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Re-digitizing Television News: Adoption of Digital Technology, Engagement, and Online News Distribution in Colombian Television Networks

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Re-digitizing Television News:

Adoption of Digital Technology, Engagement, and Online News

Distribution in Colombian Television Networks

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Dedication

For Elva, my life companion and rock,

and for Amelia, my guardian angel.

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Re-digitizing Television News:

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Teams of online professionals working for TV news organizations are reacting to a new powerful wave of technological innovations brought by online video platform and live streaming features as these new tools are now in the hands of the laymen, particularly through social media. This digital technological trend not only has increased the interaction between television, online, and social media, but it is also changing TV formats, visual storytelling, and patterns of video news consumption, distribution, and engagement.

This dissertation takes a socio-technological approach to understanding these changes and explaining how online professionals working for TV stations are implementing digital technologies into their newsrooms to distribute content and engage their audiences. This analysis unpacks the logics behind the implementation of digital technology in TV newsrooms. The study employs participant observation at two TV news organizations, Caracol News and City-ElTiempo TV, and in-depth interviews (45

people) with online professionals to understand their practices and organizational arrangements when implementing digital technologies in the adaptation of the traditional medium to the digital media ecosystem.

I found that both organizational arrangements between traditional and online media, and social media technological designs conditioned the adoption of digital technology, the transition of television media to online settings, and the production of online content at Caracol News and City News-El Tiempo Television. Likewise, I found that innovative forms of online video and broadcasting are emerging from the relationship between TV news media, online media, and digital technologies. The relationship between online teams working for TV stations and online users mimics the traditional relationship between television professionals and TV viewers. Finally, I showed that news distribution and engagement—two very important actions in the current online news making process—have been absorbed by social media platforms, particularly by Facebook. In short, there is a mutual shaping between television news organizations (society) and digital technology—including social media—that is transforming the traditional medium, generating uncertainness about its future, and its contribution to society.

The study sheds light on the relationship between online and traditional media, digital technology and audiences, finding that television news structures are suffering renewed transformations.

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INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: Digital Disruption and Innovation

In the past 20 years, the digital revolution has changed communication practices as well as content production and distribution between news organizations and audiences, stoking a number of socio-economic and professional tensions among media companies. The shifting environment not only implies the integration and convergence of diverse areas inside media companies, but also the incursion of new actors in the editorial process. In this activity, social media and other digital technologies have played an important role connecting news outlets with participatory online audiences. More recently, these technological disruptions have included video and live streaming, which have taken a more visual trajectory. Innovations such as Facebook and its broadcasting feature, Facebook Live; Twitter and its streaming project, Periscope; Instagram and its tool Instagram Live; YouTube and its platform YouTube Connect; and Snapchat are offering interactive features that allow users and organizations, including TV media, to broadcast news and events live and distribute instant video content to global audiences. People receiving video reports from their friends and amateur producers rather that professional broadcast journalists imposes a challenge for TV media and creates increasing competition from users' content production activities and for audiences' news attention. In fact, social media users find themselves in an active role producing and distributing information across online networks so traditional media feel the need to understand and use that activity in their content distribution and production strategies.

Additionally, social media interactions – liking, sharing, and commenting – have become a source of power for audiences while allowing traditional media to instantly evaluate audience reception and interaction with news content.

The digital technological shift has inspired a new wave of researchers to return to newsrooms to analyze the impact of digital technologies and innovation on media organizations, journalistic practices, and the news-making process (e.g., Anderson, 2013; Belair-Gagnon, 2015; Boczkowski, 2004; Cottle, 2000; Domingo & Paterson, 2011; Howard, 2002; Singer, 2013; Ryfe, 2012). Despite the fragmentation of the news ecosystem, which includes citizen journalism and calls for new spatial models and problematic professional boundaries in online settings (Reese, 2015; Shoemaker & Reese, 2014), scholars continue to recognize the fundamental role that traditional media plays in the production of news and in the intersection of news producers and technology (Anderson, 2013). Indeed, traditional media output in the online ecosystem continues to shape news production and news consumption habits throughout the network (Boczkowski, 2004, 2011; Paterson & Domingo, 2008; Ryfe, 2012). Moreover, mass media industries are gathering great amounts of information about their online users, systematically learning about their audiences' consumer behaviors, and formulating a new notion of their audience to accomplish their organizational goals (Napoli, 2011; Braun, 2015).

Despite these changes, a growing body of scholarly research inside newsrooms shows that traditional media and journalists have not embraced the full potential of the digital ecosystem, and instead, they have implemented tools and networks in accordance

with their traditional norms and practices in a process that has been called by some researchers as "normalization" (Artwick, 2013; Deuze, 2008; Domingo, 2008; Lasorsa, 2012; Singer, 2005). Journalists normalize technology when they appropriate new digital platforms in accordance with their professional values. Other authors, however, have found evidence of new, emerging forms of online media and content due to the interaction between traditional media outlets and technologies (Belair-Gagnon, 2015; Boczkowski, 2004). In my research, I start with the premise that TV news media organizations and their news are transformed in the process of allocating their content from traditional outlets to digital platforms, as previous research on newspapers has shown (Boczkowski, 2004). Even though it is not clear to what degree that transformation takes place, some scholars have found that there is a struggle in traditional media outlets to differentiate their journalistic voices from other online voices (Belair-Gagnon, 2015) in order to defend the boundaries of their profession and craft from non-professional incursions.

Another important aspect of doing this investigation on TV news media is that in the short history of online media ethnographic research, there has been a relative lack of attention paid to TV journalism and its transformations during the past two decades. Media researchers in this area have focused mainly on the dynamics between newspapers and their complementary websites. Those studies have shown the tension (or at least, the uneasy relationship) between newspapers and their online partners in topics such as immediacy (Karlsson, 2011), accuracy, (Hayes, Singer, & Ceppos, 2007; Joseph, 2011) multimedia skills (Boczkowski, 2004), and audiences' participation (Chyi & Chadha,

2012; Ju, Jeong, & Chyi, 2013) because old and new media handle different production and distribution logics. Less attention, however, has been paid to television news organizations and their online operations even though they are facing similar–if not delayed–digital challenges. In fact, there is evidence that television news organizations are now experiencing the same pressures newspapers experienced at the beginning of the 2000s (Borja Echevarría, 2016) when publishers started to lose control over the distribution means, print readers, revenue, and their business model. TV news media distribution was previously tied to schedules and programing which viewers followed and adopted into their news consumption routines because of content scarcity and media technological and delivery control. Nowadays, however, people expect to access information through their personal devices and platforms everywhere and at any time (Picard, 2015), usually following personal recommendations.

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES IN TELEVISION AND ONLINE VIDEO

Digital technological innovations, audience fragmentation, and the abundance of online media and online video content are now hitting traditional television hard. For the purpose of this research, I define technological innovation as the process through which multiple actors who belong to a dynamic network interact within social institutions to reshape and implement new tools (networks, software, websites, applications, hardware, blogs, and data) that produce different forms of content and practices. Television newsrooms started their digital transition by making timid efforts in the late 1990s, establishing small online news divisions to support their traditional TV programming and

strengthen their presence on the web. Partially because of bandwidth limitations, cost of operations, and copyrights that protected video production, TV channels avoided making their broadcast content openly available online as newspapers did with their print stories to increase online readership, hoping to capture future advertising revenue (Chyi, 2013). TV outlets were reluctant to share their programming for free, but they were eager to use their websites for branding and TV programming promotions (Gillan, 2010).

At the beginning of the digital process, TV news, especially buoyant cable operations like Comcast and Time Warner in the U.S. (Pew Project 2013), did not feel the same disruption experienced by other media industries in part thanks to networked structural limitations such as lack of bandwidth to watch videos online or to follow live transmissions. Since 2009, however, the increasing popularity of social video platforms (YouTube and Vimeo), devices (Chromecast, Apple TV), video streaming applications (Netflix, Hulu and Amazon), and more recently, social video live transmissions (Facebook Live, Instagram Live and Periscope) has exacerbated those tensions, forcing the TV industry to rapidly respond to the digital environment to find solutions to the lack of control over online means of distribution, incorporate technologies, implement innovation, and counter audience fragmentation. Television news stories used to have fixed broadcasting schedules. TV journalists shot, produced, and aired their news packages following newscast routines. 24-hour-news cable channels, and then the Internet affected previously controlled programing and scheduled distribution of TV content. Nowadays, a great variety of video travels directly from mobile devices to online platforms catching users' attention. TV news organizations are using the same social

media live streaming tools to compete within the same spaces and distribute professional content to massive audiences.

New online video providers and platforms are gaining momentum and drawing users' attention away from television screens as video sharing through social media has become one of the most important forms of news consumption thanks in part to the interaction between traditional TV and online platforms (Nielsen, 2015). Therefore, digital technology is having a significant but delayed impact on TV news media, bringing similar socio-economic and professional tensions already experienced by newspapers.

The growing importance of the online news teams inside TV channels—particularly web journalists, social media managers, and online video producers—and the way they are adopting technological innovations, are raising questions about how the online operations of traditional TV news organizations are responding to current digital challenges, and how they are implementing digital technologies to create emerging forms of broadcasting, content distribution, journalistic practices, and routines and new ways of engaging audiences in the online media ecosystem.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study takes a socio-technical approach and uses ethnography to analyze the online operations of two TV news organizations during a moment in which television is experiencing renewed technological pressures coming from innovative forms of online video production and distribution and unprecedented access to digital platforms such as social media and mobile applications (apps) that offer live social broadcasting features. A

socio-technical research analyzes both social and technical factors that determine the interactions and relationships within newsrooms when journalists adopt digital tools to distribute content and engage audiences. This approach borrows and combines theoretical frameworks from media sociology, journalism, and technology studies. It considers that these two dimensions (social and technical) are bound together, especially in the new media hybrid ecosystem. In this context, "neither the (purely) social nor the (exclusively) technical is determinant in the last instance" of what happens within an organization or a community (Law & Bijker, 1997).

I conducted participant observation and interviews inside the online operations of two TV news organizations in Colombia—Caracol News, and City TV News-El Tiempo Television—in order to understand TV news media practices and routines in the process of implementing digital technologies and organizing their TV presence in the challenging online media ecosystem. Colombian TV news companies are adapting to the same global technological pressures experienced by other TV stations around the world as they are adopting similar digital tools and networks. They also want to continue being relevant to their viewers in online settings and maintain a profitable online international business model in the region. In 1998, after a reform of the broadcasting law, the Colombian government privatized television network ownership, allowing private media conglomerates to hold almost complete control of Colombian airwaves (Straubhaar, Spence, Joyce, Sinta, Mora, García, & Duarte, 2015; Arango-Forero, 2013). Following other regional examples such as Mexico's Televisa and Brazil's O Globo, Colombian TV media have established international alliances to distribute co-produced content for U.S.

TV channels (Univision, Telemundo, Sony Pictures Entertainment, Warner Bros, Telefe) to reach U.S. and Latin American audiences (for instance, Caracol International and NTN24).

To respond to the renewed digital challenges, the organizational structure of Colombian TV news companies usually has three online teams who support their online operations—that is, 1) Web journalists who produce news content for television websites and embed video in articles as a multimedia supporting element, 2) social media managers, community managers, and analysts who distribute content, monitor social media communities, and interact with users in online networks, and 3) online video producers. The formation of these three online professional groups that were found in both case studies responds to organizational decisions and to the basic needs of traditional TV media to transition to digital spaces. The purpose of this study was to understand how these teams think about their work, how they use digital technology to distribute content and engage audiences in the online environment, and how they relate to other professionals inside TV media companies.

These online teams are important because they have the responsibility of ensuring the evolution of TV news in the online ecosystem. They are the link between traditional television and online operations, and the fact that they are found in both Caracol TV and CityTV means that that they respond to organizational decisions and needs. The first group, comprised of online journalists who work very closely with the TV channels, is usually responsible of publishing news content and updating TV stations' websites. The second group, social media managers, is in charge of disseminating news through social

networks as well as making editors aware of social media trending topics, metrics, and audiences' reactions toward events and TV content. Finally, video producers are in charge of clipping (cutting short segments that TV shows provide), compressing, and uploading traditional TV programing for the video management system. Video professionals also produce short, original content specifically designed for online platforms and mobile devices, using equipment and personnel from their digital units.

Website journalists	Social media managers	Online video producers
The main responsibilities of the first group are to update the website of the television news organization and to ensure the synergy between traditional television and the website, including activities such as on-air promotion of online content and the activation of interactive tools to gather viewer reactions (e.g. online polls and forums). At City TV and El Tiempo Television, this responsibility has been delegated to online journalists at eltiempo.com.	The second group is responsible for distributing online content, identifying trending topics, and monitoring users' reactions and demands on social media in order to communicate this activity to the newsroom, offering possibilities to integrate users into the news-making process.	The third group's main responsibilities are to clip television programing in short videos for online consumption and to produce videos exclusively for social media and the web with a small group of video producers who are able to shoot, edit, produce, and distribute for both online platforms and television screens.

Table 1: Key online teams who support Colombian TV operations

Television news did not get as much attention in the first phase of online transition because the medium did not face the dire risks of newspapers until now when it seems to be losing control over the online video distribution channels. TV was seen as a "safe" medium for a while when the Internet blossomed because the industry did not

foresee its current video capabilities and the powerful influence of social media in distribution and shaping video consumption. As a consequence, media researchers have focused extensively on the relationship of newspapers and their online operations, but they have paid less attention to television news and their digital transition. Likewise, television has not received as much scholarly analysis in its transition to the digital world in comparison to newspapers because the print medium has been considered the backbone of democracy, and its proclaimed disappearance has been cause for alarm while television has been blamed for eroding political life and civic engagement (Putnam, 2000), imposing a cynical view of events (Bourdieu, 1998), and even stoking fear among communities. This study seeks to address that research deficiency by providing a comprehensive analysis of online teams who are working for TV news organizations, utilizing digital technologies during their daily routines and practices, and building bridges between television and online media.

In addition to this initial descriptive purpose, this study also seeks to explain—from a socio-technical perspective, combining media sociology, journalism studies, and sociology of technology—the tensions that these three online news teams (website journalists, social media managers, and online video producers) experience when using online technologies in their daily practices to distribute TV content and engage audiences on social media. Online content distribution and audience engagement—two concepts that I will explain in more detail later on— are the new currency for an online media ecosystem characterized by information abundance and audience fragmentation. Given that one of the main purposes of these three online teams is to support the presence and

transition of traditional TV to the web, both distribution and engagement play key roles in online journalistic practices because TV news organizations seek to increase online viewership through the implementation of these actions. Looking at these particular actions, this research aims to analyze the online operations of TV channels in the context of journalistic norms, routines, and practices. The activities of online teams who are working for TV stations help us to unpack the challenges that TV journalism is facing in the digital age. Thus, this study offers an analysis of the changing nature of journalistic work as hybrid forms of TV production and distribution are emerging as a consequence of technological innovations that respond to social media technological designs and the presence of the audience in online platforms and settings.

In short, the purpose of this study is fourfold: 1) To understand how the online operations (webpages, social media, and online video production) of television news organizations are implementing technological innovations and organizing their online presence, 2) To understand how online journalists at TV stations are distributing content and engaging new audiences using technological innovation and platforms such as social media and mobile apps, 3) To grasp how TV channels reproduce traditional television norms, values, and practices in their online teams and projects, 4) How TV news organizations' conceptualization of their audience conditions the use of technology and the inclusion of users in the editorial process. By analyzing these four aspects, this study seeks to examine how online teams at TV stations are creating innovative forms of broadcasting and new paths for interacting with audiences in the online environment.

To accomplish these goals I did an ethnographical analysis in which I observed the online operations of two TV news organizations in Colombia—Caracol TV and CityTV-El Tiempo Television—in order to comprehend from a socio-technical perspective TV news media's implementation of digital technologies to guarantee their presence in the online media ecosystem. I selected Colombia as the setting of this study because the country offers a very dynamic example of rapidly shifting media technology in Latin America. Colombia provides the greatest opportunities for media access and analysis, which can help to grasp generalizable findings and enrich the understanding of global issues faced by television news in the online media ecosystem. I complemented participant observation with interviews with online journalists from the two TV news organizations in order to understand the implications surrounding emerging forms of online video production and distribution.

I took this methodological approach because ethnography allows researchers to explore how media organizations and workers make sense of their world (Domingo, 2008). Local meaning and the interaction that creates that meaning are the starting point to broadly comprehend these shifting phenomena. Thus, I believe that the best method to capture current online dynamics inside TV channels is to follow the actors in their original settings through observation and interviews to understand the logic of their technological adoption from the standpoint of the participants and their social networks.

To summarize the purpose, this study intends to highlight the complexities of TV journalism in its interaction with digital technology and online audience, adding to a growing body of literature that seeks to understand the intersection between traditional

media, technology and audiences, and the transformations that this interaction brings. In a global forum with worldwide distribution potential but finite audience attention, are there distinct patterns of technological adoption and innovation inside TV news organizations to confront current digital disruptions? How are TV news organizations using digital technologies such as social media to distribute content and increase the dialog between traditional TV viewing and online users?

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROJECT

At its core, this research project proposes that the struggle of traditional TV media to prevail occurs precisely at the intersection of digital technology, journalists' practices, and the audience. These three elements alter news production by rubbing up against each other. Digital technology not only has facilitated users' presence and participation in spaces and activities previously reserved to professionals, but it also has shifted TV journalists' practices and distribution models. Additionally, as a result of the contact and exchange between professional journalists and audiences, news production is now part of a "shared, distributed action" in which multiple actors participate in its elaboration and assemblage, modifying through technology the relationship between the audience and media and altering labor dynamics (Robinson, 2011; Anderson, 2013). Similarly, professionals and audiences use digital tools in multiple ways, reshaping technological systems in a continual process that is often determined by social structures and practices already in place.

Investigations about the intersection of these three essential components—technology, audiences, and journalism—remains limited. To solve that deficiency, some authors have urged researchers to develop a socio-technical emphasis in journalism studies in order to answer some basic questions about how actors interact in different online settings (Lewis & Westlund, 2015, 2016). This research project responds to that call by focusing on online professionals working for TV news organizations and their relationship with technology and their audience. The ethnographic study of that interaction may show patterns to apprehend the manner in which traditional TV media are adapting their newsrooms to new technological pressures (Domingo, 2008). At the same time, this research proposes that investigating the intersection of journalism, technology, and the audience in TV newsrooms is critical to preserving the future of the TV media industry in the digital environment because it may shed light on innovation paths and practices that facilitate democratic discourse and civic engagement.

TV news continues to play a crucial role in society, and its failure to transition to online settings may have a negative impact on communities and professional journalism in the same way that the disappearance of city newspapers had negative repercussions on local reporting and information accountability. TV news continues to hold a central place in society because it allows communities—especially those in developing countries like Colombia—to make sense of their world, receiving images of their local, national, and international context. In times of crisis, people turn to TV news to follow live events and to understand more about particular issues. Citizen videos may help provide a glimpse of the world, but not with the same professional values such as the accuracy that historically

has been part of broadcast journalism. In other words, if TV news vanishes as a professional enterprise, its collapse could lead to the dismissal of professional journalists who have been trained as visual storytellers with high professional standards. Producers of video or TV news beyond the space of traditional newsrooms are not necessarily committed to providing accuracy or following professional practices and standards in their reports.

Looking at the interaction between journalists, technology, and audiences in the digital media ecosystem is also key to apprehending the current struggles of traditional media over the boundaries of journalistic practices and the profession (Carlson & Lewis, 2015). Journalism has been conceived as an independent field in which different actors strive to define the new boundaries of the profession. Some researchers have noticed journalism is no longer a "solid, stable thing to point to," but rather a field with porous and shifting boundaries that are constantly expanding as new players enter the space and draw new limits (Carlson, 2015, p.2). Moreover, what Anderson (2013) calls the news assemblage—that is, the continuous process of producing the news through multiple actors and dispersed across platforms—is occurring inside and outside the physical space of traditional media, applying pressures on the boundaries between audiences, sources of information, technologies, networks, and professional journalists (Carlson, 2015).

Journalists continue to view their practices as having a great social importance for democracy and freedom, so they try to defend their field against the incursions from non-journalists or at least to differentiate their professional voices from other online voices. However, economic, technological, social, and cultural factors have transformed the

media landscape and opened the gates to other participants into the field. Therefore, the line that divides journalism from other content producers has become even blurrier. Unpacking how online journalists who work supporting traditional TV in the digital media ecosystem protect their authority and their profession during the implementation of digital technologies in TV newsrooms is an important step to comprehending new arrangements between traditional media, journalistic practices, audiences, and innovative news production processes in online domains.

In summary, TV news organizations must find a way to embrace digital innovations and stay relevant in the news ecosystem without loosing control of their professional value to society and finally find a sustainable business model. Even though all media face a similar challenge, I believe that the increasing popularity of online video and social live streaming offer particular challenges to TV news, and the two cases I have selected may shed light on how traditional media are trying to overcome these digital disruptions.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND MAJOR CONCEPTS

Chapter 2: Socio-Technical Context

This research takes a socio-technical approach to describe how online teams working for TV channels adopt and use technologies in the transition from traditional TV to the Web. The theoretical framework of this study uses media sociology and the Social Construction of Technology to analyze how technological and organizational actors as well as the mutual shaping between journalism and digital tools influence content. Also, this study follows Napoli's audience engagement and Braun's content distribution approaches to illuminate these two editorial actions in online spaces, given that engagement and distribution have become fundamental processes for TV newsmaking. Napoli's engagement is useful for this research because it examines content providers' efforts to be relevant to their audience in the new digital environment by producing news that generates strong connections with users. Braun's work, on the other hand, is helpful because the author is able to integrate technological studies and theories such as the Social Construction of Technology (SCOT) to analyze media content distribution pathways as heterogeneous digital systems that include multiple elements. I will apply these perspectives to understand a shifting phenomena: Television news organizations are facing renewed technological innovations such as social platforms to share video and live broadcasting that are disrupting video formats, news distribution, audience engagement and the relationship between the traditional medium and online professionals.

This chapter follows the following structure: First, it explains the roots of the sociology of news and the influence of the sociological works of the 1970s that opened

the door to understanding mass media processes and how journalists constructed their stories. Second, the chapter analyzes the utility of Shoemaker and Reese's *hierarchical model* (2014) in order to understand the different levels of influence that affect the news production inside TV news organizations–from the micro-level, which involves individuals (journalists, reporters, editors, etc.), to a macro-level that examines social structures. Third, Boczkowski's *Digitizing the News* (2004) main findings on the digitalization of newspapers are discussed as an important theoretical device that can be applied to television news settings in order to comprehend the relationship between traditional media and digital media. Fourth, this chapter explores the Social Construction of Technology and its limitations as a framework for grasping the relationship between journalists and materiality (e.g. networks, artifacts, tools, software). Fifth, audience engagement with news stories (Napoli, 2011) and distribution of content (Braun, 2015) are explained as key concepts for unpacking online practices and the TV news making process on the web.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Producers and journalists are recognizing that TV news is now experiencing similar technological pressures faced by newspapers at the beginning of the 21st century (Sanchez, 2016; Glaser, 2010; Lotz, 2007), when media publishers started to lose control over their distribution channels, audiences, and business models. Broadband access, bandwidth, and wireless mobile access, three key limitations that audiences had in the past to watch videos and television programing online, are increasing at a rapid pace,

allowing easy downloading of gigabyte-sized multimedia content even on personal devices. In the same vein, digital distribution platforms and apps such as Facebook Live, Periscope, Snapchat, YouTube Connect, Netflix and Apple TV are disrupting video consumption, live broadcasting, and cable-satellite operations because they either control new online distribution channels or allow vast audiences to broadcast video in real time using mobile devices. TV advertising is also showing signs of weakness in the U.S. and in the U.K. as audiences are using other platforms to obtain video and TV news (Kleis Nielsen, 2013). Moreover, analysts have suggested that broadcasters are missing the technological momentum to provide their content and connect to new audiences through mobile devices and have been losing contact with younger generations, like newspapers did before them (Kleis Nielsen, 2013).

Therefore, one of the main premises of this study is that online news professionals working for TV news organizations are rapidly readjusting their newsrooms technologically to the digital environment to overcome additional online challenges brought by social media, online video platforms, mobile devices, and streaming applications. In other words, TV media are reacting to a new wave of technological innovations that are not only taking away their audience's attention from traditional television, but also disrupting video formats, storytelling, and patterns of consumption specially on social media. In the process of responding to these challenges, I argue that TV newsrooms are creating new forms of media and content as they implement digital tools into their daily practices to distribute information and engage with audiences online.

The four steps that this study follow to reach its purposes are: First, this research will describe how three online groups—online journalists, social media managers, and online video producers—who support the online operation for TV news organizations in Colombia are using digital technologies in their daily practices to face recent challenges that are altering the way TV news and videos are watched, streamed, and shared online. In fact, the popularity of social media platforms such as Facebook Live, Periscope, and Snapchat contributes to increased technological tensions among TV newsrooms because those platforms facilitate live transmissions, interactivity, social recommendations (likes, shares, comments), and content shareability. Describing the digital teams' practices and routines from the point of view of the participants and their professional context will advance the socio-technical comprehension of TV newsrooms in the shifting Internet age.

Second, this study analyzes how online journalists who work for TV stations are using digital affordances with the purpose of engaging online audiences and distributing television news. Previous research shows that audience engagement and content distribution are two of the main activities media producers advance in online spaces that are no longer under their control (Braun, 2015; Napoli, 2013; Jenkins, Ford and Green, 2013). Third, this research identifies how norms, values, and practices are transferred from traditional TV newsrooms into online settings. One of the main questions in this area is whether traditional TV is only clipping (that is, cutting short TV news stories and pieces from traditional programing), and sharing content that has been already aired to meet distribution quotas and satisfy audience video consumption without taking full advantage of the Web capabilities, a common practice among newspapers in the past.

Finally, this study will argue that the way TV news channels conceptualize their audience will affect the use of technology in each organization. For instance, there is some evidence that local channel CityTV considers its viewers to be citizen journalists who can potentially contribute to the news making process while Caracol TV is a national channel that perceives its audience as information consumers. I argue that these differences will affect the way technological affordances are adopted in these newsrooms.

To explain these characteristics, I analyzed patterns and variability in the adoption of digital technology in two TV newsrooms in Colombia through a study that utilizes participant observations and in-depth interviews. The two cases of analysis —Caracol News and City News— encompass different professional and structural contexts that are meaningful to identify disparities in technological implementation. For instance, Caracol TV produces news targeting a national audience while CityTV airs local news for metropolitan viewers. Caracol, the most powerful TV channel in Colombia, has under its umbrella other traditional media, including a newspaper and a radio station, whereas CityTV is a small TV operation that is under the tutelage of the most powerful newspaper in Colombia, El Tiempo. Interviews conducted inboth locations targeted online journalists, social media managers, and online video producers, complementing the methodology of participant observation. Combining the online teams' point of view helped me to unpack the logic behind ongoing processes of technological adoption and innovation in TV newsrooms that are contributing to connecting with audiences and distributing content on online platforms.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

During the rise of the Internet and the expansion of social media, scholars have often considered technology to be a unidirectional force that causes radical modifications of existing settings. Criticizing these deterministic approaches, Boczkowski (2004), Bijker, Hughes and Pinch (2012), and other socio-technology authors have pointed out that most of those studies disregard the fact that actors (journalists in this case) appropriate and reshape technology from their own established communication practices (Boczkowski, 2004, p. 3). In this vein, technological innovations may condition the environment, but they are at the same time a product of the context that preceded them. In the case of this research, I believe journalists adopt and transform digital tools through practices and routines, providing these technologies with new meanings.

Historical and sociological studies have taken constructivist perspectives to show how technology is embedded in systems and social context (Douglas, 1987; Williams, 1974). These approaches consider there to be mutual shaping occurring between society and technology, in which artifacts and tools acquire new dimensions due to social uses (Bijker & Bijsterveld, 2000; Boczkowski, 2004). However, when technologies such as social media are new, the euphoria blocks the possibility of seeing how people use old frames to recreate the potentiality of emerging technologies (Marvin, 1988). Political, economic, and social contexts condition the way technologies are implemented and adopted instead of the lineal trajectory of innovations proposed by deterministic views. For instance, Susan Douglas (1997) shows the historical forces behind the consolidation of radio as a new medium and explains how broadcasting was socially constructed in

tandem with the dominant ideologies, government regulations, and social players of its time. Douglas's work reveals the influence of social uses of technology during times of media emergence when she explains the role of radio amateurs and the military in the shaping of radio. In the same way, Raymond Williams (1974) avoids deterministic interpretations of media technology by explaining the historical and social forces that shaped television as a medium, including those structural constraints. Williams's cultural approach identified "purposes and practices already in mind" within communities before the creation of television.

In this research, I follow media sociology and mass communication researchers who have borrowed concepts and frameworks developed by technology studies (Boczkowski, 2011; Paterson & Doming, 2008; Domingo & Paterson, 2011; Lewis & Usher, 2013; Anderson, 2013; Lewis & Westlund, 2015; Braun, 2015) in order to explain online disruptions happening to traditional TV media as a result of TV news interaction with digital tools and networks. Particularly, the sociology of news and the Social Construction of Technology (SCOT) are useful theoretical frameworks to study these technological changes in journalism (Domingo, 2008).

The Sociology of News and Levels of Influences

Roots of the Sociology of News

Two classic works—David White's *Gatekeeper* and Warren Breed's *Social Control in the Newsroom*—established the roots of media sociology. Building upon previous psychological studies of Kurt Lewin, White (1950) showed how editors had the

capability of deciding whether or not content was relevant to publish, a choice that affected the flow of information and the news making process on a daily basis. White concluded that the communication of news was "highly subjective" and based on the "gatekeeper's own set of experiences, attitudes and expectations" (in Schudson, 1989). Realizing that editors, reporters, and content producers acting as *gatekeepers* passed on or held back information according to their norms was an important step for understanding the way the press functions. Similarly, Breed (1955) revealed how publishers used subtle mechanisms to enforce unwritten policies that benefit the status quo and keep journalists under control. White and Breed disclosed that the news making process did not happen in a vacuum and strictly according to what happen in the world because there were individual norms and practices that conditioned the production of news.

However, these early sociological works narrowed their scope on the editors' individual ability to generate an effect on the audience, without looking at larger influences. According to Reese and Ballinger (2001), those early approaches did not consider media or the construction of news as an institutional or social problem because "any bias [was] still to be found within the individual, not in the larger system" (p. 653). Supporting this idea, subsequent studies showed that goals of production, bureaucratic routines, the journalistic environment (Gieber, 1964), and other broader gatekeeping forces influence the work of those individual gatekeepers at the newsrooms level (Cassidy, 2006). Schudson (1989) argues that the metaphor of Mr. Gates "individualizes a bureaucratic phenomenon and implicitly transforms organizational bias into individual subjectivity" (p. 265).

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Reese and Ballinger (2001) highlighted these pioneering works, which open new paths for sociological research in journalism. In particular, Reese and Ballinger (2001) arguing that White's description of gatekeeping as an *in and out process* in the hands of individuals overlooked message structures and patterns across media in the selection of symbolic images that become frames of representation. Breed's social control framework showed how journalists are socialized media policies in subtle ways that involved punishments and rewards but ignored the forces that originated those policies in the first place. Finding those forces and actors that shape news in online newsrooms has become a key line of inquiry in journalism research nowadays (Domingo & Paterson, 2011).

Sociological Works of the 1970s

Advancing theoretically and methodologically the works of White and Breed, a group of sociologists in the 1970s entered the communication field to understand how news was made at the organizational and institutional level. These sociological works analyzed the dynamics of news content and how it was shaped as an organizational product, shifting the attention from the individual to the bureaucratic structures, routines, and values of those who produce news. Some of those relevant sociological studies that changed the perception of the news making process were Gaye Tuchman's *Making News* (Tuchman, 1978), Edward Epstein's *News from Nowhere* (Epstein, 1974), Gans' *Deciding What's News* (Gans, 1979), and Mark Fishman's *Manufacturing the News* (Fishman, 1980).

These books were very influential in the field because until then—surprisingly—very little was known about mass media processes or about how journalists constructed their stories within their organizational framework. These classical interpretations considered news to be "*a window on the world*" that was socially framed and constructed by newsmakers and news organizations (Tuchman, 1978). According to this vision, media professionals and institutions hold the power to define what is newsworthy. As a constructed reality, news "helps to constitute society as a shared social phenomenon, for in the process of describing an event, news defines and shapes that event" (Tuchman, 1978, p. 10). Cottle (2007) underlines how these sociological studies of the 1970s reached the conclusion that organizational requirements of news combined with the professional ideology of objectivity privilege the voices of the powerful and the status quo, reinforcing the ideological nature of news.

From this group of researchers, Reese (2009) highlights the work of sociologist Herbert Gans (1979), *Deciding What's News (DWN),* as one of the remarkable studies in media sociology of that time. According to Reese, Gans' work combines the two main traditions within media sociology: The Chicago School of Robert Park and the Columbia functionalism of Robert Merton. In the Chicago tradition, journalism is studied from the point of view of the participants while the functionalist tradition looks for practical responses within news organizations that help companies to reach their objective (Reese, 2009). Most importantly, Gans had a growing interest in the media audience and how "it gets its wishes and demands into the media" (Reese, 2009, p. 283), a research inquiry that

is now more fundamental than ever in order to investigate the influence of audiences in the media space.

The combination of views allowed Gans to locate the construction of news not at the individual level, but in the "process by which all parts, routines and arrangements of the organization are engaged for the creation of news" (Reese, 2009, p. 280). Practical responses to producing news influence newsroom decisions beyond the individual prejudices of reporters (p. 280). Departing from later theorists who portray the media as simple servants of elites and domestic power interests, Gans recognized that media not only make choices actively during the news making process, but they also manage the symbolic arena that in the end allows people to interpret their own society. Thus, Gans avoided the representation of media as puppets of the structural power and gave media organizations and journalists some agency and autonomy in their decisions and in the construction of symbolic representations of communities.

Levels of Influence

The theoretical framework of my study closely follows academic works that used media sociology and ethnography to grasp the current dynamics of the media ecosystem. I argue that despite the fragmentation in the production, distribution, and consumption of content, organizational forces, and journalistic practices continue to shape TV news in online settings and online video distribution.

The *hierarchical model* is useful for my research purpose. Shoemaker and Reese (2014), authors of the model, argued that different levels influence the production of

content, consequently shaping the dominant symbolic arena of society—from the micro-level that involves individuals to a macro-level that examines social structures. The hierarchical model comprises five levels of influence on media content, which Shoemaker and Reese arrayed hierarchically from the macro to the micro: social systems, social institutions, organizations, routines, and individual levels. In this context, the organization, the routine, and individual levels of the hierarchical model will be useful to apprehend those forces that shape TV content in online spaces.

This research follows the traits and actions of the creators of online media content inside TV news organizations (at the individual level); it examines the way actors think about and perform their job (routine level); and it analyzes the organizational settings and frames under which those actors adopt digital technologies to enhance their editorial process (organizational level). Shoemaker and Reese recognize that the levels of analysis are not independent domains, as there is a constant interaction between routine practices of communication, individuals, and organizational settings. Even though different hierarchical levels seem to be "interlocked," individual workers and their routines are often subordinate to organizational goals. The organizational level positioned between the levels of social institutions and routines. Personal traits, practices, and professional factors could determine content, but larger organizational environments often shape journalists' decisions (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 209).

For this reason, in this research, I explain how various organizational arrangements, practices, and routines of teams who support the TV news operation online can affect innovation, content, and the adoption of technology. Technical, cultural, and

economic arrangements—present in the structural design of organizations—provide opportunities or impose restrictions in content production. For instance, a small local TV channel like City TV, under the umbrella of a large newspaper corporation like El Tiempo Publisher, may offer different content and adopt technologies in a different form than a national TV corporation with multiple media under its tutelage like Caracol TV. Therefore, a fundamental question that arises here is: how do differences in organizational structure, practices, and routines affect the adoption of technologies, the production of content, and the interaction between journalists and users?

Redigitizing Television News

Similarly, I argue that the relationship between traditional media and their online projects influences the adoption of technology, journalistic practices, content production, and the interaction with the audience. For this purpose, I am particularly interested in applying to TV news settings Boczkowski's (2004) empirical findings about U.S. newspapers' implementation of technological innovations at the beginning of the 21st century. In his seminal work *Digitizing the News (2004)*, Boczkowski described the efforts of print news media to establish their initial online presence.

Boczkowski found three generalizable patterns that shape newspapers' innovation processes in online endeavors. First, Boczkowski identified that the greater the effort of traditional media to integrate organizationally the news work between print and online, the more newspapers' practices and norms are reproduced in the online environment. Meanwhile, newspapers that maintain print and online as independent media projects

tend to incorporate more innovative online practices and multimedia content. Second, Boczkowski highlights that newspapers' perceptions of their audience's technological capabilities affect the adoption of technology and innovation within the organization. In other words, the more newspapers believe they are producing content for tech-savvy users, the more they integrate multimedia and other web capabilities into their web platforms. On the contrary, if traditional newsrooms perceive that their users are technically un-savvy, they tend to use more textual and still images in their content.

Third, newspapers' conceptualization of their online users either as consumers or producers affects the way they implement technology and present content. According to Boczkowski (2004), the more newsrooms believe their online readers are passive consumers of information, the more gatekeeping and traditional routines journalists put in place. Meanwhile, when traditional newsrooms conceptualize their online readers as potential content producers, they include features that allow interactivity and more information flow in their editorial process. In this sense, and according to Boczkowski (2004), traditional media norms and practices influence content and technology, affecting users' online experience. One question that arises here is how these general findings about newspapers' technological innovation in online settings can be applied to television news organizations. Moreover, I aim to find whether new forms of online video and broadcasting are emerging from the relationship between traditional TV news and digital technologies such as social media, and how diverse expectations of online audience (e.g., local, national, tech-savvy, etc.) condition the use of technology within TV media organizations.

Social Construction of Technology

Despite the extend tradition of the sociology of news as a theoretical framework to answer fundamental questions around the TV news making process, technological disruptions brought by the Internet demand a deeper analysis of the influence of technology as a key element in the interaction between traditional media and online media. Theories such as the Social Construction of Technology (SCOT), Large-Scale Technological Systems (LTS, Hughes, 1998, 2004), and Actor-Network Theory (ANT, Latour, 2005) have contributed greatly to unpacking the social process of the creation, adaptation, diffusion, and implementation of technologies (Bijker, Hughes & Pinch, 2012). The three approaches constitute the main branches of the "new sociology of technology," which put technology on the agenda of social studies and looked for the first time to open the "black box" (Latour, 2005) of the interaction and mutual shaping between technology and society (Bijker, Hughes & Pinch, 2012). Because I take a socio-technical approach that combines the sociology of news and technological studies, particularly the Social Construction of Technology (SCOT) theory, in the following section I will explain SCOT's main argument, concepts, and limitations.

