

## **Between traditional and social media: News repertoires in Portugal**

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### **Abstract:**

In the study reported in this article, the diverse news media repertoires in Portugal are investigated using a Q-methodological approach. We analyse the participants' perceptions of the experienced values of the cross-media news landscape (Schrøder, 2012) and identify seven news media repertoires: *quality media lovers* (R1); *broadcast media consumers* (R2);

*television news addicts, press consumers and social media avoiders (R3); news snackers (R4); online based-media and social media addicts (R5); online newspaper lovers and radio news avoiders (R6); and television, press and social/online-based media consumers (R7).* A preference for traditional media, especially television, and increasing use of social media, constitute the salient features of the Portuguese national news repertoires.

**Keywords:** news repertoires, Q methodology, cross-media, news consumption, Portugal

The aim of this article is to describe the multiplicity of news use practices in Portugal revealed in the international Q-methodological study of news consumption, 'Cross-media news repertoires as democratic resources' (for more information, see this special issue's 'Introduction' by Nossek, Adoni, Perusko and Schrøder, 2017). In the classification of media systems proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004), Portugal is categorised in the polarised pluralist model, which also characterises other Southern European countries, such as Spain, Greece and Italy. This model features strong political control of the media, and state intervention in the media landscape as owner, regulator and financier. Thus, the media tend to be controlled by external actors (e.g. political parties, economic agents and other pressure groups) who seek to gain political influence. The instrumentality of the media, though, may be less intense in Portugal than in other Southern European countries (Hallin, 2002). This can be explained by the weaker political party culture, less ideological differentiation among mainstream parties, an aversion to media instrumentality among journalists and a will to consolidate journalistic professionalism (Figueiras, 2017).

Together, all these factors result in the distinctive evolutionary path of the Portuguese media system. Today, the media landscape in Portugal is complex, combining some original features of the polarised pluralist model (Hallin & Mancini, 2004) with a weak media market and a tradition of clientelism between the political and media systems (Figueiras & Ribeiro, 2013). However, journalistic professionalism and dependence on market mechanisms are also strong features of the Portuguese media sector (Figueiras, 2014; Figueiras, 2017). The country has a dual system of public and commercial media companies. While the state has always played an important role in the television and radio broadcasting system, commercial firms use both horizontal and vertical integration, gaining interests in television, newspapers, magazines and digital media. These media groups account for the majority of news production in Portugal, both offline and online.

## **Portuguese – a short profile**

### ***Population***

According to the most recent annual information from the National Bureau of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estatística – INE, 2017), the current resident population of Portugal is

10.309.573. Of this population, 9.809.414 live in the mainland, while the rest live in the autonomous regions of the Azores (245.283) and Madeira (254.876).

### ***Government system***

Civil liberties were restored in Portugal after a military coup in April 1974, which ended a long period of dictatorship, the so-called 'New State' (1926–1974) and the authoritarian-corporatist regime of António de Oliveira Salazar (Correia & Martins, 2006; AAVV, 2013a). Despite the turbulent post-revolutionary period (1974-1976), the successful transition to democracy by Portugal (along with Spain) is regarded as 'one of the most significant political transformations of the late twentieth century' (AAVV, 2013a: 112). Portugal is governed under the Constitution of 1976, which outlines a parliamentary democratic system with an independent judiciary (AAVV, 2013a).

In response to the country's experiences with both parliamentary instability and dictatorship, the constitution also establishes a dual presidential–parliamentary system (AAVV, 2013a). Despite an essentially ceremonial role, the president can, for instance, delay legislation through a veto or dissolve the assembly to hold elections (Freedom House, 2014). The Assembly of the Republic, Portugal's unicameral parliament, is, according to the constitution, 'the representative assembly of all Portuguese citizens' (AAVV, 2013a: 116). The Assembly of the Republic possesses legislative powers and has 230 members elected every four years through a system of proportional representation. The prime minister is elected indirectly as the leader of the largest party in the parliament or the head of a coalition of parties (AAVV, 2013a).

### ***Language***

Portuguese is the official language, while Mirandese became the second official language in 1999 but is used only locally.

