned out, those were ebullient times, marked as much by the positive increase in access as by exaggeration, banalisation of themes or even the desacralisation of the written word by way of very poor translations, for instance. "This is what real revolutions are like", would tell us Clay Shirky: "The old stuff gets broken faster than the new stuff is put in its place" (Shirky, 2011: 41).

It is precisely this relevance of transitions which, we argue, brings to prominence the necessity to take in without hasty dismissal contributions from ethnography based observations (Paterson, 2008; Singer, 2008c). Identifying change within confined contextual environments might not constitute the most appropriate departure ground for necessary macro-lensed readings yet – especially if input from a variety of similar studies in different settings is considered – it might add a substantive contribution to understandings which shun over-simplifications and keep clear of positive or negative hyperbolizations.

Our main purpose in this study was thus to provide a contribution to that ongoing effort by casting our eyes over online journalism, an area which itself could be presented as a 'hinge', linking traditional and new formats, old and new roles, fixed and fluid self-perceptions. We set off

to produce the first detailed observation of a Portuguese online newsroom operation belonging to an historic national newspaper.

Our research queries were, under this specific framing, much less geared towards the confirmation of hypothesis than towards an attempt to understand – to borrow from Lobo Antunes' famous statement on his own fascination with writing – how 'things were stitched up from the inside'. We set out to assess why some production/interaction procedures were adopted and others were not, in order to identify what external inputs influence and/or determine content production, and attempted to identify what (if any) traces of distinctiveness did the 'online' tag bring into journalists' professional ethos.

Our case study, *Jornal de Notícias*, soon became a solid research proposition for a series of reasons: first and formost, we were given the opportunity to observe transition in a specifically relevant moment – the beginning of a new online news venture project in a centennial print operation; second, *Jornal de Notícias* was the first Portuguese media company to have a regularly updated online edition and that symbolic attachment to a somewhat pioneering role was very much a feature of its own self-image; third, *Jornal de Notícias*'s main newsroom, located in Oporto, offered the possibility of undertaking this research with controlled levels of costs.

Our study of change at *Jornal de Notícias* started in November 2007 and newsroom observations took place between May 2008 and March 2009. Collection of data related to this study finished at the end of April 2009. Participant observation was complemented by valid insights and relevant data gathered from in-depth interviews, a journalists' survey, and, significantly, a novel users' questionnaire. The research was further complemented by documental analysis.

In an online journalism centred concentrical design we have started this work by presenting a broad overview on debates over the expansion of the internet. We establish how a mostly techno-deterministic charter shaped most debates to the point of becoming a "latter-day lingua franca" (Mattelart, 2002:592) based on two interconnected perceptions: a) new digital communication's usage is overwhelmingly benign and 'alteration' is presented mostly as a synonym for 'improvement'; b) the internet paves the way for the correction of pre-existing chronic unbalances acting as a generator of equilibrium in social, economic and political terms; it somehow reduces

the uneveness of the playing field between former producers and consumers of knowledge and goods, between those who had exclusive access to the public space and those who were 'mass observers', and between those in positions of political power and those whom they represent. We have noted that, significantly, despite its presentation as a vital promoter of processes of social change, the internet is presented as a surgical utensil made available to individuals who (irrespective of their means and levels of access and their degree of pre-acquired knowledge) deliberately want to assume a distinctive role in the construction of diverse and evershifting communalities of interest. We further discuss the apparently inadequate consideration that is given to the user and the absence of a needed sense of historcicity and we present a view on media ecology as a possibly 'casing' which regains usefulness as an interpretative apparatus in the present precisely due to this somewhat hybrid nature.

We then depart from an operative proposal – the convergence of technologies and their adoption has increased interconnectedness, defying conceptions of what constitutes the social common space and of what types of performances individuals can have in it – to elaborate in detail on the three foundational concepts: convergence, network, and common space. They are presented as autonomous areas of debate, each of them with direct (real and presumed) effects on journalism.

We venture that whatever convergence does exist in journalism outlets it appears to have been far less the result of technological developments than the result of usage/appropriation processes where intervenors have not always shared common perceptions of objectives, we note that network journalism, as the descriptor proposed to best illustrate what results from the intersection between the core competences and functions of journalists and the civic potential of online journalism (Bardoel, 2001) is still very much an advanced projection of strategic thinking, and we establish that the emergence of a discourse on the growing irrelevance of journalism as it exists had the value of enhancing the importance of alternative production and of keeping journalism on a 'cautious mode', aware that its presence in the common space now ought to be though of in relation to and in collaboration with open source production (Witt, 2006) from an increasing number of personal contributions (Gillmor, 2005).

Subsequently we move on to a more specific analysis of scientific production on online journalism under three clear-cut and yet – for the purposes of our study – necessarily overlapping lines of inquiry: perceptions about change, enveloping discourses, and centring attention on the newsroom.

Regarding the first, we have noted that two broad discursive inclinations exist; one which upholds that digital communications and what they represent (mobility, increased interactivity, etc.) will dramatically change the face of journalism, and the other which accepts digital communications induced changes to journalism – as a social phenomenon, as a professional practice, as an economic activity – but it presumes the permanence of some of its distinctive traits (Heinonen, 1999). For the purpose of this study, we felt inclined to follow the second inclination and to share in Singer's skilfull normative proposal on the socially responsible existentialist (Singer, 2006a). It naturally follows that we take both change and adaptation to be key components of journalism as a socially evolving phenomenon and we would prefer to shy away from simplistic observations on the emergence of digital communications as either promoter or panacea for journalism's current situation.

Regarding the second, online journalism discourses, we note that the most exuberant were particularly relevant because operating from a 'should be' basis they have significantly influenced research and permeated the construction of popular and professional frameworks on the subject. Hypertext utopias, multimedia utopias, and interactivity utopias (Domingo, 2005; Domingo, 2006) have thus been more than provisional constructions of anticipatory scenarios and have significantly influenced empirical research, namely on whether website output conformed to envisaged potentialities, on whether journalists adopted prescribed sets of behavior and on whether users were interaction with production at expected levels. The bulk of these studies, as we have shown, indicated a disparity between early predictions and reality.

The third and final line of inquiry focused on presenting an overview of studies which have taken the newsroom as a privileged observation point. Especially after noting the discrepance between early predictions about online journalism and results of empirical studies which have suggested a much more complex environment and a much more uneven pace, ethnographic inspired

research presented an opportunity to explore in detail the richness of detail coming out of the newsroom floor. These studies were deliberately presented as separate units yet, when read in sequence they provide us with helpful insights on actors' behavior, on their attachment to traditional newsgathering and news production values, on their perceptions on the usefulness of interactions with users.

After a methodological chapter where we attempted to present and explain our deliberate option of a case study approach centered on participant observation triangulated with the results of two questionnaires, interviews, documental analysis and informal conversations we presented an overview of *Jornal de Notícias*' past history, a recollection of its first online news venture, a detailed account of the particular business under which the new project was developed and, finally, an indication of what were journalists' thoughts on change at the end of 2007 (based on our questionnaire).

The results of our own observation of the online newsroom were presented in four distinct parts – a description of the work environment, an analysis of roles and newsroom culture, an overview of news gathering and writing processes, and a description of innovative experience and subsequent output.

Our observation documented the shift from an initial cramped area – where visual contact with the main newsroom was only possible through the door opening – onto a glass walled room, with more than twice the area, in direct visual contact with the main floor. This was, we contend, much more that a simple change of venue; it entailed a symbolic dimension which would contribute to a shift in online journalists' self-perception.

The workflow, as implemented from mid-May 2008 onwards, would anticipate a 15-hour constant update daily news cycle, involved three different shifts for journalists and interns and centring on very precise thematic areas: breaking news on matters related to police, sports, country, people & technology, autonomous multimedia production and community related pages management. What we found relevant, during our observations, was that perceptions under which this 'programme' had been designed seemed to have gradually changed.

In terms of performed tasks, we would say that journalists would often oscilate with apparent seamlessness between production involving traditional gathering, verifying, and writing tasks and a type of production based on a more modular occupational structure in which specific tasks were not assigned to specific people. This outcome determined production meant that no single set of procedures could be identified as representative of an online newsroom working routine. During our observations we have noted at least five 'ways of doing things' each relating to a specific intention: breaking news, autonomously produced breaking news, content transportation, multimedia production, social networks updating and user interaction management.

 In terms of innovation and output we noted that increased and especially more diverse production, positively sanctioned by peers and acadamics alike, might have helped to naturalize outcome oriented production hence hinting at the creation of a online newsroom culture slowly advancing towards differentiation in comparison to its print counterpart.

In the final part of this work we have focused on the online news operation's interactive features, their adoption by users, and journalists' evalutions of that process, combining it with results from our users' questionnaire. Initial expectations on user involvement with the new online news venture having been proved over-optimistic, and under pressure by an assortement of constraints, journalists soon withdrew to more traditional grounds and created a 'workable' interaction framework with users which mostly encompassed contributions on popular culture oriented or personal/daily life themes.

Summing up our results in a perhaps more useful manner and incorporating a reflection on much of what has been given to the field by previous contributions, we would hence propose a tentative list of relevant observations:

1) Early postulations on online news production have, for the most part, not been accomplished yet we should not immediately dismiss them for they seem to maintain relevance at least in two observed dimensions. *Firstly*, our case has shown that, as it had happened with the newspapers pioneering online experience in 1995, idealized

conceptions on what online journalism should do still very much framed the design of the new online news project. Indeed, multimedia production was considered – by both editorial managers and journalists – as an area to expand and the creation of three autonomous user oriented areas (Blogs, Community, and Citizen Journalism) enhanced a desire to establish a different type of interaction. *Secondly*, one of the proposed advantages of online news production, immediacy, did indeed become central in the new production dynamics. It could, with good reason, be argued that such was the case because this is the concept which mostly fits traditional news values, especially since the emergence of 24/7 broadcasting news operations (Domingo, 2006: 509). Indeed, even journalists more in tune with print routines seemed to adapt with ease to this new notion that an online news operation should at least be on a par with other operators in terms of breaking news. Furthermore, results from our users' questionnaire have shown that to be one of the strong reasons for visits to *jn.pt* – the perception that updated information was always available. The 'imperialism of the immediate' (Klinenberg, 2005: 56) was more visible during our second period of observation. During earlier (May 2008) conversations with both editorial managers and journalists we would note that emphasis was put on developing an autonomous new online presence; in the second period of observations, procedures had been 'normalized', enthusiasm had been tempered, and 'internet time' was felt with greater intensity – time had, indeed, become a more compressed reality (Weiss, 2009: 598-599).

2) The new online news project, unlike the one put in motion in 1995, was not born out of a journalistic initiative. Notwithstanding undoubted editorial management and online newsroom intentions, it is relevant to note that the new online news project was part of a broader strategy by *Controlinveste* to reform the presence of its three most prestigious brands (*Jornal de Notícias*, *Diário de Notícias*, and *TSF*) and it mostly followed an overall managerial intention to maximize resources and production usage across titles and platforms. Significantly, as we show, the whole implementation process was developed under the deliberate mediation of a newly formed cross-group structure, the e-Bussiness and Multimedia unit. The existence of that particular unit, its own perception of the

interplay between business and editorial demands, and most relevantly, its noted outlook on content adaptation and sharing, had a significant impact on the evolution of the new online news project. This statement should not be read as a suggestion of greater permeability of editorial management and online journalists to marketing concerns. In fact, our observations allowed us to witness a number of episodes where 'differences of opinion' were exchanged in stern terms between members of the e-Business unit and editorial managers and we were always under the impression that broad editorial concerns were upheld. What seems to emerge out of our observations is that the positioning of this structure, with clear autonomous objectives, in direct daily (almost permanent, during the first few weeks of the new project) contact with the online newsroom certainly transformed website (and especially homepage) management into a much more negotiated process bringing online journalists into more direct contact with marketing concerns than their print counterparts normally would;

3) The new online news operation came into being at the same time as a relevant change occurred in the print newsroom. In a break-up with tradition a new section would be created with no direct connection to a specific area of the newspaper content. This new desk, *Actualidade*, would have shift editors (instead of thematic ones) and would be organized in such a way as to begin daily operations far sooner than others. The purpose was to acquire more agility and, as stated by the deputy editor-in-chief, also to provide a new interface with the online newsroom, mostly for the production of breaking news. This initiative increased the levels of work related interaction between newsrooms and helped to promote a different image of online journalists in the context of the whole newsroom floor; the overall news production strategy appeared to be hedging towards a model more in tune with theirs;

4) Online newsroom production routines did not result from the pre-arranged combination of inputs from professionals with distinct competences (as it would in print) but were rather output determined, which meant that journalists performed a wide range of tasks

when giving attention to a specific area. As such, no single set of procedures could be identified as representative of an online newsroom working routine. During our observations we have noted at least five 'ways of doing things' each relating to a specific intention. Some of them were notoriously more present than others yet their adoption was flexible and sometimes intertwined. Managing the flow of *breaking news* was the first and most common of those five production modes. The second 'way of doing things' could be described as *autonomously produced breaking news*. In this mode of production we would include news stories which have originated internally and have developed with information gathered by *Jornal de Notícias*' journalists. In situations like these the online journalist would function as an information hub, putting greater emphasis on speed (immediacy) than on verification, much in a manner akin to what has been designated as curatorship. Journalists felt an urge to add snippets of information as they were delivered by recognizable sources and felt somehow reassured by the perceived leeway contained in the 'being updated' line. The third identified set of tasks would be related to *content transportation* between print and online platforms, and the fourth set of tasks involved operations related to the *production of multimedia* content. Finally, the fifth set of tasks involved *social networks updating and user interaction management*. These 'five ways of doing things' all incorporated tasks or procedures exceeding traditional journalistic roles. Some demanded increased control of technology, others asked for heightened aesthetic sensibility, others demanded organization and coordination skills, others still demanded a regular contact with audiences. During one single working day journalists might regularly operate within the confines of more than one of them and this contributed to the naturalization of fluidity as a constant feature of their work.

All these outcome oriented tasks were being developed by journalists who thought of them as part and parcel of their journalistic work. Keeping close to traditional journalistic conventions on newsgathering, selection of materials, and relations with sources, journalists felt the confort of adhering to a 'principle of continuity' (O'Sullivan, 2008: 368), yet by including a whole set of new tasks they were also signalling a shift in their

self-perception and perhaps also a shift in their notion of what journalism is or should entail;

5) A lack of correspondence between perceptions of the 'imagined audience' (Ang, 1991) and first real interactions helped to create a non-uniform image of users with relevance of their contributions becoming increasingly attached to specific interventions and/or areas. If applying a stairway analogy it could be said that at the bottom steps we would find user comments on news stories and e-mails sent to the generic online news address and at the top users contributions to 'send us...' initiatives. This rather crass typification was not the result of any deliberate unsound sentiment towards users. Indeed, most journalists felt at ease with 'workable' levels of user interaction and enjoyed the experience. Vetting users' comments – as they had to at the beginning of the new online news venture – was seen as an activity which drained an already limited newsroom and, relevantly, kept journalists away from...journalism. In other words, interaction with users was welcomed when directly pertaining to the elaboration of journalistic content; in most other instances it was regarded as not much more than a waste of valuable time;

6) Between our first and second observation periods relevant changes seemed to have occurred in terms of professional 'ethos'. During that first stage, online journalists used the same 'got it' rules as their print counterparts to decide what was newsworthy, they expressed a shared identity congruence with the rest of the staff and they seemed to share the same 'language' when typifying news or choosing which sources to contact. In short, their increased production autonomy bought them closer to the existing newsroom culture rather than having contributed to the establishment of a new and differentiated one. A second moment, which we would identify with our observation periods in January and March 2009, would reveal the incorporation of new interconnected distinctive traits. *The first* was the less enthusiastic posture regarding both multimedia production and interaction with users. Video, sound and multimedia production had helped *jn.pt* ascend to a position respected by peers yet such an effort had a cost/benefit which was being

reviewed by January 2009. A similar understanding extended, as we have just mentioned, to user contributions, as well – contrary to a somewhat leveled initial appreciation some formats were now clearly much less considered as useful by journalists than others.

The second was the increased integration into permanent journalistic decision making of factors like webmetrics and competition comparison. During our observations in the summer of 2008 webmetrics were mostly used to gauge overall news production; Six months later webmetrics were much nearer to being an integral part of that process, especially when considering breaking news output. The tools' possibilities were used in greater detail and its presence – as a permanent open window in computer screens – was more common. Significantly, the accumulated knowledge resulting from continuous closer contact with user usage data had a visible impact on the management of the homepage. The top left spot on the page was by now frequently occupied by soft news stories. The rest of the homepage was managed in such a way to best allow for a balance between hard and soft news. Constant measurement of user interactions with production was accompanied by a more frequent observation of what others – both Portuguese and non Portuguese online news sites – were doing. What was, up until now, a common procedure mostly in broadcasting was now clearly a part of the online news production operative framework;

7) Especially during the second observation period we have noted that for online journalists thematic anchoring points did not make sense any more. Unlike their Sports, Culture, or Economics counterparts in the print newsroom, online journalists' strongest attachment seemed to be to the online newsroom itself. Their increasing production (outcome oriented) specificities and their perception of valuable acquired knowledge in areas like users' patterns of consumption, users' participation preferences and competitor's relative strengths and weakenesses gave them, by then, a hitherto unseen sense of autonomy and confidance.

Our intention, with these concluding remarks, was to present images of a transition period (in fact, a transition within a transition period) dictated by strategic considerations which far exceed the reach of the newsroom and under which online journalists developed new outcome oriented sets of tasks, a new awareness of users' preferences and an acute sensibility to competitors' production. These journalists have, in the space of six months, developed collaborative production and experimented with new interaction tools. Their awareness of what online journalism 'should be' became tempered by their own developing judgments on what online journalism, in their specific setting, 'could be'.

We feel like some very important questions (for which we have only gathered suggestions during our observations) deserved a much more attentive scrutiny and we would like to see them developed as future lines of questioning:

a) Gans' provocative writing on the future possibility of a fragmentation of the profession into 'everyday newsworkers' and 'professional journalists' – the first would occupy themselves with information which facilitated and enhanced our daily life, mostly related to the "informally organized parts of society", and the second would treat the formal society – companies, public and private agencies, and other bureaucratically and policatlly structures organizations (Gans, 2007) – not being an idea we espouse as such it opens up an interesting area of debate on the relevance journalists attribute to their work. We have noticed, during our second observation period, that online journalists – possibly enticed by the challenge of the involved tasks, possibly attracted to the increased peer visibility an recognition, or even simply motivated by a desire to develop more indepth work on a given story – seemed to give far greater consideration to multimedia related production than to breaking news production. It would, thus, be interesting to assess if this perception is grounded and if that implies that a possible enlargement of the online newsroom will lead to the emergence of a new structure in detriment of the loose and fluid arrangement we have encountered;

b) The increased predominance of immediacy, the constant comparison exercises with competition and the exiguity of online newsroom staff has lead authors like Boczkowski to indicate that content is becoming less distinguishable (Boczkowski, 2010). It would be interesting to assess if journalists share this awareness and what strategies are being thought out to promote more autonomous news production;

c) The broad area of ethnographic centred online newsroom observation is gathering increasing research interest yet Portugal still remains a very unexplored territory; further projects should be developed and we would venture that integration of cross-national (Iberian, European, Lusophone) projects could be a step towards gaining a more substantive understanding of an activity which has been developed for more than 15 years and which has attained increasing importance in terms social usage.

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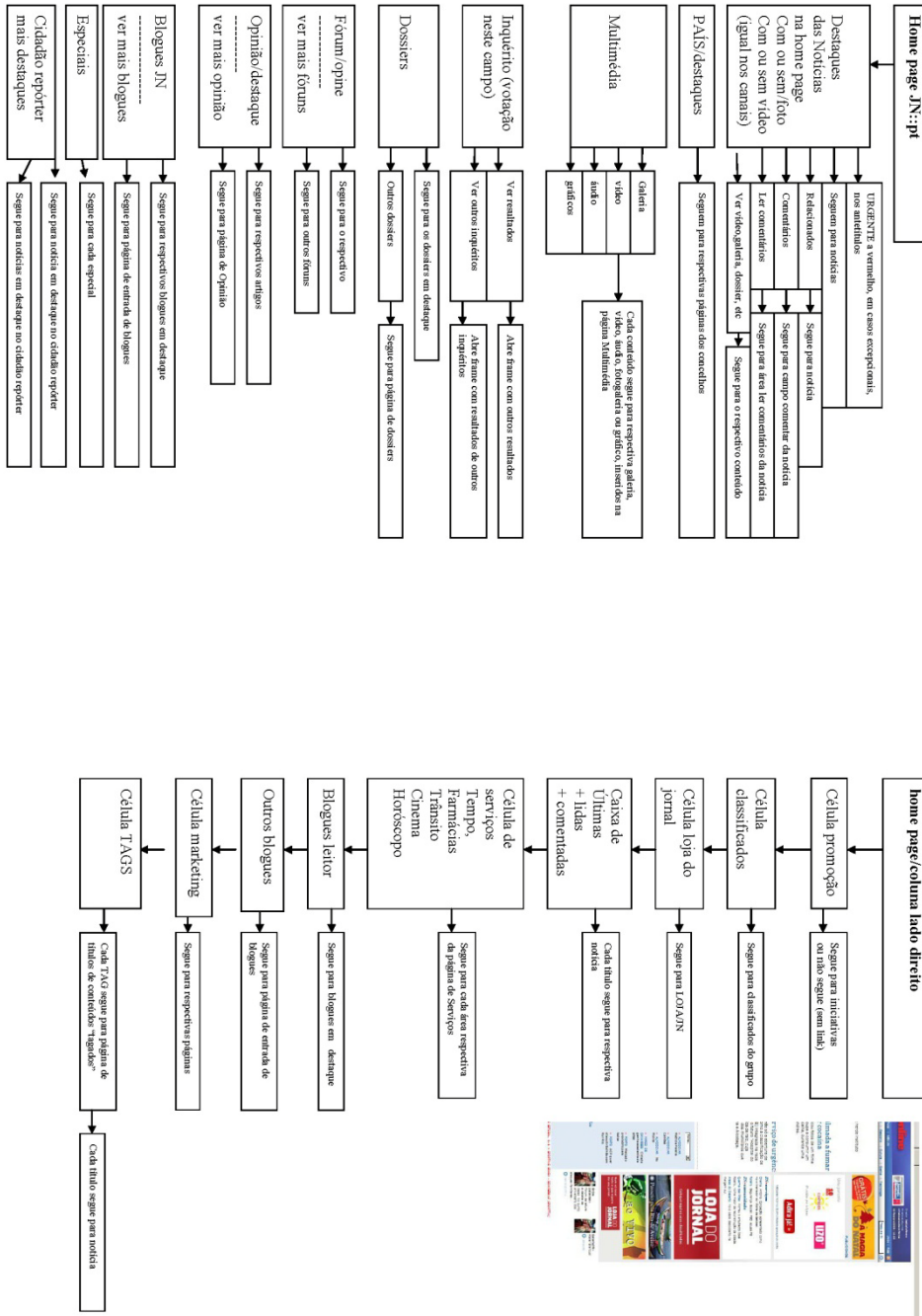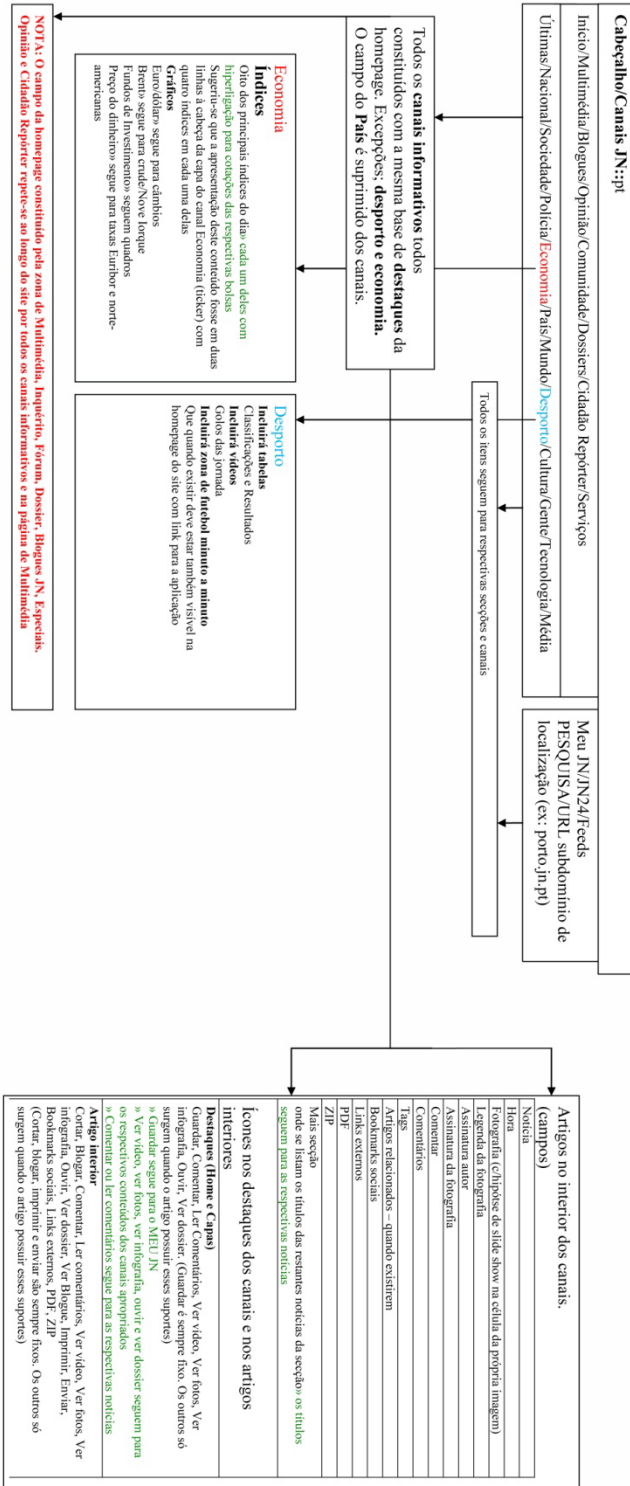Zelizer, B. (2004) *Taking Journalism Seriously*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

10 Annexes

10.1 jn.pt's site architecture plan I

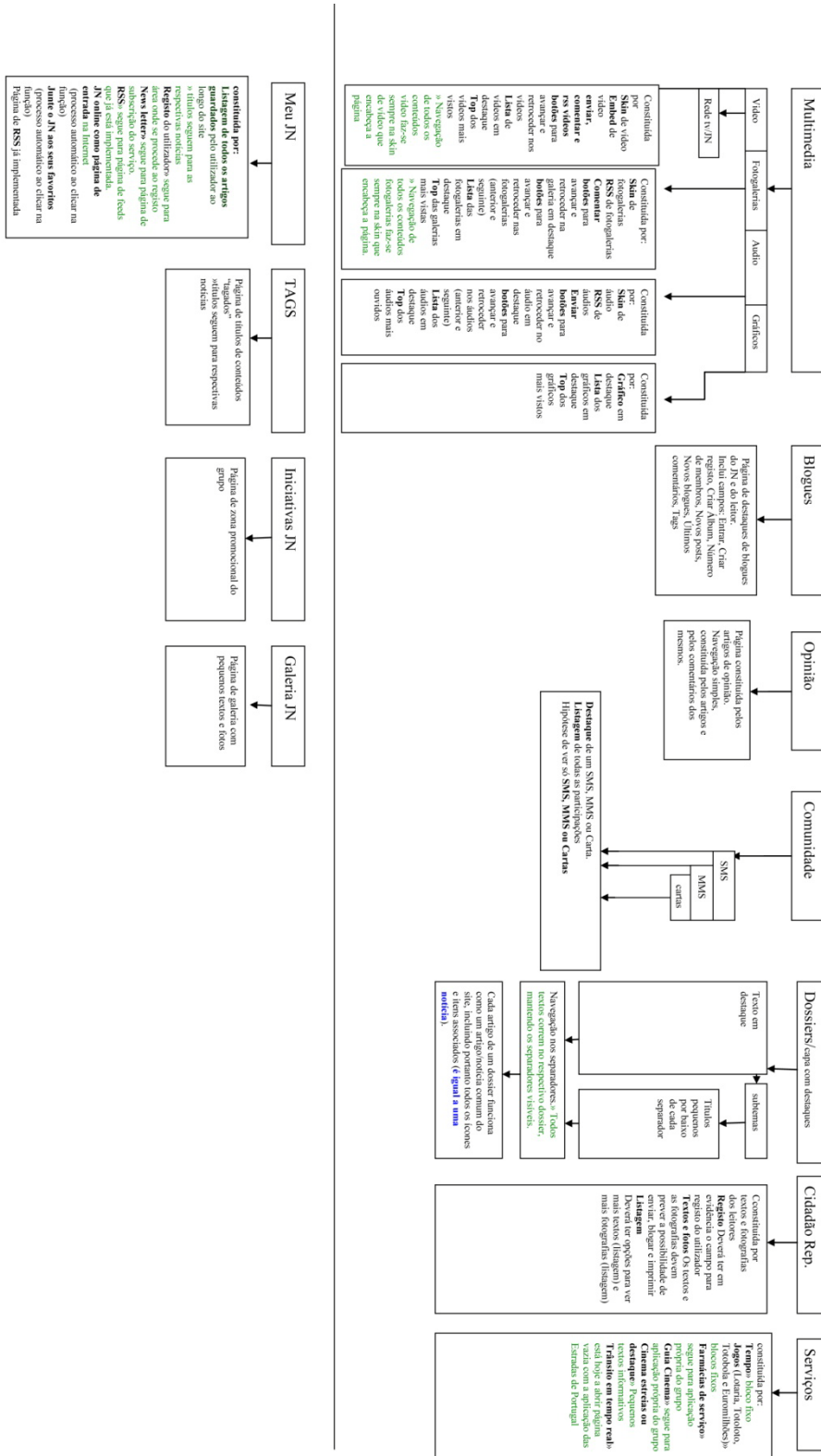## 10.2 jn.pt's site architecture plan II

Cabeçalho/Canais JN::pt

Início/Multimédia/Blogues/Opinião/Comunidade/Dossiers/Cidadão Repórter/Serviços

Últimas/Nacional/Sociedade/Polícia/Economia/País/Mundo/Desporto/Cultura/Gente/Tecnologia/Média

Todos os **canais informativos** todos constituídos com a mesma base de destaques da homepage. Excepções; **desporto e economia.** O campo do **País** é suprimido dos canais.

Economia
Índices
Oito dos principais índices do dia: cada um deles com hiperligação para cotações das respectivas bolsas
Sugeriu-se que a apresentação deste conteúdo fosse em duas linhas à cabeça da capa do canal Economia (ticker) com quatro índices em cada uma delas
Gráficos
Euro/dólares segue para câmbios
Brento segue para crude/Nove Iorque
Fundos de Investimento: seguem quadros
Preço do dinheiro segue para taxas Euribor e norte-americanas

NOTA: O campo da homepage constituído pela zona de Multimédia, Inquérito, Fórum, Dossier, Blogues JN, Especiais, Opinião e Cidadão Repórter repete-se ao longo do site por todos os canais informativos e na página de Multimédia

Desporto
Incluirá tabelas
Classificações e Resultados
Incluirá vídeos
Golos das jornada
Incluirá zona de futebol minuto a minuto
Que quando existir deve estar também visível na homepage do site com link para a aplicação

Todos os itens seguem para respectivas secções e canais

Meu JN/JN24/Feeds
PESQUISA/URL subdomínio de localização (ex: porto.jn.pt)

Artigos no interior dos canais. (campos)
Notícia
Hora
Fotografia (c/hipótse de slide show na célula da própria imagem)
Legenda da fotografia
Assinatura autor
Assinatura da fotografia
Comentar
Comentários
Tags
Artigos relacionados – quando existirem
Bookmarks sociais
Links externos
PDF
ZIP
Mais secção
onde se listam os títulos das restantes notícias da secção: os títulos seguem para as respectivas notícias

Ícones nos destaques dos canais e nos artigos interiores
Destaques (Home e Capas)
Guardar, Comentar, Ler Comentários, Ver vídeo, Ver fotos, Ver infografia, Ouvir, Ver dossier. (Guardar é sempre fixo. Os outros só surgem quando o artigo possuir esses suportes)
» Guardar segue para o MEU JN
» Ver vídeo, ver fotos, ver infografia e ver dossier seguem para os respectivos conteúdos dos canais apropriados
» Comentar ou ler comentários segue para as respectivas notícias
Artigo interior
Cortar, Blogar, Comentar, Ler comentários, Ver vídeo, Ver fotos, Ver infografia, Ouvir, Ver dossier, Ver Blogue, Imprimir, Enviar, Bookmarks sociais, Links externos, PDF, ZIP (Cortar, blogar, imprimir e enviar são sempre fixos. Os outros só surgem quando o artigo possuir esses suportes)

![Universidade do Minho logo]

10.3 jn.pt's site architecture plan III

10.4 jn.pt's site architecture plan IV

País
(url de subdomínio deve ser visível em cada distrito e concelho)

PÁGINA DE ENTRADA NO PAÍS

PAÍS DISTRITOS
ex: porto.jn.pt

PAÍS CONCELHO
ex: maia.jn.pt

Destaques de vários distritos
Mais notícias de outros distritos
Blogues dos utilizadores/comunidade JN
Álbuns dos utilizadores/comunidade JN
Criar blogue no JN
Criar álbum no JN
Mapa

Listagem dos concelhos de todo o distrito
Mais notícias do distrito
Destaques do distrito

Farmácias
Um passeio
Fotos
Links úteis
O concelho
Onde dormir
Onde comer
Notícias
Mais notícias
Destaques do concelho

» seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho
» seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho
» seguem para blogue em questão
» seguem para blogue em questão
» segue para página de criação de blogues
» segue para página de criação de álbuns
» segue para cada distrito

abre campo na lista com informações do concelho» segue para o respectivo concelho ao clicar no nome do concelho
» seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho
»»seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho

» seguem para informação da aplicação
segue para flash autónomo com fotos do concelho
segue para galeria autónoma com fotos do concelho
» segue para página do concelho com esta informação
» segue para página do concelho com esta informação
segue para página do concelho com esta informação
segue para notícia em questão na página do concelho
seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho
seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho

Anotadores locais
Texto sobre concelho/turismo
Fichas individuais de hotelaria
Fichas individuais de restauração

PAÍS CONCELHO

10.5 jn.pt's site navigation

HOME

URL

FAVICON - Ícone para acompanhar o campo do url

Menu superior (cabeçalho) constituído por:

1 linha. Início, Multimédia, Blogues, Opinião, Comunidade, Dossiers, Cidadão Repórter, Serviços

2 linha. Últimas, Nacional, Sociedade, Polícia, Economia, País, Mundo, Desporto, Cultura, Gente, Tecnologia, Média

Canto superior esquerdo, MEU JN, JN24, Feeds, Pesquisa JN, URL de subdomínio (País)

»Todos os itens seguem para as respectivas secções e canais

Coluna lado direito (de cima para baixo)

Célula de promoção» segue para página de iniciativas ou não segue (pode não ter link)

Célula de classificados» segue para página dos classificados do grupo

Célula loja do jornal» segue para página da Loja do Jornal JN

Caixa de últimas, mais lidas, mais comentadas» cada título segue para a respectiva notícia

Célula de serviços - tempo, farmácias, trânsito, cinema, horóscopo» segue para cada aérea respectiva da página Serviços

Célula Comunidade – Especiais» segue para cada blogue em destaque.

Blogues do leitor» segue para blogues em destaque

Outros blogues do leitor»segue para página de blogues

Células de marketing» seguem para as respectivas páginas.

Células de Tags» cada tag segue para página própria que listará os títulos de todos os conteúdos "tagados". »Por sua vez, os títulos seguem para a respectiva notícia.

NOTA: Esta coluna do lado direito mantém-se igual por todas as páginas do site, embora possa ter destaques diferenciados, já que o gestor assim o permite

Área de notícias (igual na Home e nos canais informativos)

Urgente a vermelho - Barra contendo a expressão Urgente que funcionará com um antetítulo da notícia e é apenas usada em situações excepcionais.

Destaques» seguem para a respectiva notícia

Relacionados nos Destaques» seguem para a respectiva notícia relacionada

Comentários nos Destaques» seguem para o campo "comentar" da respectiva notícia

Ler comentários» seguem para a área da notícia onde estão os comentários

País

Url ao lado da palavra País que muda consoante o registo do utilizador.

Notícias» seguem para as respectivas página de notícia do concelho

Multimédia

Galeria, vídeo, áudio, gráficos

»Cada conteúdo segue para a respectiva galeria, vídeo, áudio, fotogaleria ou gráfico inserida na página multimédia.

Inquérito

Votação no campo do inquérito

Ver resultados» segue para zona de ver resultados/abre frame

Ver outros inquéritos» segue para zona com resultados de outros inquéritos/abre frame

Fórum

Opine» segue para o respectivo fórum em destaque

ver + » segue para outros fóruns

Dossiers

» Seguem para os respectivos dossiers em destaque

Outros dossiers » segue para a página de Dossiers

Blogues JN

Blogues/destaque » segue para os respectivos blogues em destaque

ver + » segue para página de entrada de blogues

Especiais » segue para os respectivos especiais

Opinião

Opinião/destaque » segue para os respectivos artigos

ver + » segue para página de Opinião

Cidadão repórter

Destaque» segue para o respectivo artigo no canal respectivo

Destaques mais pequenos » procedimento igual

NOTA: O campo constituído pela zona de Multimédia, Inquérito, Fórum, Dossier,

Blogues JN, Especiais, Opinião e Cidadão Repórter repete-se ao longo do site por todos os canais informativos e na página de Multimédia.

Rodapé

CANAIS INFORMATIVOS

São todos constituídos com a mesma base da Home. O campo do País é suprimido.

Destaques» seguem para as respectivas notícias do canal

Relacionados nos Destaques» seguem para a respectiva notícia relacionada

Comentários nos Destaques» seguem para o campo "comentar" da respectiva notícia

Ler comentários» segue para a área da notícia onde estão os comentários

Excepções: Desporto e Economia (desenhar em módulos autónomos no caso de, numa primeira fase, se avançar sem eles)

Desporto

Incluirá tabelas

Primeira Liga - Classificações e Resultados

Divisão de Honra - Classificações e Resultados

Segunda Divisão - Classificações e Resultados

Terceira Divisão

etc

Incluirá vídeos

Golos das jornada

Incluirá zona de futebol minuto a minuto

Que quando existir deve estar também visível na homepage do site. » Segue para aplicação

desenvolvida ou já existente no grupo

Economia

Índices

Oito dos principais índices do dia» cada um deles com hiperligação para cotações das respectivas bolsas

Sugeriu-se que a apresentação deste conteúdo fosse em duas linhas à cabeça da capa do canal Economia (ticker) com quatro índices em cada uma delas

Gráficos

Euro/dólar» segue para câmbios

Brent» segue para crude/Nove Iorque

Fundos de Investimento» seguem quadros

Preço do dinheiro» segue para taxas Euribor e norte-americanas.

ARTIGOS INTERIORES

Área constituída por

Notícia

Hora

Fotografia (com possibilidade de slide show a partir da célula da própria fotografia)

Legenda da Fotografia

Assinatura do Autor

Assinatura da foto

Tags

Artigos Relacionados (quando existirem)

Bookmarks sociais (existem sempre)

Links externos (quando existirem)

PDF (quando existirem)

ZIP (quando existirem)

Mais secção (em rodapé)

"Mais secção", (exemplo, no caso de ser a secção de Economia surge ver "**Mais**

Economia", onde se listam os títulos das restantes notícias da secção» os títulos seguem para

as respectivas notícias

ÍCONES DE DESTAQUES NA CAPA, SECÇÕES E ARTIGOS INTERIORES

HOME e CAPAS

Itens que devem aparecer nos Destaques (Home e Capas)

Guardar, Comentar, Ler Comentários, Ver vídeo, Ver fotos, Ver infografia, Ouvir, Ver dossier

(Guardar é sempre fixo. Os outros só surgem quando o artigo possuir esses suportes)

» Guardar segue para o MEU JN

» Ver vídeo, ver fotos, ver infografia, ouvir e ver dossier seguem para os respectivos conteúdos dos canais apropriados

» Comentar ou ler comentários segue para as respectivas notícias

ARTIGO INTERIOR CABEÇA

Ícone que devem aparecer por baixo da **hora** do título a uma linha

Cortar, Blogar, Comentar, Ler comentários, Ver vídeo, Ver fotos, Ver infografia, Ouvir, Ver dossier, Ver Blogue, Imprimir, Enviar

(Cortar, blogar, imprimir e enviar são sempre fixos. Os outros só surgem quando o artigo possuir esses suportes)

ARTIGO INTERIOR RODAPÉ

Por baixo do artigo e antes dos Artigos Relacionados

Bookmarks sociais

Links externos

PDF

ZIP

MULTIMEDIA

Página constituída por 5 apartados

Vídeo

Rede TV JN

Fotogalerias

Áudio

Gráficos

VÍDEO e REDE TV JN (procedimentos idênticos)

Constituída por

Skin de vídeo

Embed de vídeo

enviar, comentar e rss vídeos

botões para avançar e retroceder nos vídeos

Lista de vídeos em destaque

Top dos vídeos mais vistos

Navegação de todos os conteúdos vídeo faz-se sempre na skin de vídeo que encabeça a página.

FOTOGALERIAS

Medidas

A skin para as fotogalerias deve exactamente encaixar fotos com **as medidas de 636 por 420 px**... **Isto é muito importante** porque já temos inserido uma série de fotogalerias com estas dimensões

Constituída por:

Skin de fotogalerias

RSS de fotogalerias

Comentar

botões para avançar e retroceder na galeria em destaque

botões para avançar e retroceder nas fotogalerias (anterior e seguinte)

Lista das fotogalerias em destaque

Top das galerias mais vistas

Navegação de todos os conteúdos fotogalerias faz-se sempre na skin que encabeça a página.

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ÁUDIO

Constituída por:

Skin de áudio

RSS de áudios

Enviar

botões para avançar e retroceder no áudio em destaque

botões para avançar e retroceder nos áudios (anterior e seguinte)

Lista dos áudios em destaque

Top dos áudios mais ouvidos

GRÁFICOS

Constituída por:

Gráfico em destaque

Lista dos gráficos em destaque

Top dos gráficos mais vistos

» navegação. Ao clicar no gráfico em destaque abre página apenas com o gráfico e coluna do lado direito comum a todo o site.

BLOGUES

» página de destaques de blogues do JN e do leitor. Inclui campos: Entrar, Criar registo, Criar Álbum, Número de membros, Novos posts, Novos blogues, Últimos comentários, Tags

OPINIÃO

Página constituída pelos artigos de opinião. Ainda não foi desenhada uma página deste género.

Deve ter uma navegação simples, constituída pelos artigos e pelos comentários dos mesmos.

COMUNIDADE

constituída por 3 apartados em formato BOX

SMS

MMS

Cartas

Navegação

Alguns destaques. Opção para ver só MMS, SMS ou Cartas.

DOSSIERS CANAL

A página de abertura do canal terá de ter uma zona de destaque de dois ou três dossiers e uma outra zona com os restantes dossiers.

Dossier

Cada dossier é constituído por vários textos que estarão divididos em temas. (**separadores**).

Cada artigo de um dossier funciona como um artigo/notícia comum do site, incluindo portanto todos os ícones e itens associados (**é igual a uma notícia**).

Divisão de cada dossier individual

Texto em destaque no dossier

Separadores

Títulos pequenos por baixo de cada separador

Ver exemplo da BBC, que tem o texto principal no centro da página, separador à esquerda a vermelho, com os títulos pequenos por baixo do separador.

Navegação nos separadores.» Todos textos correm no respectivo dossier, mantendo os separadores visíveis.

