

Habits of contemporary newsreader

Hábitos do leitor de notícias contemporâneo

Hábitos del lector de noticias contemporáneo

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Abstract *This article presents the habits of the contemporary newsreader raised by an empirical research of socio-cultural nature. Starting from the presupposed argument that being a news reader implies mixing purposes, gestures, sensibilities and abilities of the digital and printed press, the research, supported above all on Martín-Barbero's Mediation Theory, envisaged to identify how these two formats cohabit and redraw people's daily routine.*

Keywords: *News reader. Journalistic reading. Reception on the web.*

Resumo *Este artigo apresenta hábitos do leitor de notícias contemporâneo levantados a partir de uma pesquisa empírica de cunho sociocultural. Partindo do pressuposto de que ser leitor de notícias hoje implica mesclar propósitos, gestos, sensibilidades e habilidades dos jornais impresso e digital, a pesquisa, amparada, sobretudo, na Teoria das Mediações, de Martín-Barbero, buscou identificar como esses dois formatos coabitam e redesenham o cotidiano das pessoas.*

Palavras-chave: *Leitor de notícias contemporâneo. Leitura jornalística. Recepção na web.*

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Resumen *En este artículo se presentan los hábitos del lector de noticias contemporáneo recogidos de un estudio empírico de naturaleza sociocultural. Suponiendo que ser lector de noticias hoy implica combinar propósitos, gestos, sensibilidades y habilidades de los periódicos impresos y digitales, la investigación, apoyada principalmente en la Teoría de las Mediaciones de Martín-Barbero, trató de determinar cómo estos dos formatos cohabitan y rediseñan la vida cotidiana de las personas.*

Palabras-clave: *Lector de noticias contemporáneo. Lectura periodística. Recepción en la web.*

Data de submissão: 16/02/2013

Data de aceite: 11/03/2013

Introduction

Culture and communication maintain a relationship of recurrence. Thus to the extent that new forms of production, storage, broadcasting and reception of information are integrated into social life, the delineations of cultural practices were also redefined. Aligning herself with this premise, Santaella (2007) describes contemporary cultural complexity as the result of the coexistence of six formations: oral culture, written culture, printed culture, mass culture, mass media culture and digital culture. According to the author, it is not the question of successive and evolutionary periods, but of a cumulative process, in which every era, impregnated by its economic and political injunctions, inserted itself and provoked readjustments in the anterior one, making the cultural web more and more hybrid and dense.

Following the same logic, the formats which compose the mediatic landscape did not rise to a progressive scale of overcoming:

All the means, the old and the new ones, as well as the different video-electronic and digital technologies, which make them possible, coexist, forming or not convergences in a strict sense, but constituting more and more complex communicative eco-systems. The advent of a new means or technology does not necessarily suppose, not immediately either, the supplanting of the anterior. (OROZCO, 2006, p. 84)

Thus it is obvious that if the topic is the relationship between journalism in analogue means and in digital means, it is more correct not to speak of rupture, opposition or threat, but of a reconfiguration or, such as Palacios (2002) defends it, of continuity and potentialization. For this reason, when one has the intention to approach the newsreader in present time, it becomes fundamental to consider the practices in front of papers as well as in front of screens, finally we live nowadays “a complex and dynamic articulation of different journalistic formats, in different supports, ‘in coexistence’ and complementation in the mediatic space” (PALACIOS, 2002, p. 5-6).

But how do these formats and the reading practices, which are inherent in them, coexist, entwine and complete themselves in daily life? How do the new habits, which are built by the web journals, mix themselves with the actions that were consolidated much time ago by the printed press, thus constructing different ways of reading news? These were the questionings which guided an empirical quest, theoretically based upon Barbero's mediation map (Martín-Barbero, 2004), he did with the readers of the news portal *Zerohora.com*, who have or had the habit to read the printed version of the newspaper *Zero Hora* as well. The research was carried out on subjects who are adepts of both formats because one believes that reading the newspaper daily means to mix intentions, gestures, sensibilities and abilities of the printed and digital versions.

