ONLINE NEWSPAPERS' VISUAL CHARACTER AND PERCEPTIONS OF CREDIBILITY

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Master of Arts

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis or dissertation entitled

ONLINE NEWSPAPERS' VISUAL CHARACTER

AND PERCEPTIONS OF CREDIBILITY

presented by RICHARD F. SHAW, a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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DEDICATIONS

To those from my PAST, for their nurturing and faith in my endeavors,

... my father, Frank G. Shaw

... my mother, Margaret E. Shaw

To the PRESENT, for her enduring love and support during my graduate experience,

... my best friend and devoted wife of 25-plus years, Carol A. Shaw

To my two FUTURE scholars, in hopes of inspiring their dreams and aspirations,

... my son, Russley F. Shaw

... my daughter, Chaney D. Shaw

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ONLINE NEWSPAPERS' VISUAL CHARACTER AND PERCEPTIONS OF CREDIBILITY

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ABSTRACT

Newspapers rely on content-based documentary photography to visually communicate current news events. As circulations declined in the mid-1980s, media owners persuaded editors into mixing traditional hard news on their front pages with reader-friendly soft news features. Content-based visual journalism was challenged by the encroachment of visual fluff, altering the character projected to readers.

Today, newspapers struggle to evolve into online "news organizations" and visual journalism competes with entertainment, advertising, and marketing to attract viewers.

The central question for the future is, will the marketing pressure continue to dilute visual journalism and overload viewers with visual distractions? And, how will design and organization influence the viewers' perception of credibility?

Through a series of elicitation interviews, this research examined how the visual choices that online newspapers make — their "visual character" — influence audience perceptions of news credibility. The responses showed that readers' perceptions of

credibility are influenced by the visual content on a newspaper Web site. The study participants gauged credibility based on factors like photography use, competing advertising, and design organization. The study also found that linking visual branding to the newspaper print version could add to credibility.

INTRODUCTION Goals of the Study

In the media today, news and information are saturating the Internet, networks, and cable to the point that audiences, and the profits associated with them, have become fragmented. The economic results within the past few years prove that the pressure is even more perilous for local newspapers. In the 1980s, newspaper circulation began to slide, a trend that has only deepened. The Newspaper Association of America ¹ released circulation figures for 2008 that showed subscriptions were down an average of 4.2 percent from the same period a year ago for both daily and Sunday circulations. These percentages are confirmed by the PEW Project for Excellence in Journalism ² that also showed a comparable 4.6 percent decline for dailies and 4.8 percent for Sunday editions during the six months ending September 30, 2008. The plummeting circulation figures have forced the closure of many newspapers. Between 2005 and 2007, more than two percent of American newspaper stopped publishing and the global economic downturn of 2008 exacerbated the rate of closures, as *The Rocky Mountain News* became the poster child for closures in 2009.

Since 2006, Web sites have become the primary news source for regular users of the Internet. According the PEW Internet and American Life Project³, 71 percent of Internet users go online for news during their average day, while only 40 percent rely on local newspapers.

In the two decades prior to this circulation freefall, CEOs and publishers demanded that newspapers try to rebuild readership, attract a younger audience, and

make more money. Editors began providing readers with a lighter "mix" on newspaper front pages by selecting soft news, bulleted briefs, personality features, and news-you-can-use items, while many traditional journalists critically pointed toward a downward spiral of news quality. Media scholars such as Leonard Downie and Robert Kaiser argued that the profit-making demands of corporate media were destined to bring traditional journalism to its lowest common denominator.

During this period, the line between traditional journalism and soft news continue to blur with newspaper front pages. Media scholars such as John Zaller alerted the journalism profession to this trend and offered a distinction between hard news — "information about current public affairs and government topics" and soft news — "information that is either personally useful or merely entertaining."⁵

In this first decade of the new millennium, shifting reader habits and advancing technology has the potential to threaten journalism credibility. And some media scholars encourage that while these factors are influencing the work of journalists, it is nothing new to the industry. From typesetting to Web publishing and from bulky 4x5 film cameras to handheld digital video recorders, newsrooms have always confronted the challenges and harnessed the technology to improve journalistic credibility. According to Mark Deuze: "Technology is not an independent factor influencing the work of journalists from the 'outside', but rather must be seen in terms of its implementation, and therefore how it extends and amplifies previous ways of doing things." 6

Electronic visual journalism is entering an era of extraordinary promises; free of the constraints of both newsprint and darkroom chemicals. What brings promise also brings a threat, as the Internet has removed the gatekeeper's role, allowing advocacy

organizations and "infotainment" messages to pose as credible sources of news and information.

