DIGITAL MEDIA IN BRAZIL

Crisis or new identity?

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on a broad reflection about one of the most turbulent eras of human communication: for the past ten years we have seen a unique conjunction of new media technological breakthroughs, an unusually close relationship between information producers and consumers, with the latter nearly in the position of a key player; and a new market which gives information an exchange value. As a consequence, this era has brought instability and uncertainty to the whole information value chain. The leading word has been "crisis".

The Brazilian information businesses in particular went through this period bemoaning their financial and quality losses, deciding upon strategic deviations and retreats in their core business, watching over their main revenue source – advertising – migrating to a cross media model. But, are we going through a real crisis? Why not think about the advent of a new social structure that rethinks and revalues social relationships? We believe that Journalism and its business are exactly at the core of a reconfiguration process of their identity.

1 ▪ SCENARIO, DATA AND SPECIALISTS' OPINION

The famous and already over-discussed burst of the "internet boom" rose to the position of the border line between the euphoria of a new media (a World Wide Web) and the real fact that the absorption process and implementation of new technologies go much deeper than injection of capital and equipment acquisition. Given the changing character of the productive paradigm and of the value chain, NITs – New Information Technologies, require planning actions, tests, reconfigurations and flexibility of the processes involved. Such actions can only be successful

if considered in the strategic, tactical and executive levels of the information business.

Statements made by Brazilian and American publishers and by journalistic corporation executives, published in the post-boom years in their own and several other media, reflected postures such as: the rejection of the model in which short-term business interests prove to be decisive when choosing a means of communication as a mere source of making profits; criticisms of the tendency to make information suitable, adopted by global multimedia conglomerates; mistakes when adopting strategies in which the convergence of media would solve the problem of boosting productivity and profitability in an economy of information where content would be instrumental to a life style marked by speed, productivity and entertainment; competition for the pocket of the information consumer who faces a diversity of sources such as the mobile telephone, cable TV and, of course, the internet.

Summarizing the collective feeling, the statement made by Arthur Sulzberger Jr., Chairman of The New York Times Company and publisher of the *New York Times*, questions the information relationship, the production of news and the information market's demands.

> "Let's start with the fact that editors and reporters are constantly caught between the increasing consumer demand for more immediate information and the news industry's ability to provide it. While there are fewer newspapers, there is a proliferation of real and pseudo news programs on television – each competing for attention. This creates a high premium for coming out first with "the big story." The news media frequently loses its way when it attempts to compete in a marketplace with an almost unlimited number of options. The focus on ratings – or readers or dollars – can become so intense that it is easy to forget that reporting and editing are serious tasks with profound social and political ramifications. Too often, we respond to the competitive pressures by making less of ourselves – by offering our readers the perception of vitality in exchange for hard reporting and thoughtful analysis" (SULZBERGER, 2004).

The combination of statements and contexts in addition to our research work allows us to presume that the roots of the so-called crisis lie not only in the managerial aspects of media corporations, but they question the goals of information production itself and the role of Journalism in contemporary society. It is based on these assumptions that we propose:

- Is the crisis in information companies real and simply anchored in corporative factors? Wouldn't its causes have their origin in a change of the relationship between journalism and society?
- Is the contemporary Brazilian media crisis a local manifestation or is it worldwide?
- Would the new communication and information technologies be the root of all evil?
- Where do trends related to the role of media corporations and their core business - Journalism, point to?

Transferring this reality to the Brazilian scene from 2000 on, we have a panorama which is little influenced by the formation of big multimedia conglomerates – only the Roberto Marinho Organizations / Rede Globo get close to this profile – and is quite affected by the aspects of size and economic power of the media maintenance market. The following data can be the first indicators that the crisis that the Brazilian media went through has many local and specific components. The following events have been specific in the Brazilian market: journalists' dismissals, acquisition of media vehicles by market speculators and legislation alterations allowing foreign capital to enter the country. In addition to that, the rearrangement of power in the economy which is reflected in the advertising market, errors in assessing the work environment, mistaken strategies to enter markets of new media also contributed to the following scenario.