CIDADÃO REPÓRTER

Página constituída por textos e fotografias dos leitores

REGISTO Deverá ter em evidência o campo para registo do utilizador

TEXTOS e FOTOS Os textos e as fotografias devem prever a possibilidade de enviar, blogar e imprimir

LISTAGEM Deverá ter opções para ver mais textos (listagem) e mais fotografias (listagem)

A BNG não implementou a página, fica aqui o desenho original

SERVIÇOS

Página constituída por:

Tempo» bloco fixo

Jogos (Lotaria, Totoloto, Totobola e Euromilhões)» blocos fixos

Farmácias de serviço» segue para aplicação própria do grupo

Guia Cinema» segue para aplicação própria do grupo

Cinema estreias ou destaque» Pequenos textos informativos

Trânsito em tempo real» está hoje a abrir página vazia com a aplicação das Estradas de

Portugal, com este formato:

MEU JN

Página constituída por:

Listagem de todos os artigos guardados pelo utilizador ao longo do site

» títulos seguem para as respectivas notícias

Registo do utilizador» segue para área onde se procede ao registo

News letter» segue para página de subscrição do serviço.

RSS» segue para página de feeds que já está implementada.

JN online como página de entrada na Internet

 (processo automático ao clicar na função)

Junte o JN aos seus favoritos

 (processo automático ao clicar na função)

Página de RSS já implementada

TAGS

É necessário desenhar uma página que agregue os textos "tagados"

INICIATIVAS

Página de zona promocional do grupo. Não está desenhada. Neste momento a página que existe no site actual é: http://jn2.sapo.pt/promo/default2.asp

GALERIA JN

Não está implementada. O primeiro desenho foi este

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PAÍS

PAÍS» DISTRITOS E CONCELHOS

PÁGINA DE ENTRADA NO PAÍS

Destaques de vários distritos» seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho

Mais notícias de outros distritos» seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho

Blogues dos utilizadores/comunidade JN» segue para blogue em questão

Álbuns dos utilizadores/comunidade JN»» segue para álbum em questão

Criar blogue no JN» segue para página de criação de blogues

Criar álbum no JN» segue para página de criação de álbuns

MAPA» segue para cada distrito

Exemplo do design lógico

Universidade do Minho

País > distritos e regiões...

Faro
Terras do Interior continuam com água de
menor qualidade

Desde há mais de dez anos, as
entidades fornecedoras de água para
consumo humano têm de fazer um
conjunto de análises e ter delas
resultados compatíveis com a
salubridade e outros parâmetros. Mais
Cortar X | Comentar / | Blogar | 17h 15m

Gaia
Terras do Interior continuam sem água

Desde há mais de dez anos, as entidades fornecedoras de água para
consumo humano têm de fazer um conjunto de análises e ter delas
resultados compatíveis com a salubridade e outros parâmetros. Mais
Cortar X | Comentar / | Blogar | 17h 15m

Mais Notícias

Gaia
Terras do Interior continuam
com água de menor qualidade

Porto
Obra de Padre Américo
perpetuada no tempo

Porto
Obra de Padre Américo
perpetuada no tempo

Gaia
Terras do Interior continuam
com água de menor qualidade

Agenda   Onde Comer   Onde Dormir   Farmácias

Óbidos | Monumento
Castelo de Óbidos

Vila Real | Pousada
Solar da Rede

Roteiro de   concelho...

Seleccione um distrito ou região no mapa

Blogues   Álbuns

Olhares deste meu País
de IsabelBel

Mais álbuns ▶

Criar álbum no JN

Universidade do Minho

Exemplo do que está implementado

PAÍS» DISTRITOS

Destaques do distrito» seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho

Mais notícias do distrito» seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho

Listagem dos concelhos de todo o distrito» abre campo na lista com informações do concelho» segue para o respectivo concelho ao clicar no nome do concelho

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Exemplo do design lógico
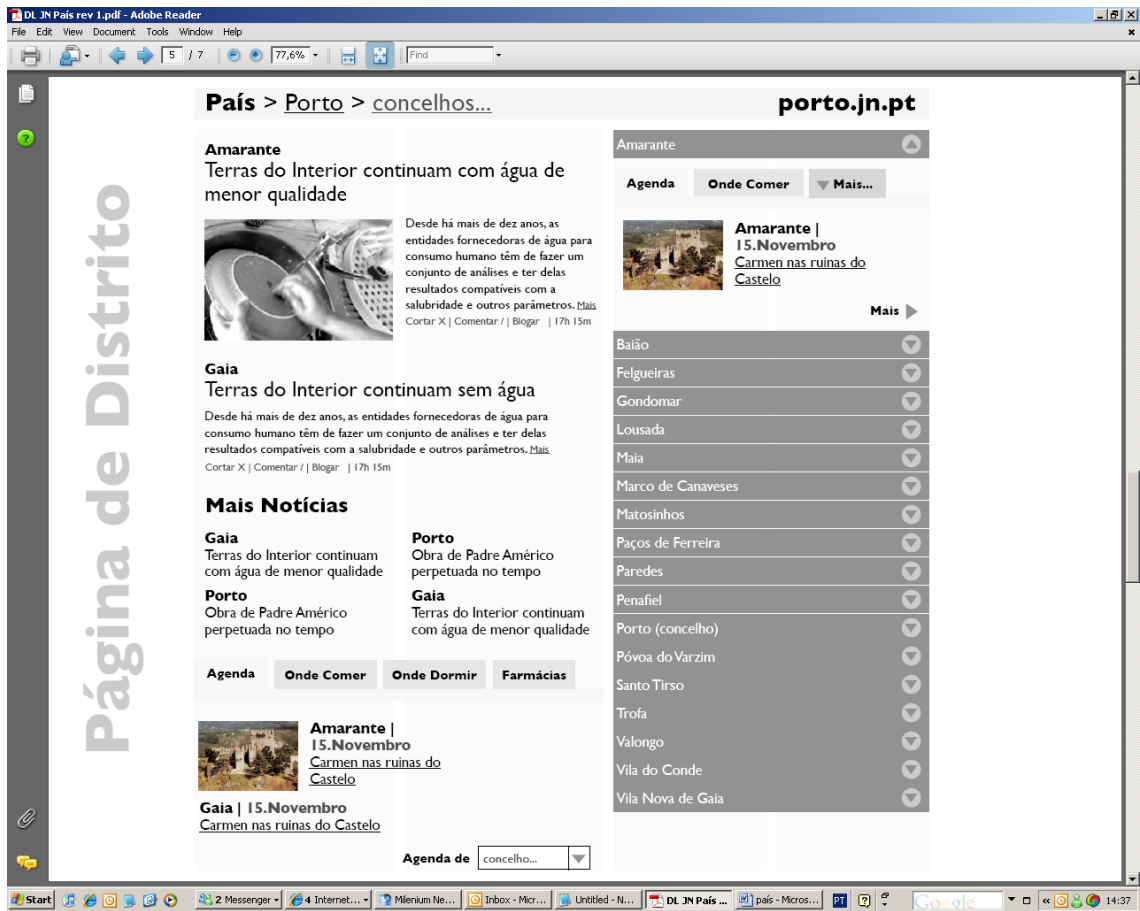
Exemplo do que está implementado

PAÍS» CONCELHOS

Destaques do concelho» seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho

Mais notícias» seguem para notícia em questão na página do concelho

Notícias» segue para notícia em questão na página do concelho

Onde comer» segue para página do concelho com esta informação

Onde dormir» segue para página do concelho com esta informação

O concelho» segue para página do concelho com esta informação

Links úteis» segue para página do concelho com esta informação

Fotos» segue para galeria autónoma com fotos do concelho

Um passeio» segue para flash autónomo com fotos do concelho

Farmácias» seguem para informação da aplicação

Exemplo do design lógico

Universidade do Minho

Exemplo do que está implementado

CANAIS INFORMATIVOS/ÚLTIMAS

Página constituída por todos os artigos inseridos no site e pelo feed da Lusa WEB

Constituída por:

Destaques (3), com título, hora e entrada de texto

Lista de notícias por ordem de entrada

Mais notícias (abre campo em javascript com lista de outras notícias)

Universidade do Minho

Navegação» todas os títulos seguem para as respectivas notícias alojadas nos canais próprios

O que está implementado é o seguinte:

CANAIS INFORMATIVOS/ÚLTIMA HORA

Teremos de prever uma página para um acontecimento excepcional que nos obrigue a mudar e a esvaziar radicalmente toda a home, como, por exemplo, um grande atentado

O primeiro desenho foi o seguinte:

| JNmultimedia | JNcomunidade | JNserviços | Cidadão-repórter | Meu JN | JN24 | Arquivo | Iniciativas | Cartão GN | Edição Papel | RSS)))

| Últimas | Nacional | Sociedade | Polícia | Economia | País | Mundo | Desporto | Cultura | Gente | Tecnologia | Dossiers | Fóruns | Fotogalerias | Pesquisa Jn

Última Hora

Abatido avião comercial no sul do Líbano.
23 portugueses na lista de passageiros

A comparação entre ambas as super produções não me parece azarenta, já que o desenho de produção e de promoção é muito idêntico, ainda que a produtora não tenha gasto uma pipa de massa que apresenta [200] o filme num transatlântico junto a uma formação de icebergs; recorde-se que Jerry Bruckheimer e a Touchstone, artífices despenderam há umas semanas mil milhões de escudos numa festa de apresentação celebrada num dos porta-aviões ancorado.

Bay não dissimula a parecença quando tem que filmar sempre [500] o afundamento do Arizona, navio insígnia da marinha norte-americana e um dos objectivos vitais dos aviadores japoneses quando atacaram a base: o barco inclina-se até à posição vertical como o fez o Titanic num dos planos mais espectaculares, mas também inesquecíveis, da oscarizada película de Cameron.

Existe, no entanto, uma diferença fundamental que permite ganhar aos pontos se aceitar um combate corpo a corpo. Após o bombardeamento de Pearl Harbor, a história deixa de interessar e ainda [1000] resta quase uma hora de metragem, coberta de Roosevelt, que se levanta da sua cadeira de rodas para demonstrar aos seus generais, cépticos ante um ataque a Tóquio, que tudo é possível Jon Voight confere ao personagem um descarnado e voluptuoso realismo; as afectadas cenas no hospital militar de Pearl Harbor; a esperada vingança bélica dos EUA e, claro, o desenlace, que se intui trágico, da história de amor triangular. De facto, o único interesse para o espectador que espera a última parte [1500] do filme é saber qual dos dois intrépidos aviadores Rafe e Danny regressará com vida da missão para ficar. AGÊNCIA REUTEURS

Mais | Cortar ✂ | Comentar | Ver vídeo | Ver fotos | Ouvir entrevista | 17h15m

Escreva-nos | Quem somos | Sugestões | Global Notícias

10.6 Online news guidelines

1. TÍTULOS

1.1 TÍTULOS/TIPOLOGIA

Os títulos, pós-títulos e subtítulos do JN Online devem ser claros, simples, concisos, rápidos e directos.

Os títulos online destinam-se à publicação que os suporta, mas também são usados em outros recursos e meios, como motores de busca, agregadores, serviços de sms, etc. Portanto, devem ser compreensíveis fora do contexto da história.

O JN Online não usa ante-títulos, nem pós-títulos na homepage e nas capas dos canais.

O JN Online usa títulos, pós-títulos e subtítulos nos artigos interiores.

Os títulos, pós-títulos e subtítulos do JN Online só, em casos excepcionais, devem ser em maiúsculas. Continua a ser norma que palavras em maiúsculas na web representam "faltar alto" ou "gritar".

Os títulos do JN Online não permitem linguagem em "HTML". Logo não existem palavras em negrito, itálicos ou sublinhados nem quebras de linha utilizando o atributo <br> ou <p>.

1.2 TÍTULOS/TAMANHOS

Capas/Coluna estreita

Os títulos do JN Online variam entre uma e três linhas na coluna estreita.

O principal destaque da coluna estreita pode ter entre duas e três linhas

Os destaques de outras notícias devem ter entre uma e duas linhas. O ideal é uma linha.

Capas/Coluna larga

Os títulos do JN online variam entre uma e cinco linhas na coluna larga.

O principal destaque da coluna larga deve ter duas linhas

A excepção vai para o destaque previsto no layout "Home panorâmica", onde o título poderá ter cinco linhas, acompanhando o tamanho da fotografia. Este estilo é apenas para ser usado em casos especiais, não devendo ser banalizado.

Os destaques de outras notícias na coluna larga devem ter entre uma e duas linha. O ideal é uma linha.

Artigos Interiores

Os títulos nos artigos interiores devem estar compostos de forma a ocuparem os espaços definidos para as capas. (O título de um artigo interior é o mesmo da capa).

Os pós-títulos devem ocupar uma linha.

Os subtítulos são a "bold". Ocupam uma a duas linhas no máximo. Estão separados com uma entrelinha do parágrafos anteriores e seguintes.

País

Os títulos dos artigos inseridos nos concelhos, em País, devem ter uma a duas linhas. O ideal é uma linha.

1.3 TÍTULO/ COM BARRA "URGENTE"

Estilo usado para notícias não previstas. O critério para o uso deste estilo gere-se pela surpresa, intensidade ou notabilidade da notícia. Usado, portanto, em casos claramente de "breaking news". O estilo não deve ser banalizado.

O estilo surge publicado quando escrito no campo ante-título do Back Office em modo de edição, assumindo automaticamente no artigo a barra "Urgente".

Este estilo só se usa, portanto, no principal destaque da homepage.

2. DESTAQUES

2.1 DESTAQUES/FOTO VÍDEO

Os destaques do JN Online podem conter um conteúdo multimédia (fotografia ou vídeo) quer na coluna estreita quer na coluna larga.

Em caso algum, os principais destaques (topo) das duas colunas devem ter vídeo ou fotografia simultaneamente. Ou existe vídeo/fotografia na coluna estreita ou na coluna larga.

2.2 DESTAQUES/USO DE FOTOGRAFIA

Além dos principais destaques de cada coluna, também os destaques de outras notícias podem conter fotografia.

As fotografias nunca devem ser publicadas paralelamente nas colunas.

Sempre que possível, as fotografias dos destaques de outras notícias devem ser panorâmicas e de planos fechados (grandes planos).

2.3 DESTAQUES/NÚMERO

Em cada coluna (estreita ou larga) apenas deve existir um destaque topo por homepage e capas.

O número de destaques de outras notícias não é rígido, embora se pretenda que a "caixa" de conteúdos "País" não surja abaixo do primeiro ecrã.

Se for respeitado o tamanho dos títulos (ver ponto 1.2), pode-se usar um destaque principal e quatro destaques de outras notícias por coluna.

2.4 DESTAQUES/PAÍS

A "caixa" País da homepage deve ser constituída pelas três notícias locais mais relevantes de cada dia.

Deve ter sempre um destaque do Porto e destaques do Norte.

Os títulos dos destaques País devem ter entre uma a duas linhas. O ideal será duas linhas.

2.5 DESTAQUES/ESTRUTURA de texto

Os destaques de texto são uma reprodução automática do primeiro parágrafo de cada notícia publicada no back office.
Todas as variantes destes destaques de texto em capas e homepage devem ter três linhas. Em termos de referência no back office, equivale a ocupar sensivelmente duas linhas e meia, no campo "Entrada" em edição de um artigo.

Excepção para o estilo que ocupa as duas colunas (larga e estreita) do site. Este estilo é particular e usado só em casos excepcionais. Logo o número de linhas da entrada de texto tem de ser avaliado com o tamanho da fotografia (ou ausência da mesma) do respectivo destaque.

As entradas de texto têm ponto final.

As entradas de texto não têm bold's, sublinhados ou itálicos.

As entradas de texto não têm em caso algum hiperligações. As ligações a outros conteúdos nos destaques serão feitas através de iconografia representativa.

As entradas de texto não têm siglas, com excepção para as sobejamente conhecidas e que não levantam quaisquer dúvidas de interpretação ao utilizador, como, por exemplo, PSP ou PJ.

Os nomes próprios nas entradas de texto devem conter obrigatoriamente o nome e o cargo, como, por exemplo, José Sócrates, primeiro-ministro.

2.6 DESTAQUES/HIERARQUIA na homepage e capas

Como princípio comum, as notícias mais importantes e mais recentes devem situar-se na zona do primeiro ecrã, distribuídas pela coluna estreita e pela coluna larga.
A decisão de publicar um artigo numa ou noutra coluna deve ter em conta não só a importância da matéria, mas também os elementos multimédia que o compõem, como fotografia ou vídeo.

Assim, a principal notícia (**manchete**) deve situar-se no topo da coluna larga, com ou sem fotografia/vídeo.

As notícias seguintes (por ordem de importância editorial) devem situar-se na coluna larga e estreita. O topo da coluna estreita deve conter vídeo ou fotografia ao alto, quando a manchete (na coluna larga) não possuir foto/vídeo. Neste caso, o topo da coluna estreita ganha uma importância semelhante à da manchete.

Em caso algum, as notícias de topo nas duas colunas terão foto/vídeo simultaneamente, conforme estipula o ponto 2.1 destas normas de estilo.

As notícias mais antigas cronologicamente e de importância média deve estar situadas no ecrã seguinte, e assim sucessivamente.

Porém, em todos os casos, é necessário encontrar um equilíbrio entre a importância do assunto e a hora/tempo de actualização do artigo.

2.6.1 DESTAQUES/HIERARQUIA na edição impressa

A edição da homepage ao final do dia, com a inclusão de conteúdos da versão impressa do Jornal de Notícias, é obrigatoriamente analisada, discutida e avaliada com os editores do JN Online, envolvendo a Chefia de Redacção e/ou a Direcção.
A estrutura da capa deve ser composta por matérias da versão impressa, mas também por conteúdos que tenham sido trabalhados ao longo do dia pelo JN Online, com particular atenção para a área de Multimédia, Cidadão Repórter, Inquérito, Fórum e outros destaques como Blogues ou Especiais.
As matérias da versão impressa com uma mais valia de carácter multimédia ou com conteúdos paralelos, como por exemplo dossiers que contextualizam ou servem de "background" à história, devem surgir em zonas boas da capa, embora também neste ponto é necessário encontrar um equilíbrio entre a importância do assunto e, neste caso, os seus acessórios.

3. ARTIGOS

Os artigos interiores no JN Online podem ser de três tipos:

1. Artigos de última hora/ou artigos genéricos.

2. Artigos da versão impressa do Jornal de Notícias.

3. Artigos para a área País.

3.1 ÚLTIMA HORA/CONCEITO

A última hora do JN Online não pretende ser exaustiva nem concorrencial com outros meios online e agências noticiosas. Não existe, portanto, uma obsessão de acompanhar todos e quaisquer assuntos da actualidade. A última hora do JN Online não é a aposta única do produto.

O JN Online deve dar preferência às notícias das seguintes áreas e pela ordem apresentada:
1; Polícia, 2; Desporto, 3; País, 4; Gente e Tecnologia.

A última hora do JN Online deve potenciar matérias que promovam a interactividade com os utilizadores, nomeadamente apelando ao envio de fotografias e vídeos quando os temas assim o justificarem.

A última hora do JN Online deve explorar as mais valias de todos os jornalistas da redacção do jornal, assim como da rede de correspondentes, antes, durante e depois de determinado acontecimento.

A última hora do JN Online deve servir-se de conteúdos de contextualização da história, sempre que os tiver disponíveis, como, por exemplo, dossiers, vídeos, fotogalerias, infografias, fichas de países e textos de arquivo.

Em resumo, a última hora do JN Online, embora não sendo uma obsessão, deve ser, quando assumida, uma aposta forte que se diferencie dos outros meios.

3.1.1 ÚLTIMA HORA/ESTRUTURA de texto
Os textos de última hora do JN Online devem ser imediatos, breves, concisos, atractivos.

Segundo alguns estudos, 79% dos utilizadores não lêem um texto completo e apenas retêm algumas palavras e orações soltas. Os títulos e entradas de texto adquirem portanto um papel fundamental para

atrair a atenção do leitor digital.

Tendo como pressuposto a possibilidade de actualizar uma notícia durante 24 horas, a velocidade de publicação deve ser uma prioridade.

Imediatismo
Assim, a notícia deve estar disponível sempre que haja informação mínima sobre o assunto (flash noticioso), sendo depois actualizada e desenvolvida à medida que surgirem novos dados.

Nestes casos imediatos (flash noticioso), e ainda com o mínimo de informação disponível, deve-se utilizar no fim do texto a frase (notícia em actualização), dizendo claramente ao utilizador que o artigo está em evolução.

Progressão
Sempre que a notícia é alterada, deve-se utilizar no fim do texto a frase (notícia actualizada). Se for necessário, deve-se alterar a hora de actualização da notícia no back office .O leitor digital deve conhecer sempre a hora de actualização da notícia.
Conforme referido no ponto anterior destas normas de estilo, a última hora do JN Online deve servir-se de conteúdos de contextualização da história.

Construção
O enfoque da notícia de última hora do JN Online deve estar no primeiro parágrafo do artigo. A estrutura deve aproximar-se da pirâmide invertida para os casos típicos de "hard news". As "soft news" não obedecem a essa rigidez. É, no entanto, aconselhado que o leitor "entre" rapidamente na história.

Referências temporais
Nos textos do JN Online a referência "hoje" é substituída por
"esta quinta-feira", permitindo que o artigo tenha maior tempo de actuação e não fique desactualizado às primeiras horas da madrugada, com um "hoje" que já é um "ontem".
Os dias da semana são, portanto, identificados por esta segunda-feira, esta terça-feira, e assim sucessivamente.

3.1.2 ARTIGOS DE VERSÃO IMPRESSA DO JN

Os textos originais da versão impressa do JN são colocados pelos editores das várias secções no back Office através de exportação em XML.
A edição posterior do JN Online é necessária para manter a linha gráfica definida para os títulos e

destaques nas capas e homepage:

Edição de títulos

Edição de entradas

Edição de fotografia

Inclusão de componentes, como, por exemplo, hiperligações a dossiers, links externos e artigos relacionados

3.1.3 ARTIGOS PARA A ÁREA PAÍS

Os textos introduzidos nos diferentes canais informativos do JN Online, como Nacional, Sociedade, Polícia, Economia, Mundo, Desporto, Cultura, Gente, Tecnologia e Média devem ser também obrigatoriamente inseridos na zona país, sempre que o artigo tenha uma referência concelhia ou distrital.

Este ponto é, de facto, importante, uma vez que o utilizador tem a hipótese de "entrar" no site através de uma página de concelho, sem nunca passar pela homepage.

A actualização da zona País no JN Online deve ser uma preocupação constante e nunca para desvalorizar.

4. COMPONENTES DOS ARTIGOS

Os artigos do JN Online são constituídos pelos seguintes elementos:
Título; pós-titulo; subtítulos, assinatura; fotografia; autor da fotografia; legenda da fotografia; texto.

Títulos, pós-títulos e subtítulos
(ver ponto 1 deste documento)

Assinaturas
Os textos são assinados por defeito em caixa alta.

Fotografia
Cada artigo tem visível apenas no ecrã uma fotografia ao alto ou ao baixo.
Quando um artigo possuir mais do que uma fotografia, o back office permite montar um pequeno slide show que corre dentro do próprio artigo, não remetendo o utilizador para fora da matéria.

Assinatura da fotografia
A assinatura é composta pela palavra foto (em caixa baixa), nome do autor/organização (em caixa alta).

A palavra "foto" é assumida automaticamente pelo back office no campo créditos (não é necessário escrevê-la).

O campo crédito do back office deve ser acrescentado com o nome do autor, seguido da organização. Exemplo: RICARDO BELTRINO/AFP.

Legenda da fotografia.

Ocupa uma linha.

Texto

Todos os parágrafos têm obrigatoriamente uma entrelinha a separá-los.

5. ARTIGOS RELACIONADOS

Uma notícia não pode ter mais de três artigos relacionados, para não gerar uma lista extensa de títulos quer nos destaques quer na área do artigo interior definida para estes conteúdos.

Só em casos excepcionais, o número de artigos relacionados poderá ser superior a três, como, por exemplo, uma sequência de matérias de grande impacto.

Os artigos relacionados justificam-se sempre quando a notícia relacionada com a publicada necessita de visibilidade (é considerada importante para a contextualização da história ou actualiza elementos da matéria publicada).

6. HIPERLIGAÇÕES

As hiperligações em notícias (links no interior do próprio texto) apenas são utilizadas nos artigos de dossier, uma vez que nestes artigos não existe a possibilidade de relacionar notícias. (Entende-se que um dossier já por si é uma relação de notícias).

As hiperligações só se justificam quando se pretende relacionar um artigo que não esteja no dossier, cujo conteúdo seja de facto importante para a matéria.

7. LINKS EXTERNOS

O JN Online só faz ligações externas para sítios que mereçam credibilidade.

Os links externos só se usam quando, de facto, apontarem para algum conteúdo ou página que seja uma mais valia à informação patente na notícia.

O uso de links externos não deve ser banalizado.

Os links externos usam-se para:
Sítios oficiais; empresas; organizações; blogues de origem conhecida

8. TAGS

O JN Online usa tags nos seguintes conteúdos: artigos, fotogalerias, vídeos, áudios e infográficos.

As tags são definidas por nome e/ou temas. Exemplo: apito dourado, Pinto da Costa.

Por tema, a tag deve ser escrita toda em caixa baixa. Exemplo: apito dourado.

Por nome, a tag deve ser escrita alternando a caixa alta e caixa baixa. Exemplo: Pinto da Costa.

O nome deve ser composto. Exemplo errado: Bush. Exemplo correcto: George Bush.

As siglas só devem ser usadas quando comunicam sem dificuldade. Exemplo errado: ONG. Exemplo correcto: FCP.

9. MULTIMÉDIA

O canal Multimédia dp JN Online divide-se em quatro áreas; Vídeo; Áudio; Fotogalerias; Infográficos

9.1 FOTOGALERIAS

As fotogalerias do JN Online não devem exceder, em casos normais, 10 a 12 fotografias. (Em média, no visionamento de slide-shows, os utilizadores apenas vêm 70% das imagens).

As fotogalerias do JN Online podem ter som.

Tipologia
As fotogalerias são constituídas por uma palavra-chave, por um título e por uma legenda.
As fotografias ao baixo têm a dimensão 636x420.
As fotografias ao alto não podem ultrapassar os 420 px de altura.
O título não deverá ter mais de 30 caracteres.

As legendas não devem ter mais de 164 caracteres.

A palavra-chave e o título têm correspondência directa com thumbnails de destaques na capa, pelo que o número de caracteres tem de ser rigorosamente respeitado.

9.2 ÁUDIOS

Os áudios do JN Online poderão ser de dois tipos; áudio simples ou áudio longo.

Simples

O áudio simples utiliza-se para sínteses de conferência de imprensa ou declarações curtas de protagonistas ou leitores.

Longo

O áudio longo destina-se a entrevistas mais longas ou para declarações relevantes. A duração mínima deverá ser de dois minutos.

Tipologia

Os clips de áudio têm uma palavra-chave, título e entrada de texto. (O *número de caracteres deverá ser idêntico aos das fotogalerias).*

9.3 INFOGRÁFICOS

Os infográficos do JN Online poderão ser de dois tipos: simples ou avançados.

Simples

As infografias simples destinam-se para contextualizar determinados conteúdos, como por exemplo dossiers, ou acompanhar breaking news.

As infografias simples podem constituir ainda conteúdo informativo intemporal, como por exemplo uma animação com o calendário dos feriados anuais.

Avançadas

As infografias avançadas utilizam elementos em 3D.

Tipologia

Os infográficos têm uma palavra-chave, título e entrada de texto. (O *número de caracteres deverá ser*

idêntico ao das fotogalerias).

A palavra-chave e e o título têm correspondência directa com thumbnails de destaques na capa.

9.4 VÍDEOS

Os vídeos do JN Online poderão ser de três tipos: vídeo curto; vídeo longo; vídeo de alta definição.

Os vídeos do JN Online têm o tamanho de 320x240

Curtos

Os vídeo curtos, com montagem mínima e com ou sem sonorização, deverão ter uma duração mínima de 30 segundos e máxima de 1.30 minuto.

Os vídeos curtos são usados fundamentalmente para breaking news.

Longos

Os vídeos longos, com montagem e com ou sem voz off, deverão ter uma duração mínima de dois minutos e máxima de três minutos.

Os vídeos longos são usados fundamentalmente para reportagem.

Alta definição

Os vídeos de alta definição destinam-se para uso na edição online e difusão televisiva sempre que o seu conteúdo editorial seja de importância inquestionável. Não deverão também ultrapassar os três minutos.

Tipologia

Os vídeos do JN Online iniciam-se sempre com um título e com a identificação dos autor(es) da reportagem. Terminam com uma ficha técnica, onde são identificados elementos como Edição, Fotografia e Música.

No back office, os vídeos são apresentados com uma palavra-chave, título, pós-título e entrada.

A palavra-chave e o título têm correspondência directa com thumbnails de destaques na capa.

MIX MULTIMÉDIA

O JN Online poderá ainda ter conteúdos definidos como Mix de multimedia

Trata-se de um conteúdos sem duração definida onde convivem vários suportes como o vídeo, a ingofrafia ou a fotografia simples ou 360 graus. Recurso excepcional para grandes reportagens ou dossiers especiais.

10.7 Journalists' questionnaire

Apresentação:

O meu nome é Luís António Martins dos Santos, sou docente no Departamento de Ciências da Comunicação da Universidade do Minho e desenvolvo, sob a orientação do Professor Manuel Pinto, um projecto de Doutoramento sobre o jornalismo e a forma como lida com o desafio da Internet.

Na medida em que o projecto pressupõe a observação mais detalhada e continuada de um órgão de informação foi apresentado e aceite um pedido nesse sentido à Direcção do JN. Tenciono, durante a minha permanência na Redacção, conversar de modo informal com aqueles que puderem dispensar-me alguns minutos, mas gostaria de começar este meu contacto com o pedido de preenchimento de um questionário.

Agradecia que não fosse acrescentada qualquer referência pessoal não pedida no questionário; uma vez preenchido, o mesmo será recolhido por mim, as respostas só serão observadas em espaço exterior ao JN e, depois de tratados, os dados terão como propósito único a elaboração de trabalhos académicos.

Numa nota pessoal, é com muito prazer que regresso ao jornal onde iniciei a minha actividade jornalística.

Espero não incomodar em demasia. Estou à vossa disposição para qualquer esclarecimento adicional que entendam necessário.

Muito obrigado.

Contactos:

e-mail: lsantos@ics.uminho.pt

Móvel: 96.2486358
Departamento de Ciências da Comunicação
ICS
Campus de Gualtar
4710-057 Braga – P

Universidade do Minho

1   **Idade :** _____

2   **Sexo:**   F ☐   M ☐

3   **Formação académica:**

Básico   ☐

Secundário   ☐

Frequência de Superior   ☐   Área:

Superior   ☐   Área:

Pós-graduado   ☐   Área:

Outro:_____

4   **Possuo:**

Computador pessoal   Não ☐   Sim ☐

Telemóvel pessoal   Não ☐   Sim ☐

Máq. Foto digital   Não ☐   Sim ☐

Grav. de som digital   Não ☐   Sim ☐

Ligação net em casa   Não ☐   Sim ☐

5   **Domínio eficiente de línguas:**

	Ler	Escrever	Falar
Inglês	☐	☐	☐
Francês	☐	☐	☐

Alemão	☐	☐	☐
Outra:	☐	☐	☐

6 Edição pessoal

Blog	Não ☐	Sim ☐
Fotolog	Não ☐	Sim ☐
Página Net	Não ☐	Sim ☐
Podcast	Não ☐	Sim ☐
Videoblog	Não ☐	Sim ☐
Outra:	Não ☐	Sim ☐

7 Sou jornalista há _____ anos

8 Sou jornalista no JN há _____ anos

9 Trabalho na secção _____

10 Categoria na Redacção: _____

11 Trabalho em _____ assuntos por dia (média)

12 Preparo _____ trabalhos com base em informações próprias por semana

13 Tenho experiência de Rádio: Não ☐   Sim ☐

14 Tenho experiência de TV: Não ☐   Sim ☐

15 Escolha a opção que melhor descreve a actividade que desenvolve:

Trabalho em exclusivo para a edição em papel	☐
Trabalho para a edição em papel mas colaboro no online	☐
Trabalho para a edição em papel e para a edição online	☐
Trabalho para a edição online e colaboro na edição em papel	☐
Trabalho em exclusivo para a edição online	☐

Universidade do Minho

16   **Comecei a aceder à Net com regularidade no ano:**

_____

17   **Considero as minhas competências para lidar com a Net:**

*(Escala de 1 a 5 em que **1** é 'Insuficientes' e **5** é 'Excelentes')*

1 ☐   **2** ☐   **3** ☐   **4** ☐   **5** ☐

18   **Comparativamente com o resto da Redacção**
       as minhas competências para lidar com a Net são:

*(Escala de 1 a 5 em que **1** é 'Muito abaixo da média' e **5** é 'Muito acima da média')*

1 ☐   **2** ☐   **3** ☐   **4** ☐   **5** ☐

19   **O JN na Net**

*(Escala em que **1** é Discordo totalmente e*
***5** é Concordo totalmente)*

	1	2	3	4	5
JN Online tem dimensão adequada ao nosso mercado	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
JN Online tem padrões de qualidade jornalística do papel	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
JN Online potencia criação de uma maior audiência	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
JN Online abre espaços de complementaridade com o papel	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
JN Online precisa de mudar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

20   **Comparativamente com o momento em que entrei no jornal:**

*(Escala em que **1** é Discordo totalmente e*
***5** é Concordo totalmente)*

	1	2	3	4	5

	1	2	3	4	5
O JN é hoje um melhor produto	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A Redacção é mais competente	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN tem menor contacto com a audiência	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A pressão comercial sente-se mais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
As chefias são mais competentes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Faz-se mais 'jornalismo de agenda'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
As relações pessoais na Redacção pioraram	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sou melhor jornalista	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN está melhor do que a concorrência	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O trabalho é mais criativo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O feedback dos leitores aumentou	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O mercado dos jornais está mais competitivo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A relação com as fontes é mais simples	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
É mais fácil seleccionar/avaliar a informação	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

21   A actual produção informativa no JN:

*(Escala de concordância em que **1** representa 'Discordo em absoluto'*
*e **5** representa 'concordo em absoluto')*

	1	2	3	4	5
Com a Net o trabalho na Redacção aumentou	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Com a Net o meu número de trabalhos/dia aumentou	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Com a Net as saídas da Redacção diminuiram	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Com a Net aumentaram trabalhos partilhados	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A Net teve impacto nas temáticas tratadas pelo JN	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A Net abriu portas a mais variedade de temas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A Net aumentou a desorganização de conteúdos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1	2	3	4	5
A Net possibilitou tratamento mais aprofundado	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Com a Net disponibilizamos informação mais depressa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A Net permitiu acompanhamento mais próximo dos eventos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A Net aumentou a variedade das fontes consultadas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A Net aumentou a qualidade do jornalismo produzido	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

22   **Avaliação do impacto da Net na actividade jornalística em termos de:**

(Escala de 1 a 5 em que 1 é 'Muito Negativo' e 5 é 'Muito Positivo')

	1	2	3	4	5
Rapidez	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Quantidade de informação	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Diversidade de informação	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Flexibilidade de tempo e lugar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Abrangência geográfica	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Diversidade de públicos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Rigor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Transparência	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Equilíbrio	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Facilidade de acesso a fontes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Redução de custos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Partilha de conteúdos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Escrita colaborativa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Maior contacto com leitores	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

23   **Um jornalista deve ser:**

*(Escala em que **1** é Discordo totalmente e*
***5** é Concordo totalmente)*

	1	2	3	4	5
Um produtor de informação	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Quem exerce o jornalismo como actividade principal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outro:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

24   **Um jornalista precisa de ter:**

*(Escala em que **1** é Discordo totalmente e*
***5** é Concordo totalmente)*

	1	2	3	4	5
Curso Superior de qualquer área	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Curso Superior de Comunicação	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Formação Profissional em Jornalismo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Formação de nível médio	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

25   **Frequência com que consulto as seguintes fontes:**

*(Escala: **1**-Nunca; **2**-Uma vez/semana; **3**-Uma vez/dia;*
***4**-Cinco vezes/dia; **5**-Mais de cinco vezes/dia)*

	1	2	3	4	5
Oficiais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Institucionais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lista pessoal de contactos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outros media nacionais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outros media nacionais online	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1	2	3	4	5
Outros media estrangeiros	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outros media estrangeiros online	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Blogs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wikipedia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fóruns do JN	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Newsgroups	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Leitores do JN	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sites Net	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Chats	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Agregadores de notícias	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outras:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

26   **Confiança que tenho nas as seguintes fontes:**

*(Escala de 1 a 5 em que **1** é 'Muito Pouca' e **5** é 'Absoluta'*

	1	2	3	4	5
Oficiais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Institucionais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lista pessoal de contactos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outros media nacionais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outros media nacionais online	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outros media estrangeiros	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outros media estrangeiros online	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Blogs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wikipedia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fóruns do JN	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Newsgroups	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1	2	3	4	5
Leitores do JN	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sites Net	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Chats	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Agregadores de notícias	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outras:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

27   Ferramentas a que recorro (além do software específico do jornal)

(Escala em que 1 é Nunca e 5 é Frequentemente)

	1	2	3	4	5
Processador de texto (ex: Word)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Folha de cálculo (ex: Excel)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E-mail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Webmail (ex: Yahoo, GMail)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Voip (ex: Skype)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Conversação (ex: Messenger)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Apresentações (ex: Power Point)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Construção de sites (ex: Dreamweaver / Flash)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Edição de fotos (ex: Photoshop)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Edição de som (ex: Audition)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Edição de vídeo (ex: uLead, Premiere)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Auto-produção na web (ex: Blogger, YouTube, Odeo)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outra:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

28   Uma boa edição online deve ter:

(Escala de concordância em que 1 representa 'Discordo em absoluto'
e 5 representa 'concordo em absoluto')

	1	2	3	4	5
Actualização permanente (24horas / 7dias p/ semana)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Arquivo aberto	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Identidade visual próxima da da edição-papel	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Todos os trabalhos com hiperligações	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Espaço de comentários em todos os trabalhos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Indicação do e-mail dos jornalistas nos trabalhos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Espaços de debate e conversação – fórum, inquérito	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Trabalhos com som e video	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Possibilidade de organização pessoal de conteúdos (O meu JN)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ligações para documentos usados na preparação dos trabalhos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ícones de ferramentas de agregação no final de cada trabalho	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Espaço de alojamento de blogs de leitores	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Blogs de jornalistas / editores / provedor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

29   Indique o grau de concordância com as afirmações:

*(Escala em que 1 é Discordo totalmente e
5 é Concordo totalmente)*

	1	2	3	4	5
O JN não aproveita as minhas competências	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN é um jornal de qualidade	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN é um jornal popular	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A presença do JN na Net é suficiente	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN sustenta outras empresas no grupo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN é, sobretudo, um jornal-papel	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1	2	3	4	5
O JN deve sub-contratar produção de alguma informação	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN é a minha segunda casa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN paga mal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN precisa de reforçar ligação ao Norte	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN precisa de ter mais jornalistas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN precisa de estar em todas as plataformas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
As fontes consideram o JN credível	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O JN tem preocupações sociais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A Redacção do JN é suficientemente ágil	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os leitores confiam no JN	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

30 **Indique o grau de concordância com as afirmações:**

*(Escala em que **1** é Discordo totalmente e*
***5** é Concordo totalmente)*

	1	2	3	4	5
Exagera-se o impacto da Net no jornalismo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
'Jornalismo multimédia' é sinónimo de 'cortar custos'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dispensaria tempo livre para aprender	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
'Flexível' quer dizer 'Precário'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
O 'Provedor do Leitor' é uma iniciativa de marketing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Recebo frequentemente cartas / e-mails dos leitores	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gostava de trabalhar com diferentes formatos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Toda a Redacção devia trabalhar para todos os formatos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Salários deviam reflectir indicadores de produtividade	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A Net dilui o papel de mediador do jornalista	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Estaria disposto a trabalhar por turnos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

O jornalismo é, sobretudo, uma actividade individual	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A leitura de um jornal é um acto passivo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jornal-papel é mais fiel aos valores da profissão	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jornalismo online recicla trabalho dos outros	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Leitores não entendem processo jornalístico	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Informação online é para uma minoria escolarizada	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os leitores têm visão muito parcial dos temas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A edição pessoal (p.e. os blogs) está a transformar o jornalismo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Muito obrigado pela colaboração,

10.8 Journalists' questionnaire results

1. Idade
Frequência da faixa etária

1. Idade		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	22-24	5	7,7	7,7
	25-29	7	10,8	10,8
	30-39	26	40,0	40,0
	40-49	14	21,5	21,5
	50-59	6	9,2	9,2
	60+	2	3,1	3,1
	NR	5	7,7	7,7
	Total	65	100,0	100,0

1. Frequência por faixa etária
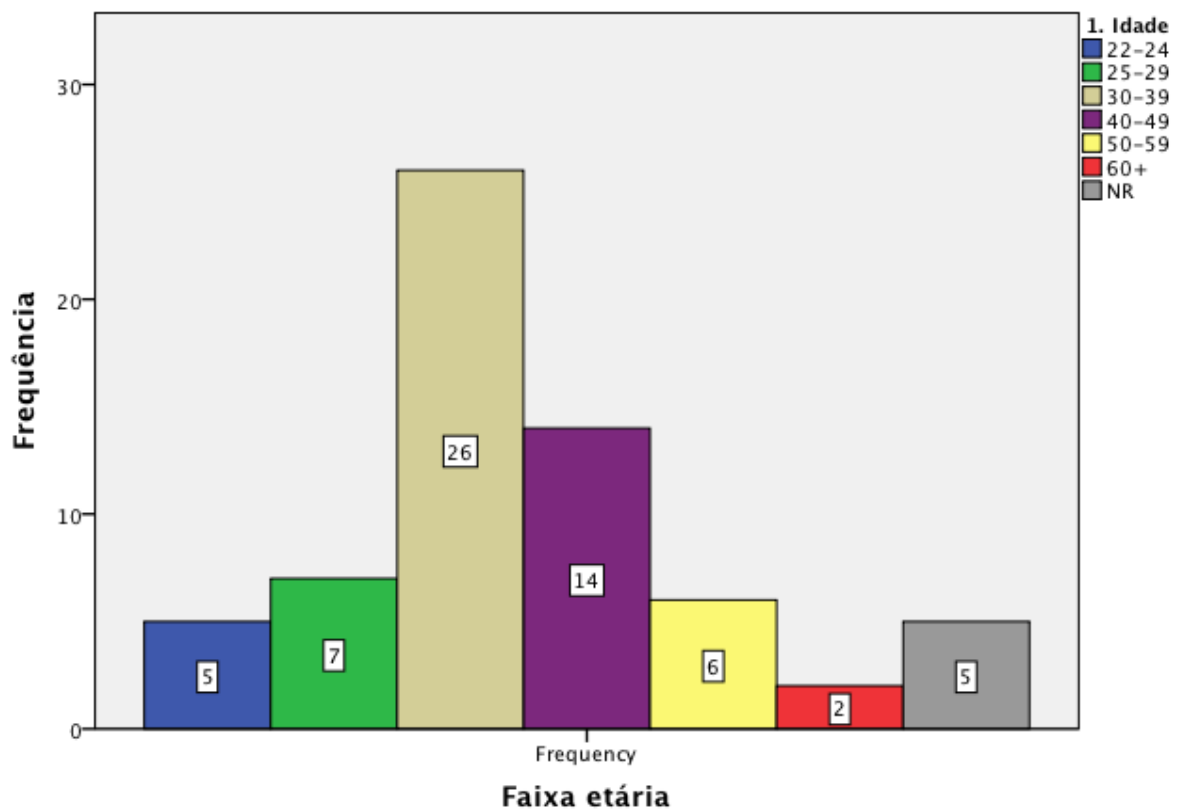
2. Género

Frequência do género da amostra

2. Sexo		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Feminino	23	35,4	35,4
	Masculino	38	58,5	58,5
	NR	4	6,2	6,2
	Total	65	100,0	100,0
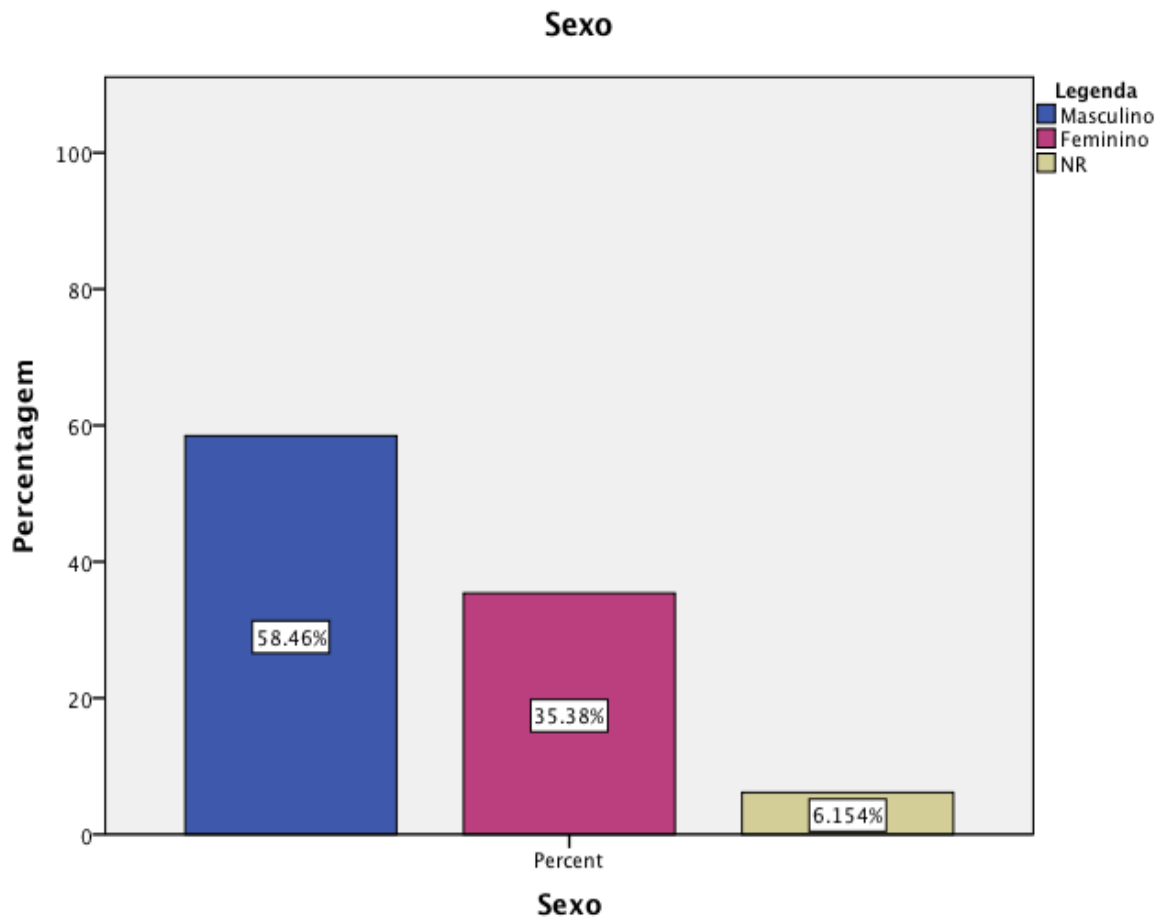
2.1 Frequência do género por categoria na redacção