"The passing over of media gatekeeping may bring threats as well as opportunities in terms of media credibility. Even though the World Wide Web is being used as the most efficient medium for organizations, the online information posted by organizations brings media credibility issues."

An additional challenge is the bombardment of visual entertainment clutter. This poses a perilous atmosphere for visual journalism attempting to provide a documentary beacon. Research of online advertising finds that audience' perceptions of a high level of Web page "clutter" results in a perception of lower-quality editorial content. This contributes a new dimension for news organizations as they converge from ink impressions to online pixels. In a 1987 study, John Newhagen and Clifford Nass argued that while "newspapers are regarded as a serious news medium, ... the Internet environment is not solely devoted to news. Thus, the 'entertainment' dimension must be considered when print and online newspapers are compared."

Visual Journalism to Visual Fluff

From the first photograph published in a newspaper in 1880 to the flicker of light from a television set in the early 1940s, the mass media recognized the appeal of visual communication to inform and gain the attention of readers and viewers.

In the early years of American journalism, editors judged news content on fundamental journalistic principles of events and issues that affected the lives of citizens. Throughout the 1960s and '70s, advances in graphic software made it practical and convenient for visual journalism to become a primary factor in news presentations. And

in our society today, it could be argued that visceral reactions to visual stimuli account for a majority of an audience's retention.

Just as verbal journalism *tells* information, visual journalism *shows* information. So the definitions that Zaller defines for hard and soft news similarly applies to visual content. This research thesis applies Zaller's definitions of "hard" and "soft" to the arena of visual journalism. The term "visual journalism" is defined as news content that utilizes comparative data for graphics or geographic proximity for maps; photojournalism that documents current events and social trends; and Web page design that serves an informational function. The antithesis is "visual fluff," defined as visual elements such as photographic icons, fictional illustrations, file images, or artistic typography that provide minimal news content or information.

On a spectrum from news to fluff, each newspaper presents, what might be termed, "visual character" or a "visual personality." These visual characteristics present readers with a visceral personality that comes from a variety of factors — the content of informational graphics and photojournalism; the use of icons and logos; the size display of photography; the font and weight of typography; the amount or lack of white space as an organizational tool; and the overall design sophistication to serve readers with a logical hierarchy.

The research question for this study asked: Does an online news organization's visual character, in regards to the content and quality of art elements, influence audience perceptions of credibility? In an attempt to answer this question, the study explored how audience perceptions of credibility differ when presented with newspaper Web sites that present contrasting visual personalities. This research question hit a core contradiction

within American journalism — the need for a free press to sustain a democratic society, and the survival of a commercial product within a market-based economy. The results from this study argued that a newspaper's online visual personality or character, comprised of content and presentation, defines a news organization's credibility.

This research thesis employed a qualitative methodology, using visual elicitation with a select group of newsreaders as they compared and contrasted a selection of news.

Web site home pages and gauged the sites' visual personalities.

The research question was affected by three principle media theories – framing / agenda setting, reception, and credibility. Editors direct and select visual content (framing and agenda setting) that reflects their own news judgments or reflects perceived reader interests based on focus groups and market research. In turn, the audience then places (reception) a value (credibility) on the news organization. It should be noted that the majority of previous credibility studies were based on the content of written stories. As of this research, there are very few studies that link to visual presentation and journalistic content, yet connections are possible. Therefore, this study examined and interpolated previous research data and relates those findings to visual trends.

The review of past scholarly literature also examined related topics that are associated with visual content perceptions and present a context for the research. There were numerous works that defined the trend of soft news stories and mountains of laboratory studies that tracked reader eye movements. Yet again, as of this research study there is limited research literature that examined visual news content in relation to reader perceptions of news credibility.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY The Visual Agenda and Credibility Reception

News media in the United States are at contradictory purposes. On the one hand, the constitution provides for a free and open press in this democratic society to act as the "fourth estate" — to advocate and report on issues without influence or bias. In contrast, news organizations are corporate entities in a capitalistic society and expected to earn a profit in the free marketplace to survive. These contradictory goals influence traditional news judgments and affect news content hierarchy. This contradiction also affects the visual packaging of the news, as owners and journalists each play a theoretical role shaping the visual character that each news organization reflects to it online audience.

