Engagement in Newspaper Newsrooms: A View From the Editors in Chief

CRISTÓBAL BENAVIDES
Universidad de los Andes, Chile

ALFONSO VARA
ALFONSO SÁNCHEZ-TABERNERO
Universidad de Navarra, Spain

JUAN-IGNACIO BRITO
Universidad de los Andes, Chile

In this article, we analyze how news media editors approach the management of their audiences' engagement, specifically detecting how they define engagement and what they comprehend about this concept. The article also establishes whether working on deeper and more qualitative knowledge allows news media editors to better understand and connect with their audience. Additionally, this work seeks to identify, through 16 interviews in Chile and Spain, the editors' perceptions about how all this can influence decision making within the newsroom. Results show that although editors perceive that engagement is a useful tool to better understand users, they do not make concrete managerial decisions to achieve that goal.

Keywords: journalism, engagement, newsroom, newspapers, audience

News media around the world have witnessed how audiences and advertising are choosing other kinds of offerings (Picard, 2011). Media managers have learned that surviving in dynamic and competitive markets requires a renewed focus on persons, innovation, and audiences (Benavides, Pérez-Latre, Sánchez-Tabernero, & Bosch, 2019; Webster, 2018). Mainstream news companies used to analyze information related to their audience, such as age, gender, income, education, and consumption habits (Napoli, 2003). In recent times, some have launched engagement departments to strengthen the identification and emotional attunement between audiences and journalistic brands (Pitt, Bal, & Plangger, 2020). This demands active cooperation among three areas that used to work without proper coordination: editorial, marketing, and technology (Meire, Hewett, Ballings, Kumar, & Van den Poel, 2019).

Cristóbal Benavides: cbenavides@uandes.cl
Alfonso Vara: avara@unav.edu
Alfonso Sánchez-Tabernero: astabernero@unav.edu
Juan-Ignacio Brito: jbrito@uandes.cl

In this article, we analyze the perceptions of editors-in-chief and editors of newsrooms in Chile and Spain regarding the importance that they assign to developing and promoting engagement. In addition, we attempt to get to know the activities, processes, and actions that they carry out within their organizations to promote engagement and how editors define and measure it. We also aim to determine whether editors see engagement as a way out of the news media crisis. This in a context where engagement is considered by scholars as a complex and multidimensional concept, and where it is many times used only as a quantitative measurement, excluding other relevant aspects of engagement. This is relevant for this study because it reveals a limited use and understanding of the engagement tool.

We believe that our research contributes to the field by contrasting the scholarly and the editorial views of engagement, and by doing that it might help build a bridge where there are misunderstandings and lack of communication. We also think that getting to know whether measuring engagement affects the decision-making process in the newsroom and raising data about the concerns and experiences of the editors from both countries with differences and similarities will provide valuable insights.

Engagement as Audience Measurement

For decades, companies have analyzed consumer behavior without paying attention to the audience's emotional ties to the brands. Batsell (2015) criticizes this trend, noting that "the half-century during which journalists disengaged from the audience can be considered a historical aberration" (p. 5).

In the recent years, the concept of "engagement" has become a buzzword in the media industry. It has been identified as a viable solution to the media's revenue and public relevance crisis (Belair-Gagnon, Nelson, & Lewis, 2019). As noted by Chan-Olmsted and Wolter (2018), there is an increasing interest in researching engagement from the perspective of brands, audiences and media, and audiences and technology. There seems to be an agreement on the need to promote greater audience participation to involve users in the creation of content, favor criticism and comments, and establish communities of readers (Lawrence, Radcliffe, & Schmidt, 2018).

There is no consensus regarding the concrete meaning of "audience engagement" (Lawrence et al., 2018; Nelson, 2018). Davis Mersey, Malthouse, and Calder (2010) defined the term as the collection of experiences that readers have with a publication or with a media brand, while Livingstone and Markham (2008) refer to it as people's cognitive, social, habitual, and motivational engagement with the news media. Ha and colleagues (2018) define it as involvement in news content for either personal or social purposes.

Dolan, Conduit, Fahy, and Goodman (2016) use a multidimensional approach, in line with the uses and gratifications theory. The rationale for this approach is that users' knowledge, attitude, or behavior toward a brand (i.e., newspaper) is a response to the satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) caused by experience. For Viswanathan and colleagues (2017), the accumulation of these experiences can cause a greater or lesser degree of engagement.

Engagement management involves understanding the interests, aspirations, and expectations of users (Napoli, 2011). In this sense, Jaakkola and Alexander (2014) point out that the public creates value in various ways so that its influence goes beyond mere commercial transactions (Hollebeek, Glynn, & Brodie, 2014). Engagement is perceived by these scholars as a multidimensional concept, which makes it possible to delve into complex details that go beyond traditional studies. As Calder, Malthouse, and Schaedel (2009) state, engagement is about products or services that are enriching, rewarding, and that fit into people's lives. The multidimensional notion of engagement emphasizes the reciprocal benefits that customers and firms obtain (Belair-Gagnon et al., 2019): Not only does the organization benefit from improved retention, sales, or subscription ratios, but also consumers get to have their voices and preferences considered.

Extant literature has shown engagement as linking audience to media content and brands (Chan-Olmsted & Wolter, 2018), describing the marketing practices of media firms (Chen & Pain, 2021), the consumption patterns of audiences (Davis Mersey, Malthouse, & Calder, 2012; Ha et al., 2018; Lischka & Messerli, 2016), and the civic values of journalism (Lewis, Holton, & Coddington, 2014; Min, 2020). Audience engagement studies can be grouped into audience reception and audience participation and production. According to Nelson (2019), reception-oriented studies focus on how people pay attention to news, analyzing "the audience's cognitive, emotional or behavioral reactions to or interaction with news content, news organizations, platforms, or other audiences" (Kim, Huh, Rath, Salecha, & Srivastava, 2021, p. 3).

From this perspective, engagement implies an affective proximity between media and users. As opposed to mere consumption, which may be caused by rational and ephemeral decisions based on circumstantial convenience, the emotional connection favors a more intense, more lasting, and less passive or unidirectional relationship (Khuntia, Sun, & Yim, 2016); thus, the public gets used to sharing content, becomes a fan and part of user communities, recommends journalistic pieces, and comments on what they read.