2. Sexo * 10. Categoria na redacção... Crosstabulation

Count

		10. Categoria na redacção...					
		Jornalista	Editor	Estagiário	Colaborador	Chefe de Redacção	NR
2. Sexo	Feminino	13	3	5	1	0	1
	Masculino	20	11	0	1	3	3
	NR	0	0	0	1	0	3
Total		33	14	5	3	3	7

Género e Categoria na redacção
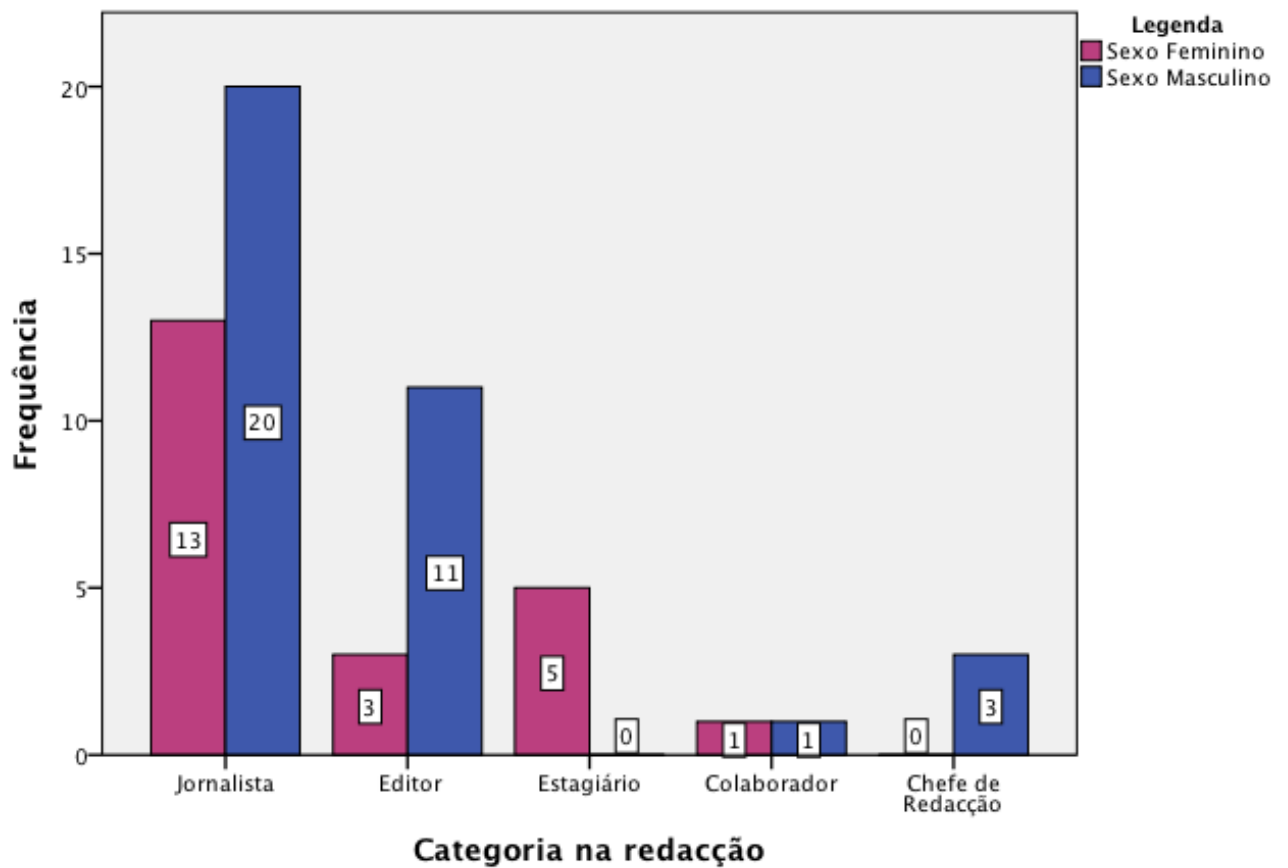
2.2 Género por faixa etária

2. Sexo * 1. Idade Crosstabulation

Count

		1. Idade						
		22-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	NR
2. Sexo	Feminino	5	5	12	0	0	1	0
	Masculino	0	2	14	14	6	1	1
	NR	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Total		5	7	26	14	6	2	5
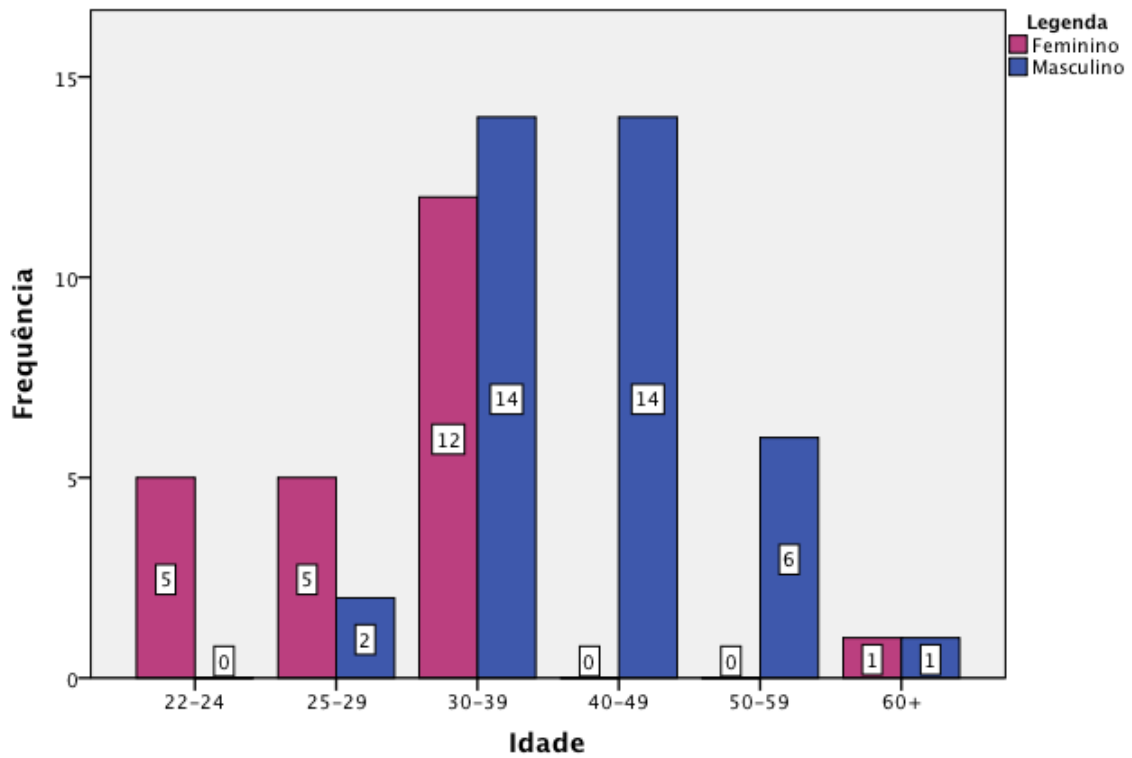
3. Formação académica

3. Formação Académica

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Básico	1	1,5	1,5

Secundário	9	13,8	13,8	
Frequência de Superior	15	23,1	23,1	
Superior	32	49,2	49,2	
Pós-graduado	6	9,2	9,2	
NR	2	3,1	3,1	
Total	65	100,0	100,0	

Formação Académica
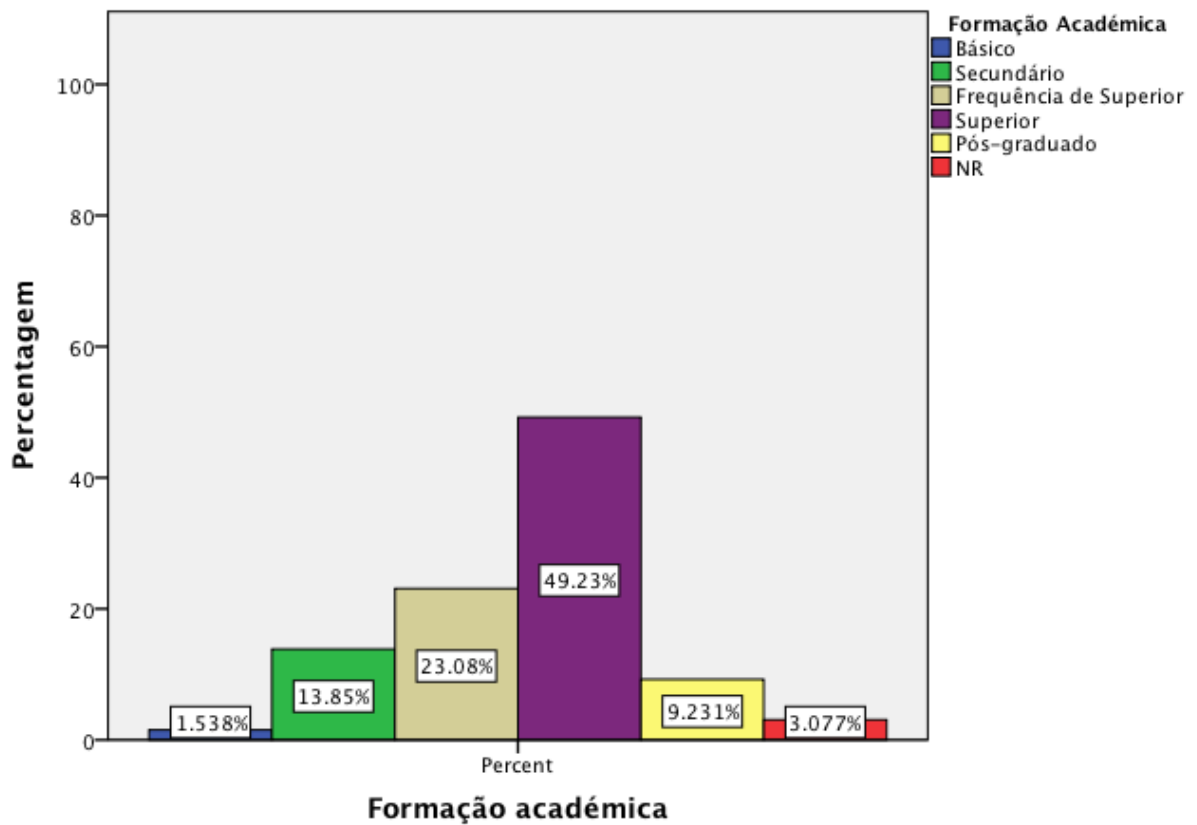
3.1 Formação académica por categoria na redacção

3. Formação Académica	Básico
	Secundário
	Frequência de Superior
	Superior
	Pós-graduado
	Outro
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
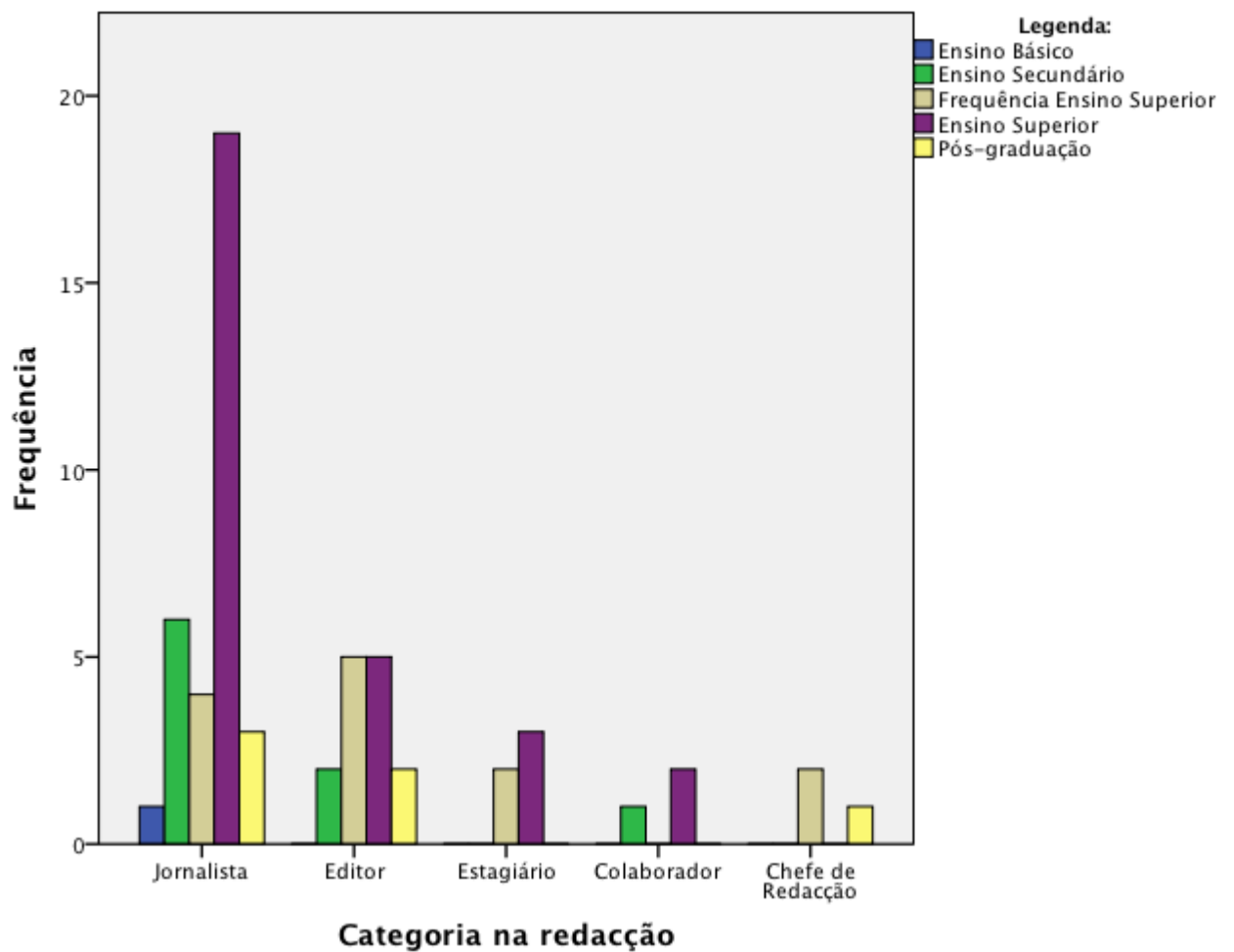
Formação académica por categoria na redacção

3.2 Frequência da formação académica por género

2. Sexo	Feminino
	Masculino
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

(...)

Frequência do género por formação académica

Legenda:
- 2. Sexo Feminino
- 2. Sexo Masculino
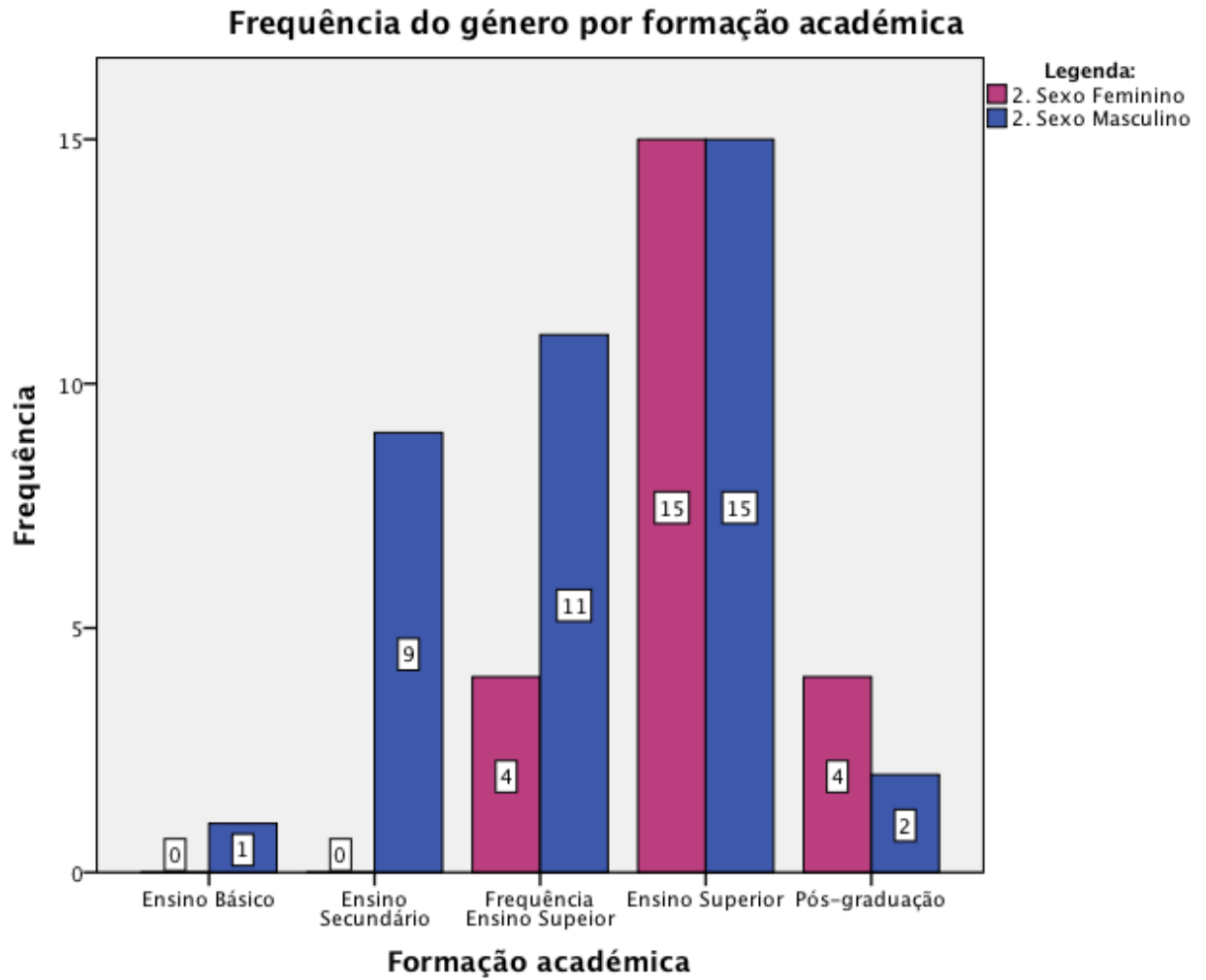
3.3 Formação académica por faixa etária

3. Formação Académica * 1. Idade Crosstabulation

Count

3. Formação Académica	Básico	
	Secundário	

	Frequência de Superior
	Superior
	Pós-graduado
	NR
Total	

3. Formação Académica * 1. Idade Crosstabulation

Count

		1. Idade
		NR
3. Formação Académica	Básico	0
	Secundário	1
	Frequência de Superior	0
	Superior	2
	Pós-graduado	0
	NR	2
Total		5

3.a) Áreas de Ensino Superior

3.a) Áreas de Ensino Superior

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Comunicação Social	34	52,3	52,3
	Direito	4	6,2	6,2

Fotografia	1	1,5	1,5	
Sociologia	1	1,5	1,5	
Relações Internacionais	1	1,5	1,5	
História	5	7,7	7,7	
Química	1	1,5	1,5	
Letras	1	1,5	1,5	
Filosofia	1	1,5	1,5	
Cinema	1	1,5	1,5	
NA	10	15,4	15,4	
NR	5	7,7	7,7	
Total	65	100,0	100,0	

4. Tecnologias pessoais

4.a) Possuo computador pessoal	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.b). Possuo telemóvel pessoal	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.c). Possuo máq. foto digital	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.d). Possuo gravador de som digital	Não
	Sim

	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.e). Possuo ligação net em casa	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

4.1 Tecnologias pessoais por género

4.a) Possuo computador pessoal	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.b). Possuo telemóvel pessoal	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.c). Possuo máq. foto digital	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.d). Possuo gravador de som digital	Não

	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.e). Possuo ligação net em casa	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

4.2 Tecnologias pessoais por faixa etária

4.a) Possuo computador pessoal	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.b). Possuo telemóvel pessoal	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.c). Possuo máq. foto digital	Não
	Sim

	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.d). Possuo gravador de som digital	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.e). Possuo ligação net em casa	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

(...)

Frequência das tecnologias pessoais por faixa etária

Legenda:
- Telemóvel
- Computador
- Internet em casa
- Máq. foto digital
- Gravador som digital
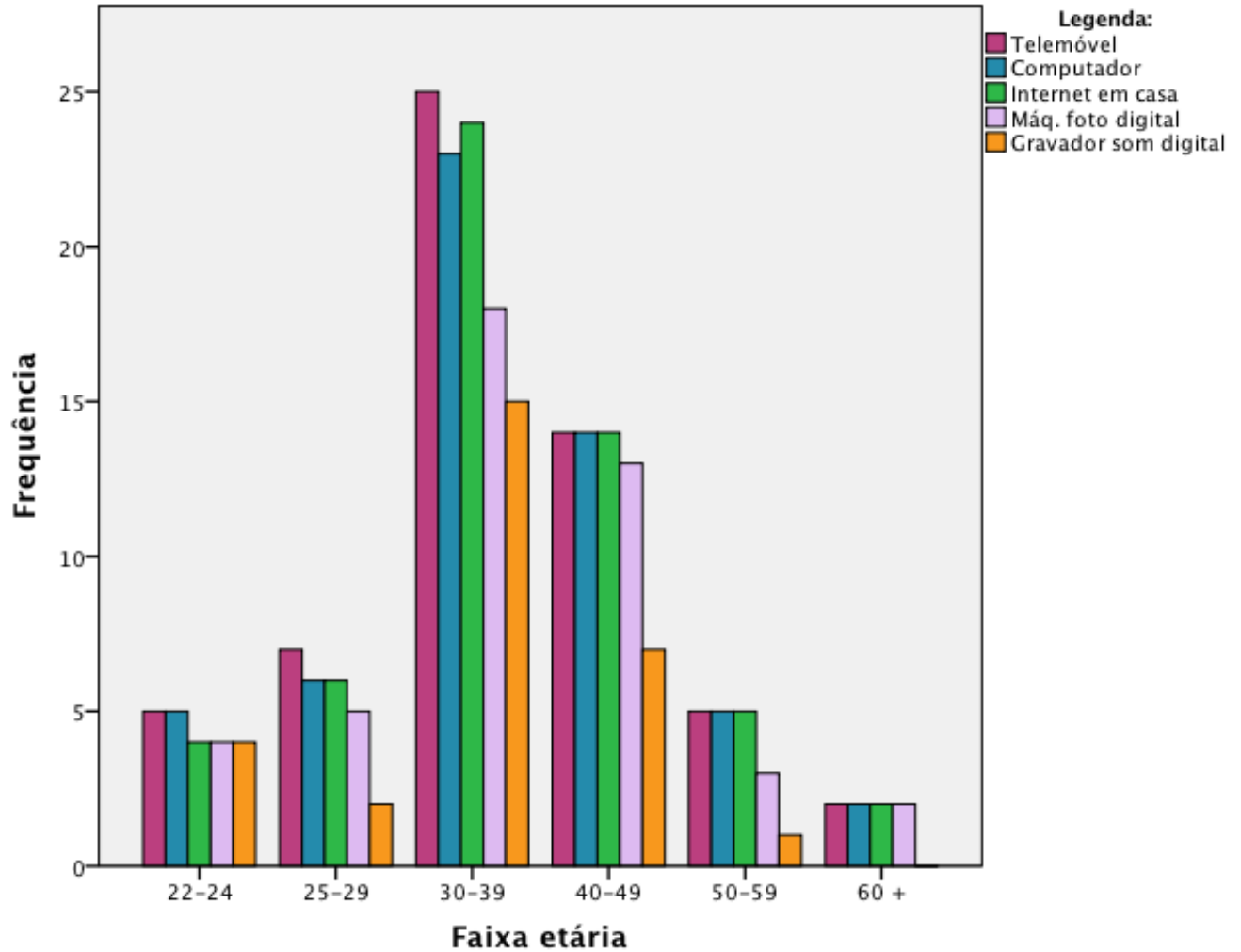
4.3 Tecnologias pessoais por categoria na redacção

4.a) Possuo computador pessoal	Não	
	Sim	
	NA	

	NR
	Anulado
4.b). Possuo telemóvel pessoal	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.c). Possuo máq. foto digital	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.d). Possuo gravador de som digital	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.e). Possuo ligação net em casa	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

(...)

4.4 Tecnologias pessoais por formação académica

4.a) Possuo computador pessoal	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.b). Possuo telemóvel pessoal	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.c). Possuo máq. foto digital	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.d). Possuo gravador de som digital	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
4.e). Possuo ligação net em casa	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

OBS: Os cruzamentos das ''Tecnologias pessoais'' com as restantes variáveis devem ter em conta o número de indivíduos inquiridos nos agrupamentos das respectivas variáveis. Por exemplo: o número de jornalistas inquiridos é maior do que o número de editores, mas não significa (pela análise do gráfico) que o grupo ''jornalistas'' possua mais

computadores pessoais do que o grupo "editores". Ou seja, a análise deve ser feita em proporção com o número de inquiridos dos respectivos grupos.

5. Línguas

5.1 Inglês

5.a). Inglês - Ler	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.b) Inglês - Escrever	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.c) Inglês - Falar	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

5.2 Francês

5.d). Francês - Ler	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.e). Francês - Escrever	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

5.f). Francês - Falar	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

5.3 Alemão

5.g). Alemão - Ler	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.h). Alemão - Escrever	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.i). Alemão - Falar	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

5.4 Espanhol

5.k). Espanhol - Ler	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.l) Espanhol - Escrever	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

5.m) Espanhol - Falar	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

Leitura 5.5

5.a). Inglês - Ler	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.d). Francês - Ler	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.g). Alemão - Ler	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.k). Espanhol - Ler	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

5.6 Escrita

5.b) Inglês - Escrever	Não

	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.e). Francês - Escrever	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.h). Alemão - Escrever	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.l) Espanhol - Escrever	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

5.7 Fala

5.c) Inglês - Falar	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.f). Francês - Falar	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
5.i). Alemão - Falar	Não
	Sim
	NA

	NR
	Anulado
5.m) Espanhol - Falar	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

6. Edição pessoal

6.a). Edição pessoal - Blog	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
6.b). Edição pessoal - Fotolog	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
6.c). Edição pessoal - Página Net	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
6.d). Edição pessoal - Podcast	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
6.e). Edição pessoal - Videoblog	Não

	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
6.f). Edição pessoal - Outra	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

6.1 Edição pessoal por categoria na redacção

6.a). Edição pessoal - Blog	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
6.b). Edição pessoal - Fotolog	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
6.c). Edição pessoal - Página Net	Não
	Sim

	NA
	NR
	Anulado
6.d). Edição pessoal - Podcast	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
6.e). Edição pessoal - Videoblog	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
6.f). Edição pessoal - Outra	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

(...)

Edição pessoal por categoria na redacção

Legenda:
- Blog
- Fotolog
- Página Net
- Podcast
- Videoblog

Categoria na redacção
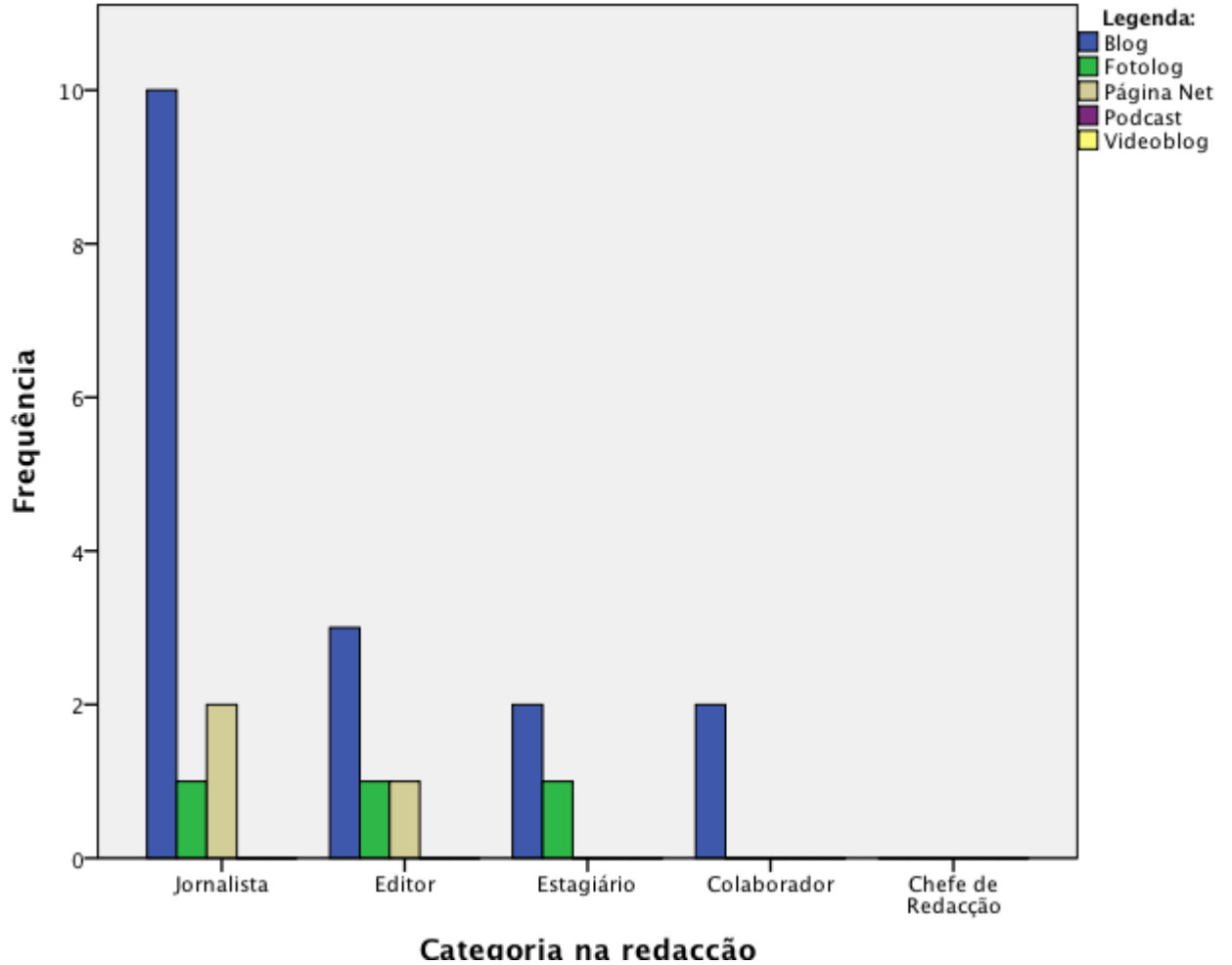
7. Número de anos ao serviço da profissão

7. Sou jornalista há...anos	0-2
	2-4
	5-9
	10-15
	16-20
	21-29
	30+
	NA

	NR
	Anulado

7.1 Número de anos na profissão por categoria na redacção

10. Categoria na redacção...	Jornalista
	Editor
	Estagiário
	Colaborador
	Chefe de Redacção
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

10. Categoria na redacção...	Jornalista
	Editor
	Estagiário
	Colaborador
	Chefe de Redacção
	NA
	NR

Universidade do Minho

	Anulado

7.2 Número de anos na profissão por faixa etária

1. Idade	22-24
	25-29
	30-39
	40-49
	50-59
	60+
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

(...)

o académica vel de formaçưo por n Nímero de anos na profiss 7.3

3. Formação Académica	Básico
	Secundário

	Frequência de Superior
	Superior
	Pós-graduado
	Outro
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

3. Formação Académica	Básico
	Secundário
	Frequência de Superior
	Superior
	Pós-graduado
	Outro
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

8. Número de anos ao serviço do JN

8. Sou jornalista no JN há...anos	0-2
	2-4
	5-9
	10-15
	16-20
	21-29
	30+
	NA
	NR

Universidade do Minho

	Anulado

8.1 Número de anos no JN por categoria na redacção

10. Categoria na redacção...	Jornalista
	Editor
	Estagiário
	Colaborador
	Chefe de Redacção
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

10. Categoria na redacção...	Jornalista
	Editor
	Estagiário
	Colaborador
	Chefe de Redacção
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

9. Secções

9. Trabalho na secção...

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Mundo	5	7,7	7,7
	Infografia	1	1,5	1,5
	Sociedade	1	1,5	1,5
	Nacional	4	6,2	6,2
	Online	3	4,6	4,6
	Rep. Fotográfica	3	4,6	4,6
	Cultura	4	6,2	6,2
	Grande Porto	5	7,7	7,7
	Desporto	8	12,3	12,3
	Edições Especiais	1	1,5	1,5
	Polícia/Tribunais	4	6,2	6,2
	Agenda	1	1,5	1,5
	Viva+	1	1,5	1,5
	Copydesk	1	1,5	1,5
	Economia	4	6,2	6,2
	TV e Media	1	1,5	1,5
	Local	1	1,5	1,5
	País	2	3,1	3,1
	NR	13	20,0	20,0
	Anulado	2	3,1	3,1
	Total	65	100,0	100,0

10. Categoria na redacção

10. Categoria na redacção...

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Jornalista	33	50,8	50,8
	Editor	14	21,5	21,5
	Estagiário	5	7,7	7,7
	Colaborador	3	4,6	4,6
	Chefe de Redacção	3	4,6	4,6
	NR	7	10,8	10,8
	Total	65	100,0	100,0

10.1 Categoria na redacção por faixa etária

10. Categoria na redacção...	Jornalista
	Editor
	Estagiário
	Colaborador
	Chefe de Redacção
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

(...)

11. e 12. Trabalhos por dia / semana

11. Trabalho em...assuntos por dia	0
	1-4
	Anulado
	5-10
	11-20
	20+
	NA
	Vários
	NR
12. Preparo....trabalhos com base em informações próprias por semana	0
	1-4
	Anulado
	5-10
	11-20
	20+
	NA
	Vários
	NR

13. e 14. Experiência noutras áreas

13. Experiência de Rádio	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

14. Experiência de TV	Não
	Sim
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

Experiência noutras áreas
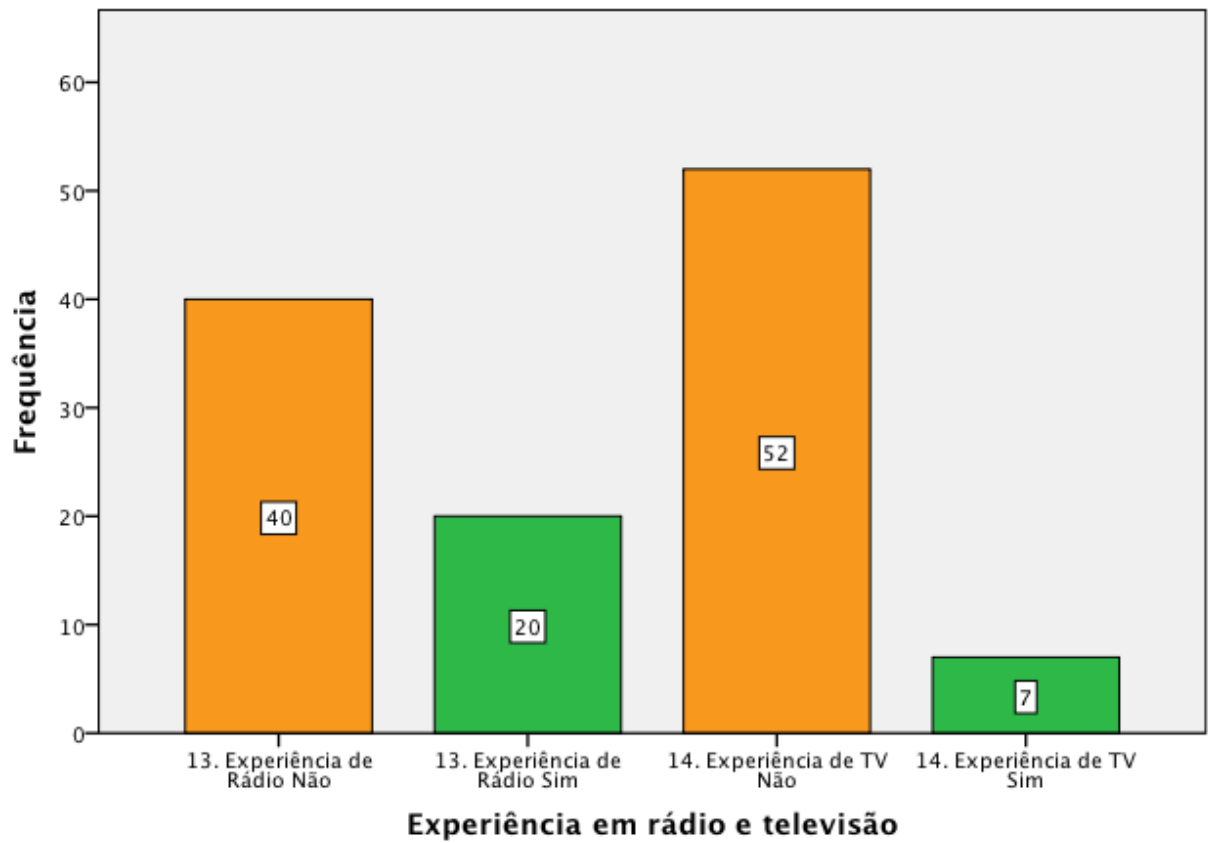
15. Actividade no JN

15. Opção que melhor descreve a actividade

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Exclusivo em papel	48	73,8	73,8
	Papel e colaboração online	10	15,4	15,4

	Papel e online	1	1,5	1,5
	Online e colaboração em papel	1	1,5	1,5
	Exclusivo em online	2	3,1	3,1
	NR	3	4,6	4,6
	Total	65	100,0	100,0

15. Opção que melhor descreve a actividade

15.1 Actividade no Jornal por categoria na redacção

10. Categoria na redacção...	Jornalista
	Editor
	Estagiário
	Colaborador
	Chefe de Redacção
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

10. Categoria na redacção...	Jornalista
	Editor
	Estagiário
	Colaborador
	Chefe de Redacção
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

Actividade no Jornal por categoria na redacção
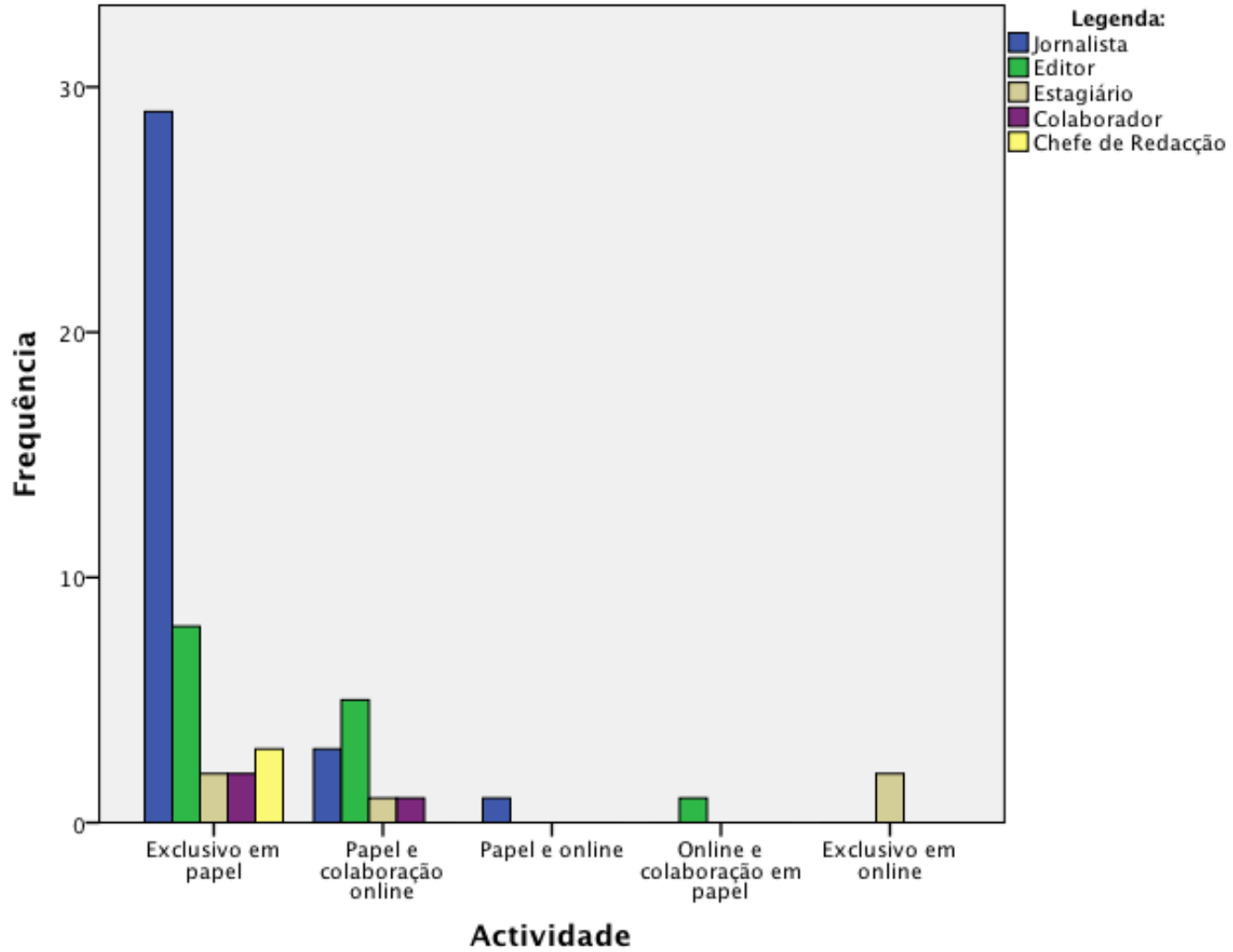
Ano de acesso à Net .16

