Journalistic Multi-Skilling in the News Agencies AFP, EFE, ANSA, and ACN

Polivalencia periodística en las agencias de noticias AFP, EFE, ANSA y ACN

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This study clarifies the conditions that should be met by news agencies if they decide to hybridise their journalists to take on the roles of both photographer and camera operator. The main objective is to identify the limits of multitasking that should not be exceeded in order to prevent work overload from reducing journalists' capacity to report. To this end, the investigation includes surveys, interviews and direct observation of each of the news agencies analysed. The state news agencies in France, Spain and Italy (AFP, EFE and ANSA) value their multi-skilled staff. They regard their versatility as a virtue that ensures a greater use of technological innovation and, moreover, results in a more efficient business operation. However, these three news agencies, which constitute a benchmark in Europe, conclude that news agencies will only continue to be central to the

Este estudio enumera las condiciones que debe respetar una agencia de noticias si decide hibridar a sus periodistas para que asuman los o cios de los fotógrafos y de los operadores de cámara. Su objetivo principal es hallar los límites que no deben traspasarse para evitar que la sobrecarga de trabajo reduzca la capacidad de informar. Para ello la investigación incluye encuestas, entrevistas y la observación directa de cada una de las redacciones analizadas. Las agencias estatales de Francia, España e Italia (AFP, EFE y ANSA) valoran la polivalencia en sus trabajadores como una virtud que garantiza un mayor aprovechamiento de las innovaciones tecnológicas, que, además, desemboca en un funcionamiento empresarial más e ciente. Sin embargo, estas tres empresas de comunicación referentes en Europa, concluyen que, en el nuevo

new digital environment if they prioritise the rigorous work of their journalists above their multimedia output.

Key words: news agencies, digital journalism, multi-skilled, immediacy, quality, AFP, ANSA, EFE.

entorno digital, las agencias de noticias solo seguirán siendo imprescindibles si priorizan el trabajo riguroso de sus profesionales por encima de su producción multimedia.

Palabras clave: agencias de noticias, periodismo digital, polivalencia, inmediatez, calidad, AFP, ANSA, EFE.

News agencies are currently facing a major challenge: to lay claim to their role as essential players in the new information ecosystem.

In order to do so, agencies must be able to reconcile two almost conflicting needs, i.e. to distinguish themselves from the other organisations in the communication field by setting themselves up as a benchmark in rigorous journalism, while at the same time increasing the efficiency of their workflows to ensure their sustainability. To resolve this dilemma, it becomes crucial to make proper use of technological innovation and give news agency staff a more multi-skilled role. However, what mutations can journalists undergo without altering their essential function: to report conscientiously?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The prevailing order of the traditional communications ecosystem has ceased to exist (Castells, 2011). The end of the era of the news industry means that the media —and journalists— no longer control the news in the traditional sense (Anderson, Bell, and Shirky, 2012). In this very transition towards a new equilibrium that will define the unique and non-transferable functions of the news professional, it must also be clarified what role news agencies will have within the resulting media scene (Boyd-Barrett, 2010).

News agencies have lost their traditional role. Not only are they no longer the sole news providers, due to the proliferation of potential sources and the phenomenon of citizen journalism (Griessner, 2012), but in addition, they are forced to share the process of gatekeeping. Consumers of news now also receive information on items of interest to them through family, friends and acquaintances (Hermida *et al*., 2012). In fact, social networks now have to be taken seriously by the media as a channel for distributing their product and connecting with their audience (Paulussen *et al*., 2011).

To survive in the new ecosystem, news professionals must lay claim to their role as providers of quality output (Meyer, 2010; Palmer, 2016), based on their

commitment to checking, verifying and contextualising the facts before disseminating them (Silverman, 2014). In fact the difficulty of obtaining reliable news has become the number one reason why citizens would pay for digital content (Picard, 2013).

However, this reaffirmation must take place hand in hand with an appropriate utilisation of new technologies to help reduce production costs (Boyd-Barrett, 2010). This is an old debate: innovations enable carrying out tasks that before needed third persons (Koch, 1991; Brooks, 1997) and provide the journalist a larger control on the productive process (Wintour, 1989). However, they might increase the work load on the professionals (Cottle and Ashton, 1999). On this basis, it becomes highly relevant to examine how they hybridise their reporters, given that an overload of tasks (Fortunati *et al.*, 2009) can hinder reporters' ability to analyse (Manning, 2011), forcing them to give way to immediacy, increasing their stress level (Saltzis, 2007), and ultimately overwhelming their ability to report adequately (Scott, 2005). These drawbacks are intensified when video is involved, which unbalances multidisciplinary models that are dependent on a single reporter (Sànchez, 2015).

