

Research article

PHOTOGRAPHY IN DIGITAL JOURNALISM: A COMPARATIVE CASE-STUDY ANALYSIS BETWEEN NEWSPAPERS IN CANADA, FRANCE, ITALY AND SPAIN

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Abstract

Contemporary journalism is shaped by the great variety of media environments that journalists not only can but also increasingly have to use. Digital media environments usually demand from the journalist to combine and mix text, images, video, audio and other visual graphics in a specific way. This article will discuss photography as a central ingredient in journalists' production by the help of which journalists have commonly tried to reach out to their readers in order to gain their attention. Seen this way, the importance of photography in journalism is doubtlessly nothing new. Already in traditional journalism photography played a crucial role. However, the meaning of photographs in journalists' outputs in the digital age might be different, adapted to the social demands and to the needs of new digital environments. Changing the rules for journalism, as a social practice (Heinrich, 2011: 7), digital journalism has not only redefined the role of photography in digital but also in traditional journalistic environments. In order to research and analyse the meaning of photography in current journalism and the changes that photography underwent, we have focussed on the meaning of photography in current digital newspaper journalism. The decision to choose a traditional medium in a digital environment, rather than new digital media like blogs was guided by the idea that here the transformation of photography' uses in journalism would become more evident, graspable, and contrastable.

For our research we did an empirical analysis of photos from four digital newspapers of record based in four Western countries that play an important role in the shaping and making of global journalistic production. The digital newspapers of record we worked with are *The Toronto Star* (Canada), *Le Figaro* (France), *Corriere della Sera* (Italy), and *El País* (Spain). For our analysis we worked with the photos, collected in all kind of journalistic outputs, published at the newspapers' homepages. We then classified the photos along ten different axes (photojournalistic, illustrative, news, resource, black and white, colour, large format, small format, edited, unedited). The classification helped us to understand the role that photography plays and the type of photography that plays the most central role in current journalism. Our results confirm that in multimedia journalism, (classical) photojournalistic outputs are losing their relevance. Photography plays increasingly only an illustrative role, giving meaning to different news pieces. Large format photography is the most used photography in digital media news outputs. Editing is not a very usual practice in current newspaper journalism. Many unedited photos are put online. Black and white photography remains for documentary reasons only.

Keywords: Digital journalism, photography, Internet, multimedia, static image

1. Introduction

The potential and diversity of possibilities in new media environments has shaped and redefined journalism and journalistic practice. Despite the rise of many new (digital) information providing actors and new output environments that create completely new forms of doing journalism, traditional journalism has also transformed, shaped by its digital sibling. We live in an era of digital journalism (Heinrich 2011, Mc Nair, 1998, Díaz Noci and Salaverría, 2003). Hypertextuality, interactivity, multimediality, and asynchronicity have become factors deeply reshaping journalists' content production and the meaning of journalists' work (Heinrich 2011, Fondevila Gascón, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2012).

As much as other online publications, newspapers are demanded to work with and to combine successfully different formats by the help of which a message can be communicated (text, photography, video, audio and graphics) in order to successfully address audiences. Evidently the possibility to use video, audio and computer graphics is a main difference between print media and their digital counterparts, providing editors, journalists, as much as readers with a far reaching offer of resources producing the same information from different angles.

However, digital newspapers' uses of audio-visual formats are still limited. In fact, according to a variety of existing researches, online newspapers continue to rely mainly on text and photography like in the traditional press (Fondevila Gascón, 2009b, Castellanos Diaz, 2011). Writing and photo images are the main "languages" by the help of which digital newspapers try to mediate contents to their audiences. In this sense online newspapers have simply applied and adapted the same practices of information presentation to an online environment (Bachmann and Harlow, 2012). Studies have shown that digital newspapers (Guallar, Rovira and Ruiz, 2010) have especially improved archives, and linking functions, facilitating the search for photography, video and graphics, however, the uses of visual formats in order to present information is still underdeveloped and might differ from newspaper to newspaper. Consequently, we could argue, that, although journalists combine a variety of different formats in order to present information (Fondevila Gascón, 2009a, Marrero Santana, 2008; Larrondo, 2009, McAdams, 2005), different media have not become completely the same but have saved some of their very own characteristics. We have to wait how these developments will change in the future, when the next generation of journalists will join the branch. Some of the biggest changes that we have seen so far might be that most digital newspapers work much closer and interactively with their audiences (Heinrich 2011), that they have social media accounts (Facebook and Twitter), that the uses of resources in order to search and produce journalistic outputs have changed, and that the