An extensive research carried out by journalist Elvira Lobato and published in the *Folha de S. Paulo* on February 15, 2004 reported frightening numbers at the end of 2002, considered by entrepreneurs of the area to have "hit rock bottom": accumulated debt of R$ 10 billion; 17 thousand jobs eliminated in 2 years; accumulated loss of R$ 7 billion in 2002 (R$ 5 billion referring to Globopar, Rede Globo´s holding company); between 2000 and 2002 magazine circulation dropped from 17.1 million to 16.2 million issues/year, while newspapers dropped from 7.9 million issues a day to 7 million; advertising revenues of the media companies fell from R$ 9.8 billion in 2000 to R$ 9.6 billion in 2002 : (amounts not adjusted for inflation). Some recovery occurred in the second semester of 2003: the revenue from January to September rose by 7,9% in relation to the same period of the previous year (Inter-Meios Project), and this recovery continued in 2004. The reasons for this scenario, pointed out by Brazilian publishers, go back to the second half of the 90's: the bet made on economy growth and on exchange rate stability; the running into debt in dollars, in order to diversify businesses and increase production

capacity; investment by newspapers, particularly, for computerizing their newsrooms and buying new printing presses to increase their sales and offer color issues. Between US$ 600 million and US$ 700 million were spent to buy presses and to improve the graphic equipment from 1995 on.

Also, according to publishers, investments in sectors which are related to the core business such as pay TV, telephone communications and internet were made, but with an error of strategic assessment: the industry thought that there would be a rapid convergence between traditional media and telecommunications and was worrying about the end of printed media and about the market being controlled by telephone companies.

The information industry in Brazil also went through a series of management policies and negotiations in financial-political circles. Some of them were controversial, such as the alteration of the press legislation to allow foreign capital participation in the ownership of information companies, or the possibility that the BNDES (National Bank for Economical and Social Development) could offer financial services aimed at solving the so-called crisis; others were necessary, such as new regulations for the industry, more appropriate for the information society.

We conclude that the causes, the motivations and the negative market aspects pointed out by the national media board are centered around assessment deviations, unforeseen events, and hasty decisions, among other aspects. It does not seem reasonable for us to point to the emergence of NITs - New Information Technologies - as the core cause of the crisis in our companies since they themselves acknowledge assessment mistakes in the absorption and usage of these technologies.

It is evident that we should not ignore that there were, in fact, several problems with our economy, particularly related to our exchange rates and the diversion and/or reduction of advertising budgets. Nevertheless, it is also important not to diminish the weight of the management aspects mentioned. The majority of our media companies, mono-media originally, undertook initiatives aiming at a reconfiguration of their multimedia identities. In this process we find that most of them simply tried to transfer their successful strategies in the mono-media markets to the new reality. Many invested in technology and new businesses in order to present a contemporary profile, but almost all of them never abandoned the old way of reacting.

Thus, they ended up closing down their family management models, creating small decision nuclei with few windows open to the real world.

They resorted to and were often held hostages of consultants interested in selling equipment, software and services, and apart from very exceptional cases, turned aside their greatest store of intelligence, the writing desks, from the process of making decisions regarding how to enter and act in the information society.

This lack of compass in our media companies is very well illustrated by the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo*'s attitude, which in July, 2004, contradicting its own statements about sales recovery, advertisers and leadership, announced the dismissal of almost 100 professional journalists from its newsrooms, most of whom being editors or analysts, that is, the newsrooms' brain reserve. Would the reason for that still be the crisis? On account of all this, the practice of journalism and the identity of such well-preserved traditions were relegated by the companie to second place.

2 ▪ REASSESSING THE SCENARIO IN THE LIGHT OF RESEARCHERS

We are facing a broad issue, which comprises various areas of knowledge and their inter-relationships. Given the need for eliminations and limitations, I have opted for a broader and more general spectrum of the topic, in the context of the Cultural Studies theorists. Moreover, we cannot forget that we have mentioned media companies, whose fundamental intellectual capital is anchored in the competence of analysis and interpretation of facts and events from real life for their public. That is, they base themselves on values, principles and on journalism praxis. Somehow every media company carries out the journalistic praxis in its different genres and conceptions. However, this does not mean that we will be analyzing or assessing Journalism performance *per si*. We will rather establish a discussion about the media company's role in a changing society, requiring it to react by re-positioning its operational processes and the fundamental focus of its intellectual capital.

