

News Choice and Offer in the Digital Transition

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Introduction

The move to digitization has not led automatically to a more diverse media landscape. Content providers offer old information on new platforms. The main benefit is that online platforms allow constant updating of content and access to this content at any time, not only when broadcasters schedule it. In addition, digitization has allowed more interaction with consumers in the form of user comments and easy ways of surveying the public.

According to the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), more than half of the households in the Americas, the Arab States, and Europe which received television signals at the end of 2012 were doing so through digital technologies. (In the Arab world, this proportion was due to the prevalence of satellite receivers.) This compared with only 30 percent in 2008. However, there is a huge disproportion between the so-called developed world, in which over 80 percent of households are digitally equipped, and the developing world where only 42 percent of television households can receive a digital signal—which is, even so, almost three times more than in 2008.¹

Despite these figures, there are states such as Pakistan or those in South-East Asia where there is no plan for digital switch-off. A new digital divide is apparent in broadcasting between those who gain access to a healthy digital free-to-air offering of television programs and those who are stuck with a few analog channels.

1. International Telecommunication Union, “Measuring the Information Society 2013,” at <http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Pages/publications/mis2013.aspx>.

The cessation of print in favor of wholesale transfer online has not yet been seen in too many countries. The same goes for television. Although radio listenership is declining in many countries in the MDM project, this trend has been bucked in Africa and some Asian countries. Elsewhere, too, radio has sought and sometimes found ways to remain via new digital platforms. There are only a few examples of online-only media that have managed to build a significant audience. Generally, people tend to consume the traditional media they trust, but in new, more convenient, and more easily accessible forms.

A serious digital divide has opened up between generations. While younger people tend to rely more on new digital platforms when searching for news, older generations still stick to traditional media, particularly terrestrial television and radio. Nevertheless, in many countries, the number of senior users accepting digital technologies has been increasing. Another divide that digitization has created is between urban and rural areas, with the former having access to much poorer sources of information.

1. News Sources: Multiplication and Uniformity

Digitization has not significantly affected the diversity of the total news offer. For example, the digital switch-over in broadcasting has not opened the television market to new channels. There is no case in the MDM countries where a new television entrant has become the leading media outlet by audience. Also, there is no pure-player (online only) media outlet in any country that is the most popular outlet by audience, beating the biggest television, radio, and press outlets.

In most of the MDM countries, television remains the most popular medium by audience size, followed by radio. However, in countries such as Kenya, radio has the highest audience, but it is mostly accessed via new digital platforms such as cell phones, car radio, and various mobile devices. In yet others, such as Argentina or Brazil, although television remains the most popular medium, radio continues to have high popularity, attracting young people who listen to radio via computer or mobile phone.

The audience generally still relies on trusted channels, mostly public media, when it comes to news. Also, although people in all the MDM countries have more access to the internet now than in 2005, not many online news providers have taken the leading role in providing news. Still, the most trusted and visited websites among news providers belong to the traditional media. Newspaper websites usually offer regular updates during the day, allowing users to leave comments or take part in surveys. The

same goes for television and radio station websites. The main benefit for these stations is that they can offer their program on demand or turn video and audio content into text that is available at any time to consumers.

The main change triggered by digitization is in citizens' attitude to the news offer. Citizens nowadays use several platforms to acquire news and do not wait for it to arrive on television or radio as before. They are more active in obtaining news through various channels of communication, such as PCs, cell phones, car radios, and portable computers.

News consumption continued to account for the lowest audience share in the total television production. Factual programming, which includes news, documentaries, political and religious factual programming, accounted in 2012 for 21 percent of the total consumed television output. Fiction and entertainment accounted for the remainder. Generally, news consumption remains stable. In contrast, entertainment saw its share go up in 2012 by 2 percentage points to 37 percent.

Digitization has also led to changes in the profile of the news audiences. Younger generations tend to use newer platforms to access news while older generations remain more oriented to traditional media. There are exceptions to this. In Estonia, people aged over 60 with higher education are mostly oriented towards traditional media. Younger generations in almost all the countries tend to use social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, to obtain news and information.

