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Newsroom dissonance: how new digital technologies are changing professional roles in contemporary newsrooms

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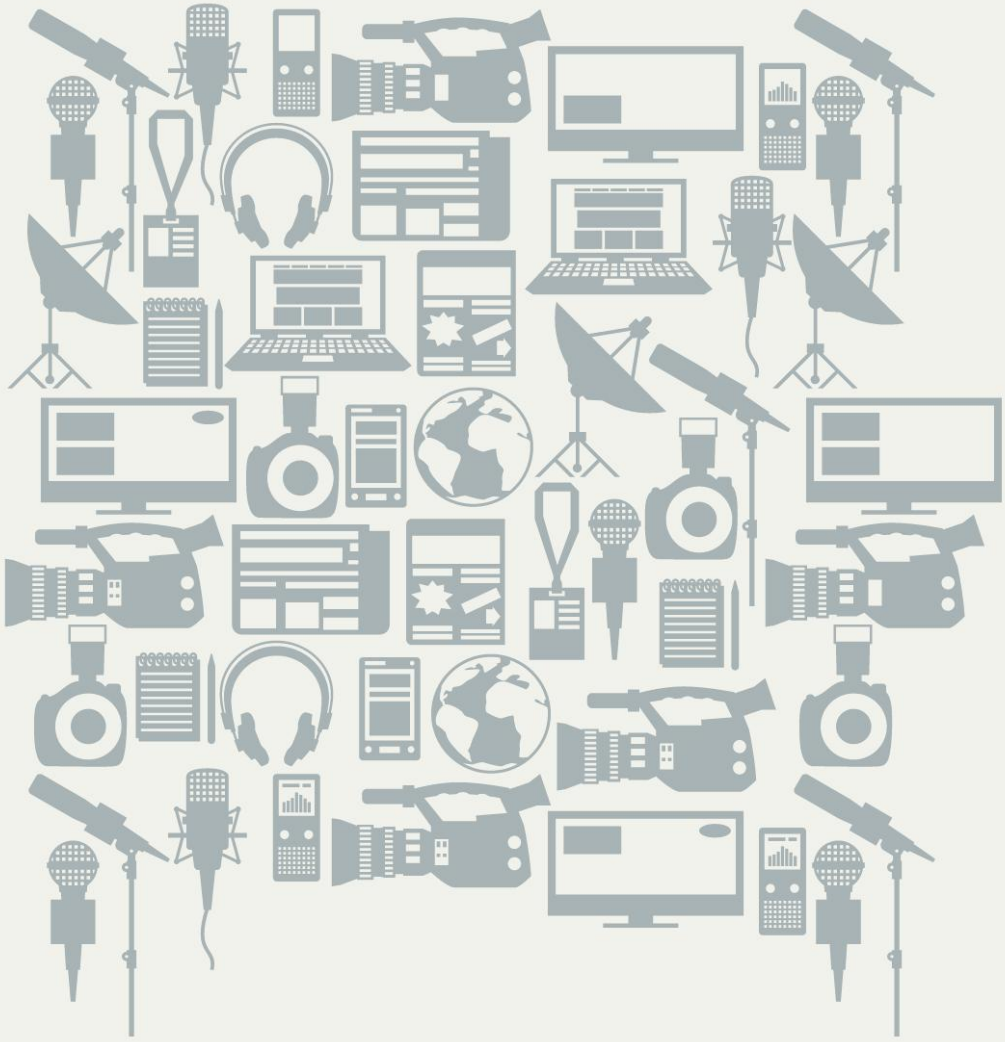
NEWSROOM DISSONANCE



How new digital technologies are changing professional roles in contemporary newsrooms

TOMÁS DODDS

Newsroom Dissonance

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Fieldwork

The fieldwork for this thesis took place between August of 2017 and February of 2018 in Santiago, Chile. The duration of the fieldwork was divided equally between two newsrooms. During the first part of my research, I conducted ethnography at the television station **Canal 13**, a Chilean free-to-air television channel, controlled by the Luksic Group. Particularly, I focused on **Teletrece**, Canal 13's news department and newscast, and **T13**, its website. During the second part of my fieldwork, I conducted newsroom ethnography at ***La Tercera***, a daily newspaper owned by **Copesa**. Copesa is a Chilean media conglomerate controlled by Álvaro Saieh.

Newsroom Dissonance

How new digital technologies are changing professional roles in contemporary newsrooms

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Prologue[1]

Beginning in mid-October 2019 and extending for almost a year afterward, Chile was in the grip of waves of anti-government protests and cultural manifestations with tens of thousands of demonstrators taking to the streets and protesting across the country. The upsurge of this social outburst had its roots in a civil society that was rebelling against the uncaring economic and political elite that had effectively ruled the country since its return to democracy in 1990. According to Orellana (2020), Chileans were fighting back against the 'commodification of humanity', and thereby obliterating the myths and tales that once told the story of a neoliberal oasis in the south end of Latin America (Somma et al., 2020).

What started as a protest against recent fare hikes in the public subway system (Holland, 2019) quickly escalated when Sebastián Piñera's right-wing administration decreed a state of emergency and instituted martial law in the country's largest cities, making the military forces, who are not trained to address civilians, responsible for restoring public order and quelling the protests (Garcés, 2019). As expected, unrestrained repression was followed by public outrage, which in turn produced a groundswell of political support for the uprising, and soon, the number of protesters in the streets skyrocketed. By the end of October 2019, over a million people were gathering in the plazas of the capital city of Santiago, and many more revolted in other major Chilean provinces (N. Larsson, 2019).

After months of mobilisations and pot-banging ringing in public squares, malls, and universities, clashes between police and demonstrators left over 3,000 people injured and 20 dead. Bandaged eyes become a rallying symbol, as Chilean police were credited with blinding over 300 protesters by shooting rubber pellets directly at their faces (McDonald, 2019). Moreover, several national and foreign organisations published reports proving systematic and gross human rights violations in the country during the riots (Ravanal Zepeda & Marin, 2020). The coverage of the horrors occurring on the streets emerged in an endless live broadcast stream, simultaneously challenging the audience to identify and combat the menace of fake news on social networks. However, the ever-present dissemination of disinformation was caused not only by faceless bots operating on the margins of popular platforms but also by the heads of the national government: many falsehoods were intentionally sponsored by high-ranking political figures. In December 2019, Piñera claimed, in an uncompromisingly

[1] A previous version of this section has been published as "How Chilean activists used citizen-generated data to fight disinformation" (2020).

forthright manner during an interview with international media, that some of the videos that people were seeing on their feeds were actually 'fake news' and that many of them 'had been filmed outside of Chile or misrepresented' (Laing, 2019). This type of message – 'some of the things you are seeing may not be real' – was indeed difficult to disprove. Because of either political or technological limitations, many of which are discussed in this thesis, national television stations and newspapers were unable to fact-check the sheer number of videos and pictures circulating on social networks. Therefore, during the first months of the movement, the screens of millions of Chileans were limited to portraying supermarket lootings and barricades in flames. The videos of police abuse of demonstrators were predominantly relegated to independent left-wing digital media, which often were unqualified and unfit to trace the sources of all the material that came from the streets and were now accumulating in their small newsrooms.

Many journalists and other media professionals working outside news organisations were discontented with the manner in which traditional media were covering such abuses if they were reporting them at all; consequently, a variety of different bottom-up or grassroots journalistic projects started emerging from their efforts. Two projects garnered my attention from the beginning: ChileRegistra and FastCheck. These initiatives combined a journalistic-oriented ethos with the politics of visibility (Milan, 2015) for those whose rights had been infringed upon. While these projects are ingenious, their emergence signifies more than simply the citizen-journalist response to this particular crisis. These innovations are also a reaction to what Chilean citizen-journalists and digital activists thought was missing from the already large ecology of media organisations in the country: On the one hand, they desired a technological infrastructure that allowed media outlets to gather and verify information that was circulating on social media, separating fake from real events. On the other hand, they knew that they needed an editorial perspective that saw police abuses as systemic rather than isolated events.

The October Revolution in Chile, as it has come to be called, came with the outgrowth of an interconnected ecology of online information-gathering, fact-checking, and news-reporting platforms produced by organised citizen-journalists and digital activists. Only four days after the beginning of the protests, journalists Miguel Paz and Nicolás Ríos started ChileRegistra.info, a repository of audiovisual material and information regarding the ongoing protests. ChileRegistra stores and distributes videos that have been previously shared by volunteers and social network users who have attended rallies. According to these journalists, whom I later called for an interview, traditional media could not present videos of human rights violations that had been shared on social networks simply because they were unable to verify

the sheer volume of audiovisual material reaching the newsrooms. Thus, while users' pages on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram were filling with images of atrocities committed by military personnel, media outlets would primarily broadcast live images of riots and barricades, which produced increased levels of mistrust between the demonstrators and the press. As a response to this problem, ChileRegistra had two main purposes: First, the journalists aimed to create a 'super database' with photos and videos of the protests, including military and police abuses. Second, they intended to identify the creators of videos and photos already posted and shared on social networks to make these users available as sources or witnesses for both traditional media and prosecutors. National newspapers, such as *La Tercera* and *Publimetro*, among other local and international media outlets, have already utilised this platform to publish or broadcast data collected within the repository.

The second project, FastCheck, is a fact-checking enterprise based on the photo and video-sharing social network Instagram. It was created by a group of former journalists and media professionals who rely on volunteers and unpaid experts to check and report on the veracity of the information that they are attempting to analyse. A news segment on Televisión Nacional de Chile, a public service broadcaster, portrayed images of a pharmacy being consumed by flames amidst the mass revolts, and FastCheck became famous when they proved that there had indeed been a fire, and that the blaze that people saw on their screens had not been altered digitally.

After conducting semi-structured interviews with the leaders of these initiatives, I concluded that rather than seeking to replace traditional journalism, these projects aimed to assist and support, albeit critically, the work of traditional media outlets by providing repositories of corroborated, easy-to-access, fact-checked information. In turn, news organisations have recourse through the databases provided by these activists and are utilising this option to reduce professional dissonance and disinformation on their own platforms.

These examples carry important implications for understanding the Chilean media landscape on the cusp of the worst civil unrest since its return to democracy. The ways in which these organisations operate seem to reinforce the hegemony of traditional media during conflict, as a journalistic ethos hovers over the way these initiatives are understood and operated; however, these praxis-oriented projects also illuminate digital activists' ability to create structures of resistance, thus politically engaging in the production of news. Additionally, they fight both institutional and organic disinformation and assist failing media infrastructures by creating devices that enhance and encourage transparency (P. Harvey et al., 2013), which in this case morally exhorted traditional media workers to react properly to the turmoil.

Disinformation is likely to continue to be a reality for the majority of Western societies and a topic of interest for academia (Freelon & Wells, 2020). As Morgan (2018) posits, the basic infrastructures of public life are under constant attack, while manipulation and disinformation only grow more sophisticated on every technological platform available. Furthermore, these factors are set against a background in which governments have entered a state of disinformation warfare (Zannettou et al., 2019). Concurrently, journalism, which is still seeking a sustainable financial model, is under extraordinary pressure (Freedman, 2019; Pickard, 2011).

Nevertheless, ChileRegistra and FastCheck demonstrate that Chile lived, or is living, in a period of revolutionary hope in which citizens can meaningfully contribute and become, similar to many other digital activists around the world, 'increasingly aware of the critical role of information as the new fabric of social life' (Milan & Velden, 2016).

In times of already dwindling trust levels toward journalism (Hanitzsch et al., 2018) and increasing media cynicism, it is no surprise that news sceptics turn to alternative sources of information during social unrest (Kohring & Matthes, 2016; Tsfati, 2003). However, Chile had literally entered a state of emergency overnight with a government that saw its legitimacy becoming further imperilled; consequently, the administration started desperately spreading false information, believing that the failure of becoming lost in a sea of fake news would have been the 'responsibility of the citizen, who could always have been more active, more vigilant, more participatory' (P. Harvey et al., 2013, p. 308). Therefore, Chilean activists and citizen-reporters fought back. The disinformation that originated from political spheres of power, unchecked and uncontested for the longest time by constantly shifting traditional media because of its sociotechnical and political limitations, was repelled by a structure that refused to be rolled back, and instead, by utilising the most rudimentary of all technologies available, resisted.

Although I was raised in Chile, today I live in Amsterdam. As protesters began gathering, I could only follow the news as any other Chilean abroad: behind a screen. I placed a monitor in my room, streaming in a loop the YouTube channels of the prime-time late-night news of major media outlets. During the day, I frequently checked different social media platforms, such as Facebook or Twitter, or projects such as ChileRegistra or FastCheck, and from time to time, I received news and tips from friends and fellow journalists over WhatsApp or Signal. Information started flooding every digital space available: a video posted on social media in

the morning had several different interpretations by that evening, and dissimilar explanations were offered by experts across the entire media spectrum by night-time.

Amidst the social unrest caused by this crisis, I started to receive urgent phone calls and lengthy messages from the same journalists I had interviewed a year prior as part of this thesis. We had maintained contact since I spent almost seven months working with them, but the informality that had characterised our chats – which centred mostly around newsroom gossip, such as who had been fired or promoted – was now replaced by high-strung and weary voices quietly whispering off-the-record stories about articles that were killed before they were ever published, journalists who were fired for refusing to include their names in the byline of stories they knew were fake, and calls that came from 'all the way up' to request a different headline or a more favourable picture of the president. During my fieldwork, I courteously pushed journalists to recall cases in which they had faced censorship; however, now these tales of forced silence were pouring into my phone.

I called a journalist who still worked in one of the newsrooms in which I conducted my fieldwork, and we talked until 5 a.m. Amsterdam time. He spoke at length about how the situation was unravelling in his own newsroom. He described how unions were trying to protect journalists who were being condemned by media organisations and audiences alike for signing their names to articles that were later proven to contain false information, although these journalists had been mandated by their editors to publish the stories. I scribbled down the names of journalists who had been sent to report on the streets only to return to the newsroom to find that their stories would not be published. Although I could see a new day dawning outside my window, I felt compelled to continue taking notes and asking questions, unable to stop due to the intensity of the stories I was hearing.

As I finally slept, I realised that the stories that I present in these pages belong to a Chile that has vanished literally overnight in a cloud of smoke, tears, and blood. The field in which I laboriously worked for months had seemingly disappeared, and even if I ever were to return to those same buildings, I could never return to the same newsrooms.

Yet, the anecdotes that my sources were telling me do not subvert or undermine the ethnographically driven story of this thesis. Rather, the chapters ahead are a roadmap to understand the falling and failing of the Chilean neoliberal oasis; to recognise why new structures of resistance are trying to support and assist rather than replace traditional media; and perhaps most importantly, to identify the reasons why media organisations can simultaneously bury human rights stories and utilise pro-revolution activists' projects to diversify their production of news and corroborate the basic details of their stories.

The issue I discuss in this thesis is not how things were vis-à-vis how they have changed, as both journalism and politics are fickle. Instead, I observe a constant in modern journalism and multiplatform newsrooms: the unwearied state of professional dissonance.

Part I

Chile's media ecology, a laboratory of capitalist experimentation

Introduction

Journalism is changing. It has been transforming since its inception. However, as Schapals et al. argue, 'recent technological, economic, and societal developments have changed its forms and arguably also its functions in fundamental ways' (2019, p. 19). Some authors have claimed with angst and dread that the situation in journalism, both as a profession and as a practice, is actually shifting so rapidly 'that it is difficult to get a sure sense of what is going on' inside the newsrooms (Lemann, 2013). Digital or online journalism, which was heavily opposed by the news industry at least until the early 1990s (Kawamoto, 2003), is now rampantly transforming the ways in which information and communication technologies (ICTs) are being utilised by media workers (Westlund, 2013). Technologies inside newsrooms are mutating, and journalistic practices, norms, and values are being reshaped with them (Dörr & Hollnbuchner, 2017; O'Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008).

Members of the now large, atomised Chilean audience have witnessed, not without some measure of surprise, how journalists have started to integrate into their own routines new technological platforms and social networks (Santana & Hopp, 2016); reporters now stream live via Facebook or Instagram to their followers from inside protests or rallies across the world; new journalistic bot services send, upon request, the most important headlines of the day via WhatsApp every morning (see Gurney, 2019); debates and interviews with presidential candidates are produced exclusively for YouTube or Twitter; and if people have the correct type of subscription, then they may be able to read tomorrow's newspaper on their tablet computer tonight. As with many other communication-related industries, news media companies are facing a growing financial crisis worldwide and have entered a scenario of hyper-competition ruled by a new attention economy (Nixon, 2017).

What these transformations entail – what they mean to the everyday modes of production of news makers – is more difficult to tell. Authors such as Deuze (2007) have noticed that media-related work is increasingly becoming more 'liquid'. Previously, it was possible to observe clear boundaries; now we have blurry lines between role descriptions, tasks and responsibilities, ethical and economic interests, and the private and professional temporalities of media workers. Thus, despite recent efforts in the academic literature and the growing body of research regarding similar topics, I have found questions that have yet to be answered: How has the inclusion of new technologies in the newsroom changed the journalistic routine? In what way has the inclusion of new technologies influenced or transformed the production of

news? How have the new temporalities and rhythms introduced by new digital platforms changed the relationship between journalists and their sources? Perhaps even more importantly, if news makers are adapting professional journalism to the digital age, as Alexander et al. (2016) wonder, then are they also adapting the digital technologies they utilise every day to match their journalistic values?

These kinds of questions about the new epoch of technology in which we live do not respond merely to a fascination for the flashy, addictive characteristics of the habit-forming modern technology that has significantly changed the way in which we consume information. Rather, as Peterson states, 'communication is […] mediated by the relations of production that are associated in a given time and place with particular media technologies' (2003, p. 7), and therefore these questions rest on the idea that the way mass communication occurs is closely intertwined with the technological transformations and economic conditions in which the communication system operates. Moreover, communication refers not only to the ability to send texts and tweets halfway across the globe, albeit important for many, but also to the ability we must have to maintain a system of checks and balances as the basis for the liberal democracies in which we live (Waisbord, 2000).

The research I present in these pages directly addresses the question of how newer digital technologies affect the production of news in journalism and how journalists themselves – and other media workers – are responding to these transformations. Notwithstanding, this study regards media production, not news reception or audience consumption routines. During my fieldwork, I found the audience to be an ever-present and yet tacit subject – something and someone for whom journalists admittedly were writing in their minds; they are 'the people formerly known as the audience', as Rosen (2006) states. Regardless, they remain an extraneous influence in the production of news and are therefore outside the immediate purview of this ethnographic research. In other words, although the audience has an important role in news production (Usher, 2013), this thesis does not measure their impact on newsrooms.

The literature that addresses media and technology can hardly offer a unified, consensual interpretation of the consequences of the phenomenon occurs when new digital technologies are introduced in the newsrooms (Örnebring, 2010). Rather, the narrative about the crisis facing journalism upon the introduction of new technologies has been described as 'sharply binary' (Butler Breese, 2016). On the one hand, it has been argued that some journalists have 'put up a furious resistance, adamantly refusing to subordinate their sacred professional ethics and idealistic civic morals to what they see as the profane, polluting logic of market and technology' (Alexander et al., 2016). Doomsayers argue that the introduction of modern-age tools are

responsible for the decline in traditional journalism, and they fear a breakdown in the values over which the profession is held (Harris, 2006). Moreover, Erdal (2007) argues that the inclusion of new technologies in the newsroom is causing high levels of distress between media workers because they are constantly changing professional practices and blurring the lines between different journalistic genres.

On the other hand, however, as Boczkowski suggests, online journalists exhibit an 'occupational identity that resembled the one of their print counterparts, as defined partly by a traditional gate-keeping function and a disregard for user-author content' (Boczkowski, 2005, p. 103). Stated differently, some of the literature seems to indicate that independent of the platform on which media workers labour, some core ethical and professional values remain the same as long as workers identify themselves as journalists – as if the job title carries with it certain inherent, inalienable, agreed-upon standards. Similarly, Singer concludes that journalists normalise new technologies during the news-making process, maintaining already established 'journalistic norms and practices' (2005, p. 173). In some contexts, he argues, journalism may be enduring the technological transformations happening around itself.

With new media practices also comes new economic structures. Livingston and Bennett argue that the economic pressures imposed by new technological models of production are threatening 'traditional gatekeeping based on reporter judgement and professional editorial standards that define the quality of news organizations' (2003, p. 364). Likewise, as Menke et al. argue, 'shifting from a traditional print or broadcasting culture that has had pre-determined journalistic roles, professional norms, and routines for decades to a convergence culture where distinct boundaries and categories have blurred or vanished is a major challenge' (2018, pp. 881–882) because the allocation of resources has changed, creating new work teams within newsrooms and eliminating other traditional job positions. Similarly, the inclusion of new technologies has also demanded hiring new and more specialised professionals who are not necessarily journalists by profession or occupation.

This is the state-of-the-art that precedes this thesis: because of new digital technologies, journalism is changing rapidly and no agreement has been reached about the dimensions of that change. Yet, although we cannot concur on this problem's size or shape, we are aware that this phenomenon affects the way journalists present the news on a daily basis. With this certainty in my backpack, therefore, I embarked on seven months of ethnographic fieldwork between 2017 and 2018 to answer the main question of this research: *How are news makers*

appropriating digital technologies, and how are these innovations transforming the infrastructure, temporality, and platforms of the news-making process in Chilean newsrooms?

This doctoral research explores the news-making process in two contemporary multiplatform Chilean newsrooms to examine how journalists and media workers are appropriating digital technologies into their routines. Concurrently, this ethnographic study seeks to better understand how technological innovations and political and economic configurations are impacting the infrastructure, temporality, and platforms of the news-making process in Chile.

Following Ringel's definition, in this thesis I draw from recent works on the anthropology of time to use the concept of temporality as the temporal characteristics of 'specific groups, situations, sets of practices, institutions and material objects as well as […] certain ideas and concepts' (Ringel, 2016, p. 393). Thus, 'temporality' in this dissertation refers to the conceptualization of time by media workers through their practices and values.

Directly related with the concept of temporality, I draw from Larkin's work to define infrastructures as 'networks that facilitate the flow of goods, people, or ideas and allow for their exchange over space' (Larkin, 2013). Thus, in this thesis I use the concept of infrastructure to describe not only the materialities of the newsrooms, but also the techniques, sociotechnical systems, and material culture inside the newspaper or broadcasting offices.

The Chilean media market offers a unique opportunity to study how journalism and journalistic practices are changing with the introduction of new technologies. Predominantly closed to external investments until the 1980s, the Chilean economy has experienced an accelerated process of privatisation and deregulation in all industrial sectors, including news and entertainment media companies. Unlike other countries in the region, which have strong subsidies and state benefits for the creation of state-public media outlets, Chilean television channels and newspapers, with some exceptions (see Wiley, 2006), have had to invest large amounts of their own capital to bolster the technological innovations in their newsrooms. The competition to capture the ever-more connected and ever-more fragmented audience has encouraged media conglomerates to seek new and better strategies to report the news, including the injection and adaptation of state-of-the-art digital tools inside their newsrooms (Gronemeyer, 2013).

For this thesis, I conducted newsroom ethnography, including participant observation, and interviewed journalists from two Chilean news media organisations: *La Tercera*, a newspaper, and Canal 13, a television station. Both companies have a lengthy record in Chile, and the transformations they have undergone are the result of key political, economic, and social moments in the country's history. Moreover, the different formats with which these media

operate allowed me to observe how new technologies impact the infrastructure, temporality, and platforms with which these media tell the news every day.

Questions for the field

The focus of this study has changed many times since I wrote the first research proposal in 2016. Originally, I had a vague idea of wanting to know how journalists discussed and editorially negotiated the coverage of human rights stories in a country that continues to struggle with its own political past and the memory of its recent history. As Thomsen argues, 'national news plays a crucial role in creating the nation's shared memory, history, knowledge and identity' (2018, p. 9), which holds true for the Chilean case (Couso, 2011). As I witnessed during the few years that I worked as a journalist myself, human rights topics were rarely covered by traditional media. Between 2013 and 2014, I worked as a correspondent for the Spanish international news agency, Agencia EFE. Repeatedly I saw how our company was one of the few that addressed news about the dictatorial period between 1973 and 1990 in Chile. Because EFE is an international agency, I witnessed with frustration how my articles about this grim era in our history were more likely to be published in media outlets around the world than in Chile. Needless to say, an international news agency is not the same as a national newspaper or a television station. It has a different economic structure, relies less on commercial or governmental advertising, and therefore understands that it can function with a greater degree of independence. Thus, I proposed a newsroom ethnographic study of the 'hot topics' (as I called them) that were to occupy a dominant part of the media agenda during the coming years: the legislative discussion about same-sex marriage and migration laws. As Maeckelbergh states, 'much anthropological research is driven by an ethical impulse – by a desire to change, or at least improve slightly, the world in which we live' (2018), which is an idea that drove my fieldwork and the work I present in these pages. However, as I reviewed the literature about how media works, that is, how the agenda is established and journalists frame the news, the prominence of digital technologies in contemporary newsrooms repeatedly appeared in every article and every book I read. Therefore, I began to view my own research slightly differently and proposed a shift from media coverage to media production, thus conducting a study that aimed to examine how media representations of human rights issues are produced inside Chilean newsrooms.

Following the recommendations of my advisers, I later decided to instead focus on the infrastructural dimension of the news-making process rather than tackle specific topics. The

idea was to study the relationship between what Wenger (1999) calls the 'designed organization'; that is, not only the spatiality and temporality of a place but also the stratification of roles and jobs within the same and the constellation of practices that 'gives life to the organization' (p. 241).

As Thomsen notes in her own research, one of the benefits of conducting newsroom ethnography is that our studies can move in a circular fashion, that is, 'from theories of the field to observations in the field and then back to re-considerations of theories of the field and so forth' (2018, p. 15). Consequently, my research questions could also move in a circular path, as I was immersed in the field. Indeed, as I was already conducting fieldwork, I realised the unquestionable importance of the temporality and the platforms with which journalists work in the news-making process and how, concurrently, they have been impacted by the introduction of new digital technologies. It became inevitable to consider these two spheres of study as indispensable elements as I analysed media operations and addressed infrastructural dimensions. Only two years after starting this study, I arrived at a research question that aimed to illuminate how journalists are appropriating digital technologies and how these technologies are affecting the infrastructure, temporality, and platforms of the news-making process in Chilean newsrooms. Orbiting around this main research question, other queries that were organised around these three concepts accompanied me to the field: How are journalists adapting their media forms in response to the introduction of new technologies that enable new ways of reporting the news? How are news makers adapting the infrastructure of the newsroom to new digital technologies, and how does the existing infrastructure limit this adaptation process? How does the introduction of new digital technologies transform the temporality of news making, and how does it affect news makers?[2] Does the reconfiguration of media infrastructure, temporality, and form in the digital age change the way news is reported, and if so, how?

The methodological approach that I utilise to answer these questions is based on media anthropology, which is an expansive field that covers many topics. Since its popularisation in the mid-1980s (Bräuchler & Postill, 2010), media anthropology has addressed topics such as visual representations of society and photography (E. Edwards, 2001; Ruby, 2000), indigenous

[2] In this thesis, I use the concept of "newsmakers" as an encompassing term to refer to all the professionals working inside the newsrooms who, in one way or another, are involved in the production, gathering, or presentation of news. The term "journalists" refers exclusively to reporters.

media (F. Ginsburg, 1994; F. D. Ginsburg et al., 2002), film (Ruby, 1976), and digital technologies (Coleman, 2010; Underberg & Zorn, 2013). As Eiselein and Topper state, 'We feel that media anthropology is an awareness of the interaction (both real and potential) between the various academic and applied aspects of anthropology and the multitude of media' (1976, p. 114). However, within this field, an area that has been underdeveloped is news and journalism. By building on the few previous studies of the anthropology of journalism, in this thesis I examine three concepts – infrastructure, temporality, and platforms – that enable me to understand how news makers are appropriating digital technologies as well as how these innovations are transforming the news-making process in Chile and creating professional dissonance. In the next section, a brief description of media anthropology is presented, followed by an approach to the anthropology of journalism and some examples that I engage throughout the development of this research. I particularly focus on Tuchman (1978) and Gans' (1979) ethnographic works, since their research informed not only the way I planned my own research but also how I organised my results.

What can media anthropology bring to the table?

Osorio defines mass media anthropology as the 'field within the discipline dealing with the relationship between the mass media and culture. The specific point of this is how culture is transmitted through the mass media' (2005, p. 36). Therefore, he argues, media anthropology is the study of how culture shapes society when it is communicated through mass media products or outlets. Similarly, Bird argues that media anthropology is a 'way to explore the nature of news as a form of cultural meaning making – its creation, content, and dissemination' (2010, p. 1). Additionally, she identifies two particular strengths in media anthropology. First, she notes the advantages of an anthropological epistemology that compares these mediated cultural phenomena. Second, she highlights the benefits of conducting ethnography or other ethnomethodologies inside the newsroom, in contraposition with studies that remain far from their objects of study. These points have also been addressed by Rothenbuhler and Coman, who argue that ethnography brings to the study of media the potential to achieve '*thick* descriptive detail designed to reveal the contexts that give actions meaning to a community' (2005, p. 2). In this sense, for these authors, media anthropology is not merely applying old or traditional cultural anthropology objects to a new field. Rather, it raises the question of how anthropology should adapt these new objects of study and their theoretical fields. However, when Rothenbuhler later redefines media anthropology, he suggests that this field is 'to one

degree or another, in varying ways and for varying purposes, the usage of anthropological concepts and methods in the study of media' (2008, p. 3). Thus, how would an anthropological approach to media look?

An anthropological approach to media suggests that studying and operationalising the human and the media independently would be unproductive. Rather, they should be regarded as interconnected aspects of a more global process of configuring the object of study (Othold & Voss, 2015, p. 75). As Alexander argues, 'new technologies can be, and are being, shaped to sustain value commitments, not only undermine them' (2016, p. 2). Thus, media anthropology informs this research because it allows the understanding of the ontologies of humans and media not as two separate categories but as 'always already intermingled facets of a broader dynamic configuration' (Othold & Voss, 2015, p. 75). Othold and Voss call this process *anthropomediality*, which is 'an umbrella term for different hybrid and temporary modes of existence, that consist of interacting heterogeneous facets and entities – organic and non-organic, human and non-human ones' (2015, p. 80). Therefore, in the following chapters, I demonstrate how both the technical and cultural-professional systems participate to produce values and ethics in news production processes that guide the work of journalists and other media workers in different platforms.

The benefits of media anthropology have also been highlighted by Askew et al., who define media anthropology as an 'ethnographically informed, historically grounded, and context-sensitive analysis of the ways in which people use and make sense of media technologies' (2002, p. 3). I draw on this definition as one of the starting points for my research. The different contexts I encountered during my ethnographic fieldwork can only be the result of historic, social, and economic events that have occurred in Chile in the past 50 years. Moreover, as Bird (2010) argues, anthropology allows you to see cultural phenomena comparatively, that is, not assuming that 'my way' (in this case, of making the news), is better or more defined than 'your way'. Similarly, Peterson argues that 'to understand what a journalist writes, it is necessary to understand his or her place in the journalistic field [and] the status of the newspaper for which the journalist writes' (2003, p. 81). Ethnography aims to 'make direct contact with social agents in the normal courses and routine situations of their lives to try to understand something of *how* and *why* these regularities take place' (Willis, 2000, p. xiii); consequently, the strength and value of newsroom ethnographies is that they enable analysis of journalistic practices and newsroom structures concurrently (Willig, 2013). For Bishara, ethnography on media production 'makes clear that news is not the product of a narrow, unified ideology. Instead, it is shaped by journalism's on-the-ground and collaborative – though by no means egalitarian –

exchanges' (2013, p. 24). Bishara highlights the complex chain of production, which is often overlooked by the media audience and consumers and even by media researchers who are responsible for the publication and broadcasting of news bits, which is under no circumstance the product of the work of one journalist alone (2010).

Some recent ethnographic works have informed my study more than others, including those that focus directly on how new technologies are affecting the journalistic routines inside newsrooms. Gürsel (2012) examines the infrastructures of representation inside the Agence-France Presse (AFP) in Paris. Specifically, she examines the roles and practices of photo department professionals. She primarily explains the circulation of visual representations and how they originate, although she realises that 'the number of new image brokers who used the Internet as a way to circulate all kinds of images […] made the consequence of changes in the infrastructure of representation [stand out] starkly' (Gürsel, 2012, p. 84). These vendors have also changed the work of photojournalists and challenged established hierarchies inside and outside the newsroom. From this example, the anthropology of journalism interprets these changes not as mere transformations in the daily work but as the mutation of the practices that 'initiate a general […] mode of enhanced experience, of transitory communicative intensification' (Pfeiffer, 2016, p. 174). By changing the tools utilised in the production and circulation of international news images, newer Internet-related technologies have radically changed the way image brokers relate to their peers as well as to their own work. We observe these changes happening with the photo- and video-sharing social networking service Instagram. Although the literature on Instagram and news consumption is only emerging (Nashmi, 2018), some authors have already investigated the effectiveness of Instagram for news consumption, especially when the content is aimed at younger generations (A. O. Larsson, 2018). Borges-Rey (2015), for example, argues that the aesthetics and affordances of the platform have produced a hybridisation of professional and amateur photojournalists; as Mark Zuckerberg states, Instagram has become 'one of the best places to get a real time snapshot of the world' (Chaykowski, 2015).

However, as Bird suggests, 'while anthropology [underwent] a "reflexive turn" a generation ago, the anthropology of *journalism* has only recently gained the maturity to even begin the process of reflecting upon its practices' (2010, p. 34). This thesis builds on those few ethnographic works that have furthered the anthropological study of journalism, such as Hannerz's anthropological foray into the world of foreign correspondents (2004): "'Remember that this is a dying occupation', said one of the first foreign correspondents I talked to, as we

parted ways in a busy street in New York' (2007, p. 309). This closeness, Hannerz argues, is what media anthropologists should achieve during their ethnographic work because 'it can give a human face – better yet, a number of different faces, and voices – to large-scale, too easily anonymous processes and offer an understanding of what human agency has to do with [journalism]' (p. 231). I hope readers of this thesis will witness throughout these pages that I aimed whenever possible, as Hannerz did before me, to provide a voice to the journalists and media workers that reflects their own histories, values, and beliefs.

Hannerz's work focusses on the personal implications that digital technologies have for news correspondents, whereas Hasty's research illuminates how these same transformations affect public conversations among the audience. Hasty's ethnography on the daily routines of news making in Ghana (2005) finds that while television and radio cover the most important events in that country, Ghanaian newspapers ideally construct the mainstream narratives and political discourse to explain the most important local events and characters. The particular media practices surrounding the newspaper platform partially explain why this is happening.

Nikki Usher (2014) studies how journalists inside *The New York Times* negotiate the challenges of creating online and print content 'according to emergent online journalism values: immediacy, interactivity, and participation' (p. 4). Usher describes the power struggles between online and print editors as well as how journalists must adapt to new needs in their day-to-day work to satisfy new types of audiences. In her conclusions, she stresses that 'the great danger for this newsroom is falling subject to the rat race of the hypercompetitive world of the Web – doing stories because other people are doing them, moving as fast as everyone else, pushing out the same content, and failing to offer a distinct product that speaks with a unique, clear, authoritative voice of news coverage' (p. 238). Usher's research informed my own by emphasising the seriousness of emergent online journalism values. Usher, as many others before her, based her work heavily on previous U.S.-based studies on media production, such as those of Tuchman (1978) and Gans (1979).

Tuchman (1978) approaches the production of news making by arguing that news is a window to the world. Shouldering Goffman's framing theory, Tuchman argues that 'news media set the frame in which citizens discuss public events and […] the quality of civic debate necessarily depends on the information available' (p. ix). For Tuchman, the events that receive more coverage in newspapers or television are perceived by the public as the most relevant issues to discuss. Those issues that are rejected or receive less airtime are considered less important in public discussions and therefore are not included in the civic debate. Consequently, Tuchman

starts with the question, 'How do newsworkers decide what news is, why they cover some items but not others, and how they decide what I and others want to know?' (p. ix). Thus, by setting the window through which we observe the world, Tuchman posits that the media outlets are involved in a routine process of social construction of reality.

Furthermore, Tuchman understands that news does not merely happen. Conversely, news is the result of the processes inside news organisations and the news workers who exist within. She, however, does not to consider the personal concerns and biases of those news workers, arguing that those are topics 'better left to the psychologists' (p. 2). This is perhaps my dominant departure from her research. Although I am not a psychologist, I would be unable to explain the actions of my interviewees without considering their biases, values, and inner motivations. Yet, Tuchman considers news stories to be the product of 'cultural resources and active negotiations' (p. 5). Thus, even when she is not examining journalists' moral and value agendas, she understands them as relevant agents in the construction of news. This happens primarily because news provides occurrences for their *public characters*. Media enables 'geographically dispersed individuals to know something about one another' (p. 4), she argues. News transforms occurrences into relevant issues for unfamiliar people, and therefore, news is predominantly a social institution within which journalists are the professionals that 'located, gathered, and disseminated' (p. 4) the information. However, these journalists do not work by themselves. They operate under institutional processes and conform to institutional practices. I explore Tuchman's questions about the extent to which journalists must conform to institutional practices in Chapter 5.

Central in Tuchman's book is the question of newsworthiness and how it is understood in practice by journalists. From her own experience, she argues that for a story to be worth telling, it 'must be judged pertinent to both speaker and listener in order to be judged newsworthy and must somehow present [itself] to the speaker in the course of the day' (p. 8). She argues that 'using their past experiences with the unfolding of news events, newsworkers have created classifications of newsworthy occurrences' (p. 13). This conclusion suggests that what is news and worthy of publication responds to previous experiences in which the journalists succeeded or failed to pass an issue through their editors. Thus, I follow Tuchman, who considers news organisations to be complex bureaucracies in which 'flexible negotiations are an organizational necessity' (p. 31). These ideas held true throughout my entire fieldwork. As I present in the following chapters, active bureaucracy and flexible negotiations are part of a cumulative process based on journalists' previous experiences, which digital technologies have significantly impacted by favouring the bureaucratic aspect of news production.

Perhaps the most important finding in Tuchman's work is that newsgathering must be routinised if the organisation is expected to cover unexpected occurrences. Both reporters and editors must know immediately how to respond to any event utilising the tools provided and designed by the organisation. Journalists and editors must share the same idea of what constitutes news and which occurrences could be defined as news. She argues that 'the news net is a hierarchical system of information gatherers, and so the status of reporters in the news may determine whose information is identified as news' (p. 24). Thus, she understands knowledge as power; consequently, the power of media comes from the typification and eventual dissemination of knowledge as news as well as the suppression of other ideas. For example, during her fieldwork in mainstream organisations, Tuchman learned that journalists preferred to utilise centralised sources for collecting information, such as bureaucrats, politicians, and academics. She argues that journalists, at least those with whom she worked, do not interview or seek social movements' leaders, thus proving that journalists prefer the powerful over the dissidents. I utilise this idea to conduct a particular study regarding NGOs as sources in Chapter 4.

Recent studies of media production (Bechmann & Nielbo, 2018) have begun to abandon Tuchman's 1978 interpretation of news practices, especially considering the growing impact of automated editors and filter bubbles in online news consumption (Flaxman et al., 2016). However, my own findings highlight the relevance of 'routinizing the unexpected' in the construction of journalistic values despite the shrinking resources in multiplatform newsrooms. As I demonstrate toward the end of this thesis, that same process of standardisation and routinisation in hierarchal newsrooms has, when confronted with new digital technologies, increased the level of stress for media workers as a result of the growing gap between what they feel they ought to be doing and what they actually are permitted to do.

Unlike Tuchman's interpretative sociological approach to news, Gans (1979) portrays the study of journalism as 'an empirical discipline' (p. 39). Therefore, to understand how news is made, the researcher should examine not only the results of this discipline (the news article) but also the concepts, methods, and assumptions underscoring the discipline itself: the norms and values. Reality judgements are journalists' action when they observe the nature of external reality. These judgements are the result of the empirical methods that journalists utilise to grasp the occurrences that overlap on a daily basis. However, although 'journalists try hard to be objective, […] neither they nor anyone else can in the end proceed without values' (p. 39). Thus, Gans frames his research by arguing that beneath the news is an idea or image of the country and society as it ought to be. But in Gans' idea of news production, these values do not

necessarily come from journalists. Rather, journalists would not be able to identify the values behind their work since such principles are rarely explicit and can only be found by reading between the lines. According to Gans, many of these values actually originate with the sources from whom media workers acquire their information. For Gans, these sources, not the journalists, deliberately condition the values that are presented in the news. The idea that journalistic values do not necessarily emanate from journalistic practice features prominently in this research. However, I depart from Gans' research by arguing that those values do not come from the sources themselves but rather from the organisations that journalists inhabit.

Newsroom ethnography

As Eric Klinenberg (2005) states, researchers who are attempting to unveil the impact of recent technological changes on both journalists' daily routines and new patterns of media production do not commonly enter the newsrooms about which they write. Consequently, he argues, researchers can only speculate about the reasons behind their findings.

Could the data and observations that I present here have been obtained by a researcher who merely conducted interviews with journalists? Perhaps. Many of the researchers I cite in this thesis have arrived at their conclusions by interviewing journalists and simply asking them to describe their daily work. However, the aim of media anthropology is not to describe the unmediated world of the respondent; as Hastrup (1992) argues, the challenge of ethnography resides in the interpretation of data as a social relationship between ourselves and those whom we have studied. In this betweenness, the world of the others is understood. In this thesis, I utilise my position as a journalist and researcher not only to describe a journalist's work but also to explain the role of digital technologies in the gap between what journalists say they do and what they actually do – or at least what I saw them do during my stay in those newsrooms.

For seven months, I worked, observed, and participated full-time inside two newsrooms. My fieldwork occurred in the newsrooms of *La Tercera*, the second-largest national newspaper in Chile, and Teletrece, the news department of Canal 13 television news. From August to November 2017, I wrote and reported for Teletrece's website, and from November to February 2018, I wrote for the website and newspaper of *La Tercera*. I worked full-time in both newsrooms, sometimes changing shifts to better observe the routines of different media workers throughout the day and night. The choice of these two newsrooms was based on the opportunity to observe the work of both television and newspaper journalists with physical and non-physical information technologies. Both television reporters and newspaper journalists

create news content, but they do so with different technological infrastructures, temporalities, and platforms. Additionally, I had the opportunity to observe how both platforms have been impacted by new technologies and how these distinctive forms require different professionals to function. The creation of digital platforms has generated a new category of journalists and news makers that must be integrated into the news team as well as into the purview of this research.

Although my fieldwork ended over two years ago, I maintain contact with several of the journalists and media workers I met during my stay in those newsrooms. We comment regularly on news occurring in Chile, and occasionally they update me about events in their newsrooms that they believe can be useful for my research.