16. Ano de acesso à Net com regularidade

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Anulado	1	1,5	1,5
	1992	1	1,5	1,5
	1993	1	1,5	1,5

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
1995	8	12,3	12,3
1996	2	3,1	3,1
1997	5	7,7	7,7
1998	5	7,7	7,7
1998/9	1	1,5	1,5
1999	6	9,2	9,2
2000	14	21,5	21,5
2001	6	9,2	9,2
2002	1	1,5	1,5
2003	1	1,5	1,5
NR	13	20,0	20,0
Total	65	100,0	100,0

17. Níveis de competência para lidar com a Net

17. Competências para lidar com a Net

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	3	14	21,5	21,5
	4	37	56,9	56,9
	5	12	18,5	18,5
	NR	2	3,1	3,1
	Total	65	100,0	100,0

17.1 Níveis de competência na Net por categoria na redacção

10. Categoria na redacção...	Jornalista
	Editor

	Estagiário
	Colaborador
	Chefe de Redacção
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

(...)

o para lidar com a Netₚo com a redaccₚComparaç .18

18. Comparação com a Redacção para lidar com a Net

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	3	21	32,3	32,3
	4	33	50,8	50,8
	5	4	6,2	6,2
	NR	7	10,8	10,8
	Total	65	100,0	100,0

19. JN Online

19.a). JN Online tem dimensões adequadas ao mercado	1
	2
	3
	4
	5

	NA
	NR
	Anulado
19.b). JN Online tem padrões de qualidade do papel	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
19.c). JN Online potencia criação de uma maior audiência	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
19.d). JN Online abre espaços de comp. com o papel	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
19.e). JN Online precisa de mudar	1
	2
	3
	4

	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

20. O mercado e a redacção do JN

20.a). O JN é hoje um melhor produto	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
20.b). A Redacção é mais competente	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
20.c). O JN tem menor contacto com a audiência	1
	2
	3
	4

	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
20.d). A pressão comercial sente-se mais	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
20.e). As chefias são mais competentes	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
20.f). Faz-se mais 'jornalismo de agenda'	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
20.g). As relações pessoais na Redacção pioraram	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA

	NR
	Anulado
20.h). Sou melhor jornalista	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
20.i). O JN está melhor do que a concorrência	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
20.j). O trabalho é mais criativo	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
20.k). O feedback dos leitores aumentou	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

20.l). O mercado dos jornais está mais competitivo	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
20.m). A relação com as fontes é mais simples	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
20.n). É mais fácil seleccionar a informação	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

20. Frequência das respostas de nível 5 para o mercado e redacção JN
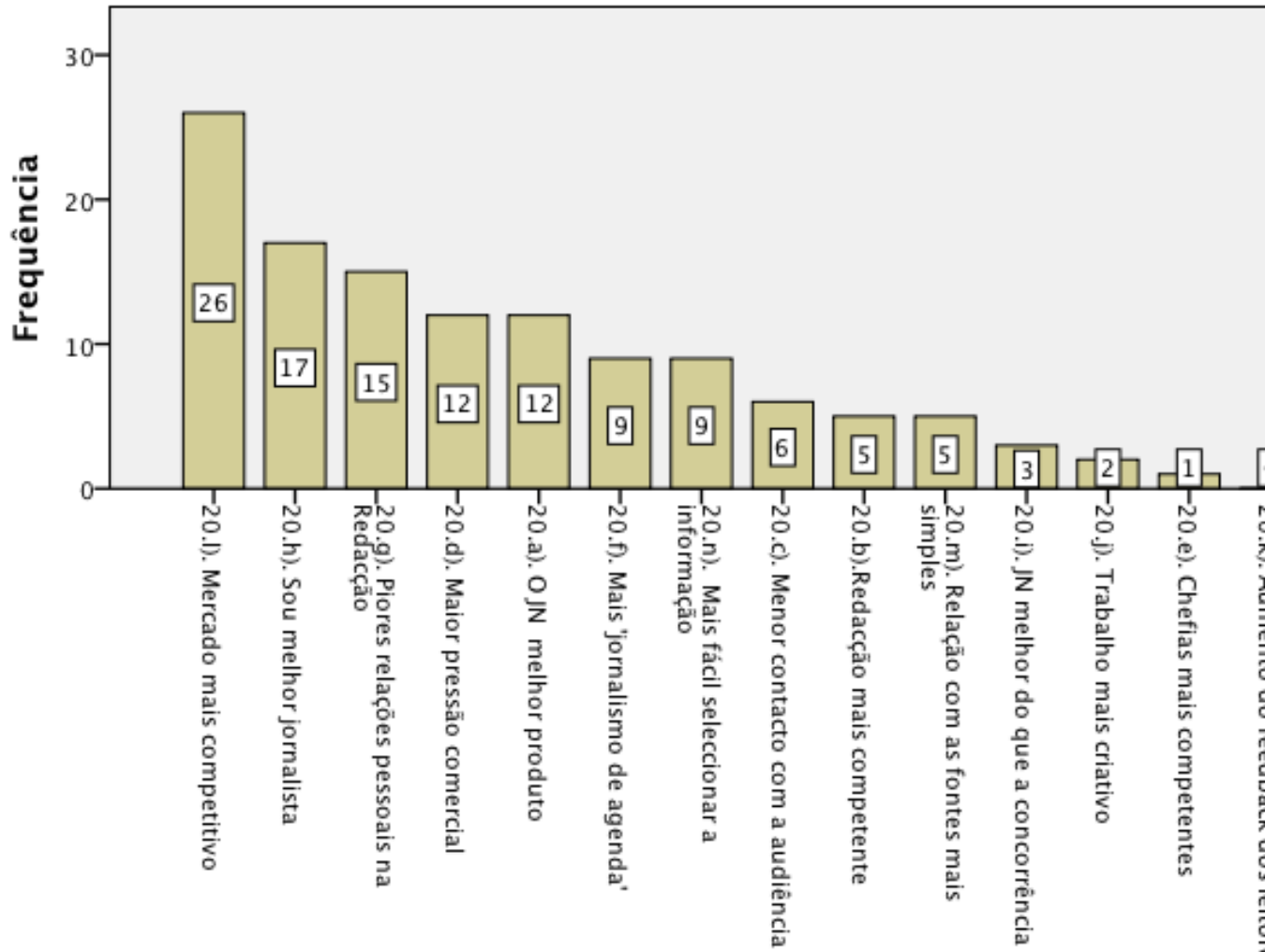
21. Relação Net e Redacção

21.a) Com a Net o trabalho na Redacção aumentou	1
	2
	3
	4

	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
21.b) Com a Net o número de trabalhos/dia aumentou	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
21.c) Com a Net as saídas da Redacção diminuíram	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
21.d) Com a Net aumentaram trabalhos partilhados	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
21.e) A Net teve impacto nas temáticas tratadas pelo JN	1
	2
	3
	4
	5

	NA
	NR
	Anulado
21.f) A Net abriu portas a mais variedade de temas	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
21.g) A Net aumentou a desorganização de conteúdos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
21.h) A Net possibilitou tratamento mais aprofundado	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
21.i) Com a Net disponibilizamos informação mais depressa	1
	2
	3
	4
	5

	NA
	NR
	Anulado
21.j) A Net permitiu acompanhamento mais próximo dos eventos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
21.k) A Net aumentou a variedade das fontes consultadas	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
21.l) A Net aumentou a qualidade do jornalismo produzido	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

21. Frequências das respostas de nível 1 sobre a Net e a Redacçã
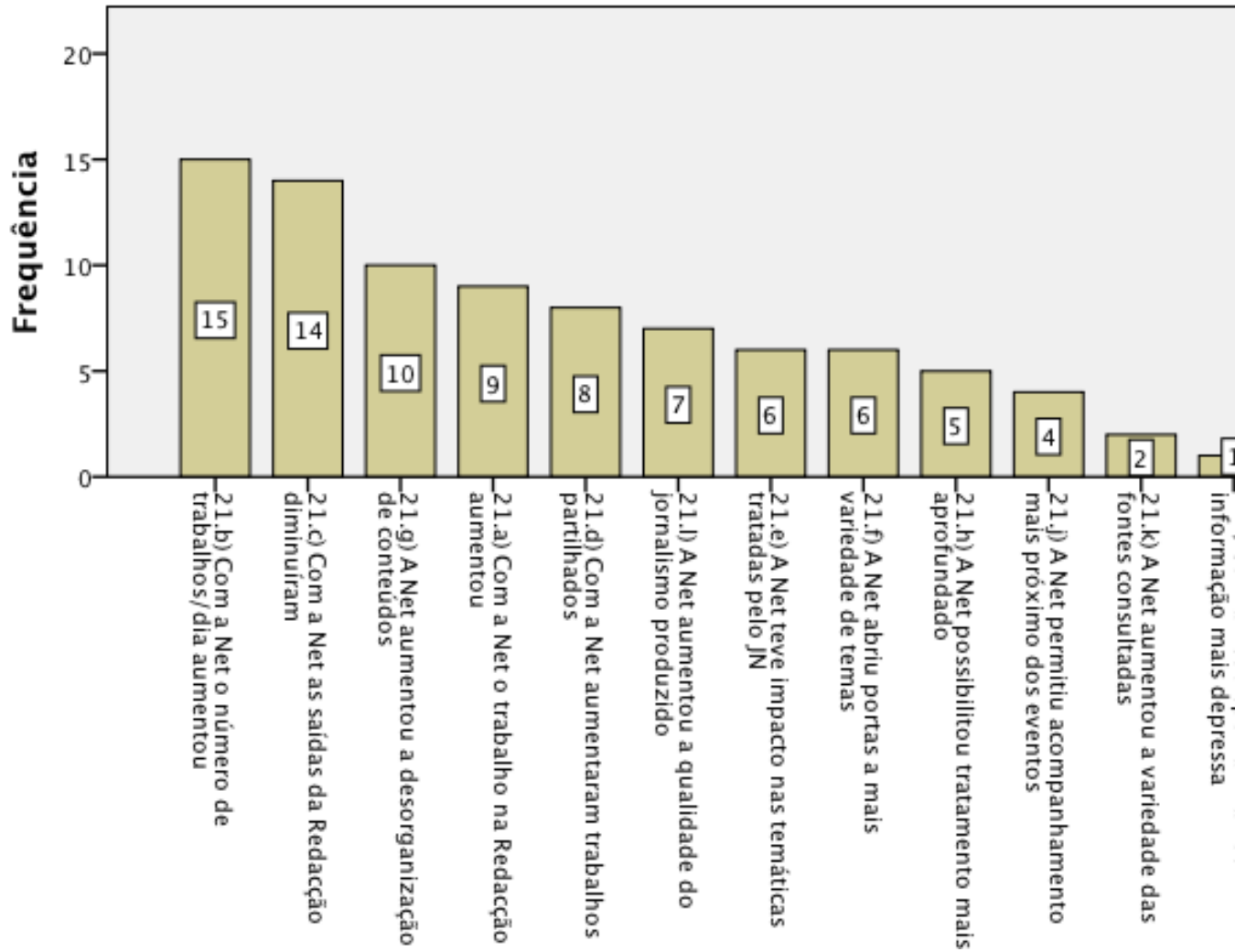
21. Frequência das respostas de nível 5 sobre a Net e a Redacção
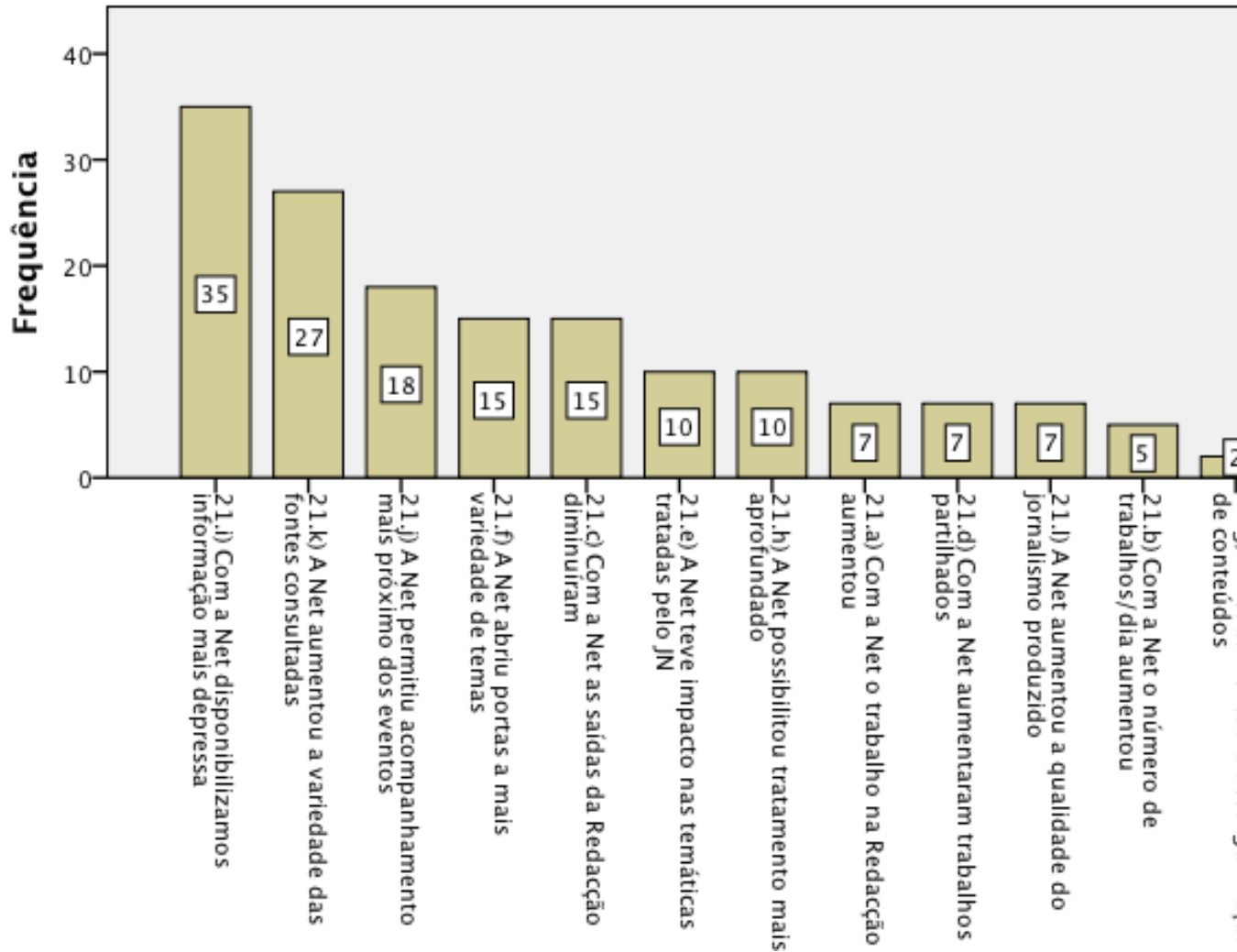
22. Informação na Internet

22.a) Rapidez	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA

	NR
	Anulado
22.b) Quantidade de informação	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
22.c) Diversidade de informação	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
22.d) Flexibilidade de tempo e lugar	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
22.e) Abrangência geográfica	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

22.f) Diversidade de públicos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
22.g) Rigor	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
22.h) Transparência	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
22.i) Equilíbrio	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
22.j) Facilidade de acesso às fontes	1
	2
	3
	4
	5

	NA
	NR
	Anulado
22.k) Redução de custos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
22.l) Partilha de conteúdos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
22.m) Escrita colaborativa	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
22.n) Maior contacto com leitores	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

23. Função do jornalista

23.a) Jornalista: um produtor de informação	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
23.b) Jornalista: quem exerce o jornalismo como actividade principal	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
23.c) Jornalista: outro	Anulado
	NA
	NR
	Elo...
	ivesti..
	ivs...
	list..
	Obs...
	prod...
	Prod...

24. Opinião acerca da formação necessária à profissão de jornalista

24.a) Curso Superior de qualquer área	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
24.b) Curso Superior de Comunicação	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
24.c) Formação profissional em Jornalismo	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
24.d) Formação de nível médio	1
	2

	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

Frequência dos níveis de concordância em relação à opinião acerca formação do jornalista
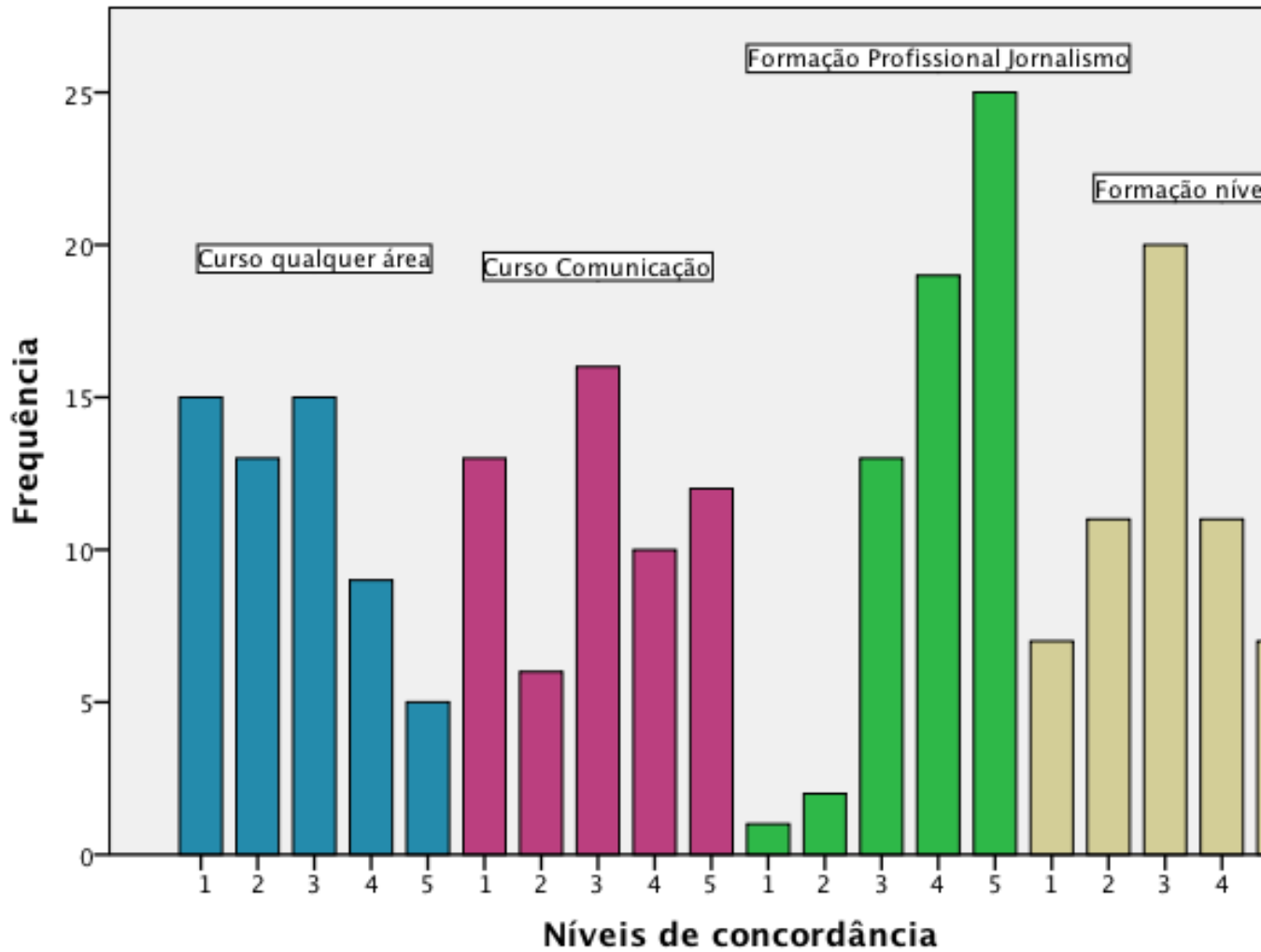
25. Frequência da recorrência às fontes

25.a) Freq. Oficiais	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.b) Freq. Institucionais	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.c) Freq. Lista pessoal de contactos	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.d) Freq. Outros media nacionais	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.e) Freq. Ouros media nacionais online	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana

	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.f.) Freq. Outros media estrangeiros	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.g) Freq. Outros media estrangeiros online	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.h) Freq. Blogs	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.i) Freq. Wikipedia	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR

	Anulado
25.j) Freq. Fóruns do JN	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.k) Freq. Newsgroups	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.l) Freq. Leitores do JN	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.m) Freq. Sites Net	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.n) Freq. Chats	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA

25.o) Freq. Agregadores de notícias	NR
	Anulado
	Nunca
	Uma vez/semana
	Uma vez/dia
	Cinco vezes/dia
	Mais de cinco vezes/dia
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
25.p) Freq. Outras	Anulado
	NA
	NR

25. Frequência das respostas de nível 1 sobre a frequência de recu às fontes

Bar chart with values: 25.n) Chats = 39; 25.j) Fóruns do JN = 30; 25.k) Newsgroups = 29; 25.l) Leitores do JN = 19; 25.o) Agregadores de notícias = 11; 25.f.) Outros media estrangeiros = 9; 25.h) Blogs = 8; 25.i) Wikipedia = 6; 25.m) Sites Net = 5; 25.g) Outros media estrangeiros online = 4; 25.d) Outros media nacionais = 4; 25.b) Institucionais = 2; 25.e) Outros media nacionais online = 2; 25.a) Oficiais = 1
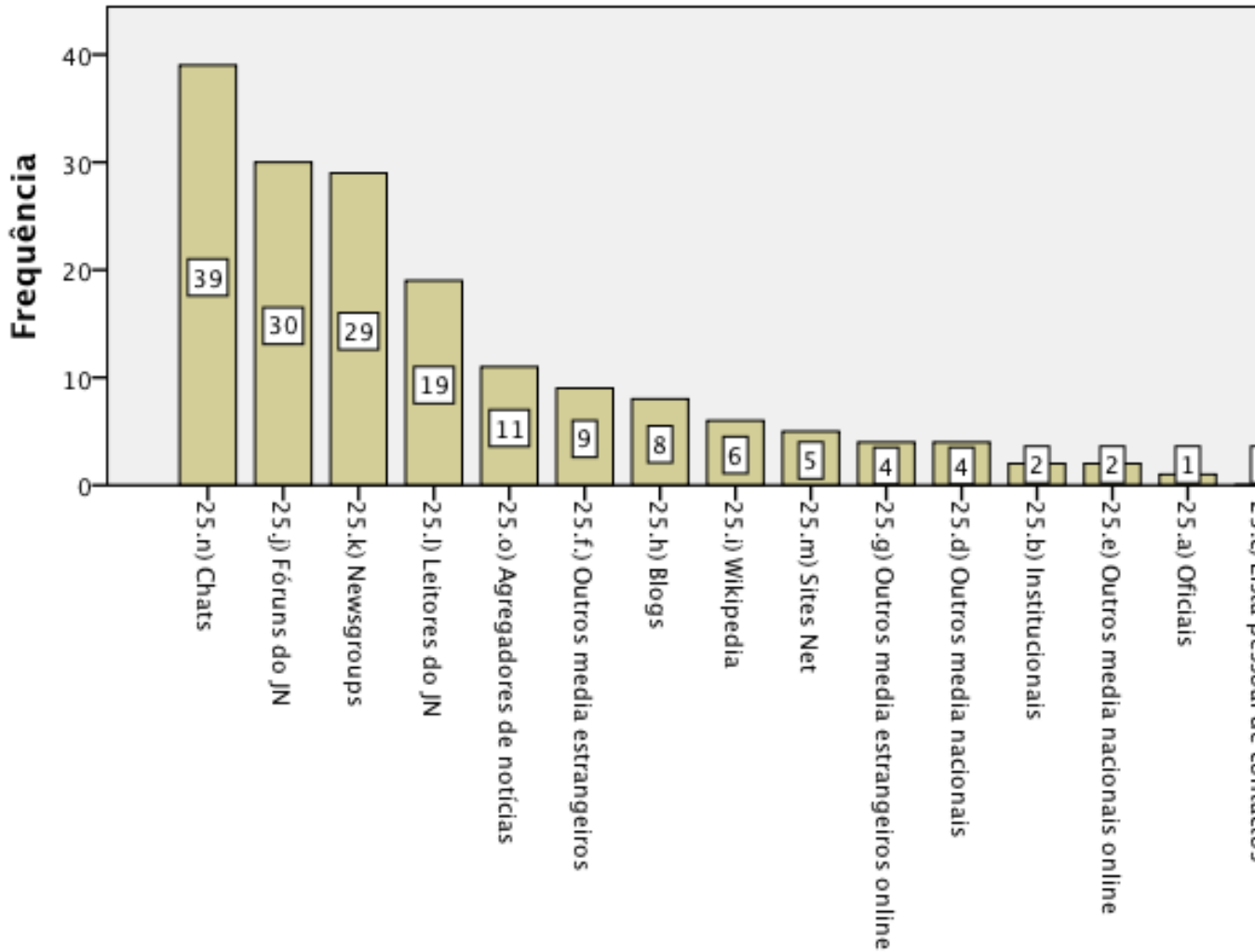
26. Níveis de confiança relativamente às fontes

26.a) Conf. Oficiais	1
	2
	3

	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.b) Conf. Institucionais	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.c) Conf. Lista pessoal de contactos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.d) Conf. Outros media nacionais	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.e) Conf. Ouros media nacionais online	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR

	Anulado
26.f.) Conf. Outros media estrangeiros	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.g) Conf. Outros media estrangeiros online	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.h) Conf. Blogs	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.i) Conf. Wikipedia	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.j) Conf. Fóruns do JN	1
	2
	3
	4

	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.k) Conf. Newsgroups	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.l) Conf. Leitores do JN	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.m) Conf. Sites Net	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.n) Conf. Chats	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.o) Conf. Agregadores de notícias	1
	2

	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
26.p) Conf. Outras	Anulado
	3
	NA
	NR

26. Frequência das respostas de nível 1 sobre a confiança nas fontes
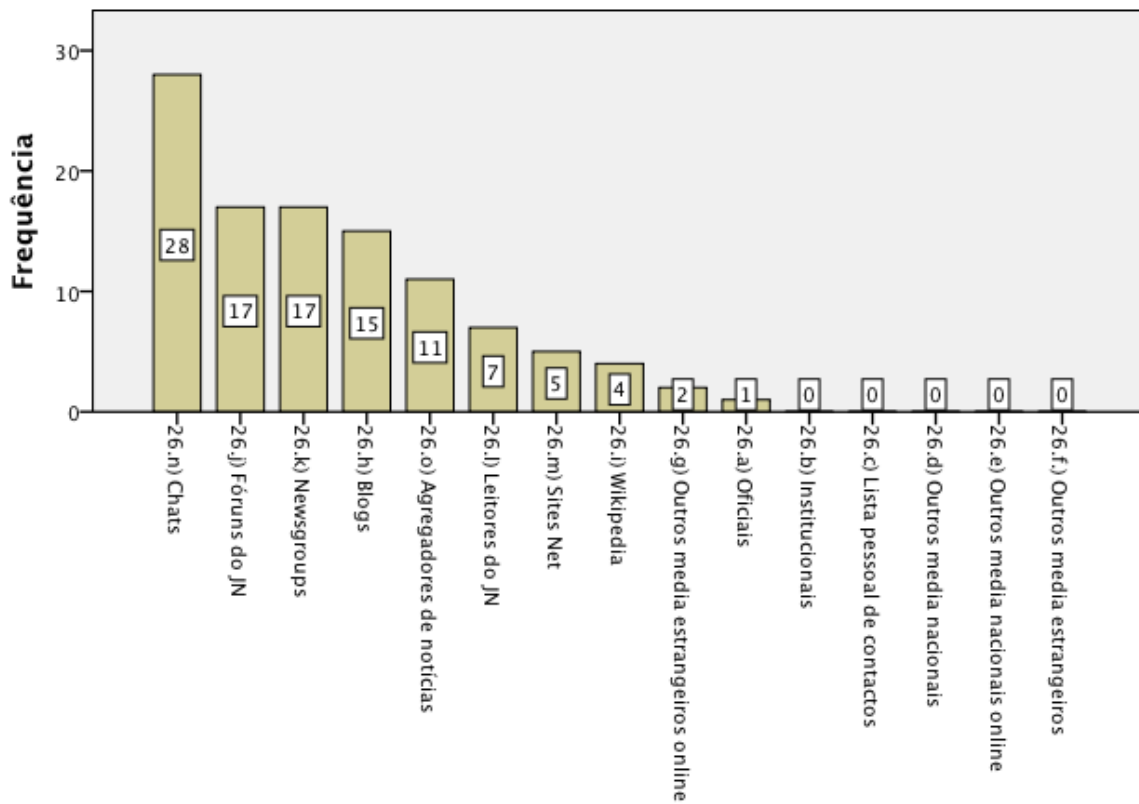
26. Frequência das respostas de nível 5 sobre a confiança nas fontes
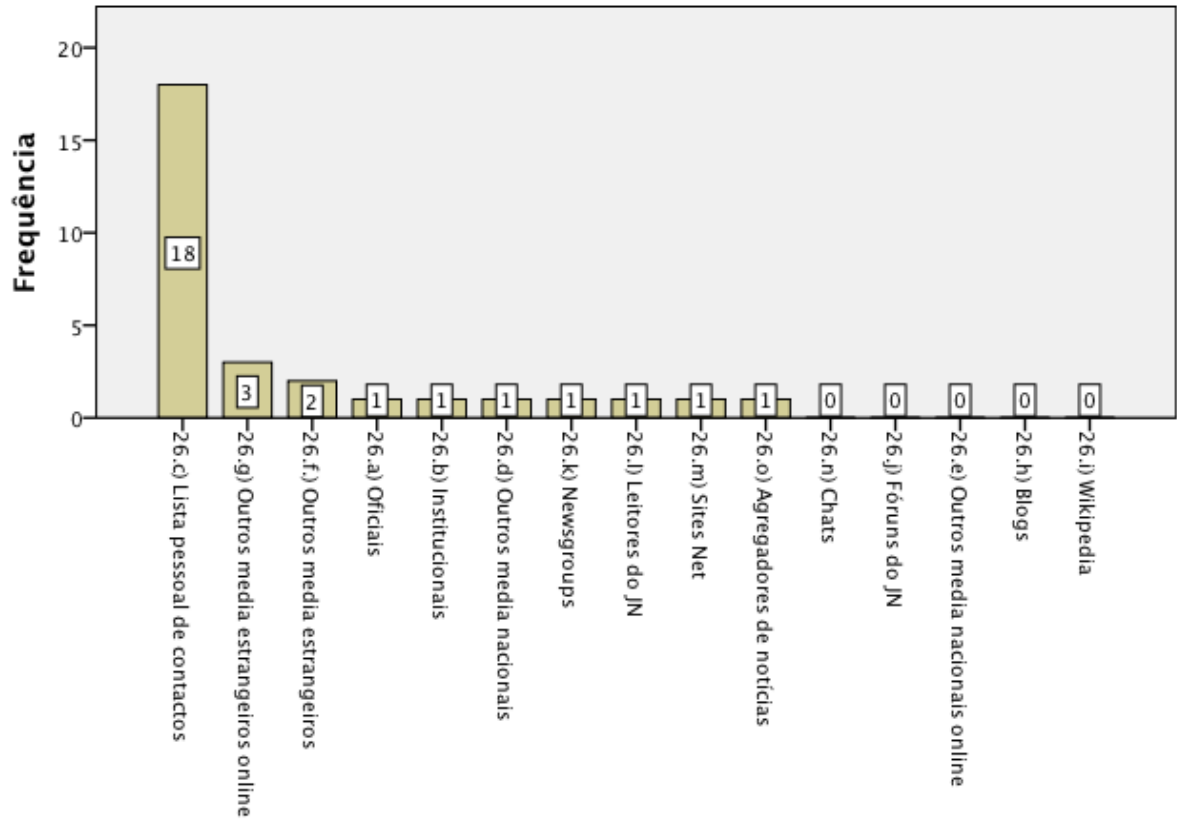
27. Competências informáticas

27.a) Processador de texto	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
27.b) Folha de cálculo	1
	2
	3

	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
27.c) E-mail	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
27.d) Webmail	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
27.e) Voip	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
27.f) Conversação	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
27.g) Apresentações	1
	2

	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
27.h) Construção de sites	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
27.i) Edição de fotos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
27.j) Edição de som	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
27.k) Edição de vídeo	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

27.l) Auto-produção na web	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
27.m) Outra	Anulado
	5
	NA
	NR

28. Possibilidades na informação online

28.a) Actualização permanente	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
28.b) Arquivo aberto	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR

	Anulado
28.c) Identidade visual próxima da edição-papel	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
28.d) Todos os trabalhos com hiperligações	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
28.e) Espaço de comentários em todos os trabalhos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
28.f) Indicação do e-mail dos jornalistas nos trabalhos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

28.g) Espaços de debate e conversação	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
28.h) Trabalhos com som e vídeo	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
28.i) Possibilidade de organização pessoal de conteúdos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
28.j) Ligações para documentos usados	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

28.k) Ícones de ferramentas de agregação no final	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
28.l) Espaço de alojamento de blogs de leitores	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
28.m) Blogs de jornalistas/editores/provedor	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

29. Avaliação/opinião acerca do JN

29.a) O JN não aproveita as minhas competências	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.b) O JN é um jornal de qualidade	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.c) O JN é um jornal popular	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.d) A presença do JN na Net é suficiente	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

29.e) O JN sustenta outras empresas no grupo	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.f) O JN é sobretudo um jornal-papel	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.g) O JN deve sub-contratar produção de alguma informação	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.h) O JN é a minha segunda casa	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.i) O JN paga mal	1
	2

	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.j) O JN precisa de reforçar a ligação a Norte	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.k) O JN precisa de ter mais jornalistas	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.l) O JN precisa de estar em todas as plataformas	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.m) As fontes consideram o JN credível	1
	2
	3
	4
	5

	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.n) O JN tem preocupações sociais	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.o) A Redacção do JN é suficientemente ágil	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
29.p) Os leitores confiam no JN	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

29. Frequência das respostas de nível 1 sobre o JN

29. Frequência das respostas de nível 5 sobre o JN

Bar chart showing frequency of level 5 responses about JN:
- 29.e) O JN sustenta outras empresas no grupo: 36
- 29.l) O JN precisa de estar em todas as plataformas: 26
- 29.f) O JN é sobretudo um jornal-papel: 23
- 29.h) O JN é a minha segunda casa: 22
- 29.j) O JN precisa de reforçar a ligação a Norte: 20
- 29.m) As fontes consideram o JN credível: 18
- 29.k) O JN precisa de ter mais jornalistas: 17
- 29.p) Os leitores confiam no JN: 17
- 29.i) O JN paga mal: 15
- 29.c) O JN é um jornal popular: 15
- 29.b) O JN é um jornal de qualidade: 12
- 29.a) O JN não aproveita as minhas competências: 12
- 29.n) O JN tem preocupações sociais: 10
- 29.o) A Redacção do JN é suficientemente ágil: 5
- 29.g) O JN deve sub-contratar produção de alguma informação: 3
- 29.d) A presença do JN na Net é suficiente: 0

30. Impacto da Net no jornalismo

30.a) Exagera-se o impacto da Net no jornalismo	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

30.b) Jornalismo multimédia é sinónimo de cortar custos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.c) Dispensaria tempo livre para aprender	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.d) Flexível quer dizer precário	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.e) O Provedor do Leitor é uma iniciativa de marketing	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

30.f) Recebo frequentemente cartas/mails dos leitores	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.g) Gostava de trabalhar com diferentes formatos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.h) Toda a Redacção devia trabalhar para todos os formatos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.i) Salários deviam reflectir indicadores de produtividade	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

30.j) A Net dilui o papel mediador do jornalista	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.k) Estaria disposto a trabalhar por turnos	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.l) O jornalismo é sobretudo uma actividade individual	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.m) A leitura de um jornal é um acto passivo	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

30.n) Jornal-papel é mais fiel aos valores da profissão	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.o) Jornalismo online recicla trabalhos dos outros	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.p) Leitores não entendem processo jornalístico	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.q) Informação online é para uma minoria escolarizada	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR

	Anulado
30.r) Os leitores têm uma visão muito parcial dos temas	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado
30.s) A edição pessoal está a transformar o jornalismo	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	NA
	NR
	Anulado

30. Frequência das respostas de nível 1 sobre o impacto da Net no jornalismo
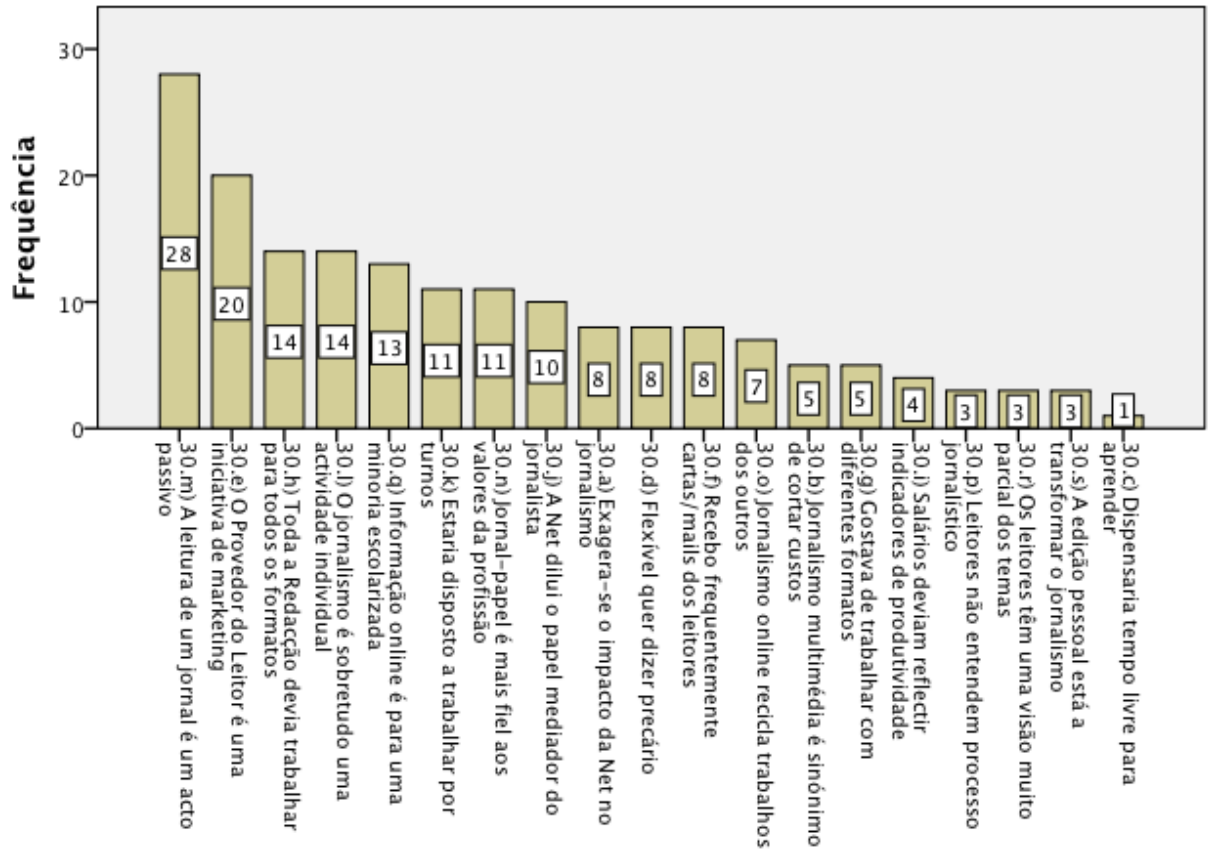
30. Frequência das respostas de nível 5 sobre o impacto da Net no jornalismo
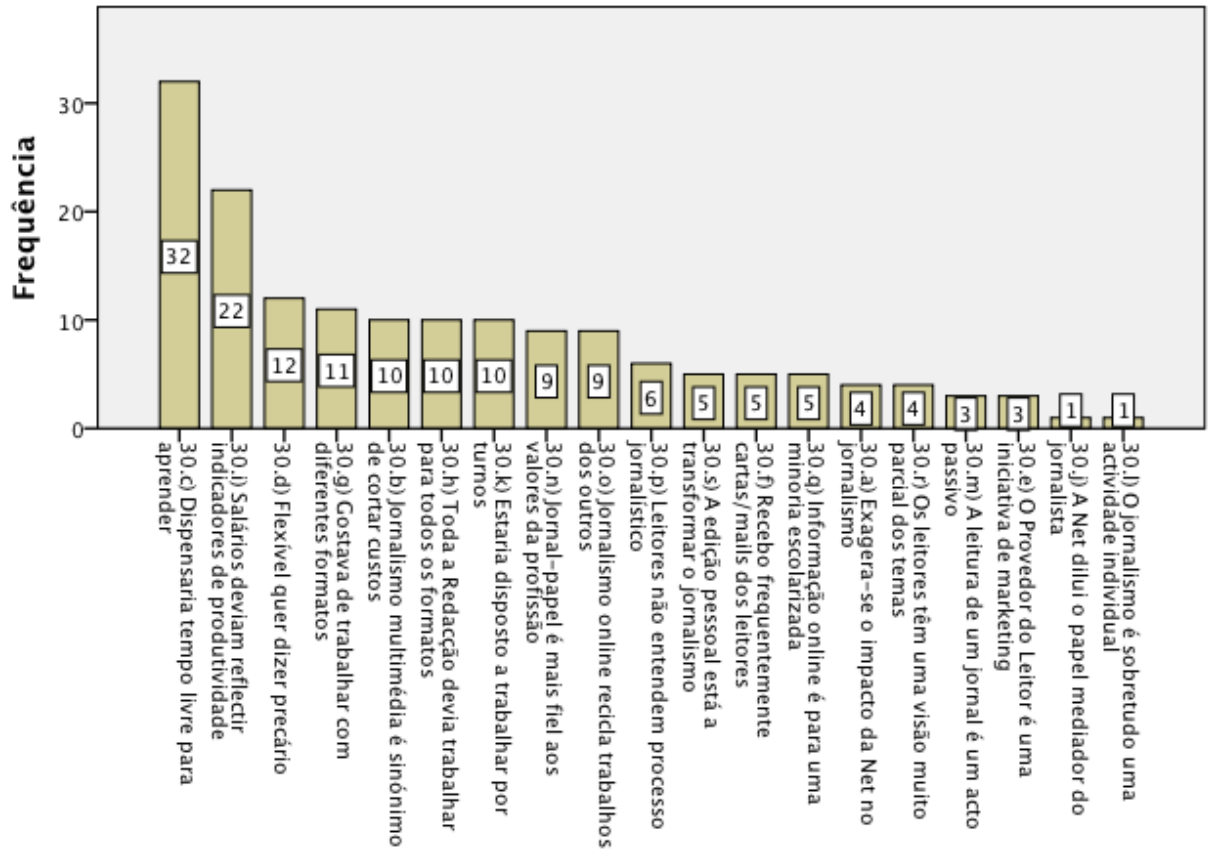
10.9 Users' questionnaire results

Resultados
Número de registos neste inquérito: 338
Total de registos no inquérito: 338
Percentagem do total: 100.00%

Field summary for 1:	
Idade	
Calcular	**Resultado**
Contagem	338
Soma	13123
Standard deviation	16.1
Média	38.83
Mínimo	10
1st quartile (Q1)	1369.5
2nd quartile (Median)	34
3rd quartile (Q3)	53.25
Máximo	80
Valores nulos são ignorados nos cálculos Q1 and Q3 calculated using método 'minitab´	