On the other hand, production-oriented studies focus on how audiences help or participate in the creation of news content and how journalists listen to their public (Nelson, 2019). Tapscott (2008) concludes that engagement incorporates users into the value chain, in their new roles as producers and distributors of content. The struggle for control over content, sometimes depicted as a "war" between corporate and grassroots interests (Jenkins, 2006), might imply that audience activity has arrived with digital developments in user-generated content (UGC). However, it should not be believed that audience activity is merely a consequence of online UGC. Since the origin of news media, there have been different mechanisms to relate with users (Lewis, 2012).

The idea of favoring dialogue between brands and audiences fits well in organizations that practice public service journalism (Ferrucci, 2017). Chan-Olmsted and Wolter (2018) state that engagement allows responding to the audience's demand for attention and prevents the audience from being bewildered by their ability to have almost unlimited access to information. Additionally, for Oeldorf-Hirsch (2018), it is key to involve users not as passive subjects but as agents who value and give their opinion. In this context, feedback provides useful data on audience interests, attitudes, and emotions.

Lamot and Paulussen (2020) conclude that to better align their news supply to user demands, newsrooms need to improve their knowledge about users' behavior and audience engagement. For these

authors, engagement is configured by the collection of experiences that people have with the content and media they consume. These experiences reflect the interaction with products over time, with the purpose of achieving personal goals (Calder, Isaac, & Malthouse, 2016). Ferrer-Conill and Tandoc (2018) propose a practical solution to achieve the desired levels of engagement: appointing editors who are dedicated to understanding the behavior, preferences, and opinions of audiences.

Engagement and Corporate Performance

Today, measuring engagement is considered as a strategic requirement for increasing media firms' financial sustainability (Brodie, Ilic, Juric, & Hollebeek, 2013). Furthermore, engagement is also perceived as playing a nuclear role in the development of news products or services (Hoyer, Chandy, Dorotic, Krafft, & Singh, 2010). Batsell (2015) states that for news outlets in the 21st century, "engagement means somehow getting audiences invested enough in the outlets' journalism to make a habit of coming back and converting that attention into revenue that pays the bills" (p. 2). Nelson (2018) concluded that several

journalism agents innately believe that if news publishers pay more attention to understanding and communicating with their audiences, they will find the revenue they desperately need while delivering impactful, public service journalism. Their efforts to realize this belief suggest that the momentum toward more audience-centered journalism could endure. (p. 13)

However, not all news organizations are embracing engagement with the same enthusiasm (Lamot, Paulussen, & Aelst, 2021). As Ferrucci and Tandoc (2015) and Usher (2013) showed, while commercial media are more market-oriented and might need to attend more to audience metrics to bring in advertising revenues, public service media have other sources of income. Karlsson and Clerwall (2013) concluded that while commercial journalists mentioned user relevance and business factors as reasons for measuring engagement, public service journalists just measure it in terms of relevance for their audiences. Furthermore, inside commercial media are different perceptions about the value derived from generating engagement. Nelson and Webster (2016) found that the low interest from a certain part of the industry to generate engagement is what is making it difficult to monetize it. Some journalists "prefer to be evaluated based on how people attend to the news instead of how many, because they assumed this would both yield larger profits for publishers and encourage more of the important content that typically draws smaller audiences" (p. 6). Thurman (2014) concluded that engagement is perceived as a way to increase the audience's consumption time, which may lead toward a higher rate of revenue per person.

Perceived Value of Engagement in the Newsroom

This article aims to examine the conceptual, strategic, and practical dimensions of engagement through in-depth interviews with media editors from Spain and Chile. Furthermore, it aspires to contrast the gaps between what engagement means for news managers and the relevant literature. It also attempts to assess how newsroom managers perceive what engagement is, how it may influence the news decision-making process, how they implement it in their newsrooms, and their satisfaction with this process.

The perceived value of engagement for editors and editorial managers is a crucial issue. First, they set the norms and priorities for their newsrooms, leading individual journalists to conform to implementing engagement as well (Ferrucci, 2017). Second, editors demand that their journalists use audience metrics, and editors themselves tend to be more heavy users of audience metrics and more positive toward them (Belair-Gagnon et al., 2018). So, the way editors perceive the notion of engagement—its usefulness, its strategic and practical dimensions—may indeed influence how their newsrooms adopt it and, indirectly, its success.

First, we focus on how editors define audience engagement. Ferrer-Conill and Tandoc (2018) interviewed 15 editors and concluded that there is a lack of cohesion in terms of newsroom positions and operation. Meier, Kraus, and Michaeler (2018) concluded that "the term has different meaning and impact for practitioners" (p. 1056). Chan-Olmsted and Wolter (2018) differentiated five aspects: audience involvement/interactions, types of motivation (cognitive/affective/behavioral), relationship between brand and audiences, contextualized attention, and behavioral metrics. Lawrence and associates (2018) found differences in what engagement means for 15 senior editors and journalists in five countries. In accordance with the conclusions of these previous studies, the editors at Chilean and Spanish news market do not seem to be different from their counterparts in the other countries, and we can foresee the lack of consensus about what engagement means for them. Instead, what is relevant here is the specific meaning and traits that the term has for news editors, if they focus, for instance, on the financial dimension, on the better knowledge of the public, on the improvement of the product, or on the difficulties of the implementation process.

Thus, RQ1 addresses:

RQ1:   *What are the main traits emphasized by news editors when defining the concept of "audience engagement"?*

Second, we want to find out if editors perceive that measuring audience engagement helps to better understand their readers. As seen above, there is empirical evidence about the relevance for news organizations of better knowing the motivation of their audiences.

Mayer (2011) reported that news managers see engagement as part of good business, and that "their newsrooms were having conversations about how to make the news more social or participatory" (p. 30). Lewis, Holton, and Coddington (2016) conducted a survey in the United States to examine how journalists with different roles perceive their relationship with audiences. While some seem to be more willing to embrace digital platforms as emerging spaces for generating engagement, others believe that doing "good journalism" is the way to connect deeply with the public.

Perreault and Stanfield (2019) point out that editors and journalists indicated that "they perceive that interactivity enables greater engagement with the audience," and they highlighted the journalists' perception that the "emphasis on building a broad and engaged audience could mitigate the expected decline of journalism" (p. 15). Belair-Gagnon and colleagues (2019) compared public media newsrooms in the United States through direct observation and in-depth interviews and concluded that journalists privilege offline modes of engagement to build trust and strengthen ties with audiences.