newsroom has transformed from traditional to a newsroom as a node in the Network Society (Heinrich, 2011, Killebrew, 2002, Heller and Womack, 2008, Garrand, 2006), connected to an always quicker flow of information (Fondevila Gascón, 2009c). It is in the work process of the newsroom where the new maxims of multimediality, interactivity and hypertextuality have introduced fundamental changes (Heinrich, 2011, McNair, 2008, Deuze, 2004, Fondevila Gascón, Berian Bañares and Del Olmo Arriaga, 2013).

However, the discussed fact that output formats stay the same is just half the story. Photos and written text might still be the preferred languages of digital newspaper journalism. The way these formats are used in order to address audiences, and the forms in which the traditionally formatted contents are presented have changed drastically. Digitalisation and “broadbandisation” have contributed to a rising speed of news circulation, to an increase of actors presenting news and competing for audiences, and to a shift in the structuring and the stability of audiences. These transformations demand from digital newspapers high quality outputs, a clear-sighted approach towards contents, and an adapted form to address audiences. Short, newspapers might work with the same formats in traditional as in digital environments, however these formats are reshaped in form and meaning in the digital world. The analysis of how newspapers use photographs is necessary and useful in order to understand the meaning of the (digital) image for current journalism, in order to understand the meaning of the (digital) image for gaining and addressing audiences and in order to understand multimedia journalism in general (Zelizer, 2010). It is here where this article wants to provide a contribution.

Finally within our research we worked with the following hypotheses:

1. Despite the increasing meaning of images in digital environments, photojournalism has become less relevant for online newspapers, whilst using photos for illustrative means has become much more common.
2. Black and White photos are not are rarely used in current news journalism. They serve for documentary reasons only. Colour photos dominate online newspaper outputs
3. Photos in a small format dominate current online news(-paper) journalism.
4. In contrast to what we might think, many photos in online newspapers are published without prior editing.

2. Methods and Methodology

In order to gain valuable data we have worked with a mixed method approach of qualitative and quantitative methods. To analyse the pictures we made use of elements and ideas from compositional and content analysis (Rose, 2005: 33ff, 54 ff.). Compositional analysis allowed us to interpret the content of the pictures and to develop meaningful categories, helpful to relate the photos to the wider environments in which they are used. Content analysis allowed us to quantify aspects and characteristics of the images, and to successfully unite qualitative visual analysis with the quantitative data that resulted from our research. Furthermore it allows even if working with image data a standard of validity and reliability.

In a first step, we collected photos in articles of 4 newspapers of record from 4 countries (Canada, France, Italy, and Spain) for one month (31 days, from February 1 to March 2, 2013). The four digital newspapers were chosen for this study's sample because they had the highest number of visits in their respective countries on January 30th, 2013, according to the statistical data, found on the website www.mediatico.com which provides statistical data on webpage visits of different digital newspapers, TV channels, and other digital information providers. This means we worked with a non-probabilistic sample, determined by the number of visits, a number, reflecting the importance of the newspaper in terms of readership and therefore in terms of respective impact.

The 4 digital newspaper pages that finally became part of our sample for the comparative study were www.thestar.com (*The Toronto Star*), www.lefigaro.fr (*Le Figaro*), www.corriere.it (*Corriere della Sera*) and www.elpais.com (*El País*). From this sample of four newspapers, we gathered all visual data (photos) for the following 30 days. These visual data from the digital newspaper articles were collected every day at 12 a.m.. The strictness regarding the time of data collection provided the process of data gathering with stability and coherence. In fact, this technique allowed us to do comparisons between different newspapers on the same and between the same day and between different newspapers on different days. Furthermore, we avoided the possibility of double-counting images for only slightly updated articles and we were able to give all newspapers similar conditions despite their different dynamics regarding content provision and updating.

By the end of the months we had collected 5481 photos, an average number of 176,81 images per day and an average of 44.2 images per newspaper a day. The total of collected images per newspaper and the average amount of images collected from each newspaper per day is reflected in Table 1.