Field summary for 2:		
Sexo		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Feminino (F)	115	34.02%
Masculino (M)	223	65.98%
Sem resposta	0	0
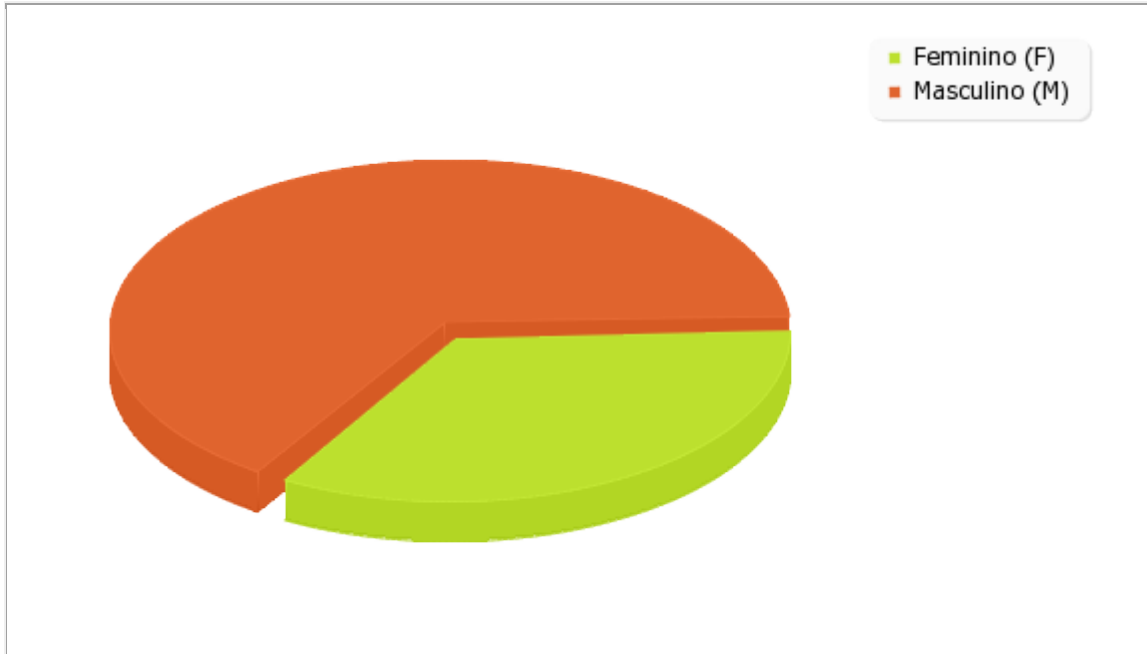
Field summary for 3:		
Formação Académica		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Ensino Básico (31)	18	5.33%
Ensino Secundário (32)	79	23.37%
Frequência E. Superior (33)	53	15.68%
Ensino Superior (34)	123	36.39%
Pós- Graduação (35)	37	10.95%
Outro [Navegador]	29	8.58%
Sem resposta	0	0
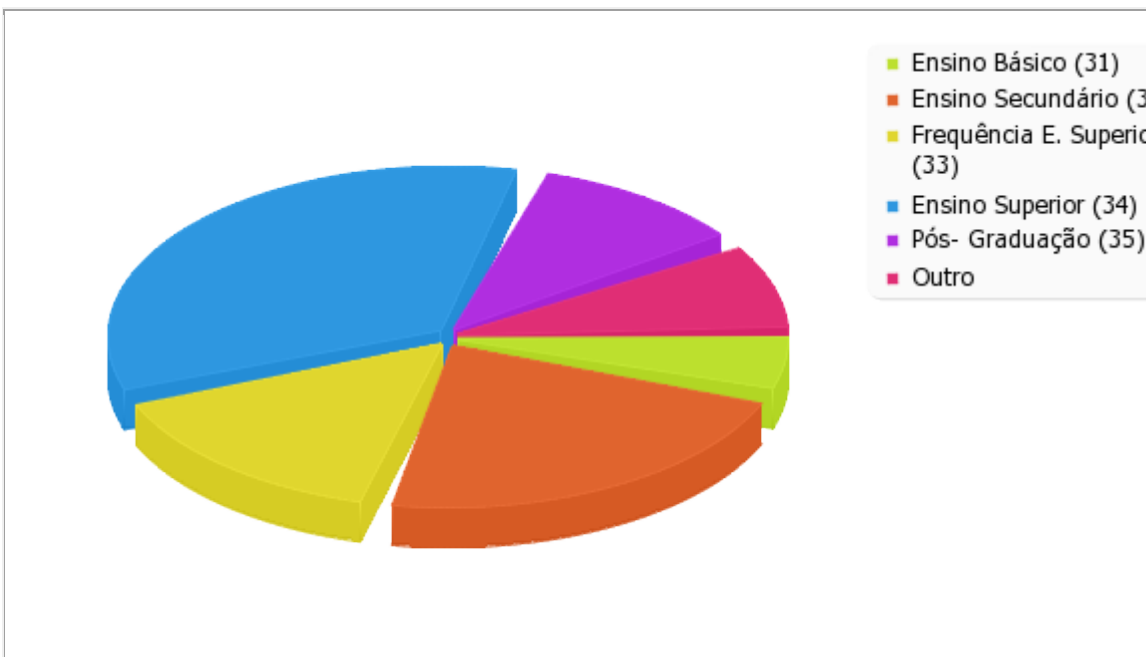
Field summary for 4:		
Rendimento mensal líquido		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
s/ rendimento fixo (41)	60	17.75%
até 100€ (42)	6	1.78%
100€-450€ (43)	21	6.21%
450€-900€ (44)	84	24.85%
900€-1800€ (45)	108	31.95%
+ de 1800€ (46)	59	17.46%
Sem resposta	0	0
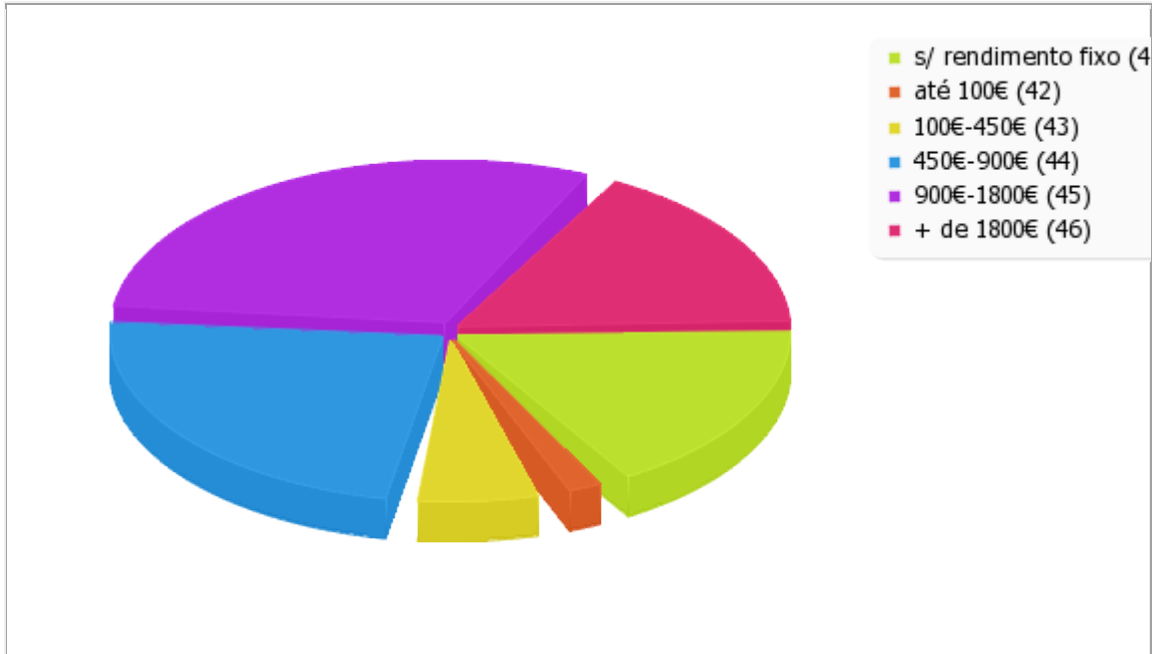
Field summary for 5:		
Nacionalidade		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Portuguesa (51)	329	97.34%
Outro [Navegador]	9	2.66%
Sem resposta	0	0

Legend of pie chart:
- s/ rendimento fixo (4
- até 100€ (42)
- 100€-450€ (43)
- 450€-900€ (44)
- 900€-1800€ (45)
- + de 1800€ (46)
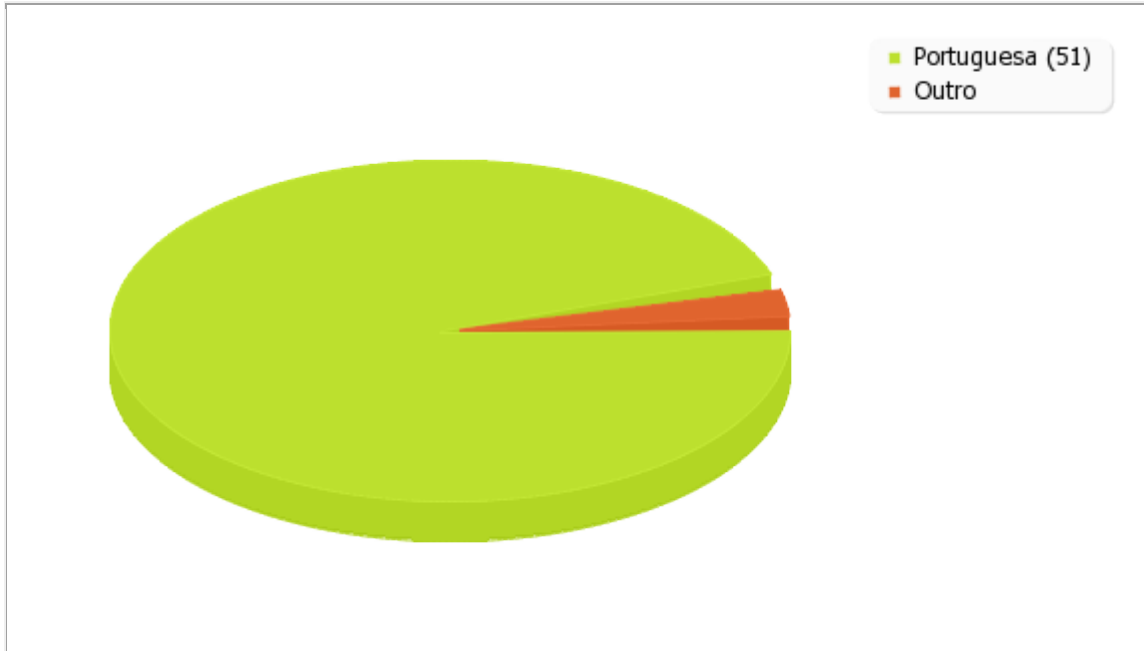
Field summary for 6:		
Residência (Distrito)		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Aveiro (61)	26	7.69%
Beja (62)	0	0
Braga (63)	65	19.23%
Bragança (64)	1	0.30%
Castelo Branco (65)	2	0.59%
Coimbra (66)	4	1.18%
Évora (67)	0	0
Faro (68)	2	0.59%
Guarda (69)	4	1.18%
Leiria (70)	6	1.78%
Lisboa (71)	27	7.99%
Portalegre (72)	0	0
Porto (73)	133	39.35%
R. A. Açores (74)	0	0
R. A.Madeira (75)	2	0.59%
Santarém (76)	2	0.59%

Setúbal (77)	8	2.37%
Viana do Castelo (78)	15	4.44%
Vila Real (79)	6	1.78%
Viseu (80)	5	1.48%
Outro [Navegador]	29	8.58%
Sem resposta	0	0
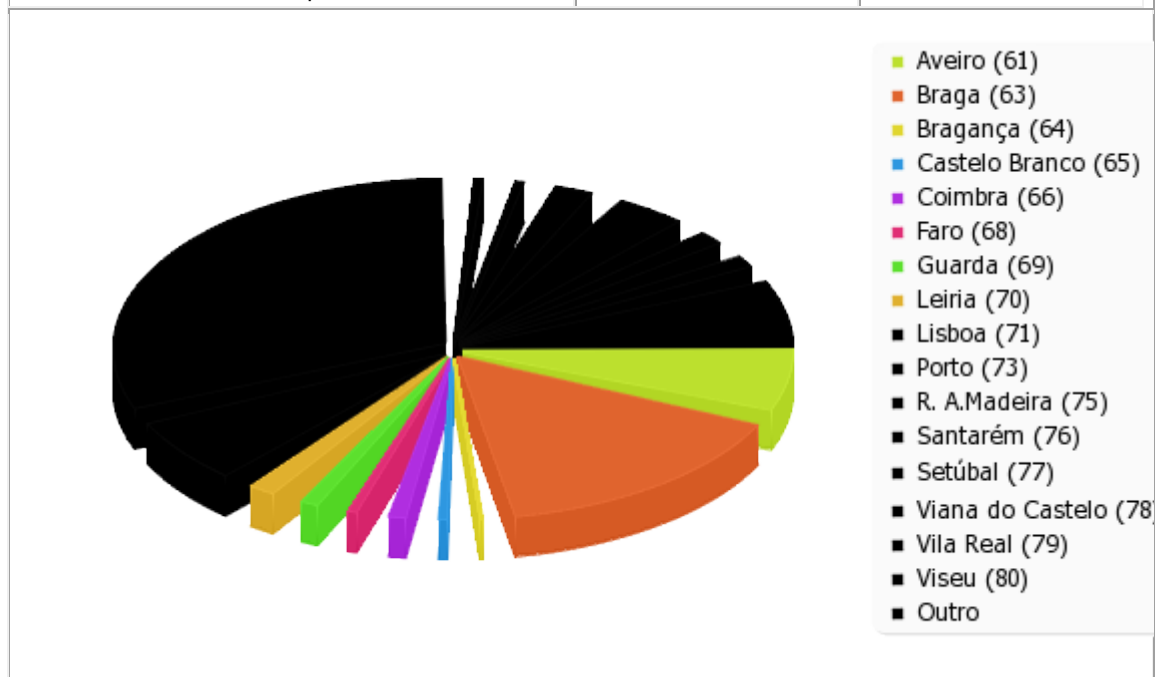
Field summary for 7:		
Leio o JN em papel		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (71)	43	12.72%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (72)	71	21.01%
1 vez por mês (73)	30	8.88%
1 vez por semana (74)	79	23.37%
3 vezes por semana (75)	51	15.09%
Todos os dias (76)	64	18.93%
Sem resposta	0	0
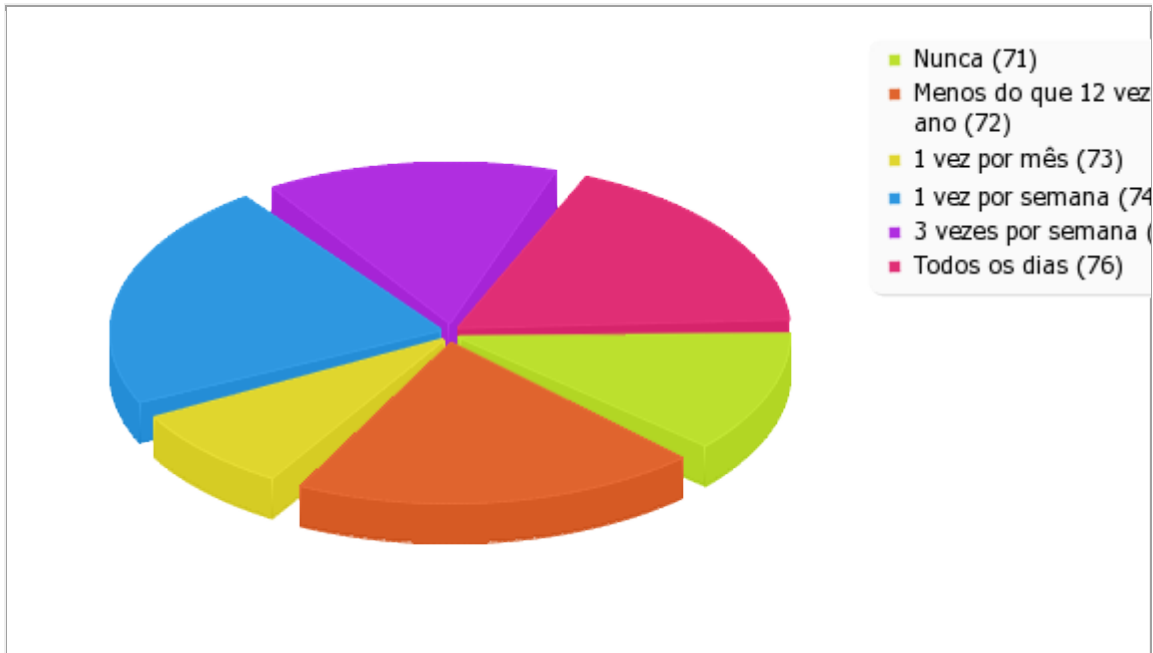
Field summary for 8:		
Compro o JN em papel		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (71)	123	36.39%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (72)	96	28.40%
1 vez por mês (73)	23	6.80%
1 vez por semana (74)	52	15.38%
3 vezes por semana (75)	18	5.33%
Todos os dias (76)	26	7.69%
Sem resposta	0	0
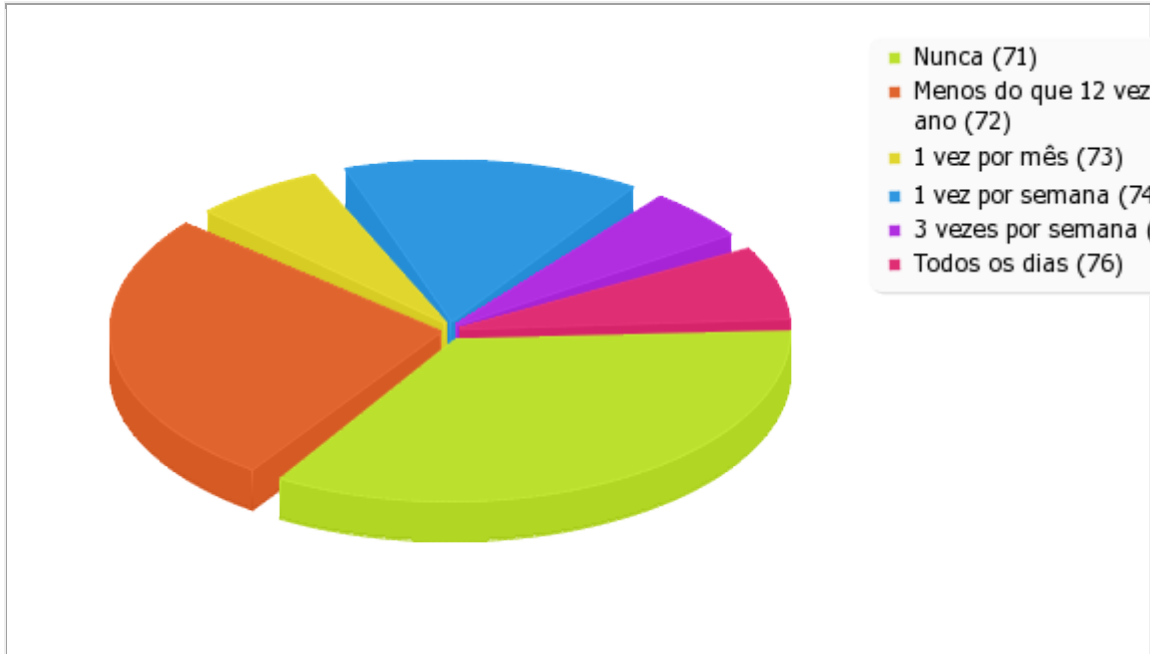
Field summary for 9(91):		
Que tempo dedico por dia à informação na... **[TV]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Não dedico (tm_1)	28	8.28%
15 minutos (tm_2)	34	10.06%
Menos de 30 minutos (tm_3)	41	12.13%
30 min. a 1 hora (tm_4)	118	34.91%
1 a 2 horas (tm_5)	78	23.08%
2 a 4 horas (tm_6)	27	7.99%
Mais de 4 horas (tm_7)	12	3.55%
Sem resposta	0	0
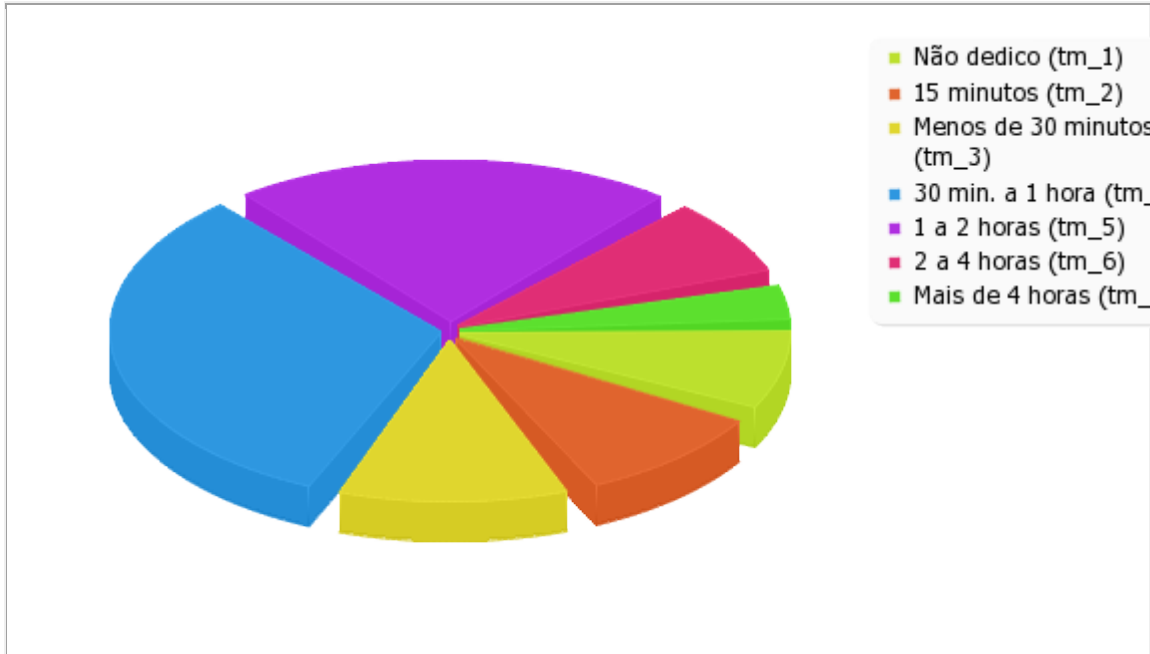
Field summary for 9(92):		
Que tempo dedico por dia à informação na... **[Rádio]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Não dedico (tm_1)	79	23.37%
15 minutos (tm_2)	69	20.41%
Menos de 30 minutos (tm_3)	66	19.53%
30 min. a 1 hora (tm_4)	68	20.12%
1 a 2 horas (tm_5)	29	8.58%
2 a 4 horas (tm_6)	14	4.14%
Mais de 4 horas (tm_7)	13	3.85%
Sem resposta	0	0
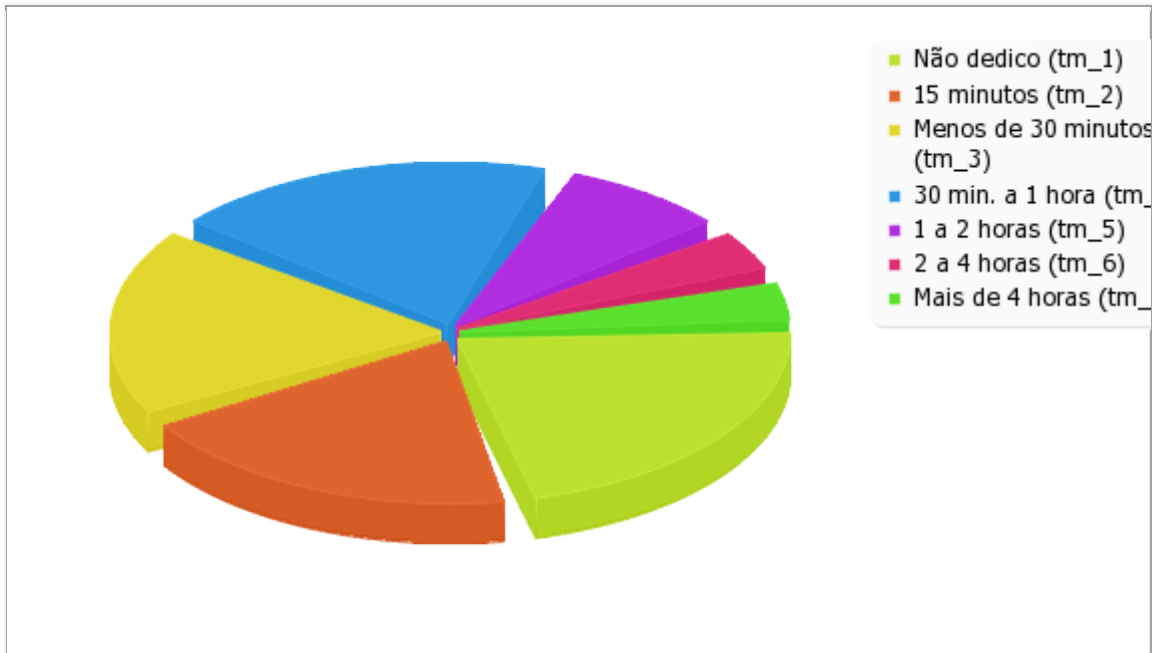
Field summary for 9(93):		
Que tempo dedico por dia à informação na... **[Jornais]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Não dedico (tm_1)	63	18.64%
15 minutos (tm_2)	63	18.64%
Menos de 30 minutos (tm_3)	62	18.34%
30 min. a 1 hora (tm_4)	83	24.56%
1 a 2 horas (tm_5)	50	14.79%
2 a 4 horas (tm_6)	12	3.55%
Mais de 4 horas (tm_7)	5	1.48%
Sem resposta	0	0
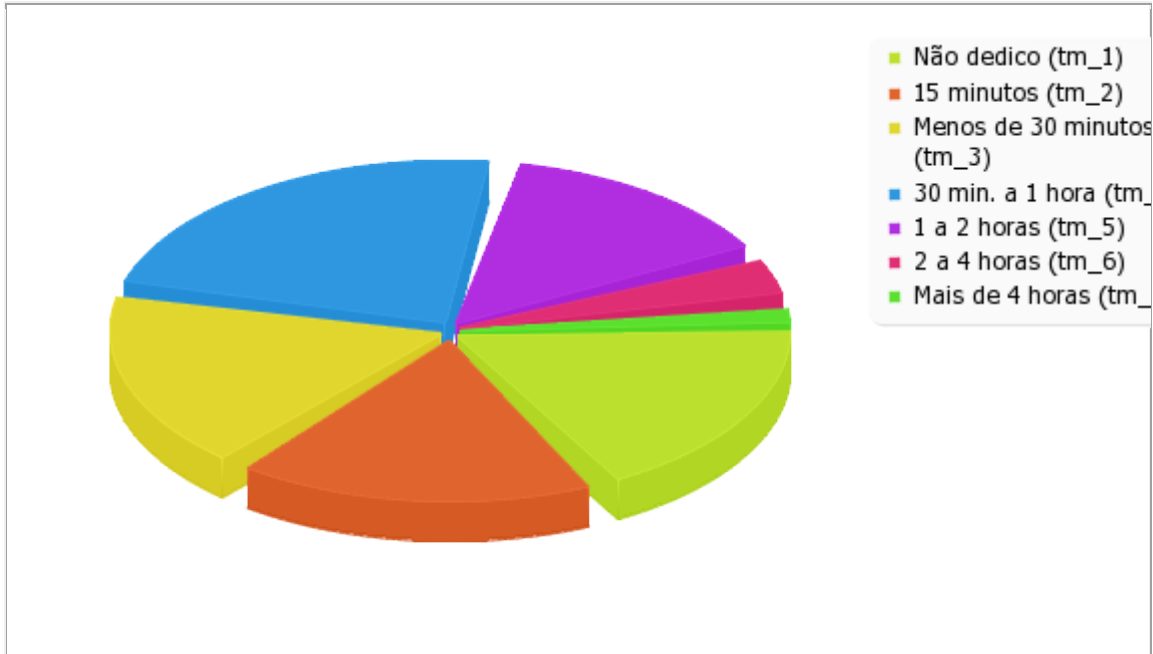
Field summary for 9(94):		
Que tempo dedico por dia à informação na... **[Web]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Não dedico (tm_1)	7	2.07%
15 minutos (tm_2)	19	5.62%
Menos de 30 minutos (tm_3)	31	9.17%
30 min. a 1 hora (tm_4)	82	24.26%
1 a 2 horas (tm_5)	93	27.51%
2 a 4 horas (tm_6)	56	16.57%
Mais de 4 horas (tm_7)	50	14.79%
Sem resposta	0	0
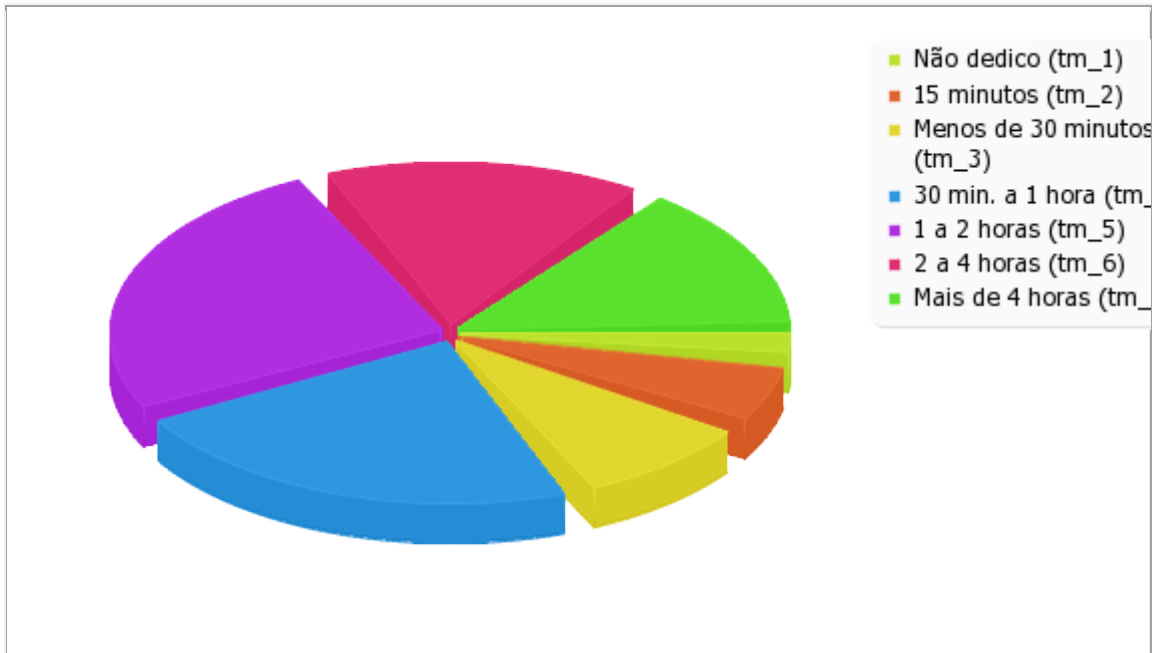
Field summary for 10:		
Visito o JN online...		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Esta é a primeira vez que cá venho (101)	19	5.62%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (102)	4	1.18%
1 vez por mês (103)	5	1.48%
1 vez por semana (104)	9	2.66%
3 vezes por semana (105)	22	6.51%
1 vez por dia (106)	98	28.99%
Várias vezes ao dia (107)	181	53.55%
Sem resposta	0	0
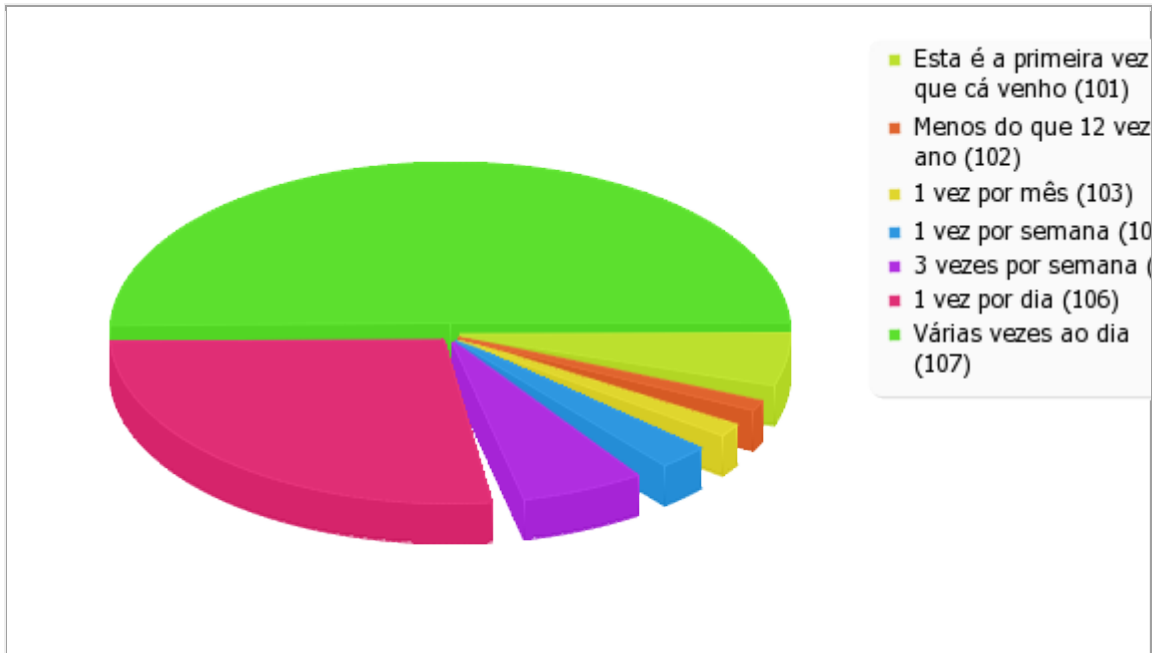
Field summary for 11:		
Duração média da minha visita ao JN online...		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
menos de 5 minutos (111)	33	9.76%
5 - 15 minutos (112)	131	38.76%
15 - 30 minutos (113)	100	29.59%
30 - 1 hora (114)	33	9.76%
1 hora ou mais (115)	22	6.51%
Sem resposta	0	0
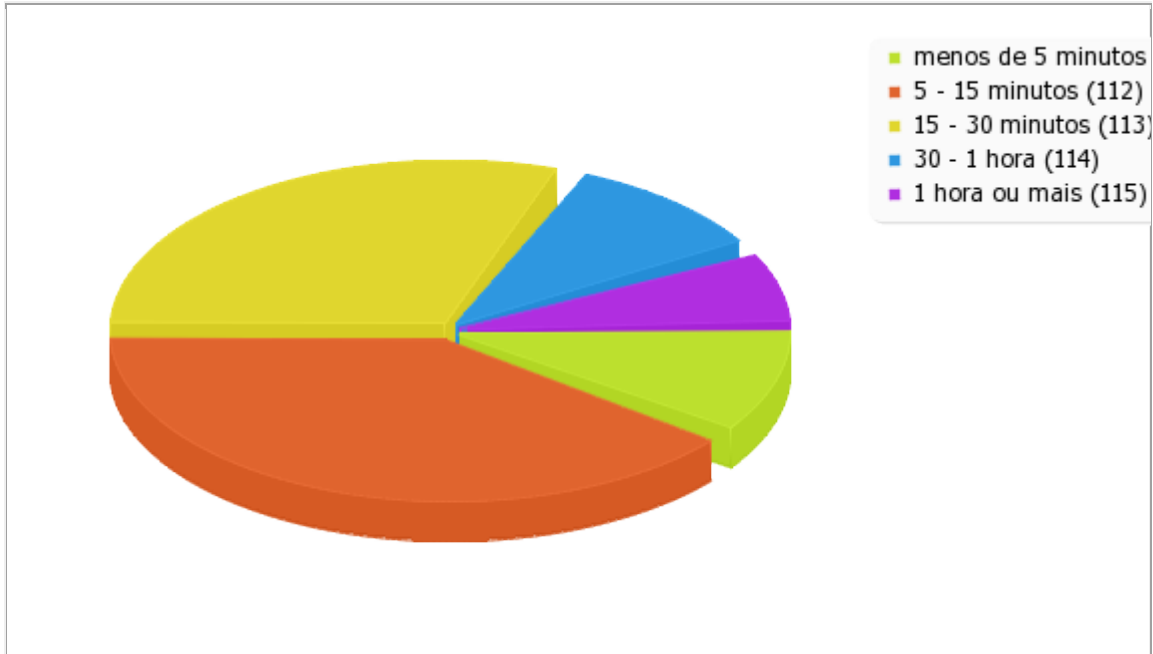
Field summary for 12(121):		
Frequência de uso destes equipamentos para aceder ao JN online... [computador]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (te_1)	0	0
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (te_2)	3	0.89%
1 vez por mês (te_3)	5	1.48%
1 vez por semana (te_4)	7	2.07%
3 vezes por semana (te_5)	22	6.51%
Todos os dias (te_6)	282	83.43%
Sem resposta	0	0
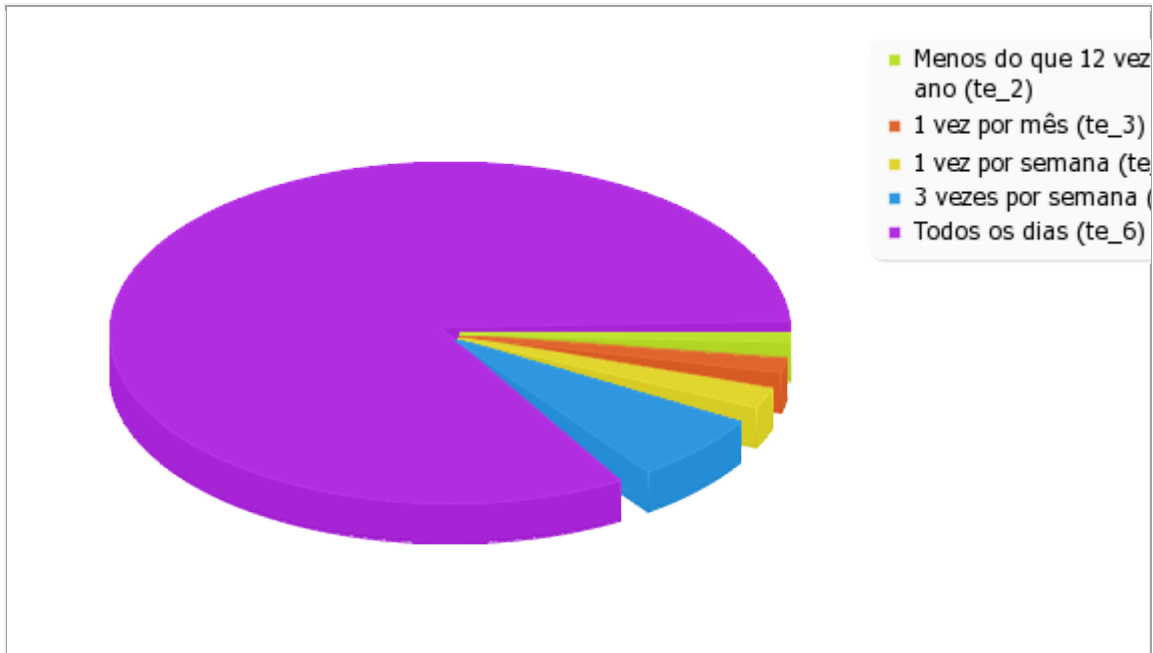
Field summary for 12(122):		
Frequência de uso destes equipamentos para aceder ao JN online... **[telefone móvel]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (te_1)	286	84.62%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (te_2)	10	2.96%
1 vez por mês (te_3)	5	1.48%
1 vez por semana (te_4)	4	1.18%
3 vezes por semana (te_5)	9	2.66%
Todos os dias (te_6)	5	1.48%
Sem resposta	0	0
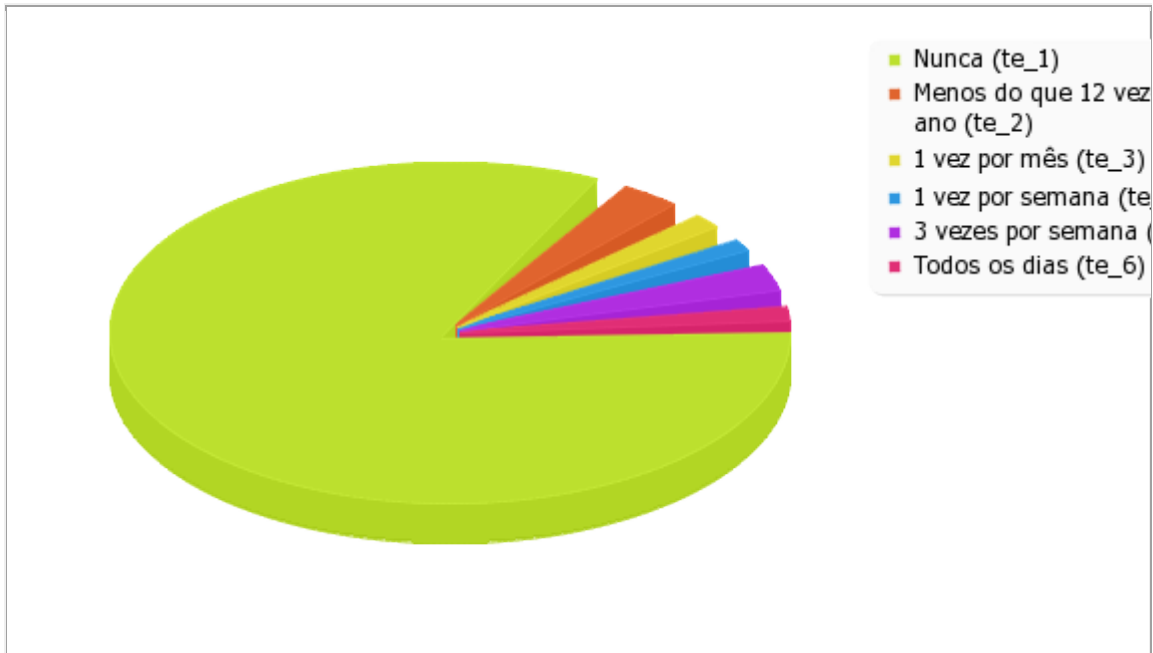
Field summary for 12(123):		
Frequência de uso destes equipamentos para aceder ao JN online... **[PDA]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (te_1)	294	86.98%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (te_2)	5	1.48%
1 vez por mês (te_3)	4	1.18%
1 vez por semana (te_4)	5	1.48%
3 vezes por semana (te_5)	8	2.37%
Todos os dias (te_6)	3	0.89%
Sem resposta	0	0
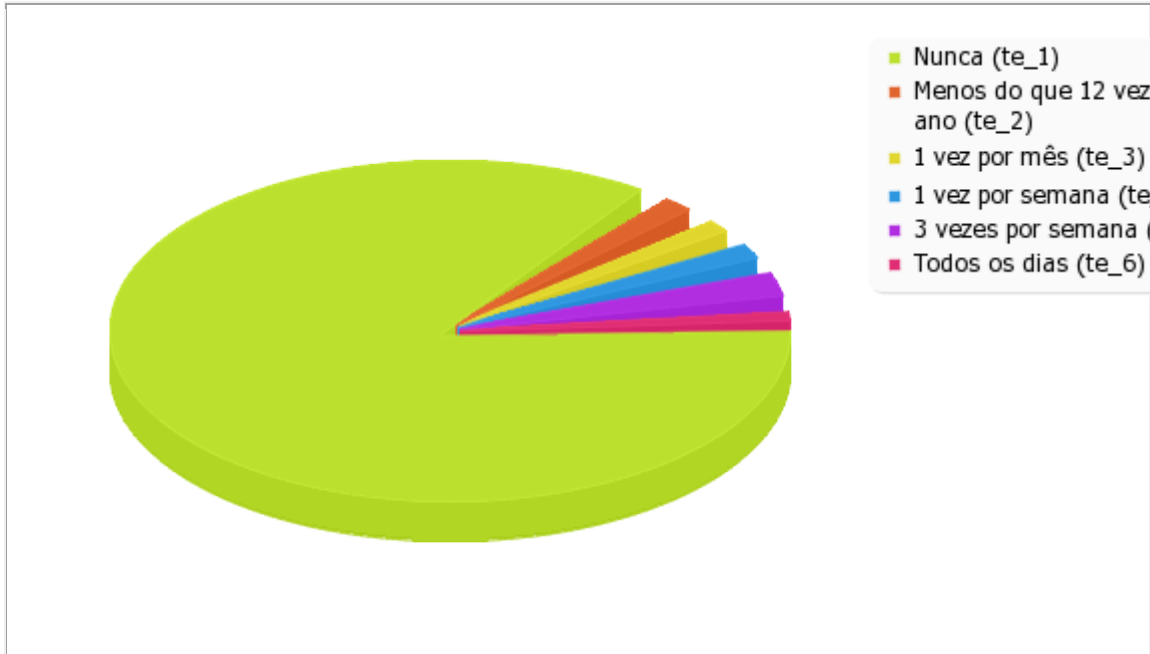
Field summary for 12(124):		
Frequência de uso destes equipamentos para aceder ao JN online... **[PSP]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (te_1)	310	91.72%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (te_2)	5	1.48%
1 vez por mês (te_3)	1	0.30%
1 vez por semana (te_4)	1	0.30%
3 vezes por semana (te_5)	1	0.30%
Todos os dias (te_6)	1	0.30%
Sem resposta	0	0
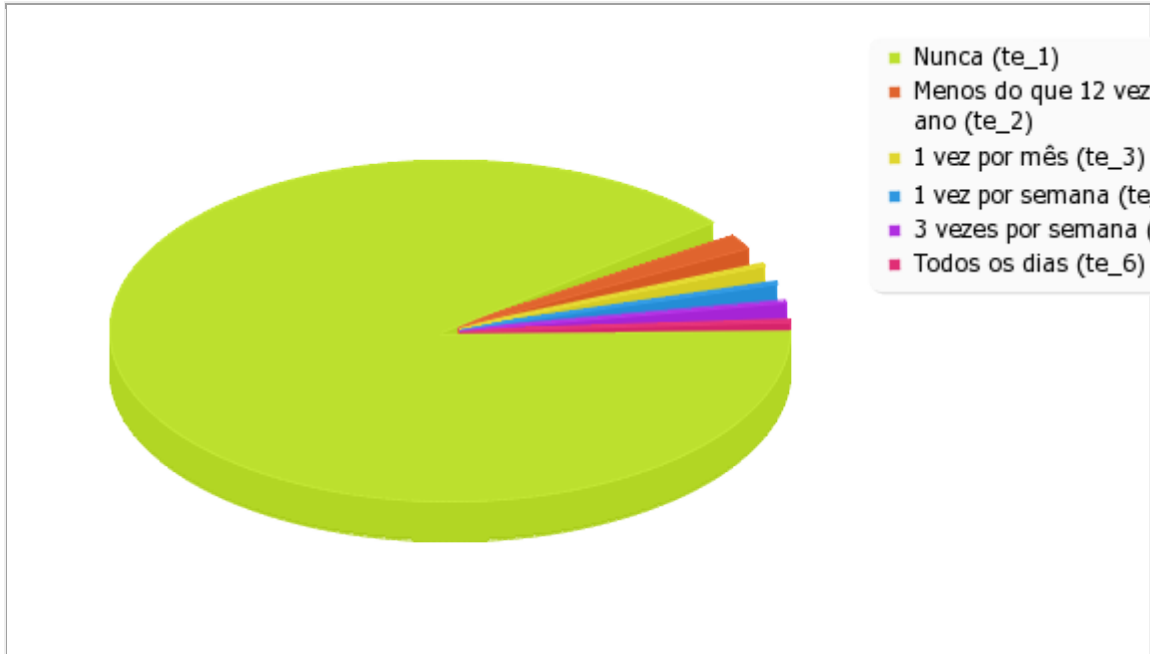
Field summary for 12(125):		
Frequência de uso destes equipamentos para aceder ao JN online... **[Outro]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (te_1)	303	89.64%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (te_2)	4	1.18%
1 vez por mês (te_3)	4	1.18%
1 vez por semana (te_4)	1	0.30%
3 vezes por semana (te_5)	2	0.59%
Todos os dias (te_6)	5	1.48%
Sem resposta	0	0
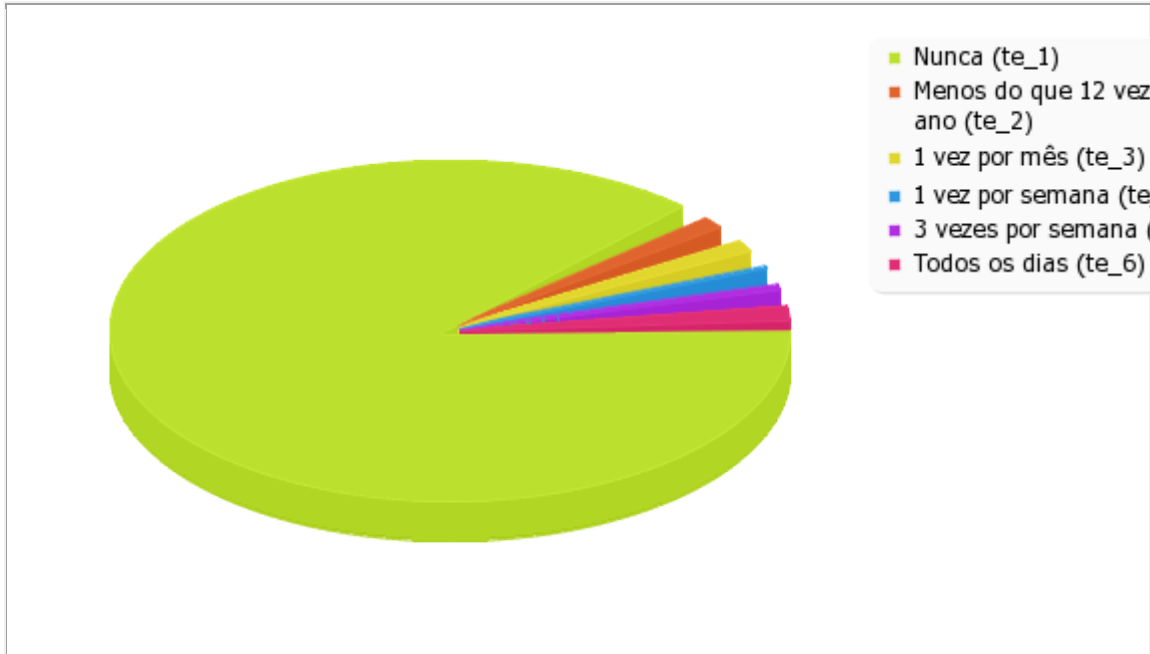
Field summary for 13(131):		
Acedo regularmente aos conteúdos do JN online... **[Directamente no endereço www.jn.pt]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (te_1)	45	13.31%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (te_2)	18	5.33%
1 vez por mês (te_3)	10	2.96%
1 vez por semana (te_4)	16	4.73%
3 vezes por semana (te_5)	19	5.62%
Todos os dias (te_6)	211	62.43%
Sem resposta	0	0
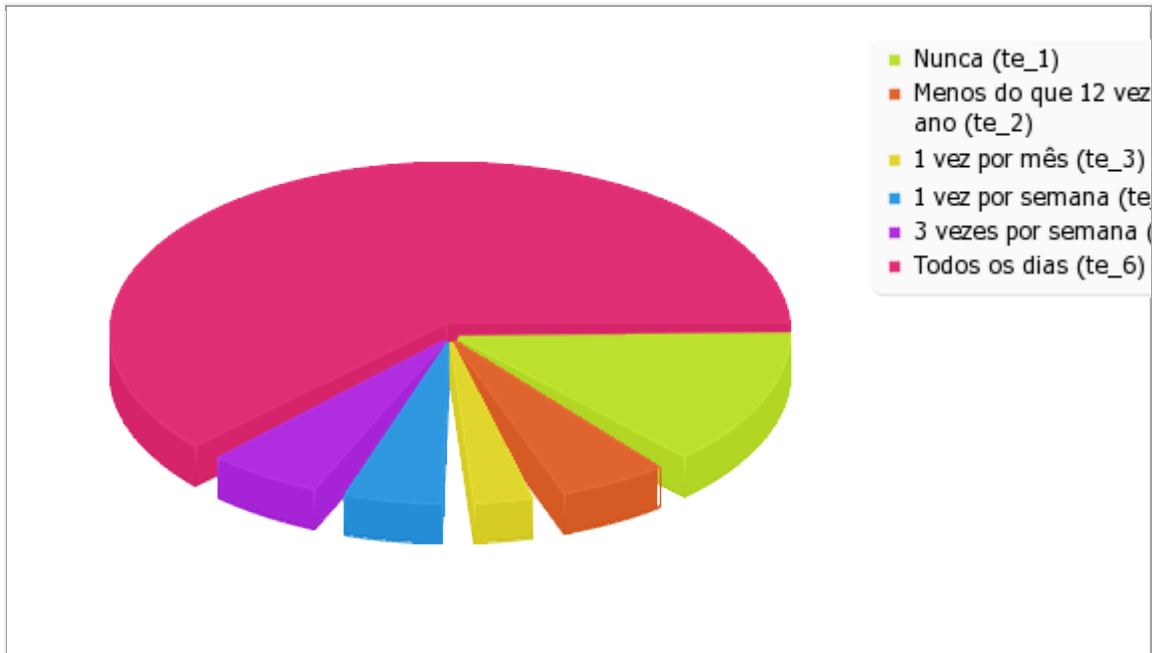
Field summary for 13(132):		
Acedo regularmente aos conteúdos do JN online... **[A partir de um portal (p.e. Sapo, Google)]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (te_1)	129	38.17%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (te_2)	21	6.21%
1 vez por mês (te_3)	16	4.73%
1 vez por semana (te_4)	19	5.62%
3 vezes por semana (te_5)	30	8.88%
Todos os dias (te_6)	104	30.77%
Sem resposta	0	0
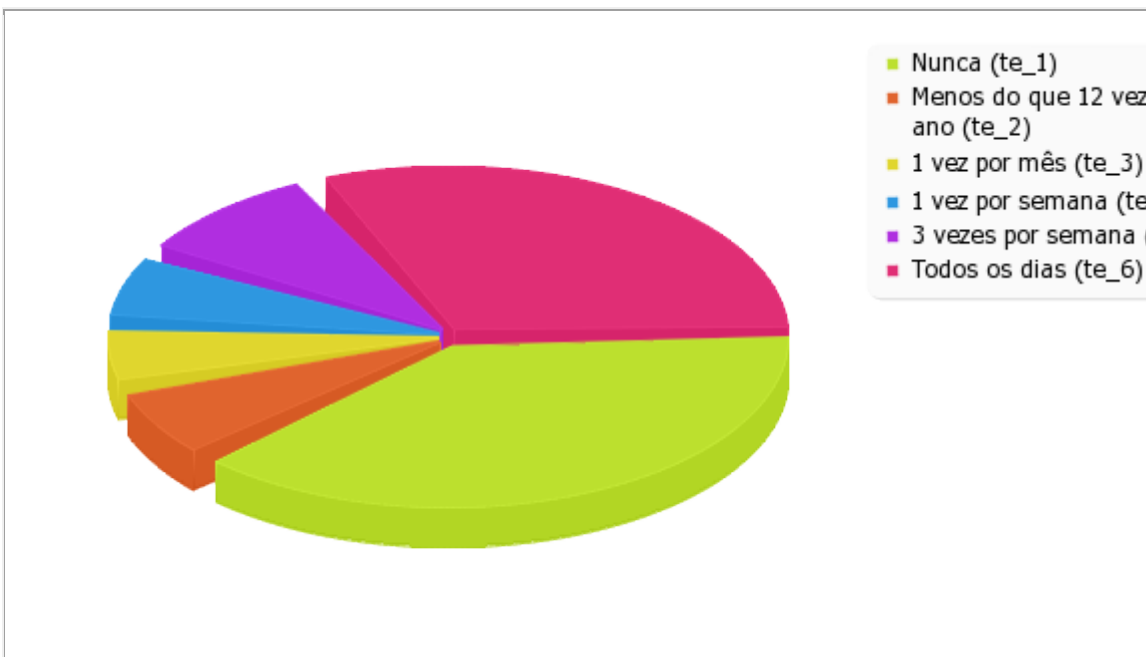
Field summary for 13(133):		
Acedo regularmente aos conteúdos do JN online... **[Através de um leitor de RSS]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (te_1)	286	84.62%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (te_2)	7	2.07%
1 vez por mês (te_3)	1	0.30%
1 vez por semana (te_4)	8	2.37%
3 vezes por semana (te_5)	8	2.37%
Todos os dias (te_6)	9	2.66%
Sem resposta	0	0
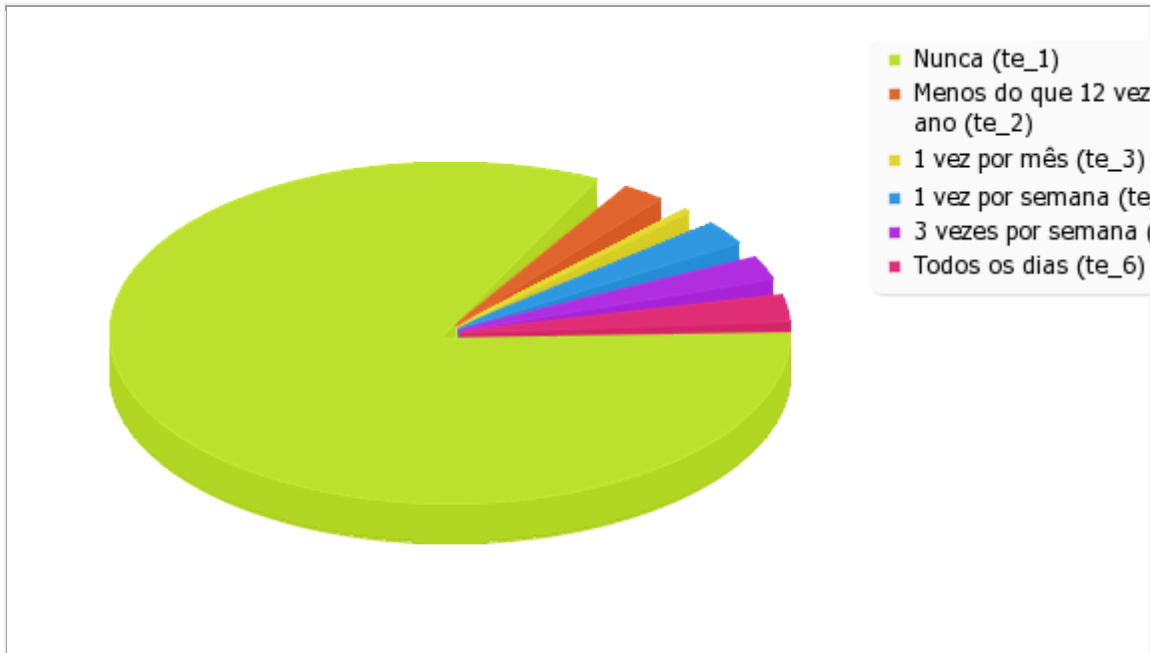
Field summary for 13(134):		
Acedo regularmente aos conteúdos do JN online... **[Através do Twitter]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (te_1)	270	79.88%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (te_2)	15	4.44%
1 vez por mês (te_3)	4	1.18%
1 vez por semana (te_4)	10	2.96%
3 vezes por semana (te_5)	5	1.48%
Todos os dias (te_6)	15	4.44%
Sem resposta	0	0
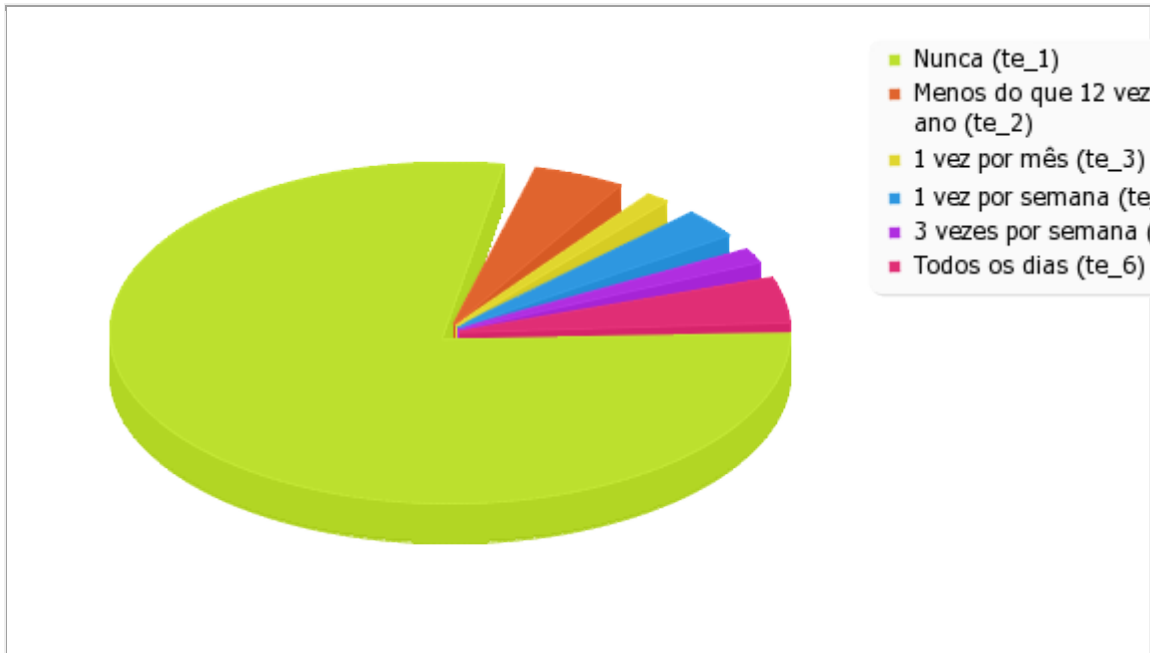
Field summary for 13(135):		
Acedo regularmente aos conteúdos do JN online... **[Seguindo sugestões de outros sites (p.e. blogs)]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (te_1)	234	69.23%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (te_2)	33	9.76%
1 vez por mês (te_3)	20	5.92%
1 vez por semana (te_4)	7	2.07%
3 vezes por semana (te_5)	9	2.66%
Todos os dias (te_6)	16	4.73%
Sem resposta	0	0
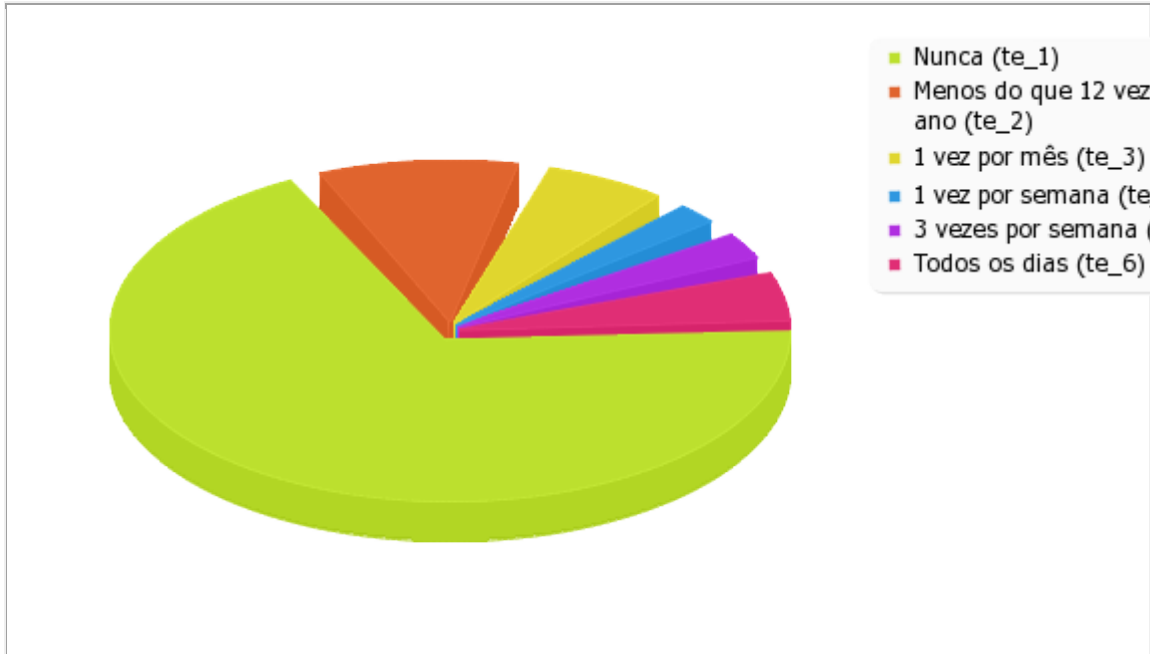
Field summary for 13(136):		
Acedo regularmente aos conteúdos do JN online... **[Outra]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Nunca (te_1)	293	86.69%
Menos do que 12 vezes por ano (te_2)	8	2.37%
1 vez por mês (te_3)	3	0.89%
1 vez por semana (te_4)	4	1.18%
3 vezes por semana (te_5)	3	0.89%
Todos os dias (te_6)	8	2.37%
Sem resposta	0	0
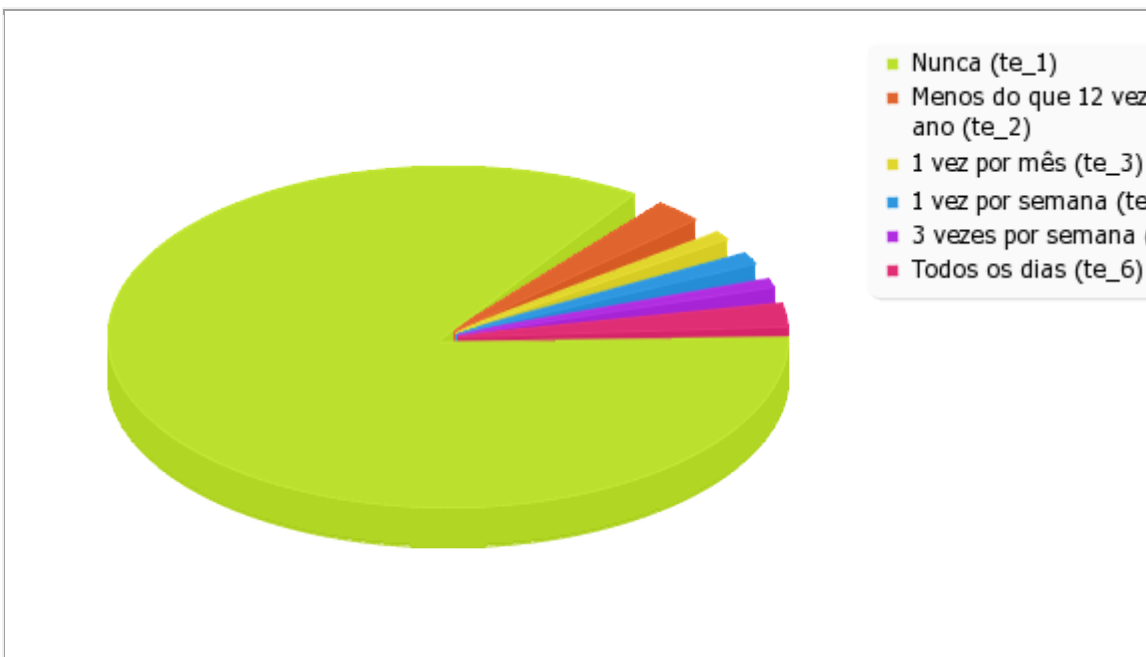
Field summary for 14 [1]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 1]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Últimas (op_1)	132	39.05%
Nacional (op_2)	76	22.49%
Sociedade (op_3)	16	4.73%
Polícia (op_4)	13	3.85%
Economia (op_5)	13	3.85%
País (op_6)	17	5.03%
Mundo (op_7)	10	2.96%
Desporto (op_8)	8	2.37%
Cultura (op_9)	7	2.07%
Gente (op_10)	2	0.59%
Tecnologia (op_11)	1	0.30%
Média (op_12)	8	2.37%
Multimédia (op_13)	9	2.66%
Blogues (op_14)	1	0.30%
Viva + (op_15)	1	0.30%