I was not an invisible fieldworker or a mere mechanism for recording data (see Hobbs & Wright, 2006). Rather, I am a journalist studying journalists, and this presents both advantages and disadvantages that must be addressed. Let us begin with the disadvantages of my position. Thomsen, another journalist studying journalism, argues that 'when the culture, habits and everyday life studied are similar to one's own, it is equally important to apply theories and methods for finding out what can be understood, what meaning can be gained' (2018, p. 63). Consequently, one of the most important exercises during my fieldwork was to detach myself from that which, after five years of work to obtain a journalism degree, one considers self-evident. During interviews, I frequently asked questions such as, 'What is news?' and 'How do you decide what news is?' to remind myself to challenge the fundamentals of our work as journalists. This position was similar to what sociologist Bruno Latour calls 'deliberate myopia' (2005) in which the researcher pretends not to see what one otherwise would understand as obvious. Notably, the answers to the most basic questions I asked during fieldwork are perhaps the most relevant findings in this thesis, such as how these journalists understood the meaning of news and their roles in the media companies in which they worked.

However, being a journalist also had some advantages. Reich argues that one of the predominant problems that media researchers experience is the demand for confidentiality inside the newsrooms, which often translates to denials from editors-in-chief to allow an external investigator to wander freely inside the newsroom, strolling through desks filled with notes from recent interviews, especially as 'it appears that mainstream news organizations increasingly refuse to open their gates to outsiders' (2006, p. 501). Hannerz also notes this problem when interviewing foreign correspondents: 'I have tried to make the point that I do not intend it as an attack on their work and its products. Indeed, journalists often have a reasonable suspicion that academics generally are inclined to be critical of news work and

sometimes to forget the implications of such constraints as deadlines and space limits' (2004, p. 8). In *Foreign News*, an ethnographic work about foreign correspondents around the world, Hannerz urges anthropologists to understand the journalists' point of view. This argument is interesting in a context in which a substantial body of the related literature, especially pieces regarding news consumption, presents an explicit criticism of journalists' work. However, the political overtones that this kind of research could have are inescapable. As a researcher, I was (and I remain) aware of the consequences and possible weaponisation of some of the stories I tell in these pages: they could be utilised to discredit my sources, distort reality, and generally demonstrate that journalistic work is full of imperfections and susceptible to errors. It is one of the risks of peeking behind the curtain of news production. However, journalists are accustomed to this, and with the permission of the managing editors in the newsrooms of *La Tercera* and Canal 13, I include only the information essential for my arguments. All the names in this thesis are real and utilised with explicit permission. All the interviews were recorded and were on the record; the media workers explicitly agreed to this. Those who did not want to be named are instead identified by their position whenever possible.

While gaining access to the newsroom is one difficulty, much more complicated is earning journalists' trust. According to Reich (2006), an obvious difficulty is present when academic interviewers attempt to interview professional interviewees. Journalists can easily predict the answer that interviewers are seeking and may slide into certain degrees of heroism. Consequently, I utilised my participant observation as a basis for shaping the interviews I conducted. The interviews did not occur until after a specific period of time had been spent performing participant observation. Hereby, I became acquainted with the people working within the newsroom, and thus I could decide which relevant questions I should ask each person based on their work or the topics in which they expressed interest. In practice, this also meant that when an interviewee glossed over an issue presented in one of my questions – perhaps in the hopes of not elaborating upon the most complicated subjects regarding organisational censorship or gender discrimination, for example – I could simply state, 'I was there when it happened. Remember?'

This problem has also been emphasised by other researchers conducting newsroom ethnography. Thomsen, for example, claims that one frustration she encountered during her fieldwork was 'the amount of repeated phrases staff gave me when asked the same question' (2018, p. 63). This problem adds to the existing social desirability common in interviews with professionals who are marked by a strong sense of ethics, such as journalists. Social desirability is defined as the tendency to 'deny socially undesirable traits and to claim socially desirable

ones and the tendency to say things which place the speaker in a favourable light' (Nederhof, 1985, p. 269). Journalists are constantly placed in the spotlight and receive pressure from both the audience and their sources; therefore, it is not unreasonable to think that, at the moment that they answer a question prepared by an outside observer, they would tend to improve their responses to resemble the teachings in the canons of ethics and appropriate behaviour in journalism. However, being in the field allowed me to first build a trusting relationship with the media workers around me and prepare questions based on my knowledge of what their role was and who they were.

However, I asked every interviewee some general questions. For example, I asked them to describe their routines on a daily basis, their relationship with their colleagues within the medium, and their strategies to contact their sources. Another general question for all workers was to describe the tools they work with every day and the utility they attribute to them. Finally, other sets of questions related to a more personal level, specific job position, and opinions I had heard them express inside the newsroom.

Another characteristic of my fieldwork is that during my time in the newsrooms, I not only interviewed journalists but also producers, camera workers, technicians, designers, and other news makers who had a significant role in the process of creating the news but whose names did not appear on bylines. Indeed, a particular focus for this research involved observing and understanding the participation of other non-journalist media workers in the production of news. This research suggests that the work of technicians, accountants, directors, and commercial producers are important in news production. Therefore, it was also important during my fieldwork to identify who they were, what they did, and how I should engage with them. From my first day in each newsroom, I learned the power distribution within the newsroom and asked myself questions such as, 'Who are the decision-makers here?' or 'Who approves the topics to be covered?' and 'Who decides if a topic may be relevant material for a news story?'

As I mentioned previously, I also worked as a journalist in the newsrooms, which meant that I was writing, editing, and publishing stories on a regular basis. Consequently, I was in constant contact with sources and other interested parties, such as NGOs, politicians, and government officials. This allowed me to experience firsthand the rhythms of the relationships between sources and journalists. Furthermore, I pitched my own stories and witnessed firsthand the reasons offered to justify the newsworthiness of a story.

During my fieldwork, I quickly adapted to the language utilised by journalists and other media workers, which was both highly professional and specific. Words such as *angle, break, sources,*

evergreen, masthead, slot editor, splash, tag, spike, and *skyscraper* indicated that the journalistic work had been performed with a particular level of specificity. Have new digital technologies affected the specificity of journalistic work? When journalists now need to dialogue with non-journalist colleagues, how are they communicating with each other? These were some of the questions I had before beginning my fieldwork.

Without doubt, my personal background impacted the way I collected data. However, this background also allowed me to experience the newsroom differently than many others. The newsroom is where 'news habitus' meets the journalistic 'gut feeling' (Schultz, 2007; Willig, 2013). Specifically, the rapid implementation of technological innovations at Teletrece (the news department at Canal 13) and *La Tercera* was transforming these newsrooms into environments where many characters gathered, each with different functions and qualifications, and I was eager to meet them all.

Two ethical frameworks

Before I embarked upon my fieldwork in Chile, I was already aware of two categories of ethical considerations that had the potential to conflict with each other during my time in the newsrooms: the journalistic and the anthropological. I knew that I would have to tussle with these considerations even before I entered any of the newsrooms and would continue to do so after I left. These ethical frameworks would be in a constant state of bargaining and negotiation with each other, pushing the boundaries of where one started and the other ended.

The first of these considerations relates to journalism ethics and standards, which are described as a code of beliefs that encompass matters such as public trust, fairness, and accountability. The subset of media ethics under which I work includes protecting my sources and colleagues as well as deciding which parts of the information I gathered during my fieldwork would be appropriate to utilise as an anthropologist. The second set of ethical considerations relates to anthropological ethics for research, which have been described by organisations such as the American Anthropological Association. During my research, I carefully weighed ethical considerations, and I continue to do so. My subject was journalists and their practices, and I was working on a daily basis as a reporter; therefore, during my fieldwork I approached some of the data as a journalist and some as an anthropologist. Hasty (2010) also makes note of these contradictions. She argues that 'at first glance, anthropologists and journalists may seem to share an idealistic commitment to strategic forms of discursive representation that champion the voiceless against the abuses of power' (p. 137). However, and as I will show in this chapter,

the relationship between power and journalism is much more contradictory than the one between power and anthropology. That is, anthropologists have the 'luxury' as Hasty calls it, to maintain a more oppositional relationship with power (government, business, so on) than journalism could ever possibly afford itself.

I illustrate these ideas with an example. During my fieldwork, I had contact with a diverse group of sources almost every day. Those interactions were based on the presumption that they were working with a journalist from X media organisation. Therefore, they correctly assumed that I would only publish the information that we agreed beforehand was on the record. However, as someone conducting participant observation, I was also considering the entire interaction between the sources and myself. That is not to say that I have included in this thesis information that I explicitly agreed would be off the record. Rather, a grey space exists between those two concepts that comprises the daily interactions, greetings, tones, and phrases that my sources utilised, and I have indeed included these components in my analysis. I have ensured, however, that the grey-space information I provide about these sources in this thesis has been successfully anonymised and cannot be utilised to trace a specific person.

Yet, journalists and journalism are constantly under heavy criticism. Their work often implies criticism of others and relates negative stories about political or influential figures. Consequently, one may reasonably expect that the results obtained during this research, once published, could be utilised to strengthen criticism against the journalists I interviewed and the organisations in which they worked. As the person responsible for this research, I cannot control the ways in which the results of this investigation can be employed to harm the journalists who trusted me during my fieldwork. This danger, however, increases the importance of utilising ethical criteria in the dissemination of information collected during my fieldwork.

This situation encourages a broader discussion about the collision of two sets of guidelines in the same research. The researcher must constantly analyse and identify which bits of all available information inside the newsroom meet both types of ethical standards. Researchers experience difficulty predicting the type of information that they will receive during interviews with journalists; consequently, they must be aware of the consequences that a mistake in these aspects may carry to those involved. Publishing the wrong kind of information would endanger the delicate relationship that journalists have with their sources and the bonds of trust that are created from that relationship.

Other ethical considerations relate to the information I gathered about the journalists themselves as well as other professionals working inside the newsrooms. For example, during

my fieldwork I had access to several WhatsApp groups in which journalists freely opined, to utilise a candid word, about politicians, academics, or other regular sources who appeared on the news. As a journalist, I do not have an off-the-record obligation toward the information I collected from those groups, as the off-the-record tool exists only between reporters and sources. Nothing prevents any of those journalists in these groups from taking screenshots of the chats and publishing them online, except that they probably would become unemployed quickly. As an anthropologist, however, I am aware of the negative consequences that mismanagement of this information could have for everyone participating in those chats (see Barbosa & Milan, 2019). Hence, I have a tacit off-the-record agreement with these reporters.

Knowing the unpredictability of the events that could occur during the fieldwork, I conducted some research before I started working in these two Chilean newsrooms. I contacted the editors of each media outlet and jotted the implications of having an external researcher observing their journalists. Additionally, I told them some, although not all, of the things I planned to observe during my stay. Why only some? As Hammersley and Atkinson note, 'ethnographers rarely tell *all* the people they are studying *everything* about the research' (2014, p. 210). This happens for many reasons, but the one that relates most to my research concerns the fact that I simply did not know particularly well what I would find once I arrived at Canal 13 or *La Tercera*. Each newsroom is an ecosystem in itself with different logistics of operation, sources of financing, and dissimilar professionals for various functions. I did, however, explain to the editors that, regardless, I would observe the ways and routines in which journalists and other professionals worked and the impact of new technologies on the news-making process.

Another ethical question that arose before I began my fieldwork related to the inevitability of publishing information that could be viewed negatively by journalists and reporters. However, one of anthropology's ultimate goals, as with any social science, is to generate knowledge, even if this knowledge presupposes a criticism that could affect the reputation of those involved. Another difficult situation arises regarding this point. Anthropologists generally offer their subjects the ability to decline to participate in their research, which I also offered in my interviews. However, I could not extend the same courtesy during participant observation. Once I entered the newsroom, every person and every object that I could observe was observed, including all conversations, interactions, calls, and meetings. It was important, therefore, that I actively reminded my colleagues of my true intentions in the newsroom and the consequences of sharing information with me.

Furthermore, two conditions allowed me to acquire permission to enter the newsrooms without any major complications. As I commented previously, the first concerned my studies and

experience, however limited, as a journalist who was writing as a correspondent for a news media agency. Therefore, I presented myself as someone who had something to offer in exchange for them granting me access: I could report and produce news while I was working in each newsroom.

The second involved my age when I started my fieldwork. While I presented myself as a doctoral student, I believe that being 26 years of age when I arrived allowed me to be seen as less threatening than if I had been an older anthropology professor. Additionally, I believe that, concurrently, it enabled my argument of wanting to learn how journalists work to seem truer than if I was an academic with years of media studies experience.

However, my ability to camouflage myself in the sea of journalists in each newsroom – in which the majority of people appeared to be near my age – also presented an ethical dilemma: 'even when the fact that research is taking place is made explicit, it is not uncommon for participants quickly to forget this once they come to know the ethnographer as a person' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2014, p. 210). Thus, the same conditions that could ease my entrance to the newsroom could also cause journalists to forget that my actual role was to study their behaviour and processes.

Breaking any of the ethical rules, whether journalistic or anthropological, could have consequences not only for me, my interviewees, or my sources, but also for other academics and researchers who conduct future fieldwork in the same media organisations as myself. As Hammersley and Atkinson state, 'research that is subsequently found objectionable by the people studied and/or by gatekeepers may have the effect that these and other people refuse access in the future' (2014, p. 218). Thus, the research I present in these pages considers the implications that my results may have for future studies.

Finally, while I was conducting fieldwork, I trusted my own criteria – my 'gut feeling', as Schultz calls it – to know which ethical framework to utilise in any specific moment.

Chapter outline

Seven months of ethnographic fieldwork, writing and publishing 50 news articles, and endlessly capturing recordings and field notes have allowed me to conclude that the impact of new digital technologies in media infrastructures, temporalities, and forms is producing a high level of professional dissonance in contemporary Chilean journalists who work in television, web, and newspapers. Professional dissonance is defined as 'a feeling of discomfort arising from the conflict between professional values and job tasks' (Floyd, 2012). The temporalities,

infrastructures, and platforms in journalism have been impacted by the introduction of new technologies, which have frequently been implemented following mere economic motivations. This impact has created a lack of harmony between the way journalists are expected to work, the topics they are expected to cover, and the journalistic values they hold true. As Rosa posits, 'human beings perform activities happily and joyfully when said activities contain within themselves the ultimate objective that defines them' (2019, p. 8). In this thesis, I argue that the transformation of organisational culture and norms due to the introduction of new technologies and editorial decisions has altered the objective of journalism. Those journalists and media workers who practice journalism as an activity now have difficulty finding in their routines the objective that they feel should define the profession.

In the following chapters, I present the ruptures, assimilations, and extinctions in journalistic professional values. First, however, in the opening chapter of this thesis, I focus on recent political and economic history in Chile. I explain how the accelerated processes of privatisation and market deregulation have impacted the media industry in the country. Drawing from media scholars who focus on Chile and Latin America, I demonstrate how the political transition to democracy in the 1990s has affected the economic growth and market domination of private media companies in the country. Chapter 1 follows the story of one of the oldest men working today in Chilean television, thus laying out the current economic and political situation regarding the media industry with a focus on audience competition, Internet penetration, and social media presence. The main argument of this chapter is that the deregulation experienced in the country since the end of the dictatorship in 1990 has led to a competitive market in which companies have been forced to heavily invest in technological innovations to capture the audience's fidelity. In turn, these innovations have changed the priorities of media organisations, forcing the submission and conversion of traditional journalistic values to market-oriented goals and paving the way to the increase of dissonance in Chilean newsrooms.

The second part of the thesis covers the main findings of my fieldwork. In this chapter, I examine how newsrooms are adapting the channels that they employ to tell the news, ranging from social networks to online broadcast platforms. Here I explain why and how new channels and platforms have been included, by whom, and how journalists are adapting to these changes. Chapter 3 elaborates on the digitalisation of news production, the transformation of reporting tools, and the physical changes that newsrooms have undergone because of the introduction of digital technologies. My main argument in this chapter is that newsroom infrastructures have experienced radical transformations in recent years, both in the physical materiality and in the relationship of power and subordination among the media workers. This chapter also argues

that this change is ongoing and is likely to continue to transform with every new technology introduced to its structure.

Notions of time in news making are the main topic in Chapter 4. This chapter delves into the current debate in the literature regarding the concept of temporality that examines whether journalism should accelerate or decelerate. As Starkman argues, media workers are accelerating their production by becoming hamsters trapped in metal wheels: 'The Hamster Wheel isn't speed; it's motion for motion's sake. The Hamster Wheel is volume without thought. It is news panic, a lack of discipline, an inability to say no' (2010). However, the argument in this chapter extends beyond the time utilised to report the news and presents the ways in which time is experienced inside and outside the newsroom: between editors and journalists, journalists and their peers, and journalists and the audience as well as from the feedback that media workers receive from the audience's online responses. I utilised data from my fieldwork regarding the usage of WhatsApp to illustrate how this instant mobile application has forced journalists to adapt their daily tasks and journalistic values.

The final part of this thesis centres on the theoretical and practical implications of my results. By building on the information presented in the previous chapters, Chapter 5 examines how temporality, media forms, and infrastructure are increasing the feeling of professional dissonance inside Chilean newsrooms. The interrelationship of the different concepts that are being affected by the introduction of digital technologies is discussed here to offer a more comprehensive overview of professional dissonance in journalism.

The idea of professional dissonance has been growing slowly in the literature regarding media and technology. Specifically, a mismatch between journalists' values and practices has been identified in the literature that observes the increasing impact of audience metrics inside newsrooms (Bunce, 2019; Tandoc, 2014). Undurraga (2017) was the first to apply the concept of professional dissonance to news making. Drawing on newsroom ethnography as well, Undurraga observes journalists from different platforms invoking different principles to determine newsworthiness. For Undurraga, the idea that professionals from different platforms have dissimilar valuations of principles such as access and accountability not only affects how journalists believe they should report on certain issues but also 'concerns journalistic ways of knowing' and ideal service to their communities.

The infrastructure, time, and platforms that newspaper, television, and web journalists work with is evolving. This diversity has traditionally produced a specific journalistic culture that favours some and hinders others who work in what is considered a less serious medium.

However, the introduction of new technologies has begun to change relationships within the newsroom in favour of those who adapt more quickly and understand newer technologies. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes this thesis by extracting key insights presented and establishing how and why the results herein relate to other research results in the literature, offering potential new tactics and recommendations for future newsroom ethnographies.

I. Chapter 1: The oldest man on television

Dubbed by some economists as the first neoliberal experimental laboratory in the world (Escobar, 2003; Portes, 2006; D. Harvey, 2007; Cabalin, 2014), Chile has experienced accelerated economic development and technological growth in the past 25 years. The nation's progress has been such that, according to Larner, 'it was Chile that gave the neoliberal paradigm international credibility' (2003, p. 510). Although often overlooked due to its remote location, this 4,300-kilometre long and, on average, 175-kilometre wide country has the highest rate of competition in Latin America. Furthermore, according to a 2018 report by the World Economic Forum, Chile is the 33rd most competitive economy in the world.[3] Since 2010, it has also been the only South American member of the OECD, a group of countries with relatively high-income economies and high human development index (HDI) scores. However, this growth and development are causes for celebration only if we omit the economic inequalities and redistribution issues that the country has been experiencing since the 1990s (Beyer et al., 1999; Thévenot, 2017).

Specifically, economic policies established during the dictatorial period – together with the establishment of private monopolies during the 1970s and 1980s – have transformed the news and media industry so quickly (Mellado & Lagos, 2014; Godoy, 2016) that it has been rendered unrecognisable even for the workers who have spent a lifetime making the business successful. As Crofts Wiley states, 'During the early 1990s, Chilean television was transformed radically by processes of deregulation, privatization, transnational investment, technological change, and ideological liberalization. Chilean media were integrated into global structures of ownership [and] infrastructure expanded dramatically' (2006, p. 400).

In this chapter, I demonstrate that the story of media development in Chile is, if only one word should be utilised, tragic. The enlargement, spread, and success of this industry is tightly linked with imperial revolutions, Earth-shifting earthquakes, cold-blooded dictatorships, and today, with the supremacy of duopolies that overtook the physical infrastructure made of cables and antennas almost 30 years ago. I claim that the economic deregulation experienced in the country during and after the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973–1990) has led to a competitive market that has forced media and news companies to heavily invest in technological innovations to capture a highly-connected, multiplatform-consuming audience

[3] According to the World Economic Forum, competitiveness is defined as the set of institutions, policies and factors that determine the level of productivity of a country.

while concurrently prioritising the need for capital over normative roles of journalists (Siebert et al., 1956), thus increasing professional dissonance in news organisations. How has this economic growth translated into new material infrastructures for the Chilean media? Furthermore, how has the political past shaped today's industry with which contemporary journalists coexist? How is the current infrastructure shaping the narratives about the past? Finally, how can this unique and particular combination of political history and economic growth inform the way new temporalities, forms, and infrastructures transform the news-making process? This story explains how this industry has come to a new digital era.

1.1. The production control room

Summer had not yet officially arrived in Santiago, but that afternoon in mid-November 2017 was especially warm and dry, as only summers in Chile can be. The steady, relaxing sound of a fan was drowned out by the mellifluous tones of a generic bossa nova song emanating from the speakers in the corridor, filling every corner of the empty production control room. As I sat in one of the many free chairs at the video switcher desk, I could not avoid feeling like a child entering the cockpit of a plane for the first time. I was immediately impressed. Everywhere I looked, I saw multicoloured buttons, shining knobs, levers, joysticks, animated countdown clocks, and keyboards without any distinguishable labels to indicate why they were there or what they did. An endless number of screens and monitors threatened to overtop every desk and every wall in the room around me. As part of my fieldwork agreement with Canal 13, I was permitted to move freely around the station and the newsroom, and yet I had not been in this room before. *Pay no attention to the man behind the curtain,* I thought.

I looked up, and a line of red numbers against a black screen told me that the next news bulletin was less than an hour away. I had been working in this newsroom long enough to know what that meant. In a matter of minutes, through the glass doors behind me, a group of almost 10 people would rush into the room and, with strong team coordination, assume their positions behind the switchboard without waiting for instructions. Everybody from the director to the producers, the camera control unit, and the live ticker writer would sit and, as pilots with their planes, air the programme. Furthermore, I knew that running against those same red numbers, 50 metres away and one level below, unfinished news clips were travelling between reporters, editors, and producers' desks, waiting for someone to greenlight them. Some of the journalists were returning from late news conferences and had only minutes to load final clips into the system and send them to the same switcher by which I sat. Meanwhile, floor coordinators and

cameramen would be waiting in the studio for the director's instructions while the lights hanging from metal beams in the celling warmed. Like actors rehearsing for a play, the anchors would be reading and re-reading their scripts in the makeup room before the words were loaded in the teleprompters. Far from the building, a journalist, a producer, and a cameraman would be standing by to report live from the field. That cameraman would be wearing a backpack with an antenna that would beam the signal to space and then down to the sleeping screens in front of me, while journalists would check and re-check the notes and the quotes that they had written on small paper pads. All of this would be happening minutes before going on the air. For now, however, the rhythmic Portuguese words of the bossa nova singer coming from the corridor was the only noise that filled the room.

Figure 1. Production control room at Canal 13. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

Guillermo Flórez was a television editor who had been guiding me throughout the newsroom. Instead of performing a sit-down interview, I decided to walk with this 30-something filmmaking graduate, and the switch room was our first stop. He laughed lightly at my amazement and shrugged as if to say he had seen better ones. For a while, he related facts, noted points of interest around the room, and explained what some of those buttons and levers actually did; then he turned to the door, and we left the control room. We walked through the dark, narrow tile corridors, discussing the eight years he had been working at Canal 13 and the technological changes he had witnessed at the station.

The dominant transformation was, he claimed, when HD television was introduced. In 2009, Canal 13 was the first station in the country to transmit in HDTV. In simple terms, this meant that some programmes could be broadcast in 1080p (1920x1080 pixels; 16:9 aspect ratio). 'Everything was *heavier*, so we needed to change it all. Improve and change cameras, update

the edition software, the servers, and the storage systems', he stated.[4] We stopped in front of a glass wall on the second floor of the building. 'So now, Press [meaning Teletrece, the press department of Canal 13] has its own mini data centre', he added while pointing to the other side of the glass. A row of deep-black boxes stared back at us from a locked and poorly lit room. Tiny intermittent blue and green dots indicated that the machines were awake and functioning. Other than that, at least for me, these state-of-the-art digital storage systems may as well have been modern-looking refrigerators. Far away were the days of shelving films or tapes. Now, hundreds of invisible terabytes recorded every broadcast and every story transmitted.

'The problem was', Guillermo continued as we now walked downstairs toward the television studios, 'that in 2009, most people still had square TVs [non-digital or analogue televisions]. So how could we make the people with HD televisions watch in HD and people with square televisions watch the old signal?' This was a valid question, since according to official records, until January 2019, only 17% of all transmitting antennas in the country had migrated from analogue to digital television (Subtel, 2019). The technology was available before the country had the infrastructure to support it.

Initially, Canal 13 decided to transmit over two signals (different channels on users' televisions): one for HD and one for analogue, and the viewer chose which channel better fit their television sets. However, analogue televisions have an aspect ratio of 4:3, and people with these sets still watched the HD channel, which meant that bits of information were cut from their screens. This prompted journalists, editors, and especially cameramen to begin filming while leaving more 'air' on the sides of the screen, therefore concentrating all the information in the centre of the shot. Therefore, if someone watched the HD signal on an analogue television, then the most important information would still be displayed. For this filmmaking graduate, the idea that the platform ruled the style of what to present and how to present it was the ultimate transformation in recent media history.

'But since less than a year ago, we have decided to broadcast through the same signal, and we just do something we call *squeeze*. We just … literally squeeze the images in regular televisions. Anchors love it because they look so much thinner', he said with a laugh.

I continued taking notes of all the technical data that Guillermo was saying as we moved through the building, and I started to think about how little I really knew about the history of television as a platform. My research objective was to explore how journalists and media

[4] All the interviews in this thesis have been translated from Spanish to English by the author.

workers were appropriating digital technologies into their routines, but to do so, I first needed to know how and why Chilean television and newspapers had become this way.

1.2. Meeting Pepe

Rumour around the newsroom at Canal 13 was that Pepe had the title of being the oldest producer still working in Chilean television. I first heard that rumour when I commented that I wanted to interview someone with a little more experience than my coeval and younger colleagues. As soon as I finished the sentence, all fingers around me pointed, rather lazily, to the middle of the newsroom. I looked around and my eyes found a loud, grey-haired, pink-shirted man who was telling jokes to a small crowd by the producer's desk. 'Oh, you have to interview Pepe', my content editor stated without taking his eyes off the screen. 'He has been here forever'. *Forever* was exactly what I was seeking.

I knew I had met Pepe before. The website editor, who was in charge of overseeing my stay, had introduced me to almost everyone in the room during my first day in the press department. He provided me with a brief tour around the room, and every time we stopped by someone's desk, he said, 'This is Tomás. He will be working with us as a journalist for a while, but he is actually doing research about …' and then he turned to me so I could finish with a non-specific, non-binding '… new technologies in the newsroom'. This little sketch of us was often received with confused smiles and inquisitive looks. If I was lucky, then I received more questions about my motives to be there as I shook people's hands. On some occasions, however, people did not mind revealing that they were not crazy about having someone studying them all the time. Their faces or eyes would often harden over what they seemed to consider to be a paltry addition to the team.

Journalists are often not fans of academics who study media and journalism. The language utilised by social scientists, such as 'making the news' or 'social construction of reality', often becomes offensive to media workers (Gieber, 1964; Schudson, 1989). The socially negative connotation may suggest that journalists are interfering in a biased way with the construction of the news. The idea that journalists meddle with the construction of reality – a concept which is up for discussion (see Reese et al., 2001) – directly attacks what some believe are the most important values and ethical standards in journalism, such as professionalism, objectivism, detachment, and non-involvement with the news (Hanitzsch et al., 2011). To prevent or minimise the alienation of those I wanted to study, Schultz argues that the optimal 'title verb describing journalistic practice within the analytical framework of reflexive sociology would

be *positioning* the news' (2007, p. 202), which differs from classical newsroom studies that employ words that may evoke a negative response from journalists.

Why are journalists sensitive about these issues? Some authors argue that this defensiveness indicates that journalists are not reflexive about their own work (Haas, 2006). As Lule argues, 'it is still a truism that the press engages in critical evaluation of every institution in society except itself' (1992, p. 92). Consequently, as Thomsen notes, journalists commonly 'appear guarded towards researchers from outside their profession' (2018, p. 59). However, I was not completely 'outside their profession'; my own position as a former journalist was an advantageous tool in this situation. With this idea in mind, I walked across the newsroom floor toward the producer's desk, hoping Pepe was not a journalist who disliked social scientists, as I quickly re-introduced myself as a former journalist.

'My name is José "Pepe" Martínez',[5] he started. We sat for a coffee at a plastic cafeteria table in one of the building's courtyard patios. As it turned out, he seemed more than happy to provide a fellow journalist with an interview. 'I have spent 54 years of my life working on television – 54 out of my 69 years of age. I was very, very young when I started', he said with a satisfied smile and a sense of pride. He spoke with a degree of urgency, as if he feared that his memory would fail him before he finished his story.

Within the first five minutes of our conversation, while our drinks were still piping hot, Pepe had already talked sufficiently to make me secretly thankful for the recording application opened on my phone, which was placed strategically on the table between us. With surprising speed, he described his childhood and teenage years as well as the singers and actors he had met throughout his working years.

At times, it was difficult to keep him on track. He mentioned more than once, or rather name-dropped, as it is now common to say, his close friendship with host and international entertainer Mario 'Don Francisco' Kreutzberger. I can only assume this was aimed to impress me and immediately clarify that I was not talking to just another neophytic, inexperienced producer. After stating Kreutzberger's name, he paused theatrically for a second and looked at me to see my reaction. It seemed rude not to appear to be impressed, so I nodded my head, smiled, and went along with it.

He said he was writing a book about his years working on television and the noteworthy stories he had seen, lived, or heard about. Some stories would remain secret, he said, such as when he

[5] My interview with José 'Pepe' Martínez was recorded in November, 2017.

flew with Don Francisco to Buenos Aires and 'misbehaved', he finished in a whisper as his eyes moved worryingly toward the recording phone between our coffees.

I encouraged him to continue with his stories about Kreutzberger, César Antonio Santis, Carla Cristi, and other old-time celebrities, because I was sitting in front of 54 years of television history, and I needed to know how Chilean media had become the technological industry that it is today. *What better way to learn,* I thought as I watched Pepe sip his coffee, *than by asking someone who was actually there when it happened.*

1.3. The earthquake and then the World Cup

Without telling his parents, Pepe left school when he was 15 years old so he could work on television. He had fallen hopelessly in love early on with the black-and-white images he saw and the sounds he heard coming from an old, wooden-framed television set. He knew immediately that he wanted to work in television for the rest of his life. So great was his craze that he secretly enrolled in a night-school class to earn his high school diploma. Attending class in the late afternoons was a small price to pay if that meant that, during the days, he could work as an assistant producer at Canal 13. Being a 15-year-old assistant producer included tasks such as booking the stars and celebrities who appeared on the few programmes already on air (including Don Francisco's, he quickly emphasised) and fetching foreign movies on video tapes that some embassies imported and distributed between the stations around Santiago. If Pepe ever doubted the path he had chosen, then it was quickly forgotten when Chile hosted the 1962 International Federation of Association Football World Cup, and Canal 13 was offered the licence to broadcast the games.

One must travel back in time to understand the magnitude of this event. Although this was only the seventh version of the World Cup, Chile had been lobbying to host the games for almost 10 years. Then, in 1954, Chile was elected as the new host country for the 1962 games, beating other candidates such as Argentina and then-West Germany.

However, on 22 May 1960, the southern city of Valdivia was hit with the most powerful earthquake ever recorded in history. The quake achieved a devastating 9.5 on the Richter scale; tsunamis with waves up to 25 metres high threatened to erase coastal towns; the ground tore apart, carelessly gulping both animals and humans; and the Bavarian-like buildings (present due to the waves of German immigration toward the end of 1850) made of pine wood and river stones collapsed like a house of cards after a strong gust of wind. By nightfall, the water and electric infrastructure were completely destroyed.

It seemed that the dream of hosting the World Cup was over, as half of the country had been levelled. However, the International Federation of Association Football as well as several other NGOs and football organisations around the globe began to donating money to save and improve the infrastructure of the stadiums and cities affected by the earthquake. Ultimately, the World Cup symbolised not only the games but also the triumph over tragedy. Broadcasting the games was also the first real test for Chilean television as a platform. It hastened the technological and professional development of television journalism in the country, and the number of receptors and antennas in Santiago proliferated (Urzua, 1986). To the audience's astonishment and honest disbelief, some games were transmitted live. Everyone wanted to see a football match in these machines that had been invented only 35 years earlier. Advertising from that period (see Figure 2) highlights the benefits of watching a match in real time without leaving the comfort of one's sofa. The high demand for television consumption forced the industry to upgrade the infrastructure around the city, and antennas began springing up like mushrooms all over San Cristóbal hill, the second highest peak in the city.

Figure 2. 'Watch the World Cup in your house; no lines, no cold, no rain'. Source: Archivo Nacional de Chile.

Furthermore, it was the first time that television producers experienced the taste of overpriced advertising on screen. The revenues obtained during the World Cup forever changed the way television was made in the country. Two things were clear by the time that Chile played the former Yugoslavia in the third-place playoffs. First, Pepe was convinced that he had made the correct decision. He would remain working in television for at least the next six decades.

Second, the audience was captivated. Once the World Cup was almost over, they stayed at home with their brand-new television sets, craving more content and audiovisual material.

Pepe was not the only one in his teens back then; Canal 13 itself had been inaugurated in August 1959 as the result of an experiment by scientists and engineers of the Catholic University of Chile (UC). During almost the entire decade from 1950 to 1960, television remained guarded by a handful of universities in the country, being developed and tested merely for academic purposes (Urzua, 1986). On 20 August 1959, UC launched a public signal on Channel 2. Two days later, the Catholic University of Valparaiso started transmitting on Channel 8, and a year after that, the University of Chile began testing their own signal. These details are building blocks in the technological history of Chilean media. The fact that the majority of Chilean stations are linked to, or rather *were* linked to, the main universities in the country is key in the development of the industry.

Initially, Pepe remembered working in an old building on Lira Street, which is one of the oldest, more traditional roads in downtown Santiago. The walls and floors were made of cheap wood and chipboard. He recalled that there were only two studios then: A and B. However, they preferred not to utilise Studio B in the morning because the deep smell of frying oil seeped from the diner downstairs.

A 2018 video celebrating Canal 13's 60 years on air paints a different picture than Pepe's memories.[6] The black-and-white images recorded during the inauguration of the station feature engineers in white lab coats[7] operating an electrical switch while the apostolic nuncio, Opilio Rossi, throws holy water toward the television cameras, which seem to be made of cardboard. In retrospect, it seems like lousy planning to throw any kind of liquid, even the blessed kind, at those poorly constructed cameras. A distinct, high-pitched nasal male voice, which was a consequence of the lack of bass tones in yesteryear's microphones, announced with fanfare the inauguration of the 'most powerful television station in the country!' This station included a 3,000-watt video transmitter with a range of 40 kilometres and an audio transmitter with a power of 2,000 watts.

[6] "Aniversario Canal 13, 1959 y años 60'". Rec Online, Canal 13. Retrieved from: https://youtu.be/Foa_c1Ao4kw

[7] It is interesting to notice how both in the advertisement shown in Image 2 and in the commemoration video, television operators are characterized wearing white lab coats. This reflects on the idea that until not too long ago, these technologies were being used exclusively inside actual laboratories in the universities.

At the time, the government had ruled that television stations were expected to broadcast at least three hours per day and four days per week for the first 18 months. After this period, the stations were required to increase their airtime to 29 hours in five days per week for the 1,500 receptors across the country.

Because the stations belonged to the universities, the government's original idea was to broadcast cultural and educational contents exclusively. However, none of the three universities had sufficient strength economically to support the costs of maintaining the broadcast on their own. Consequently, by the time the World Cup ended, and in light of the revenues obtained from advertising, UC's Canal 13 had already decided to adopt an American-based commercial strategy: set the programming line-up based on ratings and advertising revenue. The other two universities followed suit to remain competitive. Thus began commercial television in Chile, which included soap operas, game programmes, and in 1963, the first television press department in the country: Teletrece.

In contrast with the state-of-the-art technology that the commemoration video's narrator describes, Pepe remembered a different experience during his first years working at Canal 13. 'We used to do shows with a lot of sacrifice. Everything required creative thinking', he said as he described the crafts and techniques that they innovated. He recalled that the lighting system for the programmes was based on 100-watt incandescent bulbs.[8] Surrounded by aluminium paper veneers, the lights hit the anchors like a beam of concentrated light and heat, making them sweat profusely. Sometimes, the producers placed wicker baskets over the same bulbs, and by carefully and manually turning them, they projected moving figures onto the walls behind the anchors' desk. When the wicker baskets were not available, the producers simply utilised papercutting. 'Papers, scissors, a light bulb here, and a cable there, and we will illuminate all the background in a second', he claimed with a hint of pride in his voice.

Pepe believed that all the efforts were worth it based on the audience's response, although it was difficult to know with certainty. Unlike today, to measure ratings, Canal 13 sent UC's undergraduate students door-to-door around different neighbourhoods in Santiago to administer a questionnaire. The students reported which channels were the most watched in any particular household and which programmes on that station. 'Now, it is true that back then there were only 300,000 televisions in Santiago. We did not reach the entire country. That came later', Pepe admitted. But later came quickly. By 1980, Canal 13 was leaving Lira Street behind

[8] As a reference, typical studios during the last decade commonly used 1,000-watt tungsten-halogen lights, if not something that saves more energy.

and moving to their brand-new building on Inés Matte Urrejola Avenue. Five hectares of infrastructure replaced the wooden floors and the smell of fried oil. This street also offered the advantage of being directly under San Cristóbal hill, where the majority of antennas had been placed. 'An architect from the Catholic University, called Eduardo San Martín, was sent [for] three months to Europe. He went to observe Rai News in Italy, some public stations in Spain, then NBC in the United States, and finally Argentina. The blueprints were then sent to the BBC in London, and they approved them without observations', Pepe told me between sips of coffee. By 1983, the station had already built five new studios at the Inés Matte Urrejola location: two, at 930 and 600 square metres, were for programmes with live audiences; one at 400 square metres was for shooting soap operas; one at 180 square metres was for news broadcasting; and a minor studio was 77 square metres.

Figure 3. Canal 13's current building on Inés Matte Urrejola 848 in Santiago. San Cristóbal hill and the antennas can be seen in the background. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

In UC's library,[9] I found the speech delivered by UC's rector the night the new building was inaugurated. In a typewritten letter of 14 yellowish pages, the rector described the merits and contributions that both the station and the university were providing for the country. Furthermore, the speech highlighted the station's accelerated economic growth rate, especially between 1974 and 1975. The executive director at the time, Eleodoro Rodríguez Matte, was credited in the speech with a responsible administration that led to the accumulation of capital that enabled the purchase and construction of the new building.

[9] The complete speech can be access in Spanish here: https://repositorio.uc.cl/bitstream/handle/11534/3161/127.pdf

However, something else had occurred in Chile during those years – something that partially explains Canal 13's need to invest in new technology and infrastructure. In September 1973, a coup d'état ended the country's historical republican tradition and the socialist presidency of Salvador Allende. The dictatorship of Pinochet, sponsored both economically and politically by U.S. President Richard Nixon's administration and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), would continue for 17 years, throwing Chile into economic and political disarray.

This part of Chile's history was not something Pepe liked to discuss. In fact, I do not have a single usable quote from him on the record regarding the political situation during the period between 1973 and 1990. The smile that appeared on his face when talking about Don Francisco and wicker baskets quickly changed into a grimace when he felt that my line of questions was heading toward this grim period of instability, torture, and murder.

However, this restraint was nothing new to me. During the years that I worked as a journalist, I learned not to ask an excessive number of questions about these topics when older journalists were in the room. Even the winner of the Chilean National Prize for Journalism, María Olivia Mönckeberg (2011), admits that journalists who work today in Chilean media know that there are forbidden names, topics, and words. I explore the silence, self-censorship, and other consequences of the dictatorship for Chilean journalism later in this chapter, but I cannot avoid initially mentioning it because the development of the media industry in this Latin American country is tightly intertwined with the political events that unfolded as a consequence of the beginning and end of what is now known as the 'Chilean road to socialism'. In the following sections, I briefly describe the political and economic context that led to Allende's victory, the role that media played in his defeat, and the political and economic consequences for the industry after Pinochet's dictatorship.

1.4. The media before Allende

On 16 October 1998, eight years after the Chilean return to democracy, Pinochet was arrested in London after being indicted by Spanish magistrate Baltasar Garzón for human rights violations. Kenneth Roth, Human Rights Watch's executive director, wrote to then-U.S. President Bill Clinton: 'Pinochet is wanted for crimes against American citizens, and even crimes on American soil'.[10] Roth urged the Clinton administration to contribute material

[10] Roth is referring to the assassination of Orlando Letelier in Washington D.C. in 1976. See "How a Dictator Got Away with a Brazen Murder in D.C. in 1976": https://www.history.com/news/pinochet-terror-attack-dc.

documents and other evidence against Pinochet. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright convened a meeting with senior staff to determine the U.S. government's response. Providing only specific documents could be seen as an attempt to cover or frame the U.S. involvement in the dictatorship. Instead, the Clinton administration undertook a major declassification process that extended for decades (Kornbluh, 2003), and some of these documents would be utilised in the years to come to illuminate the role of the Chilean media during the 1970s for and against Allende's government.

In 1970, Santiago was a city of almost 3 million people. The first route for the first underground train in the country was being built, and the first television public service broadcaster, Televisión Nacional de Chile, was being inaugurated. Around the same time, the most important Chilean newspapers in circulation could be classified in two categories: first, those that belonged to private, family-owned economic groups, such as *La Tercera* (from the Picó family) as well as *El Mercurio*, *La Segunda*, and *Las Últimas Noticias* (all from the Edwards family). The second category included those media organisations that belonged to political parties, such as *La Prensa* (Christian Democratic party), *El Siglo* (Communist party), *Noticias de Última Hora* (Socialist party), and *El Clarín* (also from the Socialist party starting in 1972). From these lists, all of those in the first category remain in circulation today. From the second list, only *El Clarín* still exists, although it is exclusively in a digital version and is now owned by the Fundación Presidente Allende. It is not even a shadow of what it once was.

