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# THE JOURNALISTS AND A PROFESSION IN MUTATION: the voices of the professionals of a

Curitiba radio<sup>1</sup>

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**ABSTRACT** – The objective of this paper is to analyze the changes that took place in a radiophonic context in the face of a scenario of media convergence, which is linked to economic, social and productive transformations. As a theoretical basis, two basic concepts were used: media convergence, in its multidimensional approach (Fidler, 1997; Jenkins, 2009) and the journalism theory of Newsmaking (Wolf, 1997; Pena, 2005). The empirical basis used for the analysis was composed of nine semi-open interviews with current and former journalists from CNB-Curitiba. As a main result, it was identified that the productive changes are driven not only by the insertion of digital technologies in the daily routine, but also by economic and political interests, which interfere considerably in the practice of these professionals.

Keywords: Convergence of Means. Radiojournalism. CBN-Curitiba.

#### **OS JORNALISTAS E UMA PROFISSÃO EM MUTAÇÃO:** as vozes dos profissionais de uma rádio curitibana

**RESUMO** – O trabalho aqui exposto tem por objetivo analisar as mudanças ocorridas em âmbito radiofônico frente a um cenário de convergência de meios, que está atrelado a transformações econômicas, sociais e produtivas. Como base teórica, foram utilizados dois conceitos base: o da convergência midiática, em sua abordagem multidimensional (Fidler, 1997; Jenkins, 2009) e o da teoria jornalística do Newsmaking (Wolf, 1997; Pena, 2005). A base empírica utilizada para a análise é composta por nove entrevistas semiabertas, realizadas com atuais e antigos jornalistas da emissora CNB-Curitiba. Como principal resultado, foi identificado que as mudanças produtivas são impulsionadas não apenas pela inserção de tecnologias digitais na rotina diária, mas também por interesses econômicos e políticos, que interferem consideravelmente na prática destes profissionais.

Palavras-chave: Convergência de Meios. Radiojornalismo. CBN-Curitiba.

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#### LOS JORNALISTAS Y UNA PROFESIÓN EN MUTACIÓN: las voces de los profesionales de una radio curitibana

**RESUMEN** – El trabajo realizado tiene como objetivo evaluar los cambios ocurridos en el ambito radiofónico ante una realidad de convergencia de medios, que se vincula a las transformaciones económicas, sociales y productivas. Como base teórica, se utiliza los conceptos básicos: de la convergencia mediática, en su abordaje multidimensional (Fidler, 1997; Jenkins, 2009) y la teoría periodística del Newsmaking (Wolf, 1997; Pena, 2005). La base empírica utilizada para el análisis está compuesta por nueve entrevistas semiabiertas, realizadas con actuales y antiguos periodistas de la emisora CBN-Curitiba. Entre los principales resultados, se identifica que los cambios productivos son impulsados no sólo por la inserción de tecnologías digitales en la rutina diaria, sino también por intereses económicos y políticos, que interfieren considerablemente en la práctica de estos profesionales.

Palabras clave: Convergencia de Medios. Radiografía del periodismo. CBN-Curitiba.

#### **1** Introduction

The overview of a media convergence scenario, so broadly discussed in the field of Communication (Pool, 1983; Fidler, 1997; Negroponte, 1995, Lévy, 1999; Salaverría & Negredo, 2008; Jenkins, 2009; Rüdiger, 2013; Kischinhevsky, 2016), can be observed from several positions, such as the reconfiguration provided by digital technologies mediation, the crises caused by traditional communication media, and the discussions regarding the discrepancy of specific technologies and discourses. In this research, it was crucial to evince the relation between media convergence and productive, social and economic transformations, since they bring significant changes to work configurations, specifically regarding journalists.

Newsrooms are being redesigned in a search for adjustment to other barely understood, yet noticed by their consequences, demands, which reflect, mainly, in the losses of audience and advertising investment. Managers aim to remedy budget cuts with dismissals and with versatile professionals. In radio stations, this scenery is even clearer, due to new material and discursive characteristics.

The expanded radio concept, present in a research conducted by Marcelo Kischinhevsky (2016), aims to enlighten these new

characteristics accepted by this media, which become present in other platforms "that extrapolates radio waves and overflows to social media, cell phones, cable TV, news websites, online music portals" (Kischinhevsky, 2016, p. 13). These new traits, however, were not easily identified neither by radio companies nor by listeners, turning radio somewhat invisible to the audience.