1.1 Print Media

Newspaper circulations have experienced a rapid drop in most MDM countries. There are exceptions such as China, India, and Brazil where newspapers are still the most popular source for news consumption by audience. In Kenya, some newspapers such as *The Star*, launched in 2007, have continued to grow their circulation figures.²

In contrast, there are countries with very low newspaper readership such as Pakistan, where only 4 percent of the population reads newspapers. In a separate example, Mexico does not have an authentic nationwide press due to the difficult geographical coverage and socio-economic factors.

2. Interviews with editors of *The Star* indicated that the newspaper was selling some 15,000–20,000 copies a day in 2010 compared with 5,000–8,000 when it was launched.

The main change brought about by digitization is the migration of newspaper content to online platforms where it has become one of the most important sources of information, boosting press outlets' presence online while draining the revenue from print circulation.

In many countries, it is still not possible to get accurate information about newspaper circulation. This is usually due to state control over newspapers or editors who want to hide the real numbers for political or economic reasons, such as not scaring off advertisers who might withdraw if they learned the real circulation data.

1.2 Television

Television is still the most popular source of news and information and the medium with the highest reach in most MDM countries. In 2013, the worldwide average television viewership time was 3 hours and 14 minutes a day, according to Eurodata TV Worldwide. This was the highest viewing time for television ever recorded. The most avid consumers of television in 2013 were in North America where the viewing time stood at 4 hours and 46 minutes. They were followed closely by Middle Eastern populations where the daily viewing time stood in 2013 at 4 hours and 39 minutes. The lowest viewing time was recorded in 2013 in Asia-Pacific (2 hours and 41 minutes a day).

However, it is questionable whether digitization has contributed to increasing the diversity of news offering in television. Very few digital channels offer news programs. Newly established digital terrestrial channels, especially those with higher audiences, mainly offer sports or entertainment programs.

On the other hand, cable and free-to-air satellite stations have contributed more than digital terrestrial television to the diversity of the news offer. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, digitization has helped cable operators to increase the reach of local and regional stations across the entire country. In Jordan, large swathes of audiences moved from terrestrial to free-to-air satellite channels broadcasting news programs with regional political analysis. Between 2005 and 2010, the penetration of these stations almost doubled to nearly 97 percent.

The biggest drop in cable television take-up happened in the Netherlands. Although traditionally known as a “cable country” where only 1.5 percent of households were dependent on the terrestrial signal at the time of the digital switch-off in 2006, four years later 11.7 percent of households were using the digital terrestrial signal. The reason for this is that digital terrestrial reception is a much cheaper option than digital cable.

Commercial television stations and entertainment programs still command large audiences in most MDM countries. Nevertheless, audiences in a number of countries still prefer to access the public television service and other traditional media to acquire news. For example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia there is a high degree of trust in the public service broadcasters. In Russia, 74 percent of the population over 18 prefers television news, a poll from 2011 shows. In the United Kingdom, television remains the most important news platform. There is an interesting situation in Slovakia where polls show that the public STV news is most trusted, although the program's ratings have fallen steadily.

1.3 Radio

In many countries outside Europe and North America, radio has burgeoned in recent years. It is the most valuable source of news and information in Pakistan, Nigeria, and Kenya, where people listen not only via radio sets but also via cheap mobile phones. Latin America also maintains a healthy level of radio listenership. In Peru, radio was the most trusted medium in 2005 and remained so until 2009, when approximately 72 percent of listeners rated radio news as good or very good. In some Latin American countries, including Chile, radio has a high audience but offers mostly music and entertainment shows, except during disasters, such as the earthquake in February 2010 when it played an important role in informing citizens.

Radio is also healthy in Jordan, where the industry experienced a major shift in the type of technology used to access radio programs. The ownership of radio sets in households has dropped by half from 71 percent in 2005 to a bit over 34 percent in 2010. This fall could be explained by new platforms that Jordanians use to access radio output: in cars, via internet or mobile phones.