In addition, the decision to use more versatile journalists (Bull, 2010; Kolodzy, 2013) is taken in a context in which a growing number of media have stayed afloat by recycling information from the news agencies which results in increasingly empty newsrooms (Frijters and Velamuri, 2010). The liquidity crisis in the media sector, the loss of audiences and the diversification of platforms (Deuze, 2004) have all increased the media's excessive reliance, or dependency, on agencies (Seaton, 2003; Johnston and Forde, 2011). In terms of international news, the power of giants like the Associated Press or Reuters (Paterson, 2006) could start to threaten pluralism (McChesney, 2008; Lee, 2009), which is also under threat from new intermediaries —such as news 'aggregators'— that have emerged in the digital era (Foster, 2012).

In a nutshell, although news agencies are no longer alone in selling information to the media, they are increasingly necessary in the era of the information overload (Högerl, 2010).

This phenomenon is linked to the emergence of new technologies in the world of information (Sola Pool, 1983), which in recent years has not only changed newsrooms (Pavlik, 2001; Boczkowski, 2005), but also journalistic routines (Sylvie and Whiterspoon, 2002; Micó, 2007; Lasorsa, Lewis, and Holton 2011), the form and content of the news (DuPlessis and Li, 2006) and the working conditions of journalists (Rintala and Suolanen, 2005).

In the present context, it is absolutely essential that consumers identify the media agency as a brand that provides them with trustworthy and reliable information.

The case of the Agència Catalana de Notícies (ACN) is interesting because it is a unique case of multi-skilling in the global context (Boyd-Barret, 2010). ACN is the public news agency in Catalonia (Spain) and has dispensed with the jobs of photographer and camera operator. Its newsroom is made up of 60 journalists who write news stories but also take photographs and shoot footage of the news on which they report. Furthermore, this company is central to the formation of a

communicative space for Catalonia, that is limited by the Spanish state but has its own identity within Europe (Gifreu, 2009). The ACN journalists, who started off in 1999 and were completely hybridised from 2005, when video was included on their list of responsibilities, are a working example of multi-skilling from which to rigorously examine a matter that is often subject to prejudices.

In AFP, EFE, and ANSA, a classical structure of newsrooms segregated by different jobs (journalists, photographers, camera operators) remains. This segregation, opposite from the ACN structure, is well seen in the academic field. They understand that the three informative languages are too different from each other to be easily combined (Boczkowski, 2005). This is one of the main reasons to study the ACN model. ACN as pioneer in this path can help us to understand the evolution of this process which, to a lesser degree, has also started in AFP, EFE, and ANSA.

This debate, understanding how much the news agency journalist role changes, is really obligatory. However, it cannot be tackled only from a business perspective. An adequate absorption of technological innovations will be decisive both for guaranteeing the viability of news agencies (Boyd Barret, 2010) and to determine those functions that are exclusively of the journalist. Both factors are necessary requirements to ensure a right —inalienable in a democratic society— for citizens to receive authenticated news (Silverman, 2014). Protect this right is also immunize the agencies themselves from the danger of becoming dispensable organizations in the new ecosystem (Anderson, Bell, and Shirky 2012).

AIMS AND HYPOTHESIS

Our main aim is to define the boundaries that must be observed by news agencies who hybridise their journalists in order to avoid compromising their role within the new information environment. The main hypothesis is that work overload may block the ability to inform of multi-skilled journalists, and that is, mainly, because of the simultaneity of tasks entrusted. This paper continues the path opened by of previous studies examining the structural changes on news agencies in the new millennium (Xin, 2008).

This study is based on the premise that the definition of the reporters' role reveals a great deal about the business strategies that AFP, ANSA, and EFE —the leading news agencies in southern Europe (Hallin and Mancini, 2004)— have adopted after getting over the turbulence of the digital revolution.

To identify the requirements —or limits— that a multidisciplinary model such as that of ACN must meet, we will focus on a number of secondary aims. We will establish how much importance is attached to the training of journalists to prepare them for the new challenge of carrying out the roles of photographer and camera operator; analyse the degree of immediacy provided by the production system which is designed to be more efficient; highlight the risks of a model that can result in simultaneous assignments, and clarify what workflow can minimise the loss in quality of the audiovisual material implied by the elimination of the photography and video specialists.