This research examined the question through three theoretical frameworks, including agenda-setting, reception, and credibility concepts. As mentioned earlier, media theories traditionally apply to the written content of news stories. Yet these theories also may pertain to visual content and to the journalists who design pages, make photographs, or produce news graphics.

Framing and Agenda Setting

News organizations recognize that visual influences have become more complex with greater saturation and competition. Frame analysis and agenda setting are crucial aspects for any study that contrasts news values with competitive marketing. For example, a framing theory certainly applies to selecting a "mix" of reader-interest items, traditional news, and soft features to serve as a reflection of the day's current events.

In his study of frame analysis in 1974, researcher Erving Goffman argued that signals created with one perspective could be interpreted with a different or changed meaning by another receiver. He defined framing keys as a

"... set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else." 10

Goffman's definition was expanded in the 1990, when Robert Entman applied the theory to media studies.

"To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment and recommendation for the item described."

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Framing effects dovetail with agenda setting. Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald E. Shaw put forward the notion that the mass media determines what topics to spotlight and therefore influenced the perceived value of certain topics. 12

Framing effects and agenda setting theories apply to visual content and the journalists who serve as page designers, photojournalists, photo editors, and news graphic artists. From the various stories available to a news organization each day, editors often rely on stories that have the most visual potential to serve as their "centerpiece" — the dominant visual package or element — for their online home page or printed front page. And as editors rank their top stories based on news value, marketing pressures also come into play when selecting stories for display due to their eye appeal. Through visual agenda setting, these softer topics are thus elevated and a given story may gain greater prominence from the readers' viewpoint.

Reception / Reader-Response

With these agenda-setting pressures, the question remains: How do audiences interpret contrasting visual messages and personalities, and how do visual elements affect credibility question? Also identified as reader-response theory, audience interpretation and reception began with the work of English professor Wolfgang Iser, who studied the interaction between the content of text and what the reader actually comprehended. "The work has two poles, which we might call the artistic and the aesthetic: the artistic pole is the author's text and the aesthetic is the realization accomplished by the reader." He explained the notion that the four different perspectives — the narrator, the plot, the characters, and the fictitious reader — could manipulate the focus of the reader.

Credibility

The study of credibility began in the 1960s, as media scholars began to identify and explicate the concept. Researchers Carl I. Hovland identified two primary components as trustworthiness and expertise, followed by a wider definition from Raymond S.H. Lee and others using factors such as knowledge, accuracy, fairness, and completeness.¹⁴

This media theory defined that audience perceptions of news coverage has a direct bearing on the selection of particular news vehicle. Media-use research conducted in 2002 by Christopher Beaudoin and Esther Thorson found that the "measures of news coverage credibility are the central cog in the determination of news media use."

"In other words, a person views a product such as news coverage in terms of the four antecedent characteristics and, with that understanding, moves ahead to form a decision of the overall quality of a branded outlet and its coverage. In the

analysis undertaken here, this cognitive decision appears to be the final bridge to news use."¹⁵

Prior to the proliferation of news Web sites, research showed that newspapers held the highest credibility perceptions among all news media. ¹⁶ Schweiger's research found that perceptions among readers "rated newspapers as more credible than online news or television. Online news, however, was rated more credible than television." ¹⁷

So it is no surprise that as newspapers evolve into online news organizations, editors wanted to assure that reader perceptions of credibility followed from print to online. This may prove to be a critical step for newspapers since online news does not hold the same credibility rating as newspapers. Andrew Flanagin and Miriam Metzger¹⁸ researched perceptions of online media credibility and found that the Internet was as reputable as other news media, but not as credible as newspapers. Confirming this, Richard Petty and John Cacioppo's study on perceptions of trustworthiness in news sources found that "information from a more reputable source is perceived as more trustworthy than information from an ambiguous or less reputable media source."

Credibility was the primary theoretical construct, as this research question attempted to define reader perceptions of news value, objectivity, and depth based on news organizations' visual presentation.

RATIONALE Lessons from Print May Apply Online

This research is vital to the future of journalism because visual influences affect the perceived character and personality of an online newspaper. Using data from the visual elicitation provided a valuable benchmark to gauge how visual journalism supports or dilutes online news credibility. The study identified key visual elements routinely used in Web design that affect audience perceptions of news credibility.

As newspapers evolve online, it is crucial to understand how readers judge the personality of a newspaper's Web site based on use of color, graphics, photographs, and design. Also it is essential to recognize if newspaper Web sites can harness a visual identity that will reflect their community and will build audience credibility. By employing this methodology, the goal of this research was to define the characteristics of visual journalism and identify the current context of how these elements can swing from newsy, informational, and inquisitive to soft, feature, and boosterism. In addition this visual research hoped to identify what content readers seek from a news sources, why readers respond to different visual stimulation, and how visual journalism plays a role in defining news quality and credibility.