### ***Portuguese society and culture***

Portugal has maintained stable borders since the thirteenth century and has never confronted the problems attendant upon linguistic diversity, contributing to the consensus on the nation's existence (Monteiro & Pinto, 2011). After the 1974 revolution, Portugal was admitted as a full member of the European Community in 1986. Despite the profound changes over the past four decades, 'citizens still feel they belong to the same country as they ever did' (Barreto, 2011: 193). According to a 2013 report submitted by the country to the Council of Europe, 'Portugal has no national minorities ... and is the only country in Europe whose frontiers as a state and as a nation have been ... coincident in the last 800 years' (AAVV, 2013b: 1). These facts are not contradicted by 'the phenomenon of the existence of immigration (...) as well as of the existence of one ethnic community, the Roma community' (AAVV, 2013b: 1).

Portuguese sociologist António Barreto emphasises the main social changes over the

past forty years in Portugal: it has one of the oldest populations in Europe, and life expectancy has increased considerably, while infant mortality has declined drastically (Barreto, 2011). A country with a traditionally high rate of emigration, Portugal has become a net recipient of migrants, firstly from Brazil and the former Portuguese colonies in the 1980s and then from Eastern and Central Europe in the late 1990s (Barreto, 2011). Although Portugal's social infrastructure approaches European standards in demographic, health and educational indicators, marked differences remain in some areas. For instance, wages fall below the European average, and educational attainment is lower than in other European countries (Barreto, 2011).

Despite the remarkable homogeneity of the Portuguese population throughout history (AAVV, 2013a), it has experienced cultural, ethnic and religious diversification, especially in the past two decades (Barreto, 2011). For instance, the Catholic Church, largely dominant in the country, coexists with other forms of Christian worship and other religions, and languages such as Creole and Slavic can be heard, especially in urban areas. 'Gone are the days of a closed, homogeneous society of controlled information, traditional culture and single ethnicity' (Barreto, 2011: 218).

### **The Portuguese mediascape**

The Portuguese mediascape remains heavily anchored in television (Martinho & Cardoso, 2017). An analysis of media consumption in Portugal reveals that digitisation persists as a critical divide (Norris, 2001), even as the limitations of physical access to infrastructure begin to lose relevance (Dijk, 2012). Indeed, data from the state media regulatory entity Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social (ERC) reveal a generational gap in a two-speed society: first, younger generations use a diversity of devices and media consumption sites. Second, media consumption by older people is characterised by greater stability, and for them, the television in the room remains the archetype of media contact (ERC, 2016).

### **Television and radio market**

The state has always played an important role in the Portuguese broadcasting sector, but its ideological influence on the public media (radio and television) has decreased since the implementation of several independence mechanisms. In addition to public television RTP's two free-to-air channels (RTP1 and RTP2), the country has two private stations (SIC and TVI), both with higher audience shares (Cardoso & Mendonça, 2013) on Digital Terrestrial Television. However, satellite and cable television have high penetration rates, with subscription television boasting more than 3.5 million users (Obercom, 2015). The time spent watching television has increased since 2002, reaching a daily average of 235 minutes (Cardoso & Mendonça, 2013). These trends help explain the television-centred business strategies of Portuguese media groups.

The Portuguese radio sector has six nationwide channels (three are public, two belong to the Catholic Church, and one is part of a large private media conglomerate). The

market has a little more than 300 local channels and two regional frequencies. The top channels are format radios with adult-oriented music, short newscasts and humour. News channels and heavily informational radios hold approximately a third of the share of the leading channels (Rádio Comercial). The local sector has an imbalance between radio stations in large and small urban areas. Among small stations, economic difficulties have led to a delocalisation trend (which is certainly not exclusive to Portugal) as stations either sell their licenses or outsource the production of newscasts (Bonixe, 2014).

### ***Digital media (online media outlets and social media)***

After the implementation (1995–1998) and boom (1999–2000) phases of online journalism in Portugal came a long period of stagnation (2001–2015) (Bastos, 2015), featuring a general trend of publications shutting down. However, in 2014, two important projects emerged in the Portuguese online media landscape: the online born newspapers *Observador* and *Expresso Diário*, the second of which was a sort of digital daily complement to the national weekly *Expresso*. In 2016, *Eco*, a new online business newspaper, was launched.