Thus, RQ2 addresses:

RQ2:   How do editors perceive the importance of measuring engagement as a tool to connect with their audience?

We are also interested in identifying if measuring engagement influences the news decision-making process. As Ferrer-Conill and Tandoc (2018) concluded, news managers believe that measuring engagement may improve the participation of audiences in the editorial process but consider that its main function is to help journalists negotiate between the data obtained and their journalistic intuition. Lamot and Paulussen (2020) conducted a study in Belgian media and verified that all 11 organizations that participated had invested in hiring new positions such as "social media managers" or "engagement editors."

Meier and associates (2018) emphasize the need expressed by news editors and journalists to distinguish between the editorial and the economic perspectives of engagement. While the latter stresses the use of engagement for commercial reasons, the former stresses that engagement should improve journalistic quality and moderate/facilitate public debate: "If the goal is to regain trust editorial goals will differ from marketing goals" (Meier et al., 2018, p. 1059). As a result, audience engagement implied different impacts on editorial and marketing jobs and duties not only in newsrooms, but also in marketing, management, or technical services.

Thus, RQ3 explores:

RQ3:   Do editors perceive that audience engagement influences news decision making within newsrooms?

Our final research question tackles the degree of satisfaction perceived by news editors with engagement outcomes. The literature indicates that although audience engagement plays a prominent role in journalistic routines, variation exists in the perceived value and the success of its implementation (Belair-Gagnon et al., 2019; Ferrucci, 2017).

Chan-Olmsted and Wolter (2018) concluded that "there are conflicting sentiments on how [engagement] can be implemented and measured realistically and if there is indeed a need for standard cross-platform metric" (p. 20). Through in-depth interviews, Mayer (2011) demonstrated that a large gap exists between publishers' awareness of the need for engagement and their understanding of how to proceed. In addition, publishers cited their limited resources as a barrier to more aggressive engagement tactics.

Thus, RQ4 focuses on:

RQ4:   What is the degree of (dis)satisfaction with the measurements implemented and the results regarding the engagement achieved with readers?

Newspapers in Chile and Spain

Chile and Spain share cultural traits, derived from their colonial past and from similarities in their political processes. Araya Gómez (2020) and Kressel (2019) compare the democratic transitions in both countries and establish the influence exerted by the Spanish transitional model in Chile, referring to these processes as mirror images. This influence also applies to the press, for example, with the creation in 1986 of the *La Época* newspaper, modeled after the successful case of Spain's *El País*.

Chile enjoys a high level of press freedom compared with other Latin American countries (Hallin & Mellado, 2018). The print media market is dominated by *El Mercurio* and Copesa, which have the largest concentrations of readers and circulation (Valida, 2018).

Unfortunately, media statistics in Chile are not up to date. Audience measurement was suspended in 2019 due to economic concerns of the industry, reducing market transparency. Data available between 2015 and 2018 reveal that newspaper circulation dropped 19% while readership fell 10% in the same period (Valida, 2018). In 2021 only 3.5% of the total amount spent on advertising goes to newspapers, which in 2020 accounted for 3% of people's total media consumption time (Asociación Agencias de Medios [AAM], 2022). Advertising revenue in newspapers declined by 32% between 2009 and 2018 (Achap, 2018).

Mellado, Humanes, Scherman, and Ovando (2021) described journalistic role performance in Chile and concluded that digital and print newsrooms have the same structural and organizational logics. This forces editors to not only look for new ways of doing journalism (Arrese, Medina, & Sánchez-Tabernero, 2019; Paulussen, 2016) and to (re)connect with audiences but also seek new ways of studying audiences that go beyond quantifying them (Ahva & Heikkilä, 2016).

In Spain, the circulation of newspapers has decreased. The daily press reached its highest circulation in 2008; that year, 42.1% of Spaniards above age 14 read newspapers (Marcos, Hernández, & Ortiz, 2019). However, online news eroded the print media: Circulation decreased to 18.4% in 2020 (Statista, 2021).

Since 2008, circulation revenue has decreased, and so has advertising. In 2007, advertising income of newspapers reached €1.849 million. This figure decreased every single year and reached only €317 million in 2020 (Sánchez Revilla, 2021). Until the disruptive effect caused by the Internet, regional newspapers were dominant and accounted for two thirds of the total newspaper circulation (Salaverría & Gómez Baceiredo, 2017), but digital technology removed one of their most valuable competitive advantages: their old distribution system.

Not a single Spanish print newspaper sells more than 100,000 copies daily. On the other hand, the readership of online newspapers has increased in the last 20 years. According to Comscore, online news outlets got more than 12 million daily unique visitors in 2020 (Sánchez Revilla, 2021). Market concentration in newsprint media is low, and it has not changed in a significant way in recent years.

Method

Our research deals primarily with perceptions of engagement and its value for editors. Consequently, we opted for a strategy based on a qualitative methodology. Bryman (2012) argued that qualitative research "usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data" (p. 36) and that it is best suited for helping to explain shifting realities and perceptions. Qualitative research does not provide answers with numerical and irrefutable data: It constitutes a strict, critical, and systematic way of approaching a phenomenon that may be contradictory but, at the same time, revealing for the development and understanding of a specific topic (Brennen, 2012).

The fact that our interest and research questions were directed to the perceptions of editors oriented the selection of the sample. We used purposive sampling, with participants who held the position of editor in chief or general editor, bearing in mind the goal of selecting participants who would be relevant to the purposes of our research. To that end, 16 editors were selected and contacted because of the positions they hold in media companies in Chile and Spain.

The qualitative phase of the research was based on in-depth interviews. Interviews (eight in Chile and eight in Spain) were conducted between January and July 2020. We used a semistructured questionnaire, which allowed us leeway to introduce some spontaneous questions, though we essentially followed a guide that was used in every interview. This type of interview offers flexibility to pick up on things said by interviewees and provides common ground to collect data, since all participants were asked relevant questions with a similar wording.

The sample selected consisted of editors of the main national and regional newspapers. In this sense, they constitute an elite. Hafner-Burton, Hughes, and Victor (2013) define elites as core decision makers who occupy "top positions in social and political structures," "have the higher indices in their branch of authority," and "exercise significant power over social and political change" (p. 369).