METHODOLOGY

The study uses a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques, an approach which seeks reciprocal control of the findings and, in turn, neutralises the subjectivity of the authors, who are affiliated, to varying degrees, with one of the news agencies (ACN).

The qualitative approach is based on interviews with journalists from the four agencies (AFP, EFE, ANSA, and ACN) and in directly observing them in their respective workplaces.

The interviews were conducted using the "semi-structured" approach, based on a flexible script and allowing respondents to spontaneously provide information (Berger, 2000; Quivy and Campenhoudt, 2001). In total, about thirty conversations were carried out with journalists, photographers, camera operators, editors, directors, representatives, photography and video editors from the French, Spanish, Italian, and Catalan agencies.

The workplace observations at ACN and EFE took place in June 2012. However, the time spent with the journalists of these two agencies began in 2011 and was continued until the end of 2014. The visits to the headquarters of AFP (Paris) and ANSA (Rome) took place in May 2014.

For the quantitative data collection (Berger, 2000) questionnaires were completed with staff from ACN and EFE. The participation level in both companies was remarkable (95% of the 60 journalists at ACN and 65% of the 35 journalists at EFE). This comparison between the multitasking staff at ACN and specialist staff at EFE, which has maintained the traditional division of skills —journalists who write, photographers who take pictures and camera operators who video— enabled us to compare attitudes and behaviour at two opposite ends of the spectrum in a simple and up-to-date way (Harvatopoulos, Livan, and Sarnin, 1992).

The output of these two Spanish agencies has also been assessed based on documentary analysis (Jankowsky and Wester, 1993: 76) of the databases of ACN, which has an operating system that counts the number of text, audio, photo and video files produced by each journalist, and the calculation of the news generated annually by EFE.

This research, chronologically, starts by analysing in detail the multi-skilling profile of ACN, in order to determine the strengths and weaknesses of this multitasking before tackling the journalistic hybridisation in AFP, EFE or ANSA.
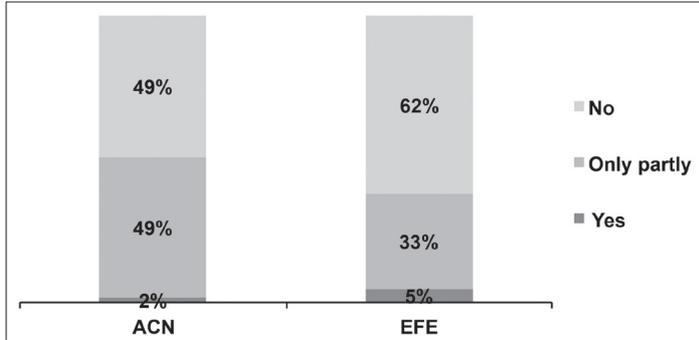
FINDINGS

Training

Many articles have discussed the future of both journalism and the skills required by journalists to succeed in the digital environment (Creech and Mendelson, 2015).

98% of the multi-skilled staff at ACN believe that the training provided by universities is inadequate to take on the work of photographers and camera op-

erators (figure 1). The vast majority of ACN staff also think that they receive inadequate initial training or refresher training from the company.

Figure 1. University Training of Journalists

EFE staff have an even stronger view that organisations do not provide all the necessary training for a multitasking model.

Both findings are interesting because multitasking becomes increasingly complicated when the journalists are missing the necessary training to give them confidence and to ensure they produce high-quality text, photography and video.

AFP and ANSA agencies, although only the latter has considered equipping journalists with cameras and video cameras, point out that responsibilities of this kind cannot be undertaken without the relevant training.[1]

Journalists who do not have the necessary knowledge of photography and video suffer from working conditions which, according to ACN but also EFE staff, are harsher than those of the specialist reporters.
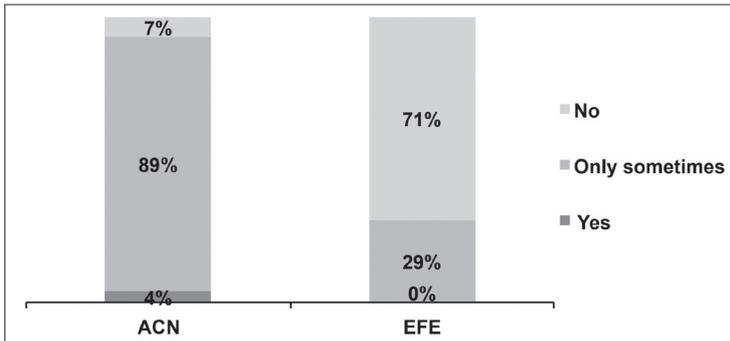
Immediacy