[The genres and the means] are today the place of complex residual and innovative plots, of anachronisms and modernities, of communicative asymmetries which, on the producers' part, involve sophisticated "anticipation strategies" and the activation of new and old reading competences, on the viewers' part, (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2004, p. 236).

In order to see how these new and old reading practices mix themselves in present time, it was necessary to set Martín-Barbero's theoretic model (2004) in an empirical soil and therefore we drew two analysis prisms, represented in *Figure 1*. We created a diachronic axis (printed press → digital press), which identifies ruptures and continuities in the processes of reception, use and consumption of the printed press and of the digital press and a synchronic one (technicities → ritualities), destined to examine how the transformations effectuated by technology in languages and formats, in the relationships between space and time and in the socio-cultural relationships are incorporated in the readers' daily life.

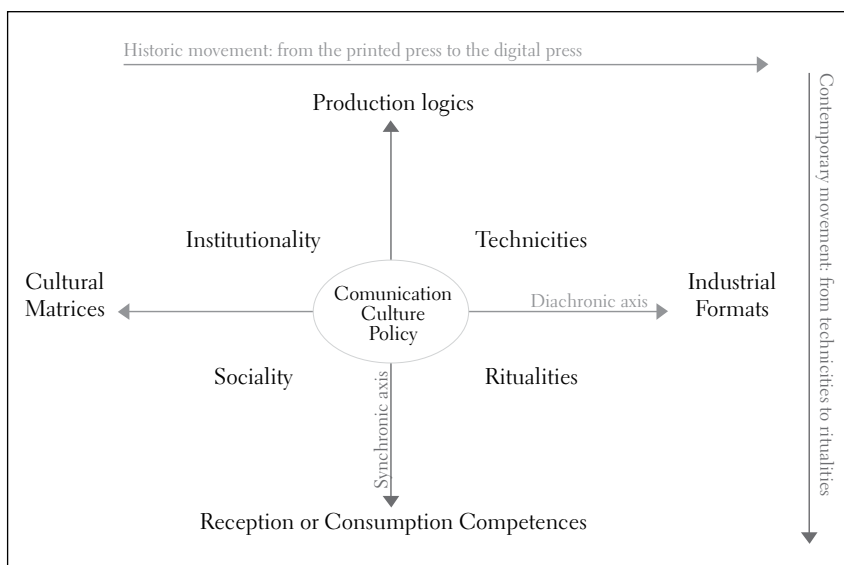


Figure 01. Graphical representation of the mediation map
(based upon Martín-Barbero, 2008).
Source: KNEWITZ, 2010

The qualitative data which feed these two investigation perspectives were collected from 16 readers, of both sexes and of different ages (from 20 to 62) and domains of formation, by means of ethnographic interviews, the bases of which are “the detailed description of the present world and the re-elaboration of the organizing mark of the past world” (CÁCERES, 1997, p. 184). After having transcribed and systematized the data we collected, we noticed that six analytic categories came to the surface: reading coordinates, support preferences, ways of participation, reading trajectories, multimedia uses and ways of updating, around which we identified old and new practices. At last, taking care to respect the subjectivity of each informer and the nuances of his/her actions and speeches, we sought to pay attention to consensuses, such as the way to tie the assessments we achieved³. This quest converged towards the

³The methodological proceedings of the mentioned research are exposed in a detailed way in the article *As mediações como solo teórico para as negociações entre tecnologia e cultura no âmbito da recepção* [Mediations as theoretical soil for the negotiations between technology and culture in the framework of reception].

proposition of a reading typology, integrated by *contextualization reading*, by *updating reading* and by *projection reading* (KNEWITZ, 2010). The objective of this text is to present the peculiarities of each one in order to better understand the contemporary newsreader.

Contextualization reading

Contextualization reading is the one in which the reader establishes his first contact with the daily news. It is a basic reading, in which people seek a panorama of the local and global scenarios in order to be able to situate and insert themselves into reality. “It is when I realize what is happening, when I enter the outside world”⁴, defines the subject who, in the inquiry, which originated the present text, was called *reader 15*. Generally this reading embraces a great diversity of topics and it is performed with attention and thoroughness, in a time exclusively reserved to this effect. All the people we interviewed do this, those who read the traditional newspaper as well as the web journal, who were referred to as *cumulative readers*, choose to perform it in the printed format, only migrating to the screen in the days in which, for some reason, they do not have access to the printed press.