Newspapers determine their journalistic standards and set the bar to provide quality news reporting and editing for both their print and online products. These standards build a foundation of credibility among readers. And visual journalism content plays an essential role in determining news organizations' "visual character" and a reader's visceral perception of overall quality and authority.

It is known that during the past two decades, many newspapers adopted reader-friendly personalities with soft, feature-oriented content in an effort to reverse declining circulation. During that era, technological advances in design software offered newspapers a visual tool that could be employed toward multiple meanings – one as a creative and efficient way to present the news, and another to adorn the page for marketing purposes.

The concern is whether these past trends will continue as newspapers develop and evolve their online products. Will news editors and visual journalists build news Web sites founded on traditional journalistic principles, or will the pressures of commercialization compromise news content in favor of popularism?

Currently there is minimal research that evaluates reader reception of visual journalism online and how the visual character of a newspaper Web site affects perceptions of credibility. This research was an initial step to help identify those factors of influence.

REVEW OF LITERATURE The Evolution and Influence of News Design

It should be noted that after a thorough research of scholarly literature, the specific research question regarding how the visual personalities of online newspapers affect and influence perceptions of credibility has not been previously researched. Therefore this review relied on studies that intersect key themes such as research on the effects of soft news, the use of color, the roles of visual editors, and the effects of news credibility. This report reviewed past trends of newspaper front pages that relied on soft news to attract reader interest. The review examined how visual communication gained influence in newsrooms and studied the debate among designers over form and function. This literature review provided a definition for quality journalism and looked at the impact *USA Today* had on visual trends. The review was based on newspaper studies for their content, because this research intended to show how newspapers' traditional values were carried out through their adaptation on the Web. The study did not attempt to use Internet-based news studies because, as yet, the depth of research on journalism Web credibility was not sufficient to study content-based visual journalism.

Shifting News Standards

As newspaper circulations began to show a steep decline from the 1980s through the early 2000s, owners cut newsprint space and newsroom personnel in an attempt to boost profit margins. Publishers also began to pressure newsrooms to make their content more marketable.

Communication leaders and scholars recognized the changing trend within all news media away from traditional hard news, such as government or international news, toward soft, more feature-oriented content.²⁰ According to research by respected media scholar Thomas Patterson, soft news stories increased "from less than 35 percent of all stories in 1980 to roughly 50 percent" in 2000.²¹ Newspapers labeled this concept as "providing a mix" of content, as editors routinely added features, profiles, and reader service tidbit to their pages.

Author Kevin Barnhurst lamented the changing American newspaper and its role to inform the public.

"Something significant has happened to newspapers, and it has principally to do with the scale of things. What these assumptions of writers, artists, and researchers have done, bit by bit, is dismantle the newspaper from its native, expressive form. You could probably fit the contents of two or three contemporary front pages onto one front page of the Daily Planet."²²

Then as now, newspapers are confronted with a dilemma — should the front page provide news that is important to community interests or should it showcase material that will attract readers' attention? Is it even possible to do both? Patterson was skeptical and argued "soft news and critical journalism are weakening the foundation of democracy by diminishing the public's information about public affairs and its interest in politics." 23

A content analysis contrasted the changes in front page content from 1986 to 1993. The study by Janet A. Bridges and Lamar W. Bridges²⁴ specifically looked at the effects of hard news versus "reader friendly" content and examined the economic impact of declining readership. Their research showed that during this period there was little difference in the space devoted between hard news and more local or "reader relevant" news. But the research identified a trend that the proximity of textual content, or display

on the page, showed an increase of about four percentage points, which they identify as "statistically significant."

In the 1980s, newspaper content changes affected how the material was presented and designed. Stories that, in the beginning, were crafted shorter soon became summary descriptions, and eventually single sentence teasers. These teasers became known as "entry points," a presentation style incorporating small art icons with the teaser to enable the reader to quickly scan items of interest.²⁵

Enter the Visual Experts

Early newspaper front pages were not considered eye-catching. Pages presented a rigid and gray personality that editors felt reflected a more credible personality.