SCOT: Arguments and Concepts

The main argument of SCOT is that all relations should be seen as both social and technical because neither the merely social nor the solely technical is ultimately determinant in our society, especially within groups and organizations who constantly mix social and technical means (Law & Bijker, 1997) like news media companies and

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online newsrooms. In this sense, the questions raised by SCOT are not narrowly social or narrowly technical because the theory recognizes from its starting point that actors are implicated in heterogeneous webs or systems. Systems are considered heterogeneous because they are assembled by an array of elements (professionals, communities, practices, artifacts, networks, devices, etc.) that create instability and ensure movement and innovation (Law, 2012). Investigating how those heterogeneous socio-technical systems are formed and how their parts interact and impose their vision is a fundamental goal for the theory. For this reason, some of the main concerns for SCOT are to understand how people and machines work together, how communities shape technologies, and how technological designs shape societies (Law & Bijker, 1997). More important, for this research, is how technology and artifacts are molded by organizational circumstances (Akrich, 1997, Bijker, 1997, and Latour, 1997).

Scholars who have worked on SCOT have developed key concepts that help researchers to understand the dynamic between technology and society. One of the most important concepts is the *interpretative flexibility* of artifacts and tools, which postulates that different groups use technological artifacts and innovations in different ways depending on their social contexts (Bijker & Pinch, 1987; Bijker, 1997). Therefore, relevant social groups and their conflicting technical needs can modify or understand artifacts in multiple forms because any object, institution or process may "mean different things for different people" (Bijker & Law, 1992; Law & Bijker, 1997, p. 298). Conflicting technical requirements often emerge when communities interact with technologies. During the implementation of new technologies, opposing groups express

their social, economic, political, and moral points of view. Those groups of interest often advance their visions and exercise control depending on their position of power, creating social and technological tensions that redefine artifacts.

Examples of the *interpretative flexibility* of technology are found in the works of Law and Callon (1997), Bijker (1997), and Misas (1992). For instance, in their article "*The Life and Death of an Aircraft*," Law and Callon illustrated that, during the implementation of the large British aerospace project TSR-2, global and local networks offered conflicting views of technological adoption that in the end collapsed the project. Likewise, Bijker, taking a constructivist perspective, showed how the fluorescent lamp from General Electric meant different things for different social groups and how communities who used it continuously modify and reshape the functions of the artifact. With the evolution of the fluorescent lamp, Bijker (1997) reveals how technical artifacts are the result of the social interaction among social groups and how tools are not fixed or unchanging for they can be "invented" during their diffusion stage. A good example of interpretative flexibility in the online media ecosystem is Twitter, a social media platform that was originally created with the intention of being a SMS service to communicate with small groups and then became a social media platform for discussion and information flow, thanks to users activities and interactions.

Other key notions developed by SCOT theorists are *technological frame* (Bijker, 1987), t*echnological momentum* (Hughes, 1986), and the creation of *negotiation spaces* (being *inside* or *outside*, according to Law & Callon, 1997). First, the concept of *technological frames* references the "discursive characterizations" of a particular

technology made by actors (Gillespie, 2012), and the interactions within and between social groups who are embedded in a network of relations. Those interactions end up shaping the meaning and social value of artifacts (Bijker, 1997, 2012). The way actors portray themselves, present ideas, concepts, techniques, and resources, as well as articulate their problem-solving strategies to reach their goals constitutes an important piece of the concept *technological frame*. Also, the meaning groups give to technology, the strategies they use, and the embodied structural relations in which actors are involved but are not fully aware of also form part of a *technological frame*.

Given its loaded structural meaning, *technological frames* have the capability of promoting certain actions and discouraging others within communities (Klein & Kleinman, 2002, 31) because they contain concepts and ideas that make sense of technologies for certain social groups. Therefore, the success of an innovation depends on groups' proposals and adoptions of a particular *technological frame* (Bijker, 1997, 2012). Actors implicated in "a network of relations" support or refuse the technological frames, leading to the stabilization or unrest of an artifact. Relevant and powerful groups often try to impose their frameworks to transform these ideas into dominant frames that help to stabilize a technological device in their favor. Yet, when there is not a dominant group that can impose its framework, innovations will be unstable, radical, and can take different paths (See for instance, the early history of the bicycle described in detail by Bijker). Many artifacts are forged during this process of negotiation and controversy, and they achieved their final form when certain social groups imposed their solutions and visions on others (Law, 2012).

Very similar to the SCOT concept of *technological frame*, other socio-technology authors have highlighted the power of *symbolism* in the social shaping of technology. For example, Vicent Mosco (2004) argues in his book *The Digital Sublime* that what people call *cyberspace* embodies fundamental myths of our times that envision humanity free from "time (the end of history), space (the end of geography), and power (the end of politics)" (p. 3). In open contradiction with these myths, Mosco describes a cyclical reality in which the materiality of the world and institutions reinvent themselves to take over networks and innovations. Mosco reminds us how previous technologies such as the telegraph, electricity, telephone, radio, television, and cable came with their "versions of the end of time, space, and social relations, their own promise of revolution" (p. 115). Technology in this sense is not only shaped by culture and political forces, but also by visions, fantasies, and myths. Perceived often as rational acts of science, technological advances are rooted in communities, thanks to political, economic, and moral allegories. However, for Mosco (2004), it is precisely when technologies "cease to be sublime icons of mythology and enter the prosaic world of banality […that] they become important forces for social and economic change" (p. 6).

Similarly, Streeter's *The Net Effect* (2010) scrutinizes the romantic technological frames surrounding the Internet as an entrepreneurial or market driven technology. Streeter reminds us that the Internet was not created as a medium by "two guys in a garage, by corporate leadership, or by real or imagined market demand" (p. 116). On the contrary, Streeter (2010) highlights the communitarianism, freely sharing, and collaborative values of the network in its initial phases of development, and points out

that the Internet was actually the result of cultural interactions between communities of innovators. However, Streeter regrets that the broad public ignorance of those early collaborative efforts of engineers during the early construction of the Internet had substantial consequences in the 1990s. In fact, the lack of public knowledge around the participation of diverse communities—and their social struggles—in the creation of the Internet finally favored the market-driven frame of the Web. Consequently, that capitalist notion helped to revive neoliberalism as the main ideology in U.S. society.

Second, SCOT's notion of *technological momentum* refers to the faculty of certain technologies to develop until a point of stability in which artifacts are not significantly affected by the environments that surround them. Yet, artifacts exercise a great influence over those environments (Law & Bijker, 1997). In fact, the malleability of technologies in early stages allows independent inventors and amateurs with limited resources to master the development of certain technological innovations. However, when technologies are well developed they reach to a point in which they become "heavily capitalized and institutionalized." In that final stage, institutions and the establishment have the ability to take over the process of building the system. At that point of institutionalization, the socio-technical systems acquire momentum or obduracy even to the point of closure and stabilization. When artifacts and innovations reach that institutional phase, they start to have a great but silent impact on societies.

For instance, Douglas' historical investigation on broadcasting (1987) is based on the argument that wireless was gradually constructed by different actors from various social, political, and economic spheres (not only by the mythic inventor-hero) until radio

finally emerged and reached the point of an institutionalized technology. At the beginnings of wireless, independent inventors and amateurs exercised great influence over the system, but then gradually broadcasting entered into an institutional dynamic, giving up control over the system to governments, the Navy, and big corporations. Thus, wireless was not determined by an individual or a particular event but by multiple forces coming from powerful parts of society until its stabilization. In the end, institutions with access to capital and policy took over "the process of building systems" (Law & Bijker, 1997, p. 304), and co-opted the new medium.

Social media platforms have experienced a similar evolution. At the beginning, in their original stages, social networks allowed a great deal of entrepreneurship and experimentation that made them flexible and unstable. However, nowadays some platforms like Facebook and Twitter have reached an institutional level and obduracy that make them part of the users and news media routines, impacting silently our society.

Finally, the SCOT concept of *negotiation space* has to do with that boundary between being *inside* or *outside* the technological process. Actors who are inside the technology process attempt to make their design "an obligatory point of passage for those on the outside" (Law & Bijker, 1997, p. 304). In other words, groups who participate directly in the design of an artifact make a "hypothesis about the entities that make up the world into which the object is going to be inserted" (Akrich, 1997, p. 207) as they try to anticipate the way users are going to handle technology. Inside-actors "inscribe" a vision and create boundaries around the tool to predict and control users' reactions and handling.

However, actors and elements that are outside the process of conceiving and building artifacts, and that apparently do not have control or voice in the technological process, can exercise some agency and reshape those tools according to their practices once the object has been released. In fact, outsiders are able to modify or even reinvent artifacts during their diffusion phase, as Bijker has shown (1987, 2012), overcoming the primary intentions of its creators. That dynamic generates a *negotiation space with its time* in which "innovation, disagreement and the potential to breakdown" may take place during the interaction in the field between innovators' *scripts*, and actors who outside that technology (Akrich, 1997).

In this sense, the obduracy or flexibility of objects are often tested in the *negotiation space* during the confrontation of the object with users (Akrich, 1997). "Physical, legal, rhetorical, bureaucratic, and technological methods" are put in place to create boundaries between the inside and the outside, and those barriers often led to "structural constraints" to future actions (Law & Bijker, 1997, p. 305). However, outside-actors can overcome those barriers and manipulate the object to adapt it according to their environment. For instance, Akrich (1997), describing the transplantation of technical objects such as batteries from European industrial societies to less-developed countries, found that locals in Africa manipulated the inscriptions of portable energy devices to adapt those objects to their rough conditions. Therefore, artifacts can be a product of intergroup negotiations in this space of interaction.

These ideas can be applied to traditional TV news journalism and online newsrooms. Domingo (2008) argues that SCOT is especially useful for investigating

online newsrooms because it is more flexible than other theories in allowing researchers to identify actors who participate in the process of implementation and shaping of digital technology and how their agency can transform tools and the news process (p. 23). From SCOT's perspective, TV news media organizations are understood as social systems in which the researcher is able to identify r*elevant social groups* inside these organizations to unpack how media workers implement innovations and reshape available digital technologies to produce content and reach their audience. At the same time, online newsrooms are fertile grounds for identifying how digital technologies condition journalistic practices and how *technological frames* (ideas and strategies news makers use to reach their goals) and actors' conflicting views around technology clash to offer some meaning to the online news making process. Similarly, it is important to analyze how *spaces of negotiation* are opened in online newsrooms, where the original intentions of tool designers such as social media founders interact with users of that technology such as online journalists and the audience, in a clear dynamic between being inside and outside social media structures and algorithms in a developing TV newsroom context.

It is true that media workers continually repurpose technical and economic arrangements present in the structural design of digital devices and platforms, but materiality also imposes their engineering and design on professionals once tools are implemented and become part of the journalistic routine. For instance, Twitter has evolved from an instant messaging tool to a social media platform (Hermida, 2010). Hence, the microblog conditioned the online conversation between traditional media and their audience when it imposed 140 characters as a limit for each individual message.

Tech devices that have been incorporated into TV newsrooms and become part of the news work have serious repercussions for journalism that merit being investigated. Some questions that arise here are: How different groups of TV journalists who support the online operations interpret and use digital technologies and innovations according to their contexts? What new forms of broadcasting are emerging form the relationship between traditional TV news and digital technologies such as social media? What solutions, ideas or frames compete in order to interpret the digital disruption brought by the interaction between traditional and online media in TV newsrooms?

Critics of SCOT: Structures, Politics and Materiality

Critics of SCOT have pointed out some limitations of the theory. Mainly, SCOT has been criticized for both neglecting the wider socio-cultural and political context in which artifacts are often developed and for giving equal agency to diverse actors (the notion of *relevant social groups*) in the shaping of an artifact, offering a naive "pluralistic view of society" (Kelin & Keinman, 2002, 30). Structural conditions such as rules, culture and power relationships, which affect the interaction among actors and often remain invisible, were not fully considered by early SCOT analyses (Kelin & Keinman, 2002) that were more interested in describing the systems. Therefore, much criticism towards SCOT "concerns an excessive emphasis on agency and neglect of structure" (Kelin & Keinman, 2002, p. 30).

Other disagreements with SCOT have come from the philosophy of technology and ethics (Bijker, Hughes & Pinch, 2012). In particular, Langdon Winner has criticized

SCOT for its lack of an ethical position on technology. In his iconic 1980 article *Do Artifacts Have Politics?*, Winner condemned technologies such as *nuclear power* for containing in their design the antidemocratic stamp of political and economic authoritarian powers. In response, Bijker et al. have argued that producing generalizations of "approbation or blame" attributed to specific technologies is not appropriate because there are a variety of actors (human and nonhuman) and diverse uses of technology that could change its trajectory according to its context. Similarly, feminist scholars have pointed out that SCOT does not generate any political action in regard to technology as it merely describes the world. Nevertheless, Bijker, Hughes, and Pinch (2012) pointed out in their essay about new directions in the sociology and history of technology that the analysis of the entanglement of human and nonhumans generates all sort of political positions. Moreover, they also recognized that SCOT theorists have been recently more aware of political, economic, and ethical implications of technology to offer broader point of views.

Finally, SCOT has received criticism from studies that fight for the ontological nature of materiality. Results regarding the effects of technology in most constructivist studies have opened a debate about the difficulty of studying the social construction of technology without also taking into account the "technological construction of society" (Howard, 2002, p. 554). Latour's Actor Network Theory offers one of the main reactions to the social explanation of technology. Latour (2005) argues that nowadays there are "very odd types of assemblages" that compel sociologists to "extend the repertoire of ties and the number of associations way beyond the repertoire proposed by social

explanations" (p. 247). The ANT theory does not give primacy to people or technology, and encourages scholars to confer agency to both materiality and humans (Plesner, 2009). Latour (1998) explains that tools designed to replace human actions can at some point prescribe and shape human actions. In open contradiction to ANT, SCOT follows more conventional sociological ideas as the theory does not offer an ontological stance to technology, even though it recognizes its ability to shape societies once it is institutionalized and stabilized.

Social and Traditional Media

Another consistent finding in regard to traditional newsrooms' dynamics in online settings has to do with the fact that journalists tend to *normalize* technology; that is, despite creators' initial intentions when building technological networks and platforms, journalists modify those tools to make them fit their journalistic norms and practices (Singer, 2005; Lasorsa et al., 2012; Ekdale, Singer, Tully & Harmsen, 2015). For instance, social media platforms such as Twitter try to incentivize dialog among users, but traditional media—including TV—are using them mainly to distribute content, report, access sources, and understand the reaction of their audiences (Hermida, 2012, 2010; Artwick, 2013; Vis, 2013; Broersma & Graham, 2013; Messner, Linke, & Eford, 2012). Furthermore, news organizations are using their Twitter accounts mainly as "a one-way communication medium to promote their own reporting" (Malik & Pfeffer, 2016), and struggle with how to promote interaction and dialogue.

Research shows that traditional journalists continue to resist changes related to the incursion of the audience in the media space because they believe most content produced by the public is incompatible with journalistic quality standards (Ekdale et al., 2015). Testing Roger's diffusion of innovations theory on traditional newsrooms, Ekdale et al. (2015) concluded that journalists' acceptance of innovation depends on whether or not digital tools can be adapted to existing norms and routines. The scholars found that journalists oppose technological innovations that they consider disruptive of journalistic autonomy or damaging to the news product. Traditional journalists still perceive as harmful the digital input and the content produced by audiences through social media (Ekdale et al., 2015).

Despite this concern, journalists have embraced social media platforms as part of their daily activities (Ekdale et al., 2015, p. 939) because traditional media have evolved to a point in which online platforms are a fundamental part of their core business (Dwyer, 2010). So more than being reluctant to adopt digital technologies, traditional TV media is constantly evolving and experiencing the "challenges of embracing" technologies (Braun, 2015, p. 12).

The use of social media in traditional TV newsrooms to report information, distribute content, and engage audiences shows two contradictory aspects: On one hand, social media help TV reporters collaborate more with audiences, sources, technicians, and other news producers (Belair-Gagnon, 2015). On the other hand, social media challenge journalists' authority because the avalanche of users' input on social media makes it hard for journalists to organize and control the boundaries of their profession in

these open systems (Anderson, 2013, 2010; Hermida, 2012; Karlsson, 2011). Researchers have found that users producing news for different media platforms menace journalistic identity and distort notions of news (Robinson, 2011).

Consequently, professional journalists aim to take control of the news product during the editorial process arguing that the information produced by online users in those platforms is not as journalistically worthy because it has to be fact-checked and processed like raw material (Ekdale et al., 2015). The creation of media hubs or superdesks at the center of the news operation inside news organizations and other forms of traditional-online media convergence reinforce the traditional media hierarchy and marginalize content produced by users and other actors (Bechmann, 2011). Therefore, TV editors and reporters of news media organizations differentiate their journalistic voices from other online voices, reinforcing practices such as fact checking and gatekeeping, shaping the implementation of social media as a collaborative reporting tool according to their practices and norms (Belair-Gagnon, 2015). Some questions that arise after reviewing these previous academic findings are: What TV practices and norms do online teams from Caracol News and City TV take into account when adopting digital technology? How do TV journalists protect their professional journalistic authority? How does the relationship between online teams and their online audience affect the implementation of technologies and multimedia elements in news content?

Engagement

Another goal of this study is to explain—from a socio-technical perspective—the transformations that online news teams inside TV newsrooms are experiencing when utilizing digital technologies to engage audiences and distribute video on the Web.

The manner in which TV news organizations use digital technology—especially social media—to engage audiences in online settings is of particular interest for this research because engagement has become a fundamental activity in newsrooms that is believed to be at the core of the interaction between media, audiences, and content. Engagement is a focal point in online settings because it spurs interaction and attention to certain content and brand. In fact, audience engagement and attention to news are considered nowadays the online currency, given that the current media ecosystem is characterized by information abundance and fragmentation (Devenport & Beck, 2002; Zheng, Chyi, & Kaufhold, 2012). Getting audiences' engagement or involvement with content is for TV news organizations and journalists the difference between being relevant online and losing control of their core journalistic business (Batsell, 2016).

Yet despite its value, engagement is difficult to define or measure. Philip Napoli (2011) and Batsell (2016) highlight the challenge of defining engagement in the current online media ecosystem given that the term has been explained in multiple ways from dissimilar approaches. Napoli (2011) presents a model that differentiates between passive exposure to content and active audience behavior that shows a deeper level of engagement (p. 91). Thus, taking into account the interactive nature of engagement, Napoli (2011) explains how the concept embraces a number of dimensions that includes

appreciation and emotional responses, recall and attitudes, and behavioral reactions from the audience.

Jake Batsell (2016), who interviewed several media managers and journalists in the U.S. for his book *Engaged Journalism*, obtained a variety of answers and definitions when he asked for the concept: "*Not just talking but listening to people…*," "*Being on the mind of people…*," "*Lead and enable conversation to elevate journalism…*," "*People doing something meaningful with your content…*," a combination of "*focus on, respect for and enthusiasm about the role of the audience…*" are some of the reactions the author received from media practitioners (Batsell, 2016, p. 6). According to this collection of quotes, journalists must listen to their audiences, earn their attention, and generate interaction in order to create loyalty and trust. Incorporating the economic aspect into the concept, Batsell (2016) advances his own definition of engaged journalism as "*the degree to which a news organization actively considers and interacts with its audience in furtherance of its journalistic and financial mission*" (p. 7). The author also identifies five guiding principles of media engagement: journalists must convene audiences face-to-face, interact with audience at every step, serve topical niches and specific geographic areas, empower audiences to satisfy their own curiosity, and measure effectiveness and capture value to stay in business (Batsell, 2016, pp. 10-16).

In all these definitions, audience is at the center (as a target) of the engagement process, and media are beginning to generate involvement with content until the point in which the audience reacts or interacts with it. Hence, for the purpose of this research, I define engagement as *a multilayer activity fostered by news media companies and*

journalists to capture the audience's attention with their content, and then generate involvement, absorption, interaction, and the reaction of that audience around content.

Why Media Organizations' Perspective on Engagement

It is true that digital technologies are providing users with unparalleled control over the media consumption process to the extent that user-generated content is competing with traditional media for audience's attention. But it is also true that media organizations are now able to react and implement new analytical tools to gather information about their users (Napoli, 2011). That interaction allows traditional news media to redefine their idea of audience and use that new concept of audience to reflect the economic and strategic imperatives of their institutional needs (Napoli, 2011). As Napoli (2011) recognizes, in the same way that media industries evolve to respond to changes in the news ecosystem, the conceptualization of the audience that media organizations created evolves in response to changes in the media ecosystem. In other words, the manner in which media producers imagine their audience "has public consequences" (Anderson, 2001, p. 51). Likewise, researchers have found that journalists' interactions with audiences in online spaces change content and discourse. For example, journalists' participation and moderation on their news organization's website comment section is related to commenters' lower levels of incivility and greater use of evidence (Stroud, Scacco, Muddiman & Curry, 2015).

Engagement and Social Media

Social media platforms are shaping audience's engagement in different forms, consequently affecting traditional television production, interaction, and content. Hallvard, Poell and Van Dijck (2015) have convincingly questioned the assumption that the use of social media leads to the "emancipation of the audience" and the imminent transformation of social media users into active participants or "prosumers" (for a better explanation of the concept prosumer see the works of Benkler 2006; Bruns 2008; Jenkins 2006). Hallvard et al. see a problem with the deterministic reconceptualization of the audience as "prosumers" because they consider this optimistic idea of the public ignores the structures, technologies, and business models in place in the construction of social media platforms (van Dijck, 2013). Given the design of social media tools, they argue that user engagement is the result of "mediated interaction" that occurs within "a growing complex ecosystem of connective media" (Hallvard et al., p. 101). In the interaction between traditional media and new media, engagement appears to be entangled with social media's business models and commercial strategies. Nevertheless, audiences retain some agency when they provide different meanings and share diverse experiences in their encounters with media platforms (Schrøder's, 2015).

Hallvard et al. (2015) identify three key dimensions that affect audiences' engagement through their contact with social media platforms: First, they recognize national cultural differences among media that underline discrepancies not only in the way the institutions implement platforms and tools, but also in how audiences have integrated social media and viewing practices (p. 102). Second, Hallvard et al. (2015)

highlight the variances between public television and commercial television (particularly evident in Europe), and the diverse ways those two types of outlets integrate social media into their programing to engage their audience. The most evident contradiction happens when public television media try to adopt social media platforms into their practices knowing that those social platforms are part of private enterprises and contain business models and algorithms that affect the way people interact.

Third, the authors identify evolving techno-commercial strategies that affect social television and engagement. Indeed, television outlets make conscious decisions about what social platforms and features they should adopt or drop depending on their organizational goals, but their choices are conditioned by the structural design of social media platforms. Twitter, for instance, allows users and media to create "real-time streams of information" that "fit perfectly with the dynamics of live television" (Hallvard et al., 2015, p. 104) while Facebook has a slower information wall-feed pace that seems to facilitate TV promotions. Even though Twitter and Facebook represent global operations that impose their designs on users, national audiences seem to engage differently with those tools depending on how these platforms are integrated with audiences' television culture. As Hallvard et al. (2015) mentioned, we need to understand not only how the infrastructure of social media is defining audience ratings in television, but also how social media and traditional media are channeling audiences towards certain issues and topics.

After providing this theoretical framework for engagement, an important aspect for this research project is, therefore, to see how TV media gather information from their

online users to build a new institutional idea of audience and how that constructed image affects content. More specifically, this study aims to unpack how TV news media organizations utilize digital platforms such as social media for them to understand their viewers' consumption patterns and online behaviors in order to create an institutional idea of their audience and then use that information for engagement purposes. At the same time, this research aims to explore the meaning of engagement from TV practitioners' point of view and how this conceptualization affects the relationship with the audience. More specifically, how are online teams of TV news organizations using social media and other digital technologies to engage their audience and with what results for the news product?

Distribution of Content

Delivering content to audiences through different formats and platforms is another key activity in TV/online newsrooms. Braun (2015) convincingly argues that traditional television news organizations are using heterogeneous resources such as third party video tools to create new distribution routes that are being shaped by powerful actors and material agency that are not visible to end users (p. 9). Braun traces the route of MSNBC online video with an archaeological interest of sorts to illuminate how digital video travels to meet audiences at their screens after passing through heterogeneous systems and resources that are part of the new online video assemblage. In fact, Braun shows how multiple actors, technologies and intermediaries—who work behind the scenes—build online distribution systems that make video available to online users. According to

Braun, intermediaries in the distribution chain play "an essential role in determining where and when television content is available" (Braun, 2015, p. 10), therefore conditioning the way users access and participate in the current media ecosystem.

Braun (2015) regrets that research on news has disdained news distribution as a topic of investigation, despite evident signals of disturbance in traditional media industries due to the influence of social media and other entangled distribution networks. According to Braun, even though the distribution process occurs through various labor, infrastructure, institutions, and economic systems that compete and clash among one another— "coming apart at the seams"—media industries struggle to stabilize that process and regain control from digital technology platforms such as social media over the distribution channels (p. 41).

Braun's approach is built upon previous socio-technology studies—mainly Thomas Hudges (1983, 2012) and John Law (2012)—that analyze the creation of new distribution channels from the theoretical framework of *system-buildings* and *heterogeneous engineering*, respectively. Regarding the first concept (system-buildings), Hudges claims that technological innovations and the development of artifacts occur in association with social, economic, political, and scientific factors that are "interrelated" and "malleable" (Hudges, 2012; Law, 2012). According to this perspective, innovators are seen as "system builders;" that is, actors who take into consideration multiple structural factors that are beyond the simple object or technology. Similarly, Law (2012) articulates his concept of heterogeneous engineering by describing the *volta*, the Portuguese trade route to India that took centuries of economic, scientific, natural, legal

and technical efforts to get established. In this sense, the stability of any form of distribution route is analyzed as "a function of the interaction of heterogeneous elements" as they become part of a network (Law, 2012). In his book, Braun recognizes that trade routes or vessels are not the same as online media products, but he is able to integrate these socio-technology frameworks to analyze the distribution channels of online video because images are distributed and travel a route from media outlets through cables and wires before reaching the users' screens as goods were carried for centuries across the ocean. "In both cases—Braun argues convincingly comparing Portuguese trade routes with online television—the path that they take reflects the interests and limitations of myriad heterogeneous systems and actors" (p. 9).

After decades of stability, media distribution channels are now at center stage, subject of sociological study, because web users are increasingly accessing news stories through personal networks and links shared by friends and not through news outlets' homepages (Battelle, 2005). At the same time—thanks to social media, online chats, and other interactive digital tools—the audience is now participating actively by disseminating and recommending content to friends and followers. Audiences are part of networks and platforms that allow interaction and open powerful pathways of distribution and recommendation (Tenenboim & Cohen, 2013). Tools such as Facebook Live and Periscope, which allow online users to live-stream events in real time, are opening new venues for video distribution, increasing the pressures on traditional TV. As Braun (2015) highlights, sharing and searching are now the perfect combination for redirecting traffic

online (p. 4), and these two actions have become for an increasing audience the initial point of access to news stories.

In summary, following Braun's socio-technical approach of online video distribution systems, this research proposes to analyze how online teams who support the online operation of two traditional Colombian TV news organizations use social media and other networks to distribute television content, creating, in the process, new journalistic practices, forms of content, and means of sharing. At the same time, in this research, I analyze how different live-streaming technological platforms such as Facebook Live and Periscope can facilitate or hinder innovative practices in content distribution. Some questions that arise here are: How are online teams of TV news organizations using social media and other networked technologies to distribute content? What actors are participating in the heterogeneous systems of online video distribution? More importantly, how does the process of online video distribution through heterogeneous systems affect content along its path to reaching end users and screens?

BACKGROUND

Chapter 3: The Two Media Cases and their Context

Analyzing the adoption of technology in two Colombian TV news organizations through an ethnographic fieldwork, this research aims to understand how online journalists working for the traditional medium are facing renewed broadcasting digital disruptions that are believed to be affecting the relationship between television and online media, content production and distribution, and audience engagement. The next chapter provides the historical background and context to grasp key moments that marked the evolution of television in Colombia. This section also describes the historical feature of Colombian journalism, and the advent of the Internet and social media in the country.

THE EMERGENCE OF MASS MEDIA

After gaining independence, Colombia, like other Latin American nations, struggled to incorporate industrial modernization and international trade, and reconcile the "lack of representation of the masses" in its national political system (Martín-Barbero, 2001, 351). Two complementary approaches dominated this process of national birth and adaptation at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. On one hand, the elites believed national progress was linked to rapid industrialization, which would enable Colombia to catch up with European and U.S. modernity. As a reaction to the prevailing idea that Colombia and Latin America as a whole had fallen behind, developed countries required extra-efforts in order to "join the rank of industrialized nations" (Martín-Barbero, 2001, p. 354). On the other hand, there was a

growing desire by the economic and political elites to identify some unique sociocultural features that allowed the independent territories in Colombia to differentiate themselves from other nations and especially the Spanish Empire. Symbols such as *mestizaje* (a mixed race), nature, and folklore played an important role in fortifying those identities.

Within these struggles—which Martín-Barbero (2001) calls "discontinuities between the state and the nation" (p. 361)—broadcast mass media emerged in Colombia and in Latin America as an effective way to articulate political populism and symbols that represent nations. Films and radio throughout Latin America gave people from different regions and provinces "their first taste of nation" (Martín-Barbero, 2001, p. 362). Pareja (1984), for instance, explained that before the 1940s, Colombia was a "country of countries rather than a nation" (p. 177). Yet thanks to radio, people began to experience national unity and shared some cultural identity of what being Colombian meant. In the same vein, Mexican films portraying the Mexican Revolution, Brazilian music and its *candomblé* records, and radio dramas in Argentina and Cuba dominated the popular understanding of their own cultures, echoing racial and class tensions. Radio, music, and film became popular forms of media consumption and popular representations of the masses. Governments in turn aimed to use electronic mass media to educate the illiterate population and spread propaganda, generating early tension between the educational and entertainment purposes of media. The development of the printing press had resulted in a different dynamic given the literary tradition of the elite and low literacy rates in Colombia.

HISTORICAL FEATURES OF COLOMBIAN JOURNALISM

There are three main factors that have historically defined journalism in Colombia: politics, literature, and violence. First, like in the rests of Latin America, politics and journalism have been closely tied in Colombia. Arroyave and Barrios (2012) noticed that, "The majority of Colombian presidents have been media owners, directors of newspapers or journalists in their previous careers" (p. 400). Twenty-two Colombian presidents held positions as media workers or owners from 1886 to 1994 (Herrán, 1991). This tendency is present nowadays. For example, the current Colombian president, Juan Manuel Santos, was a co-owner of powerful newspaper El Tiempo, one of the media conglomerates that will be analyzed in this research. Similarly, national television news used to belong to political families who received prime spaces from the state until the recent privatization of national TV in 1998 after the Colombian congress approved broadcasting legislation that permitted the opening of two private national channels in the country: Caracol and RCN. Regional TV and newspapers continue to be owned by elites close to local politics or state governments (Arroyave & Barrios, 2012). During important moments in Colombian history, media have taken a clearly biased perspective, favoring the status quo and elites (Rincon, 2010).

Another characteristic of Colombia's journalistic tradition is mixing opinion, literature, and information. Prestigious journalists combine their reporting and investigative activity with editorial columns for various publications. There is also a ritual of fiction-writers working in newsrooms. Those writers combine literature and journalism to depict reality. For example, emblematic journalists Jorge Zalamea and

Gabriel García Márquez, who later won the Nobel Prize in Literature, were successful fiction writers after working as reporters. More recently, Colombian journalists Juan Gossain and Margarita Posada, to name a few, have also become novelists. This practice has its historical roots in modernist writers (e.g., José Martí and Rubén Darío) who shaped the *crónica* as a genre, incorporating journalistic forms to advance their literary interests (Reynolds, 2012). This tradition has been followed by recent Latin American *cronistas* like Colombian Alberto Salcedo Ramos and Argentinian Leila Guerriero. The product of this growing journalistic literary tradition, the Gabriel García Márquez Foundation (*Fundación García Márquez para un Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano*), founded in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia by the writer, offers training to journalists in Latin America and promotes excellence in journalism and freedom of expression.

But above all, violence has been one of the longstanding historical characteristics affecting Colombian journalism and society. Colombia has been such a violent country that a period in its history is known as The Violence (1948-1953) with a capital "V". Violence has had dreadful repercussion for news media. El Espectador newspaper director Guillermo Cano and reporter Roberto Camacho were murdered on December 17, 1986, by hitmen (*sicarios)* working for drug-lord Pablo Escobar. Three years later, on September 2, 1989, a car bomb destroyed El Espectador's building. More recently, on August 12, 2010, 50 kilograms of dynamite exploded in front of the offices of Caracol Radio. A total of 47 journalists were killed from 1992 to March 2017 as a result of the Colombian armed conflict or violent conditions in the country (CPJ, 2017). Self-

censorship and threats coming from different armed actors continue to take a toll on journalism in Colombia (Flip, 2015).

COLOMBIAN TELEVISION HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND CHARACTERISTICS

Television arrived in Colombia in the mid-20th century when radio was already a consolidated media. Three historical moments shaped the future of the television industry in Colombia. First, in 1954, television was brought to the country for the first time. At the time, the country was under the military dictatorship of Gen. Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, whose main goal for implementing the new medium was to control mass media messages and block the political influence of other forms of communication such as newspapers (Benavides, 2012). Second, the subsequent bipartisan governments after the Rojas Pinilla dictatorship—a historical period called the National Front, (1958-1974)—reinforced political control over the airwaves as television was still under strict state supervision. The state had the authority to rent spaces on the national TV (Banco de la República, n.d.). In practice, traditional political parties and political elites were granted concessions to reap the benefits of the TV spaces. The government exercised permanent control over TV content not only because broadcasters had strong ties with the political system, but also because TV producers did not want to upset the presidency and put their programing share at risk. Third, in November 1997, national television was privatized. Two major national channels, Caracol and RCN, and one local channel, CityTV, were granted control over television airwaves for ten years after meeting all economic and regulatory

requirements during the public concession of two frequencies led by the former National Television Committee (CNTV).

TV and the Dictatorship

Television began in Colombia as a "state enterprise" during the dictatorship of Gen. Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, who ruled the country from 1953 to 1957. Rojas Pinilla mounted a successful coup d'état against President Laureano Gómez. He received support from the military and part of Colombian society because he promised to stabilize the country and end the bipartisan violence between the Liberals and Conservatives. Rojas Pinilla's interest in television from the very beginning of his rule was not in a vacuum. Gen. Rojas Pinilla had visited Nazi Germany in 1936 to buy ammunition for the war against Peru. During his stay in Germany, he was impressed by the capability of television to broadcast live events such as political rallies and the Olympics (Inravisión, 1994). Soon after taking power in 1953, Rojas Pinilla, who at the beginning of his dictatorship had awakened some hope for freedom among the liberal press, intensified censorship against media that his conservative predecessor Laureano Gomez had exercised (Benavides, 2012). In fact, during his rule, Gen. Rojas Pinilla closed El Siglo, El Tiempo, and El Espectador newspapers (Benavides, 2012) for publishing articles and editorials against his government. In this context of censorship, television emerged as a medium attached to the presidency and under the direct supervision of the Institution for Information and Propaganda (Dirección de Información y Propaganda, DINAPE), a political organization in charge of government communications and censorship

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(Inravisión, 1994). During the first TV broadcast on June 14, 1954, Gen. Rojas Pinilla addressed the nation from the presidential palace. International news, a tele-theater performance and high cultural programs such as violin and piano recitals complemented the two-hour broadcast (Inravision, 1994).

Since its implementation, the television model adopted in Colombia was labeled as the *mixed system*; that is, the state remained as the owner of the electromagnetic spectrum and the infrastructure while it rented spaces to private TV producers who were responsible for broadcasting and commercializing all TV programing on the national airwaves (Rey, 2002; Vizcaíno, 2005; Marín, 2006). Therefore, when television was introduced in Colombia, there was a contrast between the government's public and educational purposes and the commercial and entertainment interests already in put in place by radio companies. Gen. Rojas Pinilla determined through Resolution 633 of 1946 that television had educational and cultural missions that went beyond the mere distribution of information. The government created the institution Televisora Nacional to organize the new medium and achieve its educational goal. Televisora Nacional's main objective was to close the literacy gap in the country (Benavides, 2012; Banco de la República, n.d.). Of course, the dictatorship used this educational goal as an excuse to disseminate propaganda. For instance, ministers and military leaders broadcasted an official program every Friday to explain Rojas Pinilla's main achievements to viewers. In the 1950s, news was not considered a separate format, and it was part of music and variety segments. Until 1957, one of the main newscasts was Telenews, which broadcasted only international news. Nevertheless, the popularity of Bernardo Romero's

tele-theater, the predecessor of the Colombian *telenovela* (soap opera), and humor sketches like Los Tolimenses (a peasant guitar duet from the Tolima state who made double meaning jokes) spurred radio commercial agencies to enter the television industry because they knew how to captivate audiences with entertainment (Benavides, 2012).

Additionally, the government had to adopt the mixed economic system to sustain the television project economically for the Rojas Pinilla presidency proved inefficient at producing and commercializing the four-hour daily TV programing block. The state broadcasting operations were often the result of chaos and improvisation given officials' lack of experience at assembling television news and shows (Banco de la República, n.d.). Inexperience was such a big problem that Rojas Pinilla had to invite a group of cameramen and TV producers from Cuba to train Colombian technicians in the art of television broadcasting (López de la Roche, 2010). Moreover, state finances for TV endeavors soon dried up. On February 7, 1955, the government announced it was looking for an intermediary to commercialize its TV programing given its lack of resources. In a letter sent to Televisora National, Caracol expressed interest in exploiting the new medium. Caracol and Radio Cadena Nacional (RCN), the two major radio organizations in Colombia, joined efforts and founded the company TVCommercial (TVC) to commercialize state TV programing. In August 1955, TVC began selling TV airtime, working as an intermediary between advertising companies and the Colombian state (Benavides, 2012).