An analysis of a radio newsroom, regarding productivity, allowed the perception of several questions linked to the changes mentioned above, especially the ones concerning work routine. Therefore, newsmaking became essential as a theoretical foundation for the discussion here proposed, since it evidences "the professional culture, work and productive processes of journalists" (Pena, 2005, p. 129). The theoretical junction of convergence and newsmaking allows for a broader approach regarding transformations occurred in newsrooms and inserts, in this scenery, journalists and their organizational and productive reality.

Semi-open interviews performed with nine journalists, from August 11 to September 20, 2016 were used for the empirical analysis. Professionals currently working and professionals that used to work for "Central Brasileira de Notícias – CBN", in Curitiba, were selected. Interviews were produced as the empirical stage of the author's masters degree dissertation and their purpose was to verify which professional and productive relations were observed by journalists, regarding the profession they chose and regarding the radio station.

To order the results obtained, the interviews were subjected to Content Analysis. From this, analysis categories that permeate profession, productive and organization relations were determined, which allowed an in-depth diagnosis of the reality of the interviewed professionals.

#### 2 Convergence and newsmaking - theoretical links

The newsmaking theory emerged as an evolution of researches about radio stations, overcoming previous approaches based on the premise that an event's specific characteristics were found on the event itself, such as the mirror theory (Franciscato, 2014). Newsmaking proposes that "it is in the enunciation activity that journalists produce speeches which, submitted to a series of social and operational pressures, constitute what the common sense

of newsrooms call news" (Pena, 2005, p. 128). In other words, to be able to understand how an event is chosen over another and how fact becomes news, "it is necessary to know not only values, representations and the collective imaginary systems, but also the way, the processes, the restrictions and limitations in which it all happens" (Wolf, 1999, p. 80).

Even though they are two different theories, convergence newsmaking complement each other when used to and analyze a newsroom. This tensioning is proposed respecting the professional and the productive aspects. Regarding the professional aspect and convergence, six modifications that occurred in newsrooms were evidenced, which demand reformulations on the perspectives approached by the newsmaking theory: the reduction of the functional picture; the accumulation of activities by the remaining journalists; the deterioration of work conditions caused by the disrespect of the applying law and of workers' rights; the extension of work periods for over six hours; the accumulation of functions, due to the extinction of technical positions; the advent of multipurpose professionals, that produce to several platforms and play several roles in the productive process, provided by the culture of speed and the overvaluation of immediacy (Maia, 2017a).

Considering the productive aspect, four transformations were observed: negligence of fact checking due to excessive work and agility needed in newsrooms; story production, that captures relevant information from social digital media, which fosters the emergence of "collaborative journalism, which is dear to news companies, since it gathers information, mostly for free or even without establishing, in the production process, room for recognition of this aggregation" (Ferreira, Monteiro da Luz & Macial, 2015, p. 5); audience participation, that starts to act similarly to a producer, sending information that is used by journalists; the place in which news are produced, that is mainly concentrated inside the radio station (Maia, 2017a).

The tensioning of these two concepts highlighted changes occurred in newsrooms, especially radio offices, that now demand new approaches from researchers as they turn their attention to this reality. It is worth mentioning, however, that journalism, as a profession, such as many others, has undergone constant mutations since it emerged, due to its attachment to social, economic and cultural practices. Still, with the intensification of media convergence as a "technological process that associate multiple functions inside the same devices" (JENKINS, 2009, p. 29), transformations felt in the professional practice heightened, causing

> an extremely mutant professional field, uncertain, loose, even from the journalism identity point of view to the future possibilities of a non-existing profession. It is a constant changing specialization and the future paths that will be followed are unclear (Marcondes Filho, 2009, p. 58).

This professional identity is confronted by the market's appeals, that prioritize polyvalence, approximating journalism to content production, in terms of relations to values before present in the profession, which are now losing space, such as authority (Maia, 2017b). Journalists, when encounter the proliferation of publication platforms and the increase of non-professional information channels, understand that the niche, before occupied exclusively by them, is no longer restrict. Therefore, "gradually, the mystique of the counter power withers. Blackmailed by unemployment, journalists rapidly lose the allure of the profession" (Marcondes Filho, 2009, p. 62).

Nonetheless, in spite of the loss of some professional values, others arise from this diluted and lean market. For example, polyvalence (Maia, 2017b), even though initially required from media companies, became a reality in journalism, consequently incorporating the hall of values that permeate the daily practice of newsrooms.