After the process of data gathering, we distributed the data into four different tables, each table representing one digital newspaper. These tables served us to systematically analyse data for each newspaper in the next step. Furthermore, in the tables, we classified all visual data into ten sub-categories: photo news, illustrative photo, news, resource, black and white picture, picture in colour, picture in a large format, picture in a small format, edited, or unedited picture. These ten categories can be arranged in 5 pairs in which one part of each pair excludes the other part. The pairs are photos news/illustrative photo, news/resource, Black and White/Colour picture, Large/Small Format, Edited/Unedited.

Grouping photos in pairs allowed us to look at the different uses of photographs/images as a continuum and facilitated the analysis of the uses of photos in online journalism, as much as the visual analysis of the different meanings of the images. Furthermore, it allowed us to work with our data in a much more dynamic way. By the end of the month we were able to give a relative position of all photos used in one and in all newspapers. In a certain sense, our work created a multidimensional map in which the position of each photo, as much as the position of any sum of photos can be found.

Although being ordered into dichotomous categories, we decided that if necessary, the same photos could belong to both categories of a pair. This is why the sum of the images of a dichotomous pair can be in some cases above the total number of images, collected for a newspaper. In fact, quite a few photographs are composed of more than just one image part, and these different image parts can differ quite a lot from each other. We collected e.g. some photos that had a colour part and a black (and white) part, leading us to add the image on both sides.

Once distributed into the tables and into the different category pairs, it became possible to read, analyse and compare the usage and meaning of images in current digital journalism in general and for each newspaper, representing a country.

3. Findings and Discussion

Before we discuss the analysis of each category pair, some general remarks about the data we gained from our research process. As we already mentioned, in the analysed online newspapers photos were used very often. The average newspaper published 44.2 images/photos per day. Comparing the different online newspapers it is evident that the digital version of the *Corriere della Sera* is clearly over the average with 50.64 photos published every day (Table 1). Compared with the *Corriere della Sera*, *The Toronto Star* uses already quite a lot less photos/images with an average of 44.58 photos/images daily. *Le Figaro* and *El País* both are under the average with 43.38 and 38.29 photos/images daily. The difference between the *Corriere della Sera* and *El País* is actually quite remarkable. *El*

País publishes 24.6% less photos per day, reflecting an important difference in terms of news and newspaper presentation.

Table I. (ordered according to ranking) Total number and average daily number of photos/images published in 4 digital newspapers.

Newspaper	Total photography units by month and day
<i>Corriere della Sera</i>	1570/31= 50.64 photos per day
<i>Toronto Star</i>	1382/31= 44.58 photos per day
<i>Le Figaro</i>	1345/31= 43.38 photos per day
<i>El País</i>	1184/31= 38.19 photos per day

Source: Own

Despite the quite important differences between different online newspapers, regarding the quantity of using photos, it became also quite evident that the photo/image is, despite the text itself, the most important format by the help of which content is presented to the consumer or user. In fact, the image is still far more often used than video, or graphical complements. In some digital newspapers images are used in nearly all, in others at least in the most important articles and entries.

In Table II, we entered again all the collected visual data, which we had collected. However, this time the data was ordered by the help of the dichotomous pair categories: photojournalistic/illustrative, new/resource, black and white/colour, large format/small format, and edited/unedited. By the help of the order of the table it became possible to look at the numeric differences of photo-uses in each subcategory and to easily compare them.

Based on the results of comparing the quantified characteristics of the photos by the help of content analysis, we gained first interesting findings.

A remarkable finding of the analysis of photo/image uses in digital newspapers in general is the great importance of the illustrative uses of photos compared with the uses of photos as a direct form of photojournalism. Three newspapers used photos that served illustrative purposes 10 times more often than photos, which report via the image about the actual event (*Toronto Star*, 13.06 times, in *Le Figaro* 10.11, and in *El País*, 14 times). The only exception is the *Corriere della Sierra*, which made in relation a slightly higher use of photojournalistic photos, but which still used photos for illustrative purposes 4.99 times more than photojournalistic photos.

Another finding of our research was that although using photos rather for illustrative purposes, the photos that were used in order to illustrate and underline the content of articles were usually not photos used in earlier articles. To illustrate their articles newspapers commonly did not recycle old photos from own resources but either used new photos, or photos from other external databases.