1.4 Online

Online media are still struggling for a piece of the media audiences. The most popular media online are still the websites of traditional outlets that offer the same information as in their print edition along with user-generated content such as comments, popular blogs, and surveys.

The most visited public service broadcasting website in the world belongs to the BBC, which has invested heavily in its online newsroom and become the only online news provider in the top 10 in the world that is subject to public service regulation.

The number of countries that have experienced growth in news consumption via social networks is rising daily. It especially applies to the younger generation who simply click

to links that either media post on social networks (with Facebook and Twitter as the most popular) or follow the news recommended by their friends on these networks.

Social networks have played an important role in recent events throughout the world. Facebook was used in Egypt and Tunisia during the 2010 “Arab Spring,” often to give an accurate picture of real developments on the street in contrast to news from traditional media. Japan is also a good example of a country with a significant use of social network services. For example, the number of Twitter users in Japan had increased three times in only six months from 2.57 million in September 2009 to 7.52 million in March 2010. However, social networking has not been used massively for digital activism. Countries with high levels of digital activism include the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Latvia in Europe, Canada and the United States in North America, Brazil in Latin America, and China in Asia.

2. Public Service Goes Digital

Digitization seems to have made life for public service broadcasters more difficult, because they now have to compete with more commercial channels and often they have lost audience share. They also have to share increasing proportions of their advertising revenue with commercial operators.

In some countries, mostly within the European Union, public service broadcasters have launched new thematic digital terrestrial channels and increased their reach by offering their content online. Specialized channels launched by public service broadcasters are usually reserved for sports, entertainment, children’s programs, and in some countries—including Slovenia, Hungary, Macedonia, and Turkey—also for parliamentary sessions. In Poland, PTV Parliament was planned to be launched 2009, but then suspended for lack of funds. In the United Kingdom, the running of the BBC Parliament channel is outsourced, with the BBC providing journalistic and editorial support.

An example of a successful venture into digital business is France Télévisions’ website, praised for being well structured and offering the entire broadcast output by channel or type of program. The website offers written content, pictures, and video-streaming of the network’s programs. It also allows viewers to get involved in forums and discussions about programs, leave comments, or visit blogs about various programs. In addition, the website has accounts on social networks in a move to attract younger audiences. It also offers Really Simple Syndication (RSS) feeds and applications for cell phones. Online live-streaming was introduced in 2012.

The second positive example of the successful launch of a good-quality news operation by a public service broadcaster is Spain's RTVE. Their recipe is to bring experienced digital editors from commercial media to lead the website from more or less an online program schedule to a full online television and radio programming portal, offering streaming and podcasts as well as a comprehensive digital archive. In addition, the RTVE hosts several online communities, boasts the largest number of blogs a media outlet has in Europe, and has many Facebook and Twitter accounts and profiles. Finally, it also runs a channel on YouTube and La Villa (the first sports social network in Spain) and offers applications for Google Android, Apple's iPhone, and Sony's PlayStation. The achievements of the website were a total average visitor time of 37 minutes a day and second position among top broadcast internet portals with over 11.1 million unique visitors in June 2012.

Table 7.

New services launched by public service broadcasters during digital migration

Country	Outlet	Service	Quality	Relevance	Popularity
Armenia	TV and radio	Website	n/a	n/a	Low
Bosnia and Herzegovina	TV and radio	Websites	Low	Low	Low
	TV	Website	Decent	Low	Low
Bulgaria	TV and radio	Website	n/a	High	n/a
Canada	TV and radio	Websites	High	High	High
Chile	TV	Digital satellite operations	n/a	n/a	High
China	TV	Video website	High	High	High
	Radio	Digital channels	n/a	n/a	n/a
Colombia	TV and radio	Website	High	High	n/a
Croatia	TV and radio	Website/new channels (2012)	High	High	High
Czech Republic	TV and radio	Website/new channels	High	High	High
Egypt	Not applicable				
Estonia	TV and radio	New programs (children)/ Website	High	High	High
Finland	TV and radio	Web-TV service	High	High	High
France	TV and radio	Websites	High	High	High
Georgia	TV	Website	Low	Low	Low
Germany	TV and radio	Website (streaming)	High	High	High*
India	TV	DTH channels, HD broadcasts (tests), mobile broadcast services (pilot)	Decent	Decent	Low
	TV	Websites	Low	Low	Low
Japan	TV	HDTV	High	High	High
	TV	Mobile broadcasting	High	High	High