It is worth emphasizing that, even though this professional aspect is important, the peculiarities of the media that is going to be analyzed must be considered, since there are productive and organizational differences related. Therefore, the discussion about Radio in the convergence scenery is imperative.

#### 3 The convergent radio

Since the newsmaking theory aims to study newsworthiness through the productive and organizational biases, the fact that each media has its own particularities cannot be ignored. It is not possible, for that reason, to study radio, TV, newspaper and digital platforms jointly. Hence, it is important to elucidate which were the changes that occurred with radio regarding the convergence scenery, with the purpose to understand transformations that happened in the radio productive context.

Luiz Artur Ferraretto (2015) proposed four specific phases in the Brazilian radio history: the implementation stage (end of the 1910s until the second half of the 1930s), the diffusion stage (beginning of 1930 until the second half of the 1960s), the segmentation stage (end of the 1950s until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century) and the convergence stage (from 1990 to the present days). This last phase comprehends the period analyzed in this study, knowing that the "convergence term expresses the conscience, in the corporate level of the approximation of mass communication, informatics and telecommunications, embodied in the provision of radio content to beyond electromagnetic waves" (Ferrareto, 2015, p. 139).

Radio has already faced, over the course of the years, several challenges related to the appearance of new technologies and productive transformations. Concerning TV, for example, audience and advertisement losses were experimented, which allowed it to reinvent itself by using music and entertainment. Anyhow, with the acceleration of media convergence, radio currently is confronting a diversity of productive possibilities in different audio channels. With its projection over traditional communication means, radio waves, the media finds difficulties in determining what characterizes itself.

Radio is listened in medium, tropical and short waves or in modulated frequency, but since the 1990s, the media also melds to pay-per-view TV, either cable or DHT (direct to home); to satellite, in a paid modality solely dedicated to audio, or a free type, for receiving, though a parabolic antenna, uncoded signals of AM or FM radio stations; and to the Internet, where it appears either replacing the old OC transmissions, offering the opportunity of webradios to emerge or even functioning as a support to asynchronous sound alternatives, such as podcasting (Ferrareto, 2010, p. 21).

This expansion caused a problem related to the social existence of the medium, its invisibility. With the radio's propagation to other platforms, such as digital ones, its acknowledgment by the audience was questioned. Still, the addition of new traits, present in these platforms, that go beyond sound, encourage the debate about what defines radio as such. Even though these discussions are not new, they are intensified with this expansion to digital platforms. Authors like Meditsch (2001), Cebrián Herreros (2008), Ferrareto & Kischinhevsky (2010), brought light to this matter, with proposals that acknowledged radio as a "communication medium that transmits sound, invisible information, in real time" (Meditisch, 2001, p. 4), or as an object that expresses "a specific communication language, that uses spoken voice, music, sound effects and silence, no matter the technological support it is attached to" (Ferrareto & Kischinhevsky, 2010, p. 1010).

However, it is with the expanded radio concept (Kischinhevsky, 2016) that a proposal that contained all occurred changes was known, ignoring approaches that limit the studied object. The concept, therefore, considers that radio, "without its waves and unilateral transmission, expands to other media and includes, in a crescent way, the audience as a protagonist" (Kischinevsky, 2016, p. 9). And with this view, the empirical analysis was performed, in an all news radio from the Paraná Estate.

#### 4 Methodological procedure

The empirical analysis regarded in this research was executed in the year 2016. Nine semi-open interviews were carried out aiming to identify how journalists describe their productive routine, changes observed in journalism and the relation between the newsroom and the company, relating to organizational decisions.

The semi-open interview has characteristics that allow for the breadth of the subject, linked to the proposed case, in which each question can be expanded (Duarte, 2015). Sixteen predetermined questions served as a base for the interviews, functioning as a starting point to other questions that arose while the method was applied. A high number of questions allowed for a more organic approach to dialogues and more intimacy to respondents, which were shown in the results obtained.

To keep results feasible, every interview had a similar duration, ranging from 45 to 55 minutes. From the nine interviewees, four were currently working for CBN-Curitiba and five were former employees. Interviews were conducted in person, except with the "journalist that remembers radio with care", that happened by e-mail. The period in which they were administered was from August to September, in different places: three at CBN-Curitiba and the remaining six in cafes, universities and offices. Altogether, there were five hours of recordings, transcribed into seventy nine pages (Maia, 2017a).