The reflexive-analytical activity involving the media company should be carried out by taking into account the integration and correlation of four inner subsystems, namely: the values structure; the proceedings and languages adopted by the company when generating information according to journalistic praxis; the strategies and the managerial structures of the media company's resources, and those linked to the adoption of innovations and the activity supporting technologies; the building and the interactive action of the media company's identity in the society in which it operates. Such analyses are based on a *corpus* of

theoretical-conceptual discussions about the information society – the social area for the actions occurring - and about the understanding of complexity, considered by different thinkers as the touchstone for the understanding of action in information.

Going deeper into this *corpus* is not in line with the purpose of this paper, but we would like to point out the most remarkable aspects:

▪ **Information society and technological determinism:** The crisis nearly always ends up being connected with the emergence of the Internet and to its consequent social and cultural transformations. Placing so much importance on a new technology without relating it to its "technological momentum" may affect one's reflection. Huges, *apud* Roe Smith (1994: 101-103), make it clear that interactions between technological systems and society are not symmetrical throughout time, being dependent on it;

▪ **Journalistic companies or media companies?** Such characterization, first of all, is many-fold, comprising the understanding of the information phenomenon and its relation with other phenomena: like data, knowledge, action, ideas, notions, difference; and the information-communication relation through modern western history. According to Cohn (2000) and Burke (2004), such relationship concerns giving shape to a set of relatively disorganized communication themes: knowledge, news, literature, entertainment, all interchangeable among different media and respective elements, like paper, ink, celluloid, paintings, radio, television and computers. And as the NITs - New Information Technologies - became involved in the productive, economic and social processes, information assumed a central place in our lives: "(...) meanwhile, in every age similar questions were raised regarding the relationship between media "property" and its content, between content and structure, and between structure and technology, especially the new technology. All these themes are linked by *control*. The need for information in each age was associated with the need to control the present and the future for social, political and economical reasons" (BURKE 2004:267).

▪ **The concept of Media Company:** The Spanish school, represented by Soria, 2004, Nieto and Iglesias, 1993, Vilches, 2003, Sánchez-Tabernero, 2004, among others, has been attempting to define the information company character as one whose object is not only the piece of news, but communication products in general, which are generated and made tangible via a process that combines creativity and operational systematization with managerial and commercial activities, aiming at establishing long-lasting relationships with their publics. In the information era the media company surpasses the

intrinsic value of information use and provides it with an exchange value in a relationship established between publisher, user and usage.

▪ **The presence of complexity in the Media Company:** Sanchez-Tabernero (no date) refers to the chaos theory to introduce this scenario, stating that in complex and highly articulated systems, small impulses or happenings may generate multiplying effects. In this process, very sudden or unexpected changes are not consequences of unpredictability; they are rather the reflection of a number of factors´ confluence. For him, the "communication industry belongs to this combination of complex systems, with delicate equilibrium as if on the razor's edge, and they support each other in highly articulated networks. Therefore the companies' strategies should not be based on predictions of the future but become adapted to the probable scenario of possibilities, which is able to respond quickly to the inevitable future surprises."

It is impossible not to include Edgar Morin's view if we take into account the media companies' role in the production and expansion of knowledge in society. For him, facing the task of producing knowledge in complex environments means: "making the context, the global, the multidimensional and the complex evident.(...) the knowledge of isolated information or data is not enough" (MORIN, 2001:36).

The core of our discussion is the shape of the media company in its NITs - New Information Technologies - absorption processes. Ramon Salaverría proposes different dimensions of convergence and their link to the big multimedia conglomerates. The first dimension is entrepreneurial, which accounts for the media proliferation under the same corporative trademark as well as for the ways in which they are coordinated economically and editorially. The technological dimension corresponds to the instrumental revolution experienced over the last years, particularly concerning adoptions of content management systems and the proliferation of new devices for digital reception. The professional dimension considers the journalist's job, making it more and more vertical (ability to use multi-platforms), with greater responsibilities and leadership role (multi-tasking along with the information production process). Finally, the communicative dimension by opening new horizons for journalistic expression, involves multi-media journalist rhetoric.