Natow (2019) argues that elite interviewing can be a crucial data source. The position and experience of elite members can provide data that are not easily obtainable from other sources. Tansey (2007) argues that this form of data collection allows for several uses: to corroborate what has been established from other sources; to establish what a set of people think; to make inferences about a larger population's characteristics and decisions; and to help reconstruct an event or set of events. It also provides firsthand information from direct witnesses or participants.

The research seeks to know from the point of view of the editors if there is conscious and intentional work to promote engagement and bonding with readers. To analyze the interviews, the Dedoose.com program was used to obtain qualitative reasoning by grouping the variables and codes for a better interpretation of the data. First, verbatim transcription of the interviews, which lasted between 30 and 45 minutes each, was carried out. The criterion for determining the number of participants was saturation, which was reached when the data began to repeat (Fusch & Ness, 2015). This occurred in the 15th interview; subsequently, an additional one was conducted to verify that this information was correct.

Second, the files with the interviews conducted, numbered from one to 16 (D1, D2, D3 . . . D16), were introduced into the program so that the responses could not be identified and also to respect the anonymity agreed on during the informed consent established when contacting and recording the participants of our analysis. The impossibility of identifying the responses aimed at making them as honest as possible, providing participants greater freedom to express opinions and ideas.

Once this phase was completed, we proceeded to insert in the software the codes that would allow the qualitative analysis to be carried out. The codes were created based on the themes related to the questions of the questionnaire applied in the in-depth interviews. The questions were directly associated with the research questions, which referred to the following issues:

- Engagement definition [RQ1]
- Utility of knowing the audience [RQ2]
- Engagement and editorial decisions [RQ3]
- Measuring engagement [RQ4]
- Actions to promote engagement [RQ4]
- Degree of satisfaction with the actions carried out [RQ4].

Results

Definition of Engagement

Participants were asked about the definition of engagement and what they understood by this term (RQ1). The answers to RQ1 tend to reveal that news editors are ready to work with engagement only on a very short term-basis, which reflects their incomplete understanding of the term and its possibilities.

In the same way that occurs in the scholars' debate about engagement, news editors do not agree in a consensual definition of the meaning of the term. The most repeated words were *loyalty*, *commitment*, *bond with readers/audiences*, and *values*. As Editor 1 stated, "It's the media's effort to try to see how to build loyalty with readers knowing that they are different."

One reason for this lack of consensus is that engagement is a word that "editors used to broadly refer to audience behavior" (Ferrer-Conill & Tandoc, 2018, p. 445) without a concrete and specific meaning. Therefore, the interest that they declare in engaging with their audience usually translates into limited efforts (basically those that have to do with commercial issues) that do not pay enough attention to the other dimensions of engagement.

Principal Traits

Most of the editors emphasized four traits of engagement: (1) its novelty, as they referred to it as *something new*; (2) the sense of being in *progress* or under construction; (3) something *intentional* or desirable to meet the needs of its audiences; and (4) an *emotional* linkage with the audiences (mentioned

most frequently). This reinforces the idea that editors view engagement in a restricted way, which limits the potentialities that could be exploited if they used a more comprehensive approach to the concept.

A relevant change observed in some of the editorial managers' descriptions is the evolution from the "I publish, and you consume" principle, which for many years prevailed in newsrooms, to the idea of fostering a more open conversation with users.

Editors' Emphasis

In a deeper way, engagement was also defined as something more transcendental that involved recognizing oneself in the shared and permanent values of the company. As Editor 10 said, "[A] marriage is generated with you, a permanent relationship, not only that [the reader] consumes [the product], but it is also a sense of belonging." Furthermore, but not mentioned by all the interviewees, there was a commercial or financial aim in the concept of engagement.

As Editor 12 pointed out, "Engagement takes the form of the commitment of the audiences that receive our content and the commitment to pay for that content," and as Editor 13 said, "[Engagement] is the ability to keep the reader coming back, the ability to convert unique users into actual readers, which is not the same thing."

As Tapscott (2008) states, the editors perceived this concept as a useful tool to monetize editorial content and promote a virtuous circle: Higher revenues mean stronger newsrooms and therefore better journalism, which ultimately results in greater audience satisfaction. It should be noted that all the editorial managers perceived the term "engagement" from an audience-oriented perspective—a new tool to promote greater audience knowledge—and not from a product-oriented perspective, where people participate in the (co)creation of new content.

Measuring Engagement

Perception of Relevance

When asked about their perception of the importance of measuring engagement as a useful tool to connect with their audiences [RQ2], there was a common reflection among the interviewees about the impact of technology and social media platforms such as Facebook or Google on the media industry: They have forced traditional media, especially newspapers, to transform their audience research processes, which were limited to obtaining circulation and readership figures. This external pressure is what, in several cases, forces editors and media to explore engagement as a viable solution to lure back audiences although usually they do not fully grasp the meaning and reach of the term.

The confusion about what engagement is leads some of them to associate it with just another quantitative metric. However, those who have only recently applied the concept in its broadest dimensions see it as a benefit in establishing new and better relationships with their audiences. For this reason, knowing their readers to promote engagement has become a strategic necessity for news organizations. As Editor 7

mentioned, "It is necessary for survival. No medium has a future without knowing its audience, which is not just one, but several target audiences."

Improving the organizations' knowledge of their audience makes it possible for editorial efforts to reach a wider and loyal news consumer base (Schmitt, Debbelt, & Schneider, 2018). Thus, most of the interviewees have introduced some structural changes in their editorial teams although not all of them have followed the same formula. While in some media a new engagement management team has been created, in other cases some positions have been redefined.

In both cases, media companies are seeking to improve the levels of information for a better connection with the audience. This has resulted in the modification of certain structures and routines in terms of obtaining, reading, and using these data. As Editor 11 stated: "It's clear, we are changing teams precisely so that they know the audience better." Some revealed that the aims of their marketing management teams now include the specific task of improving the understanding of users' interests, preferences, value perceptions, and reasons for news consumption. "The audience team measures it more formally, and here we editors know that we have to look at these data and each one calibrates," said Editor 14.