In each format, *contextualization reading* ends up aggregating particularities, but it is possible to detect common features. To begin with the reading place: 13 out of the 16 people, who made a declaration, perform this reading in a professional environment, the three who read at home are those who have no formal professional link. As far as time is concerned, the pattern is the first hour of the morning. Nonetheless five readers, since they work in companies in which the access to news sites is only allowed at noon, are obliged to read during the lunchtime break. Still with regard to time, we perceived a difference between the *cumulative readers* and those who substituted the printed press by the digital

⁴The speeches of the subjects we investigated were transcribed without corrections.

press, called *substitutive readers* in the inquiry; whereas the first readers usually read the whole printed press in one time, the second readers open the site as soon as they arrive at their work places, catch a general glance and go on reading during the morning.

According to what we already mentioned, this morning reading is usually very broad by the way, the broadest among the other modalities we will present next: “In this first reading, I try to read a little bit more, you know? I do not always read the whole news, but at least I catch a glance at almost all the news” the interviewed man, recognized as *reader 11* in the course of the article, relates. *Reader 4* explains that, besides having a more generic character, *contextualization reading* is more intense: “When I arrive, I read intensely in order to have a notion of the day. In this reading, I am more concentrated”. The woman called *reader 1* always does this introductory reading at noon and classifies it as compulsory: “The reading I do at noon seems to substitute the reading of the printed press, with less time, but it seems to be compulsory; in relation to the evening reading, it is more thorough”.

In terms of time, this is the most extended reading, lasting from 15 minutes to 2 hours. The reading of the printed press tends to last more than the reading of the web journal: “Let’s say that I spend some 20 minutes looking at the virtual *Zero Hora*. But when I read the printed press, it was twice this time”, *reader 15*, we already mentioned, illustrates. People relate that in the printed version they spend at least 30 minutes, whereas on the screen they read at the most half an hour uninterruptedly, followed by shorter accesses. Since it is longer, *contextualization reading* was chosen as the best one to be stored in the memory.

As far as the use of participation tools is concerned, this moment was favourable to the reading and publication of comments and to the voting in inquiries. With regard to the use of multimedia resources, this period was little appropriate, since to access videos, for example, is an action which the interviewed people linked to a conception of leisure, entertainment, thus being a practice which is incoherent with the other duties performed in the professional environment. In this case, we iden-

tified the aggravating aspect of the very companies that block the access, even outside working hours.

With regard to the use of the hypertext, we observed that it is rare in the case of the reading of printed press and obviously, quite exploited in the reading on monitors. In the printed press, only three readers frequently use the index of the cover as a shortcut for the news they consider interesting. The others have usually a behaviour which is near to that of the woman called *reader 6*: “I follow the order, catch a general glance at the topics, the titles and read what I consider important. I read what I begin unto the end. I think that I read everything, there is nothing I skip and there is no thing to which I go directly”, she describes. In the same way, 11 other informers consider it a pattern to read what they start reading unto the end and another 12 affirm that they catch a glance at the whole edition.

In the case of online reading, only three attempt to read the whole published content. Among those who remain, seven confess that they almost exclusively look at the cover news, inducing us to conclude that *contextualization reading* done online embraces a minor range of topics. With regard to order and completeness, only three read in sequences and nine read unto the end. From these nine people, one admits that he does not do a continuous reading: “Sometimes I skip from paragraph to paragraph, picking up some central sentence within that paragraph and attempt more or less to assimilate the content of the report, but I read unto the end”, the subject, who was designated as *reader 13*, relates. In the case of the other seven, those who do not read unto the end, the justification tends to be linked to the hypertext as *reader 5* explains it: “On the online journal I do not always read unto the end. I skip more rapidly to another one, because there is generally another link open. I don’t know, maybe out of anxiety. And then it must be quick so that you always see other things, you know.”