Bernedo and Porath (2003) posit that these newspapers were not responsible for the breakdown of democracy in 1973, but they contributed significantly to the polarisation of society. They argue that at least during the 1960s, the Chilean press generally maintained a canon of respect for the national institutions and democratic proceedings. However, as the political arena became increasingly polarised, the newspapers abandoned their role as 'serious media outlets' and became, rather, a 'combative press'. For example, *El Clarín* repeatedly attacked Jorge Alessandri during the 1970 election for being single, suggesting that he was a closeted homosexual. They openly referred to and wrote about him as Mrs Alessandri. Concurrently, *El Mercurio* identified itself in opposition to Allende and warned its readers about a government 'under the guidelines of Moscow'. Ralph McGehee, who worked as a CIA analyst for one-quarter of a century, wrote an article for *The Nation* in which he explained the following:

Disturbed at the Chilean military's unwillingness to take action against Allende, the CIA forged a document purporting to reveal a leftist plot to murder Chilean military leaders. The discovery of the 'plot' was headlined in the media and Allende was deposed and murdered. There is a

similarity between events that precipitated the overthrow of Allende and what happened in Indonesia in 1965. (1981)

Thus, the newspapers, now fighting from trenches on both right and left, began a process of blaming the opposition for every event committed by the armed radical groups of each side. For example, a right-wing magazine, *PEC*, published a false story in June 1971 with the following headline: 'It has been confirmed: Schneider was killed by a follower of Allende'.
This situation escalated until 19 September 1972, when *El Mercurio* openly called the Chilean Armed Forces to 'uphold its duty', an elegant euphemism for a military coup. We now know, because of Clinton's decision to declassify these documents, that 'throughout the 1960s, the CIA poured funds into Chile's largest – and staunchly right-wing – newspaper, *El Mercurio*, putting reporters and editors on the payroll, writing articles and columns for placement and providing additional funds for operating expenses' (Kornbluh, 2004, pp. 91–92). Nixon and Kissinger's plan to intervene after their failed 'white coup' was now being realised.
However, in contrast to Bernedo and Porath (2003), Chilean National Prize for Journalism winner Juan Pablo Cárdenas (2005) argues that the press was in fact one of the decisive actors in the institutional rupture of Chile in 1973. According to Cárdenas, television, newspapers, and radios created the social climate that led to the coup because they allowed political parties and various factual groups to manipulate them. The press had once encouraged the idea of independence and contributed to the country breaking ties with the Iberian Empire, Cárdenas argues, but was now spreading hatred and intolerance and turning each political colour against one another.
Placing the blame entirely on Nixon or *El Mercurio* would be insufficient to explain the context of polarisation at the beginning of the 1970s. The printed press filled its pages with conspiracy theories and anti-systemic narratives for years before the Hawker Hunter jets bombed La Moneda Palace, the presidential residence, on 11 September 1973. I argue that this polarised climate in the media industry responded not only to the political context of the 1960s and 1970s but also to the way in which the printed press had functioned in Chile since its early days.
Not until the end of the 19th century did Chile experience the emergence of what we call the modern liberal press. Ossandón and Santa Cruz (2001) argue that the liberal movement came to power in the 1870s and abolished the draconian printing laws that were utilised to punish and imprison dissident voices in Chile, after which the printing press began to have a decisive role in the centre of public civic life. However, during the liberal project (1849–1966), the press and journalists were already highly doctrinal. Santa Cruz (1988) posits that newspapers had

been understood as a trench from which journalists functioned as ideologists of the liberal model of the nation-state. However, as the market evolved, journalistic narratives seemed to evolve as well. Opinion and propaganda were relegated to the editorial pages, and journalists turned to a more informative type of news, as they now competed under market rules. News needed to be universal and progressive, featuring a hint of cosmopolitan internationalism. Chile wanted to be a modern country such as France, England, or Germany, and the newspapers' narratives needed to demonstrate this desire. This belief remained true until the beginning of the Cold War and the U.S. international concern about the spread of communist ideas throughout the South American continent.

1.5. The beginning of the 'Chilean road to socialism'

Perhaps if the Cold War had not been reaching its apogee or if Allende had won the popular vote in one of his three previous campaigns for president, then circumstances in Chile would have been different. However, they were not. After running unsuccessfully in 1952, 1958, and 1964, Allende, a physician and member of the Socialist Party of Chile, was elected president of the country in 1970. A self-described Marxist and head of the Popular Unity political coalition, Allende sought to implement structural reforms and sharp transformations in Chile's social and economic systems (Goldberg, 1975).

His victory occurred in a time of economic growth. During the 1960s, the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) and the Inter-American Development Bank emphatically and repeatedly expressed the belief that both Chile and Latin America in general needed to change their economic systems. According to Alexis Guardia, to pursue this 'path of development', the countries in the region needed to break the classical constraints of economic growth, including 'the foreign trade stranglehold, the backwardness of agriculture, the inflexibility of the tax system', (1979), and so on. These reasons as well as sponsorship by the United States were behind the creation of the Alliance of Progress in 1961, which was U.S. President John F. Kennedy's master plan to promote economic development and democratic governments throughout the region (DeWitt, 2009; S. Edwards, 2009). In Kennedy's words, the alliance was to be a 'vast cooperative effort unparalleled in magnitude and nobility of purpose, to satisfy the basic needs of the American people for homes, work and land, health and school'. In reality, it was an effort to heal U.S.-Latin American relationships by supporting the region's economic growth (Weis, 2001). For many, however, the alliance died with Kennedy in Dealey Plaza on 22 November 1963, because U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson's

administration had different plans. Johnson did not share Kennedy's interest in Latin America and typically favoured stability over change (Colman, 2010). However, by the time that Kennedy died, ideas about necessary changes and radical social transformations had already been planted like seeds into the minds of Chilean political and social elites.

In July 1967, those seeds sprouted, and President Eduardo Frei Montalva promulgated the law that instigated the agrarian reform, which enhanced agricultural production and modified the regime of land tenure in Chile (Valdés & Foster, 2015). This law promised, as Frei's slogan stated, to 'turn the *campesino* into his own *patrón*'. As Heidi Tinsman argues, on the day of Frei's victory, 'a delegation submitted a petition, signed with thumbprints and signatures, calling for accelerated land expropriations and the inclusion of *campesinos* in decision-making processes' (2002, p. 82). Although considered a radical move by some, this process was necessary to achieve the ECLA and Inter-American Development Bank's recommendations. It was the Chilean response to international calls for development; however, most importantly, the agrarian reform signalled a shift in the industrial, social, and economic development of the country.

During the 1960s, Chile was by far the South American country that received the most financial aid from the US. Furthermore, compared to the rest of the region, Chile had a relatively significant urban middle class, a pluralistic political system, and an anticipation of improving its working class after two decades of high inflation and moderate growth (Caldwell & Montes, 2015). Positive economic indicators notwithstanding, both Kennedy and Johnson's administrations were concerned with Allende's imminent victory. With the memory of Allende's narrow defeat in 1958, the CIA pursued a more direct approach and sent nearly US$2.5 million to Frei Montalva, the Christian Democrat incumbent running against Allende (Kirkendall, 2007).

Allende campaigned under an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist slogan and was finally elected in 1970 in a run-off by Congress, as neither he, Jorge Alessandri, nor Radomiro Tomic, the other candidates, had obtained a majority of the votes. Yet, Allende's ideological and personal relationship with Fidel Castro's Cuban regime raised more than one red flag in Washington, and Nixon's administration proposed a 'white coup' before the Chilean Congress could confirm Allende (Qureshi, 2008). Consequently, the CIA financed and allied with *Patria y Libertad* (Fatherland and Liberty),[11] a right-wing paramilitary group. The terrorists were

[11] "CIA provided tear gas, submachine-guns and ammunition to the second group". Read the complete report that the CIA send to the U.S. Congress here: https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/chile/#5.

instructed to kidnap General René Schneider, the head of the Chilean army, who opposed the idea of conducting a military coup against Allende (McSherry, 2002). However, General Schneider was killed during the abduction, which mobilised people to rally around Allende, and he was finally confirmed by Congress. Both Nixon and Kissinger (who, until recently, remained an active political agent; see Dorfman, 2017) sought a new plan to end Chile's socialist dream; targeting the media was a significant part of that plan.

1.6. The media after Pinochet

On the eve of the 2018 Chilean presidential election, journalists at *La Tercera* held their own mock election. As many offices and companies often do in Chile, a sealed box was passed around the floor, and those willing to participate voted for their favourite candidate. I had seen the same exercise during my fieldwork only weeks before in Teletrece, where I was working during the first round of the presidential elections. After an empty coffee can travelled the newsroom of Canal 13, Beatriz Sánchez, a left-wing journalist-turned-politician, was elected by a large majority as the favourite over the right-wing candidate and now-president Sebastián Piñera. That evening at *La Tercera*, however, the democratic spirit came to a halt. Learning of the mock election, the newspaper director informed everybody that such activities were not to occur. A hush fell over the crowd as I saw smiles disappearing from journalists' faces. Nobody replied, and the party rapidly dissipated. However, a newspaper reporter surreptitiously hid the box between her feet under her desk. The votes were later counted in secret and the left-wing candidate was the winner with a clear majority.

'You have to know where you are working', a Canal 13 reporter had told me weeks earlier. 'What does that mean exactly?' I replied. 'That you can't publish everything you want. You know it from the moment … It isn't necessary for someone to tell you. I know I can't write a story about Luksic and his donations', she answered. In Chile, it is well-known that Andrónico Luksic, owner of Canal 13, and Álvaro Saieh, owner of *La Tercera*, have close political and economic ties to the right and to other former Pinochet associates (Cademartori, 2011). However, her *knowing* was what caught my attention. Nobody had told her directly not to cover certain topics, and yet '[you know that] it just wouldn't see the light', she said. Both her story and the badly ended mock election at *La Tercera* seemed to indicate a tacit agreement in which certain topics were not covered. However, I wondered how tacit this agreement really was and where it originated.

These stories, I argue, are the echoes of a dictatorial regime that continue to reverberate across diverse newsrooms and media platforms. Immediately after the military coup occurred, several written and radio media organisations were shuttered and prevented from reopening. Television, a more popular platform, was strictly controlled. 'Journalists disappeared or were executed, while others were forced to leave the country or renounce their professions in the political arena' (Ramirez, 1995, p. 24); however, there seems to be an agreement in the literature about the ability of Chilean journalists to overcome these obstacles and ultimately prevail over tragedy. Santa Cruz argues that during the 1980s, journalists and their unions – across platforms and regions throughout the country – most staunchly resisted the action of the regime, although 'perhaps it [was] the professional sector that most directly received repressive harassment in their daily work' (Santa Cruz, 1988, pp. 149–150).

However, Ramírez (1995) contends that the media in Chile, as with many other areas and industries in the country, have experienced an incomplete transition since the restoration of democracy in 1990, because Chile in the 1990s was marked by the adoption of a consensus policy (Garretón, 1991) that focussed on maintaining a positive relationship between the outgoing dictatorship and the incoming government (Navarrete Yáñez, 2015). This association was especially important, as General Pinochet remained present in the political arena, and many of his former ministers and supporters occupied seats in the Senate or in municipalities across the country. In 1990 and again in 1993, the military branches conducted 'training exercises' that were aimed to intimidate those who were asking for investigations against Pinochet and his cronies for human rights violations (Silva, 2002).

Although two reports were eventually published detailing murders and torture during the dictatorship (the Valech and Rettig Reports), the consecutive left-wing governments of Patricio Aylwin (1990–1994), Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994–2000), Ricardo Lagos (2000–2006), and Michelle Bachelet (2006–2010), known collectively as the Concertación, focussed mainly on economic growth and then truth (Huneeus, 2014). The left-wing administrations wanted to distance themselves from the dictatorship as quickly as possible to establish an institutional, peaceful governmental system in the country. However, this meant that some topics remained unspoken, and they linger, unresolved, to this day in Chilean memory. In this context, as Ricardo Morris (2017) explains, 'in many transitional societies, self-censorship is employed as a coping mechanism and often as a survival strategy (both literally and figuratively)'. My interview with the journalist who would not cover Luksic's donations seemed to reinforce this point.

Once the dictatorship ceased in 1990, the majority of the left-wing media were closed through different pressure mechanisms to promote a peaceful transition (see Saavedra Utman, 2014). Hence, all newspapers associated with political parties disappeared. This also meant, however, that the only newspapers remaining were those owned by private economic groups, one of whom – the Edwards family – was openly supportive of Pinochet.

Consequently, Chilean print media became the duopoly that it is today. The Edwards family controls one-quarter of the national readership. In 1988, Álvaro Saieh became the largest shareholder of the Pico-Cañas family's conglomerate Copesa, which owns *La Tercera* and other newspapers; by 2011, the company controlled 44% of the national newspaper weekly readership (Godoy, 2016).

A similar story can be told regarding television. The three television stations that were owned by the universities were subsequently purchased by private entities. Canal 13 was owned by the UC and the Catholic Church until 2017, when billionaire Luksic, who already owned 67% of the shares, bought the remaining 33%. The Catholic University of Valparaiso currently holds only 10% of UCV Television, which is now called TV+. In 1993, the University of Chile offered their channel in commodatum (a fixed-term loan that is to be returned) for 25 years; today, it is controlled by WarnerMedia Entertainment, which also operates the 24/7 news channel CNN Chile.

The conglomerates that own the media not only impact companies' abilities to invest in new technology to maintain their competitive edge but also establish and frame the agenda behind the news stories produced (Germano & Meier, 2013; Schlosberg, 2016). This is relevant because, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, the temporal narratives of the media frames shape the way we remember the past, understand the present, and see the future.

On 24 November 2017, I interviewed a political reporter who wrote for Teletrece's website. We found a table in the same courtyard where I interviewed Pepe only days before. If the oldest man on television and his generation were unwilling to discuss the dictatorship, then maybe I would have more success with younger journalists. 'I do believe it is a very hard topic, to be honest', she said genuinely. 'I remember it felt like great progress when they let us say or write "coup" instead of "military regime". We all know what happened, and yet some media was still denying it. It is impressive and very unfair because they put that responsibility on all of us'. The responsibility of which she spoke was not only symbolic. She recounted that during the presidential campaign of 2013, people Googled her name and searched for her Twitter account to insult her for not utilising certain words, one of those being 'coup'. She found no

way to avoid this. ‘Everything you wrote had to have your name in the byline’. ‘Even if someone later changed what you wrote online?’ I asked, imagining her answer: ‘Yes’.

1.7. Newer bulbs, older silences

On 13 December 2017, I wrote a seven-paragraph article for the *La Tercera* website announcing that Heraldo Muñoz, then Minister of Foreign Affairs under President Bachelet, was launching a website with digital archives containing previously unseen documents about human rights violations during the dictatorship.[12] The site, which was intended to launch in commemoration of Human Rights Day, contained new documents about events in Dawson Island’s detention camp in the Strait of Magellan, where opposition leaders were held and tortured after Pinochet’s coup.

There was nothing particularly important about that story *yet*; the documents had not been released, and there was no way of knowing what kind of information the archives would actually contain. In any other case, we would have probably waited until we saw the documents before we wrote a story. To clarify, this pause would not have been for a lack of interest in what happened on Dawson Island, but because we already had many stories from the prisoners who survived the camps. However, Muñoz had described the files as ‘shocking’, and that alone generated anticipation. As usual when writing for *La Tercera*’s website, I needed to write quickly and precisely, including one paragraph of context, quotes from Muñoz, and a generic photo of the chancellery. The headline I wrote was, ‘Minister Muñoz launches website with files related to violations during the dictatorship’. I had included subject, verb, and predicate and written what I believed to be an appropriate headline for a short article.

‘You can’t!’ gasped the journalist who was working as a content editor that afternoon. Every time I published an article, I informed her so that she could pin the story somewhere on the home page. Depending on the relevance of the story (and each journalist’s lobbying power), the articles would be placed higher or lower on the home screen. When she saw my headline, however, she looked horrified: ‘You can’t use the word *dictatorship* in the title’.

For months at this point, I had been writing stories with the sole purpose of testing the boundaries of censorship. I had covered stories about the dictatorship, equal marriage, and abortion, although the Catholic Church still held shares in Canal 13. I had been hitting the

[12] The article is still online and can be accessed following this link: https://www.latercera.com/noticia/ministro-munoz-lanza-sitio-web-archivos-historicos-cancilleria-relacionados-violaciones-los-dd-hh/

Ministry of Health with a series of stories about negligence in the administration of HIV drugs in public hospitals to the extent that they had called television producers to protest. Yet, every time, as long as I had the sources and the story correct, I felt the full support of the editors.[13] Now, however, for the first time, I had found a direct 'you can't'. I knew the problem was not the topic since this story had been assigned to me and I had written about human rights before. Rather, it was the notoriety of the word and the place it occupied in the article. Colleagues started to gather around her screen, and a discussion flourished about the subject. 'We most certainly cannot', said one. 'But I heard that actually *now* we can', intervened the reporter for the international desk. Eventually, the web editor, who was sitting across the newsroom (a detail which becomes important in Chapter 3), came over. 'Of course, you can', he said, slightly bemused when we asked him to decide the issue. 'Why wouldn't you?'

Hence, it was published as I had written it. But as the reader can see today, the title of the article has been changed to 'Minister Muñoz launches website with files related to human rights violations'. Nobody ever admitted to making the change, and after trying for a while to determine who had made the edit, I simply abandoned the task as well. The transience of the platform I was utilising (see more in Chapter 4) meant that my article could be censored repeatedly without leaving any trace of the perpetrator.

The consequences of Pinochet's dictatorship extend beyond the silence and self-censorship of Chilean journalists. Rather, the repercussions have configured the entire media infrastructure in the country. First, the privatisation of the media industry has concentrated the ownership of news outlets into two main economic conglomerates: the Edwards family's El Mercurio S.A. and Saieh's Copesa. According to a recent report by the National Council of Television (CNTV),[14] these two economic groups account for more than 80% of the readership and 83% of the advertising investment in Chile. Furthermore, they own the majority of the regional printing presses (local tabloids outside Santiago). The report concluded that 'the main groups of the Chilean press [Copesa and El Mercurio] are part of diversified matrix business groups, where the media plays a political and economic role. These groups have managed to extend

[13] I do wonder if my positionality as an external researcher who was going to be publishing articles about my time in those newsrooms might have affected the way some editors conducted themselves regarding the stories I was covering. However, it would be hard to know if this was the case at all.

[14] See the complete report in http://www.observacom.org/sitio/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Informe- Concentracio%CC%81n-de-Medios-en-la-Industria-Televisiva-Chilena-CNTV-2015.pdf

their dominance to the digital media market' (CNTV, 2015). If we add the tabloid *Metro* (owned by Sweden's Metro International Group), then the resulting CR4 index, which is an international business model (based on the free distribution of the newspaper) utilised to measure concentration by examining the first four main operators in each sector, increases to 98% of the market. This means that only three groups control almost the entire market of newspapers in Chile. For comparison, the CR4 levels for newspapers was only 69% in Canada in 2012 (Winseck, 2019).

According to the same CNTV report, the CR4 index for Chilean radio indicates that these main groups control 78% of the audience and 84% of the advertising investment. The story is similar in television, where the CR4 index is 91%, with Canal 13 leading the multimedia and multisector concentration indexes. That means that only four media operators control what almost 17 million people watch every day in Chile. Furthermore, private operators in Chilean broadcast television were not authorised until 1990. Before that year, and as we have seen in this chapter, 'television was a not-for-profit duopoly of state and university broadcasting' (Godoy, 2016, pp. 651–652). The stations from UC and the Catholic Universities of Valparaiso and Chile had decades of advantage over other operators, but today they are controlled by private conglomerates. Pepe had been working for 30 years at Canal 13 before private operators were even allowed to start transmitting in Chile.

Second, these new technologies have done little to allow journalists to discuss the issues with which Chileans' collective memory continues to struggle. If anything – and as I witnessed in my interviews and my experience during fieldwork – these technologies have made it easier to control and modify the work of Chilean journalists who challenge the possible narratives they are allowed to utilise to discuss the past. Sapiezynska (2013) reports that 65% of Chilean journalists claim that they feel restricted by internal agents, such as superiors or media owners. The numbers are worse 'in terms of restrictions imposed by the market and advertising, a dimension where 67% of Chilean journalists perceive high levels of restrictions, surpassing almost 3 times the result for democratic countries in general' (2013, pp. 23-24). Thus, while the levels of restrictions perceived by journalists in democratic countries is, on average, as much as 24%, in Chile, the number of journalists who report feeling restricted is 54%.

Accordingly, Mellado and Lagos report that the salaries of Chilean journalists are considered low in relation to other media professionals and compared to other professions in the country (2013, p. 521). Furthermore, the reported pay satisfaction is also low among media workers. This is an interesting result if one considers that salary is one of the two variables to which journalists assign more importance when evaluating overall satisfaction in their jobs (Mellado

and Lagos, 2013). According to Mellado and Lagos, neither gender, age, nor level of education has a significant effect on the salary received by journalists. For Mellado and Lagos, this means that 'the current logic of the Chilean media does not seem to be conditioned by the personal characteristics of journalists, but rather by organisational or macro regional structural logic' (2013, p. 536). In other words, journalists see no incentives in this particular market to conduct postgraduate studies or plan a long-term career in one media outlet.

In other studies of journalistic practice in Chile, Salinas and Stange (2015) identify what they call an active bureaucracy inside Chilean newspapers. They describe the main trends in Chilean journalists' professional practices between 1975 and 2005 at four newspapers with national circulation, concluding that the news-making process in Chile is a mechanised and automated task that today responds strongly to the logic of the media market. According to the authors, 'even those elements whose nature is intellectual and non-mechanical, such as deciding what is news and what is not, or evaluating the importance of one subject over another, become part of a routine that has a criterion already stipulated, and it is sustained […] in the experience of the journalists or their common sense' (2015, p. 129, translation). Salinas and Stange contend that Chilean journalists have surrendered to a state of total submission to the rules of production. Perhaps this explains the tacit knowledge that some journalists expressed during our interviews about articles which would never see the light of day. Salinas and Stange conclude that 'if we understand, therefore, that information gathering is routine and that the evaluation of news is naturalized, the most appropriate image for understanding news production [in Chile] would be that of an active bureaucracy' (2015, p. 129, translated) in which journalists rarely think critically about their work, thus naturalising journalistic labour as an automatic performance rather than analytical work.

1.8. Nobody has televisions anymore

'What is television but an electronic bug that arrives to your house around 9 p.m. every night, when you are having dinner with your family, and cuts out every possible interpersonal communication. Once someone [turns] it on, everyone will be watching TV. That is why this bug is so important, because it does not ask permission. It just comes in and takes over your home', Pepe said while we were discussing the importance of doing what he called 'good television'. Our coffee cups had been empty for a while. Twice we had been interrupted by people who came to greet Pepe when they saw him on the patio. Once my editor texted me

because I was needed in the newsroom and he wanted to know how long this interview would last.

In almost 50 minutes, we had flown over decades of television history. More importantly, at least for this thesis, Pepe offered me important clues to understand how the political history and economic growth of this industry have informed the way that new temporalities, forms, and infrastructures are impacting the process of news making.

Time, he said as an example, is a 'treasure of immeasurable value in television'. There is, he recognised, a constant intergenerational conflict regarding how long it should take to make the news. 'The old guard', he said, referring to older journalists, were from an age in which they were taught and trained that a news story should be four minutes long. Many of the members of this old guard in television originally began their careers in radio, and so they were accustomed to describing, explaining, and contextualising stories for radio listeners. Newer generations, however, produce stories of one-and-a-half minutes because editors tell them that this length retains people's attention.

'Television is changing […], precisely because of how we use these new platforms', Pepe said, now somewhat dispirited. 'We currently have gigantic economic losses. Sponsors are taking slices of the cake that yesterday only TV stations used to eat, and they are giving it to Netflix and other platforms', he finished.

Pepe was not wrong. According to the Chilean Advertising Association (*Inversion ACHAP 2018*, 2018), without considering the investment in the online sector, in 2018 the industry reported a decrease of 6.1% in advertising investment. This reduction is partially explained by the investment decrease in open television of 8.1%. The scenario is worse for other sectors. Newspapers reported a drop of 16.7% in investments, while magazines and cable television dropped 27.8% and 9.0%, respectively. Only the radio and film industries reported an increase, with 3.1% each. According to the same report, although open television (as in non-cable, non-satellite, non-streaming) received the largest investment, with 43.1% of the 'cake', the investment still decreased over 8% compared to 2017. The online sector, however, had an estimated real growth of 15.5% between 2017 and 2018, which represents 19.7% of the total investment.

'Remember when people had three televisions in their houses? Now I don't even turn on my own when I get home, because I already have read the news on my phone. It is not a bright future, the one we are looking at', Pepe concluded. I felt slightly guilty ending my interview with Pepe on this dark note, but as we stood and shook hands, he added, 'Younger journalists

are doing fine. They have a unique strength, and they know how to use new platforms. They'll be fine'.

What is happening in Chile is also happening around the world. Sridhar and Sriram report that in the United States, 'for every $1 increase in online advertising between 2005 and 2011, newspapers lost $22 in print advertising' (2015, p. 283). In an industry in which advertising represents nearly 80% of revenue, preventing cannibalisation should be a predominant concern. However, the consequences of the loss of revenue extend beyond market concerns. According to Angelucci and Cagé (2019), the reduction in newspaper advertising revenues has, consequently, lowered the incentives to produce journalistic-intensive content. As I walked back to the newsroom, I thought that Pepe may well have lived to see the beginning and the end of that wooden-framed television set he dearly loved.

1.9. Now we know why

Chile's economic and political history makes it an ideal place to explore the dynamics between technology and news making. The media landscape in this South American country has experienced ongoing and profound changes in recent decades. Unlike other countries in the region, Chile (and Cuba) resisted the intervention of external economic models, at least until the 1980s,[15] when Pinochet's dictatorship (1973–1989) overthrew Allende's government and implemented a free market capitalist system (Protzel, 2005). According to Naomi Klein (2007), Milton Friedman, a U.S. economist and free market advocate, acted as adviser to the dictator and recommended transforming Chile into a capitalist experiment: 'Not only were Chileans in a state of shock following Pinochet's violent coup, but the country was also traumatized by severe hyperinflation. Friedman advised Pinochet to impose a rapid-fire transformation of the economy – tax cuts, free trade, privatized services, cuts to social spending and deregulation […]. It was the most extreme capitalist makeover ever attempted anywhere' (2007, p. 21). This type of economic system translated into the privatisation and deregulation of many public industries, including the telecommunications sector, which included selling company shares to private investors (Tarzijan Martabit & Gomez-Ibanez, 2012). Since the opening of the market to international investors, large economic conglomerates have appropriated the analogue broadband in Chile and have quickly become monopolies or duopolies. Consequently, Chile

[15] The privatization of industrial sectors reached its peak in the late 1970s and the beginning of 1980s (Borzutzky, 2005).

now has the 'highest percentage of foreign media ownership internationally, at 62.4%' (Noam, 2016, p. 669).

However, it was not the country's change in its economic model alone that transformed Chilean journalistic structures during the 1970s and 1980s. By 1973, 36.6% of the written press was 'prone to the political parties that supported Salvador Allende's government' (Herrera Campos, 2006, p. 19). The same day that the military coup bombed La Moneda Palace, Pinochet issued two major edicts that sought to control the press. First, Edict 11 'focused on restricting the leftist press and clarified what the State of Siege meant for the press. It stipulated that only two papers, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, would be allowed to publish the following day, but promised to slowly authorise other publications. It also established the Office of Press Censorship and required the previously discussed papers to submit their editions prior to publication for censorship and approval' (Eidahl, 2011, pp. 23–24). Second, Edict 12 warned journalists of the consequences if they did not comply with the new regime: any company or person who published information without previous approval would be considered to have forced the military to intervene and would be subject to criminal liability. Two days later, on 15 September, the new administration announced Decree Law 5, which stated that any propagandistic attack against the 'Supreme Government' would be tried by a wartime military tribunal (Baltra Montaner, 1988). According to Herrera (2006), within the first years of the regime, 312,000 newspaper copies were removed from the market. Left-wing newspapers, such as *El Clarín*, *El Siglo*, *Puro Chile*, *La Nación*, and *Las Noticias de la Última Hora* disappeared overnight. Some later reappeared, but all were required to submit their stories for approval before publishing.

The office that oversaw the media was the National Social Communication Directorate (DINACOS). DINACOS was charged with spreading the official version of the facts. Herrera states that after the creation of DINACOS at the end of 1973, 'among journalists a harmful practice was imposed, whose effects are still perceived in the national press today: self-censorship' (2006, p. 20). Publishing anything different from DINACOS' version meant the complete shutdown of the media outlet and more likely than not exposed the author of the piece to torture and death.

The day after the military coup, 14 September, only two newspapers were allowed to print. Those newspapers belonged to the two conglomerates that supported the coup and promoted the dictator's policies: El Mercurio S.A. and Copesa. Originally, Copesa was owned by the Picó-Cañas family, a wealthy and influential family in the Chilean political landscape. In 2000,

the conglomerate was acquired by Álvaro Saieh, who in 2013, was named the sixth richest businessman in Chile and the 458th richest person in the world by *Forbes* magazine.

El Mercurio S.A. today belongs to the Edwards group, a Chilean aristocratic family who are influential both financially and politically. Under Pinochet, however, both newspapers were still required to submit their prints the day before publishing for approval. As presented in this chapter, *El Mercurio* was an important ally of the dictator. During the first years of Allende's government, *El Mercurio* was a strong supporter of right-wing parties and frequently criticised Allende and his government. According to Durán and Rockman (1986), during the parliamentary campaign of 1973, *El Mercurio* published 355 stories on how Allende's political movement, the Unidad Popular (UP), was destroying democracy in Chile. In retaliation, Allende cancelled all government advertisements in *El Mercurio*. Usually, government advertising comprises a considerable percentage of a media outlet's income. However, *El Mercurio* did not seem to be affected by these measures. Many years later, the U.S. Senate declassified documents proving that the U.S. CIA had granted US$1.5 million dollars to *El Mercurio* between 1971 and 1973 under Operation Mockingbird, which was an attempt to influence Latin American newspapers during the 1970s.

Since the return to democracy in Chile (1990), the media has been an important part of democratic consolidation, which involves 'undermining popular support for the regime of General Augusto Pinochet, preserving political-cultural traditions and partisan identities, and, more recently, establishing a basic consensus in support of a pluralist democracy and a free market economy' (Tironi & Sunkel, 2000, p. 165).

1.10. A different kind of newsroom

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that Chile offers a unique opportunity to observe vast technological transformations that have occurred over the past four decades mainly due to market-driven companies that have acquired the majority of the media outlets in the country. The ideologies that inspired the privatisation of many industrial sectors in Chile during the Pinochet regime impacted not only the technological infrastructures surrounding news and media organisations (which grew exponentially) but also the configuration of journalistic routines, the bureaucracies within newsrooms, the diversity of political perspectives and voices in agenda-setting, and the fierce competition between media players to capture an ever-more connected audience.

Why is this part of Chilean history relevant to study how news makers are appropriating digital technologies? How are these innovations transforming the infrastructure, temporality, and form of news making in Chile? The answers are in the successful implementation of technological changes, which is contingent upon the lasting effects of the historical context and concurrently conditions the way journalists perceive their roles and comprehend the way they produce the news, as my story about my online news article demonstrates.

Today the media sector in Chile is small in comparison to other countries in the region, such as Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina; however, 'it is particularly dynamic, predominantly market-driven, and mostly open to foreign investors' (Godoy, 2016, p. 641). For Godoy, the fact that the digital infrastructure in Chile is owned 'by a few powerful, large telecom companies' (p. 643) explains the rush of technological investment that media companies have experienced in recent decades to control the market and increase profits. From an economic perspective, companies see technological and media convergence as an opportunity to lower the cost of production (Killebrew, 2005). Making the same professionals produce consumer goods (news) on different platforms and for different audiences means that the company's profits grow and production costs decrease, although this increases journalists' feelings of dissonance (Likes, 2010). As Klinenberg states, 'The penetration of the market principles and marketing projects into the editorial division of news organizations is one of the most dramatic changes in the journalistic field, and there is no question that the mythical walls separating the editorial and advertising are mostly down' (2005, p. 60), and Chile is no exception. As Witschge and Nygren claim, 'Journalism is more connected than ever to finance and the old wall between the newsroom and the advertising and finance departments is no longer the great wall of China, but more the Berlin wall, crumbling and seen as a museum piece' (2009, p. 48). In this context, the financial and editorial chases for 'eyeballs' and target groups have been proven to diminish the autonomy of journalists, directly producing the submission and conversion of the profession's core values to market-oriented goals (Sarrimo, 2017), further increasing professional dissonance in journalism.

As Godoy (2016) argues for the Chilean case, the 'lack of public funding and absolute reliance on advertising after General Pinochet liberalized the economy in 1975 generated a "trout and parrot mixture" of a system in which elitist, public-service principles of European origin coexisted with often conflicting mass appeal and market rules' (p. 652). Chilean media have therefore experienced a new ecosystem of technological innovations that has translated into new media forms (mainly in social networks and digital websites). This has also forced them to create new infrastructures and new temporalities that constantly influence each other every

time a media outlet adapts to new technologies. How journalists have fit these technologies into their existing journalistic practice is a central question throughout this research.

The economic groups that control both *La Tercera* and Canal 13 need to invest in technological innovation to remain competitive in a market where competition is fierce. These digital innovations have laid the groundwork for a different kind of newsroom that is not found anywhere else in the region. Indeed, according to recent studies, 76% of Chileans believe social networks allow them to be perpetually informed (Reuters Institute Digital News Report, 2017),[16] compared to 67% in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2017).[17] Additionally, only Chile, Costa Rica, and Uruguay had reached over 60% in household Internet penetration within the region by 2016 (ECLAC);[18] thus, it is understandable that the media in Chile are relying on new digital platforms that users can employ when consuming news.

In this context, for example, WhatsApp has become the chat application du jour. According to *Global Digital Report of 2018* (Kemp, 2018), WhatsApp reaches 1.3 billion users globally, making it the most utilised chat application along with Facebook Messenger. According to the same report, Chile is an interesting case, since the number of active mobile social network users in the country is 13 million out of 18 million people. This represents a 72% penetration of mobile social media users in the country, which is statistically larger than the rates in the UK (57%), US (61%), and China (65%). However, the specific patterns of usage are invisible to an outsider. This increase in active mobile usage correlates with the explosion of WhatsApp as one of the top social media applications for news consumption in Chile. According to *Reuters Institute Digital Report 2018* (Newman et al., 2018), 36% of surveyed people in Chile said they were utilising WhatsApp for news consumption, compared to 4% in the US and 5% in the UK. It therefore becomes imperative to enter the newsroom to observe how the ubiquitous global influence of platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp are being adapted by journalists and how these social networks are creating new forms of interdependencies through innovations inside media organisations.

[16] See the complete report at https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Digital%20News%20Report%202017%20web_0.pdf

[17] See the complete report at http://www.journalism.org/2017/09/07/news-use-across-social-media-platforms-2017/

[18] See the complete report at https://www.cepal.org/en/pressreleases/eclac-internet-use-and-access-increases-sharply-latin-america-and-caribbean

Part II

Digital technologies and their impact on newsmaking

II. Chapter 2: Media convergence and new forms of journalism

In Chapter 1, I reviewed the history of the modern press in Chile and outlined the characteristics and the sociohistorical context of the field in which this ethnographic work occurred. Although Chile's political background is full of grisly memories, as many local media researchers argue, journalists have been able to resist, endure, and sometimes even thrive. This chapter begins with another story of resistance, focussing on how the unwillingness to accept an undemocratic court ruling launched new forms of journalism in Chile and opened the doors for the first multiplatform newsrooms in the country. In this chapter, I examine how digital platforms' demands for content production are producing a clash between digital journalists and television or newspaper reporters within the same newsrooms. I further argue that value-related hierarchies can be observed in multiplatform newsrooms because of the content, boundaries, and business model that each platform supports. Moreover, the platformisation of news has not only created new hierarchies inside Chilean newsrooms but has produced a revalorisation of paper, television, and digital reporters, with different degrees of value associated with each.

2.1. Of God's blessings, drug cartels, and loopholes

As the summer heat was overtaking Denton County in 1977, tempers were also beginning to flare among Dentonites. A liquor sales ban had been recently introduced, and a debate had arisen between the so-called wets and drys. Because this was Texas in the 1970s, or maybe just because it was Texas, even God's name was involved in the discussion. In a letter to the editor of *The Denton Record-Chronicle*, a man argued that although he was a well-respected, religious neighbour of Denton, 'unlike many of the *drys*, however, I see alcohol not as a creation of the devil (whose existence I literally believe in), but as just another of God's many blessings'.[19] Yet, the drys won that fight, and some of God's blessings were indeed temporarily banned.

The lesson of this particular story is not that of not losing faith but that every law has its loophole. Only 22 miles from Denton city limits, just inside the border of the next county, six or seven new liquor stores appeared almost overnight. The wets had found a hole in the law. Although purchasing beer and wine was forbidden in Denton, driving 35 kilometres to the next city and buying case after case of alcohol was completely fine. 'My God will supply all your needs', says the verse.

[19] The Denton Record-Chronicle. July 24th, 1977. Retrieved from: https://newspaperarchive.com/denton-record-chronicle-jul-24-1977-p-37/

Fernando Paulsen found himself in this context when he landed in Texas in 1977. Paulsen, an undergraduate journalism student from Chile, which at the time was under Pinochet's dictatorship, was transferring to the University of North Texas (UNT). Paulsen eventually graduated from UNT, earned a master's degree from Harvard, and returned to Chile to become the director of *La Tercera*. However, not until June 1997 – 20 years later – did the memory of the crafty Dentonites and their ability to sidestep the law reappear in his head as a way to fight for freedom of speech. Before I tell that story, however, first we must jump through time again and revisit one of the most memorable drug cases in Chilean history.

This story began in 1992 when a businessman named Manuel Losada Martínez attempted to ship five tonnes of Colombian cocaine – worth US$75 million – into the United States. To this day, this drug story is one of the most fascinating in Chile; it involves international espionage, the Cali Cartel, and the Italian mafia. Losada was arrested in 1998 and sentenced in 2009 in what was famously called 'Operación Océano' (Operation Ocean).

Losada was a friend and business partner of Jorge de la Barra, husband of María Teresa Cañas, who was Pinochet's favourite niece. In a controversial move in June 1997, Judge Beatriz Pedrals ruled in Viña del Mar for a complete media blackout on the case. None of the national press were allowed to print or broadcast any developments in the investigation or even the names of those involved in Operation Ocean. Pedrals' decision was, not unexpectedly, unwelcome in journalists' organisations, and even then-President Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle 'sharply opposed' the initiative (Brett, 1998, p. 67).

In the newsroom of *La Tercera*, Paulsen received Judge Pedrals' decision with the same aversion as his colleagues. Something needed to change if journalists wanted to share the information.

Then, like an echo resonating deep in his head, Paulsen remembered that small town in Texas hiding between the two forks of the Trinity River and the guileful Dentonites who drove 22 miles to purchase beer and wine inches across the county border. After all, the lesson that day had been that every law has its loopholes. *La Tercera*'s editorial team, with the endorsement of the owners of its parent company, Copesa, moved quickly to circumvent the law. First, the newspaper started printing a 'judicial novel'. Ensuring that the names were securely changed, every chapter of the novel featured a new development in the actual case against Losada. Although that worked in the interim, another possibility existed to which no objection or prohibition applied. The judge's ban was against printing and broadcasting *in* Chile, but what if *La Tercera* published news from a server in New York on an extra-territorial website in which Pedrals' ban had no jurisdiction?

Sebastián Rivas, the Internet editor at *La Tercera* during my fieldwork, chronicled this story and remembered that this decision occurred when there were only five computers in the entire newsroom.[20] As stated in Chapter 1, Chile in the 1990s was already experiencing an exponential increase in its Internet penetration, although the Internet was not yet truly popular in the nation. Nonetheless, the country was already leading the region in computers per capita. The website, www.latercera.cl, had been launched only weeks before, and it only carried news that had already been published in the paper. Now, however, the website had the opportunity to publish stories that the paper legally could not. The editorial team eventually abandoned the www.latercera.cl domain and instead promoted www.infochile.com/tercera, which later became www.latercera.com. Consequently, *La Tercera* is one of the few dot-com, rather than dot-cl, news websites in Chile.

Figure 4. La Tercera *advertising their international website in the paper, c. 1997. Photo: www.latercera.com.*

'New service, directly from the USA. All the news from Chile that currently you find somewhat difficult to get. *La Tercera*, Special International Edition, with daily updates, available to personal computers around the world via Internet'. This was the loophole. Three days after publishing their first stories, the website was receiving almost 10,000 visits per day, a record-breaking number in those days. However, *La Tercera*'s digital platform would prove its usefulness again before the end of the decade.

On 14 April 1999, journalist Alejandra Matus boarded a plane to Argentina and, once in Buenos Aires, connected to another flight to the United States, where she would finally receive political asylum. Nine years after the return of democracy in her country, she was escaping and would

[20] Sebastián Rivas' chronicle can be read online here: https://especiales.latercera.com/mas-que-un-diario/la-prohibicion-de-informar-que-dio-origen-a-latercera-com/

not return to Chile for two years. That Wednesday morning, as the leaves of deciduous trees were still falling, Matus' six years of research had culminated in the publication of her book *The Black Book of Chilean Justice*, a historical exposé about the lack of political independence in the judiciary system. However, it disappeared from bookshelves less than 48 hours after its launch, not because of overwhelming reader demand but because the police confiscated its entire first edition by order of Supreme Court Justice Servando Jordán, who was 'very offended' by the content of the book.[21] Once again, the editorial team of *La Tercera*, who were now growing exponentially every day and had their own history with Jordán, found another loophole. Confronted with a ruling that covered the ignominy of the republic, *La Tercera* published the book in its entirety online. This new way of journalism did not abide bans or proscriptions, and it could only grow from there.

The introduction of new digital technologies, an important process in the convergence of journalistic platforms, has impacted not only the news forms themselves but also the culture and social relations around them, from how journalists negotiate with political and judicial authorities to how they pursue their audiences. However, are new digital platforms in dialogue with more traditional platforms? How do they impact each other and journalistic practice? To answer these questions, the primary aim of this chapter is to explore how journalists are negotiating, adapting, and responding to the introduction of new forms that enable new ways to report the news.

2.2. Multiplatform news and new devices

The 28 April 2019 issue of *La Tercera* was atypical. It had been almost a year since I finished my fieldwork there when I discovered that, unlike any other morning, their front page did not display the most relevant news of the day. No quotes or pictures adorned the headlines on their cover. Instead, 29 black letters were printed on a bright white background, simply stating in Spanish that 'journalism no longer fits on the paper'. On the following page, Copesa's President, Jorge Andrés Saieh, Álvaro Saieh's son, addressed curious readers, proclaiming, 'We believe that journalism does not end on paper. We believe that journalism no longer fits on a cover. We believe that journalism is more than a headline. It does not end in a printed

[21] A news clipping can be found here: "Requisan libro por recurso de Ministro Servando Jordán" *El Mercurio*, April 15th, 1999. http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-87350.html

photograph. Our role goes far beyond paper'. Then he added, 'We understand quality journalism as something that cannot be restricted to a single format. The one that works 24 hours and on different platforms. That is the world we want to invite you to. One where *La Tercera* is much more than a newspaper'.