The dynamic between the state and the private sector facilitated the creation of private audiovisual companies known as *programadoras* such as Punch and RTI in 1956

(Banco de la República, n.d.). *Programadoras* would be in charge of producing content and commercializing TV until the 1990s. The government delegated TV operation to the private sector and dropped its educational purpose while retaining control over the medium. The economic arrangement between the state and the private sector created a mixed economic system that would mark the future of the Colombian TV industry for more than 40 years (Rey, 2002): that is, the state would remain the sole owner of TV infrastructure, including the broadcasting networks, frequencies, and airwaves, but it would rent spaces to private companies (*programadoras*) to exploit the medium commercially (García Ángel, 2012). In this way, the state abandoned its original cultural television goal in favor of the elite's economic interests (García Ángel, 2012).

The National Front: Bipartisan TV news

Social protests and a bipartisan agreement between the Liberal and Conservative parties overthrew Gen. Rojas Pinilla and established a new political order that would use media as an ally to defend the new political pact's stability. In 1957, Rojas Pinilla had announced he would run for a second four-year term. The dictator had distanced himself from Colombia's traditional political parties and had become increasingly authoritarian. Rojas Pinilla's intention to continue in power unified rival Liberal and Conservative factions—albeit not without difficulties—under the common goal of returning to democracy. Leaders of both political parties established a bipartisan coalition to gather the support of the elites in order to end the military government and transition to democracy. The new political pact was called the National Front (Frente Nacional, 1958-

1974). The accord allowed Liberals and Conservatives to alternate four-year presidential terms for sixteen years. It also distributed congressional sits equally, ministers, and local councils. The new pact was meant to erase years of political violence between liberals and conservatives without the need of military rule, but the bipartisan agreement excluded from the political spectrum other groups that were struggling for space and representation, especially leftist parties. Consequently, the two-party political agreement unleashed new forms of political violence.

Television media was also part of the new bipartisan deal as *productoras* became allies of the National Front and sustained the political system. After suffering censorship and prosecution during Rojas Pinilla's dictatorship, both liberal and conservative media outlets were ready to support the bipartisan pacification effort. The link between broadcast journalism and politics became stronger during the 16-year period of the National Front because the subsequent bipartisan governments not only distributed the political power, but also the television airwaves equally among TV producers and newscasts that represented the liberal and conservative political elites and their ideologies. Political leaders or families from both parties often led teams of news producers and reporters (Restrepo, 1994). Even though the new media system increased dialog between the two parties and gave a sense of pluralism, TV news became the political propaganda arm of both parties and the main supporter of the National Front (Banco de la República, n.d.). During the 1970s and 1980s, most TV news organizations (*productoras de noticias*) had direct ties with politicians or prominent representatives of the traditional parties (Banco de la República, n.d.). Colombian newscasts looked stiff as

it followed the pompous oratory of traditional politicians; news programing offered an official account of events, supported the status quo, and revered political power (López de la Roche, 2010).

Subtle Controls over the Press after the National Front

The end of the National Front in 1974 and Latin America's transition to democracy in the 1980s generated high expectations for press independence and a renewed relationship between the press and future governments. However, as Salwen and Garrison (1991) noted, the role of the press became more complex because other social and economic institutions came to play a major function in shaping news media. Some of the main pressures on the press came from the economic debacle of the 1980s, considered Latin America's "lost decade," followed by social unrests, inflation, and austerity in the region. Access to technological innovations and investment proved difficult amid the economic crises. Democratic governments and political and economic elites in Latin America took advantage of the economic crisis to impose "subtle controls over the press" (Salwen & Garrison, 1991). According to Lugo-Ocando (2008), dictatorships and elitist democracies crafted media systems that limited public access and reinforced political controls. Moreover, "many repressive characteristics of the dictatorship remain in place or have mutated in more subtle form of censorship and control" in the region (Lugo-Ocando, 2008, p. 2).

Critics place some responsibility of this control not only on political elites, but also on the media system itself. Lugo-Ocando (2008) claims that media in Latin America

as a whole have become more oriented towards "satisfying market needs," but they operate within the "ideological framework of liberal democracies" (p. 2). In this sense, even though Latin American media looked less politicized, they pursued economic interests that were entangled with politics. In some cases, there was an open collaboration between governments and media that undermined some basic functions of journalism (Salwen & Garrison, 1991). In other cases, when there was a confrontation between government and media, the political leadership created a legal framework to attack the press, cut resources to the editorial business, or restricted access to official airwaves, sources, and information. Consistently, reports have shown Latin America more than in other region of the world has the strongest inclination toward controlling the press (Merrill, 1987). Nowadays, economic pressures are still the most common method used by governments in Latin America to maintain the press under control (Lugo-Ocando, 2008). Government actions such as regulations on imported equipment and paper, restrictions in advertising, and government investment in private corporations are identified as the most effective ways of pressuring the press. However, government intervention, particularly in broadcasting official messages or tax-cut benefits to TV producers, turned out to benefit the bottom line of the TV media system. Moreover, Salwen and Garrison (1991) highlighted that in some cases, news media were comfortable accepting financial rewards from governments such as tax reductions on imports.

Liberal Privatization of the 1990s

During the 1990s, most Latin American countries, including Colombia, opened their economies to foreign private investment after years of fixed commercial protectionism. The economic changes included the privatization of state-owned enterprises, free trade regional agreements such as Mercosur and G-3 (Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela), and strategies to improve national infrastructure (Tellez, Bohórquez & Godoy, 2009). The adoption of these liberal economic policies facilitated imports and also opened most Latin American industrial sectors to foreign markets and investment (Arango-Forero, Arango, Llaña & Serrano, 2010).

As a consequence of the economic crisis of the 1980s, most Latin American countries, including Colombia, had to refinance their national debts and to reach an agreement with the IMF and the World Bank to liberalize their economies in order to access international credit (Londoño, 1998; Pulecio, 1991). Protectionism began to be perceived as a policy that hindered development. The idea of dismantling nationalized industry was in open contradiction with previous economic theories and policies that were very popular in the region (e.g. Dependency theory) that asked for the protection of national markets and internal economic development that boosted national industry. State intervention started to be considered inefficient, and the state's functions were transferred to the private sector. The free market was expected to correct itself, creating equilibrium between supply and demand. The process of economic liberalization began in Colombia with President Virgilio Barco (1986-1990) and then accelerated during the governments of Cesar Gaviria (1990-1994) and Ernesto Samper (1994-1998). Deregulation designed to

encourage economic development did not work as expected. The Colombian peso surged against other currencies causing revaluation, damaging exports, and increasing smuggling (Londoño, 1998). Moreover, the Colombia agro-industry was dismantled as subsidized crops from industrial countries flooded the national market. Around 230,000 farmers lost their jobs spurring a surge in migration to cities (Londoño, 1998). The free market policy widened the gap between poor and the wealthy in Latin America (Chomsky, 1994).

Yet the media industry was invigorated during the economic liberalization process not only because news companies were able to import technologies and equipment at cheaper prices, but also because some news organizations received injections of foreign capital (e.g. Caracol Radio was bought by Prisa, and El Tiempo newspaper was purchased by Planeta in the 2000s). Therefore, economic liberalization was not particularly traumatic for the media industry, at least at first. Major television networks in Latin America such as Televisa in Mexico and TV Globo in Brazil were already robust regional producers before their markets were opened. They had developed their own local programing in the 1960s and 1970s, exporting content to other regions of the globe while other broadcast media systems around the world were importing programing from Europe and the U.S. (Straubhaar et al., 2015). However, the development of both companies as "virtual monopolies," very close to politics and governments throughout "most of the second half of the 20th Century, has resulted in a highly concentrated broadcast TV market" in Mexico and Brazil (Straubhaar et al., 2015, p. 12).

The same liberal economic dynamics experienced in Latin America facilitated the emergence in 1997 of two private TV channels in Colombia, Caracol and RCN.

Companies like Caracol and RCN—traditional radio organizations that had become TV producers (*productoras*) in the 1950s under the state supervision—were granted control over the national television industry thanks to Law 335 of 1996, which approved the privatization of TV frequencies. After a public auction, the National Committee of Television (CNTV) granted control of two national frequencies to Caracol and RCN, but the state kept other national and local electromagnetic spaces such as Canal Uno, Teleantioquia, and Telepacifico under the old mixed state-private system. Caracol started to broadcast as a private channel on June 10, 1998, with the live broadcast of the inaugural ceremony of the World Cup in France. RCN began broadcasting its programing on July 10, 1998.

Within this wave of privatization, the CNTV accepted proposals in 1998 to grant a frequency for a private local channel. El Tiempo Publishing for Bogotá, Icaro Production for the city of Yopal, and Telefónica for the city of Pereira participated in the new auction. The CNTV adjudicated a local private channel to El Tiempo in exchange for USD $14 million. CityTV, the new private local channel from El Tiempo Publishing House, started to broadcast on March 19, 1999 (Banco de la República, n.d.) with a new TV format that involved the participation of the community in the newsmaking process as primary sources of local information, and constant live-reporting from journalists on the streets. Journalists got involved in news stories and had a strong presence in places where news was happening (Tarapuez-Jamioy, 2012).

The free trade and the privatization movement of the 1990s affected the structure of the TV industry. The 40-year-old *mixed system* that had generated conflicting

interactions between the public and private sectors transitioned into a new private-only system that conveyed a very blurry idea of the public functions of TV (Martín-Barbero, Rey & Rincón, 2000). The privatization movement replicates the U.S. television system in Colombia. Critical scholars regret the importation of the U.S. television model to Latin America because it had a "tendency to constitute, through television, a single public" that reduces and minimizes local differences (Martín-Barbero, 2001, p. 375). This homogenization of consumers hindered, according to Martín-Barbero, the representation of diverse communities and increased the social gap in developing countries that had the opportunity to reinforce national inclusion during the 1930s with radio. At the same time, other private TV producers (*productoras de televisión*) such as *Tevecine*, *Punch*, *Jess* and *Cenpro*—which had grown steadily over the previous 40 years and played an important role within the mixed television system—declined after suffering the effects of Caracol's and RCN's national duopoly. Therefore, while Caracol and RCN transformed themselves from producers into large successful private channels, other *productoras* slowly disappeared for they did not have TV spaces through which they could exhibit or commercialize their programing (Banco de la República, n.d.).

Caracol and RCN have consolidated their domination of the market as they broadcast their programing in more than 50 countries around the globe and have become co-producers and exporters with other companies in Latin America or with the U.S. Hispanic networks (Straubhaar et al., 2015). For instance, Caracol co-produces TV series for channels such as Telemundo, NBC, Sony Pictures, and Warner Bros in the U.S. as well as with Argentinian Telefe, Brazilian Rede Globo, and Mexican Azteca. RCN has

established alliances with Univision, NBC, Nickelodeon, and the Disney Channel in the U.S. and with Chilean Canal 13, and Spanish Antena 3. Caracol TV also controls the operation of GenTV, an over-the-air TV channel based in Key West, Florida, and Caracol International, a channel that targets the Latino population in the U.S. RCN operates NTN24, a 24-hour news channels that can be watched throughout Latin America, and Mundo Fox, the newest, a TV channel that targets young Latinos in the U.S.

Caracol and RCN compete for exclusive broadcasting rights to sports and events. Caracol has the rights to broadcast every game Colombia's national soccer team plays, Olympic games, and the Tour de France, while RCN has the rights over national soccer league games and the national beauty pageant.

However, the arrival of cable and satellite TV, and later the Internet have brought renewed competition to Colombian TV media providers. As subscription to multichannel services through cable or satellite subscriptions grew steadily, international TV operators and providers became major competitors for local TV networks. Colombian and Argentinian television markets reached the highest penetration of multichannel services in the region at a very rapid pace (Arango-Forero et al., 2010).

Social Media and Online Journalism in Colombia

Online Newsrooms in Colombia

Besides these historical characteristics, online disruptions have also affected Colombian traditional media since the end of the 1990s. Newspaper circulation has declined and television has lost some audience share. Few studies have focused on digital

technology or innovation in Colombian newsrooms. The best works are the first and second Report of Digital Media in Colombia (2010-2012) conducted by the journalism association *Consejo de Redacción* and the Javeriana University (Rey & Novoa, 2012). In the discussion of this report, German Rey points out that an online media "big bang" occurred from 2010 to 2012 as the number of Internet news sites more than doubled in just two years (from 391 to 745 digital news media sites) many of them under different ownership. From the total number of these new projects, 489 (75%) produce original online content for their websites and online platforms, and 306 of them (47%) describe themselves as native digital media. Bogota, Antioquia, Valle del Cauca, and Santander have more than 60 percent of all websites as most connections occur in main cities such as Medellín, Cali, and Bucaramanga. Private capital and advertising sales are the main resources for economic sustainability, 83% (Rey & Novoa, 2012). Yet, besides these descriptive data, there is little research about journalism innovation, practices, and adoption of technology in those newsrooms.

Despite the lack of research around the impact of digital technologies in newsrooms, traditional media content in Colombia has been analyzed in the regional context and in comparison with other Latin American media. Like other newsrooms in the world, traditional media in Latin America, especially newspapers, have not been particularly eager to adopt practices that embrace the full potential of the digital world because they remain culturally attached to conventional practices (Bachmann & Harlow, 2012). Studies show that Latin American mainstream media seem particularly reluctant to incorporate the interactive and multimedia characteristics of the web compered to online

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media. For example, Saldaña, Higgins, Schmitz & Alves (2016) surveyed 877 Latin American reporters who responded that Twitter was the most important platform for journalistic work (to find sources and stories) despite the popularity of Facebook. Garcia de Torres et al. (2011) found that 27 media outlets in Latin America, Spain, and Portugal used social media mostly for disseminating their own content as more than half of tweets and Facebook posts were links driving traffic to the news organizations' website. In a similar study analyzing the Twitter accounts from Spanish-language television channels, García-Perdomo (2017) concluded that Caracol TV (70%), and CNNE (50%) used Twitter mostly to distribute their own content, and they reported little interaction and dialog with their followers, while local CityTV showed better interaction via Twitter with its users. In the same vein, Bachmann and Harlow (2012) content analyzed 19 newspaper websites from Latin America to understand how traditional print media were responding to the new web features such as user-generated content and multimedia. Their results showed that very few Latin American newspapers "took advantage of the multimedia and interactive potential of the Internet" (p. 227) as they replicated traditional print newspaper practices and formats on the web. Therefore, as in the U.S., newspapers in Latin America seemed to adopt digital technology following the traditional practices and norms of their print business rather than incorporating new dimensions of the web.

The goal of this current research is to expand and complement those findings by providing an analysis of the way two Colombian TV news organizations are implementing digital technology in their newsrooms and for what purposes. This study looks at media actors and their interactions within newsrooms in the organizational

context. I selected Colombia as the setting of my research because the country provides easy research access to TV newsrooms and allows the identification of the new digital challenges that are transforming the TV news industry during a dynamic phase of its development. Even though the country has a still restricted media market with few competitors, Colombian TV news organizations are experiencing the same global technological pressures that other TV organization around the world are experiencing, making the results of this research generalizable to other cases and can help researchers and industries understand how TV news media react to digital disruptions (see, for example, Boczkowski's *News at Work* from Argentina or Domingo's analysis of Catalan online media).

Social Media in Colombia

Over the last few years in Colombia, as well as in the rest of Latin America, social media has shifted the web toward platforms that give users some control over news creation and distribution. These platforms not only have enabled emerging forms of content distribution and recommendations, but have also challenged traditional media to reach users outside spaces under their control. By June 2016, Colombia reported an Internet penetration of 58.6%, according to Internet World Stats. Nearly 29 million users were connected to the web from a population of 48 million. However, most of these connections are in main cities of Colombia as there is a recurrent Internet connectivity gap in rural areas as other studies even in the U.S. have shown (Strover, 2001). Colombia has third highest number of Internet users in South America behind Brazil (139.1 million)

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and Argentina (34.8 million). Colombia also has more than 57 million mobile phone subscribers with a penetration of 117.5% in mobile services and devices, and 26 million Facebook users with a 53.5% penetration (Internet World Stats, 2016). Moreover, Twitter users in Latin America are the fastest-growing social media population in the world with nearly 18 million total users in Brazil, followed by Mexico with 9.6 million active users, and Colombia with 6 million. Around 80% of active Twitter users access the platform using mobile devices (Smith, 2016).

Colombia was also the first country to use Facebook to promote social protest against violence and injustice, even before other popular movements in the world such as the Arab Spring. The March Against the FARC guerrillas began as a Facebook page opened by Oscar Morales, a civil engineer from the city of Barranquilla (Redacción de El Tiempo, 2008). Morales created the Facebook page "A million voices against the FARC," and invited his friends to join the virtual group as a form of online protest (El Tiempo, 2008). In three days, more than 10,000 people had joined. The government of former president Alvaro Uribe, political parties, media, and economic elites supported the initiative and made it grow. The march was finally held on February 4, 2008, with unprecedented success. Six million people from 193 cities from Colombia and around the world (e.g. London, Washington, Miami, Moscow, etc.) demonstrated against the atrocities of the FARC guerrilla (Redacción de El Tiempo, 2008; Semana, 2008).

Access to social media has created new dynamics between TV and online settings in the region. When looking at the relationship between social media and traditional TV, Latin America shows a high consumption of videos and television through social media,

particularly in Brazil and Colombia (Straubhaar et al., 2015). Even though as early as 2011 Netflix triggered the consumption of video on demand (VOD) services in the region when it opened operations in various countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, new live broadcasting features such as Facebook Live and Periscope have taken video consumption to a different level. How traditional channels are reacting to the growing consumption of video and television on social media is a question that needs to be addressed as these trends open up questions about changing patterns in TV viewing and about the intersection between social networks and online video in Colombia.

Brief Introduction of the Two Cases

For this study, I have selected two case studies. The first one is Caracol News, from Caracol TV, the major TV national channel in Colombia. Caracol TV is part of the Santo Domingo Group that owns El Espectador newspaper, Blu Radio and other media and industrial businesses. The second case I have chosen is City News, from CityTV, the local TV station in Bogota, which belongs to Casa Editorial El Tiempo, historically the main newspaper in Colombia, and shares technological resources with the 24-hour-cable channel El Tiempo Television. El Tiempo Publishing House also owns multiple magazines, newspapers, television stations, and is the largest online operation in the country. The offices of El Tiempo consist of a newsroom arranged in an open space with most of their media very close to each other, sharing spaces and synergies. For instance, El Tiempo and CityTV share the same area so when live broadcasting from the studio are broadcasted, viewers can see newspaper journalists working in the background. El

Tiempo Publishing has created an internal news agency that is fed with information from different products and reinforces convergence. The media company is part of Luis Carlos Sarmiento's bank conglomerate.

Comparing the organizational setting of these television companies, Caracol TV is the largest and most-watched Colombian national television channel in over-the-air television services, one of two national channels that broadcast over-the-air TV (the other one is RCN). Caracol TV has its media in the same complex but distributed in different buildings. The operations of El Espectador newspaper, Blu Radio, and online products are independent from Caracol TV. However, there are managers meetings to ensure content convergence. The video strategy of the company has been centralized in Caracol TV. Meanwhile, CityTV is a small, private, and local TV station that broadcasts news for Bogotá and other cities close to the capital. It is inside the headquarters of El Tiempo Publishing House, whose main product is the newspaper El Tiempo and its website subsidiary Eltiempo.com. At the beginning of its online endeavors, CityTV was considered to be the natural platform to receive all video inputs from El Tiempo. However, El Tiempo has changed its video strategy and now produces content through multiple channels and platforms, and has sort of abandoned the webpage of CityTV.

I am particularly interested in analyzing three online news teams in both Caracol TV and CityTV-El Tiempo Television—web journalists, social media managers, and online video producers—to see how they operate, appropriate technology, and create new forms of content for online platforms, facilitating engagement and innovative distribution channels. The two cases chosen for this study will allow me to make comparison in key

issues such as national vs. local television, differences in spatial distribution of newsrooms and ownership, diverse ways to engage audience through social media, and dissimilar ways of covering political issues such as the peace process.

	Caracol TV	*CityTV-El Tiempo TV*
Ownership	Valórem Economic Group, better known as "the Sandomingo Group," owns multiple media systems, including El Espectador newspaper, Blu Radio, and magazines such as Cromos. Investments in beer (SABMiller), mobile, digital, transportation, energy, and housing construction.	Luis Carlos Sarmiento's economic conglomerate. It owns El Tiempo and ADN newspapers, several magazines, and ET TV. Sarmiento's group owns 30% of the Colombian banking system. It has investments in mobile networks, gas, housing, and hotels.
Beginnings	Caracol TV consolidated its power in 1998 as part of the privatization wave that allowed for the creation of two private channels in Colombia: Caracol and RCN. Both channels have dominated the local market and become co-producers and exporters with other companies in Latin America or with the U.S. Hispanic networks (Straubhaar et al., 2015).	CityTV started its operations in March 1999 as a franchise of the Canadian media company Rogers Media, owner of the television network known as City. The local Bogotá channel referred to its audience as citizen journalists. CityTV trained community leaders in journalistic reporting techniques and installed cameras on the streets so people could send news reports.
Type of news	National TV channel. National news.	Local TV channel. Local news.
News Audience	Caracol News is the most watched newscast in Colombia. Its 7 p.m. daily emission has an average rating of 6 points.	CityNoticias and Arriba Bogota, the two main newscasts broadcasted by City, are the most watched local news broadcasts in Colombia.

Table 2:   Comparison between Caracol TV and CityTV-El Tiempo TV.

METHOD OVERVIEW

Chapter 4: Case Study, Observation, and Interviews

The purpose of this study is to explore from a socio-technical perspective how online teams working for TV news organizations adopt digital technologies and contribute to the transition of traditional TV into online spaces such as social media. The interaction between journalists, digital technologies, and audiences is at the core of this research. Understanding how TV news organizations are using digital technologies and operating online is important given what it may indicate about the future of television media and professionals. However, analyzing practices and relationships between humans and tools inside TV newsrooms requires an appropriate set of methods. In my research, I adopted a qualitative method approach that combined ethnography and case studies. Both qualitative perspectives complemented each other and helped me as a researcher define the objects and boundaries of my inquiry as well as capture an accurate representation of the current online disruptions experienced by TV newsrooms. To collect and analyze the data, I conducted in-depth interviews and participant observation, which allowed me to grasp from the participants' actions and point of views their social and technological milieu, including affordances and constraints.

The method section follows the following structure: First, it introduces how methods are rooted in the history and philosophy of the fields and how different paradigms have helped researchers to understand from a variety of perspectives the nature of reality and knowledge (Guba, 1990). Further, I explain in this chapter why I decided to adopt the constructivist paradigm (with some technological nuances) to

unpack the perceived reality of my fieldwork. Second, the chapter analyzes the importance of ethnography for online journalism studies and the rational behind the case study. It shows why both approaches are useful for qualitative researchers and how they complement each other when working in the field. Finally, this section describes the rational behind the data collection and the methodological tools that I used to gather information from informants—specifically interviews and participant observation—and to analyze the data.

PARADIGMS AND MEANINGFUL RESEARCH

Method and theories are rooted in the history and philosophy of the fields (Guba, 1990). Therefore, researchers must take into account not only the appropriateness of certain methods to answer questions and hypotheses, but also their preferred paradigm, or beliefs that guide action (Guba, 1990, p. 17) to understand reality, build knowledge and gather information (Tracy, 2013). Researchers often utilize paradigms in connection with their discipline of inquiry.

Some of the most common paradigms in academic research are a) positivism/post-positivism, b) interpretative/constructivism, c) critical and d) postmodern/post-structural (Tracy, 2013; Guba, 1990). The ontology of positivism is rooted in the belief that "there exists a reality out there, driven by natural laws" (Guba, 1990, p. 19). For the purpose of this study I follow the constructivist paradigm, which proclaims that reality cannot be captured in its essence as natural phenomena because researchers recreate and communicate that reality, and in this process, reality is

transformed into a representation. At the same time, constructivism emphasizes the importance of exploring how participants in a given social environment construct their beliefs (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, 44).

Determinism vs. Constructivism in the Context of Technology

Given the rapid digital technical developments, opposed academic visions have been also adopted to explain the relationship between technology and society and the effects of innovations and tools on communities. Determinism and constructivism are two of the most common paradigms that have been used to explain the ways technology intersect society–although post-structural and critical studies have also contributed a great body of literature to the discussion (Domingo, 2008).

First, technological determinism has been the dominant discourse in media studies. Determinism usually understands technology as a unidirectional force that emerges spontaneously and causes a "necessary and determinate" impact on society, creating radical social and organizational changes (Williams & Edge, 1996). For this frame, technologies are invented in a marginal and independent sphere, but when they are implemented and used by communities, a different society emerges. Unstoppable progress is at the basis of determinism, fortifying the idea that most social problems can be solved by technological developments. Deterministic visions usually prevail because they proclaim an effortless change of society with dreadful consequences for the old order. They permeate our understanding of technology and influence the way academics

and media perceive in apocalyptic ways historical communication changes and disruptions.

Second, in an effort to counteract the deterministic euphoria around technology and progress, constructivism proposes that technology and innovation are embedded in systems and social context (Douglas, 1997, Bijker, 2012). Therefore, context, interaction, and practices are fertile ground to grasp the way technology works and develops within society. In this view, technology is shaped by society and, more specifically, mediated by the human body (Marvin, 1998). It is a product of its time and context, and as such, it is usually produced, shaped, and adopted by communities with the intention of solving their problems. In this sense, technology is not a marginal activity that is discovered by chance and then implemented, but rather a central force that emerges from society.

Paradigms often come with a preferred method of investigation that echoes the philosophy of the research. Qualitative research is often guided by interpretive and constructivist paradigms whose goal is to "understand what meaning people give to reality" (Schutt, 2012, p. 86). Thus, researchers who want to investigate reality as something that is socially constructed tend to adopt constructivism as a paradigm and qualitative methods to answer their questions. Taking the contextual point of view of participants in the field implies that some qualitative methods such as observation, participation, and interviewing are suitable for achieving researchers' purposes.

Qualitative methods often "emphasize observation about natural behavior and artifacts" in order to capture "social life as participants experience it" (Schutt, 2012, p. 282). In this vein, the researcher does not necessarily come with predetermined categories

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in order to study a particular phenomenon. He/she needs to maintain an open mind to grasp the meaning a particular community gives to their practices and artifacts. However, it is important that the researcher comes to the field with some theoretical background that sheds light on the phenomena he/she is analyzing. In fact, previous studies about the way traditional newsrooms adopt online technologies, their routines, practices, and organizational arrangements, help the researcher to expand knowledge, establish comparison, and identify patterns.

For the purpose of this analysis, I followed the constructivist paradigm—with some nuances—and qualitative methods—mainly, participant observation and interviews—to analyze the form in which two Colombia TV news organizations are implementing digital technologies and as they transition to the new media ecosystem. I incorporated some nuances to my constructivist approach because I take into account recent socio-technical approaches that explain the capability of technology to shape communities, once it acquires certain obduracy (Law, 2012). Complementarily, some socio-technology authors, and historians recognize that although social factors are dominant in the growth of any technological system, there are other natural, economic, and technical components that may shape and resist the development of innovations and artifacts within communities and organizations (see for example Law, 2012; Callon, 2012; and Hughes, 2012). In other words, this research included in its analysis how some tools—such as social media—may condition newsrooms routines, practices, and content, therefore shaping with their technological design the social sphere.

ETHNOGRAPHY

After explaining the rationale behind selecting constructivism as the paradigm and qualitative methods, I will explain in this section the methodological approach of my research. I believe ethnography is the appropriate qualitative approach to study the adoption and implementation of technology in online newsrooms.

As one of the most developed qualitative approaches, ethnography seeks to understand a particular culture by grasping the meaning of actions and events from the people under study. Through fieldwork, ethnographic researchers make social inferences from three sources: "1) from what people say; 2) from the way people act; 3) from the artifacts people use" (Spradley, 1979, p. 8). The origins of the term come from 19th-century Western anthropology when ethnography was considered "an account of a community or culture, usually located outside the West," and was often produced by travelers and missionaries (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 1). Fieldwork usually required the ethnographer to live with a community for an extended period of time in order to understand its way of life (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). However, influences from multiple disciplines, particularly from the Chicago School's sociological works from the 1920s to 1950s developed an approach that focused on studying urban social life, communities, and organizations through what sociologists at the time called case studies (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In the later half of the 20th century, cultural studies also added to the fragmentation of ethnography by conducting research on media audiences and cultural consumption. Hence, the term has been influenced by multiple disciplines, making it difficult to point to a particular definition of the approach.

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Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) even argue that the approach tends to be "swallowed up" by multidisciplinary qualitative approaches. Despite the richness and fragmentation of the term, there is some consensus about what ethnographers do. In terms of data collection, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) highlights that ethnography "usually involves the researcher participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions through informal and formal interviews" (p. 3).

Scholars have stressed the convenience of taking an ethnographic approach to analyzing online newsrooms. Some of the benefits of that method in journalism studies include the possibility of witnessing newsrooms' practices, routines, different understandings and implementations of technology, and the power relationship among actors (Paterson, 2008, p. 5). Encouraging the need for more ethnographic works to analyze the current conditions of online news, Paterson (2008) observes that by getting at the core of the "manufacturing process" may lead to understanding the nature of "manufactured reality" (p. 2). In the same vein, Cottle (2007) advocates for ethnography because he considers the approach to be the method tailored to understanding the complexity of the newsroom and online news production in a fragmented news media ecosystem in which local experiences may shed light on global patterns. Domingo (2011) explains that ethnographic research is appropriate for investigating the technological impact on online newsrooms because "[i]t investigates the tensions between technological innovations and the social context where they are adopted, while always

aware of the general cultural framework (journalism at large) and the particularities of the specific setting (media organizations) where decisions are being made" (p. xvii).

Even though the ethnographic approach is often open-ended (Maxwell, 2004), I approached my research with some notion of the types of transaction, engagements, and communication that would guide my socio-technical concepts. In fact, ethnography differs from grounded theory in that the former often builds on prior theoretical work and previous findings, placing theories in a back-and-forth dialogue with the data (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012). In my case, media sociology and socio-technical studies helped me to complement the fieldwork. However, I went to the newsrooms with an open mind to observe and understand what was going on in these television and online news environments, including the way journalists understood in their own terms some of technological frames and affordances that surround their media ecosystem.

Second, I also considered transactions with members of the teams and with other teams, with users and viewers, and with me. In this context, part of my investigation focused on how TV news workers viewed the online problems they faced, how they regarded one another, and how they saw themselves (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Third, I also deal with the way journalists used tools and artifacts to distribute content and engage their audience. Finally, during the fieldwork, it was also important to consider what was framed by participants as "new" by within these spaces and how some technologies became "different" or "new" during their adoption process.

In my research, I am following the ethnographical perspective influenced by sociological works. I did my fieldwork inside two TV news organizations in Colombia—Caracol News and City TV News—and spent one month per case in each one of the TV newsrooms. Even though the period of time spent in each newsroom seems to be short, according to some traditional definitions of ethnography, I believe that the span of my fieldwork was enough to observe and analyze not only the manufacturing process of online news, but also what people say, how people act, and the way they use digital technologies in their newsrooms. Another obstacle that I faced when planning my fieldwork was the difficulty of accessing TV newsrooms for extended periods of time, given frantic journalistic activity of the news making process.

RATIONALE FOR THE CASE STUDY METHOD

Case study is not strictly considered a method, but it is certainly a particular way of thinking about what qualitative data analysis should focus on (Schutt, 2012, p. 286). It is not attached to any specific research method; it is more related to the selection of the target of inquiry (Lewis, 2010; Hass, 2004). The case study, or what Stake refers to as the "choice of what is to be studied" (Stake, 2003, p. 134), can be a community, an organization, a social group, a family or even an individual. Through the selection of exemplars, social researchers grasp a deep comprehension of particular occurrences of phenomena (Mabry, 2008). Social investigators believe that those particular instances are not only representations of the case but also a reflection of the social world, and as such, they could eventually help researchers to identify paradigms and patterns of the whole

(Schutt, 2012). Robert Stake (1995) explains that the logic behind the case study rests in the ability of the researcher to emphasize "episodes of nuance, the sequentially of happenings in context, the wholeness of the individual" (p. xii). Following this train of thought, a case study can be defined as a "setting or group" that the qualitative researcher "treats as an integrated social unit that must be study holistically and in its particularity" (Schutt, 2012, 286). Hence, the selection of case study implies that the researcher is concerned with a deep understanding of the context and the interrelation between events, processes, actors, and practices in order to learn as much as possible form a particular case (Stake, 2003, p. 135). In my research, I analyze Caracol News and City News as case studies aiming to obtain a holistic portrayal of these news organizations and the way they are implementing technologies in order to show implications for the future of TV and online journalism and its professionals.

The fact that case studies focus on a particular setting or group raises some concerns. The approach is often criticized for being a *cherry-picking* research practice or for its apparent lack of generalizability. Criticism towards the case study often comes from quantitative research that seeks to grasp the objective reality that exists apart from the perception of the researcher (Schutt, 2012, p. 83). The quantitative investigator and his/her research subject are independent entities, and as such, random sampling is used to measure and analyze causal relationships between variables (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Also, given that the case study concept has not been fully developed, it has been mistaken for a type of quasi-experimental design (Yin, 2003). However, case study has achieved recognition for being an independent approach that is different from other designs. It is

now considered an important tool for investigating phenomena in-depth and generalizing findings, even when looking at one single case such as the study of the Cuban Missile Crisis conducted by Allison and Zelikow (1999) that inferred how super powers confront each other (Yin, 2010).

Designing the case study may be challenging. Any research design implies following a "logical sequence" that connects the data to the original research questions and the conclusions of the study (Yin, 2003, p.20). The case study is not the exception, but researchers must take extra-measures to ensure that the case is appropriately designed for answering the research questions. Yin (2003) recommends including the following five components to correctly design a case study—the first three elements are necessary steps in order to define what kind of data need to be collected. First, the researcher must select the study's questions (the case study is often concerned about how and why); second, identify the study's propositions (aspects that are going to be examined within the scope of the study); third, single out the unit of analysis (specific boundaries around the object of study). After the data have been collected, the remaining elements play an important role in the design: Fourth, the logic linking the data to the propositions (look for several pieces of information or patterns that match theoretical prepositions); and fifth, the criteria for interpreting the findings (there is no precise way of setting that criteria) (pp. 21-27). Hence, similar to ethnography, Yin (2003) explains how case study considers theory and propositions beginning with its design before even going into the field and attempting to establish a back-and-forth dialogue between the data and theories.

The case study aims to get a holistic view of the object under research, providing added depth and context. For this dissertation, I have sought to investigate two TV news organizations, Caracol News and City TV News, and in particular the online news teams who work inside those media outlets. The news organization is the case study and the units of analysis are online teams working for TV news organization, as well as the digital tools that they use to ensure the transition of traditional TV to online spaces. Each organization has its own dynamics depending on their context, audience, and values. For instance, City TV News produces news for local audiences, and it is under the umbrella of the most important newspaper in the country, while Caracol News broadcasts for a national audience, and it is under the umbrella of the most watched TV station in Colombia. I arrived at these settings with some questions and propositions, but with an open mind, to identify new patterns, frames, and theories that are still veiled in online environments.

METHODS FOR DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Two of the most important methodological tools to collect data in qualitative studies are participant observation and in-depth interviews. In this research, I did participatory observation for two months (1 month per case) and I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews (45 people) with online newsroom managers, directors, editors, and reporters who handle the digital operations of two TV news organizations in Colombia. More specifically, to accomplish the data collection, I did an ethnography using as a methodological tool participatory observation inside Caracol News from July 5

to August 5, 2016, and one month of participatory observation inside CityTV-El Tiempo TV from August 10 to September 10, 2016. At the same time, I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews (20 people in Caracol TV, and 25 in CityTV-El Tiempo TV) with social media managers, online video producers, and online team leaders who handle the digital operations of these two TV organizations located in Bogota, Colombia. To analyze the data, the interviews were transcribed and read multiple times to understand media logic from the participants' point of view and to identify patterns in their answers. To code and categorize the data, this research utilized the qualitative software NVivo. Notes from participant observation were also taken on a daily basis using the platform Evernote and then reviewed during the analysis. In this dissertation I present the finding of Caracol TV first, then the results of CityTV –El Tiempo TV and finally I compare the findings of both organizations.

The analysis of data involves the interpretation of "the meanings, functions, and consequences of human actions and institutional practices" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 3), the analysis of artifacts used by participants to accomplish their goals, and the local and wider implications of the relationship between humans (journalists, audiences) and tools (social media, software, hardware).

Ethnographers usually arrive at their fieldwork site with some ideas and propositions in mind, not with the intention of testing them empirically, but to illuminate them with their fieldwork and corroborate previous findings. After data collection, the researcher usually places theory in dialogue with data to find out how previous works suit his/her analytical task (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012). Likewise, I came to

the field with my knowledge in media sociology, media economics, social construction of technology, and online newsroom ethnographies, as well as with my 14-years experience as a journalist for multiple platforms, including online, radio, and television media. But once I was in field, I tried to keep an open mind in order to understand new concepts, practices, and theories from the participants' points of view. For instance, I found during my fieldwork that there is a difference between the complex academic definition and interpretation of engagement and what journalists and editors understand as engagement. Therefore, I tried not to impose my academic vision or academic terms on the context of my research, but let them unfold from the participants' perspective.

Once the interviews and observations were transcribed and systematized electronically, those documents were carefully reviewed and examined—several times—until patterns emerged from the data. A number of pieces of information that arose from the case sometimes appeared to be related to previous works and theories, confirming or revalidating past findings, while at other times, novel theoretical approaches emerged from unexpected places (Yin, 2003).

Interviews and Participant observations

Participant Observation and Taking Notes

Participant observation is a qualitative method that allows researchers to study natural social processes as they happen in the field (Schutt, 2012, p. 287). The qualitative approach particularly "emphasizes observation about natural behavior and artifacts" in order to capture social life in its everyday course, and from the way "participants

experience it" (Schutt, 2012, p. 282). Through observation and interaction with people in their natural environment, participant observers try to avoid the artificiality of the experimental design and the rigidity of the survey questioner (Koegel, 1978, p. 8). In this sense, observation is more about interpretation and analysis than systematization and measurements. To accomplish participant observation, the researcher gathers data in a setting where "he or she develops a sustained relationship with people while they go about their normal activities" (Schutt, 2012, p. 287). Establishing a relationship with participants facilitates access and contextual understanding of the setting.