Influence of News Engagement

Editors' Perception

One of the greatest coincidences at the theoretical level and in the opinions of editors is the relationship between editorial decision making and audience perceptions and behavior (RQ3; Grinberg, 2018). Although none of the executives interviewed suggested that readers should become the editors of the news, they did express the need to know their preferences and demands. In this way, this finding rules out the concern that journalistic quality and processes would fizzle out when giving people what they want and not what they need to know (Welbers, Van Atteveldt, Kleinnnijenhuis, Ruigrok, & Schaper, 2016). On the contrary, it has allowed the refining of quality of content.

As Editor 10 observed, "It is an action that operates as a ghost, as a backdrop to the vast majority of editorial decisions; I can't tell you that it influences all of them, but it is present in the daily editorial meeting, absolutely." For Editor 6, engagement does not determine the editorial content, but "it helps us a lot because it guides us on what our audience is interested in."

As a result, most asserted that routines in newsrooms have been modified and new processes have been implemented to improve the quality of the content. According to Editor 8, "In the meeting we have every day in the morning, in which the section chiefs and the delegates of the local editorial offices take part, they tell what has been working for them from the readers' point of view." This illustrates that engaging the audiences and listening to their concerns and interests can serve as a useful tool to improve and enrich the agenda of the media.

Decision Making in the Newsroom

In practice, editorial managers emphasized the aims of making the decision-making process more professional and balanced, considering more data, contrasting editors' intuitions, and measuring their impact on the audience but preserving the professional values and norms of news production.

As seen above, all the editorial managers recognized that measuring engagement is an increasingly relevant and urgent task for news organizations: "It's not that it's important; it's that it's necessary. There is a radical change taking place in the media business" (Editor 15).

They also recognize that working with the audience is one of the ways to mitigate the complex situation they are experiencing. Nonetheless, they acknowledge that their companies are still too far away from what they considered the most relevant media should do and achieve, in comparison with news markets in countries like the United States or the United Kingdom. As Editor 12 explained, "We have to keep learning, and learning how to know more and listen to our audience and make decisions based on that reality."

Chilean and Spanish editors valued the importance of engagement for several reasons related with product (learn readers' preferences and media use to refine and supply a better product), revenues (get new useful insights to increase advertising and reader revenues), and audiences (capture their attention and time, intensify the relationship with them, and strengthen their trust), as emphasized by Editor 11: "It will probably be one of the most relevant aspects, because everything is about generating intense relationships with the public."

Levels of Satisfaction

Despite the perceived relevance of engagement by all the editorial managers, some of the interviewees revealed that they do not carry out any kind of formal measurement (RQ4): "There is no exact measurement, but it could be done" (Editor 13); "We have a campaign pending, because we don't have the resources yet" (Editor 16).

Nevertheless, most of them aim at knowing the behavior of readers, so as not to betray the implicit promise that exists with them. As Editor 1 declared, "We are at 1%; we are just starting. We are in trial and error, research, analysis, and I believe that the media in five years or less time will rectify many of the things they are doing now." So, it can be observed that the actions undertaken are at a rather embryonic level, without much sophistication or depth. For that reason, there is a tendency to confuse the concept of engagement with a numerical metric. As we have emphasized, based on the data collected in the interviews, only few dimensions of engagement are used.

The main reasons for this situation mentioned by the interviewees could be summarized as falling into four categories: scarcity of financial or technological resources ("The limitations are due to resources, because it is expensive. There are working hours that must be allocated"; Editor 9); lack of experience to implement effective measurements ("We are still in a very early stage . . . we are moving forward in getting to know better the reader and the subscriber, because we have a lot of time, records, and information, but

we have only just begun"; Editor 2); internal discrepancies ("I believe that this is of no use if it is still at the editors' table. The whole newspaper must see it. We have made some progress . . . I would love it to be more professional"; Editor 4); and prioritization of other aims. Often, some of these difficulties are mixed, and the process of change is paralyzed. This inaction on the part of some news media diminishes their competitive capacity, both with rival companies and with substitute products (Chen & Suen, 2019).

Room to Improve

As a result, this situation is intrinsically linked to the degree of perceived satisfaction of the actions and engagement measurements carried out in editors' newsrooms (RQ4). In general, all the interviewees considered that what has been done is insufficient (Meijer, 2019): Editors thought that they still need to make a lot of progress to keep up with the knowledge of users that technological platforms have achieved, but they also recognized that there is a lack of resources and, sometimes, a lack of vision by the owners of media companies. Editors complained that media owners did not understand that to save the business, many times the answer lies in getting to know the audience.

Finally, when analyzing the content of the interviews, no differences can be observed between the answers of editors in chief from both countries. This shows that the promotion and the search for the development of the link between a news product and its audience are transversal to geographical barriers and that the common cultural, political, and historical aspects that have been mentioned above might also translate into journalistic practices and habits. Also, considering the type of media outlet (digital or print) run by the interviewees, it can be observed that there are no differences in the responses analyzed in this research. Differences may be found in the techniques, but this is determined by the characteristics of the platforms (paper and digital), not by an executive decision.

Conclusions

In general terms, legacy media have been more focused on the protection of the past than on understanding the competitive advantages of the future. Our study confirms this trend in a specific topic: the audience's engagement. The editors interviewed consider that engagement is "something important," but they do not know how to define it. Because of such poor understanding of the term, in some cases, they identify engagement with better audience knowledge. As a result, in most cases, they have not implemented efficient tools to measure engagement and to foster it.

In line with Belair-Gagnon and colleagues (2019), media managers associate the concept of engagement with commitment, bonding, and loyalty. The editors interviewed indicate that there is still much work to be done to perceive the importance of measuring and increasing user engagement, as reflected in Nelson's (2018) research. However, they recognize that, as Krebs and Lischka (2019) point out, sharing and commenting on content increase both the quality perceived by the public and its loyalty.

There is a large gap between editors' statements referring to the need to better involve users with the journalistic brand and the managerial decisions aimed at achieving this goal. The inconsistency detected may explain, at least in some way, the decadence of many media firms that some years ago enjoyed

dominant positions in their markets (Picard, 2015). The disparity between theory and practice applies to both print and native online media, and to Chilean and Spanish news media in a similar way. Despite the detection of external opportunities and internal weaknesses, it seems that making these changes is complex (Gershon, 2018). The lack of action may come from self-indulgence, day-to-day urgencies, or because editors are focused on reducing costs to keep the business afloat. The paradox here is that improving the audience's engagement may be crucial for the media firms' survival.