Photojournalists, graphic artists and page layout editors (the forerunners to designers)

were considered technical services and purely secondary roles in the newsroom.²⁶

It was not until the 1960s that newspapers began to feel the visual pressure from their news rivals in television. While many of the graphic limitations were technical in nature, initially newspaper editors resisted any increased emphasis on visual communication that might symbolize an association with television. According to an article by Lynne Cooke,

"For newspaper editors, adopting any part of the visual style that was associated with television news would have meant abandoning 'serious journalism' and embracing the sensational. Attention to design details by newspaper editors would have been equated with a lack of concern regarding the integrity of the newspaper's content."²⁷

Within the past two decades, newsrooms have grown to acknowledge the impact that visual journalism can offer for the print media. Page designers, graphics artists, and

photo editors play pivotal roles in shaping newspaper front pages. Their goal is to provide readers with a marriage of words and images that form a complete package reflecting the news events of the day. As news page design matured, the visual journalists who directed the front pages often came from three broad backgrounds. Individuals from art and commercial design schools showed an eye for sophistication and detail, but the newspaper ran the risk of letting visual flourishes take precedence over journalistic content. Computer technician were efficient with the technology and fast with the mouse, but the newspaper could end up with predictable front pages that use the same formula day to day. And a third pool was at the copy desk, in hopes of converting word editors into designers.

As an example of design desk structures in the early 2000s, these three representative newspapers reflected a cross-section of specialized experience. *The Sacramento Bee's* front-page design team consisted of one person with photo editing background and two with news editing backgrounds. At the *Arizona Republic* in Phoenix, three members were from news editing and a fourth from the computer technology. At the *Hartford Courant* two artists and one news editor formed the front-page design desk. 28

These three examples demonstrated that design departments were not necessarily comprised of journalism school graduates. With sophisticated software and layout templates, art school graduates or computer science technicians can build front pages.²⁹

There were editors who believed effective communication could be achieved through application of computer design programs and the right technician. According to Michael Griffin,

"This bias leads to the teaching of technology rather than ideas and techniques. This technicist and industrial emphasis has failed to address the role of image making practices in the mass media as a whole. It fails to recognize the centrality of visual communication in modern day mass communication." 30

A 2003 study by Sandra H. Utt and Steve Pasternack³¹ demonstrated the growth of non-journalism designers in newsrooms. One of their research questions found that the number of "front pages designed by someone with journalism degree," decreased from 92.8 percent in 1993 to 70.5 percent in 2002.

This confluence of news and art forced some newsrooms to challenge the journalistic norms that content should drive the front-page design — in other words, form follows function. And a key factor relied on the status of visual journalists in the management structure.

During a series of interviews with newspaper visual managers at a five-day conference, Wilson Lowery observed that most visual leaders in the newsrooms felt that being accepted as a journalist was critical to both their respect and success.

"Following the norms of good journalism meant reining in artistic expression for its own sake. Visual journalists were also concerned with portraying themselves as journalists in the newsroom. The norms of journalism were embraced at least as much for the stature they provide in the newsroom as for their traditional guiding principles (objectivity, accuracy, etc.)."32

The Influence of Visual Character

Today's visual philosophy of the newspaper's printed front page and their online home page, is significant in determining the organization's "character." Establishing a branding personality falls to the executive editors and managing editors who recruit and positioning their visual leaders. For example, a news organization that presents a

credible and newsworthy personality can have an effective presentation that coordinates the news stories with visual impact. And most importantly, when the visuals and textual content works together, readers are rewarded with a greater understanding of the complexity of the story.

As the visual flexibility of news page designs became more sophisticated in the 1990s, designers often relied on the colloquialism, "less is more," to guide their presentation approach. Yet marketing pressures gradually forced front pages to add more design elements. And news designers aligned in two philosophical camps — one believed in a vibrant visual personality, and the other argued the approach amounted to visual sensory overload and diluted content reception.

Earlier readership surveys found that subjects approve of elegant design features on front pages including dominant photographic play, informational graphics, and reference teasers to inside stories. Research also showed that the use of four-color process to be significantly effective at capturing reader attention.³³ Furthermore, newspapers that use color liberally were not perceived to be any less accurate, professional, or responsible than newspapers that did not use color.³⁴

Previous research showed that visual influence also can affect the perceived credibility of a newspaper. Readers judged the character of a newspaper based on use of color, graphics, photographs and design, and newspapers attempted to reflect their community based on this visual identity. The characteristics showed a spectrum from newsy, informational, and inquisitive to soft, feature, and boosterism.

According to research by Susan E. Middlestadt and Kevin G. Barnhurst, even subtle design distinctions such as whether a news page is laid out horizontally or vertically had a significant shift in perceived content.