Country	Outlet	Service	Quality	Relevance	Popularity
Jordan	TV	Websites	n/a	n/a	n/a
Kazakhstan	TV	Website	Varies from outlet to outlet (there are numerous state-owned TV outlets)		
	TV and radio	Website	Low	Low	Low
Lithuania	TV and radio	Integrated portal	n/a	High	High
Macedonia	TV and radio	Website	High	High	n/a
Moldova	TV and radio	Websites	Low	Low	Low
Montenegro	TV and radio	Integrated portal	High	Decent	Decent
Morocco	TV	Website	High	n/a	n/a
	Radio	Website	High	n/a	n/a
Netherlands	TV	On-Demand service	High	High	n/a
	TV	Thematic channels	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Radio	Studio web stream	High	High	n/a
	TV and radio	Networked websites	High	High	n/a
Peru	TV and radio	Websites	Low	Low	Low
Poland	TV	New channels	High	Decent	Decent
Romania	TV, radio	Website	Low	Low	n/a
	DTH, HD channels	Website	Low	Low	n/a
Serbia	TV	Website	Decent	Decent	n/a
Singapore	TV	Website	High	High	Moderate to High
		New channels	High	High	Moderate to High
Slovakia	TV and radio	Websites	Low	Low	Low
	TV	New channel	Closed after a short time		
Slovenia	TV and radio	Website	n/a	High	High
South Africa	TV and radio	Websites	High	n/a	n/a
Spain	TV and radio	Websites	High	High	High
Sweden	TV	Website	High	High	High
	Radio	Website	High	High	High
Thailand	None				
Tunisia					
Turkey	TV and radio	Websites	n/a	High	n/a
United Kingdom	TV	Additional channels	High	High	Decent
	TV	Website	High	High	n/a
United States	None				
Uruguay	TV	Digital channels	n/a	High	n/a

Notes: n/a – not assessed or no information available; * based on more recent data from ZDF

Source: Mapping Digital Media report

3. Consumer Migrations

3.1 Europe and North America

In most European countries, television remains the most accessed news platform and the main source of information. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, 98 percent of the population watches television on a regular basis and television is considered the most credible news provider. Macedonia ranks second in the world in terms of average time spent watching television. Even the young generation still relies on television news as a main source of information, as a poll in Latvia shows, although they prefer multitasking between digital platforms.

Television is still watched overall as scheduled broadcasting. However, there has been a slight rise in on-demand viewership. Digitization of broadcasting has not triggered any massive changes in news consumption patterns. The shifts have been linked to technology and platforms. Newly licensed digital channels have not significantly changed the viewership markets anywhere, although in some countries they have slowly eaten into the audience shares of established broadcasters. In France, for example, new digital television channels gained 5 percent of the total combined audience while analog channels lost viewers. In countries where the digital switch-off has not happened or has occurred only recently, there have been no changes in the news consumption audiences.

Regarding newspapers, the main change is linked to how news is consumed. Although newspaper circulations have dropped in almost all European countries, access to online content of print media has increased and the content from print media remains an important source of information for news websites. Most of the newspapers' online platforms introduced additional features from the print edition such as regular news updates, comments, opinion surveys, RSS feeds, videos, audio content, and links to news content from other sources. Generally, newspapers in many countries have reached a much bigger readership online than in hard copy.

Exceptions to this include the Czech Republic, where 72 percent of the population still read newspapers regularly and this has been the same for a long time. In parallel with this, the most popular internet news providers in the Czech Republic are run by television channels: three-quarters of all internet users in the country follow television news on the internet at least once a day.

Radio listenership has dropped enormously in most European countries. Radio has apparently ceased to be a news provider, and is now an entertainment and music

medium. Many radio stations across the continent launched internet streaming in a move to survive competition from web-based radio services.