About five years ago, ANSA took an interest in the ACN model. They even sent a delegation to Catalonia to assess whether the model should be adopted. However, the tests they carried out to implement it produced unsatisfactory results. Behind ANSA's decision to discontinue the project, in addition to the implicit loss of quality, was the realisation that requiring their journalists to use a multi-format coverage was incompatible with the "speed of publication" expected by their customers.[2]

AFP, while not as "obsessed" with speed as they are with quality, stress that the competition between agencies is extremely tough and that images do not only need to be properly recorded, they also have to reach the audience as soon as possible.[3]

The multi-skilled journalists at ACN also admitted in the surveys that they do not feel able to report with the same quality and within the same timeframe as the journalists at EFE, who are only responsible for the story writing (figure 2).

Figure 2. Quality Drop of Information Produced by Multi-Skilled Journalists

Source: Authors.

The individuals surveyed and interviewed share the view that the model of hybrid staff, which does not prioritise quality or immediacy, is a result of a business objective to increase the efficiency of the news business. This view is also supported by the productivity of the "one man show" as shown by the documentary analysis, which found that a multi-skilled journalist publishes 3.4 written articles, 5 photographs, 3.6 audios and 1.2 videos per day. On average, ACN staff produce 250 videos annually per staff member and EFE just 13. On the other hand, there is an important distinction: an EFE writer, for example, produces twice as many written pieces of news as an ACN journalist, who is unable to write as many because the multiformat coverage requires a bigger time dedication for each news story.

In fact, the majority of staff members end up admitting that the model embodied by the ACN workforce highlights the shortage of funds that forces many media, beset by the crisis, to get rid of photographers and camera operators, the experts in two complex languages (Boczkowski, 2005).

SIMULTANEITY

Staff at both ANSA and AFP and EFE are aware that the simultaneity of tasks can interfere with their mission to report properly.

ANSA, for instance, have chosen to train their entire team of photographers for television work. Plus, their reporters have had a smartphone application installed (Aspera Client) that enables them to record short videos and send them by FTP directly from the telephone to the central editorial office. It is used in "exceptional" cases, i.e. for "highly newsworthy images",[4] but neither of the tasks places excessive demands on either the photographers or the reporters. This use of ICT assists in the rapid publishing of the images.

At AFP, journalists are "occasionally" called upon to use their telephones to record footage of particularly newsworthy events when they arrive on the scene before the camera crews. However, they have noticed that often these web clips do not end up being published if their quality is below the standard

required by the agency. The information given by the images must be "truly exceptional".[5]

90% of the staff who produce videos for AFP are VJ (video journalists). Their task is to record, edit and sometimes also do voice-over. In addition, the agency also has photographers who can record web clips of news items. Unlike ANSA, where it is a more standard practice, photographers tend to be asked to video only when there is no VJ on the scene. This is in fact a common scenario as AFP's photographers have good contacts and tend to get there first to cover the news.[6]

AFP, EFE and ANSA all take the view that news agencies should stand out as providers of truthful, reliable, and proven news. This customer confidence in news produced with the stamp of an agency stems from the knowledge that they have sent "one of their staff to find out in person if what is rumoured has really happened".[7] But how can this guarantee be kept if the reporters cannot use their five senses to understand, interpret and communicate the complexity of the event in question?

These agencies believe, more than ever before, that they need to maintain the media's confidence in them. There is an "obsession" —AFP openly use this term— about the credibility of the brand, which is protected by accurate reporting and distributing high-quality output in all formats. They are, therefore, very apprehensive about multitasking set-ups such as the one at ACN or the use of information sent in by citizens. They sum it up like this: "You cannot bring an amateur musician into a conservatory orchestra".[8]

In fact, the multi-skilled journalists at ACN highlight the simultaneity of their assignments as the main obstacle preventing their written articles, photographs and videos reaching the quality standards set by the specialists. This in turn also stops them from feeling completely satisfied with the outcome of their efforts (figure 3).