To preserve the identity of the respondents and to avoid issues with the employers, aliases created by the author were used (Chart 1), inspired by the study conducted by professors Roseli Fígaro, Cláudia Nonato and Rafael Grohmann, in 2013, with journalists from São Paulo. Also, by doing so, the interviewees were more comfortable in sharing certain polemic or critical points of view.

#### Chart 1 – Journalists' aliases

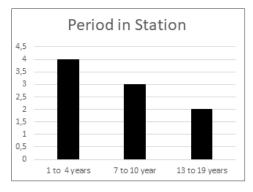
The journalist that acts in different fronts
The journalist that is experienced in radio
The journalist that is fresh in the market
The journalist that is also a broadcaster
The journalist that no longer works as a journalist
The journalist with a vast radio experience
The journalist that now teaches
The journalist that knows radio like no other
The journalist that remembers radio fondly

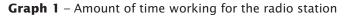
Source: Maia (2017a)

#### Chart 2 – Interviewees' ages

22 years old
31 years old
35 years old
41 years old
42 years old
49 years old
49 years old
56 years old
60 years old

Source: Maia (2017a)





Source: Maia (2017a)

The data obtained supplied important information. The first one was that the majority of the interviewed journalists obtained their degrees more than eight years ago, which provided them with a very particular way to understand university education and with caution as to approach technological changes. The second one was that the CBN-Curitiba radio station keeps journalists hired for long periods, which gives them a different view of the "cemetery of aborted carriers" (Marcondes Filho, 2009, p. 59). Lastly, that there are older journalists working in the newsroom, which makes it distinguished since the market tends to value younger professionals, with lower salaries and the need to accumulate experience (Kischinhevsky, 2013).

To order the results obtained from the interviews, Content Analysis was used (Bardin, 2016). The method, even though bearing a positivist history, allowed qualitative traits to surface when inference was adopted as a procedural stage, making it possible to organize their speeches in three categories, each containing three units that relate to each other. The categories corresponded to the three central relations in the research, professional, technological (or productive) and organizational, described as:

Professional relations, regarding professional education, values and performance. In this category, these units stood out: a) the multifunction professional; b) professional values; c) academic education versus job market. Technological relations, that directed their gaze to the impacts caused by technological transformations in the productive side and the insertion of these journalists in this mutating scenery. The observed units were: a) audience production; b) newsmaking considering technological convergence; c) time versus journalistic practice. Organizational relations, that aim to analyze how professionals, the newsroom and the radio station interact. Considering this bond, these units were stressed: a) resignations; b) labor rights; c) the future of the radio market.

#### **5** Speeches of the journalists

The most emphasized category, as seen from the interviews, was professional relations. The multifunction journalist was observed from different ways: a historic perspective, considering the polyvalence requirement as a natural change; the positive conception of change, as something expected or desired by journalists, that achieve more control over what is produced (from gathering to publication); and, finally, a critical approach, that considers the multifunction requirement a problem for the accomplishment of demands that are natural to the position. However, due to the observed centrality of this issue, it was understood as something that crossed the others, such as changes relative to the values exposed by professionals on the productive routine, where polyvalence was inserted into an indiscriminate absorption of the journalistic profile expected by the market.

Professional values permeate a conception that journalists have of their practice. And "few professions have been so successful in elaborating a vast culture, rich in values, symbols and cults (...) and a panoply of ideologies that is clearly outlined in a professional identity, namely, an ethos" (Traquina, 2012, p. 128). Nonetheless, some values were not identified, such as authority and freedom. The disappearance of authority as a value seems to be linked to the proliferation of digital publication platforms and to the emergence of different voices, not connected to the professional ethos. The disappearance of freedom as a value, on the other way, relates to the conception of an already established journalistic autonomy and to a predominantly private market that, many times, tend to private interests, demanding a type of journalism that is connected to productivity, empty of sense and complexity. However, these discussions about values and the ontological definitions of journalism are still associated to researches performed in an academic scope, and not, therefore, inserted in a practical routine or in the controversies of newsrooms. This reflects criticisms levelled by interviewees regarding the distance between university education and productive practice. The discordance regarding formal education concerns two aspects: the first involves market demands that are not approached by the academy and the second cares about the lack of professional experience from professors. "Anyone that finishes college education knows nothing. Because those that teach do not know how it is done, so how can they teach? You only learn when you do, with whom does" (The journalist that knows radio like no other, 2016).