In my research, I spent one month at each of the two case studies sites—Caracol News and CityTV News—observing natural behaviors, journalistic activities, and the practices of the online teams working for those TV organizations, therefore, capturing social life inside newsrooms as it occurred. At the same time, I observed and took notes on the digital tools that journalists used to accomplished their editorial goals. I publicly acknowledged being a researcher at the news organizations and, at the same time, participated in group activities such as editorial meetings. Moreover, in the case of Caracol News, I was viewed at the beginning of my research almost as an independent consultant from whom online journalists asked advice (grammar, headlines, or scoops). Then, at the end of my fieldwork, I was considered a fellow colleague in the newsroom. Observing and interacting with journalists in their normal activities allowed me to understand the social construction of TV news in online spaces and the adoption of digital technologies.

Taking notes during the observation process is usually challenging in qualitative methods. Sometimes ethnographers find it difficult to take notes during the fieldwork because it could be disruptive or prevent his or her full participation (Boellstorff et al., 2012). For this reason, notes are not necessarily taken on the spot, for they can be recorded or improved later (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Memory and scratch words may be temporary solutions to capture key points, but they are risky because memory fades and raw notations must be extended and refined to be useful (Boellstorff et al., 2012). Although Schatzman and Strauss (1973) suggest that even a "single word" describing a participant may be enough to "trip off" several images that reconstruct the observed scene, ethnographers encourage researchers to sit down and write full fieldnotes as soon as possible after the observation occurs because short-term human memory can distort or lose several details (Emerson et al., 1995; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). It is also wise to keep record of things that the researcher does not understand at the moment of fieldwork because those details may become important later during the analytical phase (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Another factor that affects field notes is that they are always selective (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) and reflect the researcher's "outlook of life" (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 42). Emerson argues that, "*prior experience, training, and commitments* influence the fieldworker's stance in writing notes" (emphasis in the original text, p. 43). In this sense, the researcher not only interacts with people in the field according to his or her influences and beliefs, but also takes notes that frame occurrences and events accordingly (Emerson et al., 1995).

I took notes on a daily basis right after observing activities in the field. In spaces like online newsrooms, taking-notes in front of a personal computer is perceived as a normal activity by participants who work "publishing" content for digital platforms. I tried not to take notes while I was having informal conversations with teams or at editorial meetings because it would have looked awkward and disruptive. However, every afternoon, I sat in front of my computer and wrote a detailed memo about the events of the day as soon as I could in order to avoid losing information. I took notes particularly of moments in which the teams faced a frenetic work dynamic; for instance, at the broadcast of the regular TV newscast or breaking news. To collect observations in an orderly manner, I used the Evernote software. I created notebooks and labeled them "Caracol TV_Observation" and "City TV_Observation." Inside those general folders, I opened independent documents (notes) for each day of observation and named them with the number of the observation day and the date (e.g., Day 1, July 5, 2016). The data collection contains identifying information if the participant who was at the center of a particular action or decision was key to understanding the relationship inside the newsroom. I also took notes of things I did not understand at the beginning of my research to see if it had a meaning when analyzing the data. For instance, the online team at Caracol News brought and shared food at noon. I did not understand the relevance of that social practice until the end of my fieldwork.

In-depth Interviews

The second methodological device I used for data collection was in-depth interviews. Quantitative interviews are usually semi-structured conversations that seek to gather as much information as possible from participants in their context. In-depth interviews are good complements to observation because they reconstruct experiences from the participants' points of view. The richness of interviewing lies in the fact that it not only "gives us access to the observation of others" but also informs about the nature of social life, revealing "people's interior experiences" and meanings (Weiss, 1994). In-depth interviews provide some freedom as a method because they do not ask questions in a fixed order like surveys (Rossman & Rallis, 1998). The technique not only allows interviewees to express their thoughts in their own words, but also lets interviewers rearrange their questions according to the conversation flow (Schutt, 2012). In online journalism research, interviews have been used to understand how news organizations and journalists interpret the radical changes brought on by the Internet in matters such as the relationship between traditional and new media (Boczkowski, 2004; Robinson, 2011a), innovation and organizational changes (Paulussen, Geens & Vandenbrande, 2011; Lewis, 2012), diffusion of technology (Ekdale et al., 2015), convergence (Bechmann, 2011; Paterson, 2011), and the relationship with the audience (Williams, Wahl-Jorgensen & Wardle, 2011).

I conducted face-to-face, in-depth interviews in my fieldwork. Respondents usually do not break off contact easily, are less evasive, and tend to reveal more information about themselves when they are interviewed face-to-face than when they

deal with other types of remote interviews (Weiss, 1994). A flexible questionnaire with questions about some aspects I considered important for my research was elaborated prior to the fieldwork, and it served as a guide without conditioning the direction of the interview. I tried to formulate these questions using broad language to avoid conditioning the point of view of the interviewees. A total of 45 interviews (20 people at Caracol News and 25 people at City TV News) were conducted for this research. Participants were interviewed for a second or even third time, depending on the depth of information they provided during the first interview. In all cases, audio was recorded and stored in password-protected MP3 files. Personal identifying information was included in the audio at the beginning of the conversation and in my notes only when the interviewees granted the right to be mentioned in the research with their full name and title. Otherwise, recordings and notes remained anonymous. The conversations were held in Spanish, which represents an extra-challenge because the conversations had to be translated. The interviews were transcribed using the Internet software Otranscribe.com, which integrates audio and word processing as well as facilitating going back and forth in an audio recording.

Self-reflexivity, Context and Thick description

Finally, this research project takes into consideration three core qualitative elements that complement the holistic view of the method: self-reflexivity, context and, thick description (Tracy, 2013). Self-reflexivity takes into account researchers' past experiences to understand how their perspectives and previous experiences may impact

the research scene (Tracy, 2013). Context is the web of significance and meaning that make sense to the scene (Geertz, 1973). And thick description is the textual instrument of the researcher to provide cultural meaning, a process of interpretation that relies on extensive details (Geertz, 1973).

As an example of self-reflexivity, my interest in the intersection between technology and journalism, and between TV news and online news comes from my own experience as an editor and reporter. I worked for six years –from 2000 to 2006– as an online liaison between Univision TV Network and its online project, Univision.com, in Miami. I soon noticed that I was working between two clashing forces. On the one hand, I had to convince TV directors, editors and reporters of the importance of supporting their online news operation by providing content and information for the web despite the fact that they believed creating more online users could mean less TV viewers. To fulfill my duties, I had to cut and shovel traditional TV content to online pages and deal with local TV personalities' egos. On the other hand, I listened directly to the frustrations of audience users who wanted to participate in the editorial process, and criticized Univision's programming through forums and networks because they did not feel their communities were represented on the TV screen.

After my experience with Univision.com, I worked as editor-in-chief for Terra TV in Colombia from 2006 to 2008. This online project from Spanish-media-corporation Telefonica launched a digital platform that offered online videos to Internet users through Latin America. Terra TV wanted to build an audience across the hemisphere that could be sold to advertisers as a block, and compete with regional TV networks in the

distribution of online video. It opened branches in Chile, Colombia, Perú, Argentina, and México. One of their strategies was to revamp popular American TV series with Spanish subtitles in all platforms. The foreign content did not bring the expected traffic or engage national audiences. As a parallel strategy, small groups of reporters started producing in-house videos and providing live transmissions in each country, covering local events and news with few resources. Although the local news videos did not always have the same high quality of American TV series, they generated more traffic and better indicators than any other content. In this case, proximity and original stories seemed to be important news values for online video consumers. However, the question about what makes content viral and engaging on the web is still one of the main concerns for online video producers and traditional TV channels, and it is one of the main motivations for my research.

Human Subjects and Safety

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed this research in accordance with federal regulations. The IRB determined that my research met the requirements for approval under the following expedited categories: "collection of data from voice, video, digital or image recording made for research purposes, and research on individual or group characteristic or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interviews, oral history, focus groups, program evaluation, human factor evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies."

FINDINGS

Chapter 5: Caracol News, Findings of the First Case Study

This research examines how online news teams working for TV news organizations adopt digital technologies to ensure the presence and transition of television into the new media ecosystem. In this quest, it is important to analyze the relationship between traditional and online media, the logic that online teams apply to digital tools and their relationship with the audience to ensure content distribution and engagement.

In this chapter, I explain the main findings of my field work at Caracol News in regards to the relationship between television and online media, the sets of logic behind the adoption of technologies, the interaction between online, television, and audience, as well as news media strategies for distributing content and engaging audiences online. Perhaps the most important findings here are that digital technologies are implemented in Caracol News as an extension of traditional media to supports and solve television's limitation in the offline world, and that online professionals do great efforts to become relevant for TV standards, even producing content for traditional platforms, whereas the legacy of TV is so strong that TV journalists do not have to take responsibilities related to the online transition. Also, findings show that Caracol TV is constantly listening and surveilling users on the Internet in order to understand their reaction to content and identify negative discussions (online crisis) around their news brands. Finally, results of the ethnographic fieldwork reveal that online media are focusing most of their energies on distributing content and engaging audiences on social media, even if that means

abandoning their own technological platforms and tools. New video and broadcasting formats are emerging as a result of that relationship between television and social media.

ONLINE TEAMS

The units of analysis of this study are online journalists, editors and managers guiding traditional television stations as they transition to digital spaces. Two news organizations have been chosen as case study: Caracol News (Caracol Noticias) and City News (City Noticias). In this chapter, I explain the dynamics inside Caracol News, focusing on its online news operations.

In the course of my fieldwork at Caracol News, I found three main online groups that were very well defined and worked to ensure the online presence of traditional television news in the online media ecosystem. The responsibilities of these three groups are distributed based on their technical and editorial skills to fulfill Caracol News' organization and production needs: First, there is a team of online journalists who are in charge of updating the website noticias.caracoltv.com, selecting traditional TV news stories that are considered worthy of being clipped and digitized, and promoting TV news stories and initiatives in online spaces. This team of online journalists is made up of nine people—two editors and seven reporters—whose main responsibilities are 1) to increase the website traffic on noticias.caracoltv.com by distributing content and engaging online audiences, and 2) respond to traditional TV news demands. Journalists from this team have different levels of experience and rank, and they work together in a room across the hall from the traditional television editorial desk and newsroom. They have access to I-

News, the television rundown software and to the corporate TV news email through which TV reporters and producers exchange information about the TV newsmaking process. Most of the three online news teams' activity occurs around the newscast broadcasting hours. Traditional TV newscasts hold the following on-air programing schedule: 5:30 a.m. to 8:30 a.m., 12:30 p.m. to 3:15 p.m., 7 p.m. to 8 p.m., and 11:30 p.m. to 12 a.m. Consequently, the online news team rotates four work shifts that match those TV newscasts schedules: 5 a.m. to 2 p.m., 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., 12 p.m. to 10 p.m., and 3 p.m. to 12 a.m. Most members of the online team converge at the 12:30 p.m. newscast, making 2 p.m. the most frantic moment of the day for the team.

The second group is comprised of social media managers and social media analysts (called *socializadores*) who listen and monitor social media audiences and distribute content through a variety of social networks. This group consists of 13 social media managers—three of them working exclusively for Caracol News inside the traditional TV newsroom close to the assignment desk and studio—and three social media analysts whose sole responsibility is to monitor all of Caracol Next's brands and talent on social media, including Caracol News (e.g. @NoticiasCaracol, facebook.com/NoticiasCaracol, google.com/+noticiascaracol), and produce reports about users' activity to identify conversations and crisis. Those reports go directly to Caracol's directors. The rest of the social media crew works for other entertainment and sports brands.

Third, a video unit consists of video editors and producers who are in charge of capturing traditional television programing, clipping and digitizing it, and at the same

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time producing original digital video stories exclusively for online audiences. This third online group is made up of 12 online video editors and producers—two of whom work exclusively for Caracol News. The video unit produces three types of content: 1) Clips captured from traditional TV that are transformed into digital formats and uploaded to online platforms, 2) TV series that are available under the pay wall platform of Caracol Play, and finally 3) original online videos produced only for digital brands that are distributed on the web.

These three groups combined work as the online force for Caracol News ensuring the presence of this TV news organization on the web–including social media and mobile devices. The groups are under the editorial leadership of the online and Caracol News directors, and the technological and business guidance of the Digital Vice-presidency.
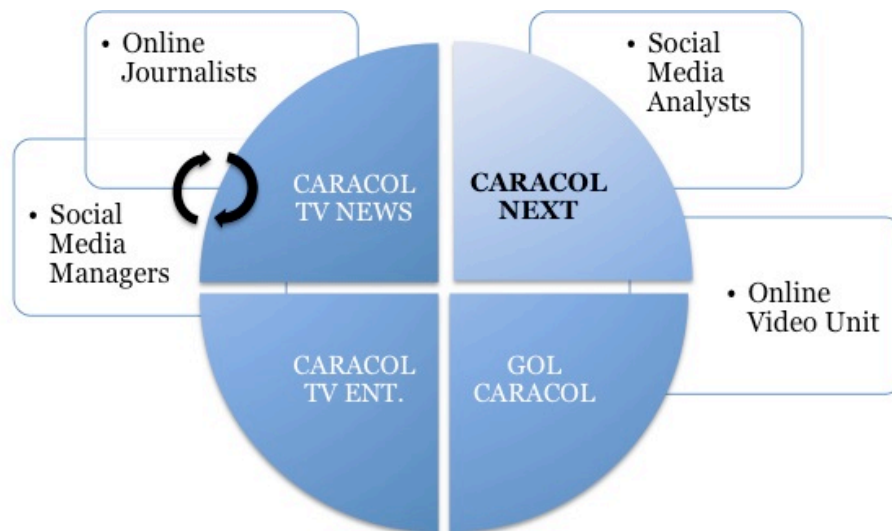
Figure 1:   Caracol TV Organizational Structure.

DESCRIPTION AND CHALLENGES OF ONLINE WORK

Caracol News is just one of multiple content products that Caracol TV offers to its audience, and thus, online news is only a portion of the broadcasting and digital operation of this TV conglomerate. Caracol TV's programing and digital enterprise run the gamut from sports (soccer and national soccer team matches www.golcaracol.com), entertainment (mainly soap-operas, and humor and reality shows www.caracoltv.com) to news (www.noticias.caracoltv.com).

Caracol TV's digital operations are split up inside the TV organization's headquarters. Web designers and traffic analysts are on the sixth floor of Caracol Next's administrative building. Sports (www.golcaracol.com), entertainment

(www.caracoltv.com), the online video unit, and social media manager and strategists occupy the fifth floor of the same building, whereas online news reporters and news social media managers of noticias.caracoltv.com are located inside the Caracol News building, very close to the conglomerate's traditional TV news operations and studios on the fourth floor. Caracol News and Caracol Next's administrative buildings are located next to each other but they are divided by the main entrance boulevard and plaza. Why is the online news team physically close to the traditional TV news activity and far away from other digital operations of Caracol TV, such as video editors, designers and social media analysts? According to participants, being close to the TV assignment desk and editorial desk was the best way to create synergy with traditional TV, exchange information with TV producers, and gain trust from TV journalists. The digital news

team does not publish information about soccer or entertainment directly associated to CaracolTV's programing to avoid conflicts with www.golcaracol.com and www.caracoltv.com, but it covers and publishes news about other topics related to sports and entertainment.

To understand the actions of the online teams, I had to move between buildings during my fieldwork at Caracol because online managers, social media analysts, and video producers were in a different location than online news journalists. The proximity issue of the newsroom configuration seems to respond to the needs of each organizational context. For instance, in Caracol, the TV news director considered at one point that it was appropriate to bring the online news team closer to the newscasts to be in tune with TV news editorial goals and decisions. The online news team uses WhatsApp to overcome the distance between buildings and interact with other online teams of the company.

One of the things that caught my attention right from the beginning of my fieldwork is that online journalists called television "The Screen" (Pantalla), with capital letters, as if TV were the only screen. Meanwhile, they called online teams and activities "Digital." Thus, "The Screen" (TV) and "Digital" were the concepts that participants used when they talked about traditional and online media. Because this terminology could be a little confusing in this current dissertation, given the fact that there are multiple screens in the new media ecosystem, I will use the words "television" and "online" (in some cases digital) to denote traditional and new media entities, respectively. The main goal for both groups is to chase the audience, publishing content through

multiple screens at different moments of the day on the way to the final screen in the digital stream.

KEY MOMENTS OF EVOLUTION

In recent years, seven key moments marked the evolution of Noticias Caracol as an online project. Because of the disruption and uncertainty present in the new media ecosystem, trial and error have been the main characteristics of these particular instances. The first moment occurred in 2000 when Caracol TV decided that it was time to have a presence on the web as a corporate brand. Until that time, albeit rather late in the history of the Web, Caracol did not feel it had any particular need for information or interaction on the Internet. In 2000, only 2.2% of the Colombian population was connected to the Internet, and bandwidth was still very precarious for video support and distribution (Gutiérrez-Coba & García-Perdomo, 2016). The intention of Caracol TV with its first webpage was to have some sort of online representation of its brand. Thus, it launched a corporate page that explained the company's mission and goals and displayed descriptions about main programs for each of its brands, like a TV guide. Despite its timid debut on the web, the TV company was already worried about loosing their leadership on these new digital spaces given the online popularity of traditional national newspapers like El Tiempo and El Espectador, which had been experimenting with reverting their textual information on the web since 1996 (Gutiérrez-Coba & García-Perdomo, 2016). However, web potential for online video was still not clear in 2000, at least in Colombia. Processing and uploading a TV story for the web took about six hours

to be accomplished, and users were often frustrated when they tried to watch digital video, according to participants. Video was also measured in page-views like textual information without considering other metrics or multimedia characteristics such as minutes played or unique visitors. Claudia Leonor Vesga, Digital Editor in Chief for Caracol News, remembered that first page of Caracol TV looked rather jejune,

> That original page of Caracol TV was a munchy [variety] snack bag ('un Detodito') because it displayed [on its front page] information about soap-operas, contests, news, sport events that Caracol was going to broadcast, and also the company's purposes and goals. So the page was a corporate site with a dash of information. Online content was produced with a lot of difficulties given the technical limitations of our team. Every story had to be sent via email and published by engineers from an external technological provider. Conflicts between Caracol's brands around what was the most appropriate content to open the webpage with soon emerged. Video was our core product on television screens, but on the Internet it was our death because processing an online video took us six hours, the end product had bad resolution and offered a poor experience for the user (July 2016).

The second historical moment occurred as a consequence of international and local terrorist attacks. Particularly, Al-Qaeda's attacks on U.S. soil on September 11, 2001, and then the FARC guerrillas' bombing of El Nogal Club in Bogotá on February 7, 2003, made the online news team aware of their weaknesses when they tried to react to significant breaking news. The team blamed the strong dependency on television content and its attachment to newscast schedules and routines for their lack of reaction during those events. Particularly, the comprehensive coverage of eltiempo.com (Caracol's main online news competitor) on the bombing of El Nogal exposed the online team's flaws (At this point, there was just one very small online news team of three journalists). The online news group realized that they should be ready to react faster with an online, 24/7

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logic for covering this type of news, going far beyond the dynamics of TV newscasts. After terrorist attack on El Nogal, the online news team "broke the shell," according to Claudia, and created a more independent project. The team reorganized their work shifts and began to focus on digital screens producing textual original content for the webpage and cellphones, even though TV news stories continued to be their main source of video and information. In other words, the team kept their dependency on television content as the basis of its reports but extended their duties to meet the new digital logic.

The third change occurred in 2008 when Caracol started to think of Caracoltv.com as a potential business unit that could become the leading video provider in Latin America. Other online video platforms such as Terra TV Networks (from Spanish company Telefonica) and City TV from El Tiempo were investing resources in the same way (Gutiérrez-Coba & García-Perdomo, 2016). Caracol News was confident that it had the television content to become an online leader in mass clipping and distributing of TV news stories on the web. If the TV newscasts aired 55 stories, the team clipped and uploaded 50 of them. Focusing mainly on clipping video reversed the team's objective of becoming an independent online project. It did not bring the expected traffic results, and the team was exhausted. Photo-galleries and texts offered better metrics than video because of the measurements used back then. More importantly, the user experience with video remained very poor, according to participants. All digital resources were channeled towards encoding television content on the web, blocking the possibility of bringing innovation and developing other online projects.

Fourth, text and hypertext came back to the news work routine around 2009. After the exhaustion brought by the organizational goal of becoming a regional video leader through massive clipping and distribution, online news professionals at Caracol TV reached the following conclusions: 1) it was easier to increase metrics and numbers with texts and still pictures than with video, 2) users seek some written context in addition to clipped television stories because they were used to reading newspapers online, and 3) users had less difficulties accessing text than video on the web. At the same time, because the online news project had become merely a mirror of the TV screen by "shoveling" stories from traditional television news to the station's website, noticias.caracol.com, the news director asked online journalists to take a different path and think about digital news as independent from television. Therefore, in this phase, offering video volume was not as relevant as before, and the online news team began choosing only the most pertinent video content to be published online. This change caused a lot of conflict within Caracol News between traditional TV and online media not only because television reporters wanted their TV news pieces on the webpage as they had before, but also because the online news team "distanced itself from its traditional television roots," said one of the participants during my fieldwork. It was a good moment though for the creation of multimedia and independent content. However, the team felt at some point "like a loose wheel," said Claudia Leonor Vesga, and lost the support of television. Sometimes the digital team published news or launched special sections that were in open contradiction with television reports. Likewise, traditional television reporters saw online as a news

competitor that could get out the news scoop first and eventually steal their TV audiences.

Fifth, in 2010, Caracol decided to split its unique corporate online presence (caracoltv.com) into multiple webpages following a new strategy that aimed to reinforce its traditional brands in the online media ecosystem and "avoid editorial conflicts" among them. In this phase, each brand began to breathe its "own editorial life." Caracol News hired digital advisors from newspaper El Tiempo, opened a new online news business unit, established a basic editorial structure, and developed an in-house Content Management System (CMS) using free software (Drupal). The digital video unit was created as part of this structural change to clip and upload television content, thus releasing online editors and reporters from that duty. These measures gave the online news teams certain stability and control. They neither had to depend on external providers of technology that made the communication and publication processes slow nor did other television programs condition their editorial decisions. The focus of the organization was to reinforce its traditional TV brands in the digital world, and news was a major component of that strategy. Participants said that this was a fundamental organizational change because each brand, including Caracol News, began to view its websites as an online extension of their traditional endeavors, generating acceptance and mutual trust.

Sixth, another key moment happened at the beginning of 2011 when the online news team realized that the appropriate space for distributing online content was social media, and not only their website, noticias.caracoltv.com. The success of social media

platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and Instagram in capturing audiences' attention through video and social recommendations and the ability of the audience to consume images via mobile devices not only brought back TV's interest in online video distribution, but also dismissed the idea of the website as the entry point for users. In fact, 60% of noticia.caracoltv.com's traffic currently comes from Facebook, supporting the idea that users are visiting Caracol News' webpage with less frequency. At the same time, by incorporating social media as part of the journalistic routines, Caracol News opened more spaces for users' participation and interaction with traditional media. At the beginning of social media, the online news team and TV journalists were not sure about the effectiveness of social networks and whether Caracol had to be there as a news brand or not. Caracol News' forays into social media were not the product of a thought-out process, but rather part of the same trial-and-error dynamic seen in other areas of the conglomerate's approach to online content. For instance, in 2009, an intern came up with the idea and opened the Twitter account @NoticiasCaracol, now with 7.3 million followers. Also, at the beginning of the social media boom, the team did not want to be on Facebook because they believed that platform was not going to be relevant for online news distribution.

The seventh recent moment of online evolution occurred in 2014, when Caracol decided to change their digital strategy and established a Digital Vice-Presidency for a common online business unit called Caracol Next, which integrated all online media brands of the Santo Domingo Group in Colombia—that is, three Caracol Television platforms (www.caracoltv.com, www.noticias.caracoltv.com, www.golcaracol.com), El

Espectador newspaper (www.elespectador.com), Blu Radio (www.bluradio.com), and magazines Shock (www.shock.co) and Cromos (www.cromos.com.co). The move also ended an eight-year-long online strategy led by ICCK Net, a technological company in the media sector that, as part of the Santo Domingo Group but outside Caracol, was in charge of engineering, designing, and commercializing the digital enterprises of the entire group. Caracol, for its part, was only responsible for providing content under that strategy. Caracol Next's goals are 1) to strengthen the digital focus of the company as a business unit that can offer advertisers multiple spaces and platforms, 2) become the digital audience leader in the Colombian online market mainly by producing and distributing video, and 3) consolidate their traditional media brands in the new media ecosystem. In other words, as Marcelo Liberini, Digital Vice-president of Caracol said, Caracol Next "is the bridge between the online and offline media operations that aims to maintain the leading position of Caracol in online spaces, creating new businesses and content venues for the media group." Opening a Digital Vice-Presidency gave some security to online teams about the company's digital future because it creates an online media branch responsible for defending budgets, businesses and advertisers.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND ONLINE MEDIA

Caracol's Digital Editor in Chief, Claudia Leonor Vesga, had her hairstyle and makeup sessions at noon before going live on national television at 3:05 p.m. Stylists got her ready to present her Monday-through-Friday television segment #LoMásTrinado [#TheMostTweeted]. Presenting this interactive news block is part of her mid-day-

routine. In the mornings, she handles and solves online content-related issues and writes the script for her television segment. After the session with stylists, she emerged from the makeup room holding a hair curler above her head, and ran to a business meeting with sales. In the elevator, she made jokes about her curler when she met the vice-president of the digital operation. This meeting with sales was going to tough because she had to justify traffic results and future content strategies to increase it, so she reviewed her numbers and ideas before going inside the room.

Meanwhile, Claudia's television production crew set two cameras, television lights, and a portable teleprompter on the fifth floor of Caracol Next's administrative building, where most of the online operations take place. Claudia does not use the regular news studio that is inside the Caracol News building because she wants traditional TV audiences to see the online activity as background in her TV shot—mainly entertainment and sports online writers, video producers, and social media analysts who work profusely in their cubicles. At 2.45 p.m., Claudia emerged from the sales meeting with a small digital tablet in her hands. She stood in front of the camera, took out the hair curler, brushed her hair one last time, and began to practice her five-minute segment #LoMásTrinado [#TheMostTweeted], which is mainly about life stories, viral content and interactivity on the Internet. She asked her producer whether she should wear the firefly-stamped-jacket she had brought. The producer said she looked great with the jacket and that wearing it favored her shot.

When Claudia was on air presenting her TV segment, online news journalists under her leadership—who are in the other building close to Caracol News' studio—

usually stopped working, turned their chairs, and paid attention to her performance, looking at the flat TV screens that are hanging on one of the walls in the online office. It is one of the most important moments of the day for the online news team because Claudia and her TV segment #LoMásTrinado are not only the most visible bridge between TV and online media, but also one of the most successful online products traffic-wise. #LoMásTrinado is the segment that connects online and traditional media because the interactive world has its space in the newscasts showing some integration of digital elements on television, and at the same time driving traffic to Caracol News webpage. So before saying goodbye to her TV audience, Claudia always reminds viewers that they can visit noticias.caracoltv.com to see #LoMasTrinado stories again. When the TV segment was done, Claudia left the building and rushed towards Caracol News to talk to her online group. She asked online journalists how the segment was and what story from #LoMasTrinado should lead the webpage. One piece of her segment always goes at the top of Caracol News' webpage and is distributed via social media with special emphasis.

#LoMásTrinado, the most evident bridge between traditional TV and online new media, has changed drastically over time. In January 2011, the idea of the TV segment emerged from an editorial meeting. Former TV news director Luis Carlos Vélez—who had the "digital chip in his brain," according to participants—conceived the project as a television space that reflected what users were saying on Twitter about current events using the hashtag #noticiascaracol. Vélez chose online news editor in chief Claudia Leonor Vesga to present the new TV segment because of her previous experience as an international news anchor for Caracol TV. So, after 11 years of being behind the scenes

taking on responsibilities as the leader of the online news project, Claudia came back to the TV screen with this segment about the most popular issues on Twitter. Also, for the first time in Colombian television's history, social media users' opinions were presented during a TV newscast. Graphic designers worked hard on developing a new layer that allowed the insertion of users' tweets on the TV screen. For a while, #LoMásTrinado worked perfectly for both TV and online, generating TV ratings and online traffic. An array of opinions about social issues and reactions to current events were shared via social media and aired on television.

However, things changed when the conversation on Twitter around #noticiascaracol became heavily politicized by interest groups and full of uncivil comments and attacks. According to newsworkers I interviewed, diverse political groups from right and left factions hired agencies and social media influencers to tweet thousands of messages daily using the hashtag #noticiascaracol to generate trends and impose their political agendas and frames on television newscasts and #LoMásTrinado reports. Tweets included attacks via @mentions and direct messages to journalists and TV news media. Claudia Leonor Vesga proposed to news director Vélez and the editorial board to transform the TV segment into something else far away from politics and current issues.

The disappointing experiment of trying to reflect social media user opinions on Caracol News' TV screen affected not only the relationship between traditional and online news media, but also the routines and interaction between television and social media. This incident triggered the following changes: Caracol News bought a social

media software that helps journalist to incorporate, filter and show online users' input on TV only during main news events such as political debates, elections, terrorist attacks, disasters, and institutional changes. A social media specialist was put in charge of that task. The TV segment #LoMasTrinado changed its topics from socio-political issues to "stories of life" found on social media, avoiding being part of the heated Colombian political debate. For a while, the TV newscast and online journalists distanced themselves from social media, for the activity around those networks became a more specialized task that needed much more analysis and attention. However, television and online media were puzzled by social media because users showed an extraordinary ability to comment about the newsmaking process, share content among followers, generate trending topics, and put pressure on journalists, anchors, and brands. Dissident voices surrounding the newsmaking process and the sense of losing control over information flow made online journalists and particularly social media managers valuable to the traditional operation. Online became "the eyes and ears of television" in this interactive world, a sort of umbilical cord that connected television with their audience in spaces that are out of the newsmakers' control. Therefore, social media disruptions made online professionals relevant for television news journalists because the formers could provide answers about how to handle the massive presence of the audience in these open networks and open new paths for digital content distribution and engagement. How could they regain control over the editorial process and the audience in these open networks was the main question hanging in the air.

The relationship between television and online news has often been difficult, as previous research has shown in other contexts and media organizations. Caracol TV is not an exception, although there is a great effort going on inside the organization to integrate the newswork between television and online news media using Caracol News' brand as a point of convergence. Mauricio Naranjo, sub-editor Digital Caracol News, highlights that the relationship has improved greatly over time, but he remembers that at the beginning of the online project the interaction between the two parts was "broken because traditional professionals did not understand what role digital journalists played in this organization." Naranjo recalls that there was a point in which traditional TV journalists even perceived them as rivals inside the same company, "just because we were sometimes ahead in the newsmaking process, and [they believed] we were going to steal their audience and their news scoops."

Despite this evolution, the relationship between traditional TV and online remains tense for multiple reasons. The first is that television is still the cash cow of the company, and consequently, TV is the main focus of the media organization while online keeps struggling to find revenue and sustainability. "*We are just a small branch of this big tree*," said one participant. That economic reality generates some imbalance in the distribution of resources. For instance, during my fieldwork at Caracol TV, the online news team was excited about the possibility of sending one of its journalists and a videographer to the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro to produce special video news stories from Brazil, a country that was experiencing social unrest and political instability at the time. However, the decision of sending that online duo to Brazil depended on

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whether two sponsors supported the trip by advertising in the online special section that the team had created for coverage of the Olympics. Securing expenses for the trip was a priority to back the editorial decision. In the end, the online team could not go to Rio because marketing did not close the deal with the sponsors. Meanwhile, TV news sent a large crew of reporters, cameramen, editors, and anchors to the event. So this unbalance generated some sort of frustration within the online team.

Second, the online news team believes traditional TV perceives them as less professional so they make a great effort to be considered worthy by TV standards. Online journalist Jessica Castillo said, "Online news is still like the little baby of this company, and TV does not pay attention to the baby unless something is needed from him." Mireya Fernández, senior online journalist, alleged that "the main focus of the company is TV, and the digital operation is still rather secondary." Hence, one of the main online enterprises consists of showing traditional journalists that they can produce valuable multimedia content (basically video) that could eventually air as TV news packages in the newscasts. The team members I spoke with said it is part of the "online evangelization" to add significance to the digital team. For instance, on July 27, 2016, the digital group sent one of its reporters to produce a story for the 12:30 p.m. TV newscast. The story was about a dog that was found and recovered by the police during a long military operation against criminal gangs inside the dangerous Bogota neighborhood called El Bronx. Police kept the dog and trained it to become a canine agent, but then, when the animal was almost ready for action, its original owner saw it in the news and asked for his dog back. A day before, the story had become a trending topic on social

media, so the online team decided to take the story from online to the TV screen. The story was broadcasted as a kicker on the 12.30 p.m. newscasts. Full of fascination, all members of the online team stopped working to watch the TV package of the dog as they usually do when #LoMásTrinado is on at 3:05 p.m.

When I asked the online team why they invest their scarce resources in producing a traditional package when television has more than 50 journalists at its disposal, the online sub-editor explained: "It is important because by producing the TV package we get television's respect. They [traditional journalists] can say, 'well, these kids are also able to produce good TV stories.' In this way, we are able to show we can produce stories for them and that we understand and master their TV craft. After showing them our ability, we can tell them, 'Please come and help us, work in the digital [world] with us too'". The same dynamic was established during the 2014 presidential elections: Online reporters went out to the streets to report for both online and television to show traditional reporters what online journalists were made of and that they were able to work on all platforms, getting TV's approval and respect. Additionally, there is also a sort of fascination to be on the TV screen because the traditional medium has higher penetration and audiences, so any on-air mention of an online story ensures good metrics for that particular piece, as 97% of the Colombian population has access to TV, whereas only around 60% of the population is connected to the Internet. Therefore, the online team understands both the importance of becoming useful for television as a way to add value and the power of being exposed on television news as a way to increase online traffic.

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Likewise, other turning points in the relationship between TV and online have happened when the digital team, together with the technology team, have implemented tools that improve or extend the TV news coverage. According to participants, those moments have been crucial to gaining respect and acknowledgment from TV. For instance, in 2010, the TV newscasts launched a series of programs to demand the liberation of people who had been kidnaped by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC guerrillas. There was a public outcry for freedom at that time in the country. The online team created the webpage—"A Click for Freedom"—in which users were able to click and vote in support of the liberation of those who had been abducted by the FARC. Users could also send messages via the web to express solidarity with civilians and soldiers who were in chains in the jungle. More than three million people clicked, voted, and sent messages. The online news team printed all those messages, flew in a helicopter over a region where the FARC had influence, and spread the messages on flyers. The action did not have a practical effect, but it was a symbol of resistance. A video story about the letters was produced for online and aired on national TV. The combined effort of TV and online to repudiate kidnapping in Colombia proved successful for online traffic and brought some recognition. Likewise, during the 2014 presidential election, technology, online, and television came together to produce a special section that showed election results automatically on the webpage from data that came directly from the Registraduría Nacional de Colombia, the country's election authority. The data proved to be a useful repository for television because anchors and reporters could send their audience directly to their webpage to check updates during the election. In short,

special online sections and tools that complement television coverage generate trust, and respect of the traditional medium for online.

Third, the digital news team thinks television professionals do not understand digital languages and formats—above all, online video composition—because TV journalists have been tied for a long time to traditional ways of editing and producing images that hinder online innovation. For instance, online journalist Mireya Fernández believed that television newsmakers do not understand that digital content has "its own language, its own narration pace, and edition style" so the traditional medium just pretend to take TV content and upload it online without "considering the new characteristics of the web and online audience." Fernández mentioned that Caracol News is taking timid steps to produce video exclusively for digital platforms. Gabriel Gómez—digital editor of the video unit of Caracol TV that clips, produces, and uploads around 140 videos daily— recognized that there is actually a knowledge gap between television and digital when looking at their distinct work logics and languages:

> I would not call our television staff dinosaurs, but they are people who have been working for a long time following the same process and logic. The only thing that has improved over time is their technology but their TV angles are the same, the way they edit content is the same, their operation and concepts are the same [...] They do not know the appropriate language for digital, which is completely different than producing for TV (short, dynamic, personal, emotional, with graphics, animation and spaces for interaction) [...] So there is a gap between TV and online because we do not know what they do on television and television does not know many of the processes we have to follow on digital to reach our goals. (July 2016).

As a solution to this disconnect between television and online formats, languages, and audiences, Caracol TV is starting to increase the production of its native digital

content while it plans to continue clipping a large volume of television news to reinforce their traditional brands and augment online distribution. Clipping TV news stories is already a big part of the digital culture in television settings, but the new direction of the company consists of producing more original online content to supply the needs of a young audience. Online leaders I spoke with said TV audiences are aging, and the new generations of viewers are not necessarily engaged with TV screens. In that sense, the strategy of Caracol News consists of giving away portions of its traditional news content on the web and capturing young audiences with stories produced and designed exclusively for online platforms and social media. However, video editors Jonathan Lagos said it has been onerous to change the clipping system already in place to give some room to the production of original content.

> We don't expect that the clipping process disappear, but we argue that we cannot only depend on that activity; we are asking [for times and space] to work on native digital productions. That is the kind of evolution that we as a team have in mind (July 2016).

Two original online native news series —that is, stories that are born and produced exclusively for the Web in order to meet unique characteristics of the digital media ecosystem and online users' consumption patterns— were produced during my fieldwork at Caracol: the *BookTuber* (see:

http://noticias.caracoltv.com/busqueda/booktuber), and *What people say* (*Lo que dice la gente*. See: http://noticias.caracoltv.com/tags/lo-que-dice-la-gente). The first series—the *BookTuber*—was presented by intern Angela María Jiménez, produced by online journalist Jessica Castillo, and shot and edited by video editor Jonathan Lagos. The idea

of this online three-minute segment was born during the 2016 Bogota Book Fair when Chilean YouTuber Germán Garmendia collapsed the venue during his book signing because thousands of people who went to the event to see him caused chaos when they could not get in. Colombian media and news commentators were amazed by the impact that a Chilean YouTuber could have in Bogotá (El Espectador, April 2016). The BookTuber TV segment was a product that came out of that incident. It was published once a week, and it had the goal of "talking to a younger online audience about culture but with fresh topics." The traffic of the BookTuber was a roller coaster. Some weeks it got high numbers and in others it dropped. As a solution, the team decided to interview famous Caracol TV talents about their reading preference to increase online viewers. The second segment—*What people say (Lo que dice la gente)*—was presented by famous traditional Caracol TV anchor Jorge Alfredo Vargas, and produced by an online crew of cameramen and editors. In this online three-minute segment, Vargas interviewed people on the streets in a very casual way, touching upon topics that affect the layman. Religion, race, and society are some of its favorite themes. The video uses product placement. Shootings occur inside the Unicentro Mall, located in the north of Bogotá, and different brands, such as those of the Grupo Aval, Colombia's largest financial conglomerate, are placed constantly in the background. Thus, the video not only generates traffic using fresh subjects, but it is also sponsored to cover the production costs and generate revenue.