If reading online is apparently quicker and superficial, on the other hand, it is more multifaceted, since 12 from the 16 people we interviewed say that with the internet, they have consolidated the habit to read more

than one source. *Reader 3* establishes a comparison with reading the printed press: “By reading the journal online you have got various sources with different opinions, you know. So you can see each one’s position in a clearer way. In the printed press you even identify yourself with the position, but it is not so easy to get a referential from another place in order to compare”, he analyses. *Reader 16*, for example, says that he only uses one source when he reads a printed newspaper, but he complains that, with time passing, the contents become repetitive and can be foreseen. This is why he subscribes a different newspaper every year. With regard to digital reading, he accesses four sources on average, with the intention to make his reading more complete: “If I already saw that news more than once, I skip to another journal and look at something new. I continue in the same way and I open what I am interested in. You must see another opinion, not that thing you always see”, he argues.

Thus we can observe that, according to the summary in the following figure, performing *contextualization reading* in the printed press and performing *contextualization reading* in a digital means are different processes. With reserve to the specificities of each support, we can finally characterize this reading modality as a morning reading, which is done in the printed press as well as on the screen, generally in a professional environment, with duration of 15 to 30 minutes on the web and of 30 minutes to 2 hours in the printed version. When it is done in the online version, it rarely exploits the multimedia possibilities, but it constantly uses the resources of interaction and the hypertext. The hypertext is mainly used with the objective to promote a more thorough and more disordered reading and to facilitate the content selection and the consultations of other sources. It is a thorough reading, which requires concentration, thus having a good degree of absorption and memorizing. It focuses on generic topics, in the reading of the printed press you consult more data in fewer sources and in digital reading you consult less varied topics, but from a greater number of perspectives. Finally, as its denomination suggests it, the primordial objective of this reading is to situate the reader in the micro and macro realities which surround him.

Analytic category	Cumulative readers	Substitutive readers
Support	Paper.	Screen.
Time	Early in the morning or at noon.	During the morning.
Place	Predominantly at work. Two people also read at home and one always reads at home.	Predominantly at work. Two persons, who do not have a professional link, read at home.
Use of the interaction resources	Limits himself/herself to the reader's page.	Reading and comment publication and voting in inquiries.
Use of the hypertext	In order to go directly from the cover to certain news or, by means of the layout, to provide the linear reading of the news on the same page.	In order to promote a more thorough and disordered reading and to facilitate the content selection and the consultation of other sources.
Use of the multimedia resources	Consults texts and pictures.	Rare and predominantly focused on infographics.
Duration	At least 30 minutes.	Maximum 30 minutes.
Thoroughness	High.	Average.
Topic broadness	Large number of generic topics in few sources.	Reasonable number of generic topics in different sources.

Figure 1. Summary of the characteristics of *contextualization reading*.

Updating reading

Updating reading is the one in which the reader usually informs himself about the new events which occur during the day or about the evolution of the facts he was following. It is a quick and fragmented reading, in which people seek the feeling of control on the scenario in which they are inserted. “It is more to look at the headlines of what is happening at the moment, in order not to be lost”, *reader 14* explains. In this reading instantaneity has more weight than the content, that is to say, what is important is the latest news and not the most important news. It is the constant and superficial following of a generally restricted number of topics. It is usually done concomitantly with other activities, thus involving partial attention. According to what *reader 4* mentions, it is a reading which came together with the new possibilities offered by web journalism: “When it is that thing which happened on that very day, you can only read the news on the internet, you know.”

In fact, as the above mentioned *reader 3* remembers, the news, which appears during the day, could already be accessed by means of television or radio journalism: “Before the *Jornal do Almoço* [*Lunchtime News*] updated the news I had seen in the morning. I listened to a lot of news on the radio and I waited for the TV News to begin in order to look at that news there, you know. And then, with pictures”, he relates. But with the web, the interviewed person celebrates the freedom of time he has got to do this and the greater velocity with which the news is presented, as well as *she-reader 2*: “Before I waited for television, but now I do not have any more patience to wait”, she admits. That is to say that what is new is not the wish to follow the unrolling of journalistic facts, but it resides in the way in which this practice is being established, according to *reader 9’s* declaration:

From the moment at which sites began to update news in a quick way this necessity was generated. On all of them I look for the same thing: news which is updated from minute to minute or news which is in evidence in mass media and I search for more information. I get angry when a site does not convey anything new, report hits.