**Figure 3. Causes for Quality Drop of Multi-Skilled Journalist Work**
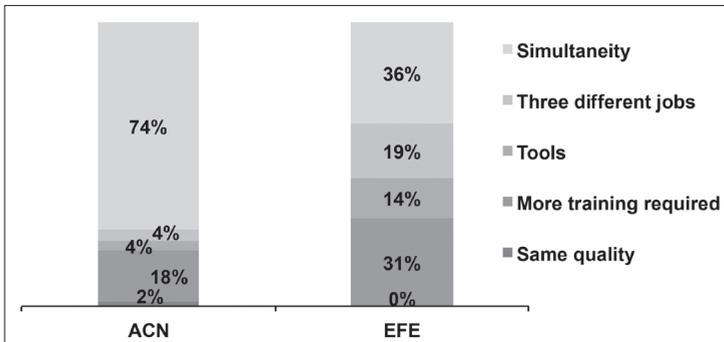
Source: Authors.

In short, ACN and EFE staff agree with those at AFP and ANSA in stating that multitasking can get in the way of what constitutes, according to the survey respondents and interviewees, the true mission of the journalist: to concentrate on

the news in order give a full account of it to the citizen (Manning, 2011). It can be said, moreover, that on most occasions, single-person newsgathering at an event for all formats becomes unsustainable, especially due to the more demanding technical skills required for video, upsetting the fragile equilibrium between quality and efficiency that is the goal of multi-skilling.

This disclosure by the multi-skilled reporters, which supports the views of the AFP, ANSA and EFE managements, and which counters the simultaneity of multitasking with a strategy that safeguards the quality of the information, is upheld by other less obvious symptoms. The technology-related skills require so much effort from the journalists that they even admit to having more difficulty in identifying new sources (figure 4) or being unable to take part in "off the records". To have writers who are able to focus on finding out more is essential to improve information obtained through unofficial sources or in more discreet conversations.

Figure 4. Is it More Difficult for Multi-Skilled Journalist Obtain New Sources?
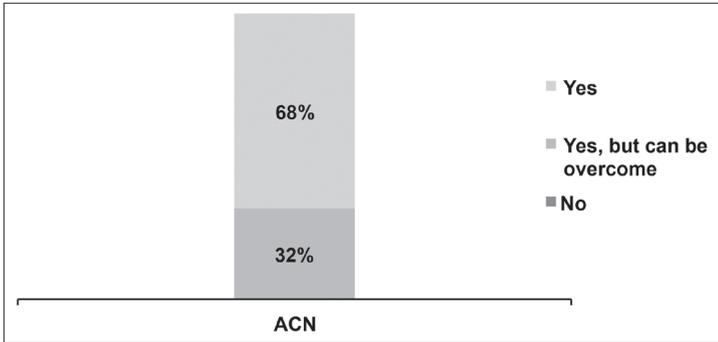
Source: Authors.

However, the prevailing view at ACN, which is more controversial at EFE, is that, provided that you avoid giving a single professional the responsibility for covering a news story in all formats, multi-skilling can be a valid cost reduction strategy (Boyd-Barrett, 2010) that is compatible with meeting the minimum quality standards that define an agency's credibility (Muro, 2012) and with due respect to the professionals in question (Díaz-Nosty, 2013), who have to check the information that is being given to the public (Silverman, 2014). However, if there are sufficient funds and the objective is to prioritise the quality and speed of reporting, photographers and camera operators are not redundant roles despite the advances in ICT.

Quality of Photographs and Videos

The companies are convinced that it is essential to thoroughly check news before publishing it in order to protect their brand. However, it is equally essential to produce top-quality audiovisual material.

The material generated by multi-skilled journalists is more vulnerable to errors because single professionals need to take care of three different media. The role of the supervisor in a multitasking structure is essential. The supervisor figure is not only a quality filter, but also he needs to provide guidance and support during the whole process to enhance journalists work.

The internet has forced the agencies "to strengthen the co-operation between text and image". The two departments previously almost "did not speak to each other" and in the process of news production the writers clearly took precedence far above the photographers.[9] At ANSA and EFE, more than at AFP, this imbalance has been redressed. But all the agencies believe that their new role is also grounded on the expertise of photographers and camera operators.

AFP, for example, was the first international agency to work in FHD, the highest screen resolution. "For the last seven years, we have produced 100% of our various products using cameras of this quality".[10]

They believe they need to set themselves apart from amateur recordings —that can even be provided by citizens using their mobile phones— and in this respect, the overload of multitasking can be an obstacle.