Figure 5. La Tercera*'s front page, 28 April 2019. Photo:* La Tercera*'s Twitter page.*

What does it mean to be 'much more than a newspaper'? On page 2 of the same edition, José Luis Santa María, director of *La Tercera*, offered a more nuanced explanation: 'We must be able to inform, interpret and contextualize the 24 hours [each] day through the different platforms and formats – videos, podcasts, newsletters – and, in that sense, we have to be more than a newspaper'. In less than 20 years, *La Tercera* had progressed from utilising the Internet as a loophole against what they saw as undemocratic rulings to fully recognising that the newspaper was only one of many platforms available to journalism.

According to Kheeshadeh (2012), since the end of the 2000s, mass media platforms have been classified in seven categories: print (from the late 15th century), recordings (from the late 19th century), cinema (from approximately the 1900s), radio (from approximately the 1910s), television (from approximately the 1950s), Internet (from approximately the 1990s), and mobile phones (from approximately the 2000s). Kheeshadeh argues that the sixth and seventh categories, that is, Internet and mobile phones, can be collectively referred to as *digital media*. The fourth and fifth categories, radio and television, are traditionally called *broadcast media*. Moreover, 'each mass media has its own content types, its own creative artists and technicians, and its own business models' (2012, p. 1745). Therefore, readers could correctly assume that by announcing that *La Tercera* now wanted to inform people 24 hours per day through different platforms, they were saying that they were professionally diversifying their newsroom and

hiring new creative artists and technicians to maintain the new platforms and forms of journalism.

Furthermore, aside from the possibilities inherent in each platform, other authors argue that every type of platform also has limitations, which define the 'outer borders of a format within which the content is moulded' (Westin, 2013, p. 131); every platform allows a degree of specificity in its contents and concurrently restricts what can be done, presented, and said within its frame.

Traditionally, these seven media categories have been considered a starting point to understand media platforms for the majority of the 19th and 20th centuries; these seven categories each have their own possibilities and limitations. This chapter, however, discusses how the different platforms overlap during the news-making process. I illuminate how digital technologies have started to combine different forms of presenting journalism beyond the limitations of the traditional platforms that journalists utilise to produce the news: If I watch a YouTube video on the evening news, if I read the newspaper on my phone, if I listen to a radio show as a podcast in Spotify, then which platform dominates my consumption? Is this determined by the way the story was originally produced or by the way I consume it? How does the team who produced the piece coordinate with the team who formatted and sent it to the platform I am utilising to consume it? Furthermore, if each platform has limitations, then how does a multiplatform context erase, if possible, such boundaries?

If *media platforms* refers to the materialities of the support or channel in which news is placed, then *media forms* emphasise the 'languages' that the journalistic product may take to 'tell a good journalistic story' (Moloney, 2012). Based on its characteristics, each media form is in itself a 'mode of performance' (Mushengyezi, 2003, p. 109) – a way to present or to act – of staging different journalism genres. Mushengyezi employs the concept of form to describe not only modern mass media but also specific forms of communication, such as dance, music, drums, horns, storytelling, and so on. I draw on Mushengyezi's work to argue that each of the platforms with which journalists work – digital, paper, and television – include forms that can be understood as modes of performances, and as Mushengyezi argues, they have limitations. The limitations of every kind of platform, both technical and social, mark not only the boundaries for the content within but also the action and the character of the medium and the medium worker in which they exist. Consequently, the limitations of that platform condition the production of content from the beginning of the creation process.

This is what Marshall McLuhan meant when he now-famously argued that 'the medium is the message' (1994). His characterisation of channel, medium, and message form a useful

theoretical framework to understand the importance of focussing on the forms of production. For McLuhan, the content of any medium is another medium in itself. The electric light, for example, is a medium within another medium: the incandescent light bulb. But the electric light is a medium without a message and without content; this is provided by the character of the platform in which it resides: the light bulb, and the bulb shapes the way human action utilises electricity to create a message and project information. McLuhan further characterises the message of the medium as follows:

> The 'message' of any medium or technology is the change of scale or pace or pattern that it introduces into human affairs. The railway did not introduce movement or transportation or wheel or road into human society, but it accelerated and enlarged the scale of previous human functions, creating totally new kinds of cities and new kinds of work and leisure. (1994, p. 8)

Similarly, Kheeshadeh's digital media – the Internet and mobile phones – did not invent news making or news consumption, but like the railway, they invented new kinds of 'human functions'. Those new works or functions are embodied by the arrival of new professionals in the newsroom and a new way of performing journalism. Accordingly, technological changes in broadcast media, such as the digital television that fascinated Guillermo in Chapter 1, transformed and shaped the speed, scale, and quality of the message that television carried to the houses of every Chilean in the audience.

Perhaps the dominant, most noticeable change in newsrooms is the creation of a new department, often called 'social networks'. Unlike their colleagues who write for the paper or the web or appear on television, social networks' journalists are multiplatform professionals who work concurrently for different platforms, each of which have their own method of production.

Kheeshadeh simply recognises the Internet as one category; however, in my fieldwork, I observed that within that category, multiple social media platforms demand specific modes of creation; Twitter is, for example, limited by the number of characters in a tweet; Instagram requires visual or audiovisual information; and Facebook, which remains the most influential of all, requires the most strategic planning (Meese & Hurcombe, 2020).

In December 2017, I interviewed the social networks editor at Teletrece. My goal was to understand the story of how digital platforms had been introduced at Canal 13 and what he thought was their main impact on other platforms within the newsroom.

The social networks team in Teletrece was created after a first failed attempt to launch T13.cl in November 2014, the editor explained. Canal 13 had decided, as many television stations in Chile have done since then, to launch their own Internet news media outlet. However, not all television reporters are writers, and these platforms are based on different skills; consequently, Canal 13 hired an entire team of new journalists to write about national, economic, and political news. The main objective of T13 was to create a political and influential website to captivate their television audience when they were not at home watching TV. The idea was unsuccessful. After three months with little web traffic, the directors at Teletrece hired a social networks team to work on advertising and attracting users to the website. 'They forgot that a website needs to be read', said the social networks editor during our interview. 'We needed traffic, we needed visibility, we needed people to read us, and well, *what all journalists look for* – that our work could be shared, read, viralised – and so, the main idea was that through social networks, one would be getting new audiences'. For this editor, if one wanted to start a digital project, then social networks would be the optimal option to succeed. Social networks would be the way to capture new audiences and bring traffic to the site; 'it is how we tell people what is happening on the TV news', especially younger generations who do not necessarily turn on their televisions when they are home.

Each social network utilised by Teletrece now has its own target group. Initially, the editor remembered, Twitter was considered equal to Facebook, and his team published the same type of information on both: politics, business, viral stories, sports, international, and so on. However, they gradually realised that Twitter was not producing significant traffic on the site but was instead generating considerable levels of influence. That is to say, people retweeted and commented on Teletrece's posts more than they clicked on them. The tweet itself rather than the news article was the product with which users interacted more frequently. Therefore, they decided to utilise Twitter to address politics (including politicians' quotes) and breaking news. Facebook, however, would be employed to 'post the most important news of the day, but also to enhance fans' loyalty, to chat with them, to read their opinions, to generate interaction', argued the social networks editor. This decision was not random. According to this editor, if social networks brought approximately 70% of the traffic to T13.cl, then Facebook was responsible for 90% of that. Perhaps, however, what he said immediately after was most revealing: 'Because Facebook is an incredible traffic generator, we look for the best way to make our content go viral, utilising *Facebook's language*'. This meant, he said as an example, that if the news on television told a story with the most important bits of news at the end, then the social network team would rearrange that so the most important information was

at the beginning of the post. Another example was the usage of titles as cliff-hangers, which pushed the audience to click on the title if they wished to know 'what part of your breakfast could be giving you cancer'. 'We need to capture the attention of the guy on his phone who has 8,000 tabs open. […] The first 10 seconds are really important', the editor explained. The report offered by Google Analytics proved his point. At the time that I took this screenshot during my fieldwork, 75% of the total audience (n = 2,454 at that moment) was accessing the website via mobile phones, with the majority of active users coming from Facebook.

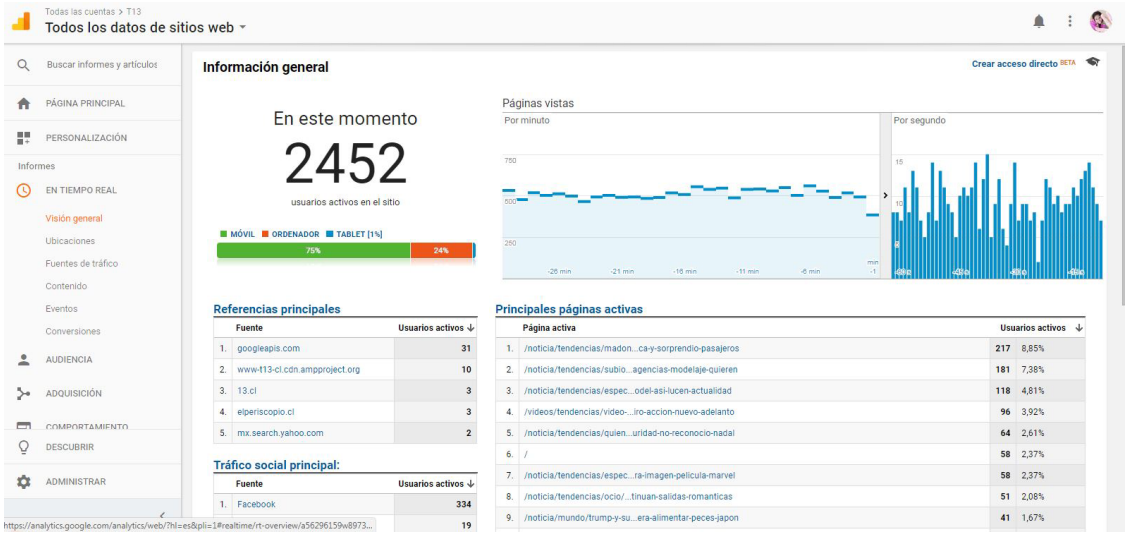

Figure 6. T13's Google Analytics report. Photo: Screenshot by Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

However, the phrase 'Facebook's language' rattled around in my head for a while. He did not say 'T13's language', or 'journalists' language'; rather, he said 'Facebook's language'. Facebook is not only a social media platform but also a real, material company with office buildings, paid workers, economic interests, and lobby representatives in Chile. Consequently, I explored this issue by asking the social networks editor directly about their relationship with Facebook:

> We have to play along because they are … Imagine this is a big supermarket and they are the shelves. So, if we follow what they tell us to do, they are going to put us on a very visible shelf; otherwise, they are going to put us on the back, where nobody can see us.

Facebook concurrently provided the channel on their site through which news was distributed, and it ruled how messages were to be presented; the content was secondary. Media companies

in Chile have historically owned the prints, the paper, and the ink with which newspapers have been made. They have also owned the delivery trucks to shuttle those newspapers across the country before dawn. Television stations have owned the parabolic antennas on top of the hills, including those on San Cristóbal hill, the wires, the cameras, and the lights, just as radio stations have owned their microphones, transceivers, and amplifiers. They have not owned the radio spectrum in which electromagnetic waves travel to every home with a receptor; all Chileans have owned this portion because the radio spectrum has been a public good in Chile. Now, however, media outlets do not own these platforms or rule how they ought to be utilised. Part of how journalism is being conducted today no longer depends on journalists. As Meese and Hurcombe (2020) argue, this dependency is evidenced by a growing concern in the literature about the increasingly intertwined relationship between Facebook and news organisations. In an article for *The New York Times* published on 26 October 2014, Ravi Somaiya argues that 'if Facebook's algorithm smiles on a publisher, the rewards, in terms of traffic, can be enormous. If Mr. Marra [a 26-year-old Facebook engineer] and his team decide that users do not enjoy certain things, such as teaser headlines that lure readers to click through to get all the information, it can mean ruin' (2014). Journalists' process in writing headlines is not the only change companies such as Facebook are demanding for media companies to remain in 'the good side of the supermarket'. Rather, social networking companies are further privileging the intermingling of formats and modes in a single news piece. This means that journalists are being forced to integrate different platforms into their routines and hire or fire workers who cannot adapt to these new requirements (Meese & Hurcombe, 2020).

2.3. Media convergence

Over the past two decades, we have witnessed a scenario in which journalistic platforms have started to converge, allowing a story to 'unfold across multiple media platforms' (Jenkins, 2006, p. 95). This is visible, although not exclusively, between broadcast and digital media. This process is called *media convergence*, and it mainly suggests that 'all modes of communication and information will converge into a digital nexus' (Mueller, 1999, p. 11). The significance of media convergence for this research is to illustrate that digital technologies have impacted not only the form itself but also the culture and social relations of those who produce new information and those who consume it. As Jenkins posits, media convergence 'is more than a simple technological shift […]. Convergence refers to a process, but not an endpoint' (2004, p. 34). This state of transition has created many fears among media workers. According

to Huang et al., some of the fears media convergence produces in today's newsrooms are 'the need to update news staff, production quality, compensation for multiplatform productions and, last but not least, [to think] who is benefiting from convergence' (2006, p. 84). Some of those fears have been realised. As Madrigal and Meyer reveal, media organisations' quest to increase their audience metrics and advance the convergence of their platforms has caused these organisations to fire hundreds of journalists (2018).

Perhaps one of the drollest, more mundane cases of media convergence that I witnessed during my fieldwork, simply to ground and exemplify the concept, was Carlos Zárate's morning international briefings. Zárate is an international reporter who has worked for decades at Canal 13. Recently, however, he had acquired the habit of reading the international section of the T13 website while he was live on screen during the morning news programme. This had a double functionality: on the one hand, it promoted the website to a television audience. On the other hand, it made his job slightly easier. Nevertheless, Zárate's new tradition involved a combination of platforms: he displayed tweets, played social media videos, read newspaper covers, and scrolled through digital articles on the air. The screenshot in Figure 7 was taken utilising T13 Móvil, a digital television signal that, since 2008, has been available via smartphone, tablet, or desktop computer.

Figure 7. Zárate's morning international briefings. Photo: Screenshot by Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

The concept of media convergence can be problematised further. According to Jenkins (2001), media convergence is actually an umbrella term that refers to and describes five dimensions: the technological, economic, social or organic, cultural, and global convergence. Zárate's morning ritual illuminates each of these. First, the technological convergence of media refers to the processes in which 'words, images, and sounds are transformed into digital information, [and by doing so] we expand the potential relationships between them and enable them to flow

across platforms' (Jenkins, 2001). Zárate illustrates how, once digitised, information can drift across platforms; in this case, Zárate actively transfers the information across platforms. The economic convergence of media, which refers to the horizontal integration of formats, is also fairly simple to observe. In the screenshot above, we can identify three brands: Canal 13 and its news department, Teletrece (T13), the Internet media outlet T13.cl, and the digital television signal T13 Móvil. On the upper black ribbon of the website, the logo of Tele13 Radio[22] can be seen, through which content can be accessed online and played on different devices. Canal 13 has occupied every possible digital space, and the company can portray it in just one picture.

Social or organic convergence describes the phenomenon that 'occurs when a high schooler is watching baseball on a big-screen television, listening to techno on the stereo, word-processing a paper and writing e-mail to his friends' (2001). In other words, this concept is represented by the new multitasking strategies that the audience needs to employ and deploy to navigate and consume information on contemporary platforms. In this case, by announcing, 'If you want to know more about X news, go to our website', Zárate was actually encouraging the audience to multitask and seek information on other platforms while they continued listening to the television as their primary source of news. We can employ the same example to explain cultural convergence, which 'fosters a new participatory folk culture by giving average people the tools to archive, annotate, appropriate and recirculate content' (2001). Here, the example is the screenshot itself: the T13 Móvil platform allows users to stream the television signal live but also to revisit recent highlights in the transmission as well as rewind at least a month of content and search for a specific date or even hour of the day.

Finally, Jenkins' global convergence is a direct reference to the idea of a 'global village', a term that was first coined by none other than McLuhan. In the early 1960s, McLuhan predicted that we would live in a world interconnected by technology; I can watch T13 Móvil today from my phone in the Netherlands and then send a text message to the journalists in Teletrece's newsroom in Chile to comment on the news.

In the following section, I examine the other side of this issue, in which we find those who argue that convergence may actually not be a suitable, sustainable idea and instead have called for the divergence of media platforms, proposing a collaborative, cross-media environment.

[22] This is their only news radio. However, Canal 13 also owns and operates the stations Oasis FM, Sonar FM, and Play FM.

2.4. Media divergence and cross-media

Media convergence was widely welcomed by futuristic optimists as a possibility to transform older analogue technologies and 're-create [them] in the image of digital technologies' (Holmes, 2005, p. 64). Thus, according to Van Dijk (1999), we had entered a 'second communication revolution' in which older analogue media are rethought, redetermined, and re-presented, as they now acquire digital and interactive characteristics. This digitalisation of traditional media is based on the cybernetic dream in which the medium, or the channel of communication, and the content it carries can eventually be separated (Flew, 2002). In other words, the idea is to make the content inter-operable or able to be organically placed in different platforms concurrently. During my fieldwork, however, I learned that this is not how journalism works and that every time one of these newsrooms had attempted to implement this cybernetic utopia, it had failed disastrously. As Singer succinctly states, 'What appears online and what appears in print will continue to diverge in line with the respective strengths of the different media forms' (2009, p. 376). Different platforms produce different temporalities and rhythms of consumption and production. It is difficult to imagine that the cybernetic dream to produce platform-less data is the result of a natural technological development. Rather, it seems to be the consequence of the economic integration of mass communication industries and their infrastructure.

Journalists writing for newspapers and, to some extent, television reporters have the *luxury*, as Pepe referred to time in Chapter 1, to prepare a single newsworthy piece during the working day; they search for the ideal angle to tell the story, determine the most effective argument, and curate optimal sources because they have only one deadline, which, for the majority of my interviewees, was in the late afternoon. Digital journalists, conversely, write for an Internet-based media outlet and are constantly competing to publish online before other media outlets do so. In part, this is because they have to feed the social networks department – 'that hungry, hungry hippo', as a television reporter called it during my fieldwork – who concurrently need to sort and publish that information quickly into their different platforms.

As I argued in Chapter 1, companies see technological and media convergence as an opportunity to lower the cost of production (Killebrew, 2005). The establishment of market logic inside editorial decision-making values is one of the most significant transformations in modern journalism and also the answer to the question of who is benefiting from media convergence. However, as Singer (2009) claims, print and online journalism diverge not only because of the type of content that their platforms support but also because of the professionals who produce the content for them. By rejecting the idea of platform-less news content, I am

not denying the importance of the dialogue between different platforms or the benefit to both the journalistic work and the audience who consumes it. The concept of media convergence purports the erasure of the physical and technological boundaries of media platforms, whereas the concept of cross-media aims precisely at the divergence of media, where the strength of each platform is utilised adequately to inform journalists' work.

According to Erdal, the cross-media concept is one 'whereby more than one media platform is engaged at the same time in communicating related content' (2007, p. 52). That is, journalists produce news for two or more media platforms – but not the *same news* – rather, the news is appropriate for each platform. Erdal posits that modern news is not only diverse in content and target audience but also comprises a variety of forms, is delivered in multiple ways, and is consumed via different platforms. As different as there are platforms. This is also important because platforms tend to influence each other. Indeed, some studies have noted the effect that new forms of media may have over others. Ku, Kaid, and Pfau (2003) investigated the impact of digital media over the content of more traditional media outlets. Utilising the 2000 presidential election in the United States as a case study, they conclude that website campaigning had a direct effect on the agenda-setting of traditional media. Other studies on inter-platform impact have offered similar results (Boyle, 2001; Lim, 2006; Schiffer, 2006). These studies indicate that different platforms modify and adjust content from outside sources to suit their own modes of performance.

Some journalists, even those within the newsroom of Teletrece, argue that Zárate should not read electronic news articles on screen. Written journalistic text is meant to be read, not narrated on TV, they would say. Therefore, a cross-media approach rather than a convergent approach stipulates that Zárate should utilise the audiovisual potential of television while the other platforms carry related information about the same issue.

It is easier to employ different journalists to produce content for different platforms than to require the same journalist to produce for multiple platforms. The idea that a journalist should write for different platforms 'is something that everyone is trying to do and has not worked yet', a Canal 13 digital reporter told me. 'They tried to do that in *La Tercera,* and it was a complete failure', said another.

In the following sections of this chapter, I present how, as a result of the introduction of new technologies inside the newsrooms, journalists are addressing the overlapping integration of the platforms with which they work and how this integration is impacting certain journalistic values among journalists from different platforms.

2.5. The *Grey's Anatomy* principle

One of the phrases that I heard most frequently during my fieldwork at Teletrece was, 'Yes! That would do very well in social networks!' This sentence not only indicated the approval and encouragement of the web editors but also denoted that the journalist who had asked whether to cover a topic had stumbled upon a rather enviable gem. A tingling feeling of excitement wound its way along my spine every time I heard the thrill in the voice of my editor, but I often wondered what topic we were about to cover that would break the social networks.

Over the course of the months that I spent conducting fieldwork at Canal 13, I was assigned to the workstation that was across the alley from the T13.cl content editor. Hence, I often overheard his conversations with other journalists who were pitching a story or merely scrounging around to find something new to write about. Only on rare occasions did I see him immediately reject an idea or lead for a story. Rather, he usually proposed a better angle or a different argument to report the same event.

Nevertheless, one of the things that I found odd was that the sentence 'that would do very well in social networks' appeared to be utilised indistinctively for many subjects that did not seem to be related. In my field notes, I noted that the content editor utilised this phrase when he was referring to news articles about *Grey's Anatomy*, Cirque du Soleil, and Kim Kardashian. I name these topics in particular because not all the medical dramas on television, entertainment or circus events, or even members of the Kardashian family received the same type of reaction and attention from the editor.

My excitement soon faded when I realised that the story that would have an impact on social networks was about a returning character or the latest unexpected pregnancy on *Grey's Anatomy*, a long-running medical drama on ABC (United States). However, as time went by, I began to wonder how my editor had acquired this alarming level of specificity in his knowledge regarding which topic would do well, that is to say, significantly impact social networks.

The first wave of newsroom ethnographies assumed that the relationship between journalists and their audiences was abstracted: media professionals were not concerned in practice with specific preferences of audience members. As Gans writes in *Deciding What's News*:

> [I had] the assumption that journalists, as commercial employees, take the audience directly into account when selecting and producing news … I was surprised to find, however, that they had little knowledge about the actual audience and rejected feedback from it. Although they had a vague image of the audience, they paid little attention to it; instead, they filmed and wrote for their superior and themselves,

> assuming, as I suggested earlier, that what interested them would interest the audience. (1979, p. 229)

However, the development of social media departments within the newsrooms, influenced by the advance and popularisation of quantitative audience measurement techniques (Anderson, 2011; Christin, 2020), has changed the role of the audience in the construction of modern news. The audience is no longer a generalised mass of people; rather, they are a group of atomised individuals who actively seek the information they want to consume and reject those pieces that they do not desire. As Napoli argues, 'within the context of media organizations and media audiences, the notion of the rationalization of audience has involved efforts to bring greater empirical rigor and (primarily) quantitative methods to the process of understanding a range of dimensions of audience behaviour' (2010, p. 73), allowing both journalists and advertising managers to grasp a better knowledge of their audience.

I interviewed that content editor who became excited every time he wrote about *Grey's Anatomy,* and we discussed the relationship between the digital audience and how journalists were setting the agenda for the news on the website.

'Our audience is very, very strange', the web content editor said with a snigger when I asked him about this issue. 'It is not a very well-defined audience. We have like … two types of audiences at the same time'. One of these audiences, he argued, comprised 16-year-old, 'super-young', heavy Facebook users. 'I know that if I write something about Selena Gomez, it would cause such a furore among them […]. I know that any of these 'it girl'-things will always work', he added. An *it girl* is, at least according to *Oxford Dictionary*, 'a young woman who has achieved celebrity because of her socialite lifestyle'.

'So, today, for example, I saw Selena Gomez giving a speech, and she started crying because one of her friends gave her a kidney or something for a transplant, and I knew immediately that this article was going to work', he said, quite unabashedly. Indeed, Gomez's kidney-or-something transplant article had at least 500 concurrent readers on the website that morning, which was a satisfying number for this newsroom's metrics. As Turow argues, 'the way media organizers search for and describe their audiences have important implications for the texts that viewers and readers receive' (2005, p. 106), and therefore, I asked the content editor who he had in mind when he wrote these kinds of stories. 'I just imagine I am telling a story to my little nieces', he answered.

'And then, some other things are like experiments. You have to test your audience', he continued. 'For example, I loved *Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt*; it is one of the TV shows I like

the most, but our audience is simply not having it. Articles about that show do not get read at all, unlike, for example, *Grey's Anatomy* or *Friends*. The audience of those shows are very well defined'.

The second type of T13.cl audience was a more politically oriented user, but as the editor argued during our interview, they were still building this group. 'We have grown [the political audience] a lot during the last months. But political articles will never have the same impact on social networks that the articles in the pop culture section have. […] Whatever last semi-nude picture of Kim Kardashian [is on] the cover of a magazine can get you 1,100 or 1,200 concurrent readers all day', he explained, whereas a political piece rarely had a similar readership online.

During my fieldwork at Teletrece, I jestingly referred to this phenomenon as the '*Grey's Anatomy* principle', a system concerning the coverage of specific topics by journalists based solely on the estimated reaction they may have on social networks. Any new piece of information, rumour, tweet, or Instagram post of any of the actors on this medical drama was quickly transformed into an article for the website and then posted on the newsroom's Facebook page. A rapid Google search on Teletrece's website indicated that over 2,000 articles about this programme had already been published.

What the content editor told me during our interview had a direct relationship with what the social networks editor at Teletrece had already told me during our conversation days before: 'We needed traffic, we needed visibility, we needed people to read us, and well, what all journalists look for – that our work could be shared, read, *viralised* – and so, the main idea was that through social networks, one would be getting new audiences'. Articles that fell into the '*Grey's Anatomy* principle' were indeed responding to this goal.

Their idea to save the website from failing again was effectively being realised. Journalists were writing stories under this '*Grey's Anatomy* principle', and in return, social networks were bringing a significant number of visitors to the website.

Utilising tools such as Google Analytics and Chartbeat, the editors were now able to maintain a realistic, in-the-moment, observation of how users were navigating the website and which news articles were being utilised as a door between platforms. For many inside this newsroom, this interaction represented the optimum integration between the social network platforms and the digital journalists. As Outing argues, 'newspaper web sites […] have detailed traffic numbers at their disposal. Today's news editors know for a fact if sports articles are the biggest reader draw, or if articles about local crimes consistently outdraw political news' (2005), and this was certainly the case for the digital journalists at Teletrece. User metrics were sufficiently

detailed so that editors could see which countries users were coming from and set the agenda based on those variables.

As the content editor observed, 'It is weird, and I do not know why, but we have a huge Mexican audience. There are several theories about why this is happening, but the thing is that we have a lot of followers from Mexico. Therefore, I know that if I write about Belinda [a Mexican singer and actress], it is going to work'. A similar pattern occurred with Mexican television programmes that either arrived on Chilean television or were streamed on platforms such as Netflix. 'Mexican people would read articles about their own shows on our website', he finished in a tone of wonder.

Despite the fact that I said the '*Grey's Anatomy* principle' as a joke, this concept is certainly indicative of how, as a consequence of the overlapping integration between platforms, journalistic values, practices, and routines are being forced to change. As Thomsen states, 'the newsroom can be seen as a site in which both professional ideals of journalists and market logics of management and media owners vie for attention' (2018, p. 139). This directly relates to the increase of professional dissonance within newsrooms. As Christin argues, the gap between market logic and professional ideas can make journalists 'experience an acute sense of conflict between editorial and click-based definitions of their work' (2020, p. 6). In this case, if the medium had not decided to utilise social networks as an entry door to generate traffic, then nothing within the journalistic principles of noticeability could have justified covering the topics that appeared under the '*Grey's Anatomy* principle', at least not in that quantity or frequency. Yet, and perhaps more importantly, this phenomenon demonstrated that the process in which two platforms overlap was in no way a mutual concession in which the parties compromised. Rather, it seemed clear to me that instead of an egalitarian exchange of benefits in which the interests of both platforms were considered, one of the platforms was largely obeisant to the other, following editorial decisions that were mainly rooted in economic interests.

As Anderson notes, 'Whereas earlier newsroom sociology emphasized the submersion of audience-centred news judgments in favour of professional codes, […] the process of "deciding what's news" is increasingly influenced by quantitative audience measurement techniques' (2011, p. 563). However, the new relationship that multiplatform newsrooms have established with their audiences is only one part of the recent changes instigated by the introduction of new digital technologies. In the next section, I explain how the relationship between media workers themselves has also been impacted by these technologies.

2.6. Forms, culture, and social relations

'I am a cusser', my interviewee said nervously when I started recording our conversation in January 2018, 'but I will try to hold it back a bit'. We laughed. We sat in an empty conference room on one of the far sides of *La Tercera*'s newsroom. Unlike many of my other interviewees, she was not a journalist, and therefore, she was less familiar with the rituals of the interview: the ethical disclosure at the beginning of the recording, the 'state your name to the microphone' declaration, and the notepad and pen that were visible on the table but were placed at an angle that made it difficult to read the interviewer's notes. The sounds on the background of the recording told me that she clicked fretfully and anxiously on the end of her pen throughout the majority of our conversation. However, I needed to talk to her. She was a digital and multimedia animator who had been working for a little more than year at *La Tercera*. She had not worked in news media before, and she admitted that she had been surprised to find a job at a newspaper. Yet, 'nowadays the Internet is so dizzying that I feel like this graphic reinforcement is indeed necessary', she argued. In her words, her main job was to 'graphically reinforce' the digital section of *La Tercera,*[23] and especially the social networks department. This meant that she created GIFs and flash alerts for Facebook and Twitter and animated infographics to be published on the home page of the website.

She observed that she had barely worked with newspaper reporters or digital journalists since she had arrived. The majority of the time, she collaborated with the social networks team, with whom she shared a desk in the middle of the newsroom, or with the designers in the infographic department on the 14th floor. 'I am not a journalist, so I do have some gaps when I need to write some texts for my pieces, but they [the social networks team] are always happy to help me', she added. She did not have a graphic editor supervising her; rather, she reported to the web editor. That should not be surprising since she was also the *only* digital and multimedia animator at the newspaper. She was responsible for observing what other media outlets were doing with animations and implementing similar ideas at *La Tercera*. Her computer was the only one that had Adobe After Effects, which was the only animation software she remembered how to utilise since it was the only software she had utilised since she started working at *La Tercera*. No one had asked her to utilise another program, probably because they could not list any alternatives. However, this animator was hopeful about the future of animation at *La*

[23] Here is an example where she animated Heglar Fleming's infographic work: https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/perfil-una-megaestacion-asi-universidad-chile-una-las-paradas-mas-importantes-la-linea-3/495751/

Tercera. 'For the first time, this year we worked on animating infographic pieces for web articles',[24] which, she stated, enjoy better reception by the audience.

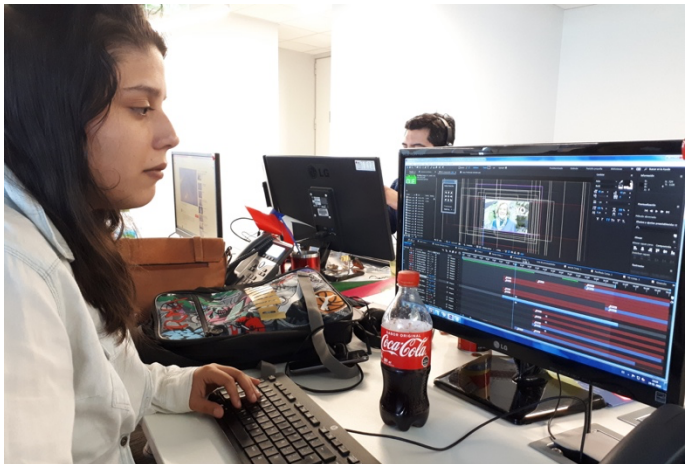

Figure 8. A digital animator inside the newsroom of La Tercera. Photo by Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

She continued, 'It is a hard job, though, because social networks are constantly looked down upon' by some of her colleagues. 'It is my opinion that everything that is digital is looked down on'. She paused for a second, undecided. 'Why do you think that happens?' I pushed. A grin appeared on her face as she answered, 'We are literally in a floor that cares mainly about the paper. So, the digital is something they use to merely *occupy* the web, but nothing more'. She utilised the word *occupy* with the same connotation as if someone was describing the materials one utilises to fill cracks and potholes in the middle of the road.

This interview was recorded almost one year before the cover of *La Tercera* announced that 'journalism no longer fits on the paper', and yet, some of their workers seemed to think, at least at that time, that the paper was all that mattered. I decided to find someone else who may be feeling this way and soon realised that this was not a difficult task.

My next interview was with one of the senior digital journalists at *La Tercera*, and as soon as I asked about the relationship between paper and digital journalists, she answered, 'I believe that paper journalists are not very interested in contributing with the digital reporters. There is a much greater appreciation of the role of paper over the Internet. It is assumed that the best journalists are on paper, and they look down on our job'. For this journalist, one of the best examples of this was that paper reporters, who could walk the streets to report or find additional sources for their articles, were reticent about sharing those sources, scoops, or exclusives with

[24] Before this, she was animating gifs for social media and other interactive visualizations for the website.

their digital colleagues. As I mentioned previously in this chapter, a form's limitations condition the production of content from the beginning of the creation process, and concurrently, these limitations shape the relationships between the workers within the same organisation.

The rapport between the paper and digital journalists at *La Tercera*, as with other newspapers, was marked by the preparation time as well as the transience and fixedness affordances (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2018) of the platforms journalists utilise to do their jobs. I return to the notion of media affordances in Chapter 4, but here, it is important to explore how preparation time, transience (as in the transitoriness of web articles), and fixation of paper news articles are central to understanding the fallout in newsrooms that taints the relationships between multiplatform professionals.

The concept of preparation time is ideally described in the following quote from a journalist who formerly worked at *La Tercera* but was working at Teletrece by the time of my fieldwork. Although this is a translation, I have attempted to maintain the exasperation in her tone:

> Look, for example, the newspaper journalist criticizes the web journalist, saying that those assholes are sitting all day doing nothing. The newspaper journalists go out to report, and in the meantime, they say, web journalists do not go out to report their articles at all, and they just copy them from other websites. I mean, what the fuck? That is understanding nothing of what the job of the web journalists really is about. And on the other hand, the web journalist criticises the newspaper assholes, because they go out, drink like 10 coffees, have a long lunch, take 20 walks, [and] come back to write 2,000 characters, while the asshole in web writes like 20,000 characters per day. And what for?! The paper journalists write the same article for tomorrow that I already wrote 10 hours ago for the web. And yet, the newspaper asshole earns way more money than you.

Because newspaper journalists had only one deadline in the late afternoon, some digital reporters perceived that they could utilise the entire day to prepare for an article, interview sources, or cultivate contacts. Newspaper reporters argued that this allows them to bring a distinctive note and originality to the news they produce. However, web journalists in the newsrooms where I conducted fieldwork did not have time to prepare because their deadline was marked by their ability to publish before their competition. This often translated into short, sourceless articles that indeed differed little from those of other media sites.

The second affordance is the transience and fixation of the media platforms, which can be encompassed as the versionality of media products. Web articles can be changed repeatedly, not only during the same day but also weeks after they are originally published. During my fieldwork in both newsrooms, I learned that it was common to receive the order to publish at least one paragraph when breaking news occurred, adding a 'news still in process' statement at the end of the text and then including additional information as new data arrived. This practice allowed the social networks department to link the website in their posts and generate traffic to the page. Newspaper journalists, however, and the same can be said for television reporters, were bound for eternity by the fixation of their platforms. Unless a natural disaster destroys the National Library of Santiago, a copy of the articles I wrote for the newspaper will be available in perpetuity exactly as I wrote them in 2017.

The fixation of the platforms also influences different chains of production. Newspaper articles were read and edited at least by two editors every day and a style editor at the end of the day. During my time in the newsroom, I published three articles in the paper, and each of them underwent a meticulous editorial evaluation. However, my digital articles on the *La Tercera* website were published without anybody reading them first. If misspellings or mistakes occurred in the information published, they were not treated as a relevant problem, since they could be changed as soon as someone noticed them. Figure 9 displays the screenshot of a WhatsApp message in the web team's group in which a web journalist (who was not in the newsroom at the moment) alerted the team of a misspelled word in the home page's main article title. The mistake was rapidly corrected, and someone simply answered with a nonchalant 'thanks'. If this had occurred in the paper, however, it could have not been changed.

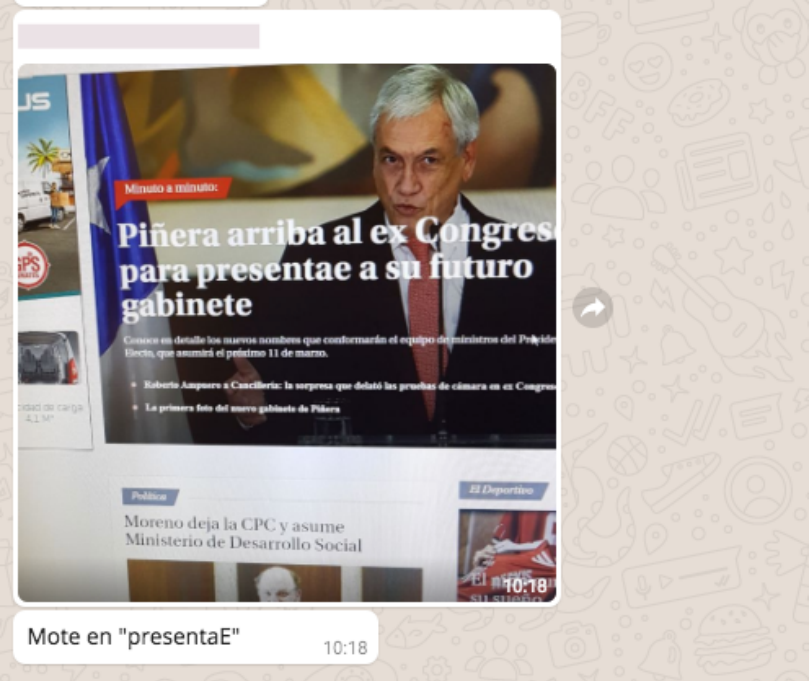

Figure 9. Screenshot of a WhatsApp message alerting the team of a misspelled word on the website. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

My next interview was with a journalist who had worked first for the *La Tercera* website but now was working for the newspaper. Booking an interview with her proved to be more difficult than with the other interviewees, because like many newspaper journalists, she spent the majority of her mornings reporting on the field, conducting interviews, or waiting for press conferences, and later, she returned to the office to write a long piece before the afternoon deadline. However, she invited me to have lunch with her and interview her there. Although the cafeteria of *La Tercera* occupied the entire top floor of the building, the place was already packed when I arrived that Wednesday afternoon. Through the floor-to-ceiling windows that encircled the entire room, I could see the busy streets of the municipality of Las Condes glittering with never-ending traffic below us. I found her already waiting in the queue for food. She welcomed me with a smile and immediately noted which food was of 'doubtful origin' that I should avoid.

She did not think that newspaper reporters disdained their digital colleagues, she said when we finally found a free table. Rather, she believed that the digital team thought poorly of themselves. 'When I got hired to write for the paper, my colleagues in digital told me "now you are *really* going to write"', she remembered. Then she added,

> The web is very useful to us. But I do believe that digital reporters see themselves as inferiors to the paper. Now, it is true that the newspaper is perceived as a more

> serious medium in Chile. At least more than television, more than the web, or radio, or everything. If you say that you write for the paper everyone is like *wow*, unlike if you say you write for a website. But I do not think newspaper journalists look down on digital journalists. I guess we are just used to be[ing] consider[ed] serious reporters.

As the conversation continued, I attempted to determine how correct that journalist at Teletrece was when speaking unkindly about newspaper reporters and their daily routines. However, the more I spoke with this reporter, the more I realised that I was seeing two completely different journalistic experiences happening simultaneously in the same newsroom. While digital journalists, working in two shifts, endlessly wrote small article after small article all day, this reporter's day was entirely different. Although her shift officially started at 10 a.m., 'we always start sending WhatsApp message[s] around 8 a.m. or the night before, checking assignments and the events of that day'. Often, press conferences occurred before 10 a.m., and she would arrive at the newsroom around 11 a.m., when all the journalists in her section would gather and present their topics to their sub-editor. At the time of our interview, she was reporting on education, a category that was under the national section of the newspaper. Once she and her education section colleagues had presented their topics to the education sub-editor, he would join the sub-editors of sports, environment, health, crime, and others in a meeting with the general editor of national news. Around noon, the national news editor would meet with the other general editors, such as those from international and economy, and literally map how they planned to share the limited space available in the paper. The prominence of her work, how far she could advance her career, and how much space she had to write were all dependent on her work before 11 a.m., the sources whom she booked to interview, her determination of the correct angle for the story, the potential to acquire exclusive information, and so on.

Nothing is simple when writing for a paper. Therefore, why do digital journalists, who do not have limited space for publication, not undergo this level of preparation to write in-depth articles about their issues of concern? As mentioned previously, the limitations of a form condition the content production from the beginning of the creation process, and some of these limitations may not emerge organically from the platform itself; rather, they are imposed by a cultural context. The question then is this: who decided that web journalists could not write extensive, well-reported journalistic articles, thus aggravating this dichotomy between paper and digital?

2.7. The vagueness and specificities of new journalistic roles

I consider the digital animator's case to be the epitome of a cross-media newsroom in transition, which was characterised by the incorporation of new professionals' profiles without a clear place in the organisation's general design. These improvised roles defined themselves more by the everyday practices with which they were involved, many of which were fortuitous, than by the development of career objectives based on job-related skills and expertise. Her job description – 'graphically reinforce the digital area of *La Tercera'* – which she mentioned many times during our interview, told me little: What was the purpose of such reinforcement? Why were graphic reinforcements necessary? Was it because people may linger a few extra seconds on a website to watch an animation instead of a two-dimensional infographic?

The only person other than this animator who could offer me more answers to these questions was the editor who supervised her. What follows in this section is the interview I conducted with *La Tercera*'s Internet editor, who was a young, smart, talented journalist. He was simultaneously the gatekeeper and the broker with whom I met before starting my fieldwork at the newspaper. After a brief meeting in the Juan Valdez café downstairs, where we discussed what the research would entail, he provided me with full access to the newsroom. He also introduced me to everyone around the newsroom on my first day, invited me to write several newspaper articles with him about the upcoming presidential election, and offered me tips about interesting facts that I may have otherwise missed during my fieldwork. Nevertheless, he had been named multiple times by the reporters I interviewed as the source of the palpable discomfort expressed constantly by digital journalists.