Updating reading is performed by 11 out of the 16 readers we examined and it usually occurs at their work places, during the afternoon. From the five people who do this kind of reading only one chooses not to do it; the four others cannot do it because their companies block the news sites during working hours. The companies, where four other readers work, do not allow either the reading of web journals during the day, but since these readers are students, they find an exhaust valve at university: they usually read the more recent news in the afternoon, before their lectures begin. *She-reader 2* demonstrates the force of her ritual by relating her ill-being on a day on which she could not accomplish it:

I created the habit to read before the lecture in order to know if anything had not changed. On the past days I did not have the opportunity to read and it was horrible: when I arrived, there were already lots of news and I “Bah, nobody told me anything, I was out of it!” I was angry, you know. I like to be up to date and to know what is going on.

On the contrary, the readers who can be constantly connected to the web in their jobs perform *updating reading* a couple of times a day, in short breaks identified between two activities. These breaks are not previously planned; they are following the rhythm of the professional tasks, according to what the person, who was given the name *reader 8* during the investigation, explains: “In my work there are some things which last some time to be done, you know. So you have it done and while you are waiting, you open one page, then you shut it and you go on doing what you were doing. I actually do not like this, but it is in

this context that I read”, he explains. Thus nothing warrants that there is some regularity between the readings: the chosen times, the number of accesses and the duration of each access are not always the same. But during the evening shift, some people do at least three “doses” of reading of five minutes each, a proceeding which, in the atypical case of the students, ends up being substituted by one access of approximately 15 minutes at the end of the afternoon. *Reader 3* does the *updating reading* in a more intense way:

I look at the site for more or less 15 times. I enter, see the piece of news, shut in order not to miss the focus, remember something, open again... If the page is open, I update in order to see if there is some new piece of news. If not, I shut it and I wait for a few minutes. But I always keep waiting.

Like this reader, other subjects we investigated point to permanent following as a characteristic of *updating reading* and they describe noticeable changes which this feature introduced in their behaviours. *Reader 11*, for example, says that during the period in which he could follow the information in integral time, at his work place, he became “dependent on the news”. By justifying himself, he establishes a comparison with the practice he maintained with the printed press: “In the printed press you will hardly turn the pages more than once a day. Maybe, ah, you did not have time to read, so you leave reading it entirely for later, but generally you will read all you want immediately; you will hardly use that media again during the day”, he comments. While relating a more intense following, *reader 13* emphasizes that nowadays he has a broader following: “I think that I have a larger volume of information or thematic topics which I follow every day. I noticed that I follow a larger number of events, facts, processes than I did during the time of the printed version”, he analyses. *Reader 9* also sees himself surrounded by a larger lot of information and he reports that this is changing his acts even in printed media:

After I began navigating on the online information portals, I started to be more up to date during the day. Before that I got updated only in the morning while reading the newspaper. Nowadays I read the news until I go to sleep. In the same way, I go on buying the newspapers I used to buy before and even more... Because the more information you read, the more the necessity of reading about the unfolding of this information appears.

In order to cope with this large and increasing number of information, which happens to cross their routines, people confess that they dispense with thoroughness. *Updating reading* is actually, as the interviewed people describe it, a headline reading. The intention is to catch a glance assumingly superficial at a restricted number of topics which run through the public sphere at that very moment. "In these other entries in the course of the day, it is a quick access. I only look at part of the site, which is a panorama of new things. It is only a quick glance, I do not enter the journal", *reader 14* admits. *Reader 11* says the same thing in other words, but he reinforces the fact that *updating reading* only embraces the most recent topics: "This reading I used to do in the middle of the afternoon was rather superficial, you know. I hardly looked for a specific piece of news there or I read the whole news", he relates. *She-reader 1* insists in contrasting the thoroughness of her *contextualization reading* with her superficial *updating reading*:

If I could choose, I would stick to the printed press and would catch a quick glance at the web. I do not do a quick reading in the printed papers; I even prefer not to do it. Otherwise there is that funny thing: "I had it in my hands and did not read it!!" But on the internet I do not feel this kind of guilt. There are times in which I do not even click on the news, I just want to know what there in the title; it is not reading, it is just to look at it.