Opinião (op_16)	4	1.18%
Domingo (op_17)	1	0.30%
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0
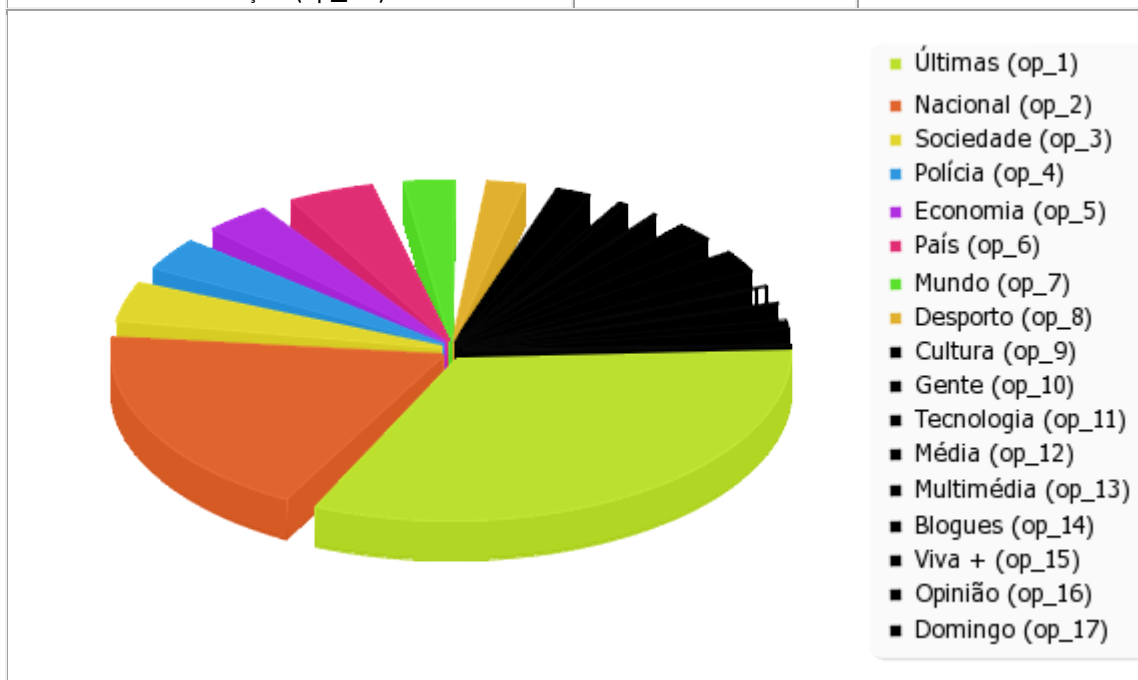
Field summary for 14 [2]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 2]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Últimas (op_1)	23	6.80%
Nacional (op_2)	45	13.31%
Sociedade (op_3)	51	15.09%
Polícia (op_4)	30	8.88%
Economia (op_5)	34	10.06%
País (op_6)	42	12.43%
Mundo (op_7)	21	6.21%
Desporto (op_8)	27	7.99%
Cultura (op_9)	7	2.07%
Gente (op_10)	0	0

Tecnologia (op_11)	14	4.14%
Média (op_12)	6	1.78%
Multimédia (op_13)	10	2.96%
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	5	1.48%
Domingo (op_17)	1	0.30%
Dossiês (op_18)	1	0.30%
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	2	0.59%
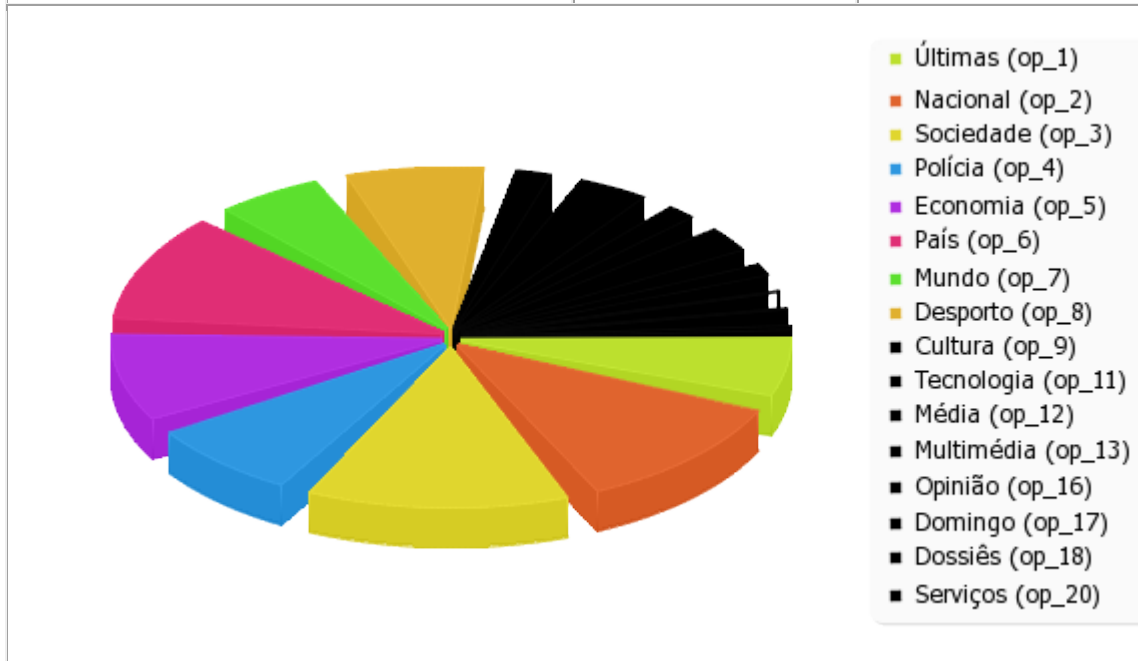
Field summary for 14 [3]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 3]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Últimas (op_1)	11	3.25%
Nacional (op_2)	38	11.24%
Sociedade (op_3)	26	7.69%
Polícia (op_4)	18	5.33%
Economia (op_5)	33	9.76%

País (op_6)	58	17.16%
Mundo (op_7)	23	6.80%
Desporto (op_8)	29	8.58%
Cultura (op_9)	26	7.69%
Gente (op_10)	2	0.59%
Tecnologia (op_11)	10	2.96%
Média (op_12)	12	3.55%
Multimédia (op_13)	8	2.37%
Blogues (op_14)	4	1.18%
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	12	3.55%
Domingo (op_17)	2	0.59%
Dossiês (op_18)	3	0.89%
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	3	0.89%
Serviços (op_20)	1	0.30%
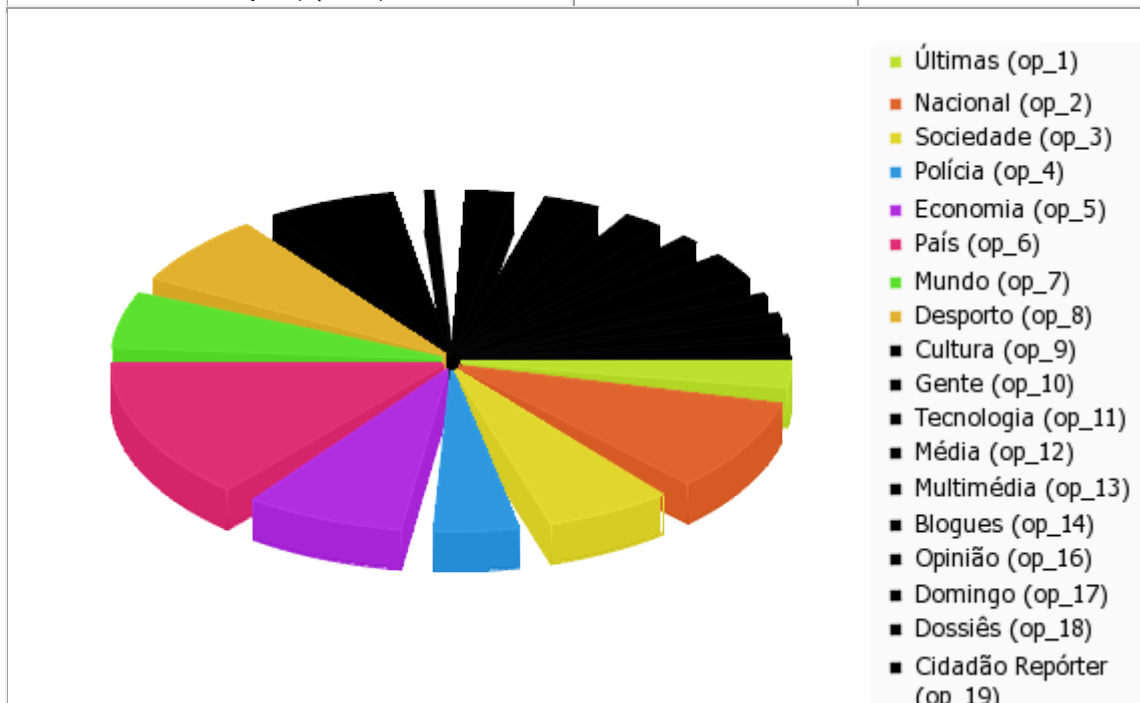
Field summary for 14 [4]:
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 4]

Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Últimas (op_1)	11	3.25%
Nacional (op_2)	22	6.51%
Sociedade (op_3)	25	7.40%
Polícia (op_4)	18	5.33%
Economia (op_5)	37	10.95%
País (op_6)	37	10.95%
Mundo (op_7)	48	14.20%
Desporto (op_8)	27	7.99%
Cultura (op_9)	25	7.40%
Gente (op_10)	2	0.59%
Tecnologia (op_11)	17	5.03%
Média (op_12)	11	3.25%
Multimédia (op_13)	8	2.37%
Blogues (op_14)	4	1.18%
Viva + (op_15)	2	0.59%
Opinião (op_16)	12	3.55%
Domingo (op_17)	3	0.89%
Dossiês (op_18)	2	0.59%
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	6	1.78%
Serviços (op_20)	2	0.59%
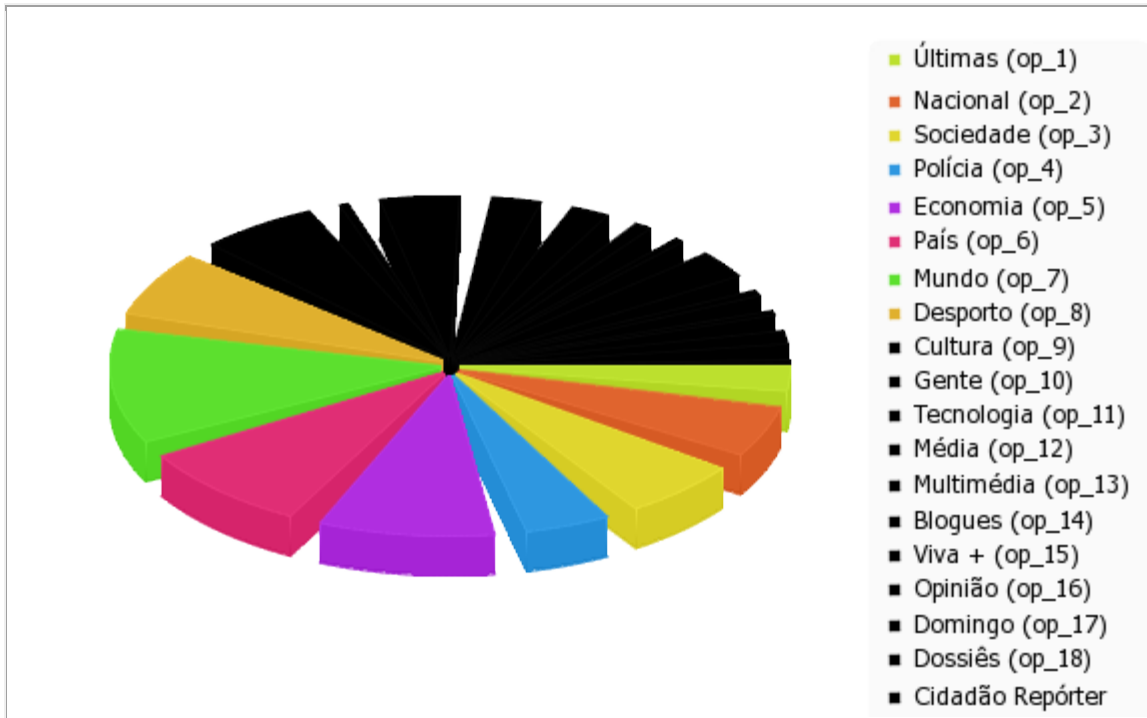
Field summary for 14 [5]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 5]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Últimas (op_1)	9	2.66%
Nacional (op_2)	13	3.85%
Sociedade (op_3)	29	8.58%
Polícia (op_4)	10	2.96%
Economia (op_5)	12	3.55%
País (op_6)	28	8.28%
Mundo (op_7)	40	11.83%
Desporto (op_8)	36	10.65%
Cultura (op_9)	30	8.88%
Gente (op_10)	8	2.37%
Tecnologia (op_11)	24	7.10%
Média (op_12)	15	4.44%
Multimédia (op_13)	13	3.85%
Blogues (op_14)	8	2.37%

Viva + (op_15)	6	1.78%
Opinião (op_16)	15	4.44%
Domingo (op_17)	3	0.89%
Dossiês (op_18)	3	0.89%
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	12	3.55%
Serviços (op_20)	5	1.48%

- Últimas (op_1)
- Nacional (op_2)
- Sociedade (op_3)
- Polícia (op_4)
- Economia (op_5)
- País (op_6)
- Mundo (op_7)
- Desporto (op_8)
- Cultura (op_9)
- Gente (op_10)
- Tecnologia (op_11)
- Média (op_12)
- Multimédia (op_13)
- Blogues (op_14)
- Viva + (op_15)
- Opinião (op_16)
- Domingo (op_17)
- Dossiês (op_18)
- Cidadão Repórter
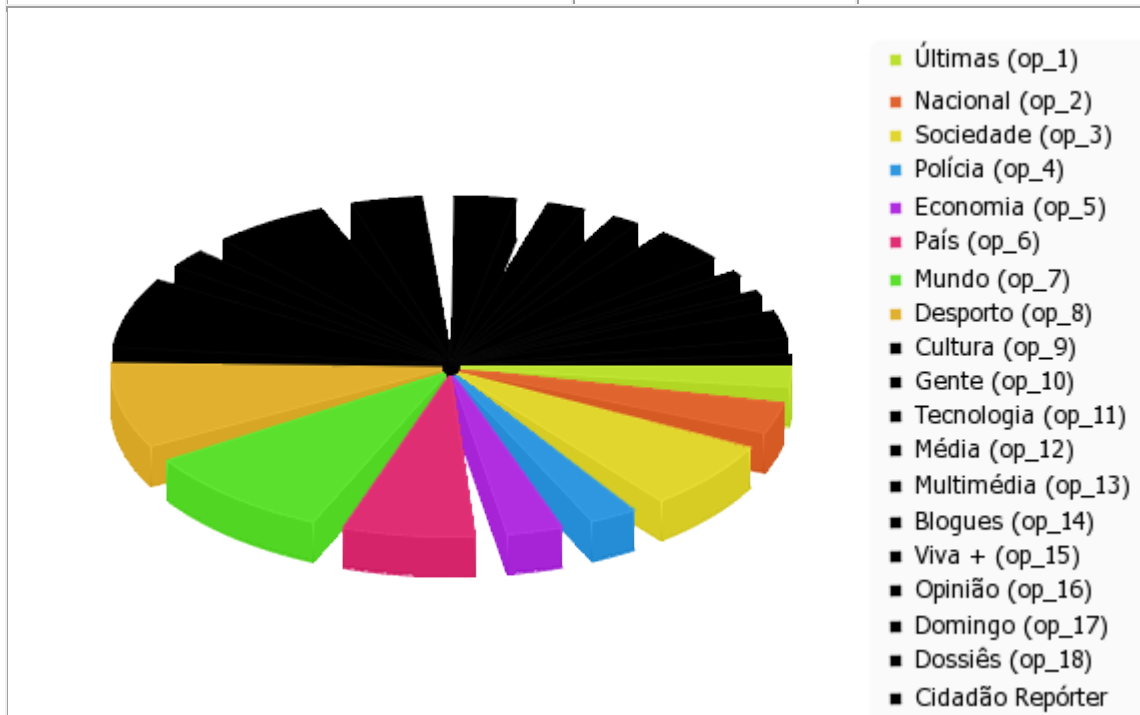
Field summary for 14 [6]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 6]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0

Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [7]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 7]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0
Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0

Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [8]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 8]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0
Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [9]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 9]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**

Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0
Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [10]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 10]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0

Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [11]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 11]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0
Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0

Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [12]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 12]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0
Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [13]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 13]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**

Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0
Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [14]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 14]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0

Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [15]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 15]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0
Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0

	Contagem	Percentagem
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [16]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 16]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0
Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [17]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 17]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**

Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0
Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [18]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 18]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0

Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [19]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 19]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0
Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0

Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 14 [20]:		
A que divsões temáticas do JN online dou normalmente mais atenção[Hierarquizar 20]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Últimas (op_1)	0	0
Nacional (op_2)	0	0
Sociedade (op_3)	0	0
Polícia (op_4)	0	0
Economia (op_5)	0	0
País (op_6)	0	0
Mundo (op_7)	0	0
Desporto (op_8)	0	0
Cultura (op_9)	0	0
Gente (op_10)	0	0
Tecnologia (op_11)	0	0
Média (op_12)	0	0
Multimédia (op_13)	0	0
Blogues (op_14)	0	0
Viva + (op_15)	0	0
Opinião (op_16)	0	0
Domingo (op_17)	0	0
Dossiês (op_18)	0	0
Cidadão Repórter (op_19)	0	0
Serviços (op_20)	0	0

Field summary for 15(151):		
Acedo ao JN online porque... **[Tem sempre informação actual]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**