Finally, Caracol TV's effort to integrate the news work between television and online conditions online routines and conveys more TV's practices and norms to online media. As seen, most activity of the online team happens during the newscasts and TV

broadcasting schedules because one of the fundamental goals of the organization is to reinforce Caracol News as a television brand in online platforms. For instance, daily routines of the online team consist of the following steps with regards to news television programing:

1. Four times a day, the online team must activate on their webpage noticias.caracoltv.com a module that shows the live broadcasting of each traditional newscast at 5:30 a.m., 12:30 p.m., 7 p.m., and 11 p.m. Thanks to this feature, users around the world can watch the traditional news programing online. Then, they must deactivate the live broadcasting event on their webpage once the newscast is over because soap-operas and reality shows have a different business and streaming dynamic.

2. When the newscast is on air, online journalists in combination with social media managers must tweet the TV news instantly as it is being presented on TV screens. Online journalists call this practice a "hot report." This "hot report" on Twitter about what is happening on the newscast has three goals, according to participants: First, it has the intention to reinforce Caracol News as a news brand in the mind of young users who are on social media, follow online news but not necessarily watch TV. Second, it seeks to attract people who watch TV but are not following the newscast at that particular moment so they can be dragged from social media to TV screens. Third, it sparks the reactions of users who are only on social media or viewers who are second screening with a mobile device. The whole online news team converges during the 12:30 p.m. to 3:15 p.m. newscast. Because activities "covering" the 12:30 p.m. newscast are intense and happen during lunch hours, the online journalists are united around food. Members of the team

are always teasing each other about the importance of bringing food and snacks to the office to alleviate hunger. The smell of food pervaded the air in the online newsroom at noon. Typical Colombian bites such as *arepas* (corn pancakes), *buñuelos* (fritters), and *almojábanas* (a cake made of cheese and flour) were their favorite food because these snacks left some room for a late-lunch after 3:30 p.m. During the third week of my fieldwork, two journalists asked me directly, half-serious yet half-joking, when I was going to bring some food for the team, so the next day, I came with *achiras* (arrowroot biscuits) and *bocadillos* (guava candy). The last day of my fieldwork, the online team brought pizza and soda to say good-bye. Everybody said something nice about my work. Cheering with his plastic cup full of soda and making reference to the food at noon as a united element of the newsroom, the digital news sub-editor said: "Technology could come late to Colombia but being digital is a matter of having stomach for the online world, and we work our guts out here in the digital newsmaking process."

3. Following the I-News rundown, online journalists develop a continuity of what stories they are going to have on their webpage both in text and video. They send a list to the Online Video Unit enumerating the TV news stories that they plan to publish on their webpage and promote on social media. The video unit captures, clips and uploads those news stories into the Brightcove-Video Cloud server. Once uploaded, each video generates a code that video editors send back to the editorial team. Online journalists insert those codes in their articles using the CMS to provide multimedia support for text stories. Using Photoshop, an intern from the online team cut a better thumbnail to illustrate the video. This process of changing thumbnails aims to catch the attention of the

audience with strong images and avoids memes on social media with anchors or reporters making faces or with their eyes closed. Most of the time, the digital version of a TV news story only can be published on the website and on social media after television airs it. Digital journalists use I-News as a reference for whether they can publish the story online or not. Only when a TV news story appears highlighted in green in the I-News rundown, online journalists can use it on the web. In short, online news hierarchy greatly depends on what is going on in the TV newscasts, and TV rundown software is used to guarantee content agreement.

4. Online journalists are always connected to the television rundown software I-News not only to get a green light on a TV news stories, but also to access scripts and additional information about Caracol News. Online utilizes those scripts to write digital stories for the webpage and to guide their publication process. Publishing text is more flexible than uploading a clipped video, but the online team sometimes has to wait until a TV story is broadcasted on TV to publish also a related text in their content management system (CMS), especially when news is exclusive to Caracol TV.

Another historical example about the TV software was revealed when the director of the online project in Caracol News, Claudia Leonor Vesga, recognized that she was chosen to lead the online news team back in 2000 because of she kept an open-mind and a progressive attitude during the implementation of I-News in the newsroom. Back in 1997, the adoption of I-News faced a strong resistance from Caracol TV traditional journalists who refused to incorporate the tool in their newscasts. Former television news director Yamit Amat noticed that Claudia understood better than any other journalists the

new digital dynamics for her willingness to implement I-News. In this sense, I-News was perceived as the point of the digital process of television so it continues to represents a strong link with online.

5. Online journalists and social media managers promote weekend TV series and programing by generating expectations about investigative stories on social media and the webpage. They work on producing small videos that social media managers post on Facebook, Twitter, and Google+ in order to drag audiences to TV viewing on weekends.

As participant observation and interviews show, online activity surrounding the TV newscasts and programing is intense for it implies a combination of web and social media work to reflect offline broadcast content in the news media ecosystem. Clipping and making traditional television available in online spaces are a great part of online routines. By shoveling TV content into online, the digital team reproduces practices and norms from TV, hindering the possibility of producing original online video and innovation that the company intends to do.

ADOPTION OF TECHNOLOGY

Online journalists working for Caracol News adopt digital technologies that empower them to distribute their work effectively through various platforms and networks, support TV news programing, and increase their online audiences. Likewise, online reporters adopt social media networks where mass audiences are present and incorporate tools that facilitate the inclusion of advertising to monetize content. Additionally, the online news teams implement technologies that are easy to use by

journalists and their audiences, and also provide video quality that is similar to television in order to maintain standards of professionalism in online spaces.

TV media and journalists are looking for technologies that facilitate the distribution of content—particularly video—in the online ecosystem. In this sense, tools and networks that speed the information flow through clipping and video distributing are easily embraced. For instance, during my fieldwork at Caracol, one of the most popular and effective tools that the online teams used was Snappy TV, a company acquired by Twitter that allows easy video editing and real time sharing on Twitter. Usually, TV broadcasters adopt tools like Snappy TV for live clipping, editing, and video distributing directly to social media platforms and users. Moreover, Snappy facilitates the process of capturing live broadcasting events and making video clips of those events available on Twitter almost at real time. Online journalists and social media managers can capture specific moments of a live-broadcast by selecting an "In" and "Out" point of a video that they find relevant. Then, they upload that piece into the cloud server of Snappy TV and send it directly to Twitter as a video clip and message without going through their regular CMS process. In this case, online professionals really value tools that enable quick and easy distribution of digital video on the web, and particularly on social media.

There are some limitations of using tools that are tied to specific social media systems. For instance, video clips coming out of Snappy TV usually cannot be published directly on Facebook, where most of the target audience is, due to rights restrictions. Social media managers and online journalists work together to solve this problem using the Caracol News' content management system (CMS) and the embed twits coding

feature. In fact, online journalists create a minute-to-minute article of the live-broadcasting event in their CMS, and they narrate with concise phrases what is happening during the live-broadcast. Once social media managers have published a video clip on Twitter, they send via Whatsapp the code so online journalists working with texts can embed the tweet in the article. Finally, the link of the article published in noticias.caracoltv.com with the embedded tweets is added to Facebook so users on that social media platform have access to the video content that has been clipped for Twitter. A second limitation of tools like Snappy TV is the fragmentation of online metrics and advertising that they cause. In fact, Snappy TV offers measures like unique users and minutes of video consumption but these statistics are outside the Caracol News' metric system. Thus, these traffic numbers and results end up disperse. At the same time, clips from Snappy TV are not published through the video reproduction monetizing software Brightcove-Video Cloud, which is tied to the online advertising system of Caracol TV. This dispersion represents a challenge for the news company, but online journalists justify this fragmentation in traffic and advertising by highlighting social media's capability to distribute last-minute content and reach a large audience.
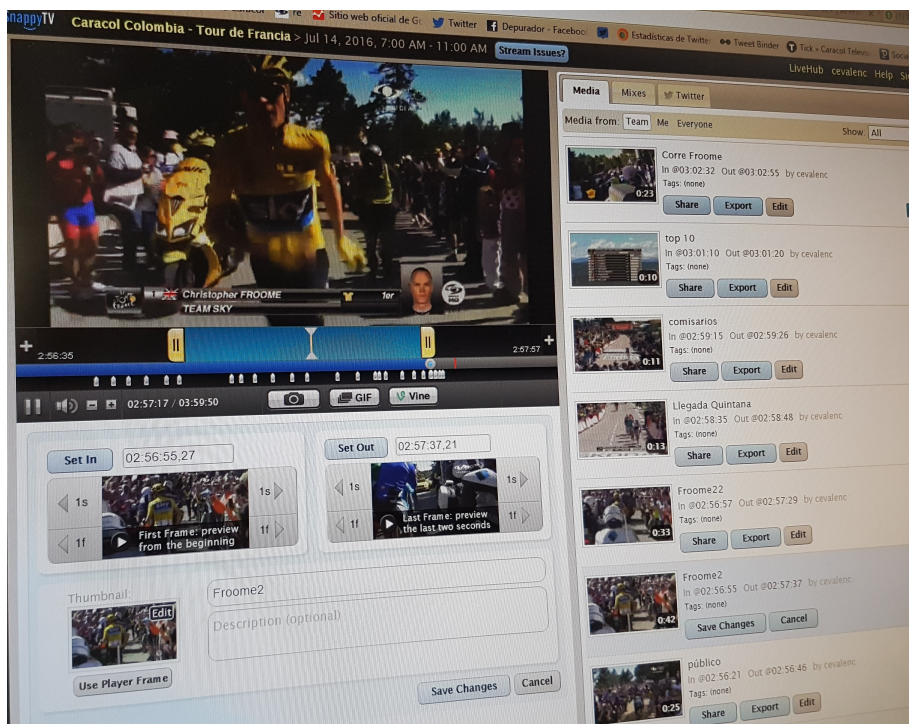
Figure 2:   Clipping a live-sport event (Tour de France) with Snappy TV

Caracol TV also implements digital tools that embed advertising in order to monetize video and content on mobile devices. In fact, the economic focus of Caracol's online media is on distributing video with advertising through mobile devices and webpages. Since 2015, news consumption patterns have shown that Colombian users get their news on mobile phones more than on any other device. This trend makes the combination of online video and mobile a priority for Caracol. Recently, the TV company selected Brightcove-Video Cloud as a platform for encoding, clouding, and delivering videos with imbedded advertising, and it dropped its former provider Ooyala. The selection of Brightcove as the new video cloud service was not only based on its performance delivering content to users on all kinds of devices (mainly mobile), but also

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because its multiple features help the company to monetize video by inserting advertising in players and delivering pay-content to users.

Most importantly, online teams implement technologies that complement with their digital features television news coverage. As I explained in the previous section, online teams, technology, and television work together to incorporate tools and networks that reinforce the role of traditional media in the online ecosystem, creating a strong relationship between TV viewing and online news consumption. Take daily streaming of all TV newscasts for instance, just to name one seemingly simple feature that the webpage noticias.caracoltv.com offers to its audience as part of the online journalistic routine. Thanks to this technological feature, users inside and outside Colombia have the possibility of watching the full live-newscasts on multiple platforms and devices. For online, this is one of the features that drives users to the webpage and one of the reasons why they visit regularly the website. Caracol News is constantly working on improving this live-streaming technology, its design, and user experience. Another example of this trend is the way online journalists are using Facebook Live to reinforce TV programing and talent, inviting people from the newscasts to discuss breaking news and news topics. Supporting television programing and reinforcing traditional brands online is an important component of digital technology. In other words, TV news organizations adopt and perceive digital technology as a way to remedy, support, or complement some limitations of the offline world.

Figure 3:   Caracol News in-house tool for live-streaming

Let's Be Where Audiences Are

Online media look for and embrace social networks that have massive audiences because in those spaces they can successfully distribute content that, in return, provide outstanding metrics and reinforce the reach of their traditional brand. A good example of the online teams' preference for mass audience networks is the transition that they have experienced from Twitter to Facebook. In 2011, the popular TV segment #LoMásTrinado (#TheMostTweeted) emerged as a reaction to political debates on popular social media platform Twitter and the need to create a bridge between users' interaction and TV. At the time, Twitter was a priority for Caracol News. Online journalists always felt very

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close to Twitter because the micro blog hosted an information flow that fit journalistic practices such as immediacy and public debate. Even though they continued distributing content on Twitter, the focus of the team has changed from Twitter to Facebook because "the big audience is in the latest platform." The same chasing-the-audience-dynamic can be perceived with emerging social media such as Instagram and SnapChat versus the current popularity of Facebook. Users of SnapChat, for instance, are considered too young for Caracol News and the news potential of the tool is still not clear, but online teams are ready to change their focus to Snapchat and jump to this platform in case mass audiences move form Facebook to this newer social network. Online journalist Óscar Fabián Rosas explained how online news media have been evolving with their audiences on social media:

> I remember we were so happy when we became news media leaders on Twitter. We have the news media handle with most followers in Colombia and the first in [volume of] publications. But then Twitter started to cool down as the audience began to consume news on Facebook. People embarked on using Facebook as a tool for sharing news and we evolved with the audience to Facebook. We did take that step alone. It was Facebook that changed and realized it could be a platform for news (July, 2016).

The way Caracol News has incorporated Facebook Live into its journalistic routine provides another good example of how online news media are chasing their audience on social media and reproducing TV practices on those online networks. Facebook Live is a broadcasting feature that lets people and page (public figures and media organizations) share live video streaming with their followers and friend on Facebook. The success of Facebook Live as a platform for television media shows how

usability and video quality determine the utilization of a video-streaming tool over another. Newsworkers I interviewed believe that Facebook Live has changed streaming radically to the extent to which they have given up previous tools such as Live-Video-Chats that were connected directly to their webpage and under their control in order to adopt Facebook Live features. Carlos García, Digital Editorial Coordinator of Caracol, said that the organization preferred Facebook Live because it allows massive interaction with audiences and vast distribution of live content. Conversely, other useful tools such as YouTube, Periscope, and Google Hangouts "are not the home page of 24 million Colombian users" and do not generate the amount of interactions (likes, sharing, and comments) that are happening on Facebook.

Other reasons that explain why Facebook Live is hogging streaming and social video at Caracol News are video quality, stability, and easy usability. Carlos García recalled that he traveled to New York exclusively to talk to Facebook representatives about their need to connect Caracol TV's signal, studios, and cameras directly into Facebook Live because the company wanted to have the same television quality on Facebook Live streaming. Hence, reproducing the same TV image excellence on social media was an important aspect of this tech-streaming deal. After that meeting in New York, Caracol signed an agreement with Facebook that he said put them "ahead in the game" because the television company was one of the first to incorporate the Facebook feature as a strategic platform. Other tools like Periscope that only allow live streaming through cellphones do not offer the same TV-like video quality and stability that Caracol News was looking for in its live-streaming events. Twitter users and followers are invited

with a message and a link to join live-events on Facebook. Therefore, Caracol's future strategy is to use Facebook Live as the main platform for live streaming. Carlos García concludes: "We must be there and a step further from our competitors."

On July 11, 2016, Caracol News streamed a Facebook Live event promoting three specialists from the Tour de France: Goga, Rubencho and Santiago Botero, who are cycling experts and Caracol TV commentators. They were invited as special guests to this Facebook Live stream to talk about Colombian cyclists in the Tour de France and their chances to get the yellow jersey. Caracol News was in charge of this live stream because online news teams can cover any sport-related news but soccer, which is the responsibility of golcaracol.com. Six members of the online news crew produced this Facebook Live stream: One video editor, two cameramen, two social media managers, and the editor in chief. They used two cameras, a switcher, and a sound mixer to stable the level of four microphones. Equipment was plugged into a powerful computer. Using Adobe Premier, the video producer was able to switch cameras, insert banners, and add B-roll during the live streaming. Meanwhile, social media managers monitored Facebook and Twitter and used Whatsapp to send users' questions to the three cycling commentators. Instead of utilizing a formal TV studio, the online team used a temporary set. The online studios were still under construction, participants said. The backstage had the logos of Caracol News and Facebook Live, publicizing a strong partnership between the news organization and the social media platform. The live-streaming event took place at the end of the fifth floor of Caracol Next's administrative building, where most of the conglomerate's online operations are located, very close to the office of the digital vice-

president of the company. One social manager was in charge of activating and monitoring the live streaming on Facebook. He summarized main ideas coming from the conversation of the three cycling experts and posted these thoughts as comments. He also invited the Facebook audience to send their questions about the Tour de France and dragged users from Twitter to Facebook by announcing and linking the live-streaming event constantly on the micro blog system. Another social manager was in charge of selecting and sending via Whatsapp the best questions from the audience to the three commentators. The experts checked their phones and Whatsapp, read out loud selected questions from the audience, and answered them during the live-streamed event. This Facebook Live generated more than 42,000 video reproductions, 40,000 unique users, and more than 6,000 interactions (likes, shares, and comments).

Figure 4:   Facebook Live broadcasting at Caracol TV

Who Let the Technologies Out

The adoption of technologies such as Facebook Live—which are not under Caracol TV's control—is a relatively new strategy at the company. At the beginning of its online endeavors, Caracol News was very protective of content and tried to remain technologically enclosed by using customized tools. It did not accept digital tools or networks that were out of its control. Take for instance the multiple developments of the CMS platform that Caracol has experienced. Caracol TV had external providers of CMS technology who belonged to the same economic group at the beginning of its online project until it realized that it could take full control of its online editorial processes by using Drupal to customize its own platform. For a while, decisions about the CMS platform (former core of the online news production) conditioned Caracol's understanding of technology. For this reason, the company developed its own streaming platform and thought about building its own social media network. However, the audience reach and usability of some in-house experiments were not satisfactory. After long discussions about costs and benefits of developing in-house technologies, Caracol TV decided to go outside its technological boundaries and implement tools available in the online media ecosystem. They began to chase audiences wherever they were, aiming to improve its distribution channels. Carlos García, Digital Editorial Coordinator of Caracol TV, justified this decision because audiences are now congregating on social media:

> Whether you insist on bringing the audience to your home or you go to the house where they are. And practically, our audiences are now meeting on social media. So why am I going to create social media platforms? Why am I going to build a

new platform if Facebook, YouTube, Snapchat, and Instagram already exist? What I can do is insert my content inside those new logics and consumption dynamics (July 2016).

Claudia Leonor Vesga remembered the long discussions on Caracol's technological decentralization because the company was afraid and jealous of giving away content and implementing external tools:

> Taking that decision meant losing some control, but we knew at the same time that our content would improve its audience reach. Only powerful social media like Facebook can generate that access to audiences who are never going to go directly to our home page. These are avid consumers of news who are looking for new things only on social media. (July 2016).

How do the online teams feel about giving away their content through these open technology systems? Online journalists assume for a fact that they are not controlling the means of distribution any more. They said their company is not going to invest more money and energies developing digital tools and platforms already available on the market. Nowadays, digital technology is easily adopted in the market place. Thus, online teams are testing and implementing whatever tool is out there to gather audiences and distribute news, assessing always costs and benefits of those artifacts. In short, TV news media were protective of their platforms and content at the beginning of their Internet endeavors as they did not want to be supplanted by third party providers, but now they have decided to give up that control because they prefer to reinforce their news brand on social media, keep their relevance as news producers, and be wherever the audience is. That strategy seems to empower social media—more especially Facebook—as a unique news distribution channel. Caracol TV users are getting used to the idea of finding all the information they need inside social media platforms.

Different Social Media, Different Logics

Digital communication practices and routines inside Caracol News have been disrupted by technological developments that brought a number of professional and economic tensions to the news organization. In this transformation, social media have been playing a crucial role. Social media not only have captured and retained a large number of online users, but also have become one of most popular places to share and get news. Technological innovations such as Facebook (Facebook Live), Twitter (Periscope), Snapchat, and Instagram offer interactive features that allow traditional media to distribute news and interact with massive audiences. In fact, metrics show that Facebook drives around 60% of the traffic of Caracol News while Twitter brings around 7%. Therefore, online teams from Caracol have incorporated social media into its journalistic routines and its content distribution strategy after years of hesitation and debate.

Online journalists working for Caracol News use social media platforms applying a different set of logic for each tool. They have identified diverse purposes for different social media tools, and developed specific tasks on those platforms in their daily work, interpreting the purposes of these new interactive tools. For example, they use Twitter to report breaking news, to promote and distribute their own work, to stream live events, to get news tips (denouncements) from the audience, to listen to and monitor their audience, and to report "live or in hot" about stories broadcasted by the television newscast. They use Facebook to reach the "big audience," increase their website traffic, promote their brand (branding), and engage with their audience through interactions that Facebook offers (likes, sharing and comments). Online teams use Google+ to position and increase

the relevance of their stories on the Google search engine, improving their search engine optimization. They use Instagram to publish useful information in video such as #ÚtilyRápido (#Useful&Quick) as well as pictures that promote their television talent and highlight the beauty of different regions of Colombia or cities where Caracol TV has been broadcasting.

Social media algorithms and designs determine some reasoning behind the implementation of these platforms. For example, interviewees talked about the rapid information flow of Twitter that fits journalistic standards for immediacy and allows them to publish fragmented pieces of information that contribute news developments. Conversely, participants said they could not use Facebook for rapid information flows. Social media managers said they had to be cautious on that social network because it could categorize their activities as spam, limiting the news organization's reach and relevance. Interviewees talked about Facebook as their main strategic platform for branding, distributing content, and engaging with their online audience. To overcome these difficulties with Facebook, Caracol TV has established a direct relationship with the social media company in New York in order to break an exclusive deal that helps the TV news organization to become a leader in video distribution on social media.

Monetizing digital content, live broadcasting, and engagement on social media is still under experimentation. Caracol TV is generating small revenues on Facebook and YouTube. Facebook pays Caracol TV in a beta feature called Suggested Videos; that is, when a video from Caracol TV finishes, Facebook shows users a bunch of related videos in a row. Facebook pays Caracol TV for every related video from other brand a user

watches. Caracol TV did not reveal the amount Facebook is paying but Re/Code's Kurt Warner reported a 55% / 45% split between the social media platform and TV media. A similar commercial dynamic is going on with Instant Articles, which is a Facebook news feature that delivers a better navigation experience for users, faster article download, and easy news consumption. However, Instant Articles only opens inside Facebook so online users remain within the social media platform without visiting the Caracol News' website. Instant Articles also contains online native advertising from Facebook, but every time that the social network inserts advertising in articles published by Caracol, Facebook has to pay a portion to the TV news organization.

Technological Frames

The online news teams adopted frames to explain technological media changes and defend their digital projects. Technological frames have been defined as the discursive characterizations and the meaning groups give to technology (Bijker, 1997, 2012). Online teams used these technological frames to justify their decisions and solutions in order to reach organizational goals. Two particular frames were constantly repeated during the in-depth interviews in order to describe digital transformations and online pressures towards traditional media. The first one made reference to the underdeveloped technological context of Colombia. According to newsworkers I interviewed, media from a developing country like Colombia had more time to adapt to digital technological disruptions because technology arrives late and it is adopted at a slower pace that in other high-tech developed nations. Despite the benevolence of time to

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adopt innovation, the second technological frame made reference to the imminent death of television media if TV does not ensure its transition to the online media ecosystem.

The first frame understands digital technology as a cascade whose waters fall at different times and places depending on the level of development of each region or country. This gradual entry of technologies and innovations helps the online teams at Caracol TV to have confidence in their future and gives TV news media (apparently) more time to react to technology before it reaches states of disruption and obduracy. The technological cascade logic of the online teams is the following: First, the U.S. and Western European media take the risk to invest and create new digital technologies, opening innovation paths that may cause some disruption. Then, those technological innovations are tested among media users who finally determine whether new tools work or not. Digital technologies need to be able to establish some ground and be accepted by large audiences before Caracol TV even considers them. Then, technologies may travel to other countries with larger news audiences in the region, like Brazil or Argentina. Only when technologies surpass this stage of acceptance does Caracol TV start thinking about how those new artifacts may be implemented to fulfill its corporate goals. This technological cascade affects innovation because newsworkers believe that it is not about inventing in something new or being pioneers, it is about implementing available and successful technologies at the right time, according to the national context and media competition. Digital technology and innovations have reached Colombia gradually, at a slower pace, said newsworkers. This technology cascade gives professionals more

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confidence about their future as they only adopt tools that are already working with audiences in other contexts[1].

Technological frames are key to understanding how online teams working for TV news organizations shape technology and react to digital disruptions such as social media. For instance, online professionals at Caracol TV shared the idea that television is going to die if they do not make a transition to online spaces and become relevant to social media users. This concept—very similar to the death of newspapers that permeated public discourse at the end of the 20th Century—generates anxiety among TV journalists while it reinforces the important role of online producers in the near future. Online teams foresee news distribution and consumption only through social media platforms (Facebook mainly) and mobile devices. While some managers make a clear distinction between content, platforms, and devices, most interviewees believe that dominium over screens and social networks implies the dominance of news media. So whoever controls screens and distribution platforms is going to command television media. That technological frame reinforces Caracol News' objective of distributing content through social media platforms and mobile devices. It is not only about chasing the audience in networks and spaces where it congregates, but also about foreseeing an apocalyptic future for television media. An anonymous member of the team I spoke with used this technological frame within the context of what is happening to the newspaper industry:

> TV is unfortunately going to face the same fate as newspapers. Less and less people are going to prefer to get news from TV. We can see evidence of this in our information flow. People now get their news on social media, and they don't

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[1] However, I found in a 2011-12 research that Colombian newspapers used the same cascade

get to social media because of TV news. If television does not transform itself soon, it is going to be obsolete. TV must understand that what it called online journalism and saw as something far away is imminent and it is the new way to do journalism. (July 2016).

Innovation Strategies

Technological innovation is expected to come from online media to television media in Caracol TV. Comfortable with that trajectory, traditional television hopes that online teams find ways to do the digital transition of television and produce innovative formats that ensure the future of the traditional business. Immersed in this dynamic, online news is producing innovation for television and not the other way around, though major editorial decisions are still tied to the TV news director. Television reporters from Caracol News expect online operations to reflect and support their television work on the web. Traditional TV news stories and formats continue to be the only contribution of TV to online, but TV does not take further steps such as promoting or including online features in their stories. In short, the transition of traditional television to online spaces is expected to come from the online teams of the company and not from television itself.

That dynamic hinders the participation of traditional professionals on digital platforms. Managers believe that TV reporters have heavy workloads that are propitious for thinking about digital storytelling and innovation. Also, leaders think that the only mission of TV reporters is to produce stories that adhere to well established television formats without much variation in storytelling despite the disruption of online formats and the presence of the audience in that media space. The historical legacy of television is so strong that it does not occur to managers that television professionals at some point

have to produce online content. TV journalists seem to be untouchable in this sense because their routines and success are well established. In other words, innovations in storytelling and video formats work mainly in one direction: from online to television, but it does not flow from television to online.

Most of the time, online news teams are clipping traditional TV content for news distribution and consumption purposes, but they are also producing a few native online stories that include digital formats and features. Those pieces sometimes have enough quality to be aired in traditional television programing. For example, online journalist Mireya Fernández—who was leading special news projects on digital video because of her background as a movie and TV producer—had been working on several online stories about foreigners living in Colombia who believe strongly in this country. The online series is called Los Importados (#LosImportados), one-minute-stories that are very well produced, meticulously edited, and with a fast-paced rhythm. The series was expected to air on national television, too. As explained before, online journalists from Caracol News are eager to handle their work as TV newscasts for three main reasons: 1) To show TV reporters that online journalists are able to understand and produce for different formats including television, 2) gain the sympathy and support from TV producers and editors, and 3) get exposition on television screens and capitalize it by generating online traffic.

Figure 5:   The new online series #Los Importados, a digital video product

Another pattern that I noticed during my participant-observation and interviewing at Caracol News is that innovation is supposed to come from online journalists and online newsrooms in the form of multimedia content, particularly digital video. Bringing innovation with content is more relevant than implementing new tools. In this vein, the news organization believes that online journalists are able to bring innovation by working individually in the production of cutting-age content, above all online video. Caracol TV has also created a recent position called "online digital producer." This producer manages all talent and resources form the digital units, including but not limited to content, marketing, social media, engineering, digital design and the front end, according to digital news producer Jaime Barbosa (July 2016). The "Lone Ranger hero" has to be capable of putting together all digital resources available inside the news organization to

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create innovative sections and channel technological affordances and available talent. At the same time, the online news producer is responsible for benchmarking other points of reference in the national and international online markets, and bring those innovative ideas from abroad to implement them domestically. The fact that the responsibility of innovation lies on the shoulders of one individual and his/her ability to combine available digital resources imposes some limitations such as a reduced vision of the news media ecosystem and its economic, technological, and social ramifications.

For Caracol TV, innovation does not mean becoming an inventor of new platforms, networks, or tools. Innovation means being the first one to adopt convenient cutting-edge technology for Colombian audiences and producing original online content. For instance, no other news company in Colombia implemented Facebook Live before Caracol TV, which means for online professionals that the TV news organization was innovative because it was the first adopter of a new digital technology for its audience.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE AUDIENCE

Surveillance and Social Listening

Caracol TV acquired the exclusive rights to broadcast the Tour de France in 2016. Before that, the public TV organization Señal Colombia held the rights to broadcast the event in Colombia. The great performance of Colombian cyclists in Europe led by Nairo Quintana, Esteban Chávez, and Rigoberto Urán made this sporting event pure gold for gathering a large TV audience. However, given the multiple commercial compromises of Caracol with its regular programing and advertisers, the TV organization announced it

could not broadcast the whole race from beginning to end as Señal Colombia used to do. Caracol interrupted its regular programing and broadcasted only 30 minutes of the competition when daily stages were close to the finish line. To solve the programing issue, Caracol News decided to use social media, particularly Facebook live, and their webpage to stream all races from beginning to end. This online news strategy proved once more that digital technologies are implemented in Caracol TV as an extension for supporting or solving traditional media's limitations in the offline world.

Viewers, however, were not happy with Caracol TV. Only broadcasting the end of each stage of the Tour de France on TV screens generated social media backlash as users expressed their outrage at Caracol TV on Facebook, Twitter, and other social networks. Independent media, blogs, and influencers picked up the public outcry on their platforms, increasing the negative conversation surrounding the TV news organization. Señal Colombia had added to the crisis when it issued a press release in which it explained, "A private TV organization offered a price that was beyond the economic capability of our public network for the rights to broadcast the event" (Señal Colombia, June 2016). Live streaming on Facebook and on noticias.caracoltv.com seemed like a reasonable solution from a technological point of view to overcome Caracol TV's programing issues but viewers expected the whole event to be broadcasted on open national television just as they used to watch it in previous years. Users made frequent references on social media to Señal Colombia and ESPN as channels that treat viewers with respect while they lambasted Caracol on social media for treating its audience with

disdain. Caracol TV had bought the broadcasting rights for Tour de France just to spoil the excitement around the important competition, some users said.

Three social media analysts worked intensively to listen to users who mentioned Caracol's brands on the Web and gathering information about online influencers in order to produce a report about this social media crisis and send it to the top brass of the TV organization. Social media analysts are responsible for monitoring the Web, surveillance the audience and write monthly assessments about user discussions on social media surrounding Caracol's brands and talent. They used analytic software with algorithms that mine and explore big data, targeting conversations that mentioned specific phrases, words, brands, and people. This practices goes beyond monitoring @mentions, comments, or paying attention to notifications because it tracks individuals and groups that are talking about Caracol TV's programing and talent in their online updates and discussions even when they do not use Caracol's handles, replies, or hashtags. Social media analysts monitor mainly Facebook and Twitter, but also follow blogs, webpages, and other media. They generate alerts that try to anticipate crises involving brands or workers. The reports include negative and positive tone and sentiment, a list of influencers, and recommendations for changing the course of negative conversations on events. But above all, the monitoring unit is concerned with the possible audience reach that mentions on social media could have. Usually, the reach depends on the influence that social media users may have. For instance, sometimes the conversation surrounding an issue is large on Twitter because it is generated by thousands of users who talk about a general issue, while in other moments, the conversation acquires the same dimension just

by one tweet posted by someone who is very influential on the Web. In this sense, some online native media, aggregators, politicians, and commentators are very influential and generate a lot of noise when they criticize traditional media, according to interviewees I spoke with.

Social media analysts never respond directly to users or groups in the middle of a social network crisis. When Caracol brands or talent are under attack, analysts measure the sentiment of the conversation, send their recommendations, and wait until the Digital Editor of Social Media, Ricardo Suárez, determines the way social media managers from each brand should react online. Usually, Caracol TV waits until things calm down because any reaction from the TV organization using its social media accounts only amplifies the conversation greatly. For instance, Caracol News has more than 7 million followers on Twitter so any mention from @NoticiasCaracol about a critical moment such as the Tour de France would only make that volume of followers aware of the issue, perhaps inviting more negative interaction.

On the contrary, as part of their routine, news social media managers answer users' questions and posts (often using direct messages) from Caracol's official accounts because "audiences like to be listened to and obtain feedback." Nevertheless, when social media managers are facing crises like this one they have to hold for directions based on special analyses. To counter negative conversation, Caracol TV often employ influencers from the same brand under attack to react on social media; that is, anchors, journalists. or talent who have thousands of followers and friends on social media and can change the

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tone of the conversation in favor of the news organization, according to Paola Andrea Vivas, Analyst of Digital Information from Caracol Next.

Television and traditional news workers have created a sort of dependency on these social media analyses. Monthly reports of the monitoring unit are considered the eyes and ears of television on social media and the pulse with which to measure audience's sentiment toward the newscasts. Team members said TV is learning about its audience and how to approach it, thanks to these reports. At the same time, social media analysts learn about all the accumulated knowledge and experience of television from traditional news media workers. Paola Andrea Viva, Analyst of Digital Information from Caracol Next revealed how TV anchors and traditional journalists rely heavily on those analyses:

> They are public figures, and users talk about them or to them directly on social media. Many times, TV people approach us and tell us 'look, I've received an attack about this' or 'users are talking about this issue, please see how this conversation develops.' The relationship with TV is incredible, and we are always working on benefiting our talent. They ask us for reports, they call us or email us asking about what's going on. (July 2016).

Social media analysts[2] know that their work is not only important to traditional newsrooms, but also to marketing. In a recent test, the monitoring unit and TV marketing worked together to run searches on the reputation of Colombian TV journalists, including other news organizations like RCN and Canal Uno. Caracol TV's marketing unit

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[2] Like with the video unit, social media analysts from Caracol TV foresee their job needing to evolve in the near future. Participants said that they would like to become content and information researchers who generate ideas, topics, and indexes from social media that may work as online and TV stories. They want to unpack the nature of viral information, and identify potential influencers in different areas who can skyrocket the consumption of Caracol's webpages and social networks.

surveyed viewers about their perceptions on journalists. Then, marketers asked the monitoring unit to find out what the same respondents said on social media about journalists when they were asked the same questions but on their personal profiles. Results on social media proved completely different to those from traditional surveys. Social media analysts Paola Andrea Viva said people do not feel comfortable answering formal surveys about media, journalists, anchors, and talent while "on social media they feel confident to express themselves because they are in their own profile, more relaxed, talking about other people, and the context that surrounds them" (July 2016).

Listening to the audience on social media is having a direct impact on both television and online content. Caracol News gathers enough information to identify what content online audiences like and react to on social media. Caracol TV considers itself a family channel and one of its most strict policies is to respect its audiences. Interaction with users often does not intend to establish an open dialog but to respond as a news brand to their requests, questions, and angst. Above all, monitoring allows social media experts to identify news that generates a negative reaction from the audience almost in real time. When that happens, social media analysts and managers usually warn television about coverage that digital audiences consider inappropriate or offensive. Caracol News usually reacts fast and pulls down controversial content from different platforms, including their broadcasting system, online pages, and social media. For instance, during my fieldwork, on July 27, 2016, the news correspondent from Cordoba (a Colombian state located in the northeastern part of the country) sent a news TV story about women who posed naked inside the Cultural Center of Cereté, a town from this region. Photos of

that incident were leaked. The images continued to be explicit even though TV editors had blurred them. Once the story was aired, users reacted negatively towards the story on social media, considering it indecent. Digital News Editor Claudia Leonor entered the online newsroom and asked online reporters not to publish the video on their webpage or social media accounts. She said the news director had also ordered the removal of that story from the newscast. However, the story with one of the pictures was already included as a teaser in a video with the headlines, and it had been posted online before the newscast began. Online journalists unpublished the headline video and asked the video unit to edit a new piece taking out that particular story. Likewise, social media managers deleted, links, and information related to that event from Caracol News accounts.

Users as Consumers

Listening but not necessarily dialoging with or incorporating the editorial input of audiences strengthens the traditional media concept of online users as consumers, affecting the way online journalists implement digital technology and present content. In fact, most online journalistic activities do not intend to establish open conversations with users about public issues but to grasp content preferences, measure sentiment, and reactions of the general public in order to take content decisions that finally increase traffic and preserve brand reputation.

By thinking of users mainly as information consumers, online professionals put in place more traditional TV journalistic routines in their projects and use digital technologies and networks as distribution channels that could take the audience wherever

the news organization wants, including webpages, TV screens, or online content. Online journalist Mireya Fernández believes that Caracol News continues to exercise gatekeeping over content and control over news agendas in its relationship with the audience:

> People can send their local complaints on video, but their involvement [in the news-making process] is still very timid. Journalists continue to decide news order, frequency, and space both on TV screens and online. We still have the ability to determine what to say, how to say, and when we say it. We impose the news agenda; that is, we listened to what audiences are saying in general and react accordingly, but audiences do not necessarily impose their own agendas. (July 2016).

Also, the traditional concept of audiences as consumers conditions the perception of users' technological capabilities. Caracol News believes it is producing content for technologically un-savvy online users who need support during the news consumption process, so online teams implement technologies such as that make it really easy for users to navigate the Web, interact on social media, distribute content, and find information. It is precisely because Caracol News is always looking for that easy and pleasant online user experience when dealing with technology and content that it implements tools like Facebook as their main platforms for content distribution. In fact, massive audiences are not only already on Facebook, but the features that they have at their disposal to access and produce content are easy to use and offer a convenient user experience.