We found that quite frequently editors delegate the tasks related to engagement to personnel with lower decision-making powers, because they considered a technical activity that does not involve strategic aspects. Christensen (2017) warns that, to be successful, changes must be driven or supported by those who lead the organization. If editors do not get involved in the promotion of these practices, it will be difficult for the people working in their teams to lead these transformations. Increasing this knowledge to promote changes, implement them, and encourage them could contribute to improving results, both editorially and financially (Wang, 2006). For example, if media outlets define and adjust their content to their targeted audience more precisely, they could obtain better results in advertising sales.

Editors should allocate more human and financial resources to increase the knowledge of the audience and audience engagement with journalistic brands. People and capital are always scarce, but as theory suggests (Nelson, 2019), they stimulate changes that result in positive outcomes for firms. The resistance to change detected in many of the interviewees in their newsrooms should be overcome.

Engagement measurement should be encouraged by the boards of directors and senior managers of media companies. Such a decision will be a first step to foster a more innovative culture to rethink editorial decisions. It will also help to link audience knowledge to changes in companies' business models, which are likely to bring a greater diversity of revenue sources. As Gershon (2020) points out, any company, regardless of its size or geographic market, should avoid fear and inertia to remain competitive over time. Engagement can become a good way to embrace change, build better journalistic brands, avoid readers' apathy, and discover how to produce relevant and attractive content.

Our research contributes to exploring new work methodologies and organizational systems in newsrooms. It can also foster associative work between academia and media companies; thus, it will be possible to understand in more detail the audience, which is a prerequisite for developing more participative services (Van Der Wurff & Schoenbach, 2014).

We have shown the reality as perceived by editors in two countries. Therefore, we have not considered other perspectives (for instance, the audience's point of view about the relevance of engagement and about how to foster it) that could shed light on the research questions. Further work may address this limitation. Also, the editors' responses may present a self-indulgent bias, which should be contrasted with other approaches (Queirós, Faria, & Almeida, 2017). Moreover, as these are in-depth interviews, the scale is smaller than that obtained in quantitative studies. Finally, other studies can analyze the situation in other countries to discover differences and commonalities in each journalistic market.

References

Achap. (2018). *Inversión Achap* [Achap investment]. Retrieved from https://www.achap.cl/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Inversion-ACHAP-2018-2.pdf

Ahva, L., & Heikkilä, H. (2016). Mass, audience, and the public. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 315–325). London, UK: SAGE.

Araya Gómez, R. (2020). La Transición como un espejo. La influencia de la Transición española en la oposición moderada chilena [The Transition as a mirror. The influence of the Spanish Transition on the Chilean moderate opposition]. *Historia Crítica, 76*, 93–113. doi:10.7440/histcrit76.2020.05

Arrese, A., Medina, M., & Sánchez-Tabernero, A. (2019). Consumer demand and audience behavior. In A. Albarran (Ed.), *A research agenda for media economics*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing. doi:10.4337/9781788119061

Asociación Agencias de Medios (AAM). (2022). Inversión publicitaria en medios [Advertising investment in media]. Retrieved from https://www.anda.cl/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Informe-Inversion-en-Medios_Diciembre_2021.pdf

Batsell, J. (2015). *Engaged journalism*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Belair-Gagnon, V., Nelson, J. L., & Lewis, S. C. (2018). Audience engagement, reciprocity, and the pursuit of community connectedness in public media journalism. *Journalism Practice, 13*(5), 558–575. doi:10.1080/17512786.2018.1542975

Benavides, C., Pérez-Latre, F. J., Sánchez-Tabernero, A., & Bosch, M. J. (2019). Cómo los editores y directores perciben su estilo de liderazgo en las salas de redacción en Chile y España. Una aproximación desde el liderazgo transformacional [How publishers and editors perceive their leadership style in newsrooms in Chile and Spain. A transformational leadership approach]. *Revista de Comunicación, 18*(2), 51–71. doi:10.26441/rc18.2-2019-a3

Brennen, B. S. (2012). *Qualitative research methods for media studies*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Brodie, R. J., Ilic, A., Juric, B., & Hollebeek, L. (2013). Consumer engagement in a virtual brand community: An exploratory analysis. *Journal of Business Research, 66*(1), 105–114. doi:10.1016/j.jbusres.2011.07.029

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Calder, B. J., Isaac, M. S., & Malthouse, E. C. (2016). How to capture consumer experiences: A context-specific approach to measuring engagement: Predicting consumer behavior across qualitatively different experiences. *Journal of Advertising Research, 56*(1), 39–52. doi:10.2501/JAR-2015-028

Calder, B. J., Malthouse, E. C., & Schaedel, U. (2009). An experimental study of the relationship between online engagement and advertising effectiveness. *Journal of Interactive Marketing, 23*(4), 321–331. doi:10.1016/j.intmar.2009.07.002

Chan-Olmsted, S. M., & Wolter, L.-C. (2018). Perceptions and practices of media engagement: A global perspective. *International Journal on Media Management, 20*(1), 1–24. doi:10.1080/14241277.2017.1402183

Chen, H., & Suen, W. (2019). *Competition for attention and news quality* (Working paper). Retrieved from http://www.sef.hku.hk/~wsuen/research/wppdf/media-14.pdf

Chen, V. Y., & Pain, P. (2021). News on Facebook: How Facebook and newspapers build mutual brand loyalty through audience engagement. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 98*(2), 366–386. doi:10.1177/1077699019876634

Christensen, C. M. (2017). *How will you measure your life?* New York, NY: Harvard Business Review Press.