Access to news on the internet is mostly free. For young generations, visiting news portals through links on social media (chiefly via Facebook) has become the most popular way to acquire news. Older people who surf the internet prefer traditional media content on websites.

In the United States, it is hard if not impossible to find a television station with neutral political views. The audience has also become politically homogeneous; for example, Fox News is viewed primarily by Republicans while Democrats watch Current. The most dramatic change on the American news landscape involves the newspapers, however; their audience fell by more than 30 percent between 2003 and 2009. The most diverse television offer comes from cable operators who include in their basic packages at least six domestic 24-hour news channels, while there are many more available from abroad. While ethnic minorities in the United States have grown in size, the number of television stations catering to them has dropped.

3.2 Northern Africa

Although television is still the most influential medium in northern Africa (93 percent of the population in Egypt watches television), online media use has grown significantly in these countries since the Arab Spring in 2011. Television remains the main source of news and information, also because of low internet penetration and high illiteracy. However, in broadband-connected households, the internet takes people away from television, especially in primetime (after 9 p.m.).

Contrary to European trends, newspaper circulation has been rising steadily in this part of the world. In Egypt, it was expected to reach 4.686 million copies in 2013, up from 3.627 million in 2007. Newspapers remain a principal source of news consumption in these countries, although younger people tend to read newspapers online. In Morocco, new digital platforms are used by media outlets only for audio- and video-streaming while other opportunities created by the internet, such as comments, sharing content via social networks, blogs, and other forms of user-generated content are not offered at all. Northern Africa demonstrates a significant digital divide between urban and rural areas as rural populations lack access to the internet or are not internet-literate.

3.3 Sub-Saharan Africa

Despite major developments in the media sector, radio remains the main source of news and information in many sub-Saharan African countries. For Kenyans, radio is the main source of news, followed by television. The same is true in Nigeria. Radio sets are cheap, which is a major trigger for the high radio listenership. Even the remotest rural areas are covered by radio signals. Also, even the cheapest mobile phones in Africa allow access to radio programs, making this device a perfect choice for young people. As a result, the number of national and local radio stations has soared in the last 20 years. It is worth noting that the web radio most listened to in Nigeria is foreign: the BBC in the local language.

An exception that stands out is South Africa. Although radio has the most stable audience in South Africa, television has shown the highest growth in consumption over the past five years, followed by the internet: online traffic has doubled during the period. Newspapers have been stable, showing only a mild increase in readership. Digital satellite has also shown a significant growth, doubling its number of viewers during the past five years, although this was from a much lower base.

Newspaper readership is extremely low. The reason is poverty. In Nigeria, more than 50 percent of the population lives below the poverty line and cannot afford to buy newspapers. In the last few years, however, mobile phones have started to challenge radio, especially in urban areas where people can access the internet regardless of their location.

The embrace of mobile platforms has not had an impact on news quality. As in Europe, the change triggered by digitization has been more technical (involving devices and platforms) than substantive. The news offer on mobile phones replicates that in traditional media.

In countries where traditional media are still controlled by the government or by powerful families, their owners try to extend their control on the internet as well by filtering or blocking websites.

3.4 Former Soviet Union

Television remains the main medium for news consumption in Armenia, Kazakhstan, and Georgia. A poll from 2011 showed that 90 percent of Armenian citizens receive news from television, and only 7 percent from the internet, 2 percent from radio, and 1 percent from newspapers. Some 36 percent of internet users accessed the internet for reading news. Similarly, in Georgia only 2 percent of the population named

newspapers or magazines as their main source of news, and only 1 percent listened to the radio for news.

Use of the internet for news consumption in Georgia rose from 3 percent to 5 percent of the total preferences for news platform from 2007 to 2009. Traditional media, although they have static news online platforms, have gained more audience by inviting prominent experts to blog on their websites or by sharing news via social networks.

However, internet penetration is still low in the former Soviet Union and it remains reserved for those living in urban areas. Although it emerged as an alternative source of news, the internet has faced numerous challenges in this region as governments increasingly clamped down on critical voices online. In Kazakhstan, the government closed several critical print and broadcast media in 2012. A number of critical websites are also blocked, filtered, or denied service. Cable television is used on a large scale in the region to access news from abroad, mainly from Russia.