With the basis on these speeches, we perceive that the hypertext is a resource which is hardly used, since people affirm that, in this kind of reading, they observe the page/pages statistically without clicking, they

just look at it; they catch a “quick glance, without searching for topics. Seven people relate that they generally linger on the cover of the site when they read online, but, when the topic is specifically *updating reading*, all the people we interviewed, who perform it, say that they do this. Thus it is a “superficial reading”, in which the most common act is to use the scrollbar in order to go to the sides and to the vertical sense of the hypertext in order to enter the levels of the portal. The justification? The lack of time, which, by the way, is the same for the use of multimedia resources, which is also restricted, added to the restriction of the access imposed by the professional environment, as we commented above. In order to access videos and audios, they must, as a rule, provide the same conditions of the other contents: they must be linked to last hour facts, preferably polemical ones.

With regard to the interactivity tools, we observed that in *updating reading* the redaction of comments becomes rarer, whereas other tools, focused on a more immediate interaction, gain weight, such as chats and the sending of materials in real time. Actually no informer said that he had sent materials in this situation, but some admit that they already felt like doing it and others spoke about the pleasure they felt when they accessed contents sent by other inter-agents. *Reader 5* exemplifies: “Once there was a fire near my work place; I saw it, then I accessed *Zerohora.com* and immediately there were photos of the personnel who works in that building. I thought it was great”, he says. Whereas the experience that was narrated by the she-user, called *she-reader 12* during the inquiry, which obtained these data, was experienced in a chat:

In the week in which there was this terrible thunder storm in Porto Alegre I was at home and I even thought: “I am not going out now, because it was completely dark”. So I started following it on the site and it was great. There was a sort of live chat with an editor and people were sending things “listen, here in that place such thing occurred”. This moment was really great; I thought that internet was super. I felt that I really had the information in real time.

With regard to memorization, obviously the contents which are read in this reading modality are not well fixed, since the reader dedicates little time and partial attention to what he is reading. *Reader 4* has no problem in admitting that he does not have the habit to record the contents in his memory: “This reading done during the day is a quick one. I probably read the thing and five minutes later, if you ask me, maybe I don’t remember” *She-reader 12* compares the concentration performed in *contextualization* and in *updating reading*: “At home I am well concentrated on the screen, but at university and in other places, I read superficially; I just catch a glance, and afterwards I remember ‘Ah, I want to read that topic again’”, she relates.

The benefit the readers hope to get from this reading is of short term. Very often the topic is not even relevant and maybe on the following day nobody speaks about it anymore, but at the moment at which such fact occurs, it is the centre of the public sphere and everybody seeks to get to know it, in order not to be astonished or in order to be able to astonish. This is the case of *reader 9*, lawyer, who speaks about some advantages to be up to date:

I think that a person, who is well informed, can give a more evaluated opinion about other topics. In my job it helps to be well informed, it helps in my relationship with my clients; it helps in my relationship with other lawyers, because when you chat with the person, in personal interactions, there is the repercussion of news, repercussion of the facts which occur in our daily life. And if we are not up to date, we are not able to maintain the conversation, not to give an opinion either and not to disagree with the other person either.