Discordo totalmente (dc_1)	7	2.07%
Discordo (dc_2)	14	4.14%
Não discordo nem concordo (dc_3)	23	6.80%
Concordo (dc_4)	130	38.46%
Concordo totalmente (dc_5)	144	42.60%
Não sei / Não se aplica (dc_6)	1	0.30%
Sem resposta	0	0
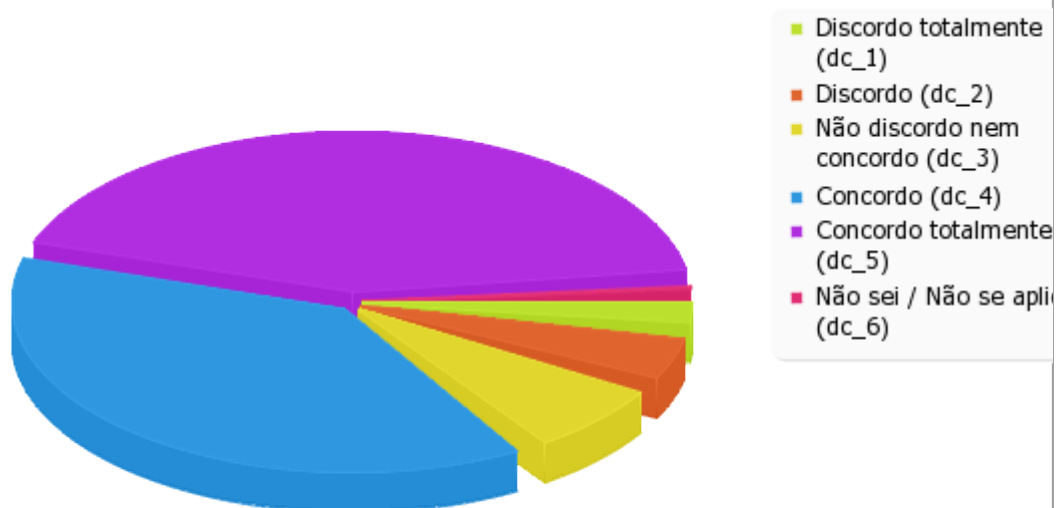
Field summary for 15(152):		
Acedo ao JN online porque... [É fácil encontrar o que quero]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Discordo totalmente (dc_1)	10	2.96%
Discordo (dc_2)	25	7.40%
Não discordo nem concordo (dc_3)	48	14.20%
Concordo (dc_4)	136	40.24%
Concordo totalmente (dc_5)	97	28.70%
Não sei / Não se aplica (dc_6)	3	0.89%
Sem resposta	0	0
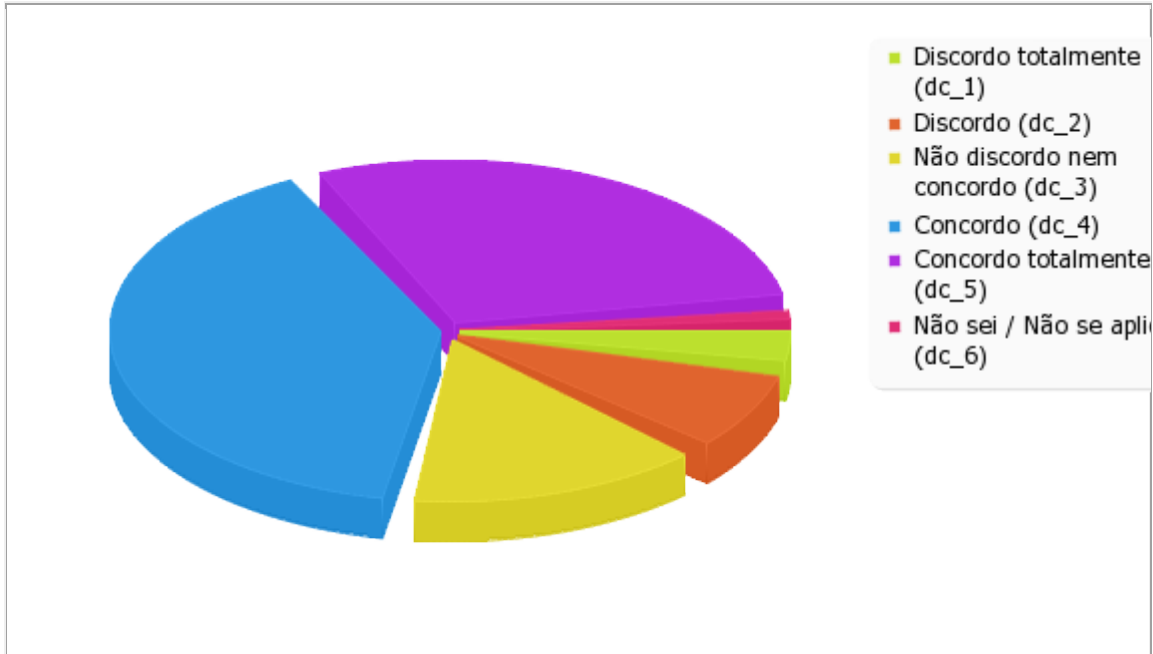
Field summary for 15(153):		
Acedo ao JN online porque... **[Confio no JN]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Discordo totalmente (dc_1)	11	3.25%
Discordo (dc_2)	11	3.25%
Não discordo nem concordo (dc_3)	47	13.91%
Concordo (dc_4)	135	39.94%
Concordo totalmente (dc_5)	111	32.84%
Não sei / Não se aplica (dc_6)	4	1.18%
Sem resposta	0	0
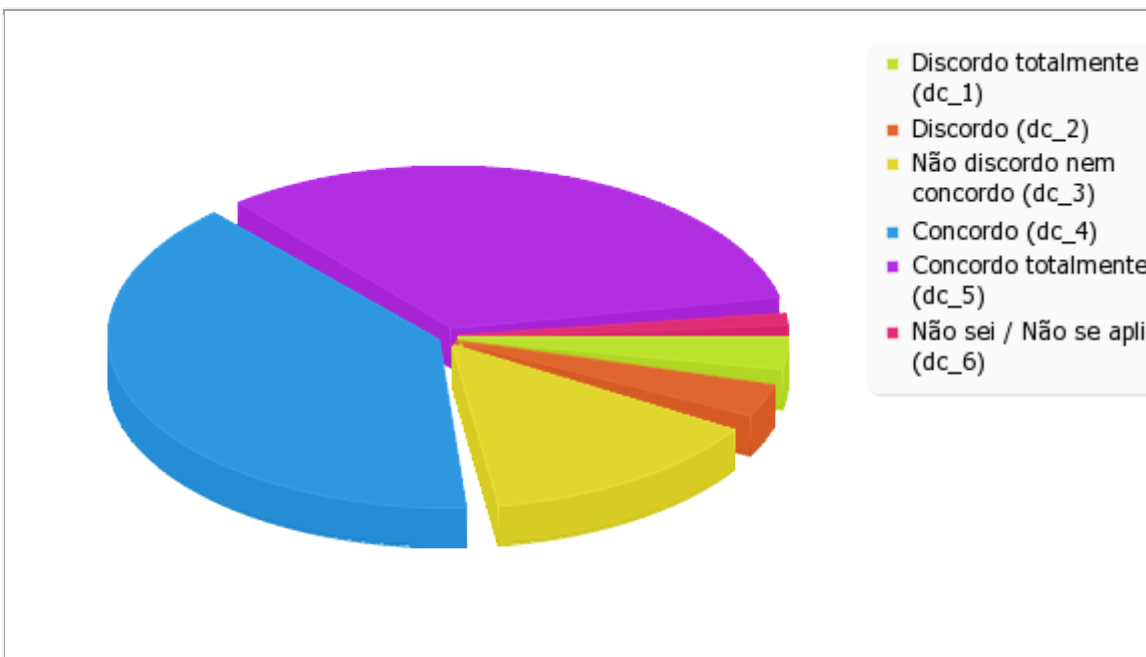
Field summary for 15(154):		
Acedo ao JN online porque... **[Segue com atenção temas que me interessam]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Discordo totalmente (dc_1)	8	2.37%
Discordo (dc_2)	13	3.85%
Não discordo nem concordo (dc_3)	52	15.38%
Concordo (dc_4)	166	49.11%
Concordo totalmente (dc_5)	75	22.19%
Não sei / Não se aplica (dc_6)	5	1.48%
Sem resposta	0	0
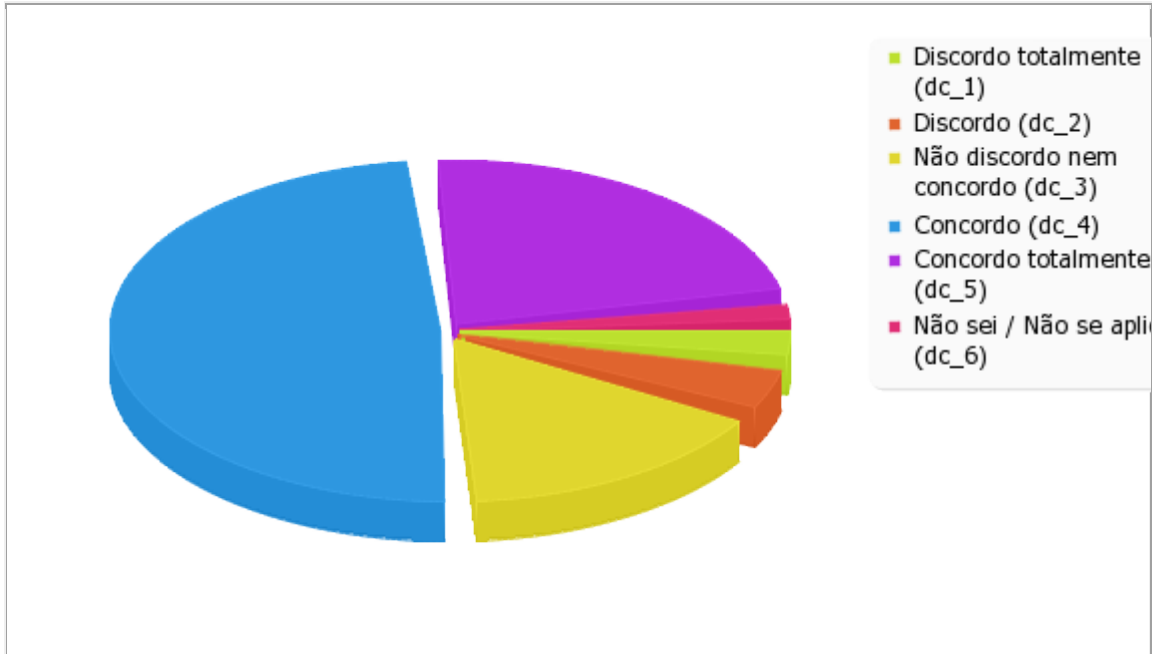
Field summary for 15(155):		
Acedo ao JN online porque... **[Tem interface amigável para telemóvel/PDA]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Discordo totalmente (dc_1)	30	8.88%
Discordo (dc_2)	10	2.96%
Não discordo nem concordo (dc_3)	43	12.72%
Concordo (dc_4)	29	8.58%
Concordo totalmente (dc_5)	8	2.37%
Não sei / Não se aplica (dc_6)	199	58.88%
Sem resposta	0	0
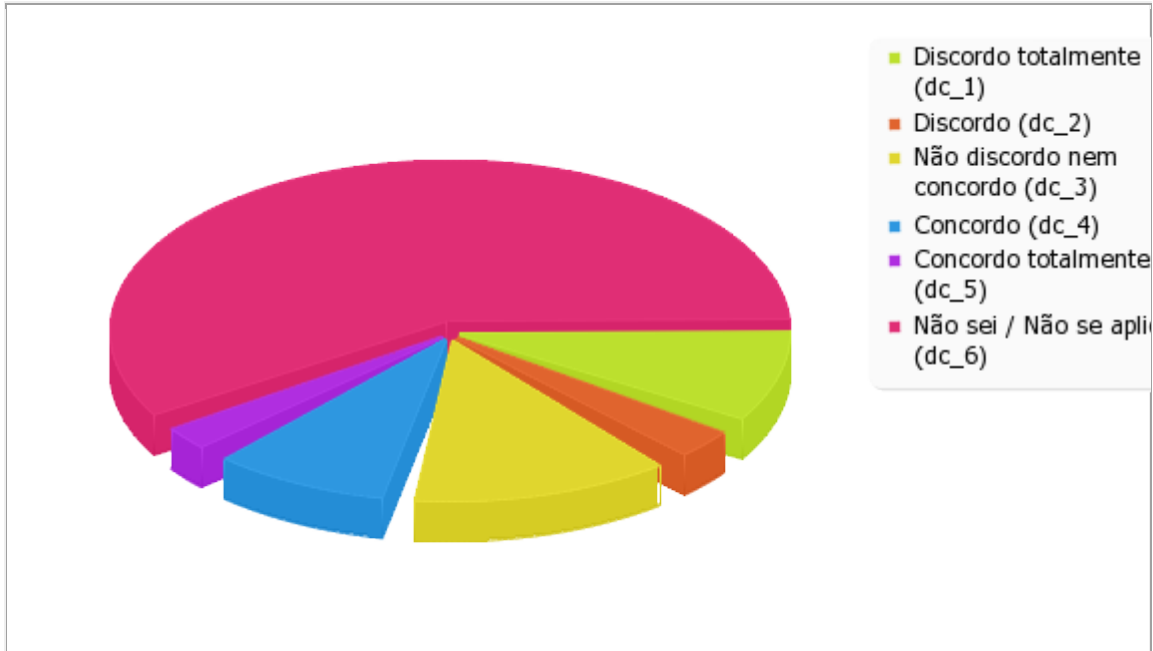
Field summary for 15(156):		
Acedo ao JN online porque... **[Está aberto ao contributo dos utilizadores]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Discordo totalmente (dc_1)	9	2.66%
Discordo (dc_2)	17	5.03%
Não discordo nem concordo (dc_3)	49	14.50%
Concordo (dc_4)	116	34.32%
Concordo totalmente (dc_5)	66	19.53%
Não sei / Não se aplica (dc_6)	62	18.34%
Sem resposta	0	0
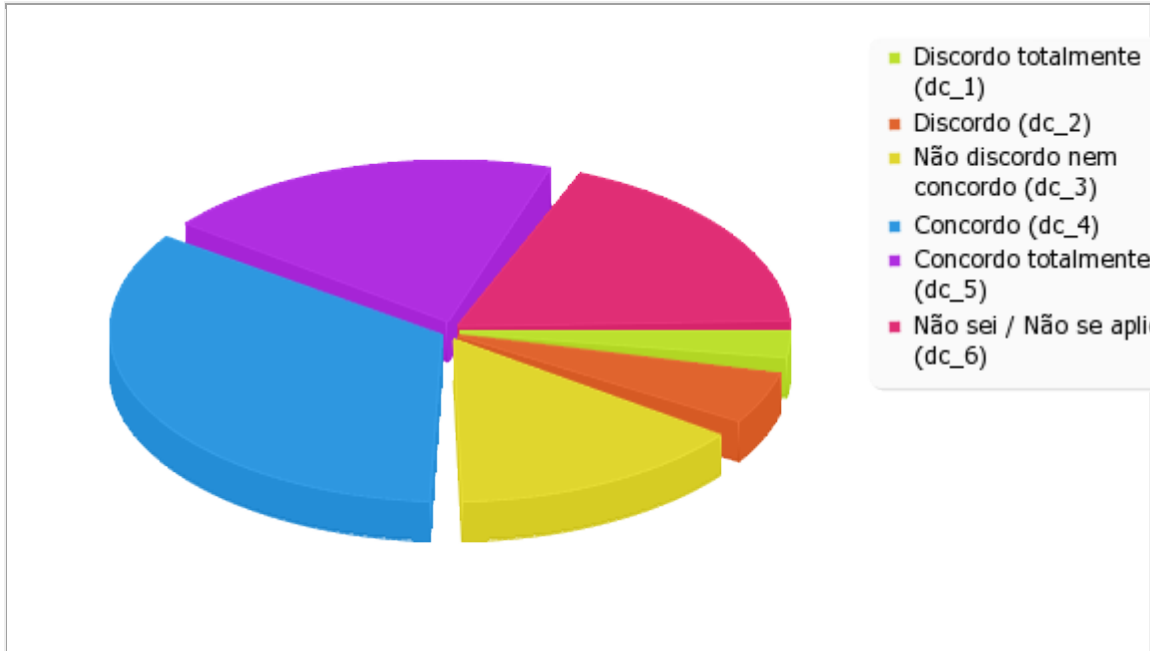
Field summary for 16 [1]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 1]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	40	11.83%
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	42	12.43%
Público (oj_3)	96	28.40%
24 Horas (oj_4)	6	1.78%
Expresso (oj_5)	11	3.25%
Sol (oj_6)	16	4.73%
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	1	0.30%
Visão (oj_10)	4	1.18%
A Bola (oj_11)	11	3.25%
O Jogo (oj_12)	25	7.40%
Record (oj_13)	8	2.37%
Económico (oj_14)	3	0.89%
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	4	1.18%
OJE (oj_16)	0	0

Vida Económica (oj_17)	1	0.30%
RTP (oj_18)	12	3.55%
TVI (oj_19)	11	3.25%
SIC (oj_20)	7	2.07%
TSF (oj_21)	8	2.37%
Renascença (oj_22)	4	1.18%
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	319	94.38%
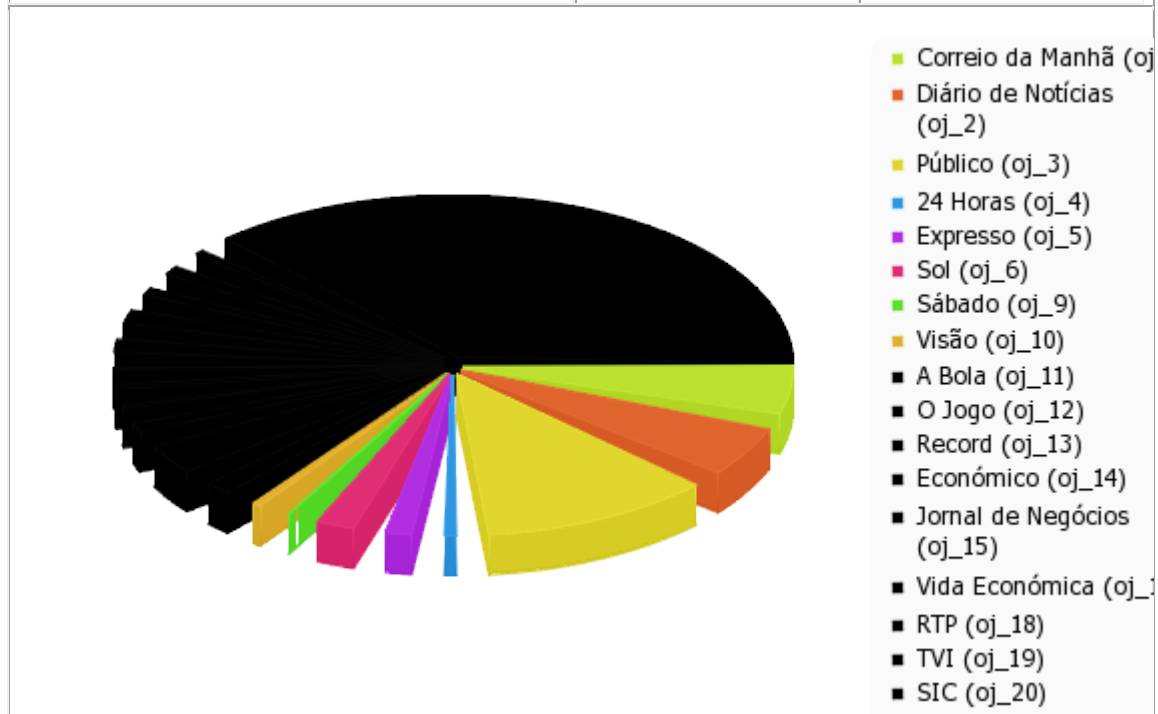
Field summary for 16 [2]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 2]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	21	6.21%
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	32	9.47%
Público (oj_3)	51	15.09%
24 Horas (oj_4)	8	2.37%
Expresso (oj_5)	48	14.20%
Sol (oj_6)	21	6.21%
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0

Focus (oj_8)	4	1.18%
Sábado (oj_9)	6	1.78%
Visão (oj_10)	4	1.18%
A Bola (oj_11)	16	4.73%
O Jogo (oj_12)	13	3.85%
Record (oj_13)	5	1.48%
Económico (oj_14)	3	0.89%
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	16	4.73%
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	26	7.69%
TVI (oj_19)	2	0.59%
SIC (oj_20)	11	3.25%
TSF (oj_21)	10	2.96%
Renascença (oj_22)	6	1.78%
RDP (oj_23)	7	2.07%
Outro (oj_24)	319	94.38%
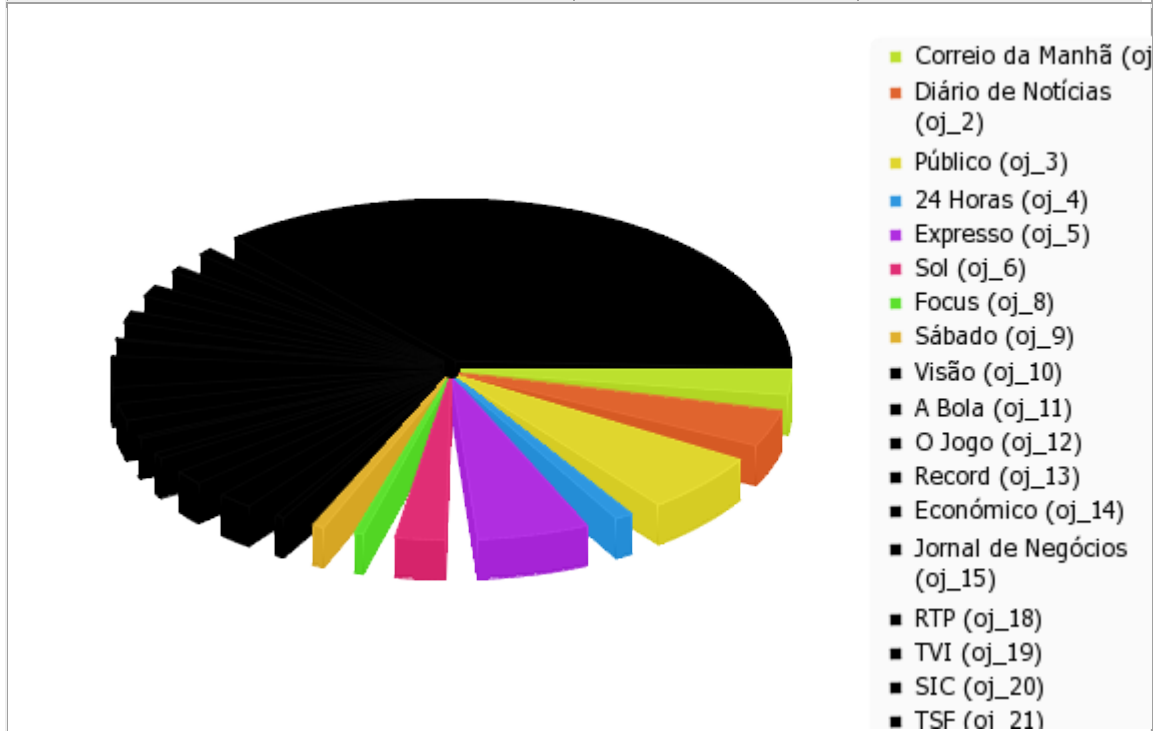
Field summary for 16 [3]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do…[Hierarquizar 3]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	16	4.73%
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	33	9.76%
Público (oj_3)	24	7.10%
24 Horas (oj_4)	14	4.14%
Expresso (oj_5)	42	12.43%
Sol (oj_6)	25	7.40%
Semanário (oj_7)	2	0.59%
Focus (oj_8)	2	0.59%
Sábado (oj_9)	7	2.07%
Visão (oj_10)	20	5.92%
A Bola (oj_11)	9	2.66%
O Jogo (oj_12)	17	5.03%
Record (oj_13)	13	3.85%
Económico (oj_14)	11	3.25%
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	13	3.85%
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	1	0.30%
RTP (oj_18)	28	8.28%
TVI (oj_19)	7	2.07%
SIC (oj_20)	14	4.14%
TSF (oj_21)	6	1.78%
Renascença (oj_22)	8	2.37%
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	319	94.38%
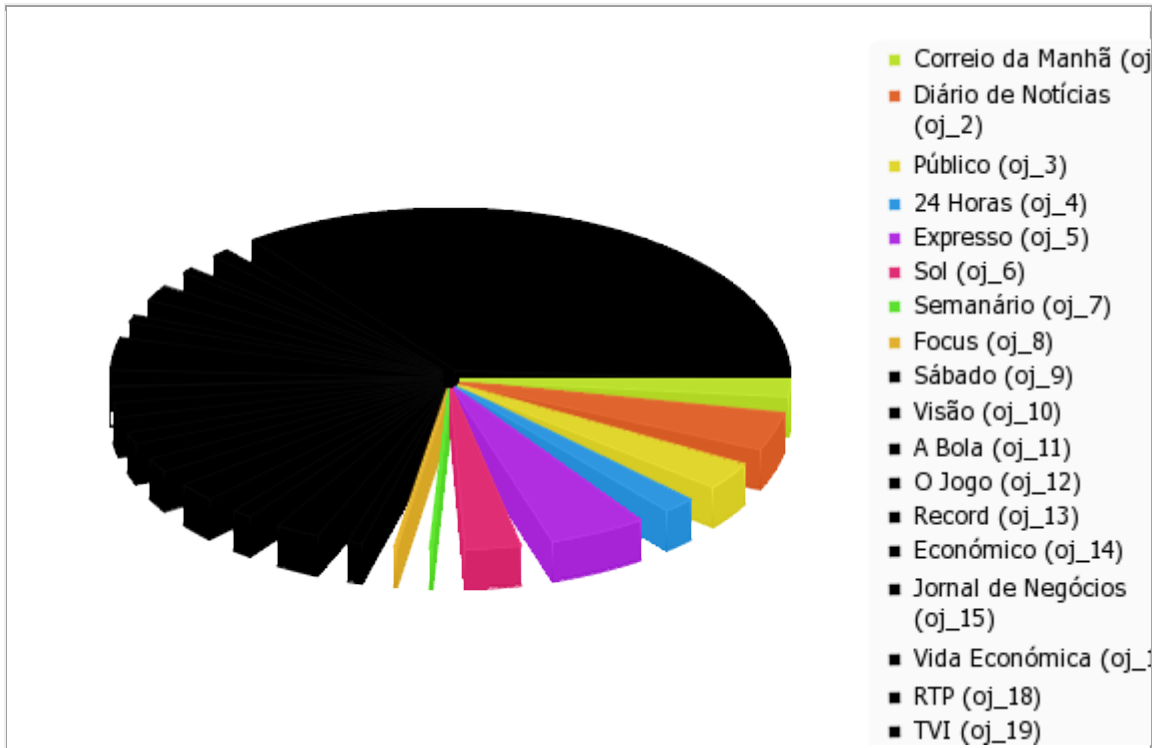
Field summary for 16 [4]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do…[Hierarquizar 4]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	11	3.25%
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	19	5.62%
Público (oj_3)	19	5.62%
24 Horas (oj_4)	10	2.96%
Expresso (oj_5)	33	9.76%
Sol (oj_6)	27	7.99%
Semanário (oj_7)	1	0.30%
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	7	2.07%
Visão (oj_10)	19	5.62%
A Bola (oj_11)	16	4.73%
O Jogo (oj_12)	10	2.96%
Record (oj_13)	9	2.66%
Económico (oj_14)	11	3.25%

Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	16	4.73%
OJE (oj_16)	2	0.59%
Vida Económica (oj_17)	3	0.89%
RTP (oj_18)	41	12.13%
TVI (oj_19)	13	3.85%
SIC (oj_20)	27	7.99%
TSF (oj_21)	10	2.96%
Renascença (oj_22)	7	2.07%
RDP (oj_23)	1	0.30%
Outro (oj_24)	319	94.38%
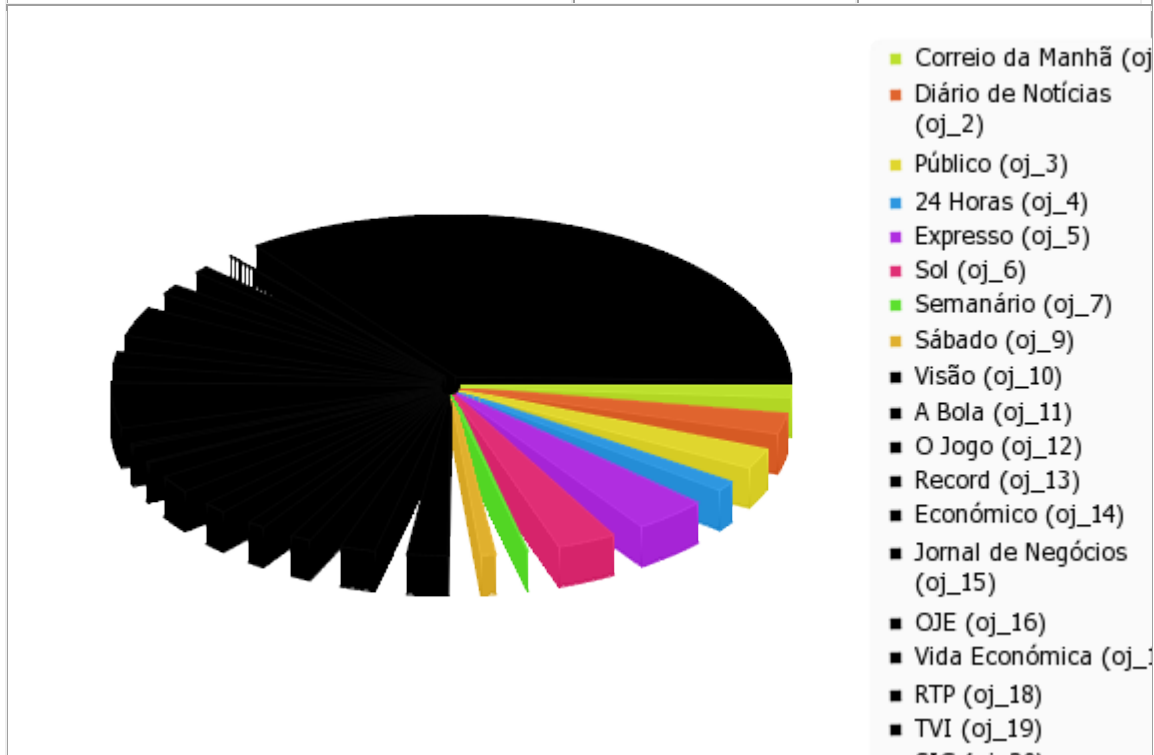
Field summary for 16 [5]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 5]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	12	3.55%
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	17	5.03%
Público (oj_3)	10	2.96%
24 Horas (oj_4)	6	1.78%

Expresso (oj_5)	28	8.28%
Sol (oj_6)	10	2.96%
Semanário (oj_7)	3	0.89%
Focus (oj_8)	2	0.59%
Sábado (oj_9)	3	0.89%
Visão (oj_10)	17	5.03%
A Bola (oj_11)	19	5.62%
O Jogo (oj_12)	12	3.55%
Record (oj_13)	15	4.44%
Económico (oj_14)	9	2.66%
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	21	6.21%
OJE (oj_16)	5	1.48%
Vida Económica (oj_17)	4	1.18%
RTP (oj_18)	30	8.88%
TVI (oj_19)	8	2.37%
SIC (oj_20)	24	7.10%
TSF (oj_21)	19	5.62%
Renascença (oj_22)	14	4.14%
RDP (oj_23)	2	0.59%
Outro (oj_24)	319	94.38%
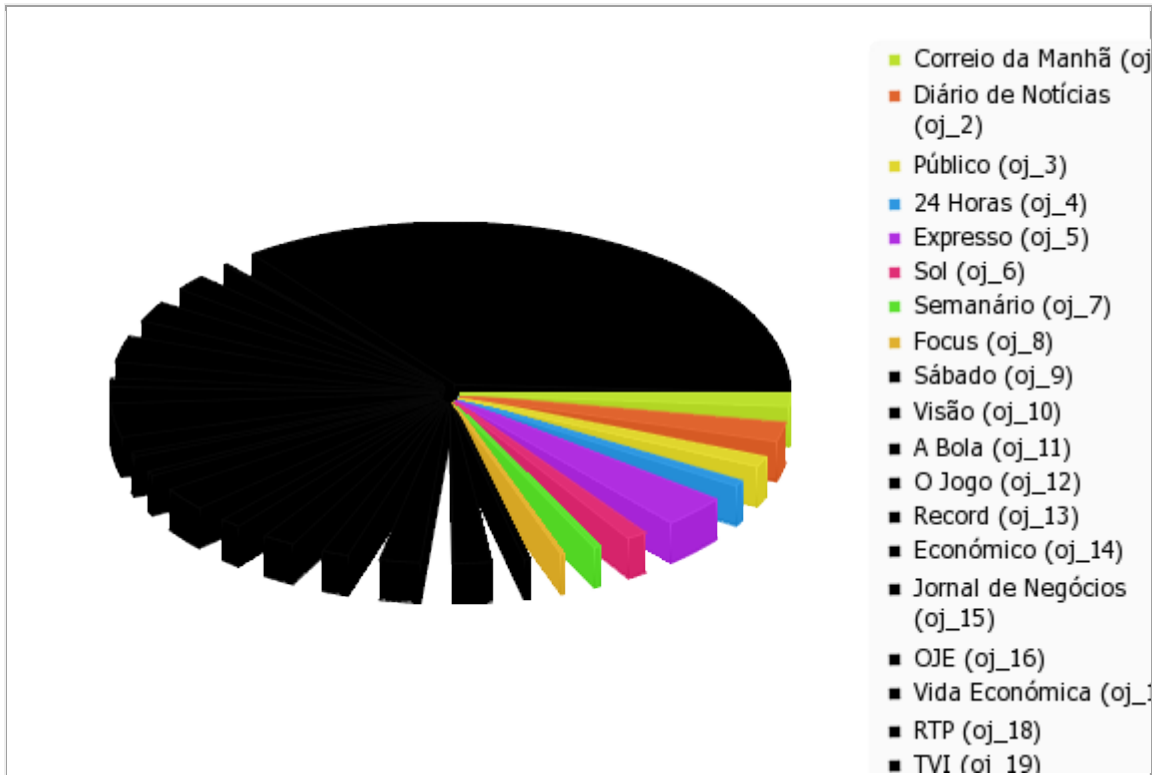
Field summary for 16 [6]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 6]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0

Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [7]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 7]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0

SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [8]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do…[Hierarquizar 8]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [9]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 9]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [10]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 10]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0

Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [11]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 11]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0

	Contagem	Percentagem
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [12]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 12]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0

O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [13]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 13]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0

Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [14]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 14]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0

Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [15]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 15]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [16]:

Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 16]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [17]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 17]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0

24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [18]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do…[Hierarquizar 18]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0

Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [19]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 19]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0

Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [20]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 20]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0

TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [21]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 21]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0

Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [22]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 22]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [23]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 23]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**

Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0
Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 16 [24]:		
Além do JN consulto habitualmente edições online do...[Hierarquizar 24]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Correio da Manhã (oj_1)	0	0
Diário de Notícias (oj_2)	0	0
Público (oj_3)	0	0
24 Horas (oj_4)	0	0
Expresso (oj_5)	0	0

Sol (oj_6)	0	0
Semanário (oj_7)	0	0
Focus (oj_8)	0	0
Sábado (oj_9)	0	0
Visão (oj_10)	0	0
A Bola (oj_11)	0	0
O Jogo (oj_12)	0	0
Record (oj_13)	0	0
Económico (oj_14)	0	0
Jornal de Negócios (oj_15)	0	0
OJE (oj_16)	0	0
Vida Económica (oj_17)	0	0
RTP (oj_18)	0	0
TVI (oj_19)	0	0
SIC (oj_20)	0	0
TSF (oj_21)	0	0
Renascença (oj_22)	0	0
RDP (oj_23)	0	0
Outro (oj_24)	0	0

Field summary for 17(161):		
Relativamente aos sites de outros jornais nacionais como é o JN online em termos de… **[Aspecto visual]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Muito pior (q_1)	12	3.55%
Pior (q_2)	41	12.13%
Igual (q_3)	120	35.50%
Melhor (q_4)	118	34.91%
Muito melhor (q_5)	28	8.28%
Sem resposta	0	0
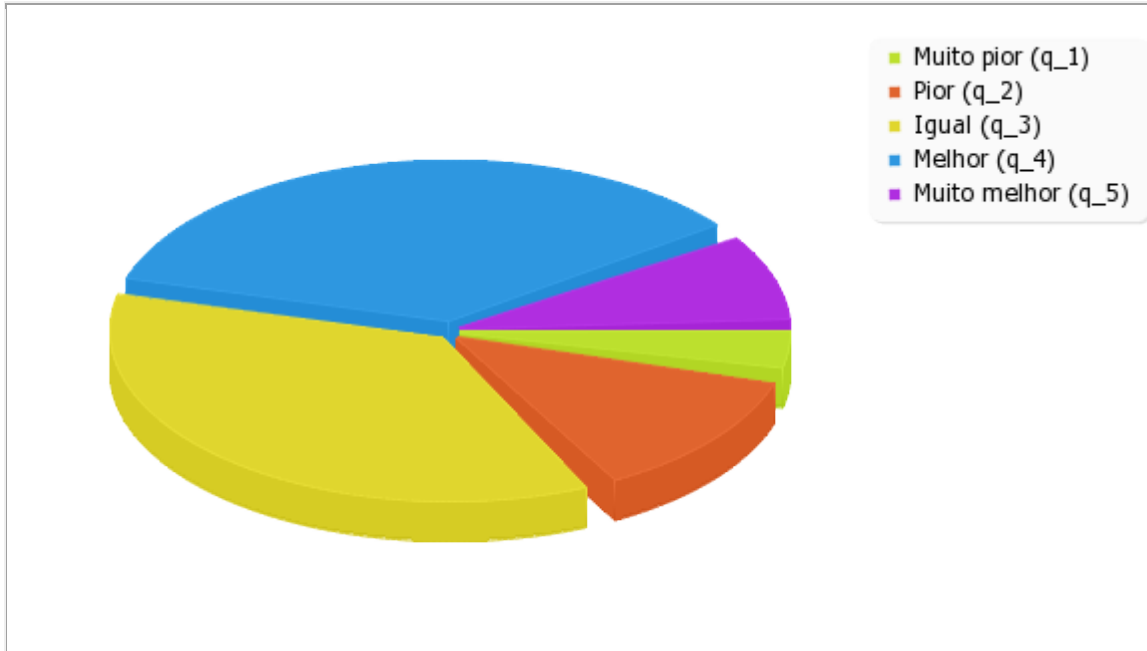
Field summary for 17(162):		
Relativamente aos sites de outros jornais nacionais como é o JN online em termos de... **[Facilidade de uso]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Muito pior (q_1)	6	1.78%
Pior (q_2)	26	7.69%
Igual (q_3)	137	40.53%
Melhor (q_4)	112	33.14%
Muito melhor (q_5)	38	11.24%
Sem resposta	0	0
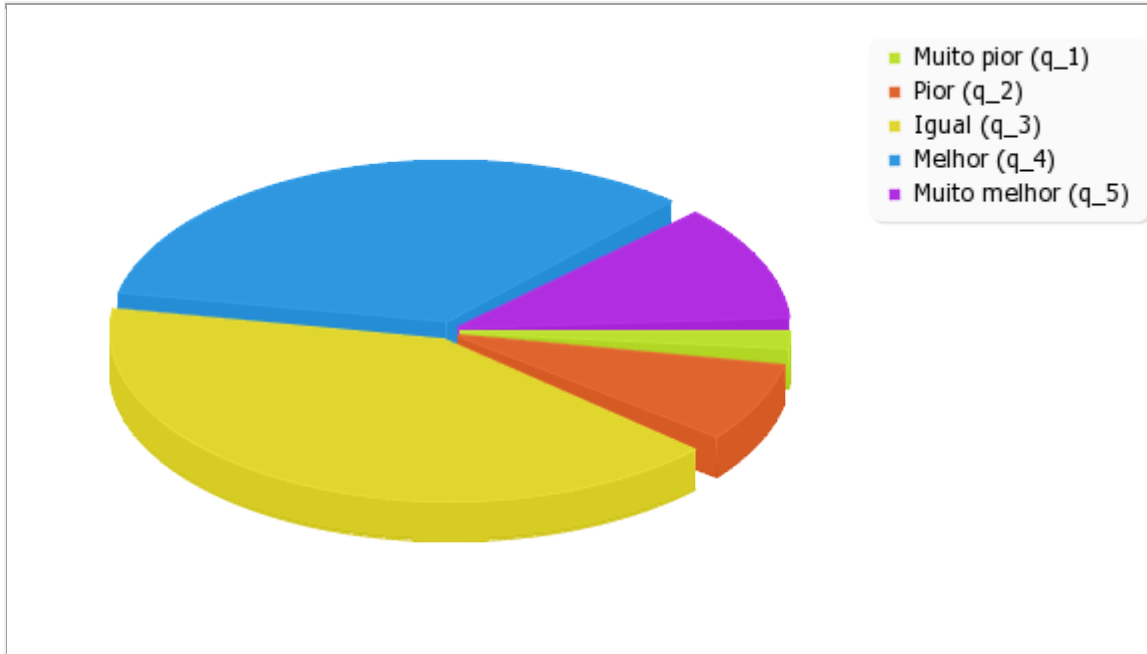
Field summary for 17(163):		
Relativamente aos sites de outros jornais nacionais como é o JN online em termos de... **[Divisão temática]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Muito pior (q_1)	8	2.37%
Pior (q_2)	27	7.99%
Igual (q_3)	140	41.42%
Melhor (q_4)	111	32.84%
Muito melhor (q_5)	33	9.76%
Sem resposta	0	0
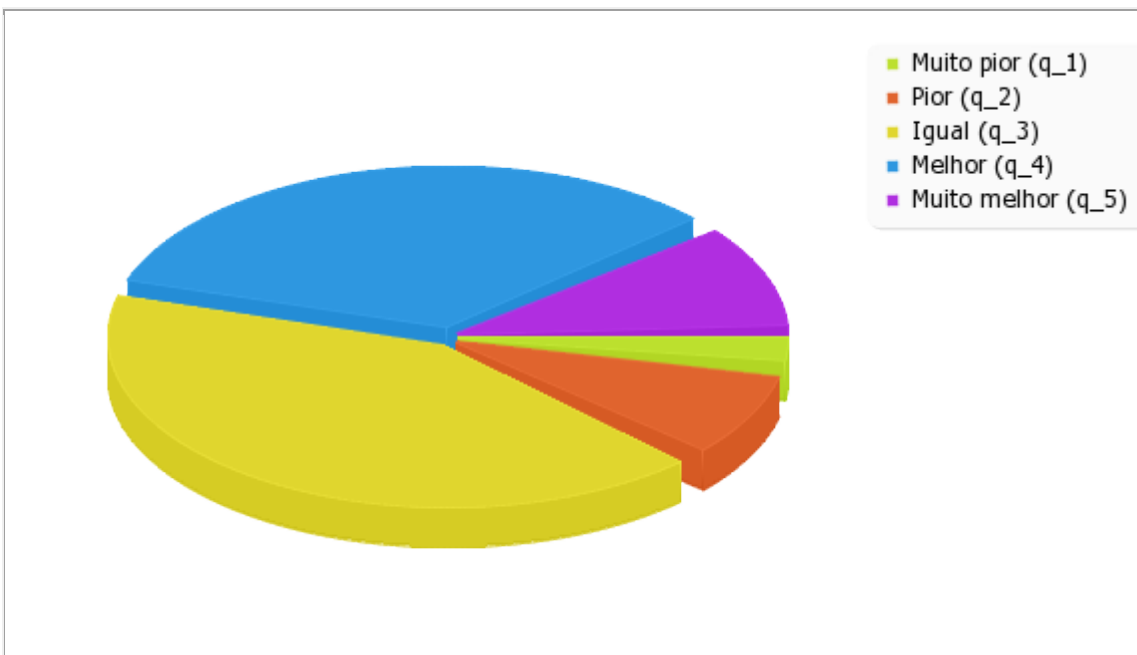
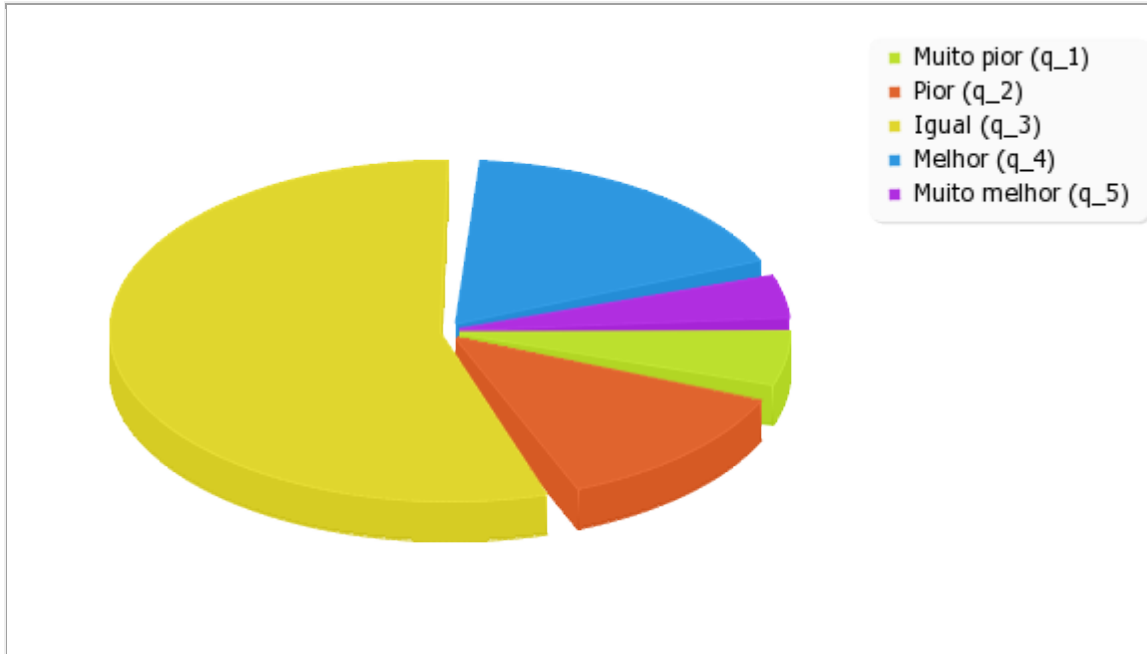| Field summary for 17(164):		
Relativamente aos sites de outros jornais nacionais como é o JN online em termos de... [Flexibilidade de personalização]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Muito pior (q_1)	13	3.85%
Pior (q_2)	44	13.02%
Igual (q_3)	179	52.96%
Melhor (q_4)	63	18.64%
Muito melhor (q_5)	20	5.92%
Sem resposta	0	0
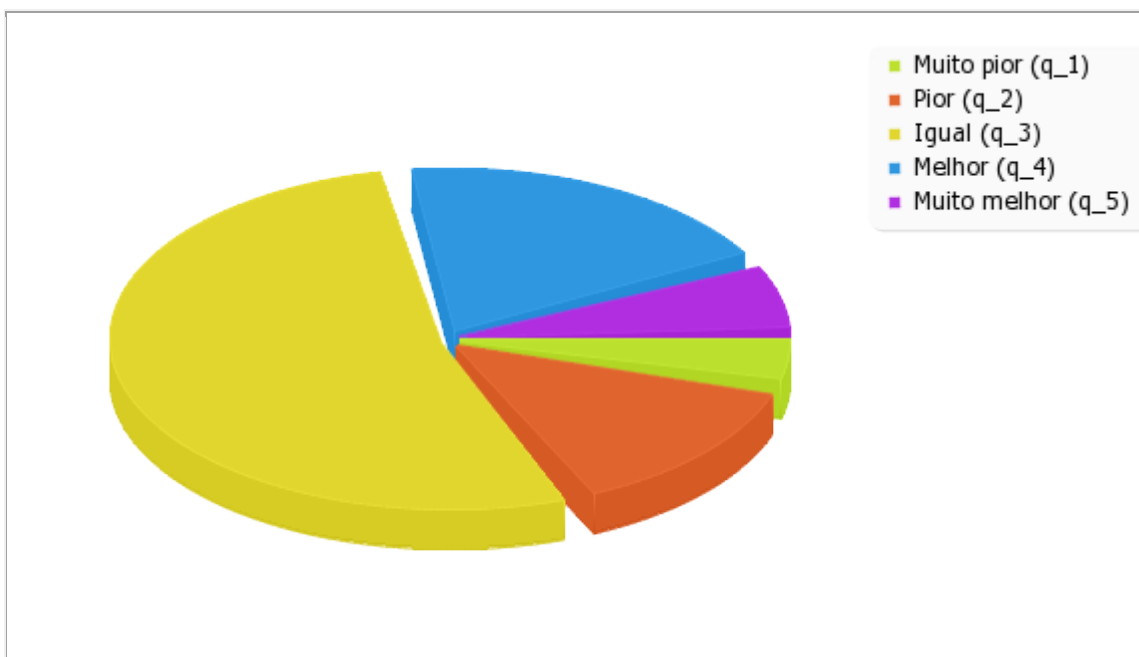
Field summary for 17(165):		
Relativamente aos sites de outros jornais nacionais como é o JN online em termos de... **[ligações a outros sites]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Muito pior (q_1)	18	5.33%
Pior (q_2)	42	12.43%
Igual (q_3)	187	55.33%
Melhor (q_4)	58	17.16%
Muito melhor (q_5)	14	4.14%
Sem resposta	0	0