Matters pointed at the professional category end up complementing themselves with technological relations, mainly regarding academic education. Since most respondents finished their college education over eight years ago, they have difficulties in using the knowledge attained there on their professional routines. They said there is a constant need for learning when facing new technologies and understood that it is crucial for journalists to have a background that encompasses several constructive possibilities of the news speech. Nevertheless, in spite of them considering the need of an education that meets demands imperative, interviewees that are inserted in this productive routine disagree with many requisitions imposed on them, mainly concerning the increase of production speed. "You almost miss the opportunity to have a well-produced material. The ability to reflect on the material you have available and the solution you are going to give is lost" (The journalist that is also a broadcaster, 2016).

This speed is tied to, from the way respondents see it, the popularization of digital social media, which enhanced also the audience's participation on radio production. However, this scenery is related not only to the internet, but also to the economic and organization tendencies, especially regarding the decrease of journalists located in the newsroom. With the increased production speed, the appearance of new publishing platforms, that require extra activities to be performed, and the depletion of people able to fulfill the requirements of daily routines, journalists see listeners as productive partners, mainly regarding city and traffic news. "Listeners that are driving their cars send pictures and news of the conditions they're facing. We no longer need to confirm facts." (The journalist with a vast radio experience, 2016).

The usage of the material produced by listeners bring two important issues: one referring to the care that this information requires, since there are no ways to verify who the listener is or if the information is true or not. The interviewed journalists said they check every fact before publication, however, even so, the lack of knowledge about the source becomes a problem.

> Listeners are moved by interests. A very dangerous thing is when a wave of reports is delivered to the radio. And they become a thesis, according to the listener, because they deserve to be heard, to be served, because, for instance, they had a problem at the health post, there is a hole on their street, there is a problem with their water supply, and they become the authority. And if this person is the president of a neighbors' association, with political interests against the way the public management is performed? If this person is the enemy of the neighbor, are they reporting? I do not know who this person is. And this thesis, that is not verified, is based on their report". (The journalist that now teaches, 2016).

The second aspect refers to understanding the media company, in which a lean number of journalists is able to settle demands generated at the newsroom. This guestion is observed not only in their speeches, but also in their silences, especially regarding the fear of exposing facts that may be harmful to their careers. Dismissals, "a constant threat" (Kischinhevsky, 2008, p. 71) at radio companies, justify this fear. A comparative analysis about the number of people working for the radio station in 1995, its first year, and nowadays, shows how resignations are a menace. While the radio station had a "starting team hired to perform, from 1995, the local schedule of the CBN-Curitiba Radio, consisting of 15 journalists and three interns, asides from technical support" (Quadros & Godoy, 2005, p. 7), now the team consists of five journalists and two interns, that absorb technical demands after the technical positions, like audio editor. ceased to exist.

The fear provoked by the rise of dismissals made journalists accept conditions harmful to their rights. The law on the subject, Act 972/1969 expresses:

Article 2 – The journalist profession comprehends, privately, the regular and paid engagement of any of the following activities: a) writing, condensation, titling, interpretation, correction or coordination of the news to be published,

commented or not; b) commentary or chronicle, by radio or television; c) interview, inquiry or report, written or spoken; d) planning, organization, direction and possible implementation of technical activities related to journalism, such as archiving, illustrating or graphic distribution of a story to be published; e) planning, organizing and technical management of activities mentioned on subparagraph "a)"; f) the teaching of journalistic techniques; g) gathering of news or information and preparing it for publication; h) reviewing original stories; i) organization and conservation of the journalistic archive and research of data to create news; j) graphic distribution of text, photography or illustration related to journalism, for publishing uses; l) executing artistic or technical drawings of journalistic nature.

In other words, the accumulation of functions with the requirements of audio editing and photo and video production go against what is expressed by law. The interviews showed that most of the hired journalists think it is essential, today, to absorb these new demands as regular work practices. Other abusive behaviors were mentioned, such as imposing work periods of over 5 hours a day, with unpaid overtime hours, like cited by the journalist that is fresh in the market (2016): "I work for at least six or seven hours. It's very hard to leave on the right time. No paid overtime. You log out late, but when the paycheck arrives, it says 'unauthorized overtime". And there is the prolongation of work periods, due to the use of work tools such as messaging apps (*WhatsApp*) that allow facilitated access to employees through text messages. Therefore, the journalist, even on vacation or on a break, fulfill work requests sent by these platforms. "When you receive a text from work, at home, you can't help but read it. And then, whether you want or not, you'll be involved. When a message arrives and you have a saying on the matter, you can't leave it for later" (The journalist that now teaches. 2016).