Caracol News has also realized that there is a strong relationship between TV screens and social media through users' multi-platform news consumption. In fact, people are using a second and even a third device to react on social media while they watch news on television. Online editors recognize that users who are in front of a TV

screen have a mobile device in their hands, and as a result, journalists have opened online spaces for people to interact with traditional programing. This second screening consumption surrounding Caracol TV's content is very similar to what is happening worldwide. In fact, reacting on social media while watching television during political debates, news, sports, and series is increasingly dominating multi-screen usage. The combination of multiple platforms and screens is becoming an extension of the TV viewing experience worldwide (Nielsen, March 6, 2015). Three out of five respondents worldwide to a recent 2015 Nielsen survey said they browsed the Internet while watching video programing, and 53% of respondents said that they liked keeping up with TV shows to join the conversation on social media. According to the Nielsen survey, Asia-Pacific, the Middle East-Africa, and Latin America are the regions where second screening is growing most rapidly. However, in Caracol News, windows for audience participation are very controlled and routinized by news media. Journalists aim to tame users' comments, content, and conversations to ensure the discussions on Caracol News happen and take the direction that the organization intended.

Controlled Spaces of Interaction

Consequently, Caracol News has opened the following spaces for audience participation in order to routinize the interaction between television and users activities: 1) A virtual poll [Urna virtual]: a yes-no question that the TV viewers can answer by through the webpage. Daily questions for virtual polls are defined during the 8 a.m. editorial meeting. Caracol TV anchors give the results of the poll the next day during the

12:30 p.m. newscast. It is one of the oldest interactive features as it was first implemented in 2000. 2) The Twitter Question: it is asked everyday during the newscasts in order to keep the Twitter page moving but not with the real intention of using the audience's feedback. This question is also determined during the morning editorial meeting with the TV news director. 3) The section "I'm the journalist" [El periodista soy yo] is actually an offline segment in which local people expose an irregular situation going on in their communities, usually via email and in video format. Despite the fact that this is an offline effort, many denunciations are coming in via social media and the segment is one of the most popular videos on Caracol News' webpage.

Widgets have also been useful for showing the input of social media users on TV screens and channeling conversations on those networks. For instance, Caracol News has implemented the Argentinian software Flowics Digital Marketing Platform to display user-generated content on TV screens. The most popular widgets are the "Twitter Counter Chroma," which shows on the TV the number of tweets sent in a given moment by the audience using a particular hashtag (e.g. #NoticiasCaracol 12,300), the "Poll Chroma," which creates polls and versus (two contenders against each other. e.g., Messi vs. Cristiano Ronaldo), and shows voting results in real time on TV, and the Avatar Wall that displays on TV picture profiles of users who tweet using a hashtag. The widgets were implemented for the first time in 2015 during Fifa's soccer tournament Copa América, and they have been a success ever since. Widgets are popular because they show audience participation without displaying their raw opinions, which gives journalists some control over the news-making process.

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ENGAGEMENT AND NEWS DISTRIBUTION

The complex concept of engagement embraces two main attributes, according to Caracol News' professionals. The first one is related to the loyalty that online users exhibit toward its traditional TV news brand. According to participants, TV viewers are "faithful" to Caracol TV News, and they extend that traditional commitment from television to online news. In other words, interviewees believe than online projects benefit from the accumulated and already established TV engagement insofar that loyalty to the news brand is transferred from television to digital platforms. Similarly, multi-platform news consumption habits in which users are handling several devices at the same time to react to television news on social media are creating bridges between television and online, fostering engagement. The online teams at Caracol News understand this dynamic and take advantage of it by ensuring their TV presence on newscast segments like #LoMásTrinado [#TheMostTweeted]. An on-air mention produces not only traffic but also brings TV engagement to online. Transferring engagement also works the other way around. Online newsworkers look for opportunities to include users' participation on TV screens because "people like to watch their ideas on national TV." That dynamic contributes to bridging new and old media together to generate engagement, despite the few spaces to reflect users' ideas on TV.

Digital News Producer Jaime Barbosa said that actually the main differentiation factor between traditional media outlets and other media is precisely the emphasis that the formers put in their brands, and that most of the current engagement is about "fidelity of the audiences and television companies towards their news brands, which happen to

now be online." Barbosa said that online projects from traditional news organizations in Colombia generate engagement in part thanks to "users' fidelity toward old brands" (July, 2016). In this sense, engagement migrates from television to online media, and the online project of Caracol News is among those new media that inherited engagement from the traditional medium.

Second, for online teams, engagement also means the reaction that online users have on social media, particularly on Facebook. Therefore, likes, comments, shares, retweets, and replies are not only considered actions that empower online audiences through personal recommendations, but also, for the most part, measure engagement with content. Previous in-house engagement tools such as forums, news article comments, and online chats have given way to social media comments likes and shares. Caracol online teams have created indicators to determine what content may be considered successful based on these social media indicators. Social media interactions do not have the same weight for online teams, as Carlos García, Digital Editorial Coordinator of Caracol, explained:

> Our main indicator [of engagement] is the action of sharing because it reproduces, amplifies, and multiplies content. Sharing gives the highest value of engagement of any other social media action because it is the king of interaction. If you give me a like, that is OK but basic; if you comment, you are taking your time and that is a step further, but if you share news and content is because you really like what you see. We are aiming for that. Our team is always creating content that not only evokes emotions, but also people can share so that it becomes viral. (July 2016).

The fact that users' actions on social media are becoming the very definition of engagement has serious implications for online news teams that work for television

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organizations because they are not only losing control over the distribution channels but also delegating the hosting of any interaction with their content to outsiders.

News Distribution and the Emergence of New Formats

News distribution through different networks has become a priority for online teams at Caracol TV. Above all, social media and mobile devices are becoming dominant platforms and artifacts for distributing online video. In this process, teams are adopting tools that facilitate fast and direct publication from TV screens to social media and websites while increasing their digital, native video production. Platforms like Snappy TV that make it easier to edit and share video in real time on Twitter; Facebook Live that enables live-streaming with TV quality, and Brightcove-Video Cloud that monetize video by including advertising are good examples of this intricate network that ensures video distribution. However, the important question here is whether the distribution channels impose some influence in shaping the product so online teams privilege certain kinds of video that are easy to share. How does the rush for distribution impose its own logic to content? How does the product that audiences receive change because of new ways of distribution?

Clearly, new formats are emerging as a result of the distribution process and the interaction between digital technology, social media, online media, and television. For instance, according to participants, Facebook is changing the way Caracol TV produces content because FB users are now watching silent videos with subtitles so they can follow that multimedia in public places and work without sound interference and disturbances.

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Likewise, video with still images, texts, and animation that provide useful information to users are gaining momentum because they are profusely shared on social media. For instance, Caracol News launched a series of animations called Los Pinto [I paint them], which explain complex and useful topics such as why the price of gas goes up, who needs to pay taxes, and what is going on in Crimea.

Digital video editing has also become more aggressive because social media users scroll down fast through several posts, and they only stop when the first images are powerful enough to catch their attention. Facebook activates video auto-play, but that feature does not guarantee that users will engage for more than 10 seconds. Therefore, editing specifically for social media challenges the organization of television news packages. Long reporters or anchors' introductions, for instance, are believed to kill a news package online. In this sense, clipping content from TV and shoveling it into online platforms is not as effective as creating online native videos that do not follow the TV production logic. The interviewees I spoke with said that these new content forms are created because audiences consume information in different ways depending on the platform. Traditional media are in the process of understanding these transformations by participating actively in online spaces that forced those changes. For this reason, one of their main targets is to create video and multimedia content that exclusively work on social media.

Viral Content

Users of social media are becoming increasingly important for distributing news on digital networks. Nowadays, social recommendations are considered the engine of news distribution. This capability of the audience to spread content through their personal networks put users in a position of power. As a consequence, online journalists who were used to controlling the means of distribution are fascinated with understanding the nature of viral content. What elements and news values trigger audiences to recommend, share, comment, and like content so it could become viral or spreadable throughout online networks? In my previous research, I have found that human interest, conflict and controversy, and oddity are news values that trigger shares and interactions on social media (García Perdomo, Salaverría, Kilgo & Harlow, 2017).

Participants at Caracol TV agree that stoking people's emotions is one of the best ways to unleash virality. Stories that evoke sadness, happiness, or anger ensure the reaction of the audience on social media and increase virality, according to Carlos García:

> Emotion is key, and we are working on it now. We ask our journalists: 'what emotion is evoking in the audience that content that you are creating? Please explain in one word that sentiment. Is it anger, indignation, tenderness, love, hate?' And if they have that [emotion] clear in their minds, that content could be successful, but if they do not get it straightforward, it would be just another [irrelevant] content. (July 2016).

That formula does not work consistently. Online professionals recognize that sometimes they produce emotional content that they consider is going to be spreadable, but then they realize it does not work as they expect, while there are other news stories that seem irrelevant but end up being viral on social media. In other cases, online

journalists have published a story following the same elements of previously viral content but results have also been disappointing. Marcelo Liberini, Digital Vice-President of Caracol Next, argued that context is as important as emotional aspects:

> Reality changes quickly. What people like to share and generate virality with is not something unique, but something that changes according to what is happening to users out there in the real and digital world. So people's interests, emotions and predisposition towards content changes. Therefore, content that was viral a year ago may not be viral today (July 2016).

Online journalists also recognize that oddity and curiosity are values that trigger news *spreadability*. As part of their journalistic routine, once the newscast has ended, journalists explore international news agencies and other websites looking for odd and curious stories to increase their traffic numbers. They call this news "the winners" [Las Ganadoras], and they look for the winners, because it increases their metrics. Likewise, crime stories help boost the numbers of online news teams. TV newscasts broadcast several crime stories (some of them recorded by surveillance cameras on the streets) and online replicates this news on their webpage and on social media. Online journalist Andrés Felipe Padilla explicated that most of the times "the same crime story that works on TV, works on social media." Online journalists do not understand the reason behind it but users click on stories related to crime but not necessarily share them.

CONCLUSION

Caracol News is part of a larger private Colombian TV media company that offers news, entertainment and sports. Caracol TV entered late and timidly to the Internet as it did not see the value of video distribution and the possible interaction between television

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and online platforms on the web. The company's online project has transitioned from a corporate website to multiple platforms and projects that reinforce its brands on the online media ecosystem, mainly as a video provider. The advent of social media and online live streaming tools has triggered a new digitization wave that is disrupting both content and technologies inside TV media. Multiples waves of digitization have affected traditional media, but this one is particularly disruptive for television because it puts video and broadcasting in laymen's hands.

Perhaps the most important conclusion is that the great effort to coordinate the work of television and online media conditions the implementation of digital technology at Caracol News, as online platforms are considered valuable when they promote, support of solve TV limitation in the offline world. As television is at the center of the company's operation, online professionals have to do great efforts to become relevant for TV standards, producing content for diverse platform and adjusting their tools to complement traditional programing. Meanwhile TV newsmakers do not take responsibilities related to online work because their legacy remains strong. Most online activities happen around newscasts and other television programing, including extensive clipping of TV news stories, editorial dependency and replication of content. Another conclusion is that Caracol News is closely monitoring users on social media and other platforms to understand their reaction and perception towards Caracol News coverage and TV personalities. That surveillance of the audience, which focuses on preventing social media crisis in which the brand is involved, is modifying television content because social media managers alert the TV newscast when users feel offended or uneasy about a

particular story. Finally, online teams are adopting technologies that allow them to distribute video directly on social media at a very fast pace, giving up their own technological tools and platforms.

Chapter 6: CityTV and El Tiempo TV, Findings Second Case Study

The main argument of this research is that television is facing a powerful new wave of digitization triggered by online platforms and tools—especially social media—that allow users and media to distribute content, engage new audiences and live-broadcast events and news. In this chapter, I explain the findings from my fieldwork at City TV News and El Tiempo Television, the second case study. Results of the ethnographic work show, as in the first case, that legal and socio-economic uncertainties about the future of City TV News and El Tiempo Television hinder the adoption of digital technology. Similarly, the relationship between local television reporters and TV viewers has been transferred to social media to enable the participation of the audience in the newsgathering. In this chapter, I also show how small online units, who work constantly on storytelling and online innovation, believe that clipping television news is not an effective strategy to engage audiences and distribute content online, and how they disdain the quality and narration structure of television. For this reason, the online units are producing or promoting new video formats that respond to the characteristics of social media and the web, sometimes relegating their professional authority to match the demands of social networks and distribute content without a clear economic or journalistic purpose. Finally, this research shows how online journalists are using different logics for each social media platform that they adopt and how they move from tool to tool looking for audiences and experimenting with formats and languages.

THE CASE: CITY TV AND EL TIEMPO TELEVISION

The unit of analysis of this study is the team of online news professionals working for television organizations who are ensuring the transition of the traditional medium into the online media ecosystem. Two news organizations have been selected as case studies: Caracol News (Caracol Noticias) and City News (City Noticias). City News is a very small local TV station from Bogotá owned by El Tiempo Publishing House, a newspaper-magazine company. City News shares resources with El Tiempo Television, a 24-hour cable channel operation. In this chapter, I next explain the dynamics of City News and El Tiempo Television, focusing on their online news operations. Even though the target of my investigation was City News, I included El Tiempo Television here in this chapter because I realized during the course of my fieldwork that there is an interconnected technological, economic, and journalistic exchange of resources between City TV and El Tiempo Television, which makes it difficult to explain the former without mentioning the latter.

During the course of my fieldwork at City News and El Tiempo TV, I found three online groups working to ensure the online presence of traditional television news in the digital media ecosystem. All of them labored in a flexible and intricate system of media convergence. In fact, since 2007, El Tiempo has gone through a radical process of convergence to integrate and reorganize all of its news products and newsrooms inside the traditional publisher's building located on El Dorado Avenue in Bogotá. As a result, different print, online publications and television stations began to share spaces and

journalistic interests in large open flats. The responsibilities of these three groups were distributed based on organizational requirements and online production needs.

The first and most important group consists of community managers and social media administrators whose tasks are to distribute content using multiple social media networks, interact with City TV users on social media, advance programming and breaking news on those platforms, and create new narratives based on user interaction. This group consists of seven journalists—two of them work exclusively for City TV (citytv.com.co) and one of them for El Tiempo TV. The rest of the community manager team works for eltiempo.com and other publications.

The second team is comprised of online news journalists and editors from eltiempo.com who are in charge of the digital operations of El Tiempo Publishing House (Casa Editorial El Tiempo). Even though this group of online news journalists works mainly for the eltiempo.com brand, the team partially guarantees the online presence of City News and El Tiempo Television. In fact, reporters from eltiempo.com use City TV stories as multimedia support to complement news about Bogotá that they publish on their portal. Therefore, eltiempo.com's online team accesses, manages, edits, and assembles content created by print publications and television stations at El Tiempo. The webpage of City TV, citytv.com.co, has been almost abandoned for there is not a particular team of online journalists working on enhancing its content. However, the page continues to be updated with video clipped from City's newscasts, online journalists from eltiempo.com embed City video in their online news stories, and the local TV station has a solid presence on social media.

Third, the Video Unit of El Tiempo is in charge of producing original digital video for the web, clipping television news from City News and El Tiempo TV, and broadcasting via live streaming on webpages and social media. The team redistributed their work functions by the time I was working in the field. One journalist was assigned exclusively to create videos for social media, one producer was put in charge of design and animation, two producers had to focus on news and special products for the web, and another video producer was in charge of premium content that involved storytelling and special-long-term news projects. That organizational change aims to reinforce the creation of new formats exclusively for the web that can eventually be aired on television screens. Despite the fact that the team perceived "shoveling" TV content as an ineffective practice for traffic and engagement goals, they continue capturing and uploading five videos from City TV News on a daily basis to feed citytv.com.co.

Figure 6:   City TV and El Tiempo organizational structure.

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Challenges and Description of Online Teams

City TV News is just one of the multiple news organizations that are part of El Tiempo Publishing House (Casa Editorial El Tiempo). El Tiempo Publishing owns four newspapers: El Tiempo (the print publication with the highest circulation in Colombia), Portafolio (a finance newspaper), the free newspaper ADN, and regional newspapers 7 Días; five magazines: ABC del Bebé (information on pregnancy, babies, and toddlers), Don Juan (for men), Aló (entertainment and women), Habitar (housing, architecture, and decoration), and Hola (fashion); and two television stations: City TV, a local TV news station in Bogotá and the third most-watched channel in the country behind Caracol TV and RCN TV, and El Tiempo Television, a 24-hour cable news channel. These news outlets work in a convergent system that integrates print publications and online media.

El Tiempo has put in place a convergent organizational structure that impels print publications to send their content on a common internal system called the "Content Bag" (Bolsa de contenidos), which works like an internal news agency. All journalists, including online reporters and free newspapers like ADN, have access to that content repository in order to maximize resources and "tell news stories only once" (El Tiempo, May 2007).

City TV began its broadcasting operations in 1999 amid an economic crisis but under the progressive leadership of two majors who wanted to transform the culture of the capital. City News revolutionized the way to do television in Colombia because it placed TV reporters on the streets to talk about local problems and communities, removed anchors from their traditional desk and made them walk on the television set to

interact with reporters in a conversational style about news that they had covered, and incorporated citizen journalism as part of its newsmaking process. In 2009, the news organization launched its online video platform citytv.com.co, which aimed to be a repository of all video production at El Tiempo Publishing House and become the "Colombian YouTube" by controlling users' social videos.

El Tiempo Television started its broadcasting operation in October 2010 as a 24-hour news channel that offered news, opinion, analysis, and entertainment. It is a small TV operation inside El Tiempo Publisher that works in collaboration with El Tiempo newspaper and its portal. City TV and El Tiempo Television have separate studios and edition rooms but they share resources including cameras, satellite news feed, live broadcastings, and personnel. Both channels have one director, legendary TV reporter Darío Restrepo.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND ONLINE MEDIA

City TV News' norms and practices shaped the relationship between television reporters and online media. City News began its broadcasting on March 19, 1999, through UHF channel 21 attached to the following journalistic norms and practices: The main sources of information for City TV reporters were citizens and local communities—not public officials or powerful elites. Thus, City News' model implied that reporters had to contact citizens, social groups, and community leaders firsthand, and broadcast their problems, complaints, and points of view. The relationship between City TV journalists and local communities in Bogota led the newsroom to train communal leaders in order to

obtain first-hand reports. That meant the information was structured to include the perspectives of common people and communities as primary sources of information, which were very close to their viewers. Only after reporters had presented people's version of events, they could contact (mostly confront) officials in the public and private sectors in order to obtain answers from them and solve community problems. Therefore, journalistic norms and practices at City gave priority to people and relegated the status quo.

That historical relationship has now facilitated dialog between journalists and users through social media platforms. The proximity between the local station and communities created a strong connection that is currently reflected on social media. In other words, local TV reporters who rely on communities to accomplish their reporting are now using Twitter, Facebook, and Whatsapp to channel claims from the public and gather local testimonies and complaints online. In short, given that one of the main journalistic goals of City TV is to explain the news from the perspective of the Bogotá community, reporters are always looking for local information and tips that citizens on the ground can provide through social media. Darío Restrepo, Director of Information Television System at City TV and El Tiempo Television, argued that the reporting essence of local television has been transferred to the online media ecosystem:

> We already had in our DNA the vocation to consult and interact with citizens so when we began using social media—Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, all these tools that allow us to connect with our people—what we were actually doing was the same thing that we did as part of our journalistic work on television. Only that we are doing it with great property on social media. For that reason, it is so easy for our reporters to develop that understanding and interaction with people on social media (August 2016).

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Unlike the strong relationship between reporters and users on social media, the link between City TV and online media was very lacking inside El Tiempo Publishing House. Only two frail points of interaction maintained the relationship between City News and online. The first point of interaction was between City News and community managers who advanced programing through social media using official Twitter accounts (@Citytv), Facebook (facebook.com/citytv.com.co), and Instagram (instagram.com/canalcitytv/). Two community managers who actually belonged to the Social Media Unit of El Tiempo worked exclusively for City TV from 5:45 a.m. to 11 p.m. They posted information every 15 minutes on Twitter and every hour on Facebook from 11 a.m. to 11 p.m. The structure and algorithm of social media platforms determine the time span of each post. Twitter, for example, was considered a tool that facilitates rapid information flow, while Facebook was often used for promotional purposes. Most of the stories that they promoted on social media contained links to eltiempo.com and did not link to City TV.

The way community managers integrated television and social media in their daily activities represented a good example of the influence of traditional media on new media. For instance, community managers reported "live" on Twitter what was going on during City TV newscasts as if news were happening at the same time that the newscast broadcasted information during regular TV programing. The activity was called *Twitterazo*. Community managers said that their main goal with the *Twitterazo* activity

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was to attract online users to television viewing and, at the same time, promote the City News brand online.
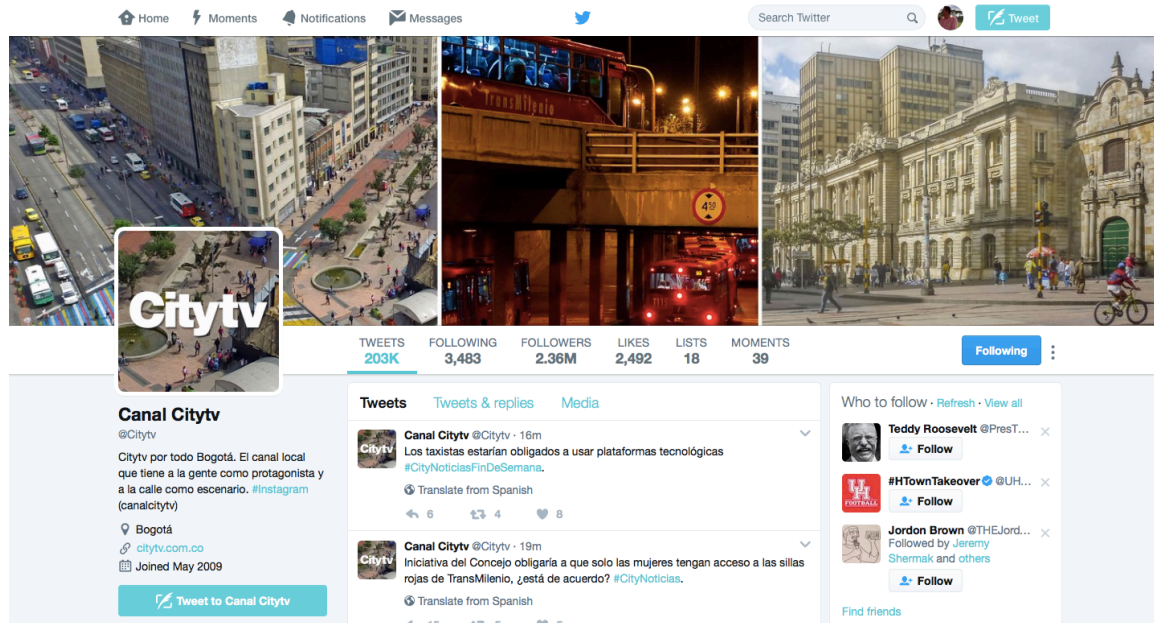
Figure 7:   CityTV Twitter page

Similarly, community managers utilized Facebook Live to stream City TV headlines 15 minutes before every newscast and had established a direct interaction with City reporters in order to report the TV journalists' newsmaking process and announce breaking news. Therefore, community managers proved to be very close to City News operations. Because content seems to be converging on social media, community managers were at the center of the news operation at City TV. Social media workers were able to bridge both online teams that produced content for digital platforms and traditional television journalists who produced content for traditional media.

The second group that maintained City News alive in the online world consists of video producers who clipped television content—five news stories per day. The video

editors actually belonged to eltiempo.com, but as part of their routine, they clipped and uploaded stories from City TV newscasts. TV news stories were published using the video software Ooyala, which automatically fed City TV's webpage, and most importantly, it provided multimedia support for Bogotá news articles on eltiempo.com. During the interviews, video producers said their relationship with City News was practically non-existent. The communication flow from the video unit to eltiempo.com or El Tiempo TV was smooth, but it was a different story with City News. Thus, the presence of City News in the online media ecosystem had been reduced to a minimum, and the webpage citytv.com.co had been practically abandoned.

There is not a current organizational effort to integrate the news work between traditional television and online news media. For instance, the video unit works as an independent team producing original native online content mainly for eltiempo.com and for El Tiempo TV, but without integrating its work with City TV. Manager Andrés Garibello explained why the organizational structure of El Tiempo Publishing affects television development in online settings:

> I can see there is a convergence between online projects and print, but I don't see the same dynamic between television and digital teams maybe because of the nature of television. Another reason may be that for the publishing house, the two television outlets are not the core business […] If we are to save this boat, we have to use our main two oars: El Tiempo Newspaper and eltiempo.com online portal. Of course, this is a complex situation because we are print media with two TV news channels (August 2016).

ADOPTION OF TECHNOLOGY

Two main structural organizational factors hindered the adoption of digital technology and limited the presence of City TV News in the online media ecosystem. The first factor was related to the history and authority of El Tiempo newspaper on the Internet and its very well established portal eltiempo.com, which has been active since 1996. The second element was linked to future TV business opportunities as the news company was vying for national television licenses that could change the future of City News if the National Television Authority (Autoridad Nacional de Television, or ANTV) granted El Tiempo Publishing with a new national TV channel. The pending broadcast license is known as the Third Channel because it would compete against Caracol TV and RCN, the only two private national broadcast channels currently operating in Colombia.

Let's explain the first factor. El Tiempo Publisher is putting its online editorial, strategic, and economic efforts on its main digital product—eltiempo.com—even if that means relegating other websites that were created with great expectations but did not fully mature. Citytv.com.co is one of the websites that continue to have a minimal presence on the web because "it must be there in the online ecosystem," but without economic resources. The formation of the website citytv.co.co in March 2009 was considered audacious at the time as it had the goal of becoming the "Colombian YouTube", according to sub-director Andrés Mompotes. The platform not only was the repository of all video content produced by El Tiempo and City TV News, but it also allowed users to upload their own videos (El Tiempo, 2009). The project contained an automatic feature that prioritized the most watched videos on its homepage. However, as

the original expectations surrounding City's video platform declined the page was practically abandoned in 2015. The daily selection, clipping, and publication of five videos from the City TV newscasts are the only actions that kept this webpage alive.

The daily routine of keeping citytv.com.co running starts when City TV newscast directors (called *jefes de emisión*) select the top-five stories they are going to broadcast. Newscast directors extract that information from the I-News rundown software and send a document with titles and scripts of the stories to online news journalists and community managers of eltiempo.com. Then, eltiempo.com's online team tells producers from the video unit what TV stories need to be captured and clipped. Usually, eltiempo.com gives priority to local stories about Bogotá that online journalists have already published on this portal. Everyday, the video unit captures City and El Tiempo TV newscasts using Black Magic Media Express, a software package that is compatible with Final Cut and Premier and allows editors to playback, manage, and organize videos. Producers from the video unit clip the requested news pieces and upload them into Ooyala, the video software and management system that supports media advertising. The Ooyala platform published videos directly to YouTube and the City TV webpage. At the same time, the software generated a code for each video that can be embedded into news stories. The video unit sends these codes to eltiempo.com. Once they received the links, online journalists are responsible for embedding these codes in related Bogotá news articles. While the text and the multimedia frame belong to El Tiempo, the video originally comes from City News, enhancing the multimedia attributes of El Tiempo but without necessarily benefiting City TV's web traffic. Finally, eltiempo.com shares those links

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about Bogotá stories with community managers, advising them to promote that multimedia content on social media. In that process, the City webpage gets updated with five videos, but its information flow and impact remained peripheral within the organization.

Andrés Mompotes, Sub-director of Information at El Tiempo, said that managers at the publishing company have had discussions about whether they should support more online brands and expand their presence on digital platforms, or rather concentrate their efforts only on those well-developed online outlets, and only after those trademarks reach a point of economic stabilization continue growing:

> I believe we are inclined to the second approach [concentrate on a few outlets] because by supporting many different brands we neglect our very foundation. So the number one challenge that we have nowadays is to support with content and transform eltiempo.com into a subscription-paid online media […] Subscriptions have made The New York Time, The Wall Street Journal and The Guardian profitable […] We cannot think of creating or fortifying new online brands if we first cannot transform eltiempo.com into a subscription website and eventually after that portfolio.com.co as a paid system (August, 2016).

The second reason for the digital stagnation of City News is related to pending government TV licenses. Socio-economic expectations of television condition the way digital technology is implemented in online newsrooms at TV news organizations. Examples of this pattern are seen at City News and El Tiempo Television. For instance, interviewees recognized that their news organizations have been waiting since 2012 to be granted the license for the third national TV channel. Waiting for that government decision has frozen digital operations at City TV and El Tiempo Television and their transition to online spaces. Only if the issue of the third channel is resolved in their favor,

interviewees said, will El Tiempo take further steps to reinforce its online TV spaces. Meanwhile, City TV and El Tiempo Television are supporting with video and live-streaming the main online platform eltiempo.com as part of their only digital activity. TV organizations are focusing their work on making regular TV programing available using the limited resources they have. Although the National Television Authority has opened a public bidding process for the third channel in the past, Caracol TV and RCN, the two mayor private national channels, have blocked the licensing process using their legal teams and economic influence. Delays in the adjudication process have extended Caracol and RCN historical duopoly and control over national television airwaves in Colombia.

Nevertheless, the concession of the third national channel may not benefit City News' future endeavors. Colombian law bars private TV companies from owning more than one open airwave television frequency. Newsworkers I interviewed recognized that if El Tiempo Publishing obtains the license for the third national channel, the company may have to close and restructure the local City TV network in order to be in accordance with the legislation (Law 1507, 2012 and Law 182, 1995) and respond to the new national TV channel demands. Competing against two other national television organizations like Caracol TV and RCN and getting a piece of the national television advertising cake is something that El Tiempo has been looking forward to since 2010 when the first bidding process for the third channel was opened and then shut down by the courts for irregularities in its procedure. Sacrificing City TV would be the price that El Tiempo may have to pay in order to joining the national television big leagues. Despite being a local channel, City News has the third largest TV audience in Colombia because

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it is offered and can be watched on cable, and cable penetration in Colombia reaches 77 percent of the population.

According to Colombian television legislation, City TV can only sell advertising based on a TV ad-pricing chart tied to its local audience, which means lower prices for announcers and restricted revenues and growing. Running a third national television channel implies not only getting a bite of the national advertising, but also competing as a brand in the online media ecosystem as Caracol TV and RCN have developed their digital trademarks and online distribution channels consistently over the past 17 years. What is still not clear is whether the publishing house would continue broadcasting El Tiempo Television or transform that outlet into something else in case the company is granted the third channel given that Colombian law allows private organizations to operate frequencies in cable and open airwaves at the same time without restrictions. Darío Restrepo, Director of the Information System at City TV and El Tiempo Television, said that if the company gets the third channel, they would digitize television and acquire new online tools for a renewed transition even though at this moment that digital aspiration is not a reality.

Tools for Video Distribution

Online journalists, video producers, and community managers adopt digital technologies that facilitate news and video distribution mainly through social media and websites. For instance, the video unit uses the software Ooyala, a cloud platform that integrates video workflow, publishing, analytics, and advertising in just one process. The

suite allows producers to publish videos directly on YouTube, social media, and local websites like citytv.com.co without going through long procedures while monetizing content. Ooyla detects users' Internet speed and adjusts the video format accordingly. What seems to be a good idea for delivering video in a timely manner reduces the quality of images until it seems to display a low quality product. Likewise, community managers utilize Hoosuite, a platform for managing social media that supports social network integration for Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Google+, and YouTube. The system has an interface that takes the form of a dashboard. It displays tweets and posts from multiple accounts, hashtags, and topics, and it allows community managers to program messages in advance so official accounts distribute content even late at night when there are no journalists working. Community managers utilize Hootsuite especially for tracking City News reporters' posts and retweet those messages because they usually contain photos and information about TV journalists' reporting fieldwork.

Similarly, online media workers adopt social media platforms with massive audiences because in these networks they can distribute content, get reactions, and recommendations from users, reinforce traditional brands in youth users' minds, and establish a dialog with the audience. The online activities of City News focused on social media more than any other platform, including their own webpage, thanks to the work of community managers who promoted traditional TV programing, and television journalists who interacted with users on these open networks. These professionals noticed that there was a disconnection between the target audience of traditional TV media such as City News and users who are on social media. For instance, while City TV programing

has more viewers who are 35 to 60 years old, the online teams focus on users from 24 to 34 years old. For this reason, Perla Toro, the community manager in chief, considered that social media are suitable platforms for constant experimentation in which traditional media can find answers and future scenarios to make their transition to the new media ecosystem.

Technological frames are also relevant for understanding how online teams working for TV news organizations use technology and react to digital disruptions such as social media. The idea of "the imminent death of traditional media" (in this case the death of television) is also well established in the minds of online professionals. However, the death of TV media frame has some nuances at City News and El Tiempo TV because the company has gathered some experience with online disruptions since 1996 when the portal eltiempo.com was launched, fearing the very idea that the Internet was going to kill newspapers. El Tiempo newspaper is now feeling the pressure of digital disruptions, above all in their sales department, as online advertising costs 8 percent less than print advertising. However, the newspaper continues to be the cash cow of the company, and it is not the death that some specialists predicted.

The newspaper's experience in online settings conditions the company's understanding of the transition of television to digital platforms. For instance, the company has decided to send small amount of television content and live broadcasting just to support its already successful portal eltiempo.com while it is fortifying its online video unit to experiment with new languages and formats. As a result, managers from City TV and El Tiempo TV think the digital disruption will not only take some time to

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affect the television industry in Colombia, but it also not kill television as the transition will be hedged with cutting-edge video content from online to TV screens.

Different Social Media, Different Logics

City TV journalists and community managers adopt social media following a different logic for each platform. For instance, they utilize Twitter for: 1) getting information and news tips (complaints) from the audience located in Bogotá, 2) retweeting the newsmaking process of City TV journalists, and 3) live reporting the stories that are being aired on television. According to the team members I spoke with, Twitter generates online presence and brand recognition among users. The micro-blog is perceived as a tool that is well connected with real-time television through activities such as second screening. However, online professionals said Twitter is not as effective as Facebook in bringing online traffic to the company. Compelling interactions on Twitter occur in a two-fold way: On the one hand, people who watch television access Twitter—sometimes simultaneously using other mobile devices—to find more information about a TV news story, share their opinion about a news event, surveil other users' ideas, or react to them. On the other hand, people who are not watching TV but checking Twitter can read tweets about news that can catch their attention, and then turn on the television device to find more information about that event in the traditional newscast. Therefore, online professionals believe the connection between Twitter and TV screens is more immediate than with any other online platform.

José Mauricio Granados, City TV's community manager, explained how users often move from traditional to online media seeking information, images, and events they want to review:

> According to our analysis, Twitter is not used to generate a great number of traffic, but to reinforce our online presence [as a news brand]. When viewers are watching television and they want to obtain more information about a particular news event, they tend to look for more details on social media. Also, if they want to share or repeat an image or a video they have watched on TV, they know they can find that news piece on our social media accounts (August 2016).

Among all interactions, the activities of City TV News reporters on Twitter are considered fundamental for the news organization. City reporters utilize Twitter in two main ways. The first is to gather information and tips from users who are interested in complaining about problems in their communities, and contributing to newsgathering. City reporters display their personal twitter handle after TV news stories so viewers are familiar with their beat and the kind of stories they cover. When something important is going on in their communities they @mention City reporters or the City News handle to drag the journalists' attention to local issues. Journalists usually interact with those Twitter users who send complaints and try to find out more information about the issue in order to evaluate whether or not it is worthy for TV coverage. Reporters face a lot of pressure to bring at least six local TV stories daily. That pressure makes journalists willing to establish a direct link with community leaders and grassroots organizations to get fast information via social media, and then go on scene to places in Bogotá where news is happening. This exchange between reporters and Twitter users has become central to the news assemblage both in the online and offline worlds.

Sharing little pieces of information as they go along on their reporting activities is the second most common Twitter activity that City reporters conduct. TV reporters post photos, videos, and quotes from sources, etc., and they also provide useful information to their audience from places where news is occurring. The main goals of this activity are to promote their TV news story before the newscast and inform citizens in real time about news events that affect them directly. For instance, during my fieldwork, community managers monitored the accounts of all City reporters very closely using the Hootsuite's dashboard, and they often retweeted reporters' posts about traffic, accidents, and public transportation in Bogotá using City's official account and hashtags. TV journalists have direct communication with community managers through a Whatsapp group that has been created for that purpose. They ask for retweets and send alerts directly to community managers using that messenger platform. Retweets from @Citytv help TV reporters increase the influence of their personal Twitter accounts. Also, community managers and City reporters are connected permanently via Whatsapp messenger because one of the social media norms at City is that if a television journalist has an exclusive or breaking news story, it has to be published first using the official account @Citytv. In short, City News' interactions on Twitter are constant because TV journalists mention their Twitter handle on air and invite their audience to share information about their communities @Citytv, hence inviting citizens to become sort of local informants.

Another reason why television journalists are so eager to use their social media accounts to interact with users on Twitter is that El Tiempo Publishing House decided in 2014 to evaluate media workers according to their Klout Score; that is, a number between

1 to 100 that represents the influence of people and organizations on social media. Managers from City News and El Tiempo TV are measuring journalists' activity on social networks because they consider distributing content and interacting on social media to be a great part of the responsibility of newsrooms nowadays. Television reporters have to obtain a minimum Klout Score of 60 points. The measure represents 20 percent of their annual evaluation. Thus, the organization is creating mechanisms to increase media workers' activity on social media by measuring their influence on those networks.

The dynamic of Facebook is different. Community managers use Facebook every hour for promoting and distributing content, and for reaching massive audiences. As part of their routine, they publish news during the even hours and entertainment during the odd hours from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m. What they call entertainment are actually promotions of regular programing. The advertising department of El Tiempo provides guidance for those campaigns and design banners, photos, and colorful texts. Community managers differentiate news messages from entertainment by using hashtags related to the newscasts (e.g. #CityNoticias). Posts on Facebook are different than those on Twitter because the former usually contain links that direct users to news articles on eltiempo.com. Facebook is the platform with a larger audience. Usually the webpage that benefits from the work of community managers on Facebook is eltiempo.com and not citytv.com.co, because links take to El Tiempo, even though some of those articles contain City News videos embedded. For social media workers, however, that is not a

problem, but rather an advantage that shows users that they belong to the same publishing company, and that they work in perfect convergence with other products of El Tiempo.