By means of these four dimensions, Salaverría assesses the media companies currently:

"from the entrepreneurial point of view, the main difficulty Is moving from simple managerial integration to editorial integration. This does not mean any of the media's loss of identity but the articulation of communication channels, which are appropriate for maximizing certain information strategies and, at the same time, make it easier for each media to focus on its specialty. In the technological dimension, the challenge is to advance in the implementation and take advantage of the content managerial systems for the whole conglomerate. In the professional dimension, media companies should establish training programs, which, in the short run, would undoubtedly improve the quality of the work done by their journalists. In the communication dimension, the new media require new ways of introducing information. The interactive and hyper textual potentialities of the digital nets demand efforts by the companies to develop new forms of information. This requires journalists' ingenuity and creativity as well as an innovative spirit and the entrepreneurs' investments" (SALAVERRÍA, 2003).

Here we can foresee some important inferences for the media company. First and foremost, they need a pro-active attitude of their publishers'; the status of the dimensions pointed out by Salaverría varies according to the company and its social-economical environment; how much these variations mean a crisis should be measured in a context in which the more companies of a same marketplace meet the same challenges or find similar management conduct and corporative guidance for their publishers, the greater the possibility for installation of a crisis; a crisis area is shaped by the competence media companies present in managing their infra-structures related to time and space: content transportation, the ways in which the public has access to it, information production scale, capability for widespread and at the same time restricted coverage.

In a word, media companies often look at convergence just from the point of view of ownership, acquiring and merging a number of contents with distribution channels. Without any operational logic in the composition of this suite, which operates in the same marketplace and competes for the attention of the same audience, we have, here, another critical focal point, if they do not become structured for this systemic view.

3▪ A PICTURE OF A DILEMMA PERIOD

Despite the predominance of multimedia conglomerates´ organizational formats, it is important to include the position of non-

conglomerates, that is to say, the great majority of media companies throughout the world.

Taking into account the global scenario of action and influence in the big media conglomerates, "the big five" stand out – the five big world conglomerates identified by Ben Bagdikian (2004), namely: Time Warner, Disney Company, News Corporation, Viacom and Bertelsman.

Bagdikian himself and researchers such as Neil Postman, Neil Serrin and others connected with *New York University*, put themselves on alert as regards the big conglomerates' action, particularly in relation to the concentration of an enormous amount of information and media in very few hands. The same research lines are also unanimous when pointing at press media, particularly the newspapers (and the importance of their credibility in American culture), as the ones that suffered the greatest impact on account of the conglomerates' action and the introduction of new technologies. Would that be the reason (or one of the reasons), which led media companies to the well-known crisis?

For entrepreneurial reasons of operational logic, according to Bagkidian (2004:115): "the newspapers are the most problematic media among the assets belonging to big conglomerates in different ways (…) since multimedia complexes prefer easily convertible and reusable assets, for examples books published by them which turn into TV series and videos for renting. The everyday piece of news cannot be recycled, Breakthrough news dies out as soon as it is printed… " The author also points out that magazines do not fit into this equation since they involve micro-segmentations, obtaining, in this way, faithful readers.

On one hand, this scenario questions the existence of a plural media and on the other, conditions those companies' strategies. Taking into account that we are dealing with a complex environment, nowadays media companies face a succession of dilemmas, which contribute to the formation of a critical scenario.

The first one concerns market size and economy. Pluralism depends on the availability of resources to support content generation and distribution. The bigger and economically stronger the market is, the more resources will be available for media production and the bigger the content absorption capability by the same market will be. The opposite occurs in small markets and in weak economies.

The second dilemma refers to ownership concentration. A crucial factor for pluralism is the number of independent content generators. The denser the ownership is, the fewer the number of content generators and the more threatened pluralism becomes.

Another dilemma is present in the standardization of editorial content of the same multimedia group. Content reutilization or re-packaging engenders cost reduction but also results in the reduction of the multiplicity of voices and in better exploitation of specific resources for each media.

Aiming at solving these and other dilemmas, media companies devise strategies to maximize profits and constitute corporative mega-structures. Thus, the greatest impact falls on the newspaper media whose operational process ends up by limiting these attempts at solution.

A research study in Europe coordinated by Gillian Doyle (2002) supports our statement. The strategies the Europeans adopt either run towards the vertical integration of the media industry supply chain – bringing about associations, mergers and purchases of production, packaging and distribution companies; or towards diagonal or lateral integration, integrating correlated companies, (for instance telecommunications companies buying television stations and internet providers).

4 ▪ WHAT ABOUT JOURNALISM, WHAT WILL BECOME OF IT?