Surveys have shown that, according to the perceptions of journalists at ACN and EFE, a multi-skilled writer does not produce news —video, photography, or text— of the same quality as that developed by specialised reporters. 95% EFE staff and 70% of ACN staff believe that the photographs taken by a photographer are better than those taken by multidisciplinary reporters. 100% of EFE staff and 74% of ACN staff also think that the videos taken by multidisciplinary reporters are of lower quality than those of a camera operator. Finally, 81% of EFE staff have reservations regarding the written articles produced while dealing with other formats, while at ACN only 35% of staff believe that it is possible to report in the same way as specialised reporters to cover an event (figure 5).

Figure 5. Do Multi-Skilled as Good as Specialized Ones?
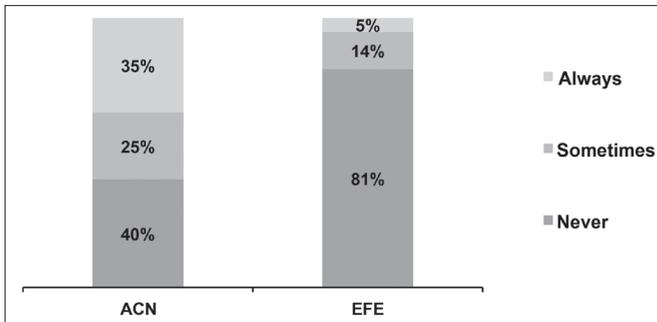
Source: Authors.

When they are questioned about the phenomenon of "citizen journalism", again respondents have similar views. They believe that no medium can afford to disregard the inexhaustible source of news (mainly visual) generated by citizens. However, this material is doubly dangerous for an agency to use. Firstly, because

it could involve selling photographs and videos that do not belong to it. Secondly, it would run the risk of distributing fraudulent material to its subscribers.

At AFP is it is "very rare" that something is published that not only has not been produced by someone on the staff but by an amateur and/or unknown author. Its news value must be unquestionable and, even so, not even those responsible for video or photographs have the authority to decide whether it may be issued. This is a decision that must be taken by the head of the newsroom.[11]

The French agency, AFP, is sure that any benefit they may obtain from the issue of citizen material is outweighed by the potential damage from handling fraudulent material. This would result in a loss of customer confidence in the company, irreparably damaging the brand and bringing into question the authenticity of its new role as guarantor of verified information.

ANSA only publishes citizen material if the author provides their full name and the place and time when they have taken the images.[12]

These agencies emphasise that, in the current context, while it is true that the number of photographers and camera operators covering the news at street level is likely to decline, photography and video editors will be increasingly needed in newsrooms. The "importance of the image gatekeeper will increase". The boom in the production of photographs and videos generated by outside sources gives an increasingly important role to the individual able to select the images to "communicate the latest news", who is able to verify their authenticity and assess whether they reach the quality standards associated with the agency's brand.[13]

CONCLUSION

AFP, EFE and ANSA are critical of the ACN concept of the multidisciplinary reporter. They do not deny that one of the keys to taking advantage of the new technological scenario is to hybridise the role of reporters by assigning them new functions. However, they are in favour of multi-skilling where it does not undermine their survival strategy: to establish themselves as suppliers of truthful, reliable, and verified news. This commitment establishes a place for them within the new digital ecosystem. In fact, it makes them indispensable. However, to achieve this, as organisations they must have the authority to change the status of a rumour and turn it into a proven fact (news).[14]

The findings of the quantitative study of this research show that ACN optimises its human resources to achieve a more efficient multiformat production in exchange for reducing the quality of written articles, photos or videos and running the risk of putting too much strain on the journalist —who may be the victim of overload—. This fact matches the perceptions found in the three organisations. On this basis, ACN's model does not convince AFP, ANSA or EFE.

The French, Spaniards and Italians take the view that they cannot rely on staff who are so overstressed by their duties that they run the risk of making mistakes that would damage the credibility of the agency. They also refer to a simple operating maxim: "A journalist cannot do everything at the same time" because then "he or she cannot do it all well".