'Talking with [the digital editor] is like talking to a wall. He pretends that he is receptive to the things you say, but in practice he does nothing. I do not doubt that his intentions are the best, but he has not done anything to make the web more competitive with paper', stated a digital reporter who had been working at *La Tercera* for five years.

During my fieldwork, I also noticed that this editor seemed personally keener to write for the paper, a job he had held before his promotion to Internet editor, than to edit the website. Unlike Teletrece, where the website content editor sat at the head of the table and read every piece that was written before publishing, *La Tercera*'s Internet editor sat rather far from his team of web journalists. This translated into maddening situations, such as the dictatorship-in-the-title case I mentioned in Chapter 1, where the debate lingered until he happened to walk by our desks. At least twice during my fieldwork at *La Tercera*, two online journalists published the same story about the same topic because they were unaware that somebody else was working on it. This was in addition to the endless spelling mistakes and typographic errors, which were

consequences of the unsupervised and frantic attempts to write and publish as quickly as possible. Above all, however, his absence in the web journalists' daily work or their editorial meetings seemed to send his subordinates a message about his priorities.

However, he was an important figure for my research, so following the same logic I had applied months before at Teletrece, his was the last interview I conducted before leaving *La Tercera*.

'I have saved the best for last', I joked. 'Never!' he responded, his tone ludicrously inappropriate as he waved his hand in modesty. We sat in the same conference room where I interviewed the digital animator weeks earlier; however, unlike that interview, I was now interviewing an experienced reporter who was aware of the mechanics of the interview process. 'Let's go on the record!' he said animatedly when I started recording. For this conversation, I decided to start from the beginning. Thus, my first question was simply this: 'What is the importance of having a news website for a newspaper?'

Although there was no single response for this, he argued, since it depended on each medium and where they decided to focus, he noted that his response only applied to *La Tercera*: 'It is about not only making your content available to people but also about generating a link between the brand and the audience at a time when it is very difficult to compete against the 24/7 news of radio or television. [This] is the way we have to say that we are working very hard all day and not just [for] a minute', he responded. The editor spoke quickly and eloquently. It seemed clear to me that he had offered a similar answer before. Then, in the same breath, he added that the website was important because if they were not working on it, then they would be missing out on an entire generation who consumes the news online, and that would simply be unacceptable.

'Does that importance translate into the resources that the organisation provides to the digital reporters?' I asked bluntly. He paused. 'No', he said finally, because the core business of *La Tercera* was still the newspaper. He began to elaborate, but then he stopped himself and, as a seasoned journalist who was being interviewed would do, he said, 'I will give you a better response', and started over. Had the importance of the digital area grown over time? Yes. Had the company placed more resources in the digital area over time? Yes, even proportionally more than what the company had invested in the paper. Was the digital area the priority? No, the priority was still the paper. 'The paper remains as the most important product of the company, and that just makes sense […] as well as it makes sense to expect that the gap between digital and paper will shorten with time', he said.

'But then why do we still have this separation between web journalists and paper journalists, where we can also see different cultural appreciations for each one of them?' I questioned next.

‘Because culturally, the setting has been to separate them’, he responded honestly. ‘Culturally in this organisation?’ I asked. ‘Culturally in this country’, he said, and then added, ‘It is the way in which traditional media has understood digital media for the longest time’.

During the first minutes of our interview, I had the impression that his answers about the importance of the website related mainly to brand positioning, competitive distinctiveness, and product placement. Not once had he, at least at this point, mentioned the benefits for journalism, reporters, or the audience. The scornful tone with which the digital animator had said ‘occupy the space’ came to my mind once more.

‘The number of articles produced by a web journalist, as we understand their role today, [is] different from those of the newspaper journalist. What the web journalist is doing is getting the immediate news out, [...] that implies a much faster speed and a level of exclusivity that is infinitely lower than the newspaper journalist has’, he continued. This Internet editor believed that this was the source of the undervaluing of web journalism. That inferior level of exclusivity meant that web journalists were expected to cover different topics, not only with less time for preparation but also with less familiarity with the theme in general.

However, I kept thinking during this interview, *that is merely an organisational decision*. ‘Why try to cover everything, when that has the consequences that we know it has, instead of covering just specific topics?’ I wondered aloud. ‘Because covering everything is what allows us to compete with our immediate rivals, and that “everything” is what allows us to validate ourselves as a news brand at this point’, he responded. For *La Tercera*, this was a strategic decision. They chose to deliver a breaking-news service that had a relatively acceptable quality, but more importantly, that allowed *La Tercera* to be in ‘all the conversations’. However, this decision also concerned the media business in Chile, he added. ‘Do you know how *The New York Times* covers breaking news?’ the editor asked. *The New York Times*, as many other newspapers in the United States, he explained, utilises the services of the Associated Press agency (AP), whose standard for breaking-news articles tends to be high. ‘Chile used to have agencies like that – UPI, ORBE, and others. They generated the content for many of the emerging news websites. Today, however, they are gone. The absence of these agencies generates a need for the everyday news outlets. If someday, news agencies returned, one could think of going back to that system and use web journalists for other things’, but until then, he said, they had to remain where they were. ‘Today, I want to be in everyone’s conversations. In order to do that, I need to be in as many topics as I can and publish as fast as possible’, he continued.

The new journalistic roles that have started to flourish across multiplatform newsrooms, especially in organisations such as *La Tercera*, seem to be marked by the vagueness of the topics and themes around which they work, although concurrently with a higher degree of specificities in the way they are expected to perform these jobs or their modes of production.

The digital animator's work, for example, was surrounded by the indeterminateness of the platforms on which she worked. Her visual animations were unfixed, as they had to occupy different spaces of the websites or follow the ever-changing, dynamic languages of every type of social platform. Sometimes, her GIFs were meant to be portable and seen on screens of different sizes and dimensions. Other times, her animation remained unmovable, as it was supposed to attract viewers to the home page.

Something similar happened with digital journalists. Unlike the reporter who covered education news for the newspaper and had meetings with her education sub-editor, web journalists bounced from one topic to another without delay.

Synchronously to the vagueness, and perhaps because of it, there was a great level of specificity in the work done by these new professionals working in the newsrooms. These particularities were determined not only by the limitations of the platforms on which they worked but also by the rhythms and speed the organisation – as expressed through their editor – expected them to work.

I needed to ask the Internet editor one last question before finishing our interview, and I left it for the end because I was concerned that he could interpret it as an attack or a rude comment: 'What could be the motivations for a journalist to be a breaking-news reporter here? At the end of the day, we are in a market that privileges the prestige that journalists have associated with their names, and therefore, how much prestige does being a breaking-news journalist in *La Tercera* actually give you?' As I feared, this question was followed by the longest pause yet in our meeting. He stuttered a little before replying, 'The scheme we have is designed … so that the breaking-news journalist is just an "ephemeral journalist"'. If the quality of web journalists was sufficient, the editor continued, they would have many possibilities to acquire other jobs because of the volume of articles they could produce per day. 'Professionally, web journalism cannot be your endpoint', the Internet editor finished. In 2019, Vázquez-Herrero et al. published an article describing what they called ephemeral journalism: 'Journalism which creates ephemeral contents to distribute them through ephemeral platforms [such as Instagram Stories] and tools with the aim of satisfying the consumption habits of ephemeral users is what we called "ephemeral journalism"' (2019, p. 3). However, I argue that the proliferation of these new journalistic microformats (Silva-Rodríguez et al., 2017) is not alone in its limited lifespan.

The work of *La Tercera'*s digital journalists themselves was ephemeral, at least until the company changed their position regarding digital journalism and the new role of those digital platforms in attracting new audiences.

In the next section, I discuss the implication of this particular answer. However, for now, my primary concern with the editors' response is that I am unsure whether *La Tercera*'s digital journalists were made aware that they were expected to pass through – that they were considered temporary workers under the organisational culture in which they worked every day. Conversely, I am convinced that one-half of the professional journalists working in that newsroom, that is, digital journalists, were incognisant that comparing themselves with their newspaper colleagues was a futile exercise. Certain professional values may have been shared between platforms, but those values that were well expressed by newspaper journalists could not match the tasks assigned to digital journalists because in this organisational culture, that was the role they were assigned and nothing more.

2.8. A clash between journalists

Franklin (2012) considers that the proliferation of neologisms, many of which I have already mentioned in this chapter, such as cross-media, convergence, divergence, and so on, are but a mark of the speed with which the changes in journalism are unfolding.

Therefore, my priority has been to start this chapter by tracing the beginnings of the new platforms that have joined the now-traditional media forms. By the end of the 20th century, Chilean newsrooms were already experimenting with the benefits and gratification of a new, borderless platform that could function outside the law, the 'networks of networks' – the Internet. However, changes in the state of the art in technology also produced transformations in roles that these platforms were fulfilling. The Internet was no longer uncharted territory; now it was occupied by an active audience who demanded atomised, à la carte content. According to Carlson, 'the shift from news scarcity to news abundance began with the digitization of legacy news on the production side and the limitless access to news sites on the audience side' (2016, p. 230). The predominant revolution for news consumption, therefore, occurred when the audience started carrying with them the platforms they utilise to consume the news: their mobile phones. Media organisations started competing with each other to feed the 'hungry, hungry hippo' that is the demand to constantly refresh their social media feed. To satisfy these demands, digital journalists have been forced to abandon certain journalistic

values, which further evidences how different they are from reporters working on television or newspapers. This necessarily has produced a culture in which not only journalists but also the entire newsroom holds the 'old forms' as better than the newer, faster, and perhaps more superfluous platforms. Some of the journalists I interviewed indeed thought of their work as improper, unbefitting, and incompatible with the role they believed a quality journalist should fulfil in these modern times.

The key argument of this chapter is that the demands and modes of performance inherent to digital platforms – the web and social networks – are producing a clash between digital journalists and other media workers within the same newsrooms. Each platform supports its own content, technologies, boundaries, limitations, and business models, and yet, one would have thought, despite all these differences, what would have remained the same were some core journalistic values regarding their roles in a democratic society. However, journalists in the newsrooms of *La Tercera* and Canal 13 were being pushed to publish news articles online even before they had completely written those articles. By adding a 'news still in process' comment at the end of a one-paragraph news article, these reporters were complying with what Facebook and Twitter told newsrooms was necessary to be competitive and concurrently eroding the basic requirements that separate professional journalism from other forms of civic mass communication.

Certainly previous studies have demonstrated how traditional media, such as television, radio, and newspapers, are utilising the web to reinvent themselves and 'adapt to the new political and economic conditions' (Martin, 2007, p. 27). However, beyond all the voices that have celebrated the arrival of media convergence and the utopian dream of formless information, few in the literature have noted the resentment and frustration that digital journalists feel when they are encouraged to cover topics relating to 'it girls' and melodramatic television programmes. Do the ends justify the means in contemporary newsrooms? Does the need to generate traffic on a website that offers newsworthy, relevant information justify the practice of making news professionals write endlessly about unnewsworthy, not-interesting-enough-to-warrant-reporting topics?

Digital journalists' discomfort is not a whim. Rather, they constantly see how journalists from other platforms advance their careers by authoring quality, well-reported news while the digital journalists face many limitations that accompany the way their organisations have chosen to utilise social networks and the web.

Perhaps one of the most important findings in this chapter is the realisation that the source of professional dissonance among digital journalists is the organisation. This was particularly true

at *La Tercera*, as the company had decided to conceal their real vision and mission from their workers. The revelation that *La Tercera*'s web editor considered his journalists to be professionals in transition also presented ethical dilemmas that I needed to consider during my fieldwork. This interview was conducted toward the end of my stay in the newsroom; however, I started wondering if I should study how digital journalists would react to this information. What would happen, I imagined, if they knew that they should already be seeking another job that was based on a different platform, as nobody was expected to continue writing for the web for an extended period?

Then I realised that this information also indicated a professional dissonance within the editorial management of the organisation itself. Despite a public narrative and façade that highlighted the importance of a multiplatform newsroom for the contemporary production of news, there was a tacit agreement within the organisation to disregard the work of digital journalists as less important and secondary to that of other platforms.

2.9. An uneven relationship

The research question that drove this chapter aims to understand how media platforms are responding to the introduction of new technologies that enable new ways and forms of reporting the news. In this chapter, I have presented some of the data that I collected during my fieldwork, much of which indicates a paradigmatic change in the ways journalists are currently relating to their audiences, to a new group of media workers, and to other journalists within their own newsrooms and organisations. Media platforms, some of which were first introduced in Chile to promote freedom of speech and democratic values, are now being utilised in the service of extraneous actors who have clear, extrinsic market-driven interests.

Some of these actors, particularly corporate social network companies, such as Facebook and Twitter, have introduced a disproportionate relationship between themselves and certain departments within media organisations. These departments, such as newly inaugurated social networks teams or the media companies' advertising management, are unconcerned with latent ideals of journalism's professional culture and thus have translated these external pressures into the creation of new news-making routines and ethical standards (A. O. Larsson, 2018).

As I have previously written in this chapter, the limitations of a form condition the production of content from the beginning of the creation process, and concurrently, these limitations shape the relationships between the workers within the same organisation.

During my fieldwork, I also found that digital journalists were sometimes unaware of the value their organisation attributed to the platforms on which they were working and their own professional profiles. Some journalists believed that the discomfort they felt regarding the shortcomings of their digital journalist roles was mainly due to temporary mismanagement, although my data suggests that their role descriptions would not change any time soon and were as the organisation intended. That is to say, the editorial evaluation of their positions was marked by the ephemerality of both the content they produced and the expectations of their digital careers.

Both Canal 13 and *La Tercera* have provided recent public statements about the importance they wish to assign to their digital workers; however, in-the-field and post-fieldwork conversations with my sources seemed to indicate that these problems have not dissipated. Rather, the demands to comply with these external companies' requests, such as Facebook and Twitter, seem to grow through accession of newer platforms.

Additionally, I observed how the feelings of multiplatform inharmoniousness were starting to express themselves in open animosity and blunt hostility between digital journalists and newspaper reporters. A battle of egos and accusations of incompetency started to flourish between reporters of multiple platforms. Concurrently, other non-journalistic media workers saw their work stalled by the lack of a strong organisational vision and institutional development.

Despite the negative way some reporters have responded to the introduction of new technologies, I also witnessed that, when correctly implemented, beneficial and productive results could be achieved from a cross-media model of production that highlighted the strengths of each platform individually and the workers performing within its boundaries.

In the next chapter, I explain how, beyond these platforms, news makers are adapting the general physical and technological infrastructures of the newsrooms to new digital technologies, the digitalisation of news production, and the transformation of reporting tools as well as other radical transformations experienced by Chilean journalists.

III. Chapter 3: Reshaping media infrastructures

In July 2017 – five months before I began my fieldwork at *La Tercera* – the newspaper executives moved their offices and all their journalists to Apoquindo Avenue, one of the main thoroughfares in the municipality of Las Condes. For the reader who may be unaware of the socioeconomic segregation that exists within Santiago, Las Condes is the second-richest municipality in the entire country; furthermore, because of the high-rise, glassy buildings that have been climbing the skyline of Apoquindo Avenue since the 1990s, locals have acquired the pretentious habit of referring to this neighbourhood as 'Sanhattan', a portmanteau of the words *Santiago* and the New York City borough of *Manhattan*. Tomic, Trumper, and Hidalgo explain this phenomenon particularly well:

> As neoliberalism has proceeded apace, the production of Chilean urban space has increasingly mimicked that of North American business districts […], a phenomenon which is, arguably, no more apparent than in the example of 'Sanhattan', a small group of post-modern high-rises in the financial district in a posh area of eastern Santiago whose high glass towers are powerful symbols of progress shining precariously under the grey smog of thousands of cars on the old clogged streets that surround the area. (2006, p. 516)

While the luxurious architecture of Apoquindo Avenue cannot yet be compared with the futuristic or even neoclassical skyscrapers that dominate New York's horizon, the Manhattanisation of the principal financial centre of the capital had already offered me clues as to what – and who – I should expect to find before arriving on my first day of fieldwork at this newspaper. Indeed, unlike the bohemian, pedestrian-friendly, and colourful neighbourhood of Bellavista where Canal 13 was located, Apoquindo Avenue welcomed me with the roaring sounds of car engines speeding to the east and west throughout the clotted avenue as well as the hissing of buses collecting commuters at a nearby bus stop.

As I parked my now-out-of-place bicycle outside the newspaper entrance over Apoquindo Avenue, I looked up to see a row of sizeable, undifferentiated glass buildings gleaming in the height of the December summer. To my right, well-dressed, besuited customers were entering and exiting a Juan Valdez coffee shop as they huffed and puffed cigarettes between sips. Juan Valdez is unceasingly overpriced but apparently preferred over a nouveau-riche, bourgeois

Starbucks. To my left, chatty *palestrati* gathered outside a two-floor gymnasium, looking more at their reflections on the glass walls than at each other.

I entered the building's lobby through the double glass doors under the silver numbers 4660 hanging from the transom. I waited for the security guards behind the reception desk to confirm my identity so I could access the electronic turnstiles that lead to the elevators, and I caught a glimpse of the building's directory sign. According to the black plaque placed in the middle of the lobby, there were 17 floors in this building, 10 of which were occupied by Copesa, the parent company of *La Tercera*, and its newspapers. The editorial floors, where I would conduct my fieldwork for the next three months, were located from the 13th to the 15th floors. The presidency and general management of the company were located on the 16th floor, which was virtually the top floor since the 17th housed only a cafeteria with a 360-degree view of Santiago. Smaller newspapers and other administrative offices were spread between the seventh and the 12th floors. Two banks, a health insurance company, some private firms, and even a prosecutor's office occupied the rest of the storeys.

On the last day of the move-in period to Apoquindo Avenue, Sergio Rodríguez, then-deputy chief editor of *La Tercera*, wrote a brief online article explaining why the company had made the decision to change locations.[25] In the article, Rodríguez reflected on Copesa's history from the company inauguration in 1950, when it was located in a warehouse in downtown Santiago, to their building at 1962 Vicuña Mackenna Avenue where the editorial offices of the newspaper and the printing presses shared a space for decades. Now however, although Copesa would still mainly work on their daily newspaper, Rodriguez argued, *La Tercera* needed to move to Apoquindo Avenue to 'promote the development of a multiplatform project, which prioritizes the digital dimension of LaTercera.com and other possibilities such as the daily transmission of audio-visual content from the new newsroom'. Both literally and figuratively, Copesa left the printing presses behind and moved toward a new business model. Not only was new infrastructure needed for this purpose but apparently an entirely new, fancier neighbourhood was also necessary.

[25] The article still can be access online at: https://www.latercera.com/noticia/nueva-casa-nuevos-desafios/

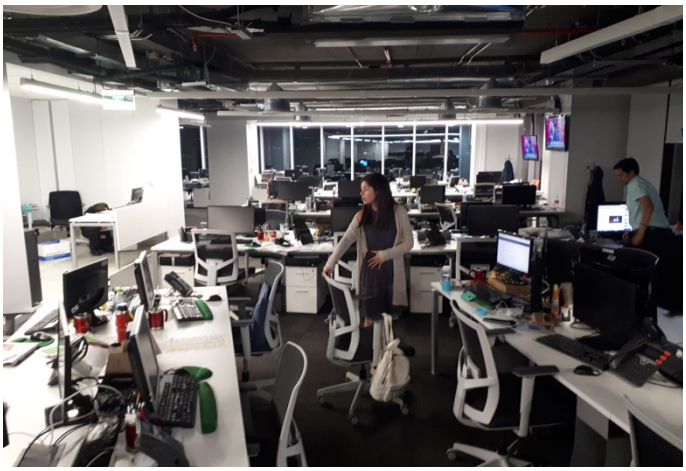

Figure 10. Night shift in the new newsroom of La Tercera. *Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.*

There were no printing presses on the 15th floor when I arrived. Rather, I encountered a spacious, light-filled room. Rows and islands of white desks crowded the entire floor. Coffee thermoses, bottles of water, and pencil holders flourished next to, behind, and in front of every computer screen and keyboard without any sense of order or control.

Out of sight, three small meeting rooms loomed in the corner. Some of the newspaper reporters regularly utilised these rooms to hold private phone calls. This was where I conducted the majority of the interviews with journalists and media workers, such as the graphic designer or the Internet editor who preferred to talk to me while avoiding any unwanted listeners. A narrow hallway led to larger meeting rooms toward the back of the floor where editors-in-chief gathered every day around noon to debate the space, frame, and position of the stories that the newspapers would carry the next day. A set of stairs descended to the 14th floor, where a television studio was being built and where the newspapers' graphic designers had their workstations.

The open floor plan was interrupted only by an elevated circular platform in the middle of the room. From here, editors-in-chief of different sections observed their entire realm and coordinated tasks and commands by enunciating loudly across the wall-less room.

However, I found the most interesting feature by far in this newsroom to be what hovered immediately above the circular platform: a hole in the centre of the roof created a circular gallery surrounded entirely by glass. Those on the 16th floor – the president and general managers according to the black plaque I saw in the lobby – could monitor the editorial room without journalists ever being aware that they were being watched.

Figure 11. Gallery view to the 16th floor. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

Paradoxically, the web editor, while guiding my tour around the newsroom and introducing me to several reporters during my first day, caught me looking fixedly at the gallery upstairs and, leaning over, whispered, 'Very Foucauldian, right?' Indeed, this new newsroom where the development of a multiplatform journalistic project would come to life paralleled the design of a prison made three centuries earlier by Jeremy Bentham. An archetype of disciplinary organisation, this newsroom was a panopticon.

Previous studies have revealed that reporters are more likely to change their practices if doing so enables them to avoid conflict with media executives (Altschull, 1996). Yet, not much has been written about the role that the physical infrastructure, such as a panopticon layout, has in that process.

Drawing on ethnomethodologies to study the operation of managerial power inside newsrooms, Bunce argues that 'the sense of being monitored may encourage journalists to comply with managerial priorities, without needing to be asked' (2019, p. 894). For Nealon (2008), the subtlety and softness of the mere idea of being spied on without knowing when it may happen or by whom makes it ever-more persuasive than direct censorship or physical repression.

Moreover, to the disciplinary power of the physical panopticon wedged against the ceiling in *La Tercera*'s newsroom, some authors argue that it is necessary to add the obscure potential that digital surveillance may have over contemporary journalists (Tsui & Lee, 2019). Ultimately, I argue that examining the infrastructure of the newsroom reveals the impact of both the phenomenal and electronic surveillance over journalists' work.

In the next sections of this chapter, I demonstrate how the infrastructure of media is constructed and negotiated, how it determines the message (the news), and how this infrastructure changed with the introduction of new technologies inside newsrooms. However, as Lampland and Leigh

Star argue, appropriate infrastructure is 'by definition invisible, part of the background for the other kinds of work' (2009, p. 17). The actors cannot completely oversee or cover it. Thus, in this chapter, I present how the introduction of new technologies within the newsroom is changing both the physical technology and the social relationships around the news production, even if those structures are arguably invisible to the journalists themselves.

3.1. Laying out the newsroom

According to Thomas McMullan, the basic setup of Bentham's panopticon is as follows: 'There is a central tower surrounded by cells. In the central tower is the watchman. […] The tower shines bright light so that the watchman is able to see everyone in the cells' (2015). If we extrapolate this idea to a non-prison context, then by being in the middle, the argument says, the watchman is able not only to observe every one of the occupants in the building but also to control and steer them into what is possible and to what is valuable. Thus, the question arises, if people had to build their own panopticon, then to whom would they provide the keys to the watchman's tower in the middle of the room? Who should be responsible to either lead the charge or preclude error? Canal 13 and *La Tercera* chose radically different paths and experienced different degrees of success when they restructured and modernised the infrastructure of their newsrooms to allocate both digital technologies and the professionals who work with them. In this section, I present the consequences of the decisions that were recently made regarding the layout of the new newsrooms.

Teletrece opted for a newsroom layout model that was not only easy for me to illustrate, as I have attempted to do in Figure 12, but that also made sense to an external observer, and most importantly, to the journalists who work inside.

The structure of the newsroom of Teletrece was based on three main zones of work. In the first zone, Tables B, C, and F were occupied exclusively by digital reporters who wrote for the website. Two editors sat at the heads of the table and coordinated their teams from there. Table E was occupied by two workers who controlled T13 Móvil and either repeated the open television signal of the station, which came from the intake desk (G), or streamed the content that digital journalists created by utilising the camera already mounted in the newsroom (M).

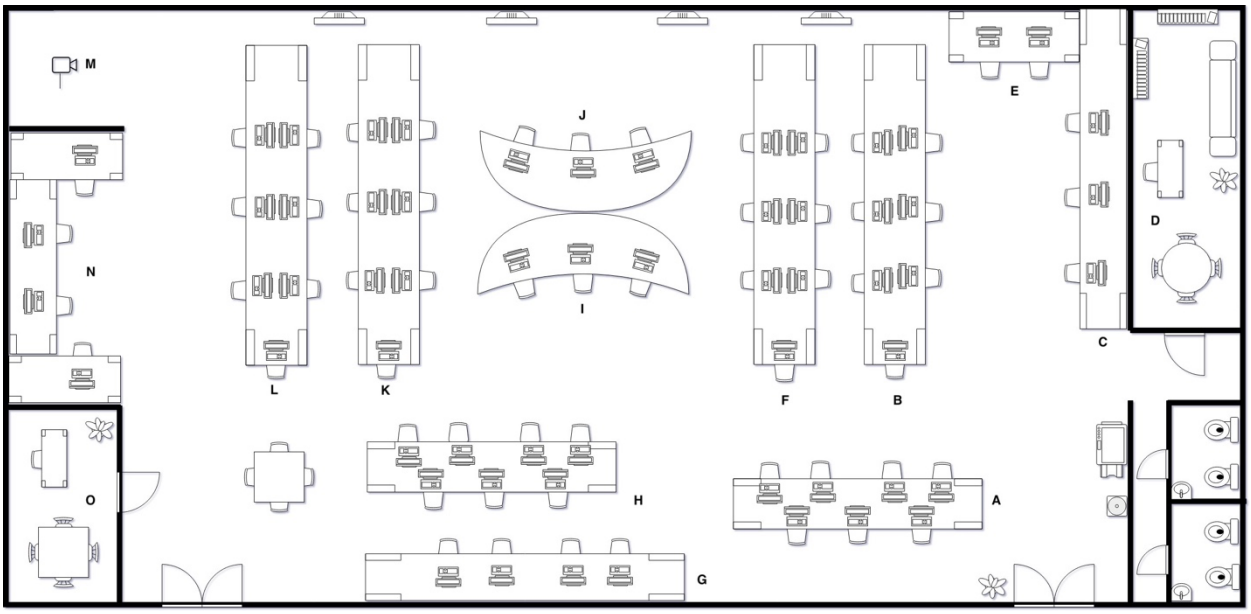

Figure 12. Floorplan of the Teletrece newsroom. Diagram: Made by Tomás Dodds.

In a second section on the other side of the newsroom, Tables L and K were exclusively occupied by television reporters, who also had one editor sitting at the head of each table. By sitting on that side of the room, they were closer not only to the news anchors, who utilised the space marked N, but also to the exit that led directly into the television studios.

Table A, however, was an outlier since it hosted only investigative journalists who did not necessarily share much or often with the other media workers in the room. The reason behind this was that independent of the platform for which these journalists worked, the temporality of investigative reporters was radically different than anybody else in the organisation because they may produce only one piece in the entire week or month.

The third section of this newsroom was composed of two half-moon tables (J and I on the diagram). Here was the answer to the question regarding who Teletrece placed in the middle. Located in the heart of the newsroom, these tables were utilised for coordinating and planning; however, they also worked as a bridge between television and the web. At Tables H and I, I often found Pepe telling jokes, as it was the producers' table. The producers were the nerve centre of the newsroom, the administrative professionals who oversaw the budget available to cover a story and decided which tools journalists needed to correctly cover a story.

'Imagine the entire structure that requires an urgent trip to report a catastrophe. That's what the producers are for, to buy the tickets, get dollars [or other currencies], and those things that simply can't wait until tomorrow. We grant support and coordinate different journalistic teams', Pepe explained during his interview. It seemed logical that these professionals, those whose

role was to make things happen for journalists and reporters, were the ones sitting in the middle of the newsroom, where they were easily accessible when needed or only one scream away.

Yet, Canal 13 endowed the responsibility to sit in the middle of the newsroom to a second team of journalists. The second half-moon table (J) was where the social networks editor sat with two specialised journalists, or 'social media redactors', as their editor called them during our interview. One of the main tasks of these social media redactors was to constantly scan other platforms and alert others if a breaking-news story was occurring. By sitting in the middle of the room, one of these redactors could stand and shout an alert so that producers, television reporters, and web journalists were equally capable of heeding the warning. Concurrently, by being in the centre, they could be easily approached by journalists from the other four tables to discuss how their articles or audiovisual segments could be shared on different platforms.

According to the T13.cl general editor, the layout of this newsroom was the result of a process that began as early as 2015. The failed attempts to launch a website that could compete equally with media outlets that had years of experience led Canal 13's general management to reformulate not only the journalists writing for the web but also the entire infrastructure of the newsroom. According to the general editor, the transformation improved the way information flowed within its walls and the relationships the journalists could establish with professionals from different platforms.

'One of the biggest transformations was to integrate writing as a platform, that is to say, to bring the entire web team and put it here in the middle of the newsrooms to create a social networks team and to start growing and growing, in order to be competitive', said the website's general editor during our interview. 'In that process too, only within a few months, the idea of T13 Móvil emerged almost naturally, and we had the space for it. The bottom line was to make the digital project more potent, […] and the whole idea of synergy between the web and television and radio was at the very centre', he concluded. The results of this experiment were almost immediately observable. According to the general editor, within a year, the site started growing exponentially and 'went from non-existing to rivalling the first place in the digital media competition'.

Since the main editorial focus of the site was supposed to be political in nature, after one-and-a-half years, they realised that they had space now to further enhance the political profile of T13. This was achieved by creating a special team of journalists who investigated and published their own topics on the website (Table F), whereas previously, journalists had only focussed on breaking news (Table B). They soon realised that the previous infrastructure did not have sufficient capacity for the creation of all the new professional roles, and so new

managerial positions started to emerge with the sole focus of improving the work of web journalists. In a short period of time, Canal 13 created new digital roles for the website only, such as a content editor, political editor, general editor, business editor (a section that was cancelled before I arrived to the newsroom), and most importantly, director of T13.cl.

'In a short period of time, we started competing perfectly with other media outlets in terms of breaking news, trending topics, viral themes, [and] topics that gave us traffic. But we were also generating our own topics with the political reporters and the investigative journalists. It has worked well', the general editor assured me, unable to contain a smile.

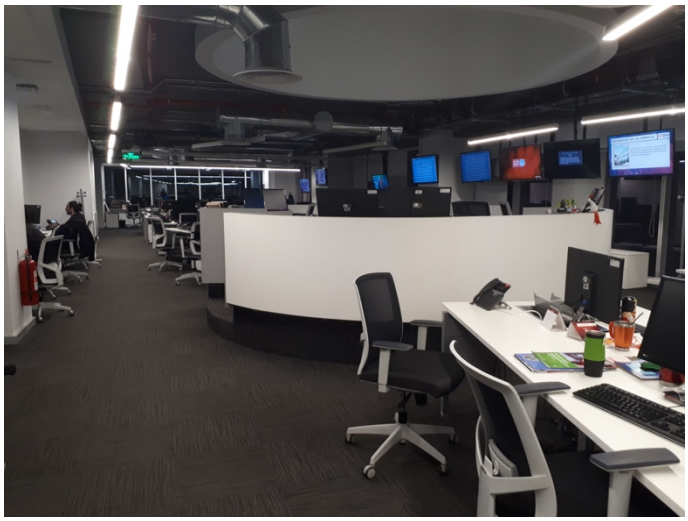

Figure 13. Newsroom of La Tercera. *Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.*

The situation at *La Tercera* was radically different. I experienced the layout of the newsroom to be sufficiently inconsistent so that creating a diagram of the room simply did not make sense. Newspaper general editors sat on the platform placed in the middle of the newsroom, which was not surrounded by newspaper journalists but by a mixture of social network reporters, technicians, web editors, designers, computer engineers, and other digital journalists. These digital journalists were not even the breaking-news reporters I interviewed for this research; they worked on other pop culture platforms owned by Copesa, such as *Mouse*, *Culto*, and *Biut*. These editors were certainly important, but only for the newspaper reporters, who were seated at opposite extremes of the newsroom. *La Tercera* decided to locate newspapers editors under the watchman's towers, which made sense in any context other than a media organisation that was attempting to enact a digital project. Instead of working as a bridge, this tower in the middle of the room worked as a dam, hindering the communication between newspaper reporters sitting at each side of the platform as well as the digital journalists spread around it.

I asked a digital journalist about the reasons behind the seemingly disorganised layout at *La Tercera*. 'When we worked in the old building, the one at Vicuña Mackenna, it was like [the layout in Canal 13]', she said. The digital journalist remembered working at a long table with editors and social media reporters on each side. 'When we arrived [to Apoquindo Avenue], the editors just sat in the same tables with whomever they felt closer to. They put us, the breaking-news journalists, really far away, when we should be the ones closer together to each other. I never really understood it'. According to this journalist, the Internet editor and sub-editor simply decided to sit 'with their best friends'. I asked the same question of the Internet editor during my last day at *La Tercera*. What follows is a translation and transcription of that conversation. I am reproducing this interview at length because it is important to identify the logic, or lack thereof, with which this decision was made:

> Tomás: One of the things that caught my attention is the way [the digital reporters] are seated. Basically, everyone against the wall, [which is] a position that makes dialogue between journalists very difficult. They are also seated very far away from you. Was that a random decision? How did you decide to sit them there?
> Internet editor: It is not random,[26] and it is random at the same time … It is not random because there is a design here. It was thought like this, with the circle in the middle … It was thought like this. Who thought it this way? Here we enter the random part of it because I do not know who thought about it or what was the objective behind [this layout]. They designed it like this because, as far as I understand, there are newsrooms that look like this and they … It was a good idea, there is the concept of the panopticon, and the idea of having information in the middle of the newsroom. […] Someone thought it this way. Who thought it like this? Who knows? In practice, it ends up being somewhat random because it is a decision over which, deep down, we have no opinion … or we had no opinion at the time … and that is what I mean by random.
> Tomás: OK ... But now I am thinking of a situation that I have seen repeatedly here, where two journalists upload articles about the same issue at the same time on the web. And that has to do with a lot of things, but one of the most important reasons to explain this is that journalists do not know what their colleagues are writing

[26] The word that the Internet editor used during our interview in Spanish was "casual," which can also be translated as casual, by chance, or accidental.

about. Have you ever talked with whoever is in charge of the layout of the newsroom, and explain[ed] that it would be more beneficial to have web journalist[s] sitting together at the same table?

Internet editor: This has not happened yet because we moved recently.[27] Until now, there has been no relocation. It sounds very reasonable, but you would still have someone sitting against the wall. […] What I do know is that those positions were always thought for people working on the web.

Tomás: Do you know why?

Internet editor: […] That table was always thought for those on the web.

Tomás: It's very strange, because they told me that in the old building, they were all sitting at a table together.

Internet editor: Very long table, face-to-face …

Tomás: And then the communication was much more fluid …

Internet editor: Sure, sure. But actually, there is a very strange topic there and that's why I'm telling you [that] it's not random and it's random. It's not random because someone thought about it, but the person who thought about it never really communicated their ideas. This is not planned by the [journalistic] team. Surely who thought about this is the architect, and surely it must have looked beautiful [on a blueprint]. As far as I know, no one from the editorial team ever thought about this.

Casual or not, the layout of the newsroom at *La Tercera* was indicative of the way the institution understood and thought about their digital reporters. By not contesting an architectural decision that placed digital journalists at a disadvantage, newsroom executives were hindering the gathering, producing, and reporting of news and information. Perhaps more significantly, the materiality of the new newsroom was dividing the immaterial network that journalists relied on to produce the news. Under the watch of those on the 17th floor, journalists' social relations and professional knowledge was becoming dissonant from the physical infrastructure in which they were asked to work.

[27] The move to the new offices happened six months ago, at the time of this interview.

3.2. The physical infrastructure

The concept of infrastructure is often utilised in cultural anthropology to describe that area 'in which the social and the technical are indivisibly combined' (Vojinovic & Abbott, 2012, p. 164). I understand the infrastructural dimension of media newsrooms as the techniques, the sociotechnical systems, and the material culture that allows the dissemination of information and communication in a multiplatform set of possibilities. This may include formats such as written or audiovisual communication as well as digitally based information.

Larkin offers a similar definition of infrastructure when he argues that it is 'both the technical and cultural systems that create institutionalized structures whereby goods of all sorts circulate, connecting and binding people into collectivities' (2008, pp. 5–6). According to Larkin, studies on infrastructure, such as the one I present in these pages, attempt to better understand how underlying material structures are working on a day-to-day basis. Indeed, in this chapter I attempt to explain how, in a context in which new technologies are rapidly introduced in the newsrooms, the interaction of material and social elements conditions different structural layers of the media organisations in which I have conducted my research, that is, how material infrastructures are transforming the immaterial ones. In other words, during my fieldwork, I observed the materiality, the objects, and the tools with which journalists worked as well as how those apparatuses framed the way media workers related to each other.

Other authors have utilised the concept of media infrastructure to describe the physical development in media technology and the impact this has in the global culture (Volkmer, 2003) or how the media landscape has developed during recent decades to allow a broader discussion about policies that, among other things, could provide media infrastructures that guarantee access to a more diverse group of voices (Lindlof & Shatzer, 1998; Peters, 2010).

Accordingly, the infrastructure of the media newsrooms refers not only to its material, tangible aspects but also to the social relations that these physical and organisational structures are producing in the everyday routines within the newsroom's floors. Hence, the main objective of this chapter is to explore how newsmakers are adapting the infrastructure of the newsrooms to new digital technologies and how the existing infrastructure limits this adaptation process.

To answer this question, however, the concept of technology must be defined as well. Technology is, in itself, a key concept in this research. Under the umbrella of Foucauldian philosophy, technology is, above all, social organisation (Gerrie, 2003). Foucault employs the term *technology* to study the different ways in which power relations operate. As Behrent notes, 'Foucault primarily typically employs the term – as well as the related […] one of "technique"

– to refer not to tools, machines, or the application of science to industrial production, but rather to methods and procedures for governing human beings' (Behrent, 2013, p. 55). In this chapter, I build on Foucault's idea that the technological developments inside the newsroom are the result of, and concurrently are shaped by, the professional and social relationships of media workers.

As we have seen in the previous chapters of this thesis in the narrative about the crisis that journalists are facing, 'when journalism encounters new technologies, new media, and newcomers, the disruptions are narrated as threats to journalistic standards and the ability of journalism to convey the news' (Butler Breese, 2016, p. 31). That is to say, when journalists and other media workers perceive that the infrastructures to which they are accustomed are shifting – changes that are often presented under the slogan of 'technological innovation' – a discourse based on the weakening of journalistic standards is conveyed, as if technology is purely an imposition that jeopardises canons and values inside the newsrooms. In other words, 'technological innovations are seen as dangerous and threatening to news quality and the standards of journalism' (Butler Breese, 2016, p. 36). The menacing perception involving technological transformations may also be affecting the way in which journalists relate to each other and to non-journalist professionals who have started to arrive in the newsrooms over the years.

Therefore, when we discuss technology and infrastructures inside newsrooms, we necessarily approach a question about how the transformations in these spheres are affecting the culture and values of the professionals working within that organisation. As Pfaffenberger argues, the question we should be concerned with is how culture influences technological innovation and how technological innovation influences culture. 'It is not mere technology, but technology in concert with the social coordination of labour, that constitutes a human population's adaptation to its environment' (Pfaffenberger, 1992, p. 497).

Pfaffenberger also considers two different but complementary definitions for technology. First, he argues that the concept of technique should be utilised in reference to 'the system of material resources, tools, operational sequences and skills, verbal and nonverbal knowledge, and specific modes of work coordination that come into play in the fabrication of material artifacts' (1992, p. 497). Second, Pfaffenberger claims that social science researchers should employ the concept of a sociotechnical system to better describe 'distinctive technological activity that stems from the linkage of *techniques* and material culture to the social coordination of labour' (1992, p. 497) that ultimately produces the power relations between workers and the goods that the audience consumes.

Pfaffenberger's approach has been adapted to journalism studies by authors including Konow-Lund, who urges media anthropologists to identify when 'routines are planned and structured, or when they arise as a result of social activity' (2019, p. 104). Her ethnographic fieldwork in media companies and newsrooms in the United Kingdom has allowed Konow-Lund to highlight that despite some well-defined skills as well as verbal and nonverbal knowledge, the rapid transformation (and adaptations) in the materialities of the newsroom has been expressed in, for example, the inclusion of a variety of interprofessional actors in the production of newsworthy goods. Thus, one of the optimal ways to observe how new technologies are changing the nature of the physical infrastructure and the culture within the newsroom is to undertake a thorough review of the role and practices of professional cameramen at Canal 13.

3.4. The virtual infrastructure

So far in this chapter, I have attempted to illuminate the physical infrastructure that shaped the newsrooms in which I conducted my fieldwork. Some authors argue that the infrastructure of media and the technology that surrounds it also refers to the 'telephone networks and cell towers, broadcasting and cable television systems, satellite networks, […] and the software that make up the largest network of networks; the Internet' (Lentz, 2011, p. 324), and accordingly, this last 'network of networks' is where I want to focus now, especially on the software that digital journalists utilise to upload their articles to the web.

While some of the information flows on the surface of the newsrooms – more often than not as shouts and screams from one corner to the other – silent bits of digital information are travelling without pause through the media organisation's intra-network. Sometimes, this information resurfaces as a half-finished edit clip that a television reporter sent to the graphic editor so they could add the music and the infographics necessary to air the segment. Other times, it can be the entire design and layout of tomorrow's newspaper, ready to be proofread one last time by the style editor who is patiently brushing away all the misspelled words and out-of-place punctuation, perpetually eyeing that 11:00 deadline. However, in this section, I want to focus on the writing software that journalists and reporters both inside of Teletrece and *La Tercera* utilise and how those programs are influencing the news-making process as well as news makers' routines and behaviour.