According to the results from the 2014 Information and Communication Technologies Usage survey administered by the National Bureau of Statistics (INE), 63% of the Portuguese households have a broadband Internet connection at home, and 65% of those 16–74 years old access the Internet. Thus, more than 30% of the Portuguese people do not use the Internet (Cardoso *et al.*, 2015). The highest rate of Internet usage is among those 16–24 years old, and the rate decreases with increasing age (INE, 2014; ERC, 2016). Among Internet users, more than half (57%) connect to the Internet on the move (away from home or work) using a mobile phone, smartphone, portable computer or other portable device (INE, 2014). More than 5 million people use smartphones, or 59,4% of cellular phone users in Portugal (Anacom, 2015). Over the years, use of social media as a news source has increased (66%). Facebook is by far the most important network for finding, reading, watching and sharing news. Facebook is very popular in the country: Portugal has more than four million Facebook users (Marktest, 2015).

### ***Print newspapers***

Falling numbers of national print newspapers and poor newspaper reading habits have long been major characteristics of the Portuguese media market (Correia & Martins, 2017). The press market has also faced greater economic problems due to significant declines in both readership and advertising revenue. Among weekly newspapers, *Expresso* is the oldest (1973–) and has the second-highest circulation, after the daily tabloid *Correio da Manhã* (1979–), which has the biggest print run (Eurotopics, 2017). In the specialised press, business newspapers (*Diário Económico* and *Jornal de Negócios*) and especially sport newspapers (*A Bola*, *O Jogo* and *Record*) have high circulation.

The Portuguese regional and local press possess unique characteristics within the European context. For instance, in 1997, Portugal had the largest per-capita number of

regional and local newspapers but the lowest number of copies per one thousand inhabitants—and since then, little has changed (Jerónimo, 2015). However, in recent years, the regional and local press (usually consisting of small groups of communication professionals, the church and individuals) have made important steps towards digitalisation and the professionalisation of qualifications.

### **Method**

To examine the diverse news media repertoires in Portugal, we used a mixed-method approach (Schrøder, 2012). Based on Q methodology, we carried out, recorded and transcribed 36 individual in-depth interviews in Portugal from November 2014 to February 2015. To achieve a demographically heterogeneous set of participants, thirty-six participants were recruited, based on four variables, as presented in **Table 1**.

**Table 1:** Sample distribution of Portuguese participants (N=36)

Gender	Female	18
	Male	18
Education	Primary/secondary level	12
	Intermediate level	12
	Higher education	12
Age	18–34 years	12
	35–60 years	15
	61+	9
Geography	Capital city	15
	Major city	12
	Provincial city	9

These interviews consisted of an informal conversation about ‘a day in the life with the news media’, along with a card sorting exercise and a short questionnaire on the participants’ political participation (Schrøder, 2015a). In the card sorting exercise, the participants sorted cards with thirty-six types of news media on a pyramidal grid and were encouraged to think aloud whether the news media ‘does not play a role in my life’ or ‘plays an important role in my life’. The news media cards were then positioned on a grid with a predefined number of positions, ranging from -4 to +4. (See this special section’s ‘Introduction’ by Adoni et al. for further details on the shared methodological design. See also Kobbernagel and Schrøder, 2016, for details of the mechanics of Q analysis).

The card sorts by the thirty-six participants on the pyramidal grids according to their ‘self-analyzed news media universe’ (Schrøder, 2015a), were subjected to factor analysis, which generated seven news repertoires. Using a Q-methodological approach, which enables ‘map[ping] and compar[ing] audience subjectivities while apprehending the complexity of audiences’ multifaceted responses’ (Davis & Michelle,

2011: 529–530), these seven news consumption profiles could be contextualised by ‘historical trajectories, media institutional systems, and sociocultural circumstances generally’ (Schrøder, 2012: 812).

## **Results**

The factor analysis resulted in a range of different solutions. Among these, the seven-factor solution was selected as adequate<sup>1</sup>, as it comprised all but one of the thirty-six Q sorts and accounted for 65% of the variance related to the participants’ Q-cards answers. The seven factors found, each consisting of a subset of participants sharing a particular news repertoire, present a ranked list of the most and least important thirty-six news media outlets in the lives of the respective participants.

Analysis of the news repertoires relied on orientations or categories that could allow drawing a preliminary portrait of news consumption. Next came a close examination of the ‘salient news preferences’ of the seven news repertoires, including features such as the top-five news media outlets in each repertoire; the highest-ranked print newspaper in each repertoire; national public-service television or 24-hour television news; rank of Text-TV news; the highest-ranked radio news; the highest-ranked online newspaper; the highest-ranked public-service broadcaster online; highest-ranked social media network; rank of news aggregators; and the highest-ranked international news provider (Schrøder, 2015a).