3.5 Middle East

In Lebanon and Jordan, television remains the main source of news and information. In Lebanon, international news satellite programs do not feature among the preferred top 10 channels; citizens still prefer local channels. Interestingly, there is a very popular new digital service in Lebanon that was established as a response to the unstable security situation in the country. Almost all media (online, radio, television) deliver breaking news via text messages for a US\$10 monthly subscription fee. In Jordan, the household ownership of radio sets fell by half as a result of new ways of accessing radio programs, chiefly in cars, via mobile phones, or the internet.

The quality of news has not seen major improvements. The media scene in Lebanon, for example, is polarized; most media outlets are supported by a political party or support a political agenda. It can be argued that this situation ensures media pluralism because of the variety of opinions on the political communication market. This trend is valid for both traditional and new online media. Online readership of print media exceeds hard copy readership in Lebanon.

3.6 Asia

Asian trends in media consumption vary broadly from region to region and even country to country. In China, the broadcasting system is decentralized and falls into four categories, in line with the “Four-level development policy for broadcasting industry” introduced in the 1980s: central, regional, municipal, and local. That resulted in more

than 3,000 television stations that operate in China. CCTV is the dominant broadcaster on the news market, under strict government control. It has defended its leading position in terms of audience despite competition from satellite operators. Its dominance has, however, declined: its audience share fell from 22.9 percent in 2005 to 13.3 percent in 2009. Radio airs mostly music and traffic news, rather than news bulletins as such.

On the other hand, China has been the leading market in the world by newspaper circulation for 10 consecutive years. All print media are state-owned. There are two types of management: “official papers” are managed by local party committees and recipients of government subsidies, while “city papers” are founded by “official papers” but have a more market- and consumer-oriented approach. They also publish occasional investigative reports, giving them a distinctive character compared with official papers.

Although both television and print media remain the main source of news in China, specialized news websites are eroding their dominance. News websites can be grouped into commercial portals and websites of traditional media. Internet portals have also given harbor to a range of human rights activists, advocates, and whistle-blowers. Japan joins China among the countries with high circulations of newspapers and magazines.

In India, the main factor in shaping news consumption patterns is the dispersion of languages across media platforms. The country has a variety of both state-owned and commercial media outlets. However, it is notable that the interest in news on political issues in Hindi and English fell from 23.1 percent to 10.9 percent in only three years, from 2005 to 2007. In contrast, the interest in non-factual content such as sports and entertainment grew from 27.9 percent to 53.1 percent in the same period. In 2010, the English television channels devoted more than 50 percent of their news output to crime and sports combined, followed by political/government (19.1 percent) and entertainment news (12.6 percent). On the other hand, crime, law, and order (26 percent) dominate on leading Hindi television channels, while sport news, entertainment news, and political or government news almost have the same proportion of news themes (16 percent, 14 percent, and 13 percent respectively).

Television and radio are still the main sources of news in Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. In Malaysia, paid satellite television increased its penetration from 24.9 percent to 40.1 percent between 2006 and 2012, while free-to-air television penetration dropped from 75.1 percent to 59.9 percent over the same period. In addition, there has been a greater news offer on satellite, including local all-news channels, sport channels, and international news channels. In Thailand too, consumers have been abandoning terrestrial television for satellite and cable.

Radio holds a steady position in South-East Asia, reaching more than 90 percent of the population in Malaysia and Singapore. However, Malaysian teenagers have lost interest in radio over recent years as a result of the growing entertainment offer and the lack of radio stations which target their age group.

As print media in Malaysia require prior permission to operate and are mainly established by the ruling parties, the internet has become an alternative source for news and information that cover issues not addressed by traditional media.

For Malaysians, social networks have become a source of news as well as of user-generated content. Much of the content on these networks clarifies or contradicts the official news in traditional media. In Thailand, Twitter is a favored platform and has become widely used by politicians for communicating with citizens as well as for spreading news.