Researchers, analysts and many journalists have tried to sort out the direct relation between the media role in modern society and the managerial aspects of media companies. At stake is not only the democratization of communications but the democratization of society, which needs information plurality to work out its own development with total respect for cultural and thought diversity. This concern applies Brazil and to the world.

Likewise, various sources maintain that newspapers themselves are profitable. The questionable issue is the economic model for media in a globalized society when media companies have radicalized disposable product offers, have bet on irrelevance and vanity, and have adopted a profit logic no matter what the cost, instead of stressing their social responsibilities and their pedagogical commitment as opinion formers. Because of that, ethical standards have dissolved and been lost in business-oriented logic.

in any case, the important point in our discussion is to analyze what will become of the traditional notion of Journalism in a social context in which, theoretically, information has unlimited access and challenges the conventions that would support discourse in the public sphere.

For professor Carlos Chaparro, "debates of growing intensity place current journalism in a state of crisis. Contrary to what many people think, however, I believe this crisis is good – and I will explain why: traditional journalism has lost its functions in a world that is characterized by the institutional, private ability to produce what we symbolically call news. Nevertheless, in the very scenario of the pressures which it is put under, journalism – because of its professional people and its researchers – is beginning to become aware of this, which can help outline its own new place, in the contexts and democratic processes in which it operates" (CHAPARRO, 2004). The author also questions the pasteurization of editorial content, making all newspapers look alike when it comes to selecting news, journalistic criteria, graphic design, and to quote him, "in their way of being and doing".

Professor Octávio Ianni, in a forum on journalism courses which took place in March, 2004, just before his death, said: " The breaking news is a caricature of a disguised video clip (...) the complexity the cultural industry acquired in the contemporary world has turned it into a manufacturer of news, records and images which are never innocent" (IANNI, *apud* REZEK, 2004). This point of view supports our argument that with the collective production of fragmented news, just a lot of collateral reading and a lot of effort on the reader's part may provide a notion of reality and its historical perspective. And in this search process, the Internet has served the reader as a priceless source of contextualization with no journalists' interference.

The production of meaning, a journalist's essential activity, would be dying due to the lack of posture and investments on the publishers´ and editors´ part. Journalist Luciano Martins Costa summarizes: "the doubt is: who will edit all this material? How experienced will these journalists be? How much will they earn? How much of their lifetime will be dedicated to watching good plays, good films, which good books will help them broaden horizons so that they will be good mediators working on the public's interest?" (MARTINS COSTA, 2004).

We have in a position of checkmate Journalism's social function in an "informational democracy", the fragmentation of the news and the loss of the meaning production assigned to journalists. These are aspects that modify journalism deeply. When placed parallel to or together with the business crisis, these aspects almost put the segment in intensive care.

Journalists Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel argue that Journalism's main goal is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and capable of self-government. It happens, though, that in the digital era,

"information is so free that the notion of journalism as an homogeneous entity may even seem a little exotic. No doubt the conception of press as a guardian – taking decisions as to what kind of information the public should or shouldn't have – does not well define journalism's role. If The *New York Times* decides not to publish an item of news, at least one of the countless Internet sites will do it. (...) the new journalist does not decide what the public should know anymore. They help the public to sort things out. (...) They need the ability to watch things from multiple points of view and get to the bottom..." (KOVACH, 2001).

Similar concerns involve editors in important European newspapers, with a way of viewing that reflects the continent's characteristics: the dominant role of normative communication and the importance of differences, allowing the perception of how much the communication challenge in the current era is not technical, since it is not the connection among all the European homes that will break down the individual cultures of their nation-states.

The fact that journalistic activity is not tied to a business does not make it illegitimate or disqualified; on the contrary, this compels it to observe a few essential principles. The major one is that we are indeed talking about a business, but about a business that constitutes an economic activity that is private and public at the same time. Its entrepreneurial nature coexists with its role as supplier of information, which is necessary and often decisive in the citizenship participation processes with public controls.

5▪ WHEN WE MENTION IDENTITY RECONFIGURATION OF MEDIA COMPANIES

When we summarized the proposed key questions in the beginning of this text, we concluded that those arguments pointed to a critical scenario for media companies, with a deeper reflection regarding the social aspects of the role of Journalism and journalists in the information society. Globally the sector is being reconsidered. Globally the predominance of the NITs – New Information Technologies - as changing factors and not as the root of all evil, is a fact. There is a management crisis in media companies on account of this imminent role change, but we cannot say that only corporative, economic and financial aspects have generated the transformation of the media´s relation with its publics.