Applying factor analysis to analyse the participants’ perceptions of the experienced value of the news media platforms and formats in the cross-media landscape (Schrøder, 2012), we distinguish seven news media repertoires: *quality news media lovers* (R1); *broadcast news media consumers* (R2); *television news addicts, press consumers and social media avoiders* (R3); *news snackers* (R4); *online based news media and social media addicts* (R5); *online newspaper lovers and radio news avoiders* (R6); and *television, press and social/online-based news media consumers* (R7). Table 2 presents the most important news media outlets and the key demographics of the seven Portuguese repertoires.

In the identified news consumption repertoires, the demographic profiles of the participants (gender, age, education and location) generally appear plausible for the news media consumption patterns in question (Schrøder, 2015a). For instance, in R1 (quality news media lovers), the majority of the participants are young or middle aged, highly educated and from the capital city, while in R3 (television news addicts, press consumers and social media avoiders), the majority are male and more than 35 years old and have a low to moderate education level. From the news media mixes of the seven repertoires and their orientation to traditional and new platforms, we can infer that the R1, R4, R6 and R7 participants use versatile platforms, while the R2 and R3 participants generally employ conventional media platforms, and the R5 participants prefer online media.

**Table 2: Portuguese news media repertoires**

	<b>Top-five news media outlets</b>	<b>Key demographics</b>
<b>Quality news media lovers (R1)</b> 10 participants	National quality newspaper online; International news providers' online news; National daily quality newspaper, print; Radio news as part of a general commercial radio channel; National news magazines or weekly quality newspaper, print.	Gender balanced, age under 60 years, intermediate to higher education
<b>Broadcast news media consumers (R2)</b> 6 participants	Radio current affairs as part of a general radio channel and/or 24 hour radio news/information channel; TV news and/or current affairs on national 24-hour TV news channel; National TV news bulletin on a public service channel; Radio news as part of a general public service radio channel; News on Facebook.	Gender balanced, age under 60 years, lower education level
<b>Television news addicts, press consumers and social media avoiders (R3)</b> 7 participants	TV current affairs, serious; TV news and/or current affairs from foreign/international providers; News from born-online news media; national TV news bulletin on a commercial channel (live or delayed); National news magazines or weekly quality newspaper, print.	Male, age 35 years and older, low to intermediate education level
<b>News snackers (R4)</b> 3 participants	News via news aggregators, personalized news services, or news portals; Regional/local TV news bulletin; Radio news as part of a general commercial radio channel; TV current affairs, light; national TV news bulletin on a commercial channel.	Female, age 35 years and older, low to intermediate education level
<b>Online news media and social media addicts (R5)</b>	News on Facebook; News from born-online news media;	Female, age 35 years and older, Higher education

3 participants	News as you know it from 'the news media' received by email or SMS; News as you know it from 'the news media' distributed by online video sharing media; News via news aggregators, personalized news services, or news portals.	
<b>Online newspaper lovers and radio news avoiders (R6)</b> 2 participants	News on other social media; Free daily newspaper online; National ('or regional') tabloid newspaper online; National quality newspaper online; TV current affairs (analysis, debates, TV news magazines), light.	Female, age under 60 years, intermediate to high education level
<b>Television, press and social/online-based news media consumers (R7)</b> 4 participants	National TV news bulletin on a public service channel; National TV news bulletin on a commercial channel; Blogs with news; News on Facebook; National ('or regional') commercial broadcaster's online news.	Gender balanced, age 18–34 years, lower to intermediate education level

The results in **Table 2** are complemented by qualitative analysis of the verbal accounts of the members of each news media repertoire focusing on the dimensions of the perceived value of the media outlets with the highest scores in each profile. The notion of value is derived from people's everyday selections from the 'supermarket of news' (Schrøder, 2015b, 2015c). People choose their news media repertoire to satisfy their conscious and unconscious needs for information about what is going on in their world (Schrøder & Kobbernagel, 2010: 116). Schrøder and Kobbernagel stress that people are aiming to reap some kind of metaphorical 'interest' from their 'investment' in their news media portfolio, which usually takes the form of a highly routinised practice. The role of any news medium, therefore, must be understood in relational terms (Schrøder and Kobbernagel, 2010: 118).<sup>2</sup>

### **Quality news media lovers (R1)**

The participants in this repertoire score high on the perceived importance of news from quality media, especially online platforms, with a preference for the quality press (either print or online, daily or weekly). News on Text-TV, light and regional and local news score the lowest for perceived importance.