Davis Mersey, R., Malthouse, E. C., & Calder, B. J. (2010). Engagement with online media. *Journal of Media Business Studies, 7*(2), 39–56. doi:10.1080/16522354.2010.11073506

Davis Mersey, R., Malthouse, E. C., & Calder, B. J. (2012). Focusing on the reader: Engagement trumps satisfaction. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 89*(4), 695–709. doi:10.1177/1077699012455391

Dolan, R., Conduit, J., Fahy, J., & Goodman, S. (2016). Social media engagement behaviour: A uses and gratifications perspective. *Journal of Strategic Marketing, 24*(3–4), 261–277. doi:10.1080/0965254X.2015.1095222

Ferrer-Conill, R., & Tandoc, E. C., Jr. (2018). The audience-oriented editor: Making sense of the audience in the newsroom. *Digital Journalism, 6*(4), 436–453. doi:10.1080/21670811.2018.1440972

Ferrucci, P. (2017). Exploring public service journalism: Digitally native news nonprofits and engagement. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 94*(1), 355–370. doi:10.1177/1077699016681968

Ferrucci, P., & Tandoc Jr., E. C. (2015). A tale of two newsrooms: How market orientation influences Web analytics use. In W. Gibbs, & J. McKendrick (Eds.), *Contemporary research methods and data analytics in the news industry* (pp. 58–76). Hershey, PA: IGI Global. doi:10.4018/978-1-4666-8580-2.ch004

Fusch, P. I., & Ness, L. R. (2015). Are we there yet? Data saturation in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report, 20*(9), 1408–1416. Retrieved from http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol20/iss9/3

Gershon, R. A. (2018). Media innovation: Three strategic approaches to business transformation. In A. Albarran (Ed.), *Handbook of media management and economics* (pp. 241–258). New York, NY: Routledge.

Gershon, R. A. (2020). Innovation and technology management. In R. A. Gershon (Ed.), *Media, telecommunications and business strategy* (pp. 276–297). New York, NY: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780429285028

Grinberg, N. (2018, April). Identifying modes of user engagement with online news and their relationship to information gain in text. In *Proceedings of the 2018 World Wide Web Conference* (pp. 1745–1754). Lyon, France: International World Wide Web Conferences Steering Committee. doi:10.1145/3178876.3186180

Ha, L., Xu, Y., Yang, C., Wang, F., Yang, L., Abuljadail, M., . . . Gabay, I. (2018). Decline in news content engagement or news medium engagement? A longitudinal analysis of news engagement since the rise of social and mobile media 2009–2012. *Journalism, 19*(5), 718–739. doi:10.1177/1464884916667654

Hafner-Burton, E. M., Hughes, D. A., & Victor, D. G. (2013). The cognitive revolution and the political psychology of elite decision making. *Perspectives on Politics, 11*(2), 368–386. doi:10.1017/S1537592713001084

Hallin, D. C., & Mellado, C. (2018). Serving consumers, citizens, or elites: Democratic roles of journalism in Chilean newspapers and television news. *The International Journal of Press/Politics, 23*(1), 24–43. doi:10.1177/1940161217736888

Hollebeek, L. D., Glynn, M. S., & Brodie, R. J. (2014). Consumer brand engagement in social media: Conceptualization, scale development and validation. *Journal of Interactive Marketing, 28*(2), 149–165. doi:10.1016/j.intmar.2013.12.002

Hoyer, W. D., Chandy, R., Dorotic, M., Krafft, M., & Singh, S. S. (2010). Consumer cocreation in new product development. *Journal of Service Research, 13*(3), 283–296. doi:10.1177/1094670510375604

Jaakkola, E., & Alexander, M. (2014). The role of customer engagement behavior in value co-creation: A service system perspective. *Journal of Service Research, 17*(3), 247–261. doi:10.1177/1094670514529187

Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. New York: New York University Press.

Karlsson, M., & Clerwall, C. (2013). Negotiating professional news judgment and "clicks." Comparing tabloid, broadsheet and public service traditions in Sweden. *Nordicom Review, 34*(2), 65–76. doi:10.2478/nor-2013-0054

Khuntia, J., Sun, H., & Yim, D. (2016). Sharing news through social networks. *International Journal on Media Management, 18*(1), 59–74. doi:10.1080/14241277.2016.1185429

Kim, J., Huh, J., Rath, B., Salecha, A., & Srivastava, J. (2021). Relationship between citizen-eyewitness images and audience engagement with news. *Journalism Practice, 15*, 1–21. doi:10.1080/17512786.2021.1882873

Krebs, I., & Lischka, J. A. (2019). Is audience engagement worth the buzz? The value of audience engagement, comment reading, and content for online news brands. *Journalism, 20*(6), 714–732. doi:10.1177/1464884916689277

Kressel, D. G. (2019). "Getting off the tiger": The Spanish transitional model and its influence on the democratic transitions in Argentina and Chile, 1977–1990. *Global Society, 33*(3), 316–331. doi:10.1080/13600826.2019.1598945

Lamot, K., & Paulussen, S. (2020). Six uses of analytics: Digital editors' perceptions of audience analytics in the newsroom. *Journalism Practice, 14*(3), 358–373. doi:10.1080/17512786.2019.1617043

Lamot, K., Paulussen, S., & Van Aelst, P. (2021). Do metrics drive news decisions? Political news journalists' exposure and attitudes toward web analytics. *Electronic News, 15*(1–2), 3–20. doi:10.1177/19312431211018141

Lawrence, R. G., Radcliffe, D., & Schmidt, T. R. (2018). Practicing engagement: Participatory journalism in the Web 2.0 era. *Journalism Practice, 12*(10), 1220–1240. doi:10.1080/17512786.2017.1391712

Lewis, S. C. (2012). The tension between professional control and open participation: Journalism and its boundaries. *Information, Communication & Society, 15*(6), 836–866. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2012.674150

Lewis, S. C., Holton, A. E., & Coddington, M. (2014). Reciprocal journalism: A concept of mutual exchange between journalists and audiences. *Journalism Practice, 8*(2), 229–241. doi:10.1080/17512786.2013.859840

Lewis, S. C., Holton, A. E., & Coddington, M. (2016). From participation to reciprocity in the journalist–audience relationship. In C. Peters & M. Broersma (Eds.), *Rethinking journalism again* (pp. 173–186). New York, NY: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781315716244

Lischka, J. A., & Messerli, M. (2016). Examining the benefits of audience integration: Does sharing of or commenting on online news enhance the loyalty of online readers? *Digital Journalism, 4*(5), 597–620. doi:10.1080/21670811.2015.1068128

Livingstone, S., & Markham, T. (2008). The contribution of media consumption to civic participation. *The British Journal of Sociology, 59*(2), 351–371. doi:10.1111/j.1468-4446.2008.00197.x

Marcos, J. Á., Hernández, M. C., & Ortiz, J. I. Á. (2019). The digital maturity of the Spanish press. A case study. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social, 74*, 499–520. doi:10.4185/RLCS-2019-1342