In the case of Brazil, we have identified many similarities with the American scenario concerning social aspects, but we have also noticed

a limited vision of our media companies, generating a local managerial crisis, adding more specifications to an already quite complex scenario.

At this point, is it worthwhile asking whether there are ways out at the moment? Media companies will not stop becoming businesses, the information society can find no way to go back and society itself has been redefining, on its own, what is expected from journalism and journalists. Thus, we would like to recommend a few varied concepts, which may, in the medium and long run, support a new identity for information production in an information society.

Defining identities must be one of the starting points. Castells refers to identity, in an objective way, as "the social building up of meanings by social actors, no matter whether they are individuals or corporations" (CASTELLS, 2003:67). We could say that historically, the media company built its identity from the continuous generation of information and from its judgment manifestation, in knowledge construction. Its formal production still identifies with university, research center and corporate innovative groups. Even with communication and information technologies, society restricts this identity to the academic world (in the broad sense). For the author, the true problem lies in the information generation role: "on the Internet, information comes from people, people generating and exchanging information via the net. It is the endless collective ability society has to produce its own information, distribute it, reassemble it, use it for specific purposes, which transforms social practice through the transformation of the human mind's extent" (CASTELLS, 2003:139).

There we can see that the media company is experiencing a sort of invasion of its identity spectrum, having to share it with a partner who has always been positioned as identified with interaction, without abandoning its role of important contributor in the collective construction of knowledge.

With reference to this knowledge construction, the media is expected to provide much more than simple efficient access to ideas. According to professor Walter Bender, from MediaLab, MIT: "in order to adjust to the challenges of change, both local and globally, there is a need to expand the scope rather than restrict it. A unique aspect of electronic media is being exploited: experiments are possible because digital representations allow content inner structure to be revealed. Successful businesses derive not only from representations of the information domain, but also from restricted knowledge about people, cultures and local regulations. They aim at making means of expression more accessible without lowering quality or complexity" (BENDER apud, 2003:11).

Today, as we review the Brazilian scenario of the so-called crisis, we understand that our publishers' general concern referred to the solution of financial and managerial aspects, as they believed that this would solve the crisis.

In view of everything that was shown here, would journalism's identity reconfiguration be irreversible? Would the approximation between the function of journalism as a public asset and its action as a private asset be irreversible as well? This issue has been proven very rich, particularly among researchers and the academic world.

Special applause for the research net and think thank Media World 2020 that points out that integration, synergies and placing a high value on intellectual assets are the current trends.

A provocative proposition is advanced by Hamilton (2004: 238 and following): the traditional questions – who? what? when? and why?, that form the basis for the news - would be changed into a world context directed to the market. For him: "whether consciously or indirectly, news production is generated by another set of questions: who cares about information? How much is the public prepared to pay to access such information? Where can producers and advertisers find their public? When is this process profitable? Why is profitability necessary?"

In fact, the core of Hamilton's propositions lies in the polarization of interests and expectations between information producers and consumers at this changing moment. The scale of information values – what matters, what is meaningful, relevant, provocative – is tending much more toward the consumers' or audience side. Those who produce information and turn it into news will connect with the individuals' specific priorities rather than with the content's collective attraction aspects.

Nowadays, when a journalist encounters a piece of information and classifies it as interesting or relevant, this selective process cannot be said to satisfy the needs of a super-informed public. The challenge for media companies and journalists will be to understand the new information needs and reconfigure their newsroom structure into what is really important for the public and not what just is marketable.

This challenge is directly related to the sophistication of the information contextualization process, which has been demanded by audiences because of the breakthrough in the time and space barriers brought about by the NITs – New Information Technologies. It will be necessary to relearn how to build and make content available, abandon news-oriented fragmentation and move toward guiding audiences in the search for more and more correlated information. Journalism´s identity

reconfiguration will undergo a change in roles: from social mediation to furtherance of correlations among events, ideas, memory, future and present, and all this at the same time. It will also depend on the professional journalists´ and companies' ability to advance the notion that reading, accessing and listening to news, no matter which technology has given support to which media, is actually a social ritual as mentioned in the beginning of our text.

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