In Pakistan, radio represents the main source of information for rural areas and undeveloped provinces. The reason is that almost half the population has limited access to news from the state-owned PTV broadcaster that airs terrestrially. On the other hand, citizens of major towns benefit from the massive growth of cable and satellite television in urban areas over the past five years. This has helped to increase diversity in the news offer by allowing access to local and foreign news programs, not interfered with by the state.

Interestingly, news content on the radio is strictly regulated and local radio stations are not allowed to broadcast news of their choice according to the law, but can rebroadcast news bulletins produced by the state-owned Radio Pakistan and the BBC Urdu Service. They are also allowed to broadcast local news programs such as weather forecasts and traffic news. Print media in Pakistan reached only 4 percent of the population in 2008, which was one of the lowest newspaper reaches in the MDM project. However, print media companies in Pakistan are optimistic, seeing massive potential in the growth of this sector. By 2010, some 25 percent of the population said that they were newspaper readers, according to a survey by InterMedia.

3.7 Latin America

Traditional television and radio programs are still the main source of information in most of Latin America. Nearly 97 percent of Brazilians watched television frequently in 2010. Of those, 83.5 percent watched free-to-air television. Radio retains a steady second place in preferred platforms; in 2010, over 80 percent of Brazilians listened to radio.

In Colombia too, television is dominant. News was the second-most popular use of television in 2010 with 86.3 percent, just behind entertainment, up by 5 percentage points from 2005. Colombia has a very low internet penetration. Internet subscription in Colombia and Peru stood at 10 percent of the population in 2011.

Low internet penetration is a main reason why traditional media hang on to their dominant position in the news market. Most online news portals are versions of traditional media: newspapers, television channels, and radio stations.

As a consequence of the increase in pay-TV in Colombia, the international channels have gained audience, growing from 41.8 percent in 2005 to 55.8 percent in 2010. International channels are rapidly fueling the expansion of news sources, at least in television, although news channels are not the most viewed cable channels.

Despite these developments, terrestrial television has an undisputed dominance in Latin America. In Guatemala, the primary source for news is still television (46 percent), followed by radio (28.1 percent), newspapers (16.2 percent), cable television (6.7 percent), and the internet (with less than 3 percent). Most people watch news in Guatemala on free-to-air television on a daily basis. Nevertheless, urban dwellers, younger people, and the middle class increasingly consume news on digital media, and this growth is somewhat spurred by the increase of mobile services. Interestingly, the number of internet cafés in rural areas has increased in Guatemala, but this was prompted by the need to communicate with friends and relatives who live in the United States and neighboring countries rather than the need for news content.

Terrestrial free-to-air television is still the most dominant news source in Mexico as well, despite a slight fall from 77 percent in penetration in 2005 to 70 percent in 2009. On this platform, public service television reaches only 47 percent of all households, much less than private broadcasters that reach 98 percent of households. Regarding technologies, only 13.6 percent of television households had a digital set, of which only 46.6 percent (6 percent of the total population) could receive digital television free-to-air programs.

In the Peruvian capital city of Lima, free-to-air television was the main news source for 94 percent of citizens in 2009. It was followed by print media (82 percent), radio (72 percent), and the internet (47 percent). Despite its third position in media consumption, radio was the most trusted medium for news, followed by the internet and television, with newspapers trusted least. User-generated content has had a notable impact on shaping regular news, with consumers using mobile platforms on a large

scale to contribute to the news offer by, for example, sending self-produced videos to traditional media. Bloggers in Peru have also contributed to boosting the diversity of the media offer and have become an alternative source of news, revealing corruption or criminal cases. Surveys indicate that 57 percent of internet users in Lima visited blogs in 2010.

Overall, despite the dominance of television in Latin America, the internet has risen slowly but steadily in the preferences for news sources. The speed of this growth apparently reflects the low internet penetration. In Mexico, for example, internet users make the internet their main source of news as soon as they start using this technology. Mobile phones are also used increasingly for news consumption in Mexico, another indication of the popular appetite for new platforms to access news.