Regarding the uses of B&W/Colour Photos, it becomes evident that coloured photos dominate especially online newspaper journalism. The difference between the uses of colour and black and white photos is very strong. The *Toronto Star* uses colour photos 31.18 times, *Le Figaro*, uses colour photos 45.58 times, and the *Corriere della Sera*, even 63.33 times more than Black and White photos. *El País*, 20.52 times stands out with a higher (relative) use of Black and White photos, especially when compared with the *Corriere della Sera*.

Another finding was that small size photography dominates online newspaper outputs. However, this domination is far less homogenous for all researched newspapers. Whilst small size photography quite clearly predominates: in the *Corriere della Sera*, with 27.25 times more used small sized photographs, there is already quite an importance difference to the *Toronto Star* wherein the use of small format photography exceeds the use of large format photography 5.08 times, and in *Le Figaro* wherein the use of the smaller format is 3.26 times higher than the use of the bigger format. *El País* comes close to a balance between both image sizes in which small photos are only used 2.19 times more than large photographs. *El País* follows significantly another strategy than the *Corriere della Sera*. In the *Toronto Star*, *Le Figaro*, and *El País* the size is used to clearly differentiate between the top story and other stories. Whilst in the *Corriere della Sera*, photo use is rather independent from the story's importance.

In terms of image editing, it became evident that usually photos come online in an unedited format. With editing, we mean the process of doing strong interventions in a photograph in order to improve its quality, to improve its communicative capacity, and to make it more outstanding compared with other photographs. Here again we find an important difference between the photos published by *Le Figaro* which published 8.25 times more unedited than edited photographs, the *Toronto Star* which published 9.23 times more unedited than edited photographs, the *Corriere della Sera* which published 10.69 times more unedited than edited photographs and *El País*, which published only 4.31 times more unedited than edited photos. Evidently, *El País* made a much more active use of the differences between unedited and edited photos as a means to emphasize some stories over others.

4. Comparative analysis

Having analysed the photograph uses of the different digital newspapers with the help of the 5 paired categories it has become possible to further analyse the similarities and differences between different newspapers, to draw conclusions about the different uses, and about the possible strategies, advantages and disadvantages of the photography uses in the selected digital media. In order to do so, we have simplified the last statistical table, transforming our data into a simple ranking system.

As we said, looking through the data it becomes evident that photographs are still central to current online journalism. The importance of photographs is especially evident in the online version of the newspaper *Corriere della Sera* that dominates in terms of photography uses.

Comparing (ranking in 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th) the four newspapers, the online version of the newspaper *Corriere della Sera* clearly dominates in 6 category sections (photojournalistic, illustrative, new, colour, small format and unedited). Despite its general quite extensive use of photography in presenting journalistic outputs, the results points also at a certain style of outputs. The *Corriere della Sera* uses for its online version mainly illustrative, new, colour, small sized and unedited photos. The reason why the newspaper also leads in the photojournalistic uses of photographs is rather to lead back on the total number of photo uses. In fact, comparing the relative numbers of photo uses in the pair photojournalistic/illustrative it becomes evident that also here the *Corriere della Sera* uses photos rather for illustrative than for photojournalistic reasons. Based on the preferred image/photo uses we could deduce that, despite being important for presenting an article, photos have only relative meaning for the presentation of the content. They might serve as eye-catcher but they are neither important in terms of transporting, nor communicating an own message.

However, serving as eye-catcher the novelty of the photos is central in order to gain people's attention. Furthermore, the rather small size hints at another meaning of the used images. They might be used as mediators between text and audience, strengthening effects of the written contents by the help of a visual experience.

As we can see from the results in Table 2 and Table 3, the Canadian newspaper *Toronto Star* has a quite similar approach to use images/photographs in its online version to the approach that is being used by the *Corriere della Sera*. Within Table 3, the *Toronto Star* holds the second position in the categories illustrative, colour, unedited, new, and small format photograph/image, exactly in those categories in which the *Corriere della Sera* has the lead, and consequently strong at the same side of the continuums created by the category pairs. This allows us to draw a similar conclusion for the *Toronto Star* than for the *Corriere della Sera*: Photos are mainly used in order to draw attention of potential users and to create some kind of image-stimulated relationship between the reader and the meaning of the article. The image serves to add another layer to the article, a layer inviting to feel, experience, and relate with the available written outputs.