Analysing the day-in-the-life-with-the-news-media interviews, the participants who

are quality media lovers clearly associate the importance of the quality press with *public connection or a sense of belonging*. According to Couldry, Livingstone and Markham (2007, 2008), mediated public connections can be defined as news content or a practice of media consumption that sustains an orientation to the public world in which matters of shared concern are addressed. Schrøder (2015b, 2015c) broadens the concept to include any news content that helps maintain relations with one's networks and the wider society. This conceptualisation enables distinguishing between democratic value (content that caters to citizenship) and everyday value (content that links to personal networks past and present).

On one hand, quality newspapers show their democratic worth when they are perceived to share knowledge and to shape personal opinion about issues of common concern (e.g. national and international issues and key events). On the other hand, quality newspapers are said to also carry the value of everyday public connection related to the notion of community:

Besides my friends and other people that are important to me, *Público* [a quality newspaper] and sports newspapers can be said to be two more people who have valid opinions for me. (PT6, male, age 35–60 years, higher education, capital city)

However, the high price of quality print newspapers and newsmagazines can be a serious obstacle to the payoff from their use to the participants. Some participants said that they used to frequently buy quality newspapers but have stopped due to the price and the easier accessibility of quality online contents. Others predicted that they will stop buying print newspapers in a near future. However, one participant stressed the *technological appeal* (related, for instance, to the desire to use a given media that is easy to use and handle) linked to the *availability of time* (e.g. at holidays) of print newspapers:

I tend to read a lot more [quality] newspapers and newsmagazines on holidays. I don't take my iPad to the beach, so I usually buy print newspapers, even if I have a digital subscription. Since I have more time available, I also usually buy a print newsmagazine if it includes issues that interest me. (PT17, male, age 18–34, intermediate education level, provincial city)

### ***Broadcast news media consumers (R2)***

These participants rank broadcast traditional media (radio and television) very high: seven of the top-ten news media outlets in this repertoire belong to these types of news. News from born-online news media, international news providers' online sites and Text-TV have little perceived importance.

*Situational fit* results in perceptions of radio and television news as worthwhile as they are described as suitable for the time and place of use. This emphasises the 'clear interrelation that daily media habits and routines play in helping order familiar spaces and

providing a sense of continuity' (Peters, 2016: 19). Television news is associated with the private space of the home and can be shared with the family (Schrøder, 2015b) and consumed at a particular time, particularly during meals (breakfast, lunch and dinner). Radio news can be consumed elsewhere, but especially while driving/traveling. Both television and radio news consumption allow the simultaneous performance other tasks of everyday life:

Listening to radio news doesn't stop me from moving from work to home. The same goes with television. I can do other tasks (cook meals, work) while watching television news. This allows me different time management [than other news media]. (PT35, male, age 18–34 years, intermediate education level, provincial city)

### ***Television news addicts, press consumers and social media avoiders (R3)***

Participants in this repertoire prefer television news and/or serious current affairs programmes and print news media, particularly quality weekly newspapers and news magazines and local and regional print publications. News on social media scores the lowest. Television serious current affairs, as well as local print publications, are seen as a way to learn about the world and public issues, especially in connection with the participants' personal lives. Thus, these media carry an *everyday public-connection value dimension*:

[News analysis and debates about current affairs on television] talk about specific current issues. I watched a very interesting program about abuse of children by nannies, and I found it very important as it made me aware of something I didn't know about. For instance, I never needed a nanny for my children, but I know people who need them, and now I'm aware of these problems. (PT8, female, age 18–34 years, intermediate education level, capital city)

### ***News snackers (R4)***

The participants in this group prefer frequent news updates and diverse news genres on different platforms. Indeed, the consumption of news via news aggregators, personalised news services and news portals occupy the first rank in this repertoire. Other formats such as television light current affairs, radio news on general commercial radio stations, television national news bulletins on commercial channels and free daily print newspapers also rank high.