Mayer, J. (2011). *A culture of audience engagement in the news industry* (Master´s thesis). Retrieved from https://mospace.umsystem.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10355/14557/research.pdf

Meier, K., Kraus, D., & Michaeler, E. (2018). Audience engagement in a post-truth age: What it means and how to learn the activities connected with it. *Digital Journalism, 6*(8), 1052–1063. doi:10.1080/21670811.2018.1498295

Meijer, I. C. (2019). Journalism, audiences, and news experience. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 389–405). New York, NY: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781315167497

Meire, M., Hewett, K., Ballings, M., Kumar, V., & Van den Poel, D. (2019). The role of marketer-generated content in customer engagement marketing. *Journal of Marketing, 83*(6), 21–42. doi:10.1177/0022242919873903

Mellado, C., Humanes, M. L., Scherman, A., & Ovando, A. (2021). Do digital platforms really make a difference in content? Mapping journalistic role performance in Chilean print and online news. *Journalism, 22*(2), 358–377. doi:10.1177/1464884918792386

Min, S. J. (2020). What the twenty-first century engaged journalism can learn from the twentieth century public journalism. *Journalism Practice, 14*(5), 626–641. doi:10.1080/17512786.2020.1758188

Napoli, P. M. (2003). *Audience economics: Media institutions and the audience marketplace*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Napoli, P. M. (2011). *Audience evolution: New technologies and the transformation of media audiences*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Natow, R. S. (2019). Online qualitative data sources for federal regulatory policy studies. *American Behavioral Scientist, 63*(3), 315–332. doi:10.1177/0002764218820567

Nelson, J. L. (2018). The elusive engagement metric. *Digital Journalism, 6*(4), 528–544. doi:10.1080/21670811.2018.1445000

Nelson, J. L. (2019). The next media regime: The pursuit of "audience engagement" in journalism. *Journalism, 22*(9), 2340–2367. doi:10.1177/1464884919862375

Nelson, J. L., & Webster, J. G. (2016). Audience currencies in the age of big data. *International Journal on Media Management, 18*(1), 9–24. doi:10.1080/14241277.2016.1166430

Oeldorf-Hirsch, A. (2018). The role of engagement in learning from active and incidental news exposure on social media. *Mass Communication and Society, 21*(2), 225–247. doi:10.1080/15205436.2017.1384022

Paulussen, S. (2016). Innovation in newsrooms. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 192–206). London, UK: SAGE. doi:10.4135/9781473957909.n13

Perreault, G., & Stanfield, K. (2019). Mobile journalism as lifestyle journalism? Field theory in the integration of mobile in the newsroom and mobile journalist role conception. *Journalism Practice, 13*(3), 331–348. doi:10.1080/17512786.2018.1424021

Picard, R. G. (2011). *The economics and financing of media companies* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Fordham University Press.

Picard, R. G. (2015). *Economics of print media*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing. doi:10.4337/9780857938893.00014

Pitt, C. S., Bal, A. S., & Plangger, K. (2020). New approaches to psychographic consumer segmentation. *European Journal of Marketing, 54*(2), 305–326. doi:10.1108/EJM-01-2019-0083

Queirós, A., Faria, D., & Almeida, F. (2017). Strengths and limitations of qualitative and quantitative research methods. *European Journal of Education Studies, 3*(9), 369–387. doi:10.46827/ejes.v0i0.1017

Salaverría, R., & Gómez-Baceiredo, B. (2017). Spain. Media landscapes. *European Journalism Centre*. Retrieved from https://media landscapes.org/country/spain

Sánchez Revilla, M. A. (2021). *Estudio de la inversión publicitaria en España* [Study of advertising investment in Spain]. Madrid, Spain: Infoadex.

Schmitt, J. B., Debbelt, C. A., & Schneider, F. M. (2018). Too much information? Predictors of information overload in the context of online news exposure. *Information, Communication & Society, 21*(8), 1151–1167. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2017.1305427

Statista. (2021). *Evolución del porcentaje de individuos que leyó periódicos en España de 1997 a 2020* [Evolution of the percentage of individuals who read newspapers in Spain from 1997 to 2020]. Madrid, Spain: Statista.

Tansey, O. (2007). Process a case tracing and elite interviewing: Sampling for non-probability process tracing: Definition. *PS: Political Science & Politics, 40*(4), 765–772. doi:10.1017/S1049096507071211

Tapscott, D. (2008). *Grown up digital*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill Education.

Thurman, N. (2014). Newspaper consumption in the digital age: Measuring multi-channel audience attention and brand popularity. *Digital Journalism, 2*(2), 156–178. doi:10.1080/21670811.2013.818365

Usher, N. (2013). Al Jazeera English online: Understanding web metrics and news production when a quantified audience is not a commodified audience. *Digital Journalism, 1*(3), 335–351. doi:10.1080/21670811.2013.801690

Valida. (2018). *Boletines de circulación y lectura diarios y revistas* [Bulletins of circulation and reading of newspapers and magazines]. Retrieved from https://www.dropbox.com/s/lbg636dnhuzn6tm/Boletin Circulación y Lectura Diarios y Revistas 1°semestre 2018.pdf

Van Der Wurff, R., & Schoenbach, K. (2014). Civic and citizen demands of news media and journalists: What does the audience expect from good journalism? *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 91*(3), 433–451. doi:10.1177/1077699014538974

Viswanathan, V., Hollebeek, L. D., Malthouse, E. C., Maslowska, E., Jung Kim, S., & Xie, W. (2017). The dynamics of consumer engagement with mobile technologies. *Service Science, 9*(1), 36–49. doi:10.1287/serv.2016.0161

Wang, A. (2006). Advertising engagement: A driver of message involvement on message effects. *Journal of Advertising Research, 46*(4), 355–368. doi:10.2501/S0021849906060429

Webster, J. G. (2018). Audience behavior. In P. M. Napoli (Ed.), *Mediated communication* (pp. 91–104). Boston, MA: Gruyter.

Welbers, K., Van Atteveldt, W., Kleinnijenhuis, J., Ruigrok, N., & Schaper, J. (2016). News selection criteria in the digital age: Professional norms versus online audience metrics. *Journalism, 17*(8), 1037–1053. doi:10.1177/1464884915595474