Table II: Differentiated classification of the photos of 4 digital newspapers in 5 category pairs

	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	<i>Corriere della Sera</i>	<i>El País</i>
Photojournalistic	99	121	262	79
Illustrative	1293	1224	1308	1106
New	1171	1159	1371	989
Resource	211	192	196	195
Black and white	43	29	24	55
Colour	1341	1322	1520	1129
Large format	227	316	55	371
Small format	1155	1033	1499	813
Edited	135	146	133	223
Unedited	1247	1205	1423	963

	1°	2°	3°
Photojournalistic	<i>Corriere della Sera</i>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>
Illustrative	<i>Corriere della Sera</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Le Figaro</i>
New	<i>Corriere della Sera</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Le Figaro</i>
Resource	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Corriere della Sera</i>	<i>El País</i>
Black and white	<i>El País</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Le Figaro</i>
Colour	<i>Corriere della Sera</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Le Figaro</i>
Large format	<i>El País</i>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>
Small format	<i>Corriere della Sera</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Le Figaro</i>
Edited	<i>El País</i>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>
Unedited	<i>Corriere della Sera</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Le Figaro</i>

Source: Own

Table III: ranking of newspapers in each category. The items shown are the same as in Table II, however ordered in a numeric ranking.

Table III Compared with the *Toronto Star* and the *Corriere della Sera*, the Spanish online version of the newspaper *El País* uses much less photos. But not only that it uses much less of them, its approach of using the published photographs is also very different, so different that despite having far less photographs published in general, it leads in three categories: Black and White Photographs, Large Size Photographs and Edited Photographs. On the one hand side this could mean that the philosophy behind the uses of photographs is guided by the same principles than the traditional print newspaper, that the newspaper still drags behind latest online developments. However, whilst large photographs underline a possible meaning of the used images in their eye-catching function, the high amount of Black and White edited pictures, points into a different direction. In fact, large photos, and Black and White edited pictures create photographic artworks, meaningful pieces having a (cultural) value by themselves, adding informative and experiential layers to the stories and information to be told, despite being mainly illustrative.

The French *Le Figaro* has an approach between the three other newspapers. *Le Figaro* ranks third in the total number of pictures, quite close to the *Toronto Star* and the *Corriere della Sera*. However the *Le Figaro* online

newspaper makes a much higher use of edited large pictures compared with these other two newspapers. The style of pictures used by *Le Figaro* produces another effect than the other newspapers. The use of large, edited pictures contributes to the creation of finite universes of meaning, like those to be found in *El Pais*, inspiring and creating an information experience by themselves. However, *Le Figaro* works with and presents much more photos than *El Pais*. Making a much more extensive use of photos in general, using photos also quite effectively for illustrative purposes, but working with different styles and sizes, allows *Le Figaro* to contrast quite effectively between different output formats by the help of different photo uses, making out of the photo a helpful tool to promote a text in one or another way.

5. Results

From our extensive comparative content analysis we have gained the following results:

In general, newspapers in an online environment work mainly with photos serving illustrative purposes. This means that online newspapers are no exception to the general uses of images in the digital universe. In fact, many other webpages and blogs use photos in a quite similar way. Images illustrate rather than provide information. However, we also realised that when we come to analyse the general use of photos in all newspapers the distinction between illustrative and non-illustrative becomes increasingly blurred. What we mean is that even if photos have no meaning in a photojournalistic sense, what they add is an emotion, and an experience dimension that the text might not have. The effect of creating this other dimension is doubtlessly especially true for large photographs. However, all photographs have at least a potential capacity to add an emotional and experiential layer.

In order to create emotional and experiential illustrative effects for the audiences, newspapers try to work with new pictures. The reason for working with new images/photos is easy to find. The stories in an online newspaper have to be fresh, new, and up-to-date especially on the front page. The use of old photographs would contradict this need and shed a counterproductive light on newspaper outputs. Something similar is obviously true for Black and White photographs. On the one hand side, Black and White photographs seem to reflect some disconnected past, not the present. Furthermore they have a de-realising effect. We do not see things Black and White but in colour. The Black and Whiteness of a photograph points therefore either at the past, when capturing photos in colour was impossible, or at a reflective or artistic distance from the represented event, both indicating that the event has already passed. However, Black and White photographs point at something that online newspapers try to avoid, making the impression of not being up-to-date.