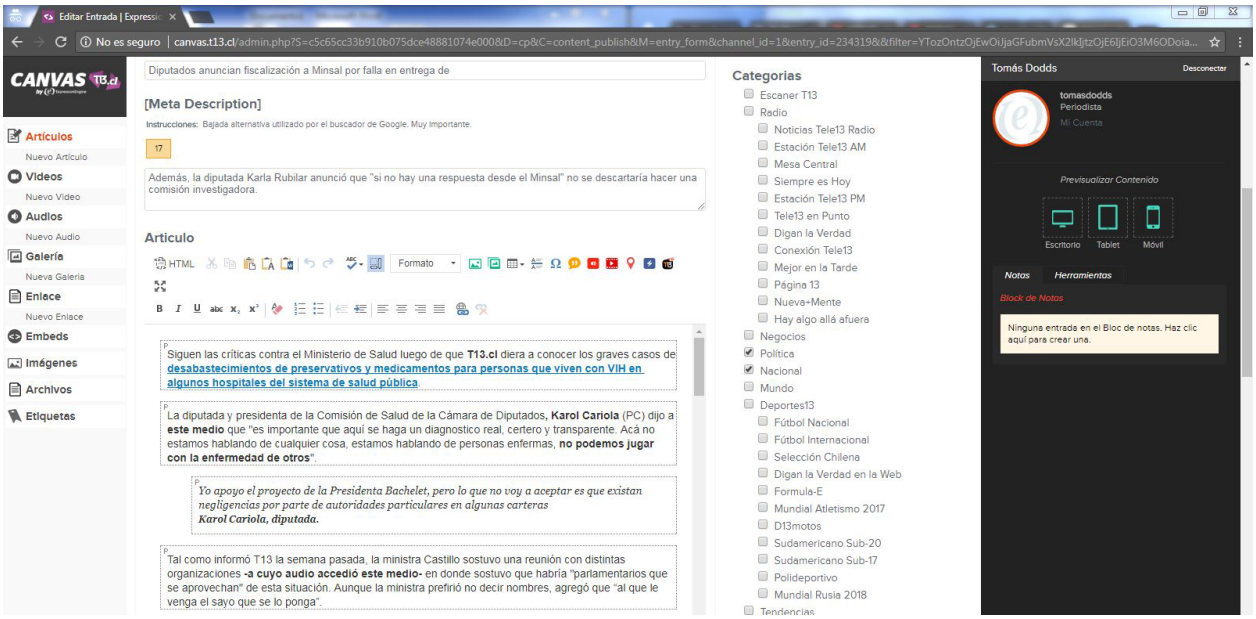

Figure 14. Screenshot of the Canvas software while I was writing an article for T13. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

At first glance, Canvas seems to be a simple, user-friendly software, not much different than any other content management system but as intuitive as any basic word processor. As Figure 14 displays,[28] the software allows the user to insert hyperlinks into the articles, track the number of words, and separate paragraphs to highlight those that are exclusively or mainly quotes. A column on the left has options that permit the writer to attach videos, documents, image galleries, or social media posts directly into the article, as I have done with the article portrayed in Figure 14. A column to the right displays all the categories of classification within the website. As the example illustrates, the article that I was writing that day needed to appear in both 'Politics', because it included politicians as sources, and 'National', because the main topic of the article was a public health issue. As was customary, once I finished writing the article, I saved a draft version into the system, exited the page, and informed my content editor that it was there so he could review it before publishing it online. However, Canvas' most important feature, in my opinion, was not its simplicity or minimalistic interface. Rather, it was the fact that Canvas was a snitch.

Pablo Cádiz was working as the T13 website's content editor while I was conducting my fieldwork. The content editor established the agenda for the day, assigned story topics to each journalist, and finally edited and arranged them on the website according to relevance. Cádiz was not the main website editor, who mainly supervised special topics to cover, such as

[28] To see the final version, this article can be access today using the following link: https://www.t13.cl/noticia/politica/nacional/diputados-no-descartan-comision-investigadora-ministra-salud-desabastecimiento

elections or sports tournaments. Rather, Cádiz oversaw the everyday content that was uploaded to the website, and if anything, this role made him a relevant character for my research.

As soon as we sat to talk, I felt eager to ask him about his view regarding the relationship between technology and censorship. Hence, one of the things we discussed during our interview was the common practice of editing someone else's articles on the web. This interview occurred weeks before the incident at *La Tercera* when I utilised the word *dictatorship* in the headline, which was removed without my knowledge (described in Chapter 1), but I was already attempting the learn whether the changeability of the web could be utilised to change articles without the original author's permission in topics relating to human rights or the dictatorship, and thus promoting and encouraging indirect censorship. However, his answer was a simple, 'I am trying to remember, but … no'. He squinted into the sun, as if the rays of light could dissipate the fogginess of his recollections. 'Is it common that someone change the articles you write without your consent?' I asked, switching to a more general question and concurrently trying to prod him to regain his memories. This time, there was no doubt in his voice. He looked at me and opening his eyes, said, 'Oh, yes. But that happens a lot in the web. […] I mean, is not weird that an editor goes into your article and change[s] stuff, but here we let people know when we are changing something in someone else's article', he continued, discarding the idea of secrecy. According to Cádiz, it was common practice for an editor to utilise phrases such as, 'Hey, can I go in to fix something?' or a more authoritative, 'I am going to change something in your article'. However, why would editors inform journalists when they could simply change the parts they do not like without anybody knowing, as eventually happened to me at *La Tercera*? The answer Cádiz offered next explained this issue better and concurrently was perhaps one of the ideal indicators of the utility that participant observation can have as a research technique:

> It could be because of a sense professional respect … [Here, he paused and looked at me.] But it can also be for a technical reason. We have here … *you* have used Canvas here, *you* know that when you have an article open on your computer, Canvas lets you know when someone else is opening it, and the last one to save their changes overwrites whoever saved before. To a large extent, we have that habit of before opening an article, letting the author know, so nobody else has it

> open on their computers by coincidence. Perhaps, that technical, material factor[29] determines a journalistic practice. Both things play a role.

Including this trivial feature of informing the author when someone else was accessing their article means that Canvas had actually created a practice that made silent, indirect censorship almost uncommon, at least on Teletrece's website. This feature did not exist at *La Tercera*, which, through the last day of my field work, was utilising WordPress. Even before arriving at *La Tercera,* I had heard several criticisms of the software utilised on the newspaper's website. A reporter from Canal 13 who formerly worked at *La Tercera* was actually in the newspaper offices when WordPress was first implemented as the main system to upload the news. In the following quote, I have attempted to minimise the number of vulgar words she utilised in her description of that process: 'We needed to launch a new website. It was way overdue, and it came with a restyling of the software we used to upload the news, like our Canvas here … It was the step from Canela [cinnamon in English], which was a worthless piece of shit, to WordPress, which actually also worked lousy. We had like a two-year delay with this project, and they [management] forced us to launch it anyway; it did not matter that the software was not ready', she finished, clicking her tongue to emphasise her disapproval of the events that had unfolded during her time in the newspaper. I found similar criticisms when I arrived at *La Tercera*. Digital reporters often complained not only about the lack of user friendliness, the frequent error messages, and the steep learning curve that accompanied WordPress but also about the actual Web layout that they had to utilise to upload the news.

As Figure 15 reveals, during my time at *La Tercera,* a new version of the WordPress software they utilised to upload the news and the Web layout was launched, and the content editor spent an hour teaching his digital reporters how to utilise it. Was this new virtual infrastructure enough to ease frustrations and to calm people?

[29] It is not a coincidence that Pablo used this concept during his answer. In my interviews, I noticed that journalists mimicked the concepts I was using in some of the questions and integrated them into their answers. Even if concepts such as temporality or materiality were not part of their everyday lingo, reporters found a way to include them in their responses.

Figure 15. LaTercera.com*'s content editor demonstrating how to update WordPress. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.*

It was not. According to the LaTercera.com content editor, the deficit they experienced with the virtual infrastructures were a symptom of a more nuanced problem that was not limited to these particular tools. Rodrigo Retamal, who was the content editor of the website at the time, needed to quell the unrest between digital journalists. As he told me, 'I think the entire newspaper needed an urgent digital training'. Since we met, Retamal had been fairly open about what he called a radically unsustainable narrative about the importance of the digital area for the management of the newspaper. 'If we [as an organisation] are going to put the focus on the digital, well first, we all need to speak the same language. But today, when people from the paper come to propose something to be published on the web, they do not know the name of the parts of the website or the things you can or cannot do with WordPress. If they would learn, maybe we could understand each other', he argued.

During our interview, the content editor remembered several occasions when newspaper reporters came to his desk and asked him to 'put something on one of those boxes in the webpage', without actually knowing what those boxes were called or what they were utilised for.

However, his problems were not limited to journalists from other platforms: 'Our own advertising department sometimes sells space for ads without knowing the real dimensions of the available area they have. It has happened that they put online advertising that corrupts the rest of the website and disfigures the whole site. But digital journalism is by essence visual! It cannot look bad', he said, sounding increasingly exasperated as he continued. 'I think there [are] a lot of people here who have no idea what the difference between a URL and a link is, for example. What we are missing here is a digital literacy training', he claimed.

La Tercera, unlike Canal 13, did not provide extra courses or special training to their employees. As many journalists at Teletrece told me during my fieldwork, they had training in digital literacy, website creation, and HTML5 software. At *La Tercera*, conversely, as Retamal stated, 'I think not even all the digital journalists are 100% sure about how the website works'. Toward the end of our interview, a more frustrated Retamal than the one who started the interview claimed that 'even in this newsroom, there are a lot of people who think that digital journalism is just copying the newspaper onto a website'. It seemed clear to me now that journalists at *La Tercera*, unlike those at Teletrece, were rejecting not only their roles as digital journalists in contraposition with their paper counterparts but also the virtual infrastructure which they were meant to appropriate and thrive upon. That is to say, journalists were refusing not only the idea of what they were supposed to do but also the tools with which they had to work.

3.5. From material to immaterial infrastructures

One can only describe the cameraman room in Teletrece as a man cave or a boy's club. A sanctuary of *macho*, male homosociality. During my first visit, I knocked and entered a shadowy, murky location on the first floor of the building, whose curtains were drawn and walls were covered in faded posters of blonde, long-haired women in tastelessly small bikinis. All the comfortable leather sofas in the room faced an HD plasma television that occupied the majority of the wall that had not yet been covered with the same type of photographs and calendars. The greenish light of the football match loudly playing on the TV was the only source of light illuminating the room. 'Is Carlos here?' I asked a couple of drowsy faces that had risen halfway when the door opened.

Carlos was a cameraman who had been working at Canal 13 for 42 years. He was one of those professionals who still argued that being a camera operator was a trade, a craft that one learned working in the field while concurrently taking courses that the television station itself offered to their workers. This was not a profession that required a university degree, he insisted. Although his original plan in his youth was to be a football player, he met people from Canal 13 who regularly ate lunch at his brother's restaurant, and his plans changed when he received a job offer to earn extra money. 'When I started working here, we recorded with 16-millimetre film [a popular gauge of film in the 1980s and 1990s]; after that we moved to 3:4 videos, Betacam, High 8, and so on', he started explaining when we found a table outside the cameraman room.

The journalists and reporters I had interviewed thus far during my fieldwork commonly highlighted the important role of cameramen in the production of news. As I was told by a television reporter early in my fieldwork, 'Cameramen have taught me a lot because they have a huge trajectory. The ones we have [at Canal 13] have been working here for years, and because of that, they know how to do things. They know which images to include, which images should not be there, what matters for the story, and what does not matter at all, and so on'. As she noted, the relevance of cameramen inside the media ecosystem was partially due to the fact that, at least in this newsroom, cameramen remained longer in their jobs than the television reporters with whom they went afield.

> Look, for years the cameramen have been the ones who have taught [television] journalists how to do their job[s], because reporters often come here knowing a lot of theory from the university, but when they go out on the field, things are different. A lot of them are afraid of, for example, basic things like live broadcasting', Carlos explained, again with some contempt in his voice toward formal education.

For this seasoned media worker, cameramen were responsible to calm journalists, place them in front of the camera, and guide them in important things they may miss when they are in the field. Carlos even remembered occasions when knowing how to move on the streets could save the lives of team members:

> We were filming in the neighbourhood of La Legua [characterised by poverty, drug trafficking, and police repression]. There, you *must* know when you have to flee the scene. At times, it is really unsafe, and you cannot stay there after the police have gone. We were covering a drug raid, and a young reporter wanted to do interviews once the police had left. I told her it was impossible, but she insisted. I had to stand my ground and explained to her that she actually has to start interviewing people while the police are there, otherwise [the neighbours] will literally mug you or worse. I know it because it has happened. […] Or for example, [at] the Centro de Justicia [Santiago Justice Centre], the 'delinquents' mall', we called it. There, we had been spat on, kicked, and we even have had to throw some punches ourselves. Everything happens in there. … You have to know how to move with the camera on your shoulder and how to move the journalists.

This quote aptly illustrates Pfaffenberger's concept of technique (skills) as well as of verbal and nonverbal knowledge, concurrently describing some of the specific modes of work coordination in cameramen's routines, which may soon be history.

Technological innovation influences the culture inside the newsrooms in many ways, some of which may be innocuous. For example, during our interview, Carlos remembered that with the arrival of HD television and 16:9 screen ratios, it became excessively difficult for the cameramen to exclude from the shot the noses of journalists when they held the microphone during interviews, which, according to the television station, only resulted in ugly shots. Therefore, television reporters began utilising lavalier microphones attached to them and to the interviewees. This change allowed journalists to move more freely during interviews, hold notes and other materials in their now-free hands, and engage differently with their interviewees, who concurrently felt less constrained by not having a microphone pointing at their faces.

However, some innovations may not only transform the culture inside media organisations but also directly erase part of it:

'Today, a lot of journalists are working with DSLR cameras, with GoPro, with little cameras or handycams [handheld cameras], with those that can record videos with 360 degrees', Carlos said in a mournful and crestfallen tone. As reporter and historian Christopher B. Daly argues, 'Many journalists today carry around a multimedia production studio in their backpacks and can create audio and video materials that used to require a truckload of gear and a team of unionized specialists' (2018). However, technological innovations have continued to extend further, and a new trend has begun to anchor itself among web and television journalists: mobile journalism.

Mobile journalists (or MoJos) 'are journalists who use mobile devices (extensively) in their news reporting' (Westlund, 2013, p. 16). Thus, mobile phones are being employed by journalists on the field to take photographs, record audio or interviews, blog, or even stream live video. It was not strange during my fieldwork to see journalists carrying a tripod but no camera, as they simply utilised their smartphones to record themselves.

Critics of this new trend argue that this MoJo phenomenon, which is indeed economically convenient for newsrooms, is causing a wave of 'deprofessionalisation' among journalists. As Blankenship states, 'in professional work settings, the more widespread, less "exclusive", and less specialized knowledge is among members of a workforce, the less professional that workforce becomes' (2016, p. 1057). Thus, the problem with having one worker performing

tasks that recently were performed by different professionals, Blankenship suggests, is that journalists have less specialised expert knowledge.

According to Carlos, the sociotechnical system that will eventually result from television reporters dispensing with cameramen, their knowledge, their skills, and discernment can only have grievous consequences for the next generations of journalists and for the content they produce for the audience consumption. 'Always two eyes see more than one', said Carlos. 'People say we are a necessary evil. Look, the journalist is the one who is responsible for their piece. We all know that. He or she decides what the cameramen should record. […] But sometimes, because you want to best the competition and have different pictures, you just risk it and go inside the rally or the protest, you just jump into it, and you look back, and see that the journalists have stayed behind, taking notes'. Recording with a phone may be cheaper, faster, and generally easier than utilising a professional cameraman, but how many reporters will actually jump, as experienced cameramen often do, into the middle of a protest when all hell breaks loose, Carlos asked me, the tone in his voice indicating that the answer was rather obvious to him.

Why, then, are media organisations opting to promote a more individualistic, skill-less type of reporting? How does a cheaper, and concurrently more precarious, infrastructure justify itself in this technological age of digital consumption and multiplatform competition?

3.6. Shifting infrastructures

The main objective of this chapter is to elucidate how material infrastructures are impacting the immaterial networks of news production. New digital technologies have influenced the infrastructural dimension of the two newsrooms in which I conducted my fieldwork, not only the materialities with which journalists work but also the techniques and professional culture within these organisations.

In particular, the shifts in the infrastructure are threatening to erase certain professional roles that, until recently, were considered elementary for the development of news making. As my interview with one of the cameramen at Canal 13 illustrated, some journalists and newsrooms are keen to replace camera operators with easier, quicker tools, such as mobile phones, even if that translates into sacrificing professional knowledge and field experience.

La Tercera moved to a new building, and their public statements claimed that the organisation was bestowing more importance to its digital platforms; however, the physical layout and

infrastructural dimensions at *La Tercera* did not seem to be in tune with the vision they claimed to have for their digital workers.

Indeed, the results presented in this chapter indicate that one of the newsrooms in which I conducted fieldwork adapted their physical and digital infrastructure better than the other. The consequences of this adaptation process were starkly felt by the media workers in each newsroom in which I conducted my fieldwork.

Journalists at Canal 13 not only adapted their physical infrastructure to new digital technologies, which was expressed in the physicality of the newsroom layout, but also updated the virtual tools they utilised to better satisfy the needs of the tasks they were expected to perform. However, as my interviewees indicated during our conversations, digital reporters at *La Tercera* constantly resented the lack of purposefulness in the structures with which they had to work.

IV. Chapter 4: New temporalities and the changing perceptions of time in news making[30]

'You have to choose', María Luisa told me in a dry, matter-of-fact tone. This female television reporter had recently birthed a daughter and now explained, 'Either you have a successful career in journalism, or you are a mother. You simply cannot do both'. I acknowledge that I was nonplussed by her openly expressed fatalism about her own future in this business. This sentence was followed by a long silence while, without knowing what to say, I attempted to think of examples of other women climbing the corporate ladder of the Chilean media industry. However, as I pondered the issue, I suddenly realised that she was right. Even here, in the press department of Canal 13, there were only two female editors in the entire newsroom: one worked for the weekend shift, and one was responsible for the late afternoon broadcast. These two female editorial figures contrasted significantly with the large number of young women who worked as reporters. 'But why?' I wondered aloud, to which she answered simply, 'There just isn't enough time'.

We sat in a Middle Eastern restaurant called Za'atar, a place directly across the street from the television station where journalists from Canal 13 often went to find something inexpensive and quick for lunch. More importantly, diners could have all the pita bread and olive oil they wanted, and every meal ended with a complimentary cup of tea or Turkish coffee. Additionally, and they would have never admitted this as a reason for dining there, I noted that many of the current soap opera actors and actresses frequented the same place; every time one of them entered the restaurant, the journalists with whom I was chatting sat a little straighter or laughed a little louder.

I had asked María Luisa for an interview previously, but twice, between apologies, she argued that she had no time to sit and have a relaxed, undisturbed, calm interview. Similar to many other journalists whom I interviewed during my fieldwork, María Luisa said she knew how annoying it could be to interview someone hurriedly, and therefore, many journalists recused themselves from granting me an interview, arguing that because they did not have sufficient free time, they would not be 'good interviewees'. Finally, after much postponing, we agreed to have lunch together at Za'atar and have the interview there.

[30] A version of this chapter has been published as "Reporting with WhatsApp: Mobile Chat Applications' Impact on Journalistic Practices" (2019).

Without intending to do so, our conversation focussed primarily on time. She had returned from maternity leave less than a month earlier, and thus far, she had only worked on small pieces for the late afternoon programme. 'If I want to do something *cool*, with more preparation and research, then I would have to work until 8:00 in the evening. But day-care closes at 7:00', she said absentmindedly, hungrily studying the small wicker basket of pita. Even in her 9-to-5 shift, though, the situation still produced complications. 'There are two ways they can assign you a topic to cover', she began when I asked her to describe her typical working day. 'Firstly, they can assign you a topic the day before, and that gives you the ability to manage your time and do research to know what you are going to talk about', she said, without taking her eyes off her green shawarma, a mixture of beef and chicken served with lettuce, celery, and sweet-and-sour gherkins. There was another option, she continued, one journalists often have to face: 'Or secondly, they can assign you something that is happening that very same day. And in those cases, you just have to run for it, you don't have time for anything … so you do research on your phone while you are on the way'. María Luisa argued that the need to rush to the scene on these occasions was not merely a result of the pressure to have an exclusive and surpass the other television stations 'like the journalists who write for the web have to'. Rather, time was of the essence because 'you have to get there while you still can record nice images,[31] otherwise you do not have a story!'

It seemed that time governed every aspect of television reporters' lives inside and outside work, from determining the agenda and defining which topics to cover to the type of personal and professional career they wanted to have. During my fieldwork, I repeatedly heard stories of journalists missing birthdays, funerals, and weddings because, in their words, 'some things cannot wait'.

María Luisa recounted the following in an anecdotal manner: 'I once had a weekend editor whose wife was giving birth in Concepción [a southern city 500 kilometres from Santiago] and the *jerk* was here. He said, "I just can't drop my job". I couldn't understand him. And that same editor told off a sub-editor because he got sick to the stomach and couldn't come to work. "Where is your commitment to the job?" he said'.

Thus far in this thesis, we have discussed new platforms and shifting infrastructures for journalism. In this chapter, I focus on how the introduction of new digital technologies has transformed the temporality of news making and the effects this transformation has had on

[31] Here, she used the Spanish term "buenos monos", which would translate into "good cartoons".

news makers themselves. In this chapter, I attempt to answer my third research question: How does the introduction of new digital technologies transform the temporality of news making, and what effects does it have on news makers? Although time has perpetually been at the core of journalistic work, as María Luisa illustrated, the conclusions of this chapter suggest that new digital technologies have impacted the relationship between journalists and sources on both personal and professional levels. New perceptions of intimacy and trust, camaraderie and obtainability, and temporality have been observed among journalists who are utilising new digital technologies. These observations carry important professional and ethical implications for journalists navigating today's media ecology and reveal how technological and socio-professional aspects are tightly interwoven.

4.1. The temporal affordances of technology

According to Bødker and Sonnevend, 'journalism constitutes a series of interrelated practices for the social construction of time' (2018, p. 3). That is to say, it blends both the everyday common occurrences with those circumstances that are unusual and unexpected. Thereby, Bødker and Sonnevend argue, media has the power to create feelings of simultaneity among the audience, define narratives about past events, and set the frame to imagine the future. However, if traditional media – television, radio, and newspapers – have already had the power to shape our perceptions of the present, past, and future, then new digital technologies have taken this ability to another level. This process is usually studied in the literature through the concepts of multiplicity and polycentrality as well as interaction and participation (Fenton, 2009).

To test these changes and see how temporalities inside newsrooms may be shifting, Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Neiger (2018) have developed the concept of temporal affordances of the media, that is, 'the potential ways in which the time-related possibilities and constraints associated with the material conditions and technological aspects of news production are manifested in the temporal characteristics of news narratives' (p. 39). Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Neiger (2018) based their concept on Hutchby's (2001) research regarding affordances for the study of technologies, which purports technology to be a framing concept rather than a deterministic one and highlights the social and cultural forces that shape the usage of technological objects. They developed a series of lenses through which the temporal affordances of material technology enable or constrain journalism. According to these authors, these affordances are immediacy, liveness, preparation time, transience and fixation, and

extended retrievability. I have already discussed the preparation time as well as transience and fixation (or versionality) affordances in Chapter 3, although here, I review them briefly because they are useful for classifying my own results later on this chapter.

Immediacy refers to the ability to report on nearby, last-minute events. This ability is constrained not only by professional practices but also by the platforms utilised to report the news. Immediacy in a newspaper does not equal immediacy in an online media outlet (Saltzis, 2012). For a web-based journalist, the publication of a story depends primarily on how quickly they can type and edit, which is a principle that does not apply in other platforms. For María Luisa, the immediacy affordance was marked by her need to record pictures of events while they were still occurring, and therefore her relationship with immediacy was marked by her capacity to physically transport herself and her crew and arrive at a particular geographic location while an event or happening was still ongoing.

The second concept is that of liveness or the capacity to cover events as they are occurring. Here radio and television can fairly and efficiently compete with online news because they have synchronous means of communication. Additionally, liveness is one of the most important reasons to explain Bødker and Sonnevend's feelings of simultaneity among the audience. Generations of people are marked by where they were when Apollo 11 landed on the moon, when the first plane hit the North Tower in Lower Manhattan, or when they saw the images of La Moneda on fire after the military seized power in the coup. The collective witnessing of the unfolding present events creates a shared sentiment of belonging.

Immediacy and liveness refer to the way the audience consumes the news or the ways journalists present stories, but Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Neiger also address the internal, behind-the-doors, temporal processes of news making. Thus, the preparation-time affordance is no more than the capacity journalists have to properly prepare, report, and develop a story or newsworthy piece. There is indeed nothing new about journalists fighting against an upcoming deadline. However, some would argue that new digital technologies are increasing the pressure on media workers by impacting both the volume and frequency of news production (Boczkowski, 2010).

Versionality of media can be divided into two contrasting affordances: transience and fixation. The printed word forever remains fixed on the paper. The ink cannot be taken back from the sheets of paper. Accordingly, history is full of emblematic and sometimes regrettable newspaper covers that 'serve as vehicles of collective memory' (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2018, p. 43). Web-based journalism, however, can be transformed, adapted, and updated ad nauseam. The platform itself is tainted with its ephemerality (Deuze, 2008).

Remembering what I presented in Chapter 3, it is important to notice that the distinction between transient and fixed platforms is already creating professional barriers and a difference in how some journalists see themselves and their own colleagues (Usher, 2014).

Finally, the last time affordance relates to extended retrievability, which 'enables journalists to easily access large amounts of data and texts from different points in time and use them in the construction of current news narratives' (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2018, p. 44). This characteristic, which I posit directly opposes the idea of immediacy, has created the need to diversify the professional profiles of media workers inside a newsroom by hiring more graphic designers and data visualisation experts.

The study of time, temporalities, and rhythms inside the newsrooms can be approached from several perspectives; however, in this chapter, I argue that new technologies have forced news makers to accelerate the news-making process independently of the platform for which they work. Focussing on the usage of mobile instant messaging (MIM) applications, I argue that Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Neiger's temporal affordances, although observable during my fieldwork, are also omitting the professional and personal consequences of new technologies that have mired journalists and media workers into a hasty new process for making the news.

4.2. The shifting temporalities of journalism

Studying time inside a sociotechnical organisation such as the media is a complex endeavour. Therefore, I should begin by defining the concept of time or the temporality of work and how I understand them throughout this chapter. Munn (1992) posits that the concept of temporality elucidates the notion of time as a symbolic process that produces and reproduces continually in our everyday practices. She leans on this concept to argue that individuals are '*in* a sociocultural time of multiple dimensions (sequencing, timing, past-present-future relations, etc.)' (1992). Following Durkheim, she notes the relevance of the study of motion rhythms in which time is understood as a continuous process of unfolding activities. Moreover, Hodges argues that 'human temporality, or temporalities if one considers its multiple dimensions, a symbolic process, is thus grounded in everyday social practices, and is the product of these practices' (2008, p. 406). The frenetic movement that the digital age demands from journalists is also covered in Nikki Usher's (2014) *Making News at* The New York Times. Usher observed how journalists inside *The Times* constantly negotiate the challenges of creating online and print content 'according to emergent online journalism values: immediacy, interactivity, and participation' (p. 4). She describes the online rhythms of news production, that is to say, the

urgency to update and refresh the media website in a non-stop loop. Much like Sisyphus, during my ethnographic fieldwork I observed that digital technologies have taken news production to a state of never-ending rolling.

These temporalities and rhythms have been widely discussed in the journalistic field, particularly regarding the relation between journalism and memory. Souza Leal, Antunes, and Vaz (2013) argue that 'by considering journalism as a narrative aimed at presenting a piecemeal knowledge on the world's current state of affairs […], the relation with the essential elements of the representation and experience of time – the notions of past, present and future – is immediately observed' (p. 108). These authors, for example, propose that when newspapers report deaths, they are talking not only about something that already happened but also something that could happen to the reader in the present or describe 'possible dying' in the future.

Temporality is central in the study of newsrooms since, as Tuchman claims, 'news media carefully impose a structure upon time and space to enable themselves to accomplish the work of any one day and to plan across day[s]' (p. 41); additionally, the social ordering of time and space 'stands at the heart of organized human activity' (p. 39). In this context, news is a perishable commodity, where 'yesterday's events are washed over by today's headlines, as the media pursue new news in the race to break a fresh story' (Newton, 1999, p. 578).

All of these definitions indicate that there are different types of temporalities or different approaches to time in the newsroom. Indeed, the study of time inside newsrooms may also refer to that of the interaction between journalists and their audiences. According to Gallo (2004), the emergence of weblog journalism implied, among other things, the creation of a real-time virtual feedback loop that destroyed the old frontiers that separated journalists and their audience. In journalism, historically, responses to a story could not happen until several days after its publication. However, journalists today live in a feedback rush where their audience comments, shares, or expresses different feelings about their articles instantly (Thorsen & Jackson, 2018), and this situation conditions the way news is covered.

Perhaps the ideal example I have witnessed regarding this feedback rush happened in the middle of the newsroom at *La Tercera*, where two large blue screens hung on the wall. The screens portrayed data supplied by Chartbeat, a technology company that provides analytics about the behaviour of readers and audiences to publishers. Specifically, these screens displayed the number of concurrent readers presently visiting any page of the site. According to the Chartbeat website, concurrent visitors are measured as 'the total number of people on your site at any given moment, as measured by the number of simultaneous open browsing

sessions to your site'. This meant that immediately after publishing articles on the website, journalists could have spun their chairs around and looked at the screens to see how many people, if any, were reading their pieces at that moment in real time. Much like we watch live horse races, web journalists at *La Tercera* joked about their articles moving up or down in the concurrent list and gloated unapologetically when their work remained in the top three for an extended period of time. Unlike television ratings, which measure the current topic on screen, Chartbeat created a strange sense of competition between the journalists because it revealed people's preferences or ratings across all the content available on the website. It was a direct message about how the audience valued and rewarded the topics on which journalists had been working.

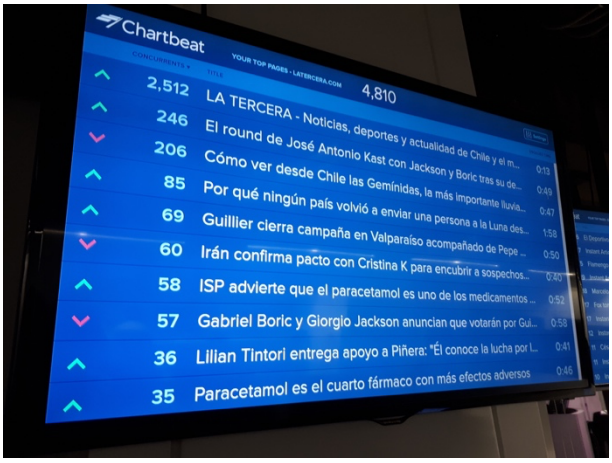

Figure 16. Screens portraying the Chartbeat data of La Tercera*'s website. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.*

I was possibly the person in the newsroom who was least interested in achieving the higher positions, but I must admit experiencing a rush of excitement whenever one of my articles reached the top three positions and lingered there for hours. Then, a little ashamed of my own feelings, I realised that I was experiencing something similar to when an Instagram picture earns many likes, or when a Facebook post receives numerous reactions: the feeling of instant gratification.

Science historian and author James Gleick argues that in this digital context of multiplatform production and consumption, humans have 'chosen speed, and we thrive on it – more than we generally admit. Our ability to work fast and play fast gives us power. It thrills us. If we have learned the name of just one hormone, it is adrenaline' (2000). That thrill runs rampant in modern digital newsrooms, in which surpassing the competition with 'scoops' and 'exclusives' is often culturally associated with feelings of professional prestige and achievement (Saltzis,

2012) and 'working fast' and 'being a quick thinker' are also considered relevant skills (Thomsen, 2018).

However, scholars have been investigating how new digital technologies have transformed that thrill into an overwhelming pressure for immediacy (Domingo, 2008). One of the consequences of this crushing anxiety to publish faster than anybody else is what Davies (2009) calls 'churnalism'. Because journalists no longer have time to be in the field, report, talk with sources, or read documents, Davies argues, the only remaining option is simply reutilising pre-packaged material from press releases or news agencies. During my fieldwork, I saw this happening repeatedly with the digital journalists, especially with news regarding international or economic themes. I believe this occurred because writing for those particular areas required a special set of skills and knowledge that the journalist often lacked. For Davies, 'churnalism' describes 'journalists who are no longer out gathering news but who are reduced instead to passive processors of whatever material comes their way' (2009, p. 59), falling into an almost-bureaucratic process of copying and pasting information they received from an email or a WhatsApp message. Therefore, as MacGregor (1997) posits, it would be correct to imagine that with new technologies, not only the news output has undergone a radical change but also the news intake – the way journalists relate to their sources and gather information as well as how that informs the articles they ultimately write. MacGregor states that by the end of the 1990s, the new speeds he was observing in the media meant that journalists were less interested in discovering what happened than in publishing quickly. In other words, MacGregor argues, it seems to be a characteristic of modern digital journalism to emphasise speed and quantity over thoughtful, quality news.

Web journalists are writing so quickly that they do not have time to stop, report, and reflect on their own work, but how is this expressed in the everyday news making inside the newsroom? Moreover, what consequences does this phenomenon have for the news that we consume daily? The answers to these questions came to me when I was trying to measure how freedom of speech and censorship worked inside the newsrooms in which I conducted my fieldwork. As I stated in Chapter 1, during the first weeks of my participant observation, I determined to explore the limits of the topics about which I could write, including equal marriage, abortion, and other controversial issues, until I discovered that *dictatorship* was a forbidden word. During this process, however, as I reviewed previously published articles in *La Tercera* and Teletrece about the LGBT community, I noticed that the same organisation was frequently singly quoted as a source. This happened independently of the particular topic of the news, whether it was equal marriage, violence against LGBT people, HIV/AIDS campaigns, suicide

prevention, work discrimination, transsexualism and identity, and so on. This caught my attention not because the organisation in question was performing poorly as a source, but because Chile has an ecology of LGBT NGOs that were absent in the debate. I explored why this could be happening, especially because of the importance, both theoretical and practical, of understanding how community-based organisations and NGOs' political and communication strategies spread an egalitarian message. First, this knowledge illuminated how societies such as that in Chile, may be changing, if at all. Studying the relationship between people who are LGBT and mass media indicates the level of openness or closure with which an issue is being discussed on a day-to-day basis in a society. Second, these observations can also enable other political LGBT organisations in different countries to evaluate their political communication strategies toward mass media and achieve a better sense of how to address the press. My conclusions in this section should not be considered a decisive model for the correct usage of political communication, but rather as food for thought in the discussion about time and news making. In this section, I refer to the organisation that appeared most often before my fieldwork as Organisation 1, and then I introduce a second organisation for comparison, which I simply call Organisation 2.

I started this exercise by asking my content editor to allow me to cover every news item about any LGBT-related issue for a period of time. I needed to control and establish the agenda on this topic to observe the flow of information.

Soon enough, I received the first email about a story regarding the Gender Identity Law and a Supreme Court ruling in favour of transsexual people. I contacted Organisation 1's press officer for a comment about the ruling, who responded within 10 minutes of my original request with a well-formed quote, ready to be copied and pasted into my article.

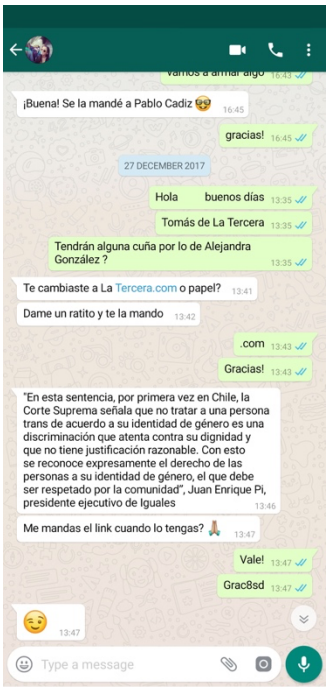

Figure 17. Organisation 1 responding to my request for comment. Photo: Screenshot by Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

Concurrently, I contacted a second organisation, one whose main objective was the protection of transsexual people. If this article was about transsexual people, then the transsexual organisation should lead the piece, I thought. However, the people from Organisation 2 did not respond immediately. Rather, some minutes later, their press officer sent me a number of WhatsApp contacts of people I should contact. I responded that if she could not provide a quote for my article soon, then I would proceed and publish the piece without them. I had already delayed publishing the article for them at that point and knew that at any moment, other media outlets could be uploading their own pieces. When the press officer from Organisation 2 responded, however, she did so by attaching a three-minute audio file in which the president of the NGO mumbled his response in a sometimes-inaudible voice.

Over the next months, I continued my attempts to include different NGOs and therefore different voices in the pieces I wrote about LGBT news. Every time, sometimes even before I knew of an occurrence, the press officer of Organisation 1 sent me a friendly, generic text message, asking how I was and attaching a well-formed quote from someone within her organisation. However, the relationship with Organisation 2 seemed to worsen. Because I had approached them in a friendly, cordial way, they seemed to think that they had leverage over me and started sending me messages such as the one in Figure 18:

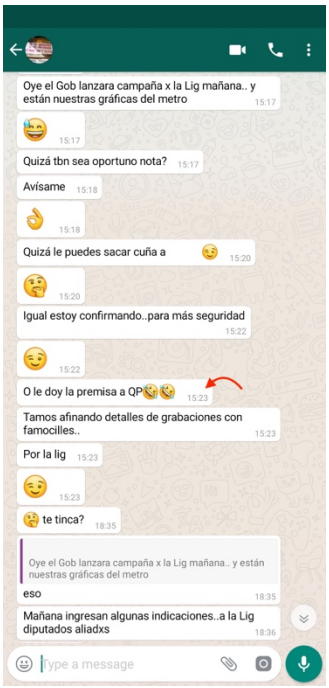

Figure 18. Organisation 2 trying to pitch a story to me. Photo: Screenshot by Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

In a text chain inconsequentially littered with emojis, Organisation 2's press officer attempted to pitch a topic for me to cover. However, in the middle of the conversation, marked by the red arrow in Figure 18, she threatened to 'give the scoop' to another media outlet if I did not move faster. In her words, she would 'give the scoop to XX'. She closed that sentence with two emojis who are shedding tears from laughing.

In this digital context, the pressure to publish has been described as overwhelming; therefore, how should journalists approach similar situations? Was I becoming part of the 'churnalism' Davies lamented, or was I merely responding to the demands of the platforms for which I was writing? Perhaps if I had been writing for the paper, then I could have waited longer for a quote or transcribed the audio files myself, but I began to understand why some NGOs seemed to enjoy a better media presence than others. Those organisations that could enable reporters to save time, such as Organisation 1, were essentially rewarded by being included in the agenda more often than organisations without a clear message, regardless of the organisation's relation to the topic in question.

During my interview with Canal 13's content editor, I asked him about this issue: How do you choose one NGO over other to utilise as a source? 'I think there are many things in play', he responded. However, when he enumerated his list, the first factor he mentioned was 'a good media management plan'.

For Lewis and Cushion, 'if immediacy has become the new life-blood of 24-hour news culture, breaking news is its apotheosis' (2009, p. 304). News, after all, they argue, has long concerned

newness, and nothing could be newer than breaking news. As revealed in Chapter 2, if newsrooms such as *La Tercera* consider their digital journalists exclusively for breaking news, then there is no wonder that they produce stories that are closer to 'churnalism' than anything else. By all means, I should have been able to maintain a cool head and not succumb to the pressure, but I urgently felt the need to publish before my competitors, even if that meant omitting sources who, for many reasons, were unable to follow the rhythm of the news cycle. These new rhythms of work have led to allegations about a decline in journalistic standards (Lewis et al., 2005). Indeed, immediacy proved useful at the expense of NGOs, which, whether for social, economic, or political reasons, have yet to achieve a level of professionalism that allows them to establish a 'good media management plan'. My salary, career, and permanence in the newsroom did not depend on the quantity of articles produced per hour, but even I was unable to wait to include a diversity of voices; consequently, it would be unavailing to demand better from journalists in newsrooms such as *La Tercera*.

Despite what many consider a grim scenario for the future of diversity of voices in the media, I found some hopeful responses in some of my interviews. Additionally, during my fieldwork, I encountered an optimistic approach to the new rhythms of production. I was interviewing the T13.cl content editor when I questioned him about time as a limited resource:

Tomás: Does it ever happen that if you have to choose between several topics to cover, you may leave an important topic aside in order to cover something that you know would generate a lot of clicks and bring traffic to the website?

Content editor: It may happen. But … not in big, big stories. If there is a story that is really good, you have to do it. At least that is the way I see it. Even if you have to stay until late to finish the article … It may not be read by so many people, but you have to do it anyway.

Tomás: Because if someone says, 'Hey, why didn't you cover this?' [a common criticism in the media], you can say, 'Yes, I did. Look'.

Content editor: Yes. And because … deep down … as I see it, you can decide to do things for the clicks, but you cannot stop doing things for the clicks.

Perhaps immediacy, interactivity, and participation are new values in the digital age, as Usher argues; however, as the quote above indicates, these concepts have not yet completely overtaken other journalistic values, such as accuracy, impartiality, or even humanity. Despite the thrill of it all, despite the clocks running out and the rushes of excitement for the concurrent visitors in any specific moment, time may not be the only decisive variable in news making.

4.3. Slow down, slow journalism!

Near the end of the 1980s, European communities, as a reaction against fast-food conglomerates that had started to replace their local, ancient culinary culture, began to organise and promote what they called the 'slow food' movement, which promoted local food and ingredients as well as traditional cooking. More importantly, it was a call to create a meaningful relationship between the product and the consumer.

Drawing from this experience, British writer and newspaper editor Susan Greenberg wondered whether something similar could be said about the current state of the journalistic industry in the United Kingdom. In an article published in the *Prospect*, Greenberg first utilised the concept of 'slow journalism', questioning whether there really was a market in the UK for 'essays, reportage and other non-fiction writing that takes its time to find things out, notices stories that others miss, and communicates it all to the highest standards' (2007). This valid question originates in the fact that, unlike U.S. editorial markets, non-fiction, journalistic literature in the United Kingdom has experienced difficulty earning its popularity among readers. Although some British newspapers may be becoming more magazine-like, she argues, they have yet to translate this interest into economic support for high-standard research, which is not only costly but also time-consuming.