Based upon these data, we can delineate some conclusions about *updating reading*; they are synthesized in *Figure 2*: it is a reading which occurs almost exclusively on the screen, during the afternoon, at work, it inserts itself into the professional duties. In the cases in which enterprise policy does not allow this practice, the readers look for alternative environments, such as university, in order to access the web at least

Support	Screen.
Time	Afternoon and evening.
Place	Work and university.
Use of the interaction resources	Focuses on chats and sending of materials in real time.
Use of the hypertext	Rare, because people usually only read the cover titles, without exploiting the other levels of the site.
Use of the multimedia resources	More intense use when linked to last hour news.
Duration	Generally, at least three accesses of approximately five minutes each.
Thoroughness	Low. The reading intention is actually to be superficial.
Topic breadth	Restricted topics (although quite unfolded) which circulate in the public sphere in the present moment.

Figure 2. Summary of the characteristics of *updating reading*.

once with the intention to get updated. Nonetheless we detected that the model corresponds to various accesses (from three to 20), quick and superficial ones, destined to follow the latest news of the day on the basis of their titles. The contents which are read are not usually recorded in the memory for a long time, because their importance seems to vanish as soon as a more recent topic appears. Therefore, multimedia resources are usually being activated specially when they are linked to a new piece of news, whereas interaction tools are quite used when they produce an instantaneous and dynamic effect, such as, for example, the one that is generated by a chat or by the sending of texts and pictures in real time. The hypertext is poorly exploited, because in this reading people tend to only absorb cover catchphrases, without even clicking on the links in order to visualize the whole content. Finally the readers' objective in performing this reading seems to be the intense and continuous following of a restricted number of facts which circulate as the focuses of the day, with the intention to be acquainted with what is happening now.

Projection reading

Projection reading is the reading in which the reader consults the conclusion of the facts of the present day and, taking them as a reference, seeks to anticipate the topics which will cross his routine on the following day. Thus it is a reading which intrinsically brings about two feelings: that of exhaustion and that of precaution. “It is the time to watch all I have not watched during the day and a little bit of what I will watch in the journal of tomorrow”, the so-called *reader 15* explains. In the same way as in *updating reading*, the priority of *projection reading* is the new information; the difference resides in the thoroughness with which the news is read, which is usually greater in the latter form of reading. On the whole, 12 from the 16 people we interviewed perform this reading, which, for obvious reasons, only occurs in the digital version.

This reading modality is done at home in the evening and it meets the needs which historically used to be satiated by the TV news. We observed that its duration is quite variable and that one of the conditioning factors is the performance or not of *updating reading* at an anterior moment. For those who already follow the news during the day, this evening reading occurs as a continuation, lasting about 20 minutes: “After that I also read *Zerohora.com* at home, when I am back from university, a little after 11 p. m. Then I understand it in another way, I compare it with what I read before and I look whether something else happened”, *she-reader 2* relates. But for those who up to then had only performed *contextualization reading*, time tends to extend quite a lot, since, at that moment, they must take again a much larger number of news: “In the evening I watch the news I had not seen in the TV News at noon and a little bit of what I will watch on the following day. Afterwards the printed press and the web-news complete that one”, *reader 16* explains, by justifying the reason why this is his longest reading among those he does on digital media.

It is not usual to search for many details about the topics they watch; the objective is only to understand them and to verify their status. As

far as the last hour events are concerned, people are accustomed to dedicate more attention to them, because they will keep influencing them in their daily life. Thus, on the contrary to what occurs with *updating reading*, in which the selection criteria is almost exclusively the recentness of the event, here what will define if a content will be read or not is also its relevance, considering as relevant the topics which promise to have an impact able to extend itself to the following day: “What I missed, when I could not read it in the afternoon, is not ‘Oh dear, how much I missed!’ What is relevant will continue to be emphasized on the web in the evening and in the printed press, on the following day”, *she-reader 1* affirms, revealing the assurance which *projection reading* provides her with, above all when it is completed by *contextualization reading*.

Not only *she-reader 1* thinks that it is more important to preview what will happen than to watch again what had passed: “I hardly will watch what I had already seen in the morning, so in the evening I will see whether they propagated something else. Of course, in this case, I will not look at the printed version, I will look at the last titles, which will become news on the following day”, *reader 11* affirms. The example given by *reader 16*, who works in agriculture, shows the social function of *projection reading* in a clearer way: it is to help to plan the following day:

Every day I look at the Electronic Stock Market and at the weather forecast, even in order to be able to plant. Before I used to search this information on the page of the newspaper, but they were very vague, you know. The information can change totally during the day. Now when people who work in the field ask me: “Are we going to plant tomorrow?”, I say: “Wait, I’ll call you later. After I have arrived at home, I will tell you how the weather will be”.