The multi-skilled model makes the journalist a "more productive" worker from the point of view of the number of formats in which they may cover a newsworthy event, but at the same time they run the risk of putting "the soul of the trade" in jeopardy. Because "sending in information —albeit in all formats— is not necessarily the same as reporting". [15]

EFE staff sum it up as follows: they find it concerning that a journalist may be "paying more attention to the technology-related processes than what is actually being said during a press conference".[16]

On the other hand, it is accepted that in the current technological environment it does not make sense to distance writers from the work of photographers and camera operators. This could even put them in the absurd situation where the reporter misses out on highly newsworthy audiovisual material —such as a bombing or a natural disaster— that a citizen on the scene is able to capture with their mobile phone.

The guidelines followed by the three agencies to deal with this paradox have enabled us to set out below the conditions imposed by their managements on the use of ICT to hybridise their journalists.

First Condition: Multi-Skilling with Training

The company must provide the writer with sufficient training in the know-how to confidently use the camera or videocamera. This includes both the technical handling of the equipment, the editing software and, above all, the specific features of the specific journalistic languages.

Failure to do this means increased stress for the journalist and a reduction in the quality of the news material which is distributed to the media.[17]

Second Condition: Multi-Skilling with Immediacy

One of the core commitments of a news agency to its media subscribers is to pass the information to them as rapidly as possible. The use made of ICT must favour and not hinder the speedy dispatch of material.

The three companies are aware that the overall workload given to the journalists must not significantly increase the waiting time for their customers, which would seriously penalise them. In fact, ANSA's decision to abandon the adoption of the ACN model after serious consideration came on discovering that the time spent by staff to produce all the formats increased exponentially.[18]

Third Condition: Multi-Skilling without Simultaneity

Multi-skilling is highly valued in journalism when it is disassociated from the simultaneity of tasks that it can entail, and its use is limited to news stories where it can be a very valuable skill.

In other words, it is valuable to have staff who can take photographs or footage if they come across news events that "exceptionally" require it. However, this skill, that may be useful on occasions, and enables them to make use of the new

tools offered by ICT, must never hold up the essential mission of the journalist, to report.[19]

Fourth Condition: Multi-Skilling with Editors

The three agencies have video and photograph editors in their respective specialised departments for each format. These staff review the material that is sent in by the photographers and camera operators before making it available to other media. For the companies, this quality control becomes even more vital when the material has not been prepared by specialist staff. If a multi-skilled writer has taken photos or video, the images must necessarily be screened to be improved or discarded if they do not meet the standards that are expected of the EFE, ANSA or AFP brands.

To sum up, the greater efficiency offered by the ACN model indicates only that multi-skilling is a value to be pursued. However, the hybridisation of reporters is negotiable if, and only if, it is implemented after delivering the right training, if it does not delay the time of publication, if it does not compromise the journalist's ability to report properly, if it is understood as a skill that is used in "exceptional" situations and, lastly, if editors are used to screen photographs and videos before they are disseminated.

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Notes

1 Laurence Benhamou. Head of the Media Department at AFP since August 2013. Personal interview, 14 May 2014.

2 Alessio Taralletto. Assistant Head of Video at ANSA since February 2002. Personal interview, 7 May 2014.

3 Djilali Belaid. Assistant to the Video Service at AFPTV. Personal interview, 15 May 2014.

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9 Massimo Sebastiani. Editor-in-chief and Head of the ANS*A.it* website since January 2010. Personal interview, 7 May 2014.

10 Djilali Belaid. Assistant to the Video Service at AFPTV. Personal interview, 15 May 2014.

11 Djilali Belaid. Assistant to the Video Service at AFPTV. Personal interview, 15 May 2014.

12 Massimo Sebastiani. Editor-in-chief and Head of the ANSA.it website since January 2010. Personal interview, 7 May 2014.

13 Alberto Estévez. Head of Photography at EFE Catalonia since January 2003. Personal interview, 25 May 2012.

14 Alessio Taralletto. Assistant Head of Video at ANSA since February 2002. Personal interview, 7 May 2014.

15 Paco Niebla. Journalist at EFE since January 1994. Personal interview, 25 May 2012

16 Leandro Lamor. Representative of EFE in Catalonia. Personal interview, 23 May 2012.

17 Josep Molina. Chairman of the Works Council of ACN since May 2010. Personal interview, 10 May 2012.

18 Alessio Taralletto. Assistant Head of Video at ANSA since February 2002. Personal interview, 7 May 2014.

19 Laurence Benhamou. Head of the Media Department at AFP since August 2013. Personal interview, 14 May 2014.

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