Departing from Greenberg's original argument, others have started to loosely apply the term to everyday journalism. For example, Le Masurier has argued that this hyper-acceleration and over-production in which 'quality has suffered, ethics are compromised and user attention has eroded' (2016, p. 405) has caused newer forms of journalism practice to emerge as a consciously ethical practice to respond to what she calls the exponential decay of certain journalistic values. Le Masurier mainly focusses her work on what is now being called 'slow journalism'. According to her previous publications, 'this journalism does not require a checklist of key characteristics to qualify as Slow. The term, like the Slow movement itself, is more a critical orientation to the effects of speed on the practice of journalism' (Masurier, 2015, p. 143). The slow movement, as defined by Carl Honoré, one of the heads behind this crusade, is 'calm, careful, receptive, still, intuitive, unhurried, patient, reflective, quality-over-quantity. It is about making real and meaningful connections – with people, culture, work, *food*, everything' (2009, pp. 14–15). It is a reaction to the speed of living and information consumption that some attribute to the way certain Western societies have approached the usage of new digital technologies. As Castells argues, the Information Age has rendered the

audience to a state of pure informed bewilderment (2010). As a solution to this phenomenon, journalist Susan Moeller proposes the following:

> Slow Journalism is about valuing content over speed. Slow Journalism is about identifying core issues and finding a way to give audiences information of lasting substance – it's not about posting the latest news clip on a 24/7 deadline to 'feed the beast'. Slow Journalism is about news you can use … to make you a more informed citizen. Slow Journalism is activist journalism; it's journalism that tries to enlighten, and perhaps even empower its audience, often by asking that audience to become collaborators. (Moeller, 2010)

Based on the data collected during my fieldwork, I can only agree with the diagnosis that members of the slow journalism movement are making here. Quality has indeed suffered, and as I present through the case study toward the end of this chapter, journalists perceive that certain ethical aspects of their work are increasingly compromised every day. Is the solution in a movement that was based on the idea of decelerating to make a meaningful connection with a fig or to oppose the construction of a McDonald's restaurant in the northwest Italian region of Piedmont? I do not know. The journalists I interviewed during my fieldwork – the reporters that this movement argue have forgotten the value of 'content over speed' – have actually not forgotten it at all. They have been forced to publish stories about *Grey's Anatomy* or to 'feed the beast', as Moeller states, precisely because that is the only way they can afford to publish the 'news you can use'. Journalists are well aware of the shortcomings that the fast pace of their work has over their final products:

'Maybe on TV things are easier to explain because you just need images, a quote, and you also have some other resources. But in the web, you need to break quick, and breaking quick and not making a mistake is hard', a digital reporter at Teletrece told me. If ever there was a day when she felt that pressure, then it was the day of our interview. The T13.cl content editor was off for the day, and she had been temporarily promoted to replace him. We were, however, able to sit together around our lunch window and discuss, among other things, the need to 'feed the beast'.

'Many, many times we fall into that thing of just writing an article without truly understanding what we are writing, and therefore the article itself is unreadable, and at the end of the day, the audience is not going to understand much because the article does not say much', she explained. As an example, she utilised a story she was covering that same day. In 2016 and 2017, Sociedad

Química y Minera de Chile (SQM), a Chilean chemical company, was being investigated for allegations of tax evasion, bribery, and improper payments to politicians. Over the course of two years, the investigation had become increasingly complicated. The names of compromised politicians, the owners of the company, lawyers, witnesses, and so on, had grown into a cloud of faces, facts, and rumours.

'It happens with cases that are very puzzling or complicated, that you don't know where to grab them from. So, of course you have to have that ability to understand a topic very well, or fairly well, to explain it, because basically, writing a breaking-news article is explaining a fact or event to someone who doesn't know anything about it', she concluded. She explained that, unlike the television department at Canal 13 in which one journalist was assigned to cover the entire case, in the digital area of Teletrece, journalists bounced back and forth between topics as soon as they arose, similar to a game of whack-a-mole.

Greenberg's original point is not that all journalism should be slow, because the world continues to move quickly. Rather, as Agger (2004) states, slow journalism and rapid breaking-news reporting must dialectically co-exist: 'slow food and slow life are important goals, but they must be situated within, and not before or beyond, modernity' (2004, p. 149), he argues. Agger further proposes the term *slowmodernity* to describe this time in which we live, when information technologies are utilised to decelerate the rhythms of existence, rather than to accelerate them. However, the slow coexists with the fast in such a way that inserting slowness into modernity does not erase or remove rapid technologies, 'including media culture and the Internet, that enable a literary democracy' (2004, p. 149); rather, it prevents these same technologies from thwarting the democratic project of our societies, where the free, fast flow of information is key.

Instead of a simplistic approach that supposes that journalists have submitted to a routine of news production that does not include 'information of lasting substance', Agger approaches the study of speed by encouraging multiplatform newsrooms to achieve systematic coordination of its parts and platforms, which could produce an organic journalism in which slow and fast meet. However, for that to occur, media organisations must support both economically and technically the journalistic projects that today precisely aim in this direction. We already know it will not be an easy road: even newsrooms, such as Teletrece, in which the digital infrastructure had centre stage and the leading role in the newsroom, have editors from other platforms who still do not understand the role of digital journalists. As a Canal 13 digital reporter admitted during our interview,

> Sometimes [television editors] ask you to react with logics with which the web does not work, because perhaps on TV you can tap something and just show it, right? On the web, even though it is also immediate, there are certain processes. You cannot just publish a picture, for example, you first have to copy it, paste it, upload the content, update it. … There are a series of process[es] that are exclusively for the web, and when someone from another platform comes and asks you to do something on the web but with television times, sometimes that ends up looking like hyperventilation.

Is there a future for slow journalism? Is there an opportunity for this type of journalism in this Chilean media ecology that does not seem to want to stop? According to Drok and Hermans (2016), the audience will eventually decide whether slow journalism has a future, as they determine the pace and create the demand for the type of journalism they want to consume. On the one hand, they may prefer rapid journalism, which has mainly been associated with free, breaking-news stories that can be rapidly accessed utilising social media platforms or by directly visiting a web page. On the other hand, they may choose to consume slow journalism, which is often associated with paid content – those well-developed articles that hide behind a paywall in a magazine-like format. Therefore, I say, 'Slow down' to slow journalism, because until the economic structures inside media organisations change, we will continue to experience the changing nature of journalistic rhythms.

4.4. The changing nature of journalistic rhythms

WhatsApp is participating in the transformation of both the rhythm and structures of time in the newsroom. The hyper-speed ability of fibre-optic technology directly threatens to erase certain journalistic traditions that today do not work sufficiently quickly (Willnat & Weaver, 2018). WhatsApp groups, for example, are faster and more efficient than press conferences. The ability to ask follow-up questions, once considered a must for serious journalists, is disappearing in the quest to obtain information quickly and feed it to multiplatform systems that are waiting to be refreshed instantaneously.

By conducting participant observation, I watched journalists speed through articles to meet a deadline and also felt the pressure of time hanging over their shoulders. When the temporality is described as 'we need to break with that story right now', WhatsApp becomes a key ally.

Repeatedly, I witnessed how WhatsApp was the protagonist in many conversations between colleagues. Often, journalists would jump into the air, brandishing their phones and screaming about a quote, statistic, or picture they had received on the application. An abnormally noisy scraping of chairs against the floor would fill the newsroom as journalists and editors gathered to debate whether they were seeing another apocryphal story, as many circled around WhatsApp those days. Editors, ever the inveterate doubters, would grab their phones and contact their own sources for confirmation. All of this happened within minutes, as everybody knew that if they had received that piece of information, then more likely than not, another journalist elsewhere may have received it as well. The ability to gather information quickly was accompanied by the price of transforming the rhythms and structures of time within the newsroom, and WhatsApp was directly at the centre of those changes.

However, MIM is also a reminder of the toll of immediacy in journalists' personal lives. Because both interpersonal and mass communication are interchangeable concepts within this application, journalists are not off duty at any time. Hence, they find themselves trapped in the technology they celebrate. Above all, the temporality of journalism changes with the introduction of one instant message, which demonstrates the idea that a sociotechnical organisation depends on the technology on which it is based. This further illuminates how vulnerable journalists are confronted with the agency of the tools upon which they depend to report the news.

In the following sections, I review how the introduction of this MIM has impacted not only the temporality of news production but also other spheres of journalism, such as intimacy and obtainability.

Drawing on Ian Hodder's human-thing entanglement theory (2011, 2014), this chapter proposes pondering this issue beyond the mere relationship between user and new technology. For Hodder, the relationship between people and things can create specific practical entrapments that occur because 'we have come to depend on the positive benefits deriving from the greater flows of resources and information through the network' (2011, p. 164). In this case, Hodder's theory elucidates the asymmetrical and dependent relationship between journalists and WhatsApp, a social media platform that functions as a digital intermediary with an ever-growing number of performance characteristics. This approach does not deny the possible positive outcomes of this link but encourages wariness of the entrapments inherent in the individual-object relationship. As Hodder posits, 'humans get caught in a double bind, depending on things that depend on humans' (2014, p. 20), leading to a codependency between

the two in which neither can continue without the other, as is the case with WhatsApp. The longer and deeper the relationship, the more difficult it is to detach oneself from the other.

4.5. Case study: The intimacy, mutuality, and obtainability of WhatsApp

MIM applications are understood to be an essential component of everyday communication routines (Andueza López & Pérez Arozamena, 2014). Unlike SMS from two decades ago, applications such as WhatsApp allow their users not only to send and receive text but also to share real-time locations, images, voice recordings, documents, and videos (Church & de Oliveira, 2013). These communication modalities are available both as one-on-one interactions and more recently, within groups of up to 250 people. As a result of the latter, the notion that WhatsApp is '"just a few friends connecting" […] seems to have gone out the window' (Armstrong, 2018). Indeed, with the massification of personal mobile phones and the low cost of mobile data prices, WhatsApp should be considered a social network that allows its users to access countless pieces of information quickly (Bouhnik & Deshen, 2014). Yet, the rapid increase in the consumption of data produces tenseless conceptions of action in which the temporality of some activities is reduced to an immediate and atemporal *now*.

MIM applications penetrate deep into the way we communicate with each other in what Malka, Ariel, and Avidar (2015) call a 'unique combination of mass and interpersonal communication channels' (p. 329). The intrusion in people's lives has been sufficiently dire to prompt significant research regarding the link between the usage of this application and new types of addictions and disorders (Faye et al., 2016; Rajini et al., 2018; van den Eijnden et al., 2016). However, instead of working as a deterrent, the significant effect that WhatsApp has had seems to uniquely attract journalists. Those working in the media willingly agree to participate in these virtual relationships with sources. Indeed, WhatsApp has spread ubiquitously throughout countries and newsrooms. Some authors have produced meaningful research on the usage of this MIM by journalists in nondemocratic contexts. Previous research has revealed that WhatsApp has become a substantial tool for journalists and their sources in locations where state agents accessing off-the-record conversations could result in reporters facing indefinite incarceration or even disappearance (I. Craig, 2017). Similarly, Frère (2017) reports that 'Twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp have become the main conveyors of information and the location for debate' (p. 6) in what she calls the impossibility of journalism in Burundi, a country in which the situation for journalists continues to deteriorate and new sanctions against media organisations are enacted regularly.

WhatsApp may be perceived as safe because, since 2014, the application has utilised end-to-end encryption (E2EE) technology, which allows for 'data between communication parties to be secure, free from eavesdropping, and hard to crack' (Endeley, 2017, p. 96). WhatsApp users are also allowed to check whether their messages have been received properly and read by the addressee (blue check marks appear next to the information once it has been sent and read). In addition to the improvements in E2EE technology, tracking delivery information allows senders to ensure that messages are received correctly and privately without fearing that the communication may have been intercepted. It should also be noted, nonetheless, that this sentiment is not shared by all journalists (see Waters, 2018).

4.6. Intimacy and mutuality

Soon after my arrival in the first newsroom, the content editor to whom I reported started sending me contacts over WhatsApp. People whom I had not met or even heard of were finding a place between friends and family in my phone. For every article I wrote, colleagues or editors sent me three or four additional contacts to utilise as sources. It seemed to be a tradition to assist neophytes in their endeavours to compile their own political, specialist, and academic sources, as wasting time locating a source for an article may exasperate senior colleagues who must quickly dispatch articles for the web. The instruction was often the same: 'Send them a WhatsApp message first; if they don't reply soon enough, well … *then* call them'. Consequently, I did as instructed. Shortly thereafter, responses began to arrive. However, to my surprise, these replies contained a considerable number of smiley faces, thumbs-up, and praying hands (which people actually utilise to mean 'please' and 'thank you'), although they conveyed the urgency of the topic on which we were working or the source's satisfaction with the article published. Weeks later, upon my request over WhatsApp for an interview, a presidential campaign manager simply responded with a short 'I'm driving', while a congresswoman simply replied, 'Sure. But can we talk later? I am in the chamber right now'. Two things caught my attention from these interactions. First, I had access to people quickly. Both had answered my texts within seconds. Congressional sessions and road safety rules were no excuse to miss the chance for an interview. Second, my overly formal texts seemed out of place confronted with these light responses that had been decorated with emojis. Politicians and academics responded as if they were texting a close friend. A tacit level of intimacy and urgency was inherent in every chat, as opposed to the fatigued voices that answered my phone calls or the emails signed with the perennial 'regards'. The behavioural codes, or even the

idioms, that rule mobile chat platforms such as WhatsApp seemed to dictate the frame under which sources and journalists *must* interact. How does this form of communication mediate the way journalists interact with their sources? How does this affect the news-making process as a whole?

As Kjeldskov et al. (2004) argue, 'people have always used artefacts to mediate their intimate relationships' (p. 105). Either through material objects, cultural symbols, or non-verbal signals, people find ways to express ideas or feelings. However, each medium – or channel of communication – produces a different level of intimacy between its participants. Specifically, research on computer-mediated communication (CMC) indicates that people are more likely to engage in high-intimacy self-disclosures via text-based CMC interactions than in face-to-face communication (Gibbs et al., 2006; Jiang et al., 2011; Tidwell & Walther, 2002). According to Walther's (1996) hyperpersonal model, the reason behind this effect is that 'at the level of the sender, CMC partners may select and express communication behaviors that are more stereotypically desirable in achieving their social goals and transmit messages free of the "noise" that otherwise comes with unintended appearance or behavior features' (pp. 28-29). This noise, or the unpredictability of the impulses surrounding interpersonal communication, is limited by the asynchrony of the posted messages and the constrained number of cues that CMC communication, especially in MIM, offers to its participants (see Boczkowski, Matassi, & Mitchelstein, 2018). The latter partially explains the usage of emojis in the exchanges between sources and journalists. That is, parties utilise compensatory mechanisms to bypass the limitations of the platform (Kaye et al., 2017).

It follows that a higher level of intimacy – or maybe a new kind of relationship – should be expected when journalists begin to interact with their sources not only through face-to-face communication but also through text-based mobile chat applications. In their study regarding journalistic trust-building with their sources over mobile applications, Belair-Gagnon, Agur, and Frisch (2018) conclude that because of the complexity of online communication, mobile sourcing depends significantly on social factors, such as the way in which both journalists and their sources understand the norms, codes, and practices on a specific chat application. Indeed, according to a television political reporter, the presence of journalists in their WhatsApp contacts list may present challenges for the sources themselves:

> Sometimes [the politicians] believe you are their friend, or they feel that they have an edge to pressure you or collect favours. They do not understand that this is journalism and that even if you are building trust with them, it's a journalist-source

> relationship, not a friendship. The format of the app blurs some professional boundaries.

Political reporters, as opposed to breaking-news reporters, need to navigate WhatsApp conversations more carefully. According to the journalists I interviewed, it was not uncommon to build a close relationship with a source that included having long conversations in which news topics remained untouched: 'You have to chat with them, so you joke, they talk about their lives and kids, they ask you how you are doing outside work, and sometimes they really like you', a political reporter told me during our interview. In that sense, WhatsApp may be another way to maintain and secure pre-existing relationships with sources. This may contradict the idea of a new type of relationship between political journalists and sources. Based on the information gathered during my fieldwork, political reporters have traditionally engaged with politicians beyond the professional topics of the day to gain their trust and hopefully obtain exclusive information for a story. In this type of relationship, the principle of mutuality – the 'you scratch my back; I'll scratch yours' concept – was better achieved when trust was built in a face-to-face relationship. Indeed, Reich (2008) reports that some journalists prefer oral communication over textual in relation to human informants.

However, the case for web-based breaking-news journalists was different. Having little time to leave the newsroom during work hours, these journalists often engaged in long-form conversations with sources they had not met or even talked to over the phone. According to a breaking-news journalist: 'Contacting them over WhatsApp is the fastest way to obtain quotes. It is very useful to us'. Yet, she admitted that the line between on- and off-the-record information became blurry after extended chat conversations.

> You have to ask: 'Senator, can I use this message as a quote?' 'Yeah, go ahead' [they respond]. But still, a new line between what is off and what is not off is drawn. Get it? The relationship with the source is ... different.

Technically, both journalists and sources should assume that every exchange of information or communication is on the record unless the opposite is clearly stated beforehand (Elliott & Culver, 1992). However, as I noticed during my interviews, the opposite occurred in WhatsApp: Everything was off the record unless otherwise noted. The usage of emojis in the texts, the informal tone of the responses, and the sense of exclusiveness that chatting with a source seemed to have over journalists confronted them with a myriad of subjective judgements

every day. Publishing something from a WhatsApp chat without source permission could cause the end of the journalist-source relationship, although no ethical rules were broken. Conversely, what would be broken was the tacit intimacy that chat participants assumed hover over the platform.

4.7. Obtainability

The channels through which information is shared matters, as they proscribe who can consume it. Even social media precludes those without a stable Internet connection to access the information stores within its sites. Traditionally, journalism offered only two options for a source to share information rapidly with a considerable number of journalists: a press release could be written and then emailed, faxed, or delivered to the newsroom (Shoemaker, 1989; Walters & Walters, 1992), or a source could call a press conference to which journalists would travel and step on each other to have their questions answered (Clayman, 1993). However, according to the journalists I interviewed, both systems presented immediate problems for attendees and sources alike. First, unless a reporter was expecting to receive a piece of information, press releases were often lost in a mountain of other emails waiting to be opened. In this case, the communication manager sending the press release would have to call each newsroom, asking whether they received the information and whether they had any questions about its content. Second, travelling outside the city where the newsroom was located required both time and resources for the media. If the story was not sufficiently important, then sending a crew far away could not be justified. Consequently, many stories, although important, would not receive any coverage. This further highlighted the gap between traditional and more resourceful media as well as between newer and often poorer media organisations.

It was difficult to measure the impact that WhatsApp has had in the dynamic information ecosystem in which data flowed between sources and journalists, but it remained clear that many stories were covered because they landed safely in a journalist's phone. According to a web editor, the popularisation of information via WhatsApp had several perks but also presented some challenges:

> The same information quickly reaches different media, some [of] which may have resources ... from media with super-high budgets, such as *La Tercera* or *El Mercurio*, which have 10 journalists covering politics, to media where a single person is the medium. So, I think that is very good. But of course, the risk is that

> many times because of the laziness, you could miss important information. For example, I remember that, I think it was Alejandro Guillier's chat (a presidential candidate's WhatsApp group for journalists), there was a journalist whining, 'Hey, but they're not going to send us quotes [from the candidate]?' When you start to see it that way, there is a problem. [WhatsApp] is an aid; it facilitates the solution to the problem, but it is not the only way to do journalism.

Many things can be extrapolated from this anecdote. First, MIM is erasing economic and material limitations between newsrooms. That is not to say that economic and material conditions no longer matter, since it is more likely for a source to trust a well-known, popular, established medium. However, if small journalistic projects reach a WhatsApp group, then the likelihood for them to obtain relevant information increases considerably.[32] Moreover, these pieces of information do not limit themselves to text. Because MIM supports audiovisual material as well, journalists can now create an array of content and take full advantage of the web as a platform. Similarly, entire interviews can be conducted over WhatsApp, which reduces the technological requirements for small newsrooms to gather new information. More than once, a source with whom I was texting told me to send questions over WhatsApp and later replied with voice messages and pictures, which felt as if I had on-demand sources. Utilising a smartphone and a decent Wi-Fi connection, I collected text and audiovisual material to create a well-informed multimedia article for the web in less than an hour.

Journalists in the two newsrooms in which I conducted participant observation seemed to fully capitalise on the WhatsApp groups. These were usually created and regulated by the communications manager of institutions or politicians. Thus, journalists could navigate between the Congress group, the presidential palace (*La Moneda*) group, and the Senate group. I conducted my fieldwork during the 2017 presidential campaign, and each of the candidates had their own WhatsApp group of journalists, where press releases, activity information, pictures, and even the candidate's voice recordings were shared with 200 journalists simultaneously. As expected, NGOs and political parties also had their own groups, although I heard many conversations in which journalists complained about the irrelevant information

[32] Getting a spot in one of the WhatsApp group was not necessarily an easy endeavor. As in many other spheres of social life, acquaintanceship played a crucial role in this task. Journalists usually knew each other from physical encounters during press conferences and created a professional and social web that would later translate into the ability to help each other access physical and non-physical—such as WhatsApp groups—places.

shared. A phenomenon occurring within these groups was that community managers were not the only ones sharing information. Journalists warned others, although they were from different media organisations, when something important was happening or about to happen. A serious level of camaraderie permeated the entire conversation. If a journalist missed a quote, then another would post it in the group. 'Everyone is going to have it anyway', a journalist shrugged when I asked him about this issue. This camaraderie, however, was not inherent in the application. Rather, it was forged between journalists who spent hours waiting together when a news conference or briefing was postponed. Some studied at the same university, some worked together, and some met in the eternal vigils of news reporting. Previous studies have demonstrated that journalists converse and develop fellowship over other social networks, such as Twitter (Molyneux, 2015; Mourão, 2015). However, although the journalists interviewed herein would not call another media organisation to ask for information they missed or openly tweet for assistance, asking for the same information in a WhatsApp group did not seem to be inappropriate behaviour.

The statement of 'everyone is going to have it anyway' further reflects the changes of temporality within the newsroom. During the 'paper days', as Chilean journalists referred to the time before the eruption of the web, when a news organisation obtained an exclusive or a scoop on a story, other media would not be able to replicate that information until the next day. Now, however, the meaning of a scoop in journalism is measured in the seconds required for the next media outlet to replicate that story on their website.[33]

The content editor's quote described the dependency that some journalists felt toward WhatsApp. He later added,

> Sometimes an excess of information is shared. For example, in these same groups like the Congress one, someone asks for a number and people fight to give you the number. Get it? So, it's fun. But there are also times where people complain because these are numbers that you may have struggled to get, that the source gave to you [after gaining their trust] and then someone goes and shares it in a group with 250 people.

[33] The same does not happen with "exclusives", where other media outlets, at least the ethical ones, would be required to quote the news organization that reported the information first and sometimes even create a hyperlink in their articles that takes the reader to the original piece.

The criticism inside the newsroom was often directed toward younger and more inexperienced journalists. Media workers regularly complained that newer generations did not know how difficult it had been in the old days to obtain a source's phone number. Journalists' contacts and agendas were considered a treasure, as these contained the most valuable raw material for journalists: their sources. Now, in a media environment that privileges and rewards immediacy, collaboration in all its forms may be the only way to survive the transformations in the temporalities of media ecology.

WhatsApp is also beneficial for multiplatform media. The television station where I conducted my fieldwork also hosted a website for news articles as well as a radio station, which translated into three separate teams of journalists working on information they could utilise in their respective platforms. However, WhatsApp built bridges between the groups. A web editor affirmed this observation:

> I have a WhatsApp group with the TV political reporters, where they will warn you: 'I already have the quote of such person', [or] 'I am in the president's press conference, and she said this', or they even send you the audio immediately. [...] I am also in a group with the radio journalists, and in that chat, the people of the radio will tell you what's coming [on their broadcast].

I saw the same behaviour multiple times. Figure 19 is a screenshot in which a newspaper journalist from the web journalists' WhatsApp group sent information from the field and asked for someone to write a quick web article.[34][35]

[34] Translation: "Guys (informal). 5341 schools are now non-for profit, which equals 96.1% of the total enrolment. 160 are being set up right now (1.9% of the total enrolment). 186 have not initiated the paper work (2% of the total enrolment).—If they initiate the paperwork between today, tomorrow and the day after, they still have a chance to receive the subsidies. Minister Delpiano (quote): 'If today, tomorrow or the day after the 186 [schools] that have not yet started the paperwork do it, they could receive the subsidies in time, if not, they will not'. It's the Inclusion Law. Could you upload the article to the web, please?".

[35] The article was later published on the web under the title "Ley de Inclusión: 186 establecimientos aún no inician proceso para ser sin fines de lucro" using the Minister's quotes: http://www2.latercera.com/noticia/ley-inclusion-1-375-227-alumnos-estudian-gratis/

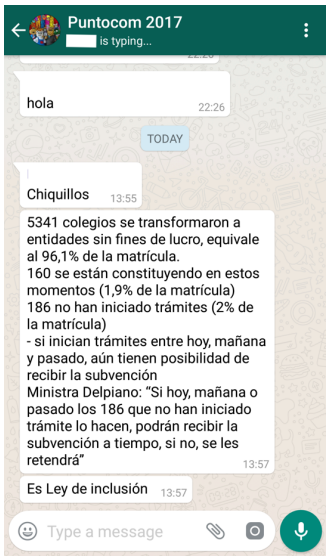

Figure 19. WhatsApp Group screenshot from 4 April 2018. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

As Westlund (2013) states, 'Mobile devices have enhanced the possibilities for journalists to work and report from the field. They can be used for news reporting for mobile news platforms but also for the entire cross-media portfolio' (p. 16). Moreover, as Figure 19 confirms, WhatsApp has accelerated this process. However, as mentioned previously, WhatsApp groups can only host up to 250 participants. This upper limit translates into an inclusion-exclusion process whereby group administrators must choose who remains and who is eliminated. I was eliminated from the internal groups as soon as I finished my fieldwork in each newsroom. In external groups, such as the Congress or La Moneda groups, the administrators were constantly monitoring the comments of the journalists from every media outlet. If someone committed serious ethical faults or often sent spam messages, then it was likely that the group administrator would delete them and add someone else.

The double blue check marks in a WhatsApp message can save the day with the same ease that may ruin the night for a journalist. For a breaking-news journalist, some sources 'send messages at unusual, ridiculous times. I do not know if it is an assistant, if they are the congressmen themselves … Sometimes 11 at night. I am not lying, 11 at night, 2 in the morning, a message. I do not even read them', a digital reporter told me. However, the journalists with whom I worked were aware that not reading the messages could have serious consequences. Those working in media tended to try to ensure an exclusive relationship with a source: 'If they have something to say, you want to be the one they tell it to', a web journalist admitted. Missing a text could mean that the source turns to the competition.

4.8. Privacy, intimacy, and informality

This chapter has drawn on theoretical approaches that understand media as sociotechnical organisations, that is, institutions based upon the relationship between nonhuman and human systems. The idea that humans not only depend on other humans but they also create interdependencies with material things is particularly relevant to address in this study. For contemporary journalists, WhatsApp offers the potential for faster access to greater amounts of information, but the tool is also changing the way some journalists engage in news making and with their sources. Special attention should be focussed on generational differences in these matters. Technologies such as MIM may be de-skilling older journalists and preventing newer generations from learning face-to-face tactics for gathering information.

The transformations of the temporality within newsrooms have been studied and special attention has been bestowed on how WhatsApp is changing work rhythms. Because both journalists and sources seemed to be more willing to engage frequently via WhatsApp than through any other communication platform, the time and money required to collect information has decreased considerably by utilising this application.

However, some negative elements are also noted in this case study. The ideas of privacy and intimacy are often conditioned by the informality that reigns over WhatsApp. In this context, journalists are confronted regularly with information that vacillates between being off and on the record. The virtual relationships in which journalists entangle themselves must be addressed to prevent ethical lapses and lead to practices that most closely relate to the deontology of the profession.

The most worrying trend seems to be the inescapability that journalists experience with this technology. MIM generally and WhatsApp specifically have modified the state of affairs to the point that journalists depend heavily on these applications to perform their jobs and face real consequences, both personal and professionally, if they detach themselves from it.

The findings of this case study are restricted to WhatsApp. Further research should and must investigate the impact of platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Snapchat, or other MIM services on journalists' temporalities and routines.

Notwithstanding its limitations, this study suggests that journalism in Chile is turning toward a scenario in which virtual relationships are privileged over face-to-face interactions. Moreover, the entanglement of humans and technologies, especially in journalism, should be pondered from a critical perspective. We should wonder who is reaping the benefits from the heavy reliance that journalists and media workers are placing on technological innovations. The asymmetry in the balance of cost and benefits should warn us because, again, the longer

and deeper the relationship between humans and technologies, the more difficult it is to detach from one another.

This chapter has examined how the introduction of new digital technologies is currently transforming the temporalities of news making and the effects this is having on news makers. Based on the interviews and data collected during my fieldwork, my results indicate that new digital technologies are not only accelerating the news-making process but thereby are also eroding professional-ethical values and standards of news production as well as personal, intimate aspects of the lives of media workers.

More importantly, the new temporalities of news production have caused radical transformations in the news-making process. To categorise these changes, we can simply observe the shifts in the temporal affordances of material technology.

The results regarding the preparation time affordance are dissimilar depending on the platform for which each journalist currently works. While newspapers reporters did not seem to feel a significant change in this aspect, several digital journalists admitted feeling the pressure to publish news articles although they did not completely understand the content they had written. New digital platforms are marked by the versionality and versability of the content they hold. Because stories can now be changed endlessly, news articles do not even need to be finished before they are posted online. Rather, posting an incomplete news article has become a traditional practice because beating the competition in the race to capture audience attention is now a common occurrence in media production.

Finally, new digital technologies have also impacted the extended retrievability affordance in news making. Digital technologies, expressed particularly in WhatsApp groups, allow reporters to interact with a greater number of media professionals who seem now more likely than ever before to contribute helpful information, thus creating a new kind of kindship over other social networks that are utilised by contemporary journalists.

However, some trends in the literature argue that journalists have simply forgotten the importance or the relevance of their jobs, although the data collected during my fieldwork indicates that this is not the case. Although digital journalists were working faster every day, they were aware of the consequences of new rhythms and temporalities on the quality of the work they produced. However, they felt that this was an inescapable situation, as even the tools and phone applications, such as MIM, they utilised were transforming journalistic values and professional ideals.

That is to say, journalists may choose today which phone model or telephone company they utilise, but regardless of that choice, applications such as WhatsApp must be included because

the structure of how news is reported is no longer the journalist's choice, and the audience's new consumption routines dictate which tools should be utilised. Journalism has perpetually been in a state of transition, as journalists gravitate toward technological and digital innovations that allow them to work more quickly and efficiently. Journalists turned to certain MIM services because they seemed to be ideal tools to engage quickly and privately with their sources, although they did not anticipate the chain of consequences that followed.

As with many applications before, applications such as WhatsApp may one day cease to exist, and it remains to be seen how younger generations of journalists will conduct their reporting when, as I have seen in this research, they have been trained in a 'WhatsApp them first' context, where *WhatsApp* is a verb rather than a mere noun.

We cannot yet tell the long-term consequences of this acceleration on journalism and the news-making process. However, by affecting the temporality, that is, the rhythms and practices of news production, new digital technologies have already contributed to reshaping several aspects of newsgathering: intimacy and trust as well as camaraderie and obtainability are concepts with new meaning in today's media ecology.

Part III

Professional dissonance in multiplatform newsrooms

V. Chapter 5: Newsroom dissonance

Journalism is still becoming acclimated to the transformations that new technologies have brought to newsrooms (Meese & Hurcombe, 2020; O'Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008). Journalists are struggling with the changing temporalities of news production, the novel infrastructures of technology and materialities, and the new platforms that they are now being pressured to utilise. Because of these distortions, news makers are encountering transformations in their professional roles and identities. Media workers, as I witnessed daily, are mulling over the question of what it means to be a journalist in contemporary multiplatform newsrooms.

The acceleration of the rhythms behind news making due to new levels of dependency on digital infrastructures asks journalists to act and produce knowledge based on a different set of values from those they consider to be proper to the profession. This growing gap between journalistic values and practices creates a state of mismatch in which media workers must prioritise different topics, values, and norms, which is a phenomenon called *professional dissonance*.

In this chapter, I argue that reporters arrive at this feeling not only because of the introduction of new digital technologies but also because of managerial decisions that disregard journalists' perceptions of their own roles. The new infrastructures themselves demand that reporters modify their practices to function correctly. However, I argue in this chapter that the decisions enacted by those who run the newsrooms, such as editors and managers, about how to approach these technologies are the main disruption to reporters' professional identities. To reduce the dissonance that reporters are experiencing, media workers could oppose the new rhythms of digital infrastructures or the obscure algorithms of third-party platforms, but that would necessarily translate into dysfunction within the already established patterns of production, negatively affecting audience metrics and advertising revenues alike. As Tuchman argues (see Chapter 1), news organisations depend on a process of active bureaucracy and flexible negotiations between reporters and editors. Tuchman (1978) further states that these negotiations are part of a cumulative practice based on journalists' previous experiences. Moreover, although journalists may criticise algorithms (Christin, 2017), algorithms rarely negotiate. Contesting the algorithms behind digital platforms produces a disruption in the contemporary active bureaucracy with which media organisations work. Consequently, the flexible negotiations between journalists and editors become less open, which results in less

compromise occurring between the two and increased mandates regarding how journalists must feed the algorithm for different platforms. Journalists have less room to protest, and the gap between values and practices becomes ever wider.

The web-based environment of the attention economy, in which the pressure to generate clickbait content is uppermost, offers optimal conditions for the increase of professional dissonance in the newsrooms. Journalists now have less incentive to contextualise, problematise, and scrutinise their stories and sources, and if they do, these must adapt to the settings imposed by the platforms on which their stories appear, which often favour whoever writes the most dazzling, eye-catching version of the same story. As van der Haak et al. argue, the editorial decision to rely almost exclusively on social media platforms for news distribution is translating into 'fewer reporters on fewer beats, fewer angles presented, fewer facts checked, and less inspired storytelling' (2012, p. 2925). Thus, journalists' ability to capture the attention of users has become more important than their journalistic values. The competition to capture an ever-more connected and yet ever-more fragmented audience (Fletcher & Nielsen, 2017) has encouraged media organisations to seek new or better strategies to report the news (Ferrer-Conill & Tandoc, 2018). Similar to many other communication-related industries, news media companies, who are facing a growing financial crisis worldwide, are moving inexorably toward a scenario of hypercompetitiveness ruled by a new attention economy (Nixon, 2017). In this context, the rapid datafication of the audience, thanks to new algorithms and analytics tools, has become key to estimating the popularity of news products (Christin, 2018). Indeed, rather than working to promote inclusion or foster diverse exposure for the audience, popularity-driven metrics have become a strongly detailed, low-cost click-counter for the performance of individual news items (Welbers et al., 2016). However, these metrics measure the performance not only of news articles but also of workers' individual success. Now every journalist can be ranked by the popularity of their work. The creation of a 'culture of data' (Lamot & Paulussen, 2020) in news organisations is changing the way reporters approach their own work, creating the need for new routines and concurrently transforming established practices (Hanusch, 2017). Thus, journalists are increasingly pressured to perform well according to the datafied audience. As their values and ideals are not necessarily measured by the algorithm, journalists remain subordinate to clicks and counts. Thus, feelings of professional dissonance begin to proliferate across multiplatform newsrooms.

In this chapter, I describe what I consider to be the most important consequence of the introduction of new digital technologies for journalists and media workers: digital technologies

are leading media workers to a state of professional dissonance because they are being forced, partially due to institutional decisions and partially due to economic interests, to practice journalism in a way that violates their own journalistic values. That is, in this chapter, I argue that the dissonance that these journalists are experiencing does not necessarily emerge from the technologies and platforms that they must utilise, but from the way that their media organisations have responded to the introduction of these same digital technologies.

In the following sections, I define the concepts of professional dissonance and journalistic values. Drawing from data collected during my fieldwork, I argue that these concepts are key to understand the impact of digital technologies in contemporary newsrooms. I then discuss how each of the areas I have analysed in this thesis – infrastructure, temporality, and platforms – illustrate the professional dissonance in the newsrooms of *La Tercera* and Canal 13.

5.1. Professional dissonance in journalism

Professional dissonance is defined as 'a feeling of discomfort arising from the conflict between professional values and job tasks' (Floyd Taylor, 2007, pp. 89–90). It is a rather recent concept that builds on the psychological theory of cognitive dissonance. The cognitive dissonance theory, first developed by Festinger (1957), describes the phenomenon that occurs when a person concurrently holds two cognitions or ideas that are psychologically inconsistent with each other (Aronson, 1969). The meat paradox is a prime example of this phenomenon. As Rothgerber explains, some people may encounter a conflict between 'their eating behaviour and their affection toward animals' (2020), thus causing tension between their conduct and their beliefs. In professional dissonance, however, one of these cognitions develops on the basis of an individual's personal and professional values, while the second arises from the duties or responsibilities required to satisfactorily perform a job according to the standards established by a particular organisation. In any case, both professional and cognitive dissonances could impact the subject's self-perception and self-determination (Bem, 1967).

Professional dissonance, once applied to journalism, is ideally described as the gap that exists between the answers to two questions: How do I believe that quality journalism should report the news? and How am I permitted to report the news? If the gap between these answers is wide, then media professionals experience high levels of anxiety, dread, and frustration. If the gap is narrow, however, media workers experience more professional satisfaction and contentment in their careers.

Melissa Floyd Taylor further argues that it would not be a mistake to classify professional dissonance as an existential problem, as 'it relates to feelings which directly impact on our perception of ourselves as people, our feelings about the kind of people and professional we are, and our feelings about how we should live our lives and fulfill our jobs' (2007, p. 91). Therefore, potential 'value collisions' (Frankl, 1988) could increase journalists' malaise or cynicism and despair.

Undurraga (2017) first employed the concept of professional dissonance in journalism in 2017. Seven months of newsroom ethnography between 2013 and 2015 and the work of Farías (2015) allowed Undurraga to identify two types of dissonance in Brazilian newsrooms: epistemic and evaluative dissonance. By evaluative dissonance, Undurraga refers to journalists' differing political and economic views, that is, how they understand political systems, economic models, social justice, democratic processes, and so on. This type of dissonance, he argues, could even be positive and fruitful for newsrooms, as it allows the encounter of different perspectives and points of view regarding relevant contemporary topics. By epistemic dissonance, and perhaps more interesting for this thesis, Undurraga refers to 'clashes over how journalism is best practiced, including clashes over how to know the world, and how best to report it, cultivate sources, and describe events' between media workers (2017, p. 512). During my own fieldwork, epistemic dissonance was more evident regarding the gap that existed between paper and digital journalists at *La Tercera*. Undurraga does not consider the role of new digital technologies in the increase of professional dissonance; however, he identifies how managerial decisions contribute to this state. I argue in this thesis that depending on the platform on which they were working, Chilean journalists experienced professional dissonance in different ways. As others have observed (Hendrickx et al., 2021), journalists working within the same newsroom but on different platforms demonstrated dissimilar appreciation for novel technologies, including audience metrics. I argue that this occurred because, for example, audience metrics impacted journalists' work differently depending on the platform on which they were working. Paper journalists saw the impact of these new technologies in a more indirect way than digital journalists, who were punished or rewarded the instant they publish an article online.

5.2. Journalistic values

Journalistic values have been defined as 'structures of meaning that are discursively created, perpetuated, and contested' (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017, p. 120). Journalistic values have long

been challenged and disputed. According to Underwood (1993), for example, since media organisations became increasingly profit oriented, the relationship between journalists' values and the interests of the business executives who run the newsrooms have caused clashes regarding which priorities news organisations should follow. However, as Bell and Owen notice, the 'influence of social media platforms and technology companies is having a greater effect on American journalism than even the shift from print to digital' (2017). Journalists and editors rarely clash any more over priorities, or some of these discussions have been rendered irrelevant, as companies such as Facebook, Twitter, and Google 'have evolved beyond their role as distribution channels, and now control what audiences see and who gets paid for their attention, and even what format and type of journalism flourishes' (Bell & Owen, 2017).

In this context, Carlson and Lewis (2015) utilise the concept of 'blurring boundaries' to address the question of what could and could not be called journalism today. For Carlson, 'struggles over journalism are often struggles over boundaries' (2016, p. 2), because at the core of questions about appropriate journalistic behaviour or even what counts as journalism is the battle over symbolic boundaries that define practices, knowledge, methods, and perhaps most importantly, values.

Values in journalism have historically been a critically important boundary (Johnson & Kelly, 2003). As I argued in the introductory chapter of this thesis, some authors indicate that regardless of the platform on which media workers labour, core ethical and professional values remain the same when workers identify themselves as journalists, as if the title of the job carries with it inherent, agreed-upon standards (Boczkowski, 2005). According to Ryfe (2006), this is important because journalists' decision-making processes are often influenced by these values about 'what a journalist's role is, what her or his obligations are, [and] what values and commitments are appropriate' (p. 205).

The concept of professional dissonance has rarely been utilised in media and journalism studies; nevertheless, we are witnessing a growing number of publications that address the problem of ethical values mismatching job practice routines (Mellado et al., 2016). Several years of fieldwork in four newsrooms across Denmark and the United Kingdom caused Thomsen to conclude that both licence-fee funded broadcasters and commercial broadcasters understand and share as imperative the idea that journalism is 'doing a public service'. Furthermore, media workers at a commercial station seemed to be annoyed by the assumption that they would not provide a public service as much as their licence-fee counterparts.

Thomsen concludes her ethnographic work by arguing that her research reveals how 'journalists [are] experiencing current changes to news work as problematic for upholding

values of journalistic professionalism' (2018, p. 263). Although some essential values were shared among all the news divisions in which she conducted her research, Thomsen argues that new working routines are mismatched with those values.

Notably, journalistic ethics and principles have changed along with the historical developments and social structures of any society (Kepplinger & Köcher, 1990; Siebert et al., 1956). Therefore, when we compare contemporary journalistic values with those from our recent past, we are less in the presence of iconoclastic journalists and rebels and more in front of a profession that has mutated along with the political and social moment in which it lives.

Similarly, Hanitzsch and Vos conceptualise journalistic roles as 'discursive constructions of the institutional values, attitudes, and beliefs with regards to the position of journalism in society and, consequently, to the communicative ideal journalists are embracing in their work' (2017, p. 116). Therefore, they argue, we should examine not only the professional role of journalists but also the institutional roles of media workers. These roles can then be divided into two categories of study: the normative and cognitive roles of journalists. First, normative roles 'indicate what is generally desirable to think or do in a given context', emphasising the idea that journalists have a social responsibility to their audiences. Second, cognitive roles are concerned with 'the institutional values, attitudes, and beliefs individual journalists embrace as a result of their socialization' (2017, p. 125). Cognitive roles are, in simple terms, the formulas, guidelines, parameters, and road maps for concrete action that a media organisation pre-establishes for their journalists.

5.3. Normative and cognitive roles

As Belair-Gagnon et al. state, 'journalistic roles – even when they manifest solely at a discursive level – matter because their construction implicates the resources granted to journalists and the notion of journalism' (2020, p. 349). I observed this phenomenon during my fieldwork. More resources and prestige were granted to the professionals whom executives thought mattered more, as in the case of *La Tercera*. I attempted to understand why paper journalists were held in higher regard than web journalists at *La Tercera* despite the digital reporters' more sizeable readership, and the Internet editor told me that 'the paper remains as the most important product of the company, and that just makes sense' (see Chapter 2). This appreciation of newspaper journalists' cognitive roles within this media organisation meant that they enjoyed better salaries than their digital colleagues and, as my interviews revealed, were regarded as 'better journalists'. They were considered better reporters than their digital

counterparts not because they produced more articles, worked longer hours, or generated significantly more revenue, but because paper was the platform with which the institution identified most strongly at that moment, and therefore, it received the most privileges from the senior editors and media managers.