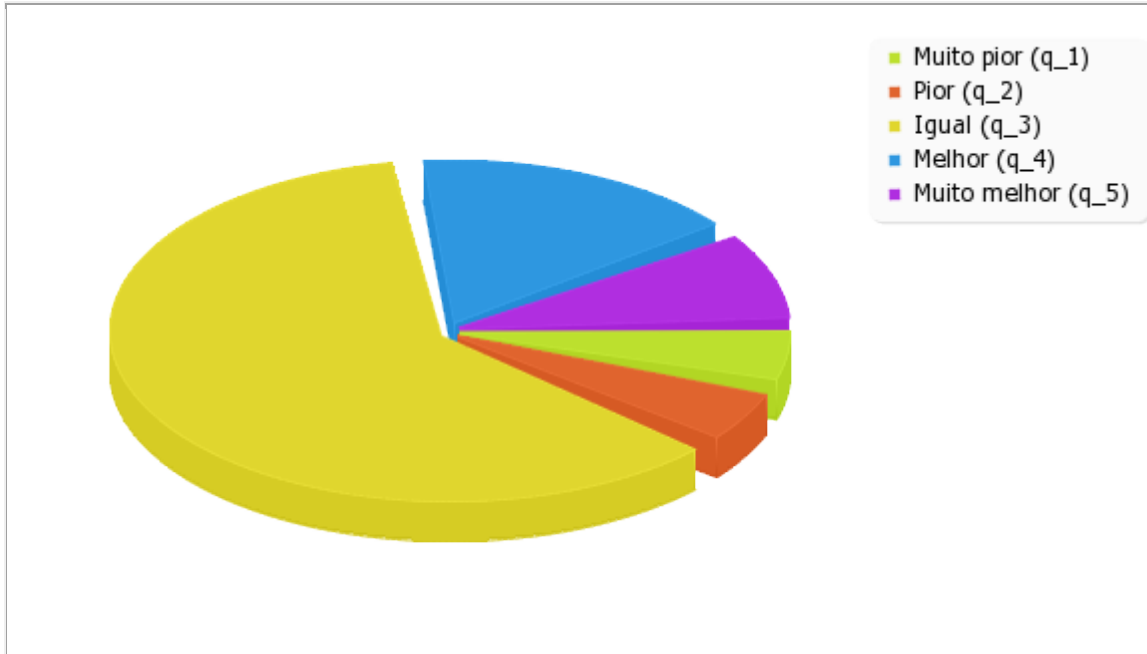| Field summary for 17(166):		
Relativamente aos sites de outros jornais nacionais como é o JN online em termos de... **[Galerias multimédia]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Muito pior (q_1)	9	2.66%
Pior (q_2)	27	7.99%
Igual (q_3)	142	42.01%
Melhor (q_4)	100	29.59%
Muito melhor (q_5)	41	12.13%
Sem resposta	0	0
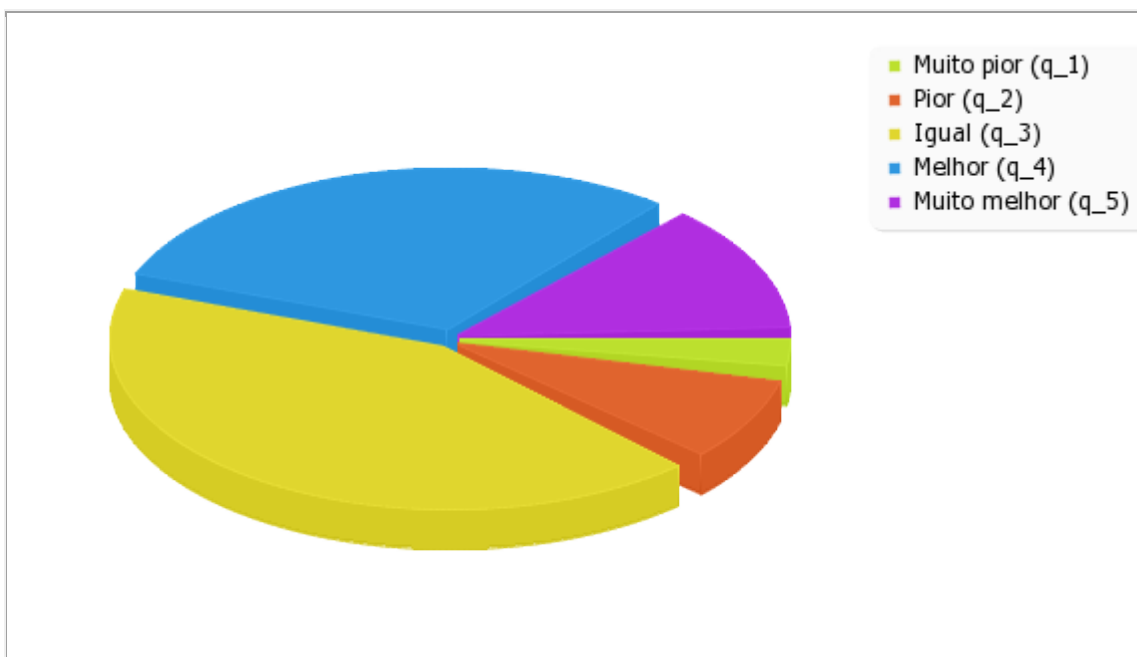
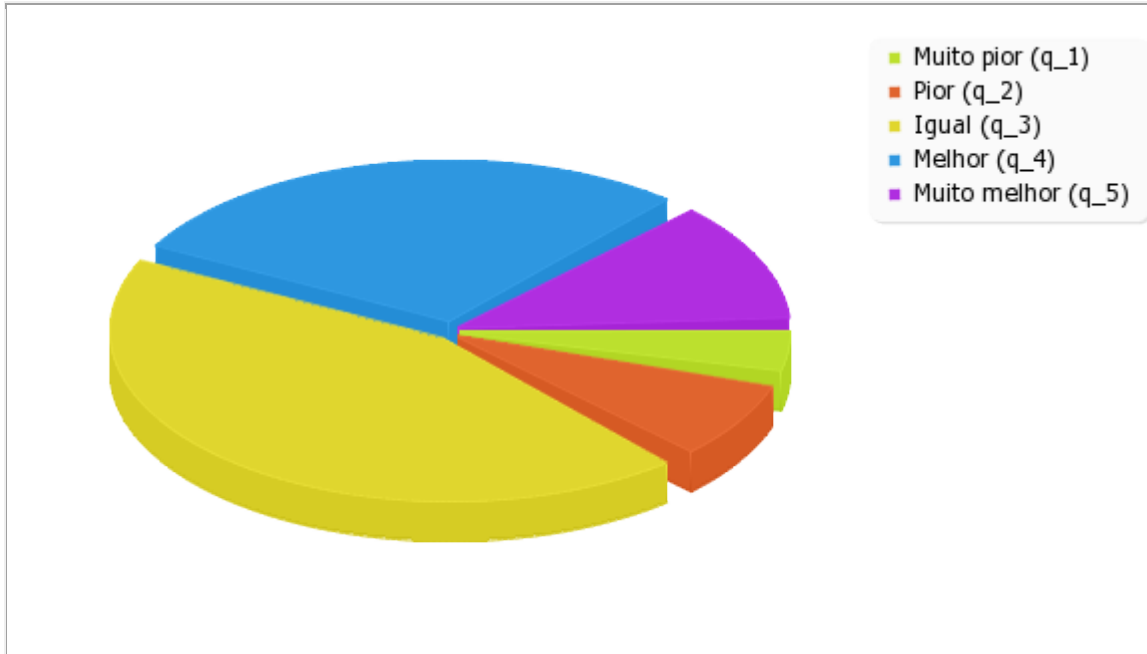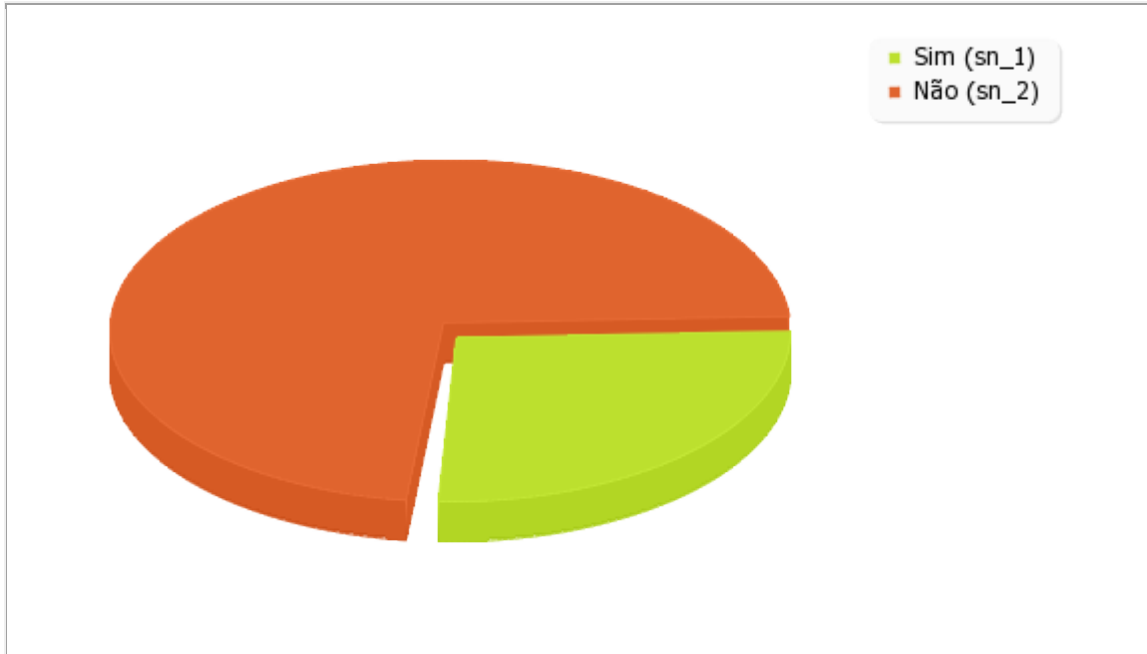| Field summary for 17(167):		
Relativamente aos sites de outros jornais nacionais como é o JN online em termos de... **[Espaço dado à publicidade]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Muito pior (q_1)	16	4.73%
Pior (q_2)	16	4.73%
Igual (q_3)	206	60.95%
Melhor (q_4)	53	15.68%
Muito melhor (q_5)	28	8.28%
Sem resposta	0	0

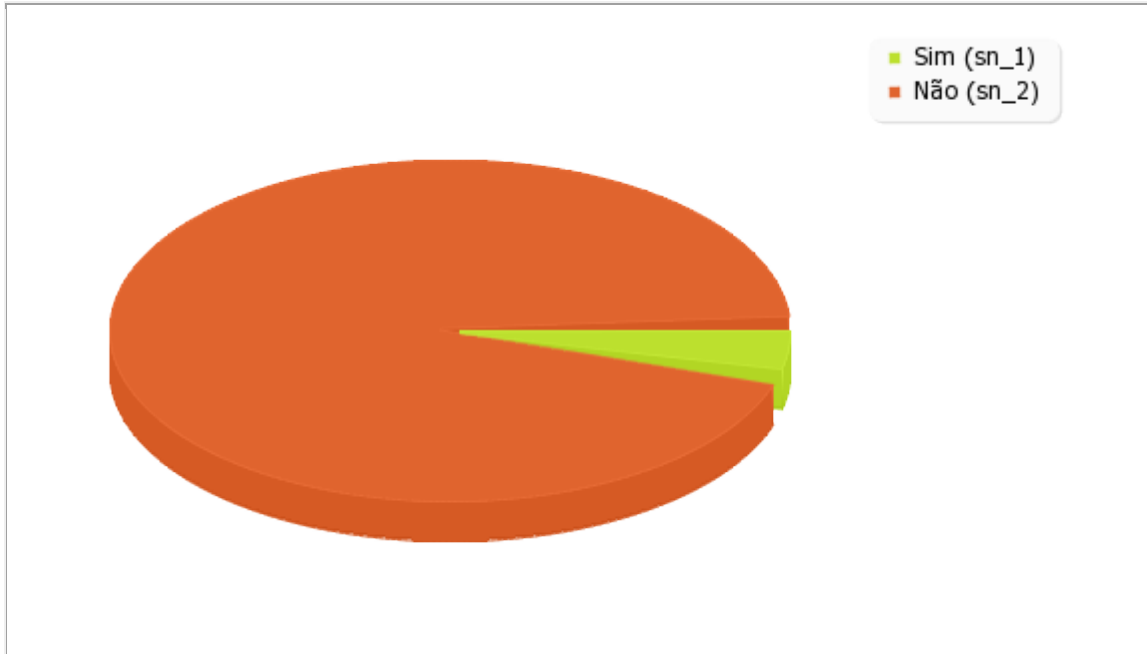| Field summary for 17(168):		
Relativamente aos sites de outros jornais nacionais como é o JN online em termos de... **[abertura ao contributo dos utilizadores]**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Muito pior (q_1)	13	3.85%
Pior (q_2)	25	7.40%
Igual (q_3)	147	43.49%
Melhor (q_4)	95	28.11%
Muito melhor (q_5)	39	11.54%
Sem resposta	0	0

Field summary for 18(171):		
o meu envolvimento pessoal no site do JN online... [estou registado para comentar]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Sim (sn_1)	84	24.85%
Não (sn_2)	235	69.53%
Sem resposta	0	0

Field summary for 18(172):		
o meu envolvimento pessoal no site do JN online... [tenho blog no JN]		
Resposta	Contagem	Percentagem
Sim (sn_1)	12	3.55%
Não (sn_2)	307	90.83%
Sem resposta	0	0

Field summary for 18(173):		
o meu envolvimento pessoal no site do JN online... **[já enviei materiais para o espaço 'Cidadão Repórter']**		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Sim (sn_1)	21	6.21%
Não (sn_2)	298	88.17%
Sem resposta	0	0
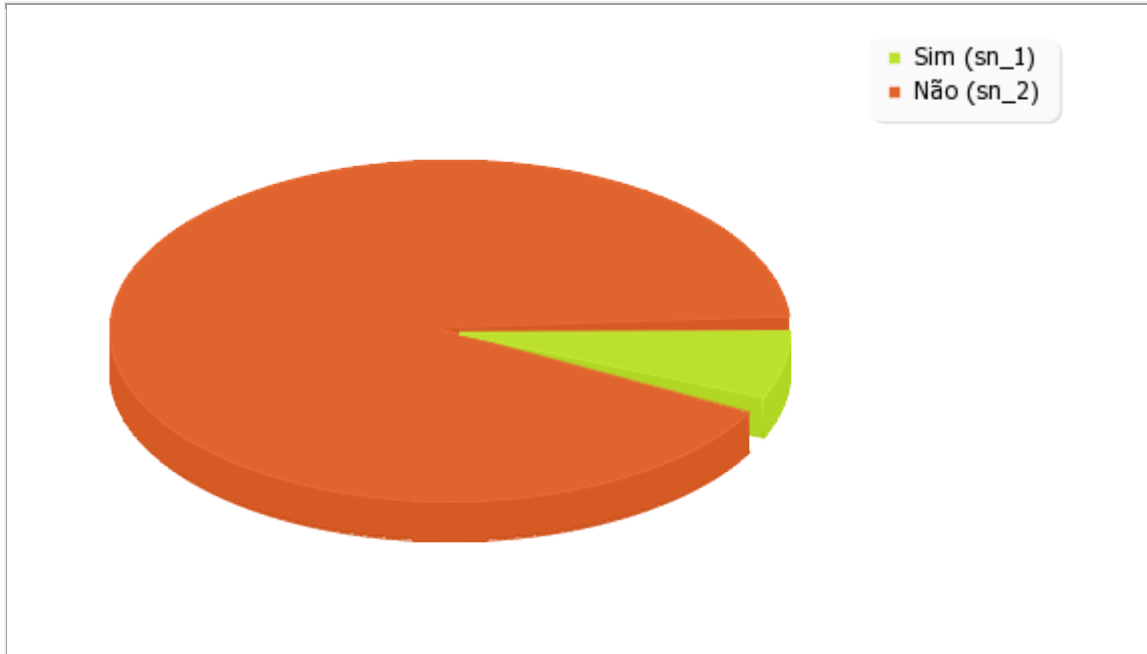
Field summary for 18(174):		
o meu envolvimento pessoal no site do JN online... [já enviei sugestões (mail/telefone)]		
Resposta	**Contagem**	**Percentagem**
Sim (sn_1)	48	14.20%
Não (sn_2)	271	80.18%
Sem resposta	0	0
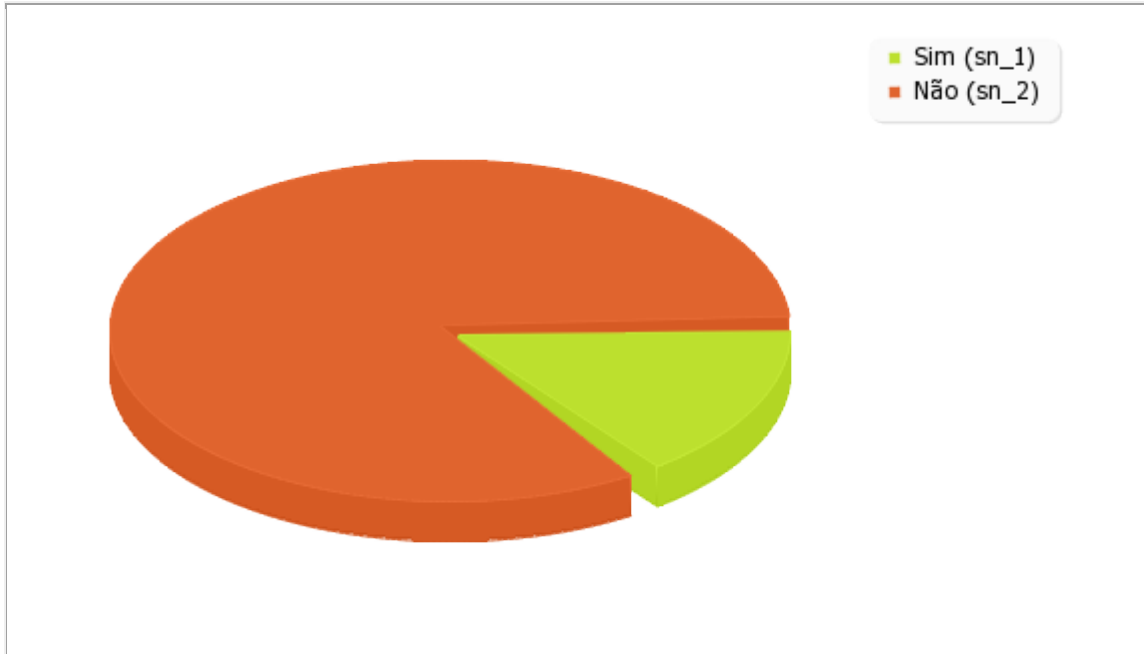
Field summary for 19:		
Comentários e sugestões:		
Resposta [Navegador]	130	38.46%
Sem resposta	208	61.54%
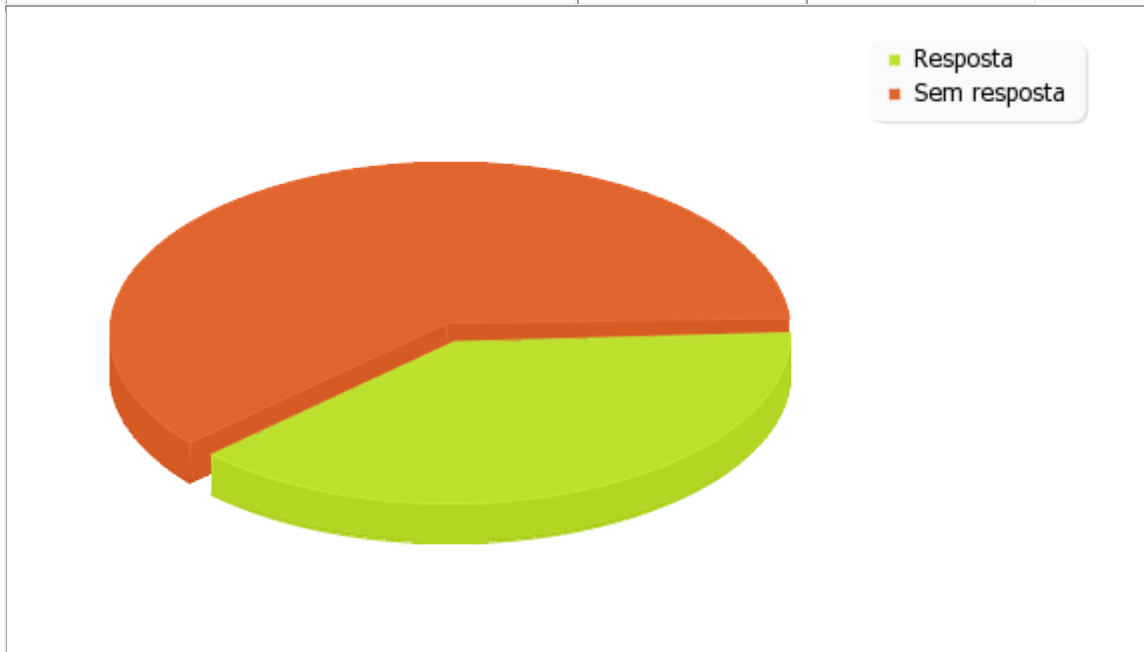
Outras nacionalidades (Pergunta 5 / 9 respostas):

Espanha, Suíça, Canadá, Brasil, Brasil, USA, Argentina, Moçambique, França.

Outros países de residência (pergunta 6 / 29 respostas):

France
andorra
Espanha
frança
Irlanda
reino unido
Irlanda
frança
UK
Reino Unido
Holanda
moçambique
Argentina
USA
Reino Unido
Moçambique
Brasil
alemanha
frança
Gran Bertanha
Itália
Porto
Mexico
Eindhoven Holland
Holanda
Paulinia SP
Espanha
ALEMANHA
canada

Comentários finais dos leitores:

Está bem como está. Não compliquem o aspecto visual da página. Por exemplo, nas páginas do Público e do Expresso é raro chegar ao fim, têm demasiada informação e elementos, especialmente a do Público, que está muito ''poluída'' de elementos.

A parte dedicada às regiões, nomeadamente a minha, Braga, é muito pouco actualizada. Acho que a cidade não tem ainda o devido acompanhamento mediático pelo JN Online, isto porque tenho a ideia que na versão de papel há sempre notícias da cidade, ao contrário do site.

Continuem a ser o jornal mais isento :)

 Excelente! Continue, pelo que dou os parabens à eficiente equipa do JN, particularmente a de On Line. Gilberto Ferraz, Londres

Comentário= Muita falta de isenção na secção desporto.

Acho que o registo do utilizador não devia ser necessário e que devia haver uma maior aposta nos conteúdos da ciência.

Eu sugeria que investissem mais no aspecto gráfico e a organização do site pois acho que a homepage é pouco consistente... Em termos de conteúdos não tenho nenhum aspecto negativo a apontar...

bom dia, preferia a anterior grafia, obrigado
um sistema de pesquisa melhor

Sugiro que voltem a colocar as Palavras Cruzadas no Jornal Online. Quanto ao restante conteúdo acho que está tudo bem.

para um portugues no estrageiro é muito importante de estar ao corrente do que se passa em portugal

nao cortem alguns comentarios

leio diariamente na internet,os jornais,porque Á hora que venho para o serviço já não encontro o Destak.gosto de estar informada.Qunanto ao JN é bom , mas tenho mais preferencia por informação geral,como detak na saúde e ciencia.Aa pagina de noticias da Goougle é a que mais vizito.msousa@fpce.ul.pt

ver a oportunidade de ter uma ediçao em frances o inglês

Continuem o bom trabalho. Isento e profissional.

pauperrimo o desporto so sendo valorizado o futebol,mas aceito

De tempos a tempos e notoria a nao divulgacao de comentarios, principalmente em temas que sao de interesse publico nacional e principalmente quando estes sao dirigidos a politicos ou a segmentos populacionais de cariz homosessual. Embora se respeite as normas impostas pelo JN e implicitamente aceites, o que deixa uma sensacao de..."lapis azul"...e ja tem afastado muitos colaboradores/comentaristas voluntarios. JORGEMIGUEL-London/UK

gosto imenso de me manter informada, e o jn online contribui bastante. É de facil acesso, esta bem organizado, é realmente muito bom. Continuem assim!

O JN deveria defender mais a Região Norte.

Continuem a aperfeiçoar este jornal.

Gosto e mais nada

Acho realmente óptima a possibilidade de comentar, fazendo assim contacto, ainda que anónimo, com outros leitores. Morando no estrangeiro é, para mim, uma janela que dá para o meu país. Sou do Norte e vivi no Grande Porto antes de desertar da Guiné em 1972. Já na altura o JN era o meu jornal preferido. Porque era moderno, diferente.

Acho que o trabalho dos repórteres devia ser mais no campo de acção e menos na colagem das informações das Agências NOTICIOSAS.

Na generalidade,o jornal está bem.É facil de ler,e tem artigos muito interessantes,embora ve verifique uma linha politica de esquerda que não fáz sentido em jornalismo.Os revendedores de jornais,devem sempre entregar os brindes aos clientes,o que não acontece muitas vezês,sendo necessário pedir.Os brindes deviam estar no interior dos jornais,quando possivel.De resto,não há nada a apontar mais.
Que continuem o bom trabalho que teem feito e que façám tudo possível para manter o jornal um lugar de informação honesta e isenta principalmente na parte do desporto e ao contrario de outros jornais onde proliferam grupos que eu considero terroristas principalmente quando se trata falar FCP , OBRIGADA J.N ...

Para passar a ser um jornal nacional tem que deixar de acentuar a tónica regional, manifestamente sempre presente nos temas abordados
resido em Maputo. 1 parabens pela abertura aos registos gratuitos e pela apresentaçao e facilidade de informaçao. pormenor - gostav que alargassem o espaço de comentarios (+ caracteres). E um grande apoio que dao a comunidade portuguesa no estrangeiro. Parabens de novo Jose Casanovas manuel.casanovas@gmail.com

Um bom espaço de informação. Factor Q em evidência.

nada tenho a comentar.

a necrologia deveria aparecer on line pq apesar de ser publicidade é informação importante e definitiva

é um jonal 5 estrelas, e para quem trabalha no estrangeiro e no meu caso em alto mar que so tenho acesso a internet ... é uma espetaculo estar sempre actualizado. Obrigado e continuem. HaRi - Angola offshore

Necessaria maior regulação no conteudo dos comentários, assim como, na sua rapidez de aceitação; Ponto que se aplica a todos os jornais e que se relaciona com uma maior imparcialidade no desenvolvimento de noticias, assim como não ter ''receio'' de publicar assuntos ''constrangedores''

Não tenho comentários a fazer visto o contíudo ser de meu agrado, e não corram o risco de fazerem como os jornais desportivos que só veem os clubes do benfica o do sporting,mas felismente as coisas mudaram, continuem tal como até aqui,

PARA DETERMINADAS NOTICIAS NÃO DEVIAM(OS COMENTÁRIOS)SEREM LIMITADOS AOS 400 CARACTERES E SÃO IMENSAS VEZES ELIMINADOS SEM MOTIVO JUSTIFICÁVEL.POR VEZES TAMBÉM DEMORAM IMENSO NA PUBLICAÇÃO DOS COMENTÁRIOS.

Nada a comentar.

Gostaria de ver mais cuidado com o Português(os erros chegam a ser escandalosos) e menos repetição da notícia dentro da própria notícia(por vezes, os textos parecem uma ''pescadinha de rabo na boca'').

Tenho lido alguns coment`rios(poucos)que a meu vêr poderiam ser aproveitados para a edição em papel.

E GRATIFICANTE

continuem que estao bem

Que continuem tal como estão.

Continuem com o excelente trabalho, sem dúvida o melhor jornal de informação on-line.

Gostaria que o JN não repetisse as notícias como algumas vezes tenho notado. No desporto, os jornalistas que escrevem sobre alguns jogos realizados, não sejam muito incidentes em alguns jogos realizados, como têm conhecimento, esxiste a televisão, e como tal, algumas análises não

são tanto como os jornalistas dizem. Quanto ao resto, considero o JN o maior jornal do País. BEM HAJAM.

faz falta o cartoon diário do «elias, o sem abrigo».

É preciso que os responsáveis tenham sempre em mente que se há actividade dinámica e influente é a COMUNICAÇÃO Por isso é bom que ela deve ser res- ponsável logo competente

Na questão sobre a utilização online de outros sites de notícias, ao obrigar a resposta de 5 opções, induz a resposta em erro....porque eu não consulto mais do q 2 sites, ora ao obrigarem a minha resposta a 5 ... tive necessariamente de "mentir". Gostaria também de referir que a actualidade do JN on-line é relativa, uma vez que em certas secções as notícias ficam lá dias e dias .... sem corresponderem à versão papel (como acontecia com o anterior site), ex: geste; cultura.

Não gosto da publicidade As Ciencias ocultas,e á Relax.Até devia de ser proibido,pois contrbui para muitas infelicidades,para quem acredita.

continuem assim

Acho que tem muito poucas notícias de Economia, que é uma secção que me interessa particularmente. Principalmente gráficos que poderiam acompanhar as notícias. Uma coisa que aprecio particularmente é a busca de notícias por concelho

Antes da reformulação do site estavam disponíveis as crónicas do Germano Silva, mas desde então desapareceram. Na altura perguntei a razão e disseram que estava ligado à remodelação do site e era temporário. O certo é que até hoje nunca mais houve crónicas para ninguém, online. Peço encarecidamente que as devolvam aos cibernautas.

Para bom entendedor, meia palavra basta... O J.N. é óptimo, Parabéns ao Director, Director Adjunto, Redação e Departamento Publicitário...

Devia ser possível comentar a maioria das noticias e não só algumas.Haver maior rapidez na colocação dos comentários on line. Haver buscas por palavra de noticias em arquivo.

Visitei pela primeira vez e gostei, noutros tempos ainda próximos comprava-o todos os dias

È de dificil abertura as páginas interiores e está muito politisado á esquerda, não é um jornal independente, como chegou a ser, e estou á vontade pois sou leitor do meu JN á 57 anos, e no digital devia ter como aumentar o tipo de letra para as pessoas com a minha idade poderem ler melhor(exemplo correio da manhã),aliás já escrevi e nunca me deram resposta -Carlos Bastos

nao tenho sugestoes a propor

Penso que devem manter.Parab´ens

Não usem o feedburner como RSS, façam voçês próprios com links directos

Relativamente às notícias que saem em formato papel está um pouco pobre em relação à quantidade das mesmas.

devia ser mais facil comentar as noticias sem q. por forza ter blog no jn.email mais flexibel p.comentar.

JN Online é de grande importancia para os leitores da Net,em termos económicos e descanso que nos proporciona.

nem mvale a pena perder tempo

censura demasiada e injustificada,sem qualquer razão aparente,basta criticar quem fez a noticia.Demora demasiada a publicar os comentários,ocorrendo por vezes um desfasamento entre o envio do comentário e a evolução da noticia,penso que ocasionado por pura incompetência,na verdade ''o meu JN'' já não é o que era:sério,isento,ponderado,confiável,está meio sério,meio sensacionalista,e,por tal motivo os disparates sucedem-se

Gostaria que melhorasse o aspecto grafico,e o espaço informativo no sector País e distrito

Um dos temas em que o « meu » Jn não me satisfaz é não apresentar a página da necrologia com fotos se tal fosse possivel. No restante é do meu agrado.

Saudações codiais.

Ainda se limita a transcrever a edição impressa. A galeria Multimédia não acrescenta em nada em temros informativos.

sem comentarios

Aspecto geral e funcionalidade a melhorar.

nada a dizer apenas contribui para o vosso questionário.

Lamento que haja alguma segregação clubística. Lamento, ainda, a não publicação de artigo factual e comprovado, sobre o Parque da Cidade, creio que por razões de compadrio com a autarquia do Porto.

Deveriam actualizar mais vezes as ''Últimas''. Por vezes observa-se que as notícias não são actualizadas durante 2 ou 3 horas o que é inadmissível. Nesse aspecto, o tvi24 online é bastante

superior. De resto, tudo excelente, é o meu jornal favorito tanto na versão física (papel) como na electrónica. Cumprimentos a todos.

Gosto de visitar o site do JN para saber noticias de viana, politica nacional, mas vou confrnta-los com outros jornais, pode melhorar o aspecto e penso que ja esteve melhor. Confio muito no JN, informa sem condicionar o leitor o que é muito importante.

Gostaria que incluissem, como antigamente, Palavras Cruzadas

No desporto está muito mal. Falham os resultados de os escalôes secundários.Gostava que fosse incluida a necrologia o que nâo acontece.

aproveito para ler o jornal no cafe porque tenho pouco tento

A actualização de secções como a da Cultura é muito pouca, ficando algumas notícias (algumas até que se mostraram incorrectas)durante várias semanas, e não sendo publicadas outras de igual ou maior pertinência. É frequente os emails que se enviam para a Cultura com notícias serem apagados sem serem lidos; no espaço Cidadão Repórter algumas imagens e textos também permanecem durante muito tempo e as que muitos de nós enviamos nunca são publicadas.

Fui o 1º Jornalista Delegado do JN em Vila Real. LAMENTO PROFUNDAMENTE QUE QUASE 35 ANOS DEPOIS o JN se reduza a um quiosque no Dolce Vita onde se vende desde copos, a facas... e o JN... Tenham vergonha. Não os jornalistas mas quem administra o JN.

é um bom jornal.gostaria de ler mais mas leio só na internet. o dinheiro está caro

arranjem forma de controlarem os blogs que aquilo é uma vergonha...se não mais vale fecharem porque so vos da mau nome

abertura de comentários sem necessidade de registo (semelhante ao do público), melhoria do RSS, é actualizado mas fica com mts itens (quando é visto no firefox por exemplo)

É uma pena que o jornal aposte tanto nas histórias de ''faca e alguidar''. Sabemos que, como dizem os ingleses, ''if it bleeds, it leads'', mas o JN poderia ser muito mais interessante e importante se deixasse de fazer concorrência a projectos editoriais como outros que se dedicam à exploração da miséria humana. Julgo que na Internet, deveria apostar em mais do que notícias de agência. O multimédia, embora consulte muito pouco, já me deu uma ou outra (boa) surpresa (recordo a reportagem Amor Cão)

melhorar os conteúdos visuais (videos do you tube)-são muito lentos a abrir e muitas vezes estão inoperacionais.

Consulto-o diariamente.Está tudo dito.

Já me quiz registar, porque é muito importante, comentar, sugerir, e nunca consegui registar-me. Indica sempre Utilizador ou Password, desconhecidos ou errados. Comentar e escrever no Jornal Online, é importante e necessário, para o leitor e para o Português que vê o País desgraçado e não consegue fazer-se ouvir. HÁ QUE MUDAR com o apoio de todos. Obrigado por saber que estão atentos, e preciso expressar o meu sentir. E_Mail.: carlop@clix.pt

O JN para mim é e sempre foi o melhor jornal nacional.

Deveriam sugerir no site, semanalmente, livros, biografias, filmes, estreias no cinema, etc. Gostava de ver publicada a necrologia e os falecimentos e no desporto ha pouco noticiario. Nao aparecem os resultados de futebol de divisoes inferiores o que antigamente acontecia.

Não obstante a melhoria evidenciada, o online deveria ser mais explorado, nomeadamente com conteúdos direccionados para esta plataforma. Não se admite, por exemplo, chapar um take da Lusa no última hora. Que diferenciação em relação à concorrência? Nenhuma!!! Os comentários deveriam ser livres, moderados por um jornalista, faria sentido. Jornalismo do cidadão? Não existe! Acho que a mediação nunca fez tanto sentido como hoje...

Inquérito muito extenso na minha opinião...

É vulgar haver omissões, sobretudo a nível de "Opinião". No dia 30.04.09 o artigo do dia de M. A. Pina "Um problema de Educação" não aparece. nem no dia, nem no dia seguinte, nem nos artigos do mesmo autor. Como disse é vulgar. Os meus cumprimentos

É um jornal que presta um verdadeiro serviço público!!! Através dele, foi resolvido um problema familiar que se arrastava há anos. Bem haja este meio de comunicação!!!

Apenas gostava que o vosso jornal fosse um pouco mais discreto no apoio a este governo. Por isso deixei de o ler em formato papel. Não gostei do que lia sobre os professores.

O JN, sem perder a sua característica de ser do "PORTO", deve (minha opinião) ser mais abrangente aos "problemas globais". Nos meus tempos de juventude tinha um "epígolo" depreciativo: "O Jornal das "sopeiras". Evoluiu...mas é preciso ir mais além, "penso eu de que", para enfrentar a "globilização" a partir do Porto, para todo Portugal e para a UE. Já o faz? Na minha opinião é ligeiro...deve ser mais consistente. Contribuir, com acutilância cívica. O Douro Litoral não oferece dúvidas...

Poucas vezes leio on-line.É-me conveniente para obter documentos escritos do mesmo

Jornalismo online ou em papel é algo muito diferente do que aquilo que o JN pratica.

São muitas as notícias locais que vem no jornal mas não estão no site. Considero uma falha grave. As notícas devias estar associadas com uma foto, o que não acontece. Devem substituir alguns comentadores/opinião e não serem sempre os mesmos alguns meses e até anos. Conheço muitos sites de informação e acho o do Diário de Notícias o melhor de todos. O site do JN é bom mas tem capacidades para evoluir, basta consultar outros sites nacionais e internacionais. Desejo bom trabalho para todos.

Retomar a edição Minho do JN. V. N. Famalicão devia sair da edição Porto.

Continuem no caminho de valorizar cada vez mais o Jornal, não esquecendo, sobretudo, as entrevista a personalidades nacionais

Desde que o actual director referiu-se ao presidente da Comissão Europeia, Durão Barroso, como "o rapazola do zé manel que deu de frosques". Desde que o director adjunto fez uma reportagem em Angola onde conseguiu, trinta anos depois da sua morte, ressuscitar oas pais do presidente da UNITA, Jonas Savimbi. Desde que uma enviada descobriu que a terceira causa de morta em Moçambique era a queda de cocos... nada mais restou do que deixarde ler o JN.

Gostaria de saber porque motivo sendo a vila das aves do distrito do Porto e só vendem o jornal regional do Minho e não do Porto. Até estou em vias de mudar porque a informação que me interessa é da área Metropolitana do Porto na qual a Vila das Aves pertence.

O tipo de jornalismo actual (falta de conteúdo)levou-me a desinteressar-me pela leitura do mesmo, ao contrário do que se passava em anos anteriores em que o seu tipo de escrita me atraíam diárimente. O desaparecimento de alguns jornalistas que deixaram de escrever neste jornal, descaraterisou-o. Actualmente é um jornal virado para o lucro, em detrimento da qualidade informativa.

Melhorou substancialmente. Mas, está ainda muito preso à edição de papel. A actualização de notícias durante o dia é quase nula. E, quando acontece, reduz-se à transcrição dos textos da lusa.

para mim é o jornal que mais gosto de ler

Seria de actualizar mais vezes a secção Tecnologia. Falta uma secção Europa. Em todos os meios falta saber o sentido de voto dos nossos representantes nos diversos diplomas, por circulo e partido.

Gostei do que vi.

Destaco como muito positiva possibilidade de poder ler a «Opinião» na Internet. O JN tem muito bons colunistas - a começar por Manuel António Pina, que nunca perco. É na página da «Opinião» que começo a «folhear» o jornal na web.

O JN já foi um jornal. Hoje é uma montra de incompetências.

Não deixar que noticias atrasadas, continuem nas páginas.

Gostava que na area de Desporto se falasse do futebol Distrital(A.F.Poto)

e um bom site

acho-o muito bom.mil vezes melhor que o de papel.parabéns.

Pela facilidade e localização.

Acho que qualquer pessoa consegue tirar partido desta informação na Net do JN. Parabéns! Mas sempre melhorando!

Não publica as notícias breves que se encontram em papel Muitas vezes os títulos on-line e em papel não coincidem, o que dificulta a pesquisa Dificuldade em aceder a documentos em arquivo (pela razão anteriormente apresentada)

Muito Bom

façam um artigo sobre o polemico documentario Zeitgeist

Obrigada por darme a posivilidade de leer diariamente o seu Jornal desde a minha casa

o jn online é mesmo muito bom!

Continuem com a vossa politica de informação, e parabéns pelo vosso trabalho.

ja o lia em papel ho muitos anos no cafe

Vejam o site da BBC, Euronews e ainda do New York Times. Sao 2 TV e um Jornal que souberam usar a Web da forma correcta

 É sempre possível melhorar as coisas e o JN tem de se renovar tb online e sobretudo ser mais cosmopolita sem deixar de ser a voz do Norte e do Porto

Continuem a despedir jornalistas. Mais uns tantos e até nas vendas vão bater o CM.

Continuem bem. Sejam verdadeiros e isentos. Não cedam a pressões, venham elas donde vierem, sobretudo do grupo económico vosso proprietário

De momento nao tenho nada para comentar, mas aproveito a oportunidade para cumprimentar toda a equipa do JN Online. Carlos Valente

A ideia da secção ''Cidadão Repórter'' é muito boa, mas deveria ser dinamizada de modo a conseguir uma maior actualização.

Continuem neste caminho, que terão proveitos.

ESTOU FORA DU PAIS A 42 ANOS MAS QUANDO REGRESSO DE FERIAS E O MEU JORNAL PREFERIDO E EU PASSO 7-8 MESES EM PORTUGAL

Deviam aceder á colocação de blogues no JN Online, falo de blogues que já existiam antes do JN Online

Comentários para quê? Para legitimar que só mudem as moscas?

Está tudo dito.

A qualidade do jornalismo do JN, papel ou on line, piora de dia para dia, havendo alturas que mais parece feito por... sapateiros.