The use of differently sized pictures demands also a deeper reflection. Newspapers use generally much more small sized than large sized picture. A main reason might be found in common sense. Small pictures can be easily introduced in many spaces, giving a visual effect to the whole page and to each article rather than just to one part of the page or one article. However, different newspapers have explored the use of differently sized photographs in different ways. Large photographs can create very special experiences that add to the content of an article. The different use of small and large size photographs/images on the same page allows leading and channelling reader's views and experiences. The little use of large sized photographs might be best explained by reminding that the effect of a large photograph becomes even bigger if smaller ones surround it. In fact, in such a small-image environment the large photograph becomes even more an event, even if it is only illustrative. It draws the attention to a special point/text on a page.

When we looked through the images we also realised that the number of unedited pictures exceeds the number of edited images. This means that in contrary to the general belief, newspapers spend very little time on editing. On the one hand the increasing pressure to provide new contents might explain the use of unedited photographs/images. Journalists and editors have so very little time to produce and present new outputs. On the other hand, the unedited

photograph gives an impression of authenticity and presence that an edited picture might not have. The process of bringing a photo to perfection creates an impression of artificiality and inauthenticity, contradicting the impression that the newspaper produces outputs that are new, immediate, and connect with the readers.

Based on these findings, we are able to validate and/or falsify and contextualise our five hypotheses:

In (online) newspapers photojournalistic uses of images/photos have become less relevant compared with illustrative photograph uses.

In (online) newspapers, photography is used to present a moment in the present. Therefore photos have to be new and colourful. With this format newspapers try to imitate a “real moment”, the moment of the reported event. Furthermore this format allows adding an experiential and immediate dimension to the text, a dimension that contributes to the impression of newness and actuality of the text and that creates a subjective level that makes it easy for audiences to connect with.

Small sized photographs are the most used photographs in current online newspaper journalism. However the less used large sized photographs gain an effect of extra power and strength by the help of the broad use of small sized photographs. What we means is that the interplay between small sized and large sized photographs is used in order to create different effects, to channel audiences’ perceptions and gazes and to address different audiences.

Editing is not as common in journalism as everybody might think. However, the reasons for publishing unedited photos might either be found in time pressure but also in an increasing need to satisfy audiences’ demands for authenticity.

Conclusion

The content analysis and subsequent interpretation of the visual data we collected in 4 digital newspapers in Canada, France, Italy and Spain show that today images in (online) newspapers are similarly used to other online environments and that online newspapers have undergone changes that adapt them to the needs and demands of online environments. In fact, in terms of using photography there is not much of a difference between newspaper websites and other websites. Photos serve illustrative purposes, are usually up-to-date, colour photos, and are often used in a small size format. However, like Blogs, many newspapers exploit the different effects of differently sized photos on audiences. Another important finding was that the demand for authenticity and the time pressure to produce new outputs leads many newspapers to publish unedited photos. The unedited photo has become central to most online newspapers and to online content production in general, adding liveliness and authenticity to text and giving it an experiential note.

However, by the help of our comparative analysis, we have also found some quite strong differences in photography uses between newspapers in different countries. Especially *El Pais*, but also *Le Figaro* made a difference to the gained results from the *Corriere della Sera* and the *Toronto Star*. Both, *El Pais* and *Le Figaro*, made a much higher use of large sized, edited photographs, especially when we compare the numbers with the total amount of photos published in a month. *El Pais* used furthermore much more Black and White photography. This might mean that *El Pais* and *Le Figaro* drag behind the latest developments of online newspapers and the demands and needs of online environments. However, it could also mean, and this is what we suggest, that there are different strategies that newspapers can follow in order to communicate with their audiences. The very different use of photos might either point at national differences of audience demands. It could also mean that in Spain and France the main group of newspaper readers come from a different social group or layer than in the other countries (having therefore a different demand and taste), or it could mean that these newspapers simply try to address different audiences (coming from different social layers and social class backgrounds). The last two options would explain why *El Pais*

and *Le Figaro* use more black and white, large sized, edited photos. Their audiences might be older, more conservative, expecting photos to be used in a more classical traditional way. It is nevertheless evident that different uses of photography in newspapers hint at the different forms of addressing, talking and communicating with the same and/or different audiences. To find out about the possible readerships of different newspapers and their links with different photography uses might be discussed in a possible future article. What we know with security is that photos and images are central to underline the meaning of our texts. If we are journalists or if we are not, we use different photo formats in order to address our audiences in different ways.

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