When posting and linking on Facebook, social media managers are careful when handling or publishing content on that network because they alleged that the social media platform penalizes media that publish content too often on users' walls as it affects the normal flow of friends' posts. They also said that recent changes in the algorithm of that platform dropped inactive users and downgraded the power of traditional media companies and content to privilege friends and other minor publications over mainstream media.

Therefore, understanding the algorithm of Facebook and colonizing that platform have become two of the main goals for online teams despite the limitations that this tool has, as José Antonio Sánchez, chief of digital content, explained,

> Digital media are compelled to colonize Facebook. We are experiencing a sort of digital dictatorship as the [media] industry has fallen into submission of Facebook and Google. Every change in Facebook or Google's algorithms determines a different behavior of the industry in terms of projections, so media is more concerned with understanding those changes than with generating autonomous content. That of course limits us because the Silicon Valley's editor is so strong (August 2016).

Attraction to Facebook Live

Facebook Live is one of the features that has been included as part of the TV practices at City TV. It allows media and users to broadcast live events via social media. Online teams are using Facebook Live in two different ways. On the one hand, community managers implement the feature to promote City News' headlines on social

media 15 minutes before newscasts. For instance, during my fieldwork, José Mauricio Granados, community manager of City TV, was in charge of this live streaming via Facebook. Twenty minutes before the 8 p.m. newscast, Granados checked the TV rundown software I-News to find information and to be aware of the main TV stories. Then, Granados created a live event on City TV's Facebook page, grabbed a smart phone from a drawer in his desk, and invited City anchor Johnatan Nieto to present the headlines. Once in the television studio, Granados activated the streaming and began to broadcast through Facebook using the lights, main desk, and studio of City TV. As part of a new routine, City News anchor Johnatan Nieto presented the news headlines with the same energetic style he employed when he broadcasted live on television. But this time, the anchorman had to speak louder because the cellphone did not have an external microphone, and it picked up ambient noise. Cameramen, operators, and TV producers—who remained silent when the TV director announced that a City newscast was about to start—talked out loud during the Facebook Live broadcast, making it difficult for Granados to get clean audio and video streaming.

Figure 8:   Facebook Live broadcast at City TV promoting the TV 8 p.m. newscast

On the other hand, the video unit of El Tiempo streamed live events on Facebook Live, operating multiple cameras with high video quality during the coverage of special events. The team learned how to transcode HD video signal from TV equipment to Facebook Live's format to react to one of the main complains from social media users about the low video and sound qualities of Facebook Live broadcasts when the unit used mobile devices like cellphones. For instance, one of the first tests that the video unit did with HD video on Facebook Live was during TedX 2016 live conferences in Cartagena. Online video producers were able to transcode their high-quality video signal through Facebook Live, opening the possibility of using multiple cameras, a sound mixer, professional lights, and a dolly grip. The high-quality TedX streaming increased online traffic and users on Facebook. The regular streaming webpage of El Tiempo TV gathered

1,500 concurrent connections to the event while Facebook Live obtained 500,000. With these numbers, the video unit decided that high video quality through Facebook Live streaming was one of their main strategies for 2017.

On Instagram, community managers post beautiful pictures and short videos of the capital. Being a local TV channel that exclusively covers news from the capital, community managers believe that the best way to feed Instagram is to honor the beauty of the city with pictures. In the beginning, Instagram was not an attractive platform for video because it only allowed producers to publish 10-second videos. But since Instagram began to open its platform to stream one minute videos, the teams are more interested in distributing video through this network.

City TV was not using SnapChat during my fieldwork because users in that application are too young to be considered a target audience for television news. However, the social media team was thinking about launching this platform for City TV soon. The policy of the company for adopting new social media platforms is the following: Platforms have to reach a minimum amount of users and maintain a stable and growing audience for a certain time before implementing another platform. As the team has reached some stabilization with Instagram, social media workers seemed ready for the next step with SnapChat.

INNOVATION STRATEGIES

Technological innovation is expected to come from the online video unit to television screens in the process of elucidating the future of the TV industry in the online

media ecosystem. In this sense, City TV and El Tiempo Television are waiting for online video endeavors of the company to find paths and innovative formats to secure the future of the traditional business. This unidirectional dynamic of innovation happens in part because El Tiempo Publishing has established a "collaborative integration" plan between print publications, online media outlets, and television stations that does not hold television accountable for print or online work, but rather for only producing television news. Leaders at El Tiempo Publishing believe television has its own production times, editorial languages, and technical requirements that make it impossible for television reporters and producers to complete online assignments. Managers argued TV professionals face heavy workloads and few resources that enable them to think about digital video formats and innovation. Similarly, supervisors at El Tiempo think that the mission of TV workers is to produce stories and air newscasts in accordance with traditional television formats without much variation in their storytelling despite the disruption of online formats and the current presence of the audience in the media space. As a consequence, CityTV and El Tiempo Television are not thinking about developing their online presence or making an effort in online production, but to serve the online operation of the existing portal, eltiempo.com, which is the main economic goal of the company, with their regular television programing.

Conversely, newspaper editors and reporters—especially journalists with a lot of experience covering particular beats—become TV consultants when news events related to their sources happen. Also, newspaper professionals learned how to make the transition to online and how to become multimedia and interactive reporters in their

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convergence with eltiempo.com. Some of them are also responsible for weekly television segments. Print journalists help with their expertise and knowledge to produce TV programing for El Tiempo Television and City News. The collaborative arrangement with television contrasts with the total integration between El Tiempo newspaper and eltiempo.com, a relationship that has undergone several stages of experimentation since 1996 when eltiempo.com was launched. In fact, several newspaper reporters are responsible for both paper and digital products. Hence, the historical (convergent) arrangement between the newspaper and its main online portal (eltiempo.com) transformed print journalists into a force that was able to produce content and innovation for digital platforms while the collaborative deal between the newspaper and television kept TV reporters from online production and digital innovation, transferring that innovation task to online video units at eltimepo.com.

The online video unit is producing digital content for both eltiempo.com and El Tiempo Television, a cable channel that needs a lot of content to fill its 24-hour news programing. City News, however, is not part of this arrangement. By working for multiple platforms with quality content, the online video unit reinforces the idea that the transition of traditional television to online spaces would come from the digital portion of the company and not from traditional television itself. Innovation based on storytelling and new formats is working only in one direction: from online video teams to television, but it is not flowing from television to online. The video unit clips few stories from traditional TV newscasts for distribution and consumption purposes on the web, but the main effort of the team is to produce cutting-edge online stories that include digital

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features and experimentation. To produce these pieces, online video producers work in collaboration with eltiempo.com or El Tiempo newspaper, but not with television professionals because TV journalists have a heavy workload and they believe they already mastered multimedia production. Given that these digital video stories produced by the online video unit have very good quality and narration, they are usually aired as part of television programing on El Tiempo TV.

Moreover, innovation is supposed to emerge from online journalists and online newsrooms in the form of multimedia storytelling or digital video. Online managers believe that technology is available in the media ecosystem just waiting to be implemented and colonized so there is no need for developing in-house digital platforms or even customizing tools any more. As traditional media believe they do not have control over technology and online networks any more, the only element left for innovation is storytelling. Thus, for online teams, digital platforms and apps are spaces to be "colonized" with content that contains innovation in the form of cutting-edge storytelling.

Storytelling: Key for Innovation and Engagement

The Storytelling Lab is located on the second floor of El Tiempo Publishing. This place is the epicenter of innovation and engagement for the company. The idea of the lab came from the Journalism School of Multimedia, an institution that El Tiempo Publishing House opened for training interns and students from different universities of the country inside their own media organization in order to meet the multimedia requirements of

news production. The lab is a transparent, rectangular glass office above the main lobby that allows people to see everything inside like a fishbowl and giving the impression that it is floating in the air. The room has a flat-screen TV and five computers equipped with Final Cut and Adobe Premier suite to edit video and produce animation. I had been invited to a storytelling session to understand the innovation process that has been put in place to secure the transition of traditional media to online spaces.

Andrés Garibello, director of the Multimedia School of El Tiempo, explained that ten newsroom professionals who had expertise in different areas and experience training interns in topics such as data journalism, infographic, video, text, audio, and design were selected as lab instructors. Journalists from different media outlets at El Tiempo registered for the multimedia courses. For one and a half months, those who registered in the courses received training. Although an interesting approach, this is an endogenous way of thinking about innovation because in-house journalists teach themselves how to improve storytelling instead of bringing or being in tune to external forces such as engineering, big data and web design.

Then in a second stage, instructors and editors of the lab designed and presented nine challenges to their trainees. Each challenge consisted of an online multimedia project that had to be told in form of a story. The most important multimedia element proved to be digital video. Lab leaders defined what the target audience of the project was before trainees embarked on the project. Journalists chose the challenges they wanted to take on. An administrator determined the resources and people who were needed to accomplish the goal. Digital infographers and designers were also part of the

gathering to back up the new online projects. Three kinds of challenges (A, B, and C) were designated. In an A challenge, content producers had three days to work on and finish the project. In a B challenge, journalists had a week to produce their story. Finally, a C challenge offered up to a month to work on a big special project. Journalists who were selected to accomplish a challenge had to be taken out of the daily routine to focus only on the online storytelling project. Thus, storytelling was believed to be the core of innovation.

On August 30, 2016, reporter Juan Diego was presenting at the lab the first version of his online video as a result of one of the challenges he had accepted. Millennials were considered the target audience for this piece. The main idea behind of the project was to explain to millennials how to do tourism at very low cost. He traveled to Ecuador where he filmed his story. High-quality images were combined with a voiceover explaining the best places to visit in the South American country. There was a focus on Ecuador's colonial richness, especially in its cathedrals full of gold and gothic ornaments. After watching the three-minute video, the group began to criticize it to improve the storytelling. A video editor asked for a shorter version for Facebook, and more speed in the voiceover, "like a YouTuber." Three millennials who belonged to the Multimedia School were invited to take part of the feedback group. One millennial said the video was too religious. The other one argued that the music was too classical and suggested adding an animation with a calculator that showed trip prices for food and transportation. The third one said the video did not have emotional peaks, and there was

no adventure, she complained. Other members of the group agreed that the video did not have emotional turns.

Emotional content is considered essential in digital video storytelling to ensure innovation, distribution, and engagement, according José Antonio Sánchez, chief of digital content at El Tiempo. The same narrative techniques that have been used in movies must be transferred to journalistic storytelling without breaking the ethical norms of the profession. Content that evokes happiness, sadness, indignation, etc. produces online engagement and ensures distribution on social media as it helps to start conversations among users. At the same time, interviewees said that emotional content allows journalists to be more creative. Telling plain news with the inverted pyramid structure is not working in online spaces anymore because it does not trigger audiences to react or share content. Including emotional peaks as a form of storytelling guarantees distribution and interaction on social media. Some news stories produced in the Storytelling Lab are rejected because they do not include the emotional peaks necessary to be considered a good storytelling piece. Successful video stories usually include a narration style that evokes a particular emotion to catch users' attention and engage them.

The Storytelling Lab tries to overcome individualism in the online newsmaking process by challenging newsrooms and by forming teams to produce online multimedia pieces. Nevertheless, in the end, one journalist is responsible for the emotional news multimedia product. Reporter Juan Diego came out of the lab with the mission of adjusting the video about Ecuador taking into account the feedback from the group. People from the lab offered to help, but Diego was ultimately responsible.

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DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS AND ENGAGEMENT

News video distribution through networks outside traditional media control has become a priority for online teams. Above all, social media are becoming dominant platforms for distributing video. For instance, the video unit of El Tiempo has a video producer from the video unit working exclusively on creating content for Facebook, measuring engagement, and—if it works—transferring it to their internal video platform for monetization. Video producer Felipe Polidoro is in charge of that social media task. Some particular features of these Facebook videos are the following: They are very short video pieces that last from 40 seconds to one minute. They include large-font text with concise information, explaining the main facts of the news event so users can watch the video on their Facebook feed without activating the audio. Most of the time the video incorporates still pictures form international news agencies such as AFP, Reuters, or EFE, and music. Video from social media users is also included, but it cannot last more than 30 seconds to avoid legal issues. The story does not have journalists or anchors doing voiceovers, therefore relegating professional authority in favor of adjusting images in accord to Facebook's design.

The video unit considers that social media video is effective when it meets certain standards. For instance, producer Felipe Polidoro considers that engagement happens on Facebook if users watch the video for more than 10 seconds. Less time than that it is just the video auto-player of Facebook that has been activated. If the number of views in Facebook exceeds the 100,000 mark, producer Polidoro copies and publishes a new version of the video inside the advertising platform Ooyala to monetize that content.

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Polidoro does not erase the video on Facebook, but he creates a copy of that piece for the internal video platform. When the copy is uploaded in the video platform, Ooyala generates a code. Then, the video unit asks online journalists from eltiempo.com to create an article related to that topic or a "ghost article" in order to embed the successful video within that frame. The new video generates money for the company after playing for 15 seconds. Ooyala inserts a five-second advertisement at the beginning of each video. Views and interactions on Facebook always surpass the traffic of a video that has been replicated in the internal video publication system even though the later platform generates money for the company. For instance, during my fieldwork, a video with 150,000 views on Facebook, once replicated internally could get an average of 35,000 views on eltiempo.com. However, according to these news professionals, the idea of the online teams is to combine both platforms to achieve one of the most important goals of the company in the online media ecosystem: to catch the audience's attention.

The target of these Facebook videos is a young population between 18 and 24 years old who are not necessarily engaged with either television screens or news websites. To do that, the video unit tries to have equilibrium between current issues and curious events to generate more views and interactions on Facebook. Current issues work particularly well with generating engagement and triggering news distribution. For instance, during my fieldwork, popular Mexican singer Juan Gabriel died in Santa Monica, California. Editor Polidoro gathered some photos, music, and video clips. Then, he edited a short video honoring the artist on Facebook. In one hour, the video obtained more than 60,000 views. Conversely, curious videos get mixed reactions on social media.

Users who claim they read the newspaper or watch El Tiempo Television programing complaint when the news company publishes information that is not related with serious news or current issues. For instance, the video unit produced a very popular Facebook video about the Pokemon Go fever, but the reaction of part of the audience was not positive because it considers that story irrelevant for a news company.

Video producers recognized that most of the time clipping television content from City News and El Tiempo TV and making it available on social media does not generate good online distribution or engagement. In fact, online users watch content that has been clipped from TV, but they do not seem to engage with it because it is not well suited to meet web standards. It is especially hard for the two TV news organizations at El Tiempo to perform well on the web, although breaking videos about significant events such as an earthquake or a terrorist attack always work well. Erick Vilaró, chief of the online video unit, believed that the classic television narrative is responsible for the lack of engagement and distribution of clipped TV content. Erick explained that TV formats are very predictable and linear: They usually have an intro, testimonies from sources, and wide shots. Erick argued television reporters tell their stories in a very simple way, using just one camera, and that their images are gathered from the static point of view framed by cameramen.

Conversely, digital video producers usually obtain better engagement and distribution results with online native videos because they 1) implement storytelling formats with emotional peaks, 2) present the story through their personal lens, 3) they are responsible of telling the story from beginning to end with b-roll and images they gather

without employing a cameraman, 4) use high-definition cameras, 5) include several details, camera movements, combinations of alternative shot angles (e.g., time-lapses, close ups, extreme close ups, point of view shots), animation, text with colors, graphics, and 6) edit with visual and digital sound effects. Online video producers usually need more time to produce their short stories with high technical and narrative style, while TV reporters work their news stories at a really fast pace to meet tight deadlines. Eric Vilaró described the differences between television production times and online video stories assembly:

> Online video producers take more time than television professionals to accomplish our production process because we want to make the visual aesthetic more enjoyable for our users. Professionals from City TV and El Tiempo Television work against the clock and their news value is immediacy, while we work on crafted storytelling to produce a high-quality video […] I would say that television professionals here at El Tiempo are not really working on telling elaborate stories (August 2016).

Another aspect that affects the performance of television news stories on the web is the quality of TV formats. City TV and El Tiempo Television are still using Standard Definition (SDTV), while online video producers are working on full High Definition (HDTV). Therefore, the user experience is poor when watching videos clipped from television on the web. SD videos usually look pixelated and the graphics look sub-par. Leaders stated City and El Tiempo TV would change to HD technology if the government grants the company with the third national TV channel. The video manager and advertising system Ooyala contributes also to the distortion of the video quality as that platform trans-codifies each video in seven different formats (from full HD to 2:40) in order adjust images automatically to the user's internet speed. That technological

feature seems to be very convenient because it protects users from using extra mobile data. However, online users often do not know that the video provider server is taking in consideration their Internet connection, so audiences complain about what they watch, the experience, and the low quality of videos.

Figure 9:   Cameras shared by CityTV News and El Tiempo Television

Producers from the online video unit believed that at some point these new formats that are emerging thanks to online distribution and the interaction between digital technology, social media, and television would prevail over television viewing. Some of these new formats are videos without voiceovers or sound, with still pictures, texts, animations, 360 cameras, time-lapses, extreme close ups shots, and filled with emotional peaks. Online managers at El Tiempo suggested that the origin of the video should not be traditional television anymore. The customary video cycle from television programing to other online distribution platforms including social media is projected to be broken soon. Instead, managers believed video should be originated on social media, then spread to other digital platforms until it finally reaches television programing. Thus, leaders are

trying to convince newscast directors to broadcast some of those videos produced exclusively for social media, but TV professionals resist that very idea.

Virality

The final goal of the online video unit is to create news products exclusively for the web that incorporate elements that make content sharable or viral. Understanding how the audience reacts to content and what news values trigger that reaction is key to enhancing news distribution, particularly now that users have the ability to build an audience through personal recommendations. In this sense, the video unit is doing a series of experiments to test what products work best on social media. They are trying multiple approaches to ensure virality, including combinations of hard, useful, and curious news.

For instance, to produce short elaborate pieces that become spreadable, video professionals follow the concept of storytelling with emotional peaks that touch audiences' sentiments (e.g. sadness, happiness, indignation, etc.), and prompt users to act. According to video animator Hernando Banquez, those stories usually have a main character as the axis of the narrative structure. This character needs to be interesting or powerful so the audience can feel identified with him/her. Regarding the format, video producers use multiple high-definition cameras and animation tools to enhance online video quality and improve users' experience. Conversely, to produce short viral social media videos, the unit combines animation, colorful text containing concise information, silent video, user generated content, and still images. That combination seems to catch

audiences' attention, especially on Facebook, but it takes out journalists' voiceover and narrative authority. To stream live events, the team is using both Facebook Live and its internal CMS. When the video unit broadcasts a live event, it uses all technical resources available. In contrast and as part of their daily social media routine, community managers stream live video using cellphones, traditional TV sets and low Internet connectivity. Thus, I observe a two-fold way of producing video: On the one hand, teams are producing very elaborate video content to distribute on eltiempo.com and El Tiempo Television; on the other hand, superficial and easy video content to meet the requirements of social media and create virality on those networks.

News values such as usefulness and curiosity are also believed to make content spreadable on social media. Especially curious news creates certain tension between video professionals who want to work on high-quality storytelling news pieces (almost like micro-documentaries) and other producers who are very effective at reaching big audiences with odd videos. Simón Sánchez, audiovisual producer, justified his frustration with some viral attributes,

> There are some videos that I said, 'Wow, I am a genius,' but then they don't work online. I felt kind of upset because last year an intern produced a video about a dog riding a motorcycle and that piece got millions of views. The video unit was congratulated for that video by the advertising department. Then in a meeting, I said, 'I am not going do that kind of videos.' And then they asked me why, and I said, 'Well because it's a dog riding a motorcycle, who cares about that?' I want to change the world or show something really new, but they feel proud of a dog riding a motorcycle, so we have lost that battle (August 2016).

Understanding how audiences react to online content and how they use their personal networks to distribute news has become a fundamental goal for the online units

at El Tiempo. For example, the comprehension of user behavior has led online video producers to have a poor concept of City TV News' content because of the low engagement and distribution that it generates when it is transferred to online platforms due to factors like the low quality of its TV images and the linear structure that TV journalists adopt when they are reporting local news.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE AUDIENCE

As a result of digital technological changes, online professionals argued that the most important task is to colonize new online platforms and networks where audiences have migrated. Listening to users and determining what type of content they are consuming as well as creating news stories in accordance with the technological design of those networks are necessary actions to retain audiences and establish a solid relationship with them. However, the historical legacy of local City News conditions the way the news organization interacts with their audience in online settings, especially on social media.

Users as Source of Information

City News was one of the first TV media outlets in Colombia to incorporate citizen journalism as part of its newscasts. Assuming the nature and philosophy of a local channel, City News worked towards establishing a strong relationship with its audience by inserting some journalistic practices within Bogotá communities from the very beginning. Listening to citizens and incorporating community leaders in their reporting

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was the organization's strategy to differentiate local City News from the national television news channels like Caracol News and RCN, online newsworkers said. City News professionals realized that producing citizen journalism took a lot of time, infrastructure, and resources from newsrooms if it was to be done properly. Sub-director of El Tiempo Andrés Mompotes recalled that early City TV's critics believed that it was a strategy to save some money, but the "truth was that citizen journalism took a lot of resources from newsrooms, and it was expensive" because content had to be curated, confirmed, and processed before it could be aired. Citizen journalism had its boom during the first years of experimentation in City TV, but then the activity was tamed through fixed television segments during the 8 p.m. newscasts. However, citizen journalism planted a seed in Bogotá, generated engagement, and a lasting bond between journalists and communities.

That lasting link between television City reporters and community viewers through citizen journalism has been transferred to social media. In fact, social media users share information profusely via Twitter, Facebook, and Whatsapp with City reporters and the official accounts of City TV. This arrangement considered citizens informants, primary sources of information on the field, but not necessarily content producers who can be part of the newsmaking process. In this sense, social media users contribute only to the newsgathering process as primary sources of information, reporting an issue about their communities (e.g., rampant robberies, lack of public transportation) so City reporters could go to neighborhoods, corroborate the information, and produce a story. Usually, social media user participation does not go further than that because the

content that they produced and shared on social media is considered low quality and legally risky. In short, there is a strong relationship between City reporters and users on social media platforms but that interaction has its limits when it comes to the newsmaking process as citizens are solely considered local informants and primary sources of information.

Even that limited interaction has proved to be relevant for City News as user participation on social media is higher at City TV than at any other news outlet at El Tiempo Publishing. For instance, at the beginning of August 2016 social media managers saw complaints on social networks about criminal bands in Bogotá whose modus operandi was to steal objects from cars by braking windows during red traffic lights. Perla Toro, editor in chief of social media, remembered that her team asked users to report via Facebook whether they had been victims of this kind of robbery and in what part of the city it happened in order to design a map with the crimes (See for instance, http://www.eltiempo.com/datos/el-mapa-de-los-rompevidrios-en-bogota-segun-nuestros-usuarios-56549). The social media team posted these two questions on the Facebook pages of El Tiempo (2.8 million followers) and City TV (750,000 followers). Most interactions and complaints came from City TV, despite the fact that El Tiempo had more followers. Thanks to tips provided by City users, El Tiempo could design an interactive map reporting similar criminal incidents in Bogota. Perla Toro said that the good reaction from users happened because City News is closer to communities:

> City News has been on the streets in constant conversation with people. To reach this level of interaction with users, one has to move with coherence between different platforms. So, when City asks a question, people know that the question

is important because that media outlet is going to take their complaints and inputs seriously. (August 2016).

Controlled Spaces of Interaction

In addition to the interrelated relationship between reporters and users, City TV has opened spaces for audience participation to routinize the interaction between television and users. Some of these features are: 1) Opinion poll [Sondeo de opinión], which is a question about the issue of the day that the TV viewers can answer via Twitter. Questions for virtual polls are defined at City editorial meetings and have the approval of the newscast director. Results are aired on the 8 p.m. newscast. 2) The section "Citizen Reporter" [Reportero Ciudadano], which is a television segment during the 8 p.m. newscast in which local people report an irregular situation going on in their communities usually via phone, email, or social media. City TV journalists identify those complaints and then work with community leaders to present the issue on television following professional standards but from the citizens' perspectives. Despite the fact that this has been traditionally an offline interaction via phone, more and more complaints of "citizen reporters" are coming via social media or messenger apps such as Whatsapp.

CONCLUSION

City TV is a small local television station from Bogotá that shares resources with El Tiempo Television, a 24-hour news cable channel, and it is part of El Tiempo Publishing House, a media company that owns several print publications, portals, websites, and two TV news media outlets. During my fieldwork at City TV, I found that

new online video and broadcasting forms are emerging as a result of the interaction between television, online video units and social media. As clipping television news stories and "shoveling" them on the web is not an effective strategy to distribute video or engage new audiences in the online media ecosystem, digital video units are creating content with certain characteristics that respond to social media structures and users' patterns of news consumption on digital platforms. Those content innovations not only undermine media's control over the means of distributions but also TV journalistic authority. These new video forms also relegate engagement and interaction with users to third party technological actors.

Another key conclusion in this chapter is that socio-economic upheavals and pending TV licensing have partially hindered the adoption of technology and the transition of City and El Tiempo TV to the online ecosystem, reflecting the challenging landscape ahead. Once those uncertainties had been resolved, City and El Tiempo Television would expand their digital projects and endeavors at a fast pace. Similarly, the traditional relationship between local television reporters and TV viewers is reflected on social media and other social networks enabling the participation of the audience as sources of information in the newsgathering process.

DISCUSSION, COMMON FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 7: Discussion, Common Findings Between Two Case Studies

How are online teams at television news organizations adopting technologies in the adaptation of the traditional medium to the digital media ecosystem? How is the implementation of those digital tools changing online content? How are online media distributing news and engaging new audiences in the new online media ecosystem? These are some of the key questions posed in this research.

In the following chapter, I compare and contrast major findings in both case studies utilizing my theoretical framework. The results show how national, local, and organizational contexts condition the way online media adopt technologies and produce content for various online platforms. At the same time, the findings reveal how tools are imposing their technological designs on media workers, altering online video production and distribution processes. The quest for chasing and reaching large online audiences on social media is also modifying media outlets' understanding of audience engagement and content distribution while creating new video formats and integrated systems of viewing and interaction.

THE INFLUENCE OF ORGANIZATIONAL SETTINGS

One of the major common findings was that organizational structures condition the adoption of technology, the transition of television to online settings and the production of online content at Caracol News and City News-El Tiempo Television. As Shoemaker and Reese (2014) argue, larger organizational environments often shape

journalists' decisions. For instance, El Tiempo Publishing House established a total convergence between its main online platform (eltiempo.com) and the newspaper newsroom so several professionals working for print publications also have online responsibilities, including updating webpages and social media. However, the arrangement between television and online projects was different there. The news organization places more of an emphasis on collaboration between television and print publications, taking advantage of newspaper professionals' expertise to generate analyses and opinions as TV analysts, anchors, or weekly producers of TV segments. But very few connections are in place at El Tiempo between television and online work. El Tiempo managers argued that the technical workload of producing TV programing hindered the expansion of television news and TV professionals to the online media ecosystem.

Similarly, at Caracol News, the historical legacy of television is so strong that it does not occur to leaders that television professionals at some point would need to produce online content or at least incorporate digital tools and features in their traditional reporting. Television journalists at Caracol News seem to be untouchable because the company continues to profit thanks to their work, and their television news stories are clipped and distributed online, which they believe is enough contribution to the online world. The fact that they know how to report and produce a TV news package gives them expertise in video, which is one of the key components of digital multimedia; consequently TV professionals think they do not need to learn about the online work because they already master one of its main elements. Conversely, online professionals at Caracol are producing both online news and television content to gain professional

respect from TV professionals and promote their work on TV channels, which have a higher penetration rate than online websites.

At City News-El Tiempo Television, the newspaper arrangement with its portal eltiempo.com since 1996 conditions the way El Tiempo Publishing House understands the transition of television news outlets such as City News and El Tiempo Television to online platforms. Now, El Tiempo Publishing seems more cautious about the online presence of its television outlets—City News and El Tiempo Television—on the web than in 1996 when it started enthusiastically to shovel its newspaper content to eltiempo.com. If there is not a clear expansion of the traditional TV media business, the company is not willing to invest in TV websites. As a solution, the media company continues to backup its main portal eltiempo.com with clipped TV news stories from City and El Tiempo TV and has created small online units of social media administrators and digital video producers to experiment and innovate with content on the web.

On the contrary, Caracol News seems more enthusiastic than CityTV about its online presence. The organization (Caracol) has created a new digital vice-presidency who can defend the online endeavors of the company with a budget, representation, and strategy. Moreover, online leaders at Caracol believe that the popularity of new features and platforms to distribute and broadcast online video along with the TV station's ratings strength give the news organization the possibility of acquiring new technology, reach agreements with social media companies, and be ahead of the curve after several years of being behind El Tiempo. Previous digitizing efforts that tended to position Caracol News

videos on the web were unsuccessful for several reasons, including the lack of a strategic plan, low internet penetration, and restricted bandwidth.

Therefore, small local TV and cable news organizations like City News and El Tiempo Television—which are under the umbrella of a large newspaper corporation that has experienced the digital transition since 1996 like El Tiempo Publishing House—seem to adopt technologies at a more careful pace than a national TV corporation with multiple media under its tutelage like Caracol TV, which entered the online media ecosystem later and is now feeling the euphoria of the massification of online video consumption spurred by live streaming platforms like Facebook Live, YouTube, and Periscope. Both TV companies, nevertheless, seem to make the same mistakes that newspapers made on the Internet twenty years ago but now using Facebook as the main platform for news distribution and engagement.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORCES OVER TECHNOLOGY

Online teams working for television news organizations are part of heterogeneous systems composed of an array of professionals, practices, artifacts, and networks that create instability but drive innovation and the transition of traditional media to online settings. These online teams and the tools they use are very similar to other socio-technical heterogeneous structures described and analyzed by authors like Law (2012). Thus, Caracol News and City News provide convenient settings for understanding how social and technical means intertwined to produce something different for the online media ecosystem. In this sense, and despite deterministic visions about the linear

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trajectory of digital technologies, this research takes a social and technical perspective to understanding how renewed TV digitizing processes are occurring, as I believe neither the merely social nor the solely technical perspective are ultimately determinant (Law & Bijker, 1997) to explaining online disruptions experienced by TV media companies.

Evidence of how socio-economic structures shape or hinder digital technologies was found at City TV News and El Tiempo Television. For example, the expansion of television to online settings has stagnated at El Tiempo Publishing because the company has been waiting for more than five years to obtain a license that grants them a new national television channel, which is currently facing an intricate legal process before the National Television Authority. That expectation has created uncertainty about the future television endeavors of this organization. Newsworkers I spoke with at El Tiempo said that once the future of that TV business is clearly in their favor, the digitization process of their TV outlets will be accelerated, and more online component will be incorporated into their journalistic routines and daily operations. Having a piece of the national TV advertising pie would expand TV operations to the online media ecosystem, but until then, the company is investing very few resources in digitizing television news, and it is instead focusing on its portal eltiempo.com. The ethnography approach of this study is revealing because socio-economic forces that hinder the transition of TV to digital spaces is not otherwise evident through content analyses or surveys.

In the following section I will show how the interaction between social and technological elements inside TV news organizations contribute to creating new media logics and forms of content.

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NEW FORMS OF VIDEO AND BROADCASTING

Innovative forms of online video and broadcasting are emerging from the relationship between TV news media, professionals, and digital technologies such as social media, according to evidence found at Caracol News, City News and El Tiempo Television. Online users' behaviors offer a hidden constellation of news values that imposes new content trends and agendas from the audience to producers. Social media drives content differently than the old gatekeeper concept as it reveals in real time what stories are able to make a connection with people some times without fully understanding the reasons.

As a reaction to social media activity, digital video units are producing native online video stories in high definition and, at the same time, experimenting with social media in different formats in order to engage new online audiences. Two new broadcasting practices and products are emerging as a result of the interaction between television, digital technologies, and social media. On the one hand, video producers are using storytelling and emotions to assemble short digital narratives that have an appealing central character as the axis of the story (see for instance #Los importados from Caracol News). These stories are filmed in high definition and contain animation, graphics, multiple cameras, and angles. Even though these three-minute mini documentaries have some characteristics that make them attractive for young-internet audiences, they also possess enough quality to be aired on regular television programing. Mixing online elements with high quality filming ensures the presence of these stories in both traditional TV and online media and incubates format innovation from online units to television. On

the other hand, online video units at TV stations are producing short pieces exclusively for meeting the design, requirements, and consumption behaviors on Facebook. For instance, online teams are editing videos without sound but with still pictures, soft music, and concise colorful texts explaining a current issue, which can be watched in public places using cellphones without interrupting other people. These Facebook videos last from 40 seconds to one minute. At the beginning of the video, these pieces must exhibit a high-impact image or text to grab users' attention and engage the audience after the automatic player of Facebook activates so that users do not continue to scroll down on their social media feed.

As previous research has shown, journalistic norms and practices help professionals to develop new online activities that modify the structure of traditional television in the end (Bleair-Gagnon, 2015). For instance, TV journalists at BBC use fact-checking norms to implement new forms of interaction with social media users who provide breaking news information through those platforms (Bleair-Gagnon, 2015). In this research, I have found that not only activities on social media have become part of the journalistic routines at TV stations, but also that the interaction between television and social networks has contributed to the creation of a new media logic in which audiences' behaviors and reactions—particularly on Facebook—have gained influence on defining content and storytelling. For instance, Caracol News may cancel a TV news story from its newscast if social media users considered it offensive, while online video units from El Tiempo duplicate videos that are successful on Facebook and create a

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"ghost article" in their content management system to embed and republish that news piece in their in-house video manager software.

These changes in content, which help increase online traffic and video distribution, have some implications for TV media. For instance, the fact that TV is diminishing the role of anchors and reporters by producing pieces that contain still images, no voice-over, and big texts with the purpose of engaging Facebook users means that television is changing its news values, losing some authority and editorial control over its TV journalistic narrative. Adjusting to social media designs and requirements, privileges the platform "voice" over the TV journalistic "voice" of the media outlets. Other online native media outlets such as AJ+– can be said to have a guiding journalistic authority, but a different from of shifting authority developed in the innovation process. However, in the Colombia context there is a lack of a journalistic voice or vision when simply compiling images from social media to create these Facebook pieces. This is what proves worrying, because media outlets are diminishing the quality of their news products during the distribution process, and undermining their professional skills and engagement with their online audience.

Evidence also shows that small video units are now responsible for innovation and cutting-edge content on both online platforms and television, meaning that the traditional medium and TV professionals are not taking part in the innovation process and are being left out of the digital transition. It also suggests that television production, which is still the cash cow, at least at Caracol TV, is still untouchable until there is a

clearer path to obtain revenue from online video distribution and social media user interactions.

The logic behind online media teams producing content not only for digital platforms, but also for television networks vary from company to company. For instance, at City TV and El Tiempo Television, online video units consider that the video quality and narration style of television are very poor. However, producers at El Tiempo also believe that broadcasting their digital videos is an opportunity to reach a much larger audience as TV continues to be the medium with a bigger penetration rate and influence in Colombia. Likewise, video producers and online journalists at Caracol News consider the TV narration style to be linear and not engaging, but they work for television because they want to gain respect from traditional media workers and show them that they are also able to produce quality multimedia that can be aired on national television. The fact that online professionals are producing content for both television and online platforms and they believe TV news is low-quality and disengaging imposes a confrontation between traditional and online media. This also means that new formats and innovation are coming from the online direction rather than from television.

TOOLS ALSO IMPOSING THEIR STRUCTURAL DESIGNS

As Bijker and Pinch (1987, 2012) have noticed different groups use technological artifacts in different ways depending on their organizational context. Thus, similar tools and networks may mean different things for different organizations (Bijker & Law, 1992; Law & Bijker, 1997). It is true that online professionals working for TV news

organizations are using social media and other digital networks in accordance with their traditional practices, but they are also interpreting those tools to adjust them to their organizational contexts and needs. For instance, Caracol News and City News are using social media to promote their live-newscasts in order to drag users' attention from social media to television screens and reinforce their news brand in the mind of younger audiences who do not as often watch television. Although most social media activity is centered around official accounts at Caracol News given the organizational emphasis that the TV company places on its news brands, at City TV, most social media activity revolves around the personal accounts of City reporters who aim to obtain local information form users and maintain a close relationship with their audience. In Caracol News, anchors and journalists with a great number of followers are used during times of crisis as social media influencers to change the course of conversations, but their activity is not considered part of the newsmaking process, while in El Tiempo Publishing journalists are being evaluated according to their social media Klout Score.

Research has shown, online journalists modify tools and networks to make them fit their traditional norms and practices (Lasorsa et al., 2012; Singer, 2005; Ekdale, Singer, Tully & Harmsen, 2015). For instance, Caracol and City News are using Facebook mainly to distribute content and understand the reaction of the audience while also utilizing Twitter for news distribution and reporting (Artwick, 2013; Vis, 2013; Broersma & Graham, 2013; Hermida, 2012, 2010; Messner, Linke, & Eford, 2011). Despite this well-documented behavior, the normalization dynamic does not explain all of the layers of what is going on in television newsrooms because online units are also

constantly evolving and embracing new technologies sometimes at a fast pace, as Braun (2015) has observed.

Historical and organizational newsroom arrangements also condition the use of digital tools and networks. For instance, at some point Caracol TV decided that the most important aspect for ensuring the transition of television to online settings was to reinforce their brands, and that decision is now reflected on social media in the form of a constant defense of the news brand—even from audiences—as a fundamental goal. For this reason, the communication between Caracol News and online users is more distant and corporate. Meanwhile, City News was born as a local project that included citizens and communities in the newsmaking process to differentiate its station from other national channels. Therefore, the historical relationship between local reporters and TV viewers has been transferred to social media, opening new spaces of negotiation in which online users in Bogota act as informants to report via social media what is going on in their local communities and obtain journalistic coverage on collective issues. Moreover, TV viewers seem to have been centered around City reporters and City News to participate in the construction of news as sources of information, adhering to the philosophy and logic of the local TV station. As users perceive they are heard, they help to report using City News' hashtags such as #yoreporto [#Ireport], #Transmilenio [The city's public transportation system] #citynoticias (García Perdomo, 2017).

It is relevant to highlight, however, that social media platforms are also imposing their engineering and designs on online professionals and TV content now that platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram have become part of the journalistic routines.