Thus we perceive that, whereas the afternoon reading helps to organize the present, the information accessed in the morning and in the evening helps to organize the future, which serves as a justification of

the fact that the contents used for *contextualization* and *projection readings* are more remembered than those which are evoked in *updating reading*. Nevertheless we emphasize that, with regard to morning reading, evening reading is more superficial, because the contents which are offered are usually more succinct: “Sometimes there is no long comment, you know. On the following day, in the newspaper, there will be a more complete piece of news about what was propagated in a more objective way the day before”, *reader 11* explains.

With regard to the use of the hypertext, we noticed that *projection reading* is similar to *contextualization reading* online, since, in both, navigation is linear, reasonably thorough and passes through various sources. The interaction tools also presented a similar use, with the differential that, obviously in the evening the participations are linked to topics which were shown less time ago. With regard to multimedia resources, we noticed that they are used quite often in this reading modality, because it is done at home, where people need not respect the technical and political restrictions imposed by the professional sphere. But *reader 8* emphasizes that the topics he accesses, as it is the case in *updating reading*, are the most recent or those which aggregated great popularity during the day: “If I watch audio and video, I do it at home. But I am not going to watch again a piece of news which I could not watch at work, you know. Only if it is something very ‘Oh!’”, he explains.

To sum up, we can say that *projection reading* is a half-thorough evening reading which is done on the residential computer and lasts from 20 minutes to one hour. It embraces the specific contents as well as the generic ones and it requires a high degree of memorization, although less than the degree achieved with *contextualization reading*. When they perform it, the readers usually use the hypertext and the interactive and multimedia resources very much, since it is the reading modality which most exploits multimediality. This reading has two objectives: to recuperate data which could not be accessed during the day and, based upon them, to anticipate the events which will be debated and experienced on the following day. The figure concisely presents these characteristics:

Support	Screen.
Time	Evening.
Place	Home.
Use of the interaction resources	Focused on reading and comment publication
Use of the hypertext	In order to promote a more thorough and disordered reading and to facilitate the content selection and the consultation of other sources.
Use of the multimedia resources	Moment in which the audios and videos are more accessed.
Duration	From 20 minutes to one hour.
Thoroughness	Average.
Topic broadness	Different topics which occurred during the day and which will be emphasized on the following day.

Frame 3. Summary of the characteristics of *projection reading*.

Final Considerations

According to what we can observe, not all the readers perform all those readings and they do not do it in the same way and on the means either, but, generally they affirm that they read more news in more moments and with different intensities. *Reader 13* describes what happens in his case: “With online reading I began to read more news, but I read fewer books, fewer magazines or such things. Thus I do not subscribe anything anymore. If it is good, if it is bad, I could not evaluate. But this is what ends up happening”. Like him, *readers 8 and 16* also mention that they read less magazines and/or books. Besides this, some readers (3, 11 and 16) say that, due to the reading of web-journals, they have reduced the hours they watch television and other readers, who were called *substitutive readers* here, say that they practically abandoned the reading of printed newspapers on weekdays.

If in a first moment, these options seem to signalize losses, we defend here that they only indicate modifications; adaptations, which the new technicities that enter the journalistic processes, generate in the readers' practices, or, in other words, negotiations which technology does with culture in the framework of the mediations. Obviously the journalistic landscape must still change many things: new means and technologic resources will appear, others already exist, but they were hardly or not at all considered here, the forms of sociability and the coordinates of space and time undergo mutations, after all it is a constant construction. This is why, with this proposal, we do not want in any way to invigorate a naturally dynamic process, but to map and order some movements we identified in the present reality or in a fraction of it, which can bring about indications about the way in which the contemporary newsreader marks his position in the framework of all these transformations.

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