A year after I finished my fieldwork, the newspaper would publish the 'journalism no longer fits on the paper' cover, signalling that more attention would be bestowed upon digital reporters. However, it is difficult to guess the extent to which appreciation of different journalistic roles has changed since I left.

In 2017, I interviewed a digital journalist who had worked at *La Tercera* before moving to Teletrece. I asked her why she thought the cross-media model had not worked for the newspaper, and she responded, 'It is because of the egos. In *La Tercera* [sharing information between platforms] did not work because of the egos'. One of the most frustrating memories she recalled from her time at *La Tercera* was when newspaper reporters 'kept to themselves' scoops and stories that they wanted to publish in the newspaper the next morning. 'Sorry, but everyone in Chile will know that scoop in two hours', she added. As she recounted, newspaper journalists were living with a 'decade-ago' mentality in which they refused to share their information with digital reporters, even if that meant that *La Tercera* would be surpassed by other media that published online first. I argue that this is a clear example of how an editorial decision mandated that scoops belong to the newspaper because the editors attributed higher value to the paper journalists' cognitive roles. However, this interview demonstrates that my interviewee was struggling because her normative values, that is, informing people quickly about interesting developments, was in dissonance with the cognitive role that the organisation had assigned her.

As my interviewee continued, 'We need to change that way of thinking, and in order to do so, the newspaper reporter, the editor, and the director of the media need to change'. She recounted that at some point a pro-digital director arrived at *La Tercera*. One who, in her words, was willing and open to journalists from different platforms sharing information, utilising new platforms in innovative ways, and 'level[ing] the field' between colleagues inside the newsroom. In other words, this editor was willing to align the cognitive roles between journalists from different platforms. 'But changing that mentality was difficult. It is difficult in every sense. Why, for example, do web journalists keep earning much less money than their newspaper counterparts? Why?'

Unlike my interviewee, I argue that this dissonance between newspaper and digital journalists occurred not only because of egos but also because of its roots in journalistic cognitive values

that were deliberately promoted by the media organisation in which they worked. Ego did not cause newspaper reporters to save their stories for the next day; rather, this was caused by the value that surrounded the printed press, such as impact, prominence, and timeliness, among other factors. Newspaper journalists worked quickly to publish once or twice every 24 hours. They followed what they saw as the core values of professional standards of news. Yet, as my interviewee noted, their work was increasingly being surpassed by people who published similar stories on the web, and by the time their stories were printed on paper, everyone was already familiar with them.

However, digital reporters worked quickly to publish sometimes dozens of stories during a workday. According to their normative values, the newsworthiness of a story was determined by its temporality. The sooner that the story was published, the sooner they informed the audience, who had a right to know in real time whatever was happening around them. Craig suggests that 'journalism champions speed and timeliness because it yields the value of comparative advantage' (2016, p. 466), as whoever releases the news first earns the lead over their competition. Thus, for decades, the speed of reportage was understood as a marker of quality in journalism. As one of Teletrece's reporters told me, this may still have been true: 'On the web, you need to get out fast. And getting out fast and doing it well is difficult'. However, the temporalities associated with the digital environment caused the 'doing it well' part to become more complicated because editors were pushing digital journalists to be the first to appear with the story online, regardless of the quality of the product, and thus, increasing dissonance was being created between normative and cognitive values. Instead, to fulfil these sets of ideals, digital journalists often acted against their own sense of journalistic values, which normally would include the usage of sources, extensive research for the construction of stories, and the timeliness of a story.

One explanation for this contradictory action is the versionality of digital media products, which has reduced the need to perform well from the beginning. The digital journalists I worked with were encouraged by their newsrooms to publish *anything* as quickly as they could so the social media team could feed the link to that article into the social media platforms. It did not matter if the article simply contained a picture and a one-line paragraph because this could be changed later. Only at a second stage, when user attention had been captured, did the real journalistic work enter; then reporters developed a well-written, medium-length journalistic article.

'Technology changes how we do journalism', said the T13 Internet editor during my interview with him, and he later added that 'journalism has to change and adapt to how people are

consuming the news'. This senior editor had 15 years of experience in digital projects, and he believed that one of these changes concerned the immediacy demanded by digital platforms. Consequently, he promoted the versionality of digital news among his workers. Because news articles could be edited even after publication, pressure was reduced for digital journalists to be accurate from the start, and they could complement their stories with sources and extensive research long after publication. However, they could only do that if they had time to linger on a single article.

5.4. Pre-established values for journalists

After conversations with several digital journalists at Teletrece, I drew on the conclusions of Belair-Gagnon et al. (2020) about journalistic roles and the allocation of resources and then conducted more interviews with the sole purpose of addressing this issue before departing the newsroom at *La Tercera*.

In Chapter 2, I discussed an interview with the *La Tercera* digital editor. I asked him whether the importance that editors assigned to either paper or digital journalists actively translated into the resources that the organisation directed to the reporters. 'No', he responded at first, only to modify his response a second later and elaborate about how *La Tercera* saw the newspaper as its most important platform. After my interview with this editor, in which he explicitly stated that he considered digital reporters – the group he was in charge of – to be 'ephemeral journalists', I reinterviewed some of his team members. Without telling them that their direct supervisor considered their jobs to be finite, I wondered how they were negotiating the 'blurring boundaries' in their daily work. I sat with one of *La Tercera*'s digital journalists at the Juan Valdez coffee shop outside of the newspaper headquarters. The terrace was packed with people smoking, but the noise of the loud conversations around us and hissing sounds of traffic protected us against any possible eavesdropping. As I ordered the coffees, she lit a cigarette and checked some of the many pending WhatsApp messages on her phone.

We discussed the boundaries of her job and what she felt was inertia from the managing editors toward the digital reporters. There was an attempt once, she recalled, to enhance the digital section of the newspaper and make her team perform additional research and publish different topics, 'but that only lasted two weeks' until the digital editor started collaborating more with the paper. 'All his friends were there, and he was closer to them', she remembered. According to this interviewee, it was more rewarding to publish in the paper than on the web, even for the man in charge of the website.

Originally, there was another way newspaper journalists collaborated with the digital reporters. The newspaper journalists were supposed to arrive early in the morning and write with the digital team for a while, but soon, they simply stopped coming. When they did cross the newsroom in the morning, they sat grudgingly facing a wall like all the other digital reporters, mainly transcribing their own stories from yesterday's paper and uploading them to the website.

Both digital and paper journalists espoused the same values, but they had different roles and priorities within the same organisation. They were praised differently by the editors; furthermore, the meaning of being a journalist was different; the practices, knowledge, methods, and ideals were dissimilar between one and the other, to the extent that they refused to mix.

My interviewee recounted multiple instances in which she had to expend extra effort to write and publish the news since her supervisor was nowhere to be found. 'You are alert, even when your bosses are not. I care that things go well […]. I couldn't not care, for the love that I have for the newspaper, my career, my profession, if we publish something wrong … You put the pressure on yourself', she said, unashamed.

This quote is useful to understand the how the editors and managers at *La Tercera* had well-defined pre-established values for digital journalists. These reporters' normative values were still being expressed both in practice and during our interviews ('I care that things go well'); however, their cognitive values were simply less important for the organisation than those of their paper counterparts.

5.5. Newsroom dissonance in practice

On 16 October 2020, I received an audio message in one of the WhatsApp groups where I still chat with journalists I met during my time in the field: 'I'm done, you know. I'm done. I've been preparing some material about the 18O, focussing on eye trauma. I did a nice, careful job, and it has been so difficult getting them [the editors] to publish anything. […] So, yeah. That's it. I'm quitting'.[36] Since October 2019, the tone in these journalists' messages had been becoming increasingly frustrated and belligerent toward the newsroom and media organisations in which they belonged; however, now these voices had a quiet sorrow in them, a tone of resignation.

[36] The original audio was in Spanish.

I should clarify; this applied to the voices that were left. The testimony of this T13 reporter was merely one among many. The majority of the journalists and media workers that I featured in these pages no longer work in the newsrooms where I first met them. Some of them do not work in newsrooms at all. In fact, none of the other members in this particular WhatsApp group are still employed in the organisation where I met them. To my amazement, his voice message was not followed by surprise or disbelief, but rather by empathetic responses: 'It sucks when these things happen, when these *fuckers* are not capable of just saying they don't want to publish you', one of his former colleagues reflected unapologetically, while another added, 'I have many friends who are going through the same thing right now […], mega exploited and mega censored'.

This message exemplifies how this journalist's normative role – his self-proclaimed social responsibility toward the Chilean audience in a context of social unrest – collided with the cognitive roles that emerged from the institution for which he worked and the socialisation between digital reporters and editors.

In March 2021, I addressed this case and asked this digital journalist if he believed that the decision not to publish his work on eye trauma during the unrest was related to the platform on which he was working and the level of detail and content that this platform allowed. In yet another voice message, he responded: 'I don't think it has much to do with the platform, because there are other topics, equally well-researched, for which I have had no issues in the past'. He stated that the television station had covered different topics about human rights violations during the protests. However, he added that the newsroom had avoided presenting these cases as 'systemic' and instead simply reported on these occurrences as singular events.

Perhaps equally interesting was what he wrote immediately after that voice message: 'In this case, the topic was very complicated, so even the television editor reviewed it'. I asked him why the television editor would review a web article. 'It is not something that is officially institutionalised, but I think it's because we assume that the editor of the main platform [this also happened at *La Tercera* with the newspaper editors] is more aware of the different sensibilities'. He then argued that sensible topics were covered less frequently on the web, and therefore the Internet editor had, in his opinion, less expertise on addressing these types of issues.

This interviewee indicated that digital journalists seemed to be struggling to cover significant topics, or 'sensitive topics', as my interviewee phrased it, not necessarily because of the affordances of the platforms that they utilised but because of the editorial decisions behind how these platforms ought to be utilised. The idea that this journalist needed to consult with the

editor from another platform – in this case, the television editor – revealed the depth to which expectations had dropped for digital journalists to cover relevant topics, and although this reporter pushed for his story to be published, he was required to rely not on his direct supervisor but on someone else whom the media organisation thought had better journalistic knowledge for covering 'sensitive issues'.

In this chapter, I argue that digital technologies have had a significant, dynamic, and unpredictable impact on the normative and cognitive roles of journalists. Reporters, such as my interviewee, uphold what could be called traditional values in journalism. Van Zoonen (1998) argues that journalists are not a homogeneous group and they embody different organisational constraints; however, they invoke a similar ideal value system when they are forced to reflect upon their own work. Therefore, news and media are 'an ordered aggregate of shared norms and informal rules that guide news collection' (Sparrow, 2006, p. 155). However, the institutional values, attitudes, and beliefs have been transformed, as my interviewee above revealed, leaving journalists feeling uneasy and confused about what they are supposed to do and how they are supposed to do it. These changes are significant, as they subvert the traditional process of news making; they are dynamic, as they are constantly evolving in relation to every new technology introduced to the newsroom; and they are unpredictable, as they come to fruition differently in every newsroom and in every political context.

During my fieldwork, I observed how journalists, especially those working with digital platforms, recognised in their work a paucity of merit. That is not to say that they did not uphold principles and ethics in their approach to journalism, but they believed that their labour was lacking in journalistic value. As the interviews in the previous sections have demonstrated, this created a condition in which journalists began to experience tensions that negatively affected the perception of their jobs and even of themselves.

However, I argue that resistance to dissonance is keeping journalism alive. As Schapals and Porlezza note, 'the introduction of new technologies in journalism has historically been met with a great deal of resistance on behalf of those most affected by them – namely, journalists themselves' (2020, p. 17), but resistance does not equal refusal. By resisting new technologies, journalists, as a community, ensure that their values, beliefs, and standards are safe and constant rather than behaving irregularly or being swayed every time a new technology is introduced. Moreover, previous studies have demonstrated 'how change is a process of constant negotiation between the journalists, the tools they utilise and other members of news organisations in charge of strategic decisions, […] through everyday interactions and practices' (Domingo et al., 2015, p. 55). Indeed, as Domingo et al. continue, emphasising journalistic

practices and the actors who interact with each other during the production of news rather than the institutions opens 'the black boxes of normative definitions of journalism and democracy' (p. 64).

This highlights the need to avoid a technologically deterministic approach to the phenomenon of professional dissonance. The fault for the mismatch between journalistic values and role performances does not reside exclusively with the technologies that arrive in the newsroom; it is also the consequence of organisational decisions that establish the way in which these software and hardware are utilised. Journalistic resistance, as characterised both in the literature and my own research, is a safeguard to prevent undesirable results from the usage of these technologies.

In other words, the tension between the journalists and the technological object is not creating this resistance. In the following sections, I argue that, as a result of organisational decisions, the newsroom dissonance I observed during my fieldwork actually originated in an infrastructure that was set by those managing these newsrooms; it demands different journalistic values and disregards journalists' feelings of dissonance.

5.6. The night of 'La Franja'

By the time I hung up the phone on 16 November 2017, it was already 1 a.m. I was standing alone in one of the building's poorly lit interior open patios, which at that time, was depressingly deserted. At least a breeze of fresh air seemed to be coming from the hills above, cooling the warm summer night as it swayed the top of the palm trees that decorated the courtyard. As I scribbled on my notepad the last quotes from the interview I had just finished, the dim shape of a security guard came around the corner. 'T13', I said, employing the back of my pen to hit the press department logo stamped on the front of the small orange notepad I was carrying. I caught the guard scanning me suspiciously with his eyes. *Why else would I be here at this time?* I remember thinking testily, more out of sheer tiredness than anything else. I finished writing the notes before I lost track of everything that I had just asked my interviewee, closed the pad, and hurried toward the double glass doors at the south end of the patio, which housed the only source of light and noise in an otherwise dead building: the entrance to the Teletrece newsroom.

The smell of a stuffy, unventilated room hit my nostrils hard when I entered. The minutes I had spent outside interviewing sources on the phone made my nose forget the concentrated odours of coffee, food, and people who had been locked in the same room for some extended length of time. Five half-eaten, extra-large pizzas lay unattended in their opened boxes at the corner

of the table where the journalist who covered culture, entertainment, and television would have been sitting if this were daytime. However, this absence was barely noticeable in a newsroom in which digital journalists and television reporters were buzzing around relentlessly, as this night ended the 'franja electoral', a 'speak now or forever hold your peace' kind of situation for politicians, and that meant all-hands-on-deck for T13's TV and digital journalists.

The 'franja electoral' is one of the most important events in every Chilean presidential election. As mandated by law, every night, starting 28 days before the election, both private and public television stations transmit during the same timeslot an authorised electioneering video for all presidential candidates who are participating in the first round of elections, which this year was to be held on 19 November. In addition to television debates, this is the way in which the republic provides every official candidate an equal chance to transmit a message to voters regardless of how much money they raised during the campaign.

Figure 20. Pizza boxes during the 'franja' night. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

The television reporters rushed to each of the candidates' headquarters to obtain their reactions while broadcasting live from the field, whereas the digital reporters on T13.cl analysed the videos and gathered opinions from academics and experts on political communication. I interviewed the creative directors behind the campaigns to understand the message they wanted to promote with each of the videos they had chosen to present that night.

As luck would have it, I would be in the Teletrece newsroom for the first round of presidential elections on 19 November, and then I would be in the *La Tercera* newsroom for the second round on 17 December, which included only the two candidates with the most preferences from the first round. Not only would I witness an election night twice during my fieldwork but I would also be able to compare how the infrastructures of each news media organisation handled

one of the most important, demanding, and stressful nights in a journalist's career. The night of 'la franja' had been an apt rehearsal for what was about to come, but as I finished writing the last of the articles that I had been asked to publish that day, I wondered how much the infrastructure of the newsroom could impact the way that election nights were covered.

Tuchman (1978) was among the first to examine the relationship between the physical layout of the newsroom as well as how media workers were organised spatially and that impact on the structure of journalistic work. Since then, scholars have examined the multiple layers of the physical and virtual infrastructures that have impacted the news-making process (Shepard, 1998). For example, after conducting research on the new layout structures of Australian newsrooms, Josephi (1998) concludes that it is possible to observe an increment on newer newsrooms' floor designs that places more emphasis on flexibility and transparency; she associates these characteristics with fundamental features of an organisation that is attempting to remove barriers between thematic section reporters and multiplatform workers. Correspondingly, Coester (2017) concludes in her research that in 'some newsrooms leaders are designing their workplaces to better support the behaviours, workflows and attitudes required in an adaptive, modern media company'.

Figure 201. Election night in Teletrece's newsroom. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

This picture portrays Teletrece's digital journalists on the afternoon of the first round of the 2017 elections. The lack of walls and cubicles embodies the importance that this newsroom placed on uninterrupted, rapid communication between workers. In practice, this layout allowed journalists to communicate effectively with each other. 'Is anyone writing about this issue?' someone would ask. A 'no' in unison from the rest of the occupants of the table and a quick nod of the head from the content editor (sitting immediately out of frame in this photo)

was sufficient for a journalist to begin a new article. This setting also allowed journalists to monitor the television screens placed all around the walls, which alerted them of any breaking news or developments in the night's results that they may otherwise have missed.

Figure 22. Quick editorial meeting for the elections. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.

The picture in Figure 22 presents an impromptu editorial meeting that occurred that day. The closeness of the journalists working in the same platform allowed them to quickly gather to discuss how a particular event or development would be covered. The content editor in this picture (wearing a white shirt) did not even need to rise from his chair; rather, he rolled it to the middle of the two tables where digital reporters worked.

A comparative analysis of newsrooms in three European countries that were attempting to integrate different platforms and workflows, thus reshaping their infrastructures, enabled García Avilés et al. (2009) to categorise their results into three models of newsroom convergence. The first model is based on full integration in which 'architecture and infrastructure for multichannel production are combined in one newsroom and controlled via a central news system with workflow management' (2009, p. 299). During my fieldwork, I witnessed multichannel production combined in the space of one newsroom; however, in no way was this controlled by a central news system.

Perhaps Teletrece is closer to the second type of model they observed: cross-media. In this newsroom model, journalists work in different sections, but they at least attempt to coordinate their work routines and the content that each platform produces (García Avilés et al., 2009). Ultimately, a final type of integration model is what they call 'the co-ordination of isolated platforms'. In these newsrooms, 'borders and differences between online, print, radio and

television sections in the same media company do not seem surmountable and convergence is not even seen as an appropriate means of quality improvement' (2009, p. 300). This is precisely what I observed at *La Tercera*. More importantly, this was what both paper and digital journalists of the newspaper perceived to be true because of the segregation that the layout of the newsroom produced.

Figure 23. The digital journalists' table at La Tercera *faces a wall. Photo: Tomás Dodds during fieldwork.*

The digital journalists' workstation was particularly inefficient. Not only were they were placed far from the rest of the journalists (who were mixed in rows and islands of white tables) but they were also facing a wall. Even communication with each other was rather difficult sometimes, with the exception of the journalists sitting immediately to their right or left. This placement created a different sense of teamwork from what I had experienced at Teletrece, and election night at *La Tercera* precisely demonstrated the lack of coordination that this arrangement produced.

While the election at Canal 13 was covered smoothly, although hectically, efforts were controlled and coordinated. However, election night at *La Tercera* was quite the opposite. The newspaper and the digital section worked with little or no coordination. According to Gade (2004), 'at many newspapers, changes in newsroom structure have brought with them new job titles that many news veterans would not recognize, including duty officer, maestro, circle editor, news manager of public life, and change facilitator' (2004, p. 8), which have concurrently produced a change in older job titles. The reconfiguration of newsrooms, she argues, has created the necessity for a horizontal level of participation, involving the editor in a more active role in writing and reporting, and almost completely eliminating the figure of the lone wolf that formerly existed in the newspapers. This was certainly the case at Canal 13,

where journalists from many platforms gathered and shared information on planned articles and pieces as a whole. However, at *La Tercera,* communication did not flow from one side of the newsroom to the other. Leaderless (or editorless), digital reporters struggled to find their own sources and frequently simply repeated articles from other websites or agencies, leaving the most well-prepared and well-planned articles for the paper. Without the ability to interview, research, and verify information, journalists at *La Tercera* were under the impression that their jobs were no different from what others could do at home.

The dissimilar infrastructure in the two newsrooms established the frame for the values that the organisations required from their journalists. A layout that excluded digital journalists from the actual conversation and sharing of information with the rest of their colleagues forced them to write brief, sourceless articles that were simply utilised as filler while paper journalists arrived with their 'true stories'. Conversely, at least for that day, digital reporters at Canal 13 were complementing their peers in television and social media while concurrently receiving information from them and including it in their articles.

The digital journalists at *La Tercera* were clearly frustrated. 'I think it would be enough to have a more present editor [to fix this situation], someone who was aware of the articles we write, and make us do special themes', one of the reporters told me. This journalist was rather optimistic, but I doubt that would have been sufficient since the absence of the digital editor was indicative of a significant issue at *La Tercera*: the importance that the organisation provided to the journalists who worked for that platform.

The physicality of the newsroom at *La Tercera* directly impacted the digital reporters' feeling of professional dissonance. Reporters' inner thoughts and values were rarely in accordance with their outer actions. I argue that the organisations' decision about how to arrange the layout of the newsrooms directly affected the way in which digital reporters interacted with colleagues from the same and different platforms. If anything, this spatial arrangement increased the gap in practice between journalists' ideals and actual job tasks and further indicated what was expected from those working on the web. As Berkowitz suggests, 'Scholars refer to the journalists' professionalization process as a distinctly ideological development, as the emerging ideology served to continuously refine and reproduce a consensus about who was a "real" journalist' (2011, p. 18). In this process, *La Tercera*'s digital reporters were not being included in the 'real' journalists' group.

However, although there is little room to appropriate or transform a layout that has been imposed on media workers, in the next section I reveal how journalists negotiated (and resisted)

the pressures that the organisation placed on them – a pressure that increased the feeling of professional dissonance by making journalists act against their own sense of journalistic values.

5.7. The platformisation of news

The platformisation of news has a momentous role in the increase of professional dissonance in contemporary newsrooms. As my conversations with journalists and digital editors have demonstrated in previous chapters, the news sector is actively utilising infrastructural platforms to produce, monetise, and distribute their news. In return, this has created a dependency between media organisations and online services (Meese & Hurcombe, 2020). As Van Dijck et al. argue, 'infrastructural platforms are making extensive efforts to become central nodes in the production, circulation, and commodification of news by developing new data services and news-related features' (2018, p. 50). That is, companies such as Facebook and Alphabet, the parent company of Google, want to position themselves in the middle of the flow between advertisers, news producers, and the audience, thus making their platform indispensable for the distribution and consumption of information. Consequently, authors such as Helmond argue that 'Facebook employs its platform as an infrastructural model to extend itself into external online spaces and […] it employs these extensions to format data for its platform to fit their economic interest' (2015, pp. 7–8). Thus, the platformisation of news has dire consequences on journalistic norms and values. As the digital editor of one of the newsrooms told me, 'If we follow what they tell us to do, they [Facebook] are going to put us on a very visible shelf', signalling that the control of news selection was shifting further from news organisations to these platforms, undermining the privileged position of gatekeeping by professional journalism.

News producers are formatting their content, including the length of texts or the videos and pictures that are attached to it, specifically for these platforms, making the news ready for algorithms (Gillespie et al., 2014) and platforms (Helmond, 2015). Newsrooms are reconfiguring their own data to fit the agenda of the platforms. This adds to the production of news becoming progressively more tailored to the audience. At *La Tercera,* this was more pronounced than at T13 because of the two large blue screens that hung from the wall in the middle of the newsroom that portrayed data supplied by Chartbeat, a technology company that provides analytics about the behaviour of online audiences to publishers around the world. At T13, a person constantly monitored the audience behaviour online.

According to Fenton (2009), a result of the new infrastructural platforms that have made their way into newsrooms is that the contemporary common work ethic among journalists has been basically summarised as 'speed it up and spread it thin'. Juntunen argues that the necessity for speed among journalists is based on three variables: commercial, as the primarily advertising-funded revenue model of newspapers has not yet fully migrated to the digital market; technological, as the platformisation of news has overtaken multiplatform newsrooms across the globe; and journalistic, as the core values of 'doing it for the public […]. Assumed audience expectations and "the public's right to know" are often fused together as grand legitimizing arguments in explaining the need for speed' (2009, p. 170). 'Speed it up and spread it thin' thus is nothing more than the epitome of professional dissonance in contemporary journalism because journalists are being pressured to produce content at a speed that is incompatible with a well-researched, content-heavy article.

News articles have also been further datafied (Porlezza, 2018). Journalists can now tell which of their articles are performing well or which has captivated the most eyeballs in an economic system that is based on attention. This creates further tensions between datafication and journalistic economy, as journalists are left to wonder how much of the agenda-setting is based on editorial decisions and how much is based on audience interactions with similar articles, such as liking and sharing the stories on their own platforms. According to Van Dijck et al., 'the integration of platform data in news operations effectively creates path dependencies as the data infrastructures of the Big Five platforms [or 'FAAMG' – Facebook, Amazon, Apple, Microsoft, and Google Alphabet] shape the scope of editorial decision-making' (2018, p. 54). Indeed, my research occurred in an ecosystem of highly data-driven news production, distribution, and consumption in which editorial decisions were increasingly informed by audience data. Nelson and Tandoc (2019) find that routines regarding audience analytics are so embedded into journalism's everyday practice that even budget meetings to plan their daily coverage and agenda-setting start by studying these data points.

During my fieldwork I observed a gap between the editors' perception of platformisation and the journalists' perception of this new scenario. According to the Teletrece's social networks editor, 'We needed traffic, we needed visibility, we needed people to read us, and well, what all journalists look for – that our work could be shared, read, and *viralised'*. His job required him to care about the traffic and the number of news articles that, once placed on these infrastructural platforms, could be consumed, bought, and connected with advertisements.

Journalists, however, often resented the number of stories they had to write about *Grey's Anatomy*, *Friends*, and other TV programmes or celebrity culture. Although these stories

offered satisfactory reception by the audience, they fell outside what the journalists felt was actually newsworthy.

As a result of the new digital platforms that have overtaken the publishing process, journalists have real-time insight regarding what kind of information the audience is consuming, and thus, the temptation for those in charge of profiting from advertisements is difficult to resist. This has been empirically proven by Welbers et al., who, after analysing the print and online editions of five Dutch newspapers, conclude that 'using a cross-lagged analysis covering 6 months, we found that storylines of the most-viewed articles were more likely to receive attention in subsequent reporting, which indicates that audience clicks affect news selection' (2016, p. 1037). I saw this in action during my fieldwork: when in doubt, Teletrece's content editor would publish an online story about events in 'that show' to lure readers to the website, as this strategy had proven time and again to be successful on the web.

One of the social media journalists I interviewed during my fieldwork at *La Tercera* offered additional insight into this process: someone who did not write articles picked which of those written by the digital and paper journalists they thought would succeed on the platforms because, as he stated, 'We already know which type of news would "have a click"; for example, an article about two pandas that had a baby panda. … Animals are a hit on Facebook', he explained. Although this may seem like a trivial story, it actually indicates a preference or priming for certain topics over others, highlighting and rewarding the work of those who write less informative political news and cultural content in exchange for 'hits for the web'. This phenomenon became even more problematic when I asked him about the rest of the stories that they shared on the newspaper's social media: 'Well, what we do in the morning is look at the homepage and choose from there […], that is our first criteria. It comes from other teams [digital and paper], and it's noteworthy because they have put it there, even when we don't know why they have put them on the homepage'.

Paradoxically, this made me think that the social media team's dissonance emerged from having to share on social media platforms news articles that other journalists deemed newsworthy or relevant, despite the team's knowledge that these stories would not function under the logic of the platforms. Their awareness is limited regarding this issue; hence, the same member of the team later added, 'Sometimes there are articles that we do not put on the networks but that are receiving a lot of visits anyway, so we would post them on Facebook and Twitter anyway'. The work of the social media team was to determine what type of article

would generate the most tracking on social media platforms rather than to understand the newsworthiness of the topic itself.

Journalists may resent the number of articles they must produce about *Grey's Anatomy* and other TV and reality programmes, although they have also learned to utilise these publications to satisfy their own journalistic ideals and reduce the level of professional dissonance in their daily work. As the social networks editor told me during our interview, 'Using social networks is the way to capture new audiences, is the way to get traffic to the site, it is how we let people [who only consume online news] know what it is happening on our television news, or in our radio station, or what it is happening on T13'.

In some ways, digital journalists were utilising gossip and reality programmes as a hook to bring people to the website, and once the user entered the T13 homepage, then they were exposed to the rest of content that journalists felt was less appropriate for social media but more interesting from a journalistic perspective. As a digital reporter told me during an interview, 'There are decisions that I make because of the clicks, but there are also decisions that I take against the clicks. There are things that are important for the audience to know, even when most people will not [click on them and] read it, but these are things that they *need* to know'. Instead of submitting to the pressures of the platformisation of news, some journalists, particularly at T13, were hacking the way these platforms work, 'testing [and tempting] the audience with topics that are safe bets', a digital reporter told me, to increase the traffic to the website, where a less clickable story waits to be read. As Duffy and Cheng argue, 'traditional newsroom practice has been that editorial and commercial operate under contradicting values which requires partition' (2020, p. 1). According to these authors, when that 'wall' falls, media workers enter a state of cognitive dissonance in which they struggle to understand how things should be and how they are. To reduce this feeling of discomfort, I found journalists at Canal 13 who were attempting to hack the system by utilising external social media platforms to lure readers to the website with clickable stories, where, in their words, 'the worthy' information was waiting for them. It was a mechanism to solve conflicting values by doing things the way they were done, without stopping to cover those topics that should be covered.

5.8. Digital infrastructures

Some media organisations are opting to promote a more individualistic, less skilled type of reporting. According to van der Haak et al., 'most media owners have squeezed news

organizations to do more with less' (2012, p. 2924), and thereby, they have aided the increase of professional dissonance in their newsrooms.

In different ways, both *La Tercera* and Teletrece exemplified the importance of adapting the infrastructure of the newsroom to new digital technologies. Teletrece impacted not only the materialities of their organisation but also the skills and professional roles within the media outlet and therefore the sense of professional dissonance among media workers.

At *La Tercera*, in an attempt to keep traditional journalism alive, managers and executives reinforced hierarchies that subjugated the digital area of the newsroom to the newspaper. This is not uncommon for the breaking-news model, which is oriented toward efficiency, and consequently, 'the newsroom's routine is fast-paced, […] and its hierarchy is steep, mitigating dissention over news decisions that can waste precious minutes' (McPherson, 2012, p. 2306). It did, however, relegate digital journalists at *La Tercera* from being gatekeepers to being mere platform complementors (Nieborg & Poell, 2018). Many things in the material and digital infrastructure of this newsroom stressed the perceived irrelevance of digital reporters to the rest of the newspaper. First, they were physically excluded from the islands of white tables that united everyone else working on that newsroom floor. Instead, digital reporters faced an empty wall with little or no space to informally chat with their colleagues. The space for digital reporters revolved around efficiency and productivity as individuals.

Second, the software that these reporters employed to write, edit, and upload their articles allowed a high degree of censorship and manipulation. The same versability of the web that enables journalists to constantly update and upgrade their stories also permits a more discreet, inconspicuous type of censorship. Editors, or anyone with appropriate credentials, can log in to the platform, amending the article undetectably and at will. I experienced this censorship personally when the headline on one of my pieces mysteriously changed in a matter of hours, with no one ever claiming responsibility for the now-tainted version.

As a consequence of new digital technologies, journalists and media workers have started to witness how these rhythms impacted their personal lives. This was expressed by a female journalist who had to decide between motherhood and her career (because 'there just isn't enough time') as well as by reporters who had to renegotiate their privacy and the intimacy with which they approached journalistic sources. The same infrastructural platforms that ruled the content and form of the news also entailed tacit levels of intimacy and urgency with which journalists were required to abide to be permitted to report the news. Again, refusing to surrender their privacy to those who now chased them on their personal phones and WhatsApp

groups, as I describe in Chapter 3, would have meant foregoing the story altogether or risking lacking an important source. In this moment, the dissonance reporters experienced became clearer to me. To comply with their values, such as the duty of having the appropriate sources for their story, journalists needed to form a new kind of relationship between themselves, their sources, and the technologies that mediated these communications.

As Undurraga (2017) argues, epistemic dissonance involves not only the mismatch between values and practices on the topics covered but also the ideal practice of journalism. In the eyes of some of the reporters I interviewed, the usage of technologies that invaded their personal lives and allowed sources to access an intimate, private space in journalists' routines directly increased the feeling of dissonance in their work.

Mellado argues that reporters' roles are far from static. Instead, they are 'situational, dynamic, and fluid' (2020), and their definitions must be understood and studied within their context. This conclusion reinforces Hanitzsch and Vos' (2017) idea that journalistic roles are discursively constituted and negotiated within the newsroom's infrastructure rather than being uniform and changeless. However, the information presented in this chapter has placed these ideas in opposition to each other.

As I have demonstrated here, professional dissonance, as a result of the introduction of new digital technologies in contemporary multiplatform newsrooms, is an important phenomenon not only because it causes mental discomfort as a result of the gap between values and practices but also because it is indicative of journalists' abilities, or the lack thereof, to negotiate and constitute their identities. Although journalism has perpetually been changing, the difference in these new technologies is the reduction in journalists' freedom to contest, settle, or even debate their practices and activities, as they attempt to match their ideals of what the profession should look like with new requirements. There is no room for debate when the majority of the newsroom's revenue depends on an algorithm that must be fed in a specific way with a specific content at a determined rate. There is little space for argument when the competition to capture a hyper-connected audience has multiplied by hundreds in only a few years. Thus, the increase of professional dissonance in Chilean newsrooms represents not only how journalism has changed but also how the professionals who practice it have been prevented from expressing their opinions on those changes.

VI. Chapter 6: Conclusion

This research aimed to explain how journalists and media workers are appropriating digital technologies into their routines and how, in turn, they have experienced an increasing level of professional dissonance in their work. Seven months of ethnographic fieldwork between 2017 and 2018 that included participant observation and semi-structured interviews with newsroom workers allowed me to conclude that the introduction of new digital technologies into newsrooms has fundamentally transformed journalism, including the way journalists are expected to work, the topics they are expected to cover, and the journalistic values they hold true. The results further indicate that transformations in the temporalities, platforms, and infrastructures within multiplatform newsrooms are producing high levels of professional dissonance in media workers because the values they have as journalists conflict with the tasks that they feel pressured to perform.

Although the consensus in the literature is that journalism is constantly changing, some authors claim that these changes are happening excessively quickly, thus making it difficult to identify the consequences of these transformations for journalists. Every time journalists ascertain the problem, all the pieces of the puzzle are scrambled as a new software or hardware is introduced, and the whole process becomes complicated again. In this thesis, I have illustrated that the technologies inside these newsrooms are indeed mutating, and journalists perceive that their practices, norms, and values mismatch with what they actually do. The gap between the idealised purpose of journalistic work and journalism's professional performance grows wider every day, as Chilean journalists specifically have found themselves unable to adjust appropriately to the requirements of their infrastructures.

Moreover, by analysing the changing professional roles on the basis of analogue and digital platforms, I have indicated that journalists' feelings of professional dissonance are often met with indifference by newsroom executives. While newspapers and television reporters are praised by editors for the journalistic content they produce, the value in digital reporters' work is attributed by the number of clicks that they draw from the audience. I have further argued that for an economically troubled industry, such as the media, digital journalists' ability to successfully capture the attention of users surpasses their journalistic values.

In this thesis, I have emphasised that a deterministic approach to understanding professional dissonance must be avoided. The literature that I have drawn from indicates that new technologies can be utilised to sustain value commitments in journalists, and although social

media platforms and tech giants such as Facebook and Google continue to push concurrently for the datafication of the audience and the production of content, online journalists are, in some contexts, successfully negotiating the gap between their occupational values and users' preferences.

Additionally, I have demonstrated in this thesis that journalists' feelings of professional dissonance do not necessarily emanate from the technologies that they are pushed to utilise; rather, they originate with the organisational decision to adapt to a business model that generates high levels of dependency between the newsroom and third-party social media platforms, which occurs when the organisations submit to these platforms' guidelines about how stories should be covered and produced.

In this thesis, I have presented the multiple changes that journalism in Chile has undergone in recent decades. However, the introduction of certain digital technologies has radically altered journalists' ability to negotiate editorial values and ideals. Rather, media professionals have increasingly felt trapped in routines established by third-party and external platforms that have dictated the way journalistic work must be performed to successfully maintain a revenue model that allows the newsroom to exist.

6.1. Findings

By observing digital journalists working in multiplatform newsrooms, I have demonstrated that media workers were experiencing high levels of professional dissonance in two newsrooms in Chile. The methodology that I utilised to study this phenomenon was particularly successful for two reasons. First, the materialities and technologies inside the newsroom gained meaning when they were observed in relationship with the performance of those journalists who utilised them. Unlike many of the studies about newsrooms and journalistic normative roles, I have claimed that to understand the role of digital technologies in the gap between what journalists say they do and what they actually do, one must observe how reporters interact everyday with the new infrastructures, temporalities, and platforms in the newsroom.

Second, the methods employed during this research allowed me to work in a circular fashion, that is, constantly contrasting my results during my stay in the field with the literature available on the subject. Consequently, I was able to understand new insights that arose during my fieldwork, from general questions about the usage of digital technologies by Chilean journalists to more specific enquiries about the transformation of professional values and job performances.

This research has illustrated that the recent political and economic history in Chile allowed for a rapid adaptation of digital technologies by the media industry. Chile has been called the first neoliberal experimental laboratory in the world, and unlike many other markets in the region, the nation presented an ideal opportunity to observe traditional television and newspaper newsrooms in a time of accelerated economic development and technological growth. The introduction of new digital technologies in these newsrooms was both surprising and sudden, even for many long-standing reporters and producers. The economic interests of those who owned the holdings behind these companies aligned with the interests of non-proprietary and third-party platforms and social networks, and journalists began to feel that they were being forced into patterns that did not align with their values, norms, and skills.

Consequently, I have explained in this thesis how the introduction of new digital technologies created new forms and platforms for doing journalism. The platformisation of news has shaped new hierarchies inside of newsrooms, distinguishing between paper, television, and digital reporters and associating different degrees of value with each; furthermore, this phenomenon has created a dependency between media organisations and online platforms as well as social media. This dependency has frequently been expressed in the way digital reporters write the news and headlines, the pictures they include, the number of sources consulted, and even the length of the stories.

As journalists have been pushed to follow the guidelines and editorial decisions of third-party platforms, their ideals of journalism's best practices have been unheard and unrecognised by editors who have found themselves constantly chasing clicks. Thus, media workers have begun to experience professional dissonance, as they have felt little or no freedom to contest or oppose the rules established by someone else. From the construction of a headline to the length and content of an article, journalists have seen their gatekeeping function fading, leaving behind a feeling of despair and frustration.

Moreover, I have presented in this thesis that new media infrastructures have been created to sustain such economic models. I have identified how media organisations, particularly *La Tercera*, were promoting an individualistic type of digital reporting. The physical layout of the newsroom replicated the value system and hierarchies, reflecting who the editors thought mattered and who did not. The feeling of professional dissonance in this newsroom was palpable in the way journalists had to drag their chairs to talk to each other and were physically excluded from the rest of media workers.

Additionally, I have demonstrated how new temporalities are changing the perception of the meaning of time in the news-making process. I felt these new pressures myself when I was

creating relationships with sources and suddenly, new sources flooded my cell phone, mixing themselves with friends and family. The need to have sources only one click away to report a story quickly has created new levels of intimacy and mutuality between reporters and sources. Moreover, I have argued in this thesis that despite some negative aspects that have accompanied new temporalities, some positive factors must also be recognised. New stages of obtainability can be observed in these newsrooms. By increasingly relying on MIM, reporters have begun to utilise basic digital technologies to free themselves from the economic and geographical constraints that once made distant stories impossible to cover.

The most important finding of this research is that Chilean journalists are experiencing one constant in modern journalism and multiplatform newsrooms: the unwearied state of professional dissonance. Depending on the platform on which they work, Chilean digital reporters have begun to resent their work and to begrudge the performance of reporters working for other platforms.

6.2. Final words

Many circumstances have changed since I started writing this thesis in 2016. The question of the boundaries of professional journalism has become more prominent in the literature than when I began researching the topic. Today, I can only agree with Stephen Ostertag's (2020) argument that in a world of alternative realities, attention economies, and tailor-made propaganda, journalism still matters. If anything, it matters more. As Wenzel and Nelson (2020) state, despite the many faces and definitions of journalism or the blurred boundaries, relationships are at the heart of this profession – those between journalists and their audiences, with their sources, with the economists who operate their newsrooms, and even with the platforms that now rule their content. The dynamics and practices in these relationships have changed, and the power balance has shifted with them; nevertheless, the increase of professional dissonance within newsrooms is indicative of journalists' desire to protect organisational cultures, identities, and values that, however tautological it may sound, evoke the intrinsic joy of being a journalist.

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This thesis addresses how journalists' everyday practices are transformed by the introduction of new digital technologies in the newsroom. Journalism, both as a profession and as a practice, is changing rapidly. Digital journalism, which was heavily opposed by the news industry at least until the early 1990s, is now transforming the ways in which information and communication technologies are being used by media workers. Technologies inside the newsrooms are mutating, and journalistic practices, norms, and values are being reshaped with them.

In this thesis, I aim to shed some light into how journalists are appropriating digital technologies, and how these technologies are affecting the infrastructure, temporality, and platforms of the newsmaking process.
Drawing on seven months of ethnographic fieldwork, including participant observation and semi-structured interviews with newsroom workers in Chile, in this thesis I argue that the introduction of certain digital technologies has radically transformed journalists' ability to negotiate editorial values and ideals. Media professionals are increasingly feeling trapped into routines established by third-party and external platforms that dictate the way journalistic work must be done to successfully maintain a revenue model that allows the newsroom to subsist.

The conclusions of this thesis suggest that the ways in which the temporalities, infrastructures and platforms in journalism have been impacted by the introduction of new technologies has created a lack of harmony in the way journalists are expected to work, the topics they are expected to cover, and the journalistic values they hold true. As a result, media workers have started to experience a growing feeling of professional dissonance in their routines. That is, journalists are reporting a growing gap between values, or the idealized purpose of their work, and their daily practices.
These observations carry important professional and ethical implications for journalists navigating today's media ecology, and anticipate the challenges that media workers will have to deal with as the platformization of news expands across the world.

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