Online journalists at City TV and El Tiempo TV, for instance, said that one of their priorities is to understand changes in the Facebook algorithm to maximize content distribution and audience engagement. At El Tiempo, professionals are afraid of being penalized by changes in Facebook's algorithm and refer to the platform as the "big editor" or the "dictator from Silicon Valley" because modifications in its design condition the way content is constructed and distributed. Linking the frequency of videos and articles on Facebook is less intense than with other social media because journalists do not want their input to be categorized as spam and then dropped or hidden from user feeds. The automatic video player of Facebook, which participants at first saw as a plus to ensure video consumption, has now overflowed users and trivialized images, making it more difficult to get users' attention. For this reason, online videos have been modified to be really short and contain sensational beginnings in order to catch the audience's attention for more than ten seconds.

Journalists' transition from Twitter to Facebook offers another good example of how social networks impose their engineering on newsrooms. Online professionals such as social media managers recognized that Twitter is the platform better fits their journalistic practices as it allowed professionals to report breaking news and programming as it is happening. Twitter is seen as river of information that contributes to newsmaking processes with its rapid flow. It is also a place for debate because politicians, intellectuals, and professionals are there sharing their thoughts and actions. The first social media reports on television and segments such as #LoMásTrinado [#TheMostTwitted] were often inspired by Twitter user activity. Moreover, the rapid

information flow of Twitter makes this platform appropriate for behaviors such as second screening during live broadcasting because people can react in real time to what is happening on TV screens and programing, using a second and third mobile device.

Nevertheless, Facebook's decision of becoming a news and video distributor through features such as Instant Articles and Facebook Live has changed the game. Online journalists said that Facebook is now responsible for more of their traffic. The platform offers better results on news consumption and distribution than any other social media platform, including Twitter. At the same time, Facebook Live has allowed online teams to broadcast live events with good TV resolution and collect audience reaction in real time in the form of comments, likes, and shares. However, those interactions are happening now inside Facebook, removing from the equation traditional TV screens and multiplatform news consumption activities such as second screening. Recent Facebook features and technological movements have led online professionals to reduce their interest in Twitter and increase their activities and distribution on Facebook, though TV media understand that Twitter continues to be the place for debate and a better bridge for engagement with TV screens. By relegating broadcasting and interactions to Facebook and abandoning Twitter, TV media are increasing traffic numbers and chasing a big audience at the expense of multiplatform consumption and interactions.

Spaces for Negotiation

To lead this competition for attention and engagement on online networks, television news organizations have opened spaces for negotiation with social media

platforms. For instance, online managers from Caracol News closed a deal and established direct conversations with Facebook representatives in New York City. These conversations helped Caracol News figured out how to connect its television studios, master controls, and equipment to Facebook Live so the TV news station is now able to broadcast its regular programing and other live events with the same high definition that it transmits to TV screens. At the same time, those negotiations established only small revenues to compensate for the presence of Caracol TV on Facebook. Likewise, El Tiempo Publishing entered into direct negotiations with Twitter Colombia, and its online video unit worked with engineers to trans-codify the Facebook Live signal in order to broadcast high quality images from live events. Therefore, Facebook Live—which was designed for users to connect cellphones and other mobile devices—has been modified by television organizations to meet traditional TV standards and broadcast high definition images with TV cameras, studios, mixers, and switchers. This TV media activity matches the Social Construction of Technology concept of spaces for negotiation. As Akrich (1997) observed, designers of an artifact inscribe a vision on the object and try to anticipate the way users are going to use it. However, outsiders are able to reshape and modify the artifact according to their practices during the diffusion phase of technology (Bijker, 1987, 2012), improving the original intentions of its creators.

In summary, it is true that online journalists continually shape digital tools and platforms through their journalistic practices and giving them new meanings, but artifacts also impose their engineering and designs on professionals once they are implemented and become part of the journalistic routines.

THE DEATH OF TV MEDIA

There are two popular ideas about technology that permeate online journalists' beliefs and symbolically affect their practices in the online media ecosystem. The first one is the conviction that digital technologies are available to be implemented so media do not need—at least temporally—to invest much money in developing in-house tools or networks to ensure their transition from television to online settings. That belief has taken television content out of solely TV broadcasting because there is a sense of urgency to distribute and share online videos through multiple platforms where audiences are in order to be relevant, catch audiences' attention, be ahead of the curve, and have a digital presence in their news brands. With this vision, television media not only lose control over the distribution channels, but also contribute to reinforcing the idea that everything can be found on social media. As online teams believe they do not have control over technology or the distribution channels, content is the only element left that they have in order to test innovation.

The second common idea is the *imminent death of traditional media*. Online journalists talk constantly about the disappearance of television in the near future despite the fact that television continues to be a powerful medium that brings revenues. TV news media try to anticipate that transition by creating small video units in order to experiment with new formats and produce content exclusively for the web and social media. Television is, in this sense, also responsible for its online disruption. In the case of El Tiempo Publishing House, there is a lot of skepticism about the death of television given the fact that they started their online endeavors in 1996 under the belief that the Internet

was going to kill newspapers. Just as El Tiempo continues to survive and profit as a newspaper organization, its managers believe television is going to last for a while until digital technologies finally take shape in Colombia.

TRADITIONAL VS. ONLINE MEDIA

Another prominent finding was that the relationship between television and online media influences the adoption of technology, journalistic practices, and content production at Caracol News and City News. In my research I wanted to test Boczkowski's (2004) theoretical findings on newspapers, which postulated that the greater the effort of traditional media to integrate the news work between print and online, the more traditional media practices and norms were reproduced in the online environment. In the case of Caracol TV, I found that there was a great effort to integrate television and online media, and as a result, more television media practices and norms were mirrored in the online media system. In fact, the practices and routines of Caracol's online professionals matched television newscasts and programing and reflected the traditional newscast editorial structure on their web pages and social media accounts. As a result, the adoption of digital technology and innovation were coming only from online teams, not from television. Though the adoption of digital technology was full of enthusiasm, it happened at a very slow pace because digital enterprises were anchored to traditional media practices. Even in the middle of this substantial effort to integrate traditional and online media at Caracol, there was an imbalance in that relationship

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because online professionals were subordinated to television and had to serve the traditional medium with both content and technology.

Boczkowski (2004) also postulated that newspapers that maintained print and online media as independent projects tended to incorporate more innovative and multimedia elements in their production. El Tiempo Publishing House keeps television (especially City News) and online outlets from total convergence and does not make efforts to integrate them. There is, however, evidence of content and technological innovation emerging from the video unit at El Tiempo. But other factors in this case are more important for determining what shapes online content production. For instance, socio-economic expectations about the future of television media and organizational arrangements can hinder the transition of television media to online spaces.

At both Caracol and City TV News, the relationship between television and online media is tense. For instance, online journalists at Caracol News feel that there is a certain disdain toward their work because the main focus of the news organization continues to be television. They feel they are just a very small branch of the media company. Thus, online journalists struggle on a daily basis to gain professional recognition and relevance. As traditional TV workers at Caracol perceive digital journalists to be less professional, online workers have to make great efforts to produce content for both online and television to be considered worthy by TV standards. Likewise, the video units who are producing innovative video formats believe that the television news story format is flat, linear, and not effective at generating online distribution and engagement.

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That dynamic is similar in City TV and El Tiempo Television. At the beginning of the digitization process, managers believed that clipping traditional newscast TV stories would be enough to cover the online video demand. Soon, online professionals realized that the pieces that were clipped directly from television news programing did not engage online users and were not easily shared on social media. Video producers discerned that the online media ecosystem required different audiovisual languages, edition structures, and storytelling. They concluded that TV news stories followed classic television parameters that made them difficult to circulate. The online video unit (with young multimedia producers) emerged as a result of the identification of these two separate languages. In addition, given the 24-hour-news programing of El Tiempo Television, managers believe that online videos produced by the online unit have the quality to be aired on traditional television, disrupting traditional TV formats. For this reason, online news professionals are becoming internal forces that are blowing up the TV newsroom and accelerating innovation and new formats.

CHASING AUDIENCES ON SOCIAL MEDIA

The relationship between digital teams working for television and online users also vary in both cases studies depending on the local and national nature of television outlets. While national TV station Caracol News applies social listening and surveillance to understand the reaction of the audience toward its content and the perception that users have about its programing and TV personalities, City News considers online users to mainly be local informants who can contribute as sources of information to the

newsmaking process. Likewise, whereas for Caracol the main objective of the interaction between the organization and users is to strengthen the brand, for City News the goal is to keep local communities very close to TV journalists so users can report on local issues. In both cases, the influence of the audiences is changing content but in different stages. In the case of Caracol, online and TV content is changing after the organization analyzes and processes the reaction of the audience. In the case of City News, online and TV content gets nurtured during the reporting stage because users directly contribute with tips and complaints.

In this sense, Caracol News is more concerned about taking control of its journalistic authority by analyzing users' input on social media and reacting to it in defense of their news brand (Good studies about journalism authority can be found in Anderson, 2013, 2010; Hermida, 2012; Karlsson, 2011). Meanwhile, City News is more interested in establishing a limited collaboration with online users. Within certain limits, TV journalists can get tips from local communities on social media to improve their newsmaking process. Thus, being close to its audience has been a traditional goal for City News that takes on new forms of digital platforms like social media. As previous research has shown (for instance, Ekdale et al., 2015), journalists resist, curate, or try to take control of the input of their audiences because they believe most content produced by users does not meet journalistic standards. As some online journalists said, citizen journalism "reaches its ceiling soon," and the input of the audience on social media and other platforms is valid until a specific boundary is drawn by traditional media. In this case, both newsrooms believe that online users are mainly consumers of information, but

the conceptualization of the audience varies notably from one media outlet to another depending on the media's traditional arrangements with their audience.

CONTENT DISTRIBUTION AND ENGAGEMENT

As Braun (2015) noticed, traditional television organizations are using heterogeneous resources to open new distribution routes beyond their traditional broadcast systems. However, most of the intermediaries in the distribution chain at Caracol News and City News pour their content into social media. For instance, Caracol News is using Snappy TV to capture live broadcasting events, clip short videos, and send them directly to Twitter. After that, Caracol creates an article in its CMS to embed these Twitter posts and link the news article to Facebook. Likewise, Caracol and El Tiempo are using video management systems—Brightcove video cloud and Ooyala, respectively— that publish content to internal platforms where they can monetize video but also send the same input to social media. Of course, this conditions the way users access information and participate in the online media ecosystem because content distribution is increasingly concentrating on social media, particularly on Facebook. As online and TV media are chasing the audiences in places where it congregates, and analyzing with metrics the traffic results of their output, most distribution activities are now exclusively focusing on Facebook. Some authors who talk about how Facebook is eating the world (Bell, 2016) should add that Facebook is devouring it with the help of television and online media content and videos. In this way, and with the help of traditional media, Facebook is

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transforming itself into the new web to take us out of the Internet and corner users' attention in only one platform.

The process of online video distribution through heterogeneous systems is affecting content along its path to reaching users on social media and mobile deceives. For instance, the digital video unit of El Tiempo is not only testing new video formats on Facebook, but also transferring successful distribution pieces from social media to their Ooyala software platform in order to increase internal views and generate revenue. Likewise, the use of Facebook Live to broadcast live events is inciting online journalists and video producers to give up customized streaming tools and video chats that work on their news websites. Similarly, the online video unit is creating new formats like silent video with still pictures in order to respond to Facebook's technological designs. It is true that most of the audience is on Facebook, and metric results are higher on Facebook than on any other internal platform. However, by giving up their distribution tools searching for massive audiences and attention on social media, TV news organizations are renouncing not only the means of distribution, but also giving up the narrative of their content.

It is evident that TV media industries are struggling to stabilize and regain control over the means of distribution, but their strategy of putting all their efforts and content on social media restrict spaces for technological innovation.

Engagement, an Integrated Concept

As with news distribution, the concept of engagement tends to be reduced to the reaction of users on social media—more specifically on Facebook—on content produced and distributed by both television newscasts and online media teams. This research arrived to a similar conclusion as Hallward, Poell & Van Dijck (2016): In the interaction between traditional media and new media, engagement is now entangled with social media commercial strategies, algorithms, and technological designs. The rise of social media is changing the television landscape because media and users are moving toward "integrated systems of watching" (p. 100) in which social media play a fundamental role. For instance, live streaming is moving away from second screening and multi-platform news consumption to Facebook Live where the reaction of the audience in the form of likes, comments, and shares stays inside the integrated system of viewing and interaction of Facebook. Given that one of the main organizational goals of television news stations is to reach as many users as possible when distributing content, TV outlets tend to adopt or drop social media platforms depending on the traffic that those networks bring to their news outlets without analyzing other consequences, such as structural and technological designs that condition the way content is produced and shared.

As a result, the notions of audience engagement are shifting because they have been simplified during online distribution and production processes. For instance, Batsell (2016) identifies five guiding principle of media engagement: knowing the audience face-to-face, interacting with the audience at every step [of the news consumption process], serving niches and specific geographic areas, empowering audiences to satisfy their own

curiosity, and measuring results in order to capture value. Online teams working for TV news media are mainly measuring traffic results but without necessarily profiting or learning from those interactions in order to retain their audience in the long run and stay in business. Other principles described by Batsell (2016) have not been considered or are overshadowed by the social media hype.

Similarly, Napoli (2011) explains how engagement embraces dimensions such as appreciation and emotional responses, recall and attitudes, and behavioral reactions from the audience towards content, which have been reduced to liking, sharing, and commenting on Facebook. My own definition of engagement as a *multilayer activity fostered by news media companies and journalists to capture the audience's attention with their content to then generate involvement, absorption, interaction, and the reaction of that audience regarding content* seems too broad to meet the online media standards as online professional are using social media only to get eyeballs, shares and likes. This is not to say that TV media are not going in the right direction during their transition to the digital media ecosystem.

It is true that audiences are disrupting traditional newsmaking with their inputs and behaviors online, but it is also true that mainstream media are using new analytical tools to gather information about their users and get a sense of new online audiences in order to be effective at distributing news and engaging users, as Napoli (2011) has noticed. However, what Napoli (2011) did not consider is the strong influence of social media as intermediary in these processes of understanding online audiences, and the reductionist vision of engagement surrounding actions such as liking, sharing, and

commenting until a point in which the concept itself has been concentrated in those activities on social media platforms. Moreover, the fact that sharing more than commenting is considered the maximum level of engagement gives us an idea of how news distribution on social networks is the important element for television media.

Finally, to distribute content and engage audiences, online news teams have a sense of urgency to create virality in both case studies. There are multiple online techniques they are using to produce vitality, even though these rules seem to be fluid and inconsistent. One element that was identified in both cases was the use of emotions and storytelling in order to evoke a specific sentiment in the audience. Emotions through human stories seem to be powerful devices that trigger shareability. When users feel sadness, happiness, rage, or indignation with content, the results seem to increase audiences' reactions on social media, ensuring sharing, liking, and commenting. Likewise, news values like curiosity, usefulness, and confrontation are employed to increase engagement and distribution. Unexpected and dramatic videos seem to catch the public's attention on social media. Online audiences share and react to such stories more often. Users and media's tendency to privilege these journalistic news values over others raises the question of social media being networks that promote emotional information (Dobele et al. 2007), therefore hindering more in-depth social understanding.

AN ILLUSTRATION: DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY AND THE PEACE PROCESS

The way online teams covered the peace process between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) guerrillas is a

good illustration that helps summarize common findings at Caracol News and City TV News. During my fieldwork, online teams were worried about how do a good job explaining to users the fundamental aspects of the peace agreement between the government and the FARC. It proved to be a challenge as a great deal of misinformation was circulating on social media and other digital platforms, putting the agreement at risk. Fake news has always been around, but the difference now was the speed at which lies and misinformation on social media were shared and circulated.

One of the main concerns online teams expressed was the change in the algorithm of Facebook that gave priority to information shared and commented on by friends and not information published by mainstream media organizations. The content is shaped by who users "friend." Only users who select Caracol News and City News as their favorite pages could see this mainstream news in a prominent place on their Facebook feed. Thus, understanding changes in Facebook's algorithm was and is a priority for online and television media because they wanted to be relevant to users with their information about the peace process, especially on social media, as the agreement had to be approved by voters in an October 2016 national referendum in which voters narrowly rejected government's peace deal with the FARC.

Facebook algorithm has been blamed for creating filter bubbles that hinder users' exposure to accurate information, civic understanding of events, and diversity (Lewis & Carlson, 2016). By placing any post at the same level of professional and investigative media outlets and by using bots to filter information according to users' interests, Facebook has contributed not only to the distribution of rumors and lies, but also to a

narrow understanding of politics and social life (Lewis & Carlson, 2016). That trend seemed to affect the Colombian peace process and other major political events such as the Brexit vote in UK, and the 2016 U.S. presidential elections. The impact of the Facebook algorithm in the distribution of fake news during recent key political outcomes is still under debate and study. Some scholars believe Trump is not a direct product of social media but the result of "larger historical, cultural, and institutional factors," especially the decline in citizen trust in institutions, including journalism (Kreiss, 2016, par. 2). Nevertheless, in a recent report, Facebook itself recognized that some malicious actors used its platform to mislead users and sway the outcome of the 2016 U.S. presidential election. To help mitigate these risks, Facebook announced it is working to counter "false amplification" identifying fake accounts, notifying and educating people and supporting media literacy (Weedon, Nuland & Stamos, 2017). It is also true that fake news stories were more widely shared on Facebook than the most popular news stories from mainstream media (Silverman & Singer-Vine, 2016) and those fake news stories favored Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017).

In the case of Colombia, the ability of some political strategists to generate fear among voters using online videos and memes with lies or misinformation on social media generated concerns among online professionals, so online teams at Caracol News and El Tiempo believed that they had pedagogical mission involving the peace process. Therefore, they planned to explain to their audiences the main points of the agreement. For instance, online teams from Caracol believed that television newscasts did not have enough time and space to explain all details of the peace agreement, which was a 297-

page document with diverse issues such as illegal crops and the political participation of the rebels. Instead, online journalists, social media managers, and video producers were ready to support television in the online media ecosystem and become the digital extension of the traditional medium using social networks as distribution platforms. Claudia Leonor Vesga from Digital Caracol News explained her strategy for covering this issue,

> We have the peace agreement document at our disposal so we are going to generate news and video pieces for social media and also streaming through Facebook Lives to talk about key points of the pact. During the Facebook Live journalists can establish a dialog with analysts to explain political, economic, and judicial aspects of the accords. There is always a life that goes beyond the [TV] screen. When the newscasts ends, we begin with the context, with additional reactions of what TV journalists have reported. TV news producers sometime tell us, 'look, this news piece could not be aired,' so we transfer that television story to the digital realm so the audience can consume that important information that was not aired on television (July 2016).

Online publications, social media posts, videos, and editorial decisions about the peace process depended directly on traditional media news directors. The more political (and sensitive) an issue is, the closer online teams get to the traditional medium and its editorial authority. On delicate topics such as the peace process, online media try to be an editorial replica of what is happening on television so they do not receive different perceptions or criticisms from the audience. Caracol News, City TV, and El Tiempo Television receive constant criticism from their users accusing them of being biased, supporting the president, and receiving *mermelada* (jelly, which is an idiomatic expression that means spreading money in the form of advertising) from the government. In short, because the peace process was a very sensitive issue, online teams were

particularly careful with editorial decisions related with this process, and they consulted with the TV news director to obtain his approval –being in accord with TV editorial decisions— before publishing or promoting peace stories online..

Online media also aimed to understand the reaction of the audience on the peace process, as it was one of the topics that generated the most interactions and passion among users on social media. For instance, Caracol News used its social media unit to monitor what users thought about their news coverage of the peace process. Those reports helped TV news organizations to provide balanced information in case the audience complained about biases. In this sense, social media users take the daily pulse of the information and help online journalists channel their coverage.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This study began with the premise that online professionals working for TV news organizations are reacting to a new powerful wave of technological innovations that is not only taking away audience's attention from television screens, but also disrupting TV formats, storytelling, and patterns of news consumption, distribution, and engagement. This dissertation used media sociology and Social Construction of Technology to understanding these phenomena and explaining how TV news organizations and online newsworkers are implementing digital technologies—particularly social media—into their newsrooms to distribute content and engage their audiences. This analysis tried to unpack the logics behind the implementation of digital technology in TV newsrooms.

The purpose of this study was fourfold: 1) To understand how the online operations (web platforms, social media, and online video production) of television news organizations are implementing technological innovations and organizing their online presence, 2) to understand how online journalists working for TV stations are distributing content and engaging new audiences using technological innovation and platforms such as social media, 3) to grasp how TV channels reproduce traditional television norms, values, and practices in their online teams and projects, 4) and to explain how TV news organizations' conceptualization of their audience conditions the use of technology and the inclusion of users in the editorial process.

In this final chapter, I review the empirical findings of this dissertation in order to offer patterns and larger lessons. Then, I analyze the implications of those findings for the

future of TV journalism, and finally, I highlight strengths and limitations of these two case studies, and how they open the path for future research.

NEW FORMS OF VIDEO AND BROADCASTING

Despite the fact that clipping television news stories continues to be the most widespread distribution practice at Caracol TV and City TV, new forms of online video and broadcasting are emerging from the interaction between online teams, television, and social media. Digital video units at Caracol and City-El Tiempo TV are mainly producing the following new formats: (1) native online videos for the web and (2) viral short videos for social media in order to increase content distribution and engage new audiences. Clipping television news stories and "shoveling" them onto digital platforms do not offer the social media shareability or traffic results that online professionals expect, unless those news pieces are related to major breaking news or spectacular events. The two new forms of online video production show the influence that social networks exercise over the editorial decision-making process at TV stations.

The first video form is produced by online video units, who use digital features such as animation, 360-degree cameras, sound effects, and multiple cameras with high definition. The result is often a three-minute mini-documentary piece that has a central character telling a human story with emotional peaks to arouse certain sentiment in the audience, such as happiness or indignation. Because these videos have high-quality resolution, they are often aired on regular television news programing. Online professionals believe that this dynamic would transfer digital innovation in the form of

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content from online units to television, securing the transition of the traditional medium to the online media ecosystem. In other words, innovation is supposed to come in the form of cutting-edge online content from online projects to television. That innovation trajectory, from online to television, left TV journalists and producers out of the re-digitizing process.

The second new video form is produced exclusively for social media, which in the cases of Caracol TV and CityTV basically means Facebook. It is a very short video (40 seconds to one minute) edited with still images, big-font text with colors explaining concise facts, pieces of social video and music. Video customized for Facebook does not contain sound bites, VO/SOTs, or voiceovers because it is designed to be watched in public places when the automatic player of Facebook activates. Visual and textual elements need to inform without sound. Thus, this video responds to specific features of that social media platform. Editing and producing this content is challenging. It is usually the result of trending topics, social conjunctions or breaking news. To monetize these Facebook videos, the online video unit at City TV and El Tiempo Television publishes a duplicate of those visuals in their video management software once the piece reaches a certain number of interactions on Facebook. The new video format not only strips a journalist's authority for it leaves out anchors and reporters, but also gives up B-roll, VO/SOTs, and other audiovisual elements that are part of television production and language.

Video producers believe that these new online formats that are emerging from the interaction between online teams, digital technology, and social media would replace

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television viewing. Some professionals even suggest that the video cycle from television to online platform will soon be replaced by images originated on social media and then spread to other online platforms until they finally reach television programing.

Another form of online video distribution that is disrupting television is live broadcasting through social media. Features such as Facebook Live, Instagram Live, Periscope, and YouTube Connect are wiping out internal tools that television stations use for streaming. The massive audience that Facebook has accumulated makes live broadcasting through this digital platform more successful (in traffic and interactions) than any other streaming done with internal media platforms. Therefore, online live broadcasting is moving from television webpages to social media, again taking away control of the means of distribution from traditional media. Facebook Live is exercising especially great pressure on television media because users are now able to broadcast their own news and events, competing directly with the traditional medium for audiences' attention. Also television media and journalists are live broadcasting using these features as part of their new routines keeping distribution and audience engagement on those platforms, thus reinforcing the idea that users can find everything on social media.

When Facebook Live started, online professionals at Caracol TV and City TV-El Tiempo Television were concerned about the quality of the social media platform's broadcasting. When they used cellphones to broadcast through Facebook Live, users complained about the quality of the video and the audio because they expected the same quality as the one they watch on TV screens. For this reason, online video units and social media managers have found ways to connect their studios, cameras, and

microphones directly to Facebook Live in order to ensure the same television quality on social media. This move by the industry is, of course, beneficial for Facebook. Caracol TV and El Tiempo Television continue to broadcast their live events using both Facebook Live and their internal streaming platform, but the traffic results between the social media platform and the internal tool show that Facebook is more effective "catching eyeballs."

HOW TOOLS' STRUCTURE CONDITIONS CONTENT AND DISTRIBUTION

The emergence of these new forms of video for distribution purposes shows that social media platforms are somehow imposing their engineering and designs on professionals and content. For this reason, one of the main concerns of newsworkers I spoke with was to understand how social media engineering works in order to take advantage of their distribution features, monetize TV content, and avoid losing their audience. Changes in Facebook's algorithm, for instance, have implied the diminishment of media relevance on users' feeds because that social media platform has given priority to friends' posts. Online teams talked about how these changes in the algorithm have serious implications for the media industry and for its relationship with the audience. To counter this situation and establish a commercial and editorial relationship, Caracol TV, for instance, has opened direct conversations with Facebook representatives in New York City.

Online professionals are also implementing diverse technologies following different logics. For example, Twitter fits perfectly with some journalistic practices such

as instant fact reporting during breaking news, live broadcasting—including their own newscasts—and news coverage such as press conferences, protests, etc. Twitter also seems useful for multi-platform news consumption because users mix television viewing and social media interactions combining TV screens with other mobile devices simultaneously. Meanwhile, Facebook is more about the distribution of elaborated content in order to reach large audiences and bring traffic to TV webpages. Even though Twitter seems to better serve the needs of online professionals working for television stations, the core of their activities has moved toward Facebook because their most important goal is to catch a large audience, bringing traffic to their webpages. Online professionals are also adopting tools that clip, edit, and distribute pieces of video directly from television to social media in order to increase the volume of video distribution and engagement with content in those platforms.

ENGAGEMENT AND DISTRIBUTION IN THE HANDS OF SOCIAL MEDIA

Chasing large audiences on social media for video distribution and engagement has some implications for TV media. By giving away premium content on social networks, Caracol TV and City TV are not only losing control over the means of distribution, but they are also surrendering their own customized platforms such as webpages, chats, forums, and live streaming. In fact, social media features such as Instant Articles and Facebook Live keep video, news, and user interactions within the integrated system of Facebook, hindering users from accessing or navigating other sites.

At the same time, online professionals are creating stories that fit distribution patterns for certain tools, but in the process of adapting their audiovisual products to certain technological designs, they are losing journalistic authority over TV narratives, undermining the quality of their audiovisual news product and audience's engagement because some of those social media news pieces tend to omit a journalistic voice or vision that matches with the rich visual tradition of TV news stories. Similarly, engagement—which implies recall, involvement, absorption, interaction, and the reaction of the audience with content, has been reduced to simple actions on social media such as shares, likes, and comments. The concentration of distribution and engagement on social media, particularly on Facebook, puts television news media organizations in a vulnerable position, very similar to what happened with newspapers 20 years ago when they started shoveling their print content to the Internet without a clear plan or business model, confident that revenues would come later with large audiences.

As online teams working for TV news organizations aim to increase their audience on social media, they work hard on creating viral content and understanding the nature of it. The key question they often ask is: What are the elements that spur audiences to share? Even though there is not a foolproof formula, video stories that evoke emotions and those that awake human interest are consistently produced by online professional of these TV news outlets to trigger shares and virality. Online teams also use mixes of current issues, useful information, and curious events to generate more views and interactions on Facebook and Twitter. This sort of equilibrium between soft and hard

news has become an editorial routine at both Caracol TV and City TV-El Tiempo Television.

As distribution and engagement are happening inside social media platforms, vision seems to be captive to Facebook in this new digitalization movement, which has now global implications for the openness of the Web and a resurgence of Western media dominance. Innovation is perhaps particularly vulnerable in this new dynamic, the economics of which to not favor home-grown platform development. TV news media acknowledges that they do not have control over digital technology or distribution platforms so content and storytelling are the only elements left for innovation. However, not only audiences have now the ability to set the agenda of what topics concern them and should be covered, but also the technological structure of social media are conditioning storytelling, overshadowing online journalists' voices and authority.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE AUDIENCE

The interaction between digital teams working for TV stations and online users reflects the relationship between television professionals and TV viewers. For instance, Caracol TV considers its viewers to be mainly consumers of information, so it employs social analytic software to track the reaction of online users to its programing in order to react on defense of its news brand and reputation. Meanwhile, City News considers its audience to be citizen journalists and local informants who can contribute to the newsgathering process as sources of information. Therefore, most online activity comes from the interaction between City TV reporters and social media users who want to see

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local complaints on the TV screen. Likewise, Caracol News always aims to fortify its brand on social media while City News seeks to keep TV journalists close to local communities, especially on Twitter.

ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Finally, this research reveals that organizational media structures shape the adoption of digital technologies and the transition of television to online platforms, corroborating previous findings from SCOT research. At Caracol News, for example, the strong legacy of television news makes TV journalists untouchable, so they do not work on online news production or incorporate digital elements into their TV stories. Conversely, online newsworkers are at the service of television and produce content for multiple platforms, including television. At City News and El Tiempo Television, the organizational arrangement places more emphasis on collaboration between television and the newspaper, but the link between online professionals and television is very weak, almost non-existent. Managers believe television producers have heavy workloads that impede them from being part of the online editorial process. Moreover, a small local TV news organization like City News, under the umbrella of a large newspaper corporation that has been on the web since 1996 and has faced several online transitions, adopts digital technologies at a more careful pace than a national TV corporation with multiple media under its tutelage like Caracol TV that entered the online media ecosystem later and now is feeling euphoric about the online video consumption boom on social media. The newspaper company, although producing native online videos, is more skeptical

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about the future of digital technological endeavors because it has not obtain the expected benefits after more than 20 years of transforming its newspaper content into digital content.

Some scholars suggest that it is required to blow up the traditional newsroom to understand the expansion of the online media ecosystem in which external forces such as bloggers, corporate sources, experts, common users and non-profit organizations are using digital technologies available to transform the news assemblage (Anderson, 2011, 2013). However, this research shows that it is important to investigate how TV news organizations are empowering small online units to experiment with languages and platforms, hence blowing up the TV news organizations from inside with innovative teams, technologies and products. Likewise, notions about Facebook eating the online media ecosystem (Bell, 2016) should analyze in more detail how television networks and other traditional media are participating actively in that monopolistic process by publishing and broadcasting their videos and live events through these platforms without much thought about their future. Journalism is a central activity on social media that generates great interest and reaction form citizens, but the business return for that content is very much uncertain.

THE FUTURE OF TV JOURNALISM

These findings—gathered through participant observation and interviews at two different Colombia TV news organizations—are significant to preserving the future of the TV news media industry and ensuring its transition to the online environment because

they analyze the steps and logics behind the adoption of digital technologies to distribute content and reach online users. They also shed light on innovation practices that facilitate democratic discourse and civic engagement. Television news plays a very important role in society and its failure to transition to online settings may have a negative impact on communities and professional journalism in Colombia and elsewhere. Citizen videos on social media do not offer the same professional values that have been part of broadcast journalism. Video producers who are outside newsrooms do not follow the same journalistic practices and standards in their reports. Therefore, preserving the best values associated with professional TV journalism has important implications for a healthy society and democracy.

In their quest for getting traffic and online audiences, television news organizations aim to understand the elements and news values of successful content that can hold the potential to be widely distributed online and become viral. Sharing news on social media is perceived as the highest form of engagement, even above actions like commenting which are part of public and democratic discussions. This implies that for online teams working for TV organizations, users continue to be consumers of information who can now help media to recommend and distribute content. Pursuing virality also means evoking emotions and drama, telling personal stories, and looking for oddity. Appealing to users' emotions to create viral content raises questions about news media's social responsibility to analyze broader, in-depth issues that can explain society as a whole and not only micro-stories that evoke sentiments.

Falling into the same dynamic that contributed to the newspapers' debacle at the beginning of the internet, TV news media organizations are pouring their video content onto social media chasing big audiences, without a clear understanding of how these editorial decisions are going to affect their core business in the future. The TV news industry seems to be captive to Facebook –a global private profit-making entity— and contributing with its video content and live-broadcastings to empower this social media platform. This global concentration of interactions, viewing and news consumption works against the open spirit of the Internet.

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

This study addresses one of the most rapidly shifting phenomena in journalism today—the transition of television media to the online media ecosystem at a moment in which social media are making several tools to live broadcast and share social videos available to "average Joe." Very little academic research has explored the way television media and its online operations are facing renewed technological and social pressures. The findings of this research offer a complete depiction of two case studies—one national TV station and one local TV channel—that provide keys for the future survival of television journalism and online professionals. The ethnographic methodology of this research allowed me to witness newsrooms' practices to understand the logic behind the implementation of technology, but local experiences such as Caracol News and City News-El Tiempo Television may shed light on comparable global patterns of media adaptation to digital technological disruptions.

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One of the main limitations of this study is that it is based on only two case studies immersed in a particular context, so generalizations about a large population of television news organizations are risky. The fact that case studies focus on a particular phenomenon raises some concerns, and the approach is often criticized for being a *cherry-picking* research practice or for its apparent lack of generalizability. However, case studies also offer a holistic view of the object under research, showing phenomena in depth and within a specific context, opening the path for new theories and paradigms.

Another weakness of this research is that Colombian media very closely follow their numbers, metrics, traffic, ratings, audiences, and statistics in general, and they treat these data almost like state secrets. They receive reports from external companies and generate their own internal statistics, but they do not share them or make them publicly available. That poses a significant challenge for researchers because it is difficult to corroborate with real data some of the statements gathered during the interviews.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research should investigate other national media systems in order to understand whether these online patterns of TV news distribution and engagement found in Colombia are also present in other contexts. Future works could also use social network analyses to explore to what extent online professionals and television news producers' network strength—measured as frequency of contact, trust, and closeness (Granovetter, 1985, 1973; Chen, 2015)—and network diversity (Marsden, 1987; Chen, 2015) play an important role in the adoption of digital technologies and innovation inside

TV newsrooms, looking particularly at the relationship between actors. Likewise, future investigations should content-analyze television outputs on social media and websites to investigate how these practices described about the implementation of technological innovation, distribution, and engagement affect the final product and how audiences interact with media content.

In summary, television media are in the middle of exciting times, implementing technological innovations, finding new forms of video and groundbreaking paths for content distribution and audience engagement. Those innovations are triggering a renewed digitization process for television news organizations after years of being on the web without feeling much pressure. However, the transition of television to social media and the online ecosystem needs deep reflection to allow journalists to best serve the needs of their communities and preserve their values. Professionals must be cautious in surrendering control over innovation, distribution, and engagement to social media giants, because in this concession they can lose their journalistic authority, their ability to produce meaningful storytelling and the core of their business.

Appendix

Consent for Participation in Research

Title:

Re-digitazing television News: Social media and technological innovation in Colombian TV newsrooms

Introduction

    The purpose of this form is to provide you information that may affect your decision as to whether or not to participate in this research study. The person performing the research will answer any of your questions. Read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to take part.

Purpose of the Study

    You have been asked to participate in a research study about the adoption of technology and online practices in TV newsrooms. The purpose of this study is to understand how online news teams —that is online journalists who work inside two television channels supporting the web presence and activities of traditional TV corporations— implement technological innovations, and whether their digital operations are creating emerging forms of content, practices and routines, and new ways to engage audiences through social media, facilitating the interaction between TV viewing and online.

What will you be asked to do?

    If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to take part in a semi-structured interview, which can be conducted over the phone, via conference software or in person. Each interview will take about 40 minutes to complete. The maximum number of interviews that any participant may be asked to complete is three.

    Your participation **will** be audio-recorded for research purposes; the interview will later be transcribed for research purposes.

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What are the risks involved in this study?
The potential risks on the participants who voluntarily participate in the study are believed to be no greater than everyday life.

What are the possible benefits of this study?
You will receive no direct benefit from participating in this study; however, the information you will provide has potential benefits research on journalistic practices and communication and society in general. This study may contribute to the understanding of factors that shape the adoption of technology and innovation in television channels.

Do you have to participate?
No, your participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate at all or, if you start the study, you may withdraw at any time. Withdrawal or refusing to participate will not affect your relationship with your employer or the University of Texas at Austin (University) in any way.

Will there be any compensation?
You will not receive any type of payment participating in this study.

Do you want your real name to be associated with the data?

If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked whether you want to be identified in the data collection and in the final report with your real name or not. If you do not feel confortable associating your name with the data, we will select at random two letters from your first or last name to produce a new name that will not be tied to your real name or gender.

How will your privacy and confidentiality be protected if you participate in this research study?
- Any data resulting from the interviews will be stored on the principal investigator's private computer and will not be shared with others.
- Audio and text (transcript) recordings of the interviews will be destroyed once the research project is complete.
- A security code will be used to restrict access to folders with the data collected in this study.
- The participants will decide whether or not they want their name to be mentioned in the audio and in written in the interview transcripts; names will be disclosed in the reports (dissertation, academic manuscripts) resulting from the study only if the interviewee approves to be mentioned.

- Only those statements from the interviews that we consider relevant for the investigation will be used in the academic reports (dissertations, papers, book, conferences).
- Data resulting from interviews may be made available to other researchers -only- in the form of dissertation, conferences, books and journal publications.

If it becomes necessary for the Institutional Review Board to review the study records, information that can be linked to you will be protected to the extent permitted by law. Your research records will not be released without your consent unless required by law or a court order.

Whom to contact with questions about the study?
If you have any questions or concerns about this study, you can e-mail the participating researchers at victorga@utexas.edu, or call (512) 417-0072.

This study has been reviewed and approved by The University Institutional Review Board and the study number is **[**2016-04-0058**].**

Whom to contact with questions concerning your rights as a research participant?
For questions about your rights or any dissatisfaction with any part of this study, you can contact, anonymously if you wish, the Institutional Review Board by phone at (512) 471-8871 or email at orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Confirm participation
You have been informed about this study's purpose, procedures, possible benefits and risks. You have been given the opportunity to ask questions before providing your consent, and you have been told that you can ask other questions at any time. You voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

To provide your permission or consent to participate in this study, please answer verbally with a simple "Yes."

By consenting to this study, you are not waiving any of your legal rights.

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