The participants in this repertoire expressed the importance of not spending too much time on news consumption. At the same time, though, they try to stay up-to-date and informed about current events:

I feel the need to fill my life with news flashes and constant updates. ... It is enough to give us a taste about what is going on. (PT15, female, age 35–60 years, lower education level, large city)

If there is something that awakens my interest—interesting news—I might switch to a specific news channel to learn why it is important. Afterwards, I will only watch the television again at dinner time, at 8 o'clock. I listen to the radio mainly when I'm driving. I normally listen to the 9:30 news as they are concise, short, non-tiring and cover the essentials. (PT20, female, age 61 years and older, intermediate education level, provincial city)

### ***Online-born media and social media Addicts (R5)***

News from online-born and social media rank in the top-ten preferences of this news repertoire. Press news (print and online) and radio news are not important to these participants. For them, consuming news is a social experience, encountering news on Facebook and other social media and receiving it by SMS and email, with little active searching (Swart *et al.*, 2016: 9).

I use Facebook, and I get the news through it. I have a lot of journalists and politically engaged people in my Facebook contacts, and they share news. Through these contacts, I get news and op-ed articles. It's quite rare for me to go directly to newspapers or television channels sites. It may happen, but it's quite rare actually. (PT30, female, age 35–60 years, higher education, capital city)

The high scores of online-born news sources and news online not produced by media organisations (including blogs) indicate little attachment to legacy news media brands in this repertoire (Swart *et al.*, 2016: 8).

### ***Online newspaper lovers and radio news avoiders (R6)***

Online newspapers (tabloid, light and quality newspapers) dominate the preferences of the participants in this repertoire, as well as news on social media and television. Radio news has low scores. Unlike the participants in R5, members of this group tend to consume news proactively rather than in a laid-back mode (Swart *et al.*, 2016: 8). They prefer to visit newspapers' websites and apps using multiple devices (e.g. computers, tablets and smartphones) to look up more information on news that interests them. The *dimension of everyday public connection* makes the proactive news-consumption mode worthwhile for this participant, who is a biologist:

News about science is very important because sometimes it can be the starting point for scientific research. I look up all information in any possible way to find out more and develop what I already know. (PT14, female, age 35–60 years, higher education, large city)

### ***Television, press and social/online-based media consumers (R7)***

The participants in this group display similar preferences as R3 (television news and print news media, especially local and regional publications), but differ in their strong reliance on social and online-based media, especially blogs, news on Facebook and news distributed by online video-sharing media. Professional and party-political magazines rank at the bottom of their preferences.

I have more time available on the weekends, and that's when I read magazines. During the week, I only read the news online, and I take time to read the news in a coffee shop as that is where I have breakfast on the weekends. Or even during the week, if I am at home and have nothing much to do, I can read a newspaper, or I read the news online instead. (PT9, male, age 18–34 years, lower education level, provincial city)

However, the same participant stressed that consumption of television news may depend on whether significant others use it frequently, which constitutes a *normative pressure* (practices in conformity with social norms and one's surroundings):

I watch the television news bulletin as my parents like to watch it during meals. If I lived by myself, I probably wouldn't do that. (PT9, male, age 18–34 years, lower education level, provincial city)

### **Final remarks**

The mapping of these seven news repertoires (the highest number of repertoires among the countries and regions in the international Q study, along with Flanders) reveals a tendency for news use practices in Portugal to be multiple and diverse. The data consistently portray a moment of change, with the emergence of new daily practices and media consumption spaces associated with the progressive dissemination of mobile technologies, convergence, customisation and reconfiguration of the role of users. A hybridisation of media consumption profiles has occurred, in which the Internet and mobile platforms are becoming more salient, making encounters with information more ubiquitous and complex. Nevertheless, the narrative of the technological vortex is clearly inadequate for the reality in which traditional media play a dominant role. This study also reinforces an awareness that the formation of media repertoires is a complex process deeply linked to the practices and routines of everyday life and the processes of value perception (Schrøder, 2012).

The preferences for information consumption reveal the importance of traditional media, particularly television. This finding accords strongly with the results of other news consumption studies and audience research in Portugal (Rebelo, 2008; Cardoso *et al.*, 2015; Obercom, 2015). Together, the data help explain why the strategy of the largest Portuguese media groups centres on the television business and why this sector of activity is crucial for companies to gain scale. Also, considering that social media are integrated into the daily routines of many Portuguese, the data reveal that these uses include a more inadvertent consumption of information.

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## Notes:

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<sup>1</sup> See Kobbernagel and Schrøder (2016: 13–14) for a more detailed explanation of the factor analysis solutions.

<sup>2</sup> The qualitative interviews were analyzed according to an interpretive matrix based on the notion of 'perceived worthwhileness' (see the Introduction to this special issue by Adoni et al.).