Even though abuses were identified, the journalists interviewed understood that the Law needs to be altered, since it did not keep up with changes many consider permanent, especially the ones that regard technology. Indeed, the aforementioned Act was created in 1969 and was not updated since the 1980s, what makes it outdated when confronted with the occurring transformations. A "regulatory framework related to journalism is needed, establishing clear criteria for decent wages corresponding to multimedia activities and penalties against abuses" (Kischinhevsky, 2013, p. 72).

The radio newsroom, podium of vicissitudes described at

the performed interviews, allowed for questions regarding its future. While some interviewees considered radio as a relevant and costeffective media, others mentioned its disappearance and the advent of something new, a hybrid media with traits of several others. It is clear, from both perspectives, that the understanding of what characterizes radio can be related to the given approaches. The journalist that knows radio like no one else said: "there are thousands of Brazilian radio stations online, on the internet. The future trend, which is not very far away, is not radio waves, but streaming, which will be cheaper".

Therefore, the discussion about the future of Radio seems to relate more with its material characteristics than its expressivity. Expanded radio is about this transition to new arrays, with new characteristics, but still as radio. Radio as a means "that transmits, in the form of sounds, journalistic, service, entertainment, musical, educational and advertisement contents" (Ferrareto & Kischinhevsky, 2010, p. 176) expands and finds, in other forms of diffusion, new possibilities.

#### **6 Final considerations**

Changes mentioned throughout this article show several traits of professional journalists. The first change was about the material scope, meaning the tools used to execute their activities. In this specific matter, the strangeness caused by the insertion of digital technologies in the productive routine and the accumulation of technical functions were highlighted. However, to limit the discussion to the material scope is to establish that the occupation is defined merely by a functional practice, emptying its sense. Therefore, Journalism, as a profession, is understood in many different ways, considering values related to its practice and the understandings of the respondents regarding all transformations observed and fears of a multiple and difficult to define journalism.

Another aspect that appeared during the research referred to productive changes. These can be described in two ways. The first one is related to natural or organic changes: all technological transformations, such as the use of the internet in the productive routine, the appearance of digital recorders and social media. The second one is related to organizational, financial and political interests: modifications that occur to serve the interests of a few, compromising the quality of the produced material in the newsroom and overloading hired journalists. Both ways happen at the same time.

It was also noticed that media convergence, intensified in the last years, exposed important matters debated by journalists, such as an active audience on daily productions, questions regarding the need for polyvalent professionals, and clashes against a Law that does not correspond to the reality of newsrooms, which are becoming less specialized in a determined media, producing to several platforms.

These are pressing matters that need to be analyzed by Journalism theories, like Newsmaking, considering its aim to understand how professional culture and shared values determine decisions made by the means (Pena, 2005). "The fact that professional values changed due to the perspective of the professional ethos must be considered. Productive steps do not permeate several actors, which make journalism, more and more, an individual activity" (Maia, 2017a, p. 123). These new traits bring new aspects that transform the analyzed setting considerably, which in turn require its redesign and tensioning with other concepts, such as convergence.

Lastly, even though the transformations that occurred in several professional fields were considered, which triggered the emergence of the expanded radio, that aims to encompass new forms of production and to identify in the interviewees' speech technological transitions that occurred at the radio station, it was evident that the productive process was changed in its essence, since its contents resulted in similar formats and to the same medium (radio waves). Therefore, expanded radio is not a part of the reality of the radio station, since, in spite of being present in other digital platforms, there are no contents made specifically for them, making the concept a future trend, and not reality.

Even so, due to the difficulties met by the radio station to adapt, professionals tend to experience the imposed transformations even more intensely, even though they serve mainly to the interests of media owners. This was shown by the disappearance of technical functions and by the overload faced by professionals that had to take another activity on their routines.

#### \*Translated by Douglas Herrera Montenegro

## NOTES

1 The first version of this article was presented at the XV Ibercom International Congress in Portugal. The current version incorporates modifications that make the text an unpublished work.

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