"This study provides an initial attempt to operationalize the distinctions news professionals make between vertical and horizontal layouts and between hard news and human interest articles. The results are especially noteworthy because the design variable (the horizontal or vertical form of the layout) influenced the perceived content of communication." 35

Utt and Pasternack examined how visual decisions can influence the front-page hierarchy and the role of the visual journalist in making those determinations. They found that photographs and other visual components determine the structure of the front page at 46.9 percent of the newspapers, while news content drives the page at 46.2 percent.

"For example, at a paper that has a strong photo editor, he/she will determine all design elements, including story count, but the first decision is the size and placement of the dominant photo; therefore, visuals tend to determine the look of the front page. And at a paper that has a strong news editor, he/she will determine the lead story, its length and placement; therefore, news tends to determine the look of the front page." 36

When trusted with the responsibility of the front page, designers not only became accountable for establishing the news hierarchy and visual appeal, but also gained a substantial interest in determining the newspaper's personality. So, decisions on whether a visual element contains relevant content or is simply window dressing became critical to the reader's perception of the newspaper. For example, newspapers that used feature photographs on their front pages were rated in surveys as being more soft news oriented than papers that use live news images. In fact, studies showed that the use of soft news

photographs tends to influence judgments about the newspaper more than the overall design.³⁷

Furthermore studies found a growing preference among editors toward softer visuals on front pages. In their research, Utt and Pasternack³⁸ asked editors whether their front page lead photographs were tied as a package to a front-page story, or were standalone items that were not connected to content on front pages or inside pages. Their work showed that "94.1 percent of the newspapers used the dominant photograph more than 50 percent of the time as a stand-alone item without a story or an inside reference."

This trend did not suggest the ideal marriage of content and aesthetics. Instead the influence of artists and designers in some newsrooms was following a commercial urgency to sell the newspaper based largely on its vibrancy in the marketplace. Visual decisions on front pages were being dovetailed with the overall content philosophy toward soft news and reader-service stories based on reader interest.

"But as America's front pages continue to contain less text and more and more charts, there is growing concern regarding graphics which may look terrific but which are misleading, overly complex, hard to read or even inaccurate," said Utt and Pasternack.³⁹

The USA Today Effect

In 1983, the Gannett media conglomerate began publishing the national newspaper *USA Today's* with a format based on a dynamic presentation incorporating short stories, a mix of news/feature content against a vibrant backdrop designed with colorful "entry points" and manufactured visuals.

In his examination of the impact of *USA Today* innovations, author Robert A. Logan noted,

"... stories are played up or down not because of their inherent importance but based on the basis of their potential for jazzy graphics or offbeat features. It misses some important stories entirely and slights others. Even when the newspaper emphasized an impending crisis, when the actual event occurs it may overlook it or play it as a minor item, as if the paper had as short attention span as it assumes the readers have."40

In the visual arena, *USA Today* became noted for manufacturing graphic and art devices to provide visual impact on its front page. Many critics contended that the visual presentation is excessively designed and based on sellability rather than news content. "Overformatting is a key ethical issue to newspaper designers because the essence of responsible design is to enable news rather than set design principles to determine the layout of news pages."

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USA Today's market-oriented form of editing permeated the industry and some publishers encouraged similar practices and even directed imitation. Scholars examined whether these changes created a conflict of interest in the drive for profits over news content.

Researcher George Albert Gladney's 1993⁴² study of 230 of the largest daily newspapers in the nation, showed a direct correlation between newspapers that imitated the content and form of *USA Today* and their motive for profits. The study identified adopters — those newspapers that were heavily influenced by the *USA Today* format, and nonadopters — newspaper that strongly resisted that direction. In addition to the newspapers' text, the study measured the use and content of color, photographs, graphics, and other visual elements labeled as trivia/fluff.

One of the survey questions asked newspapers whether they produced their front page to reflect the important news or reflect reader interest. The findings showed that adopters were significantly more likely to reflect reader interest than nonadopters. Furthermore, another question gauged if the content/form change was motivated primarily by profit. The results reflect that adopter newspapers were significantly motivated by profit concerns, while nonadopter papers were less likely to be driven by profits.

The impact of *USA Today* revolutionized the print media industry and influenced the visual personality of start-up newspapers. For example in 2002, the *Chicago Tribune*-owned tabloid *Red Eye* began publication to target the youth market with entertaining content and flashy visual presentation. The visual format incorporated photo-manipulated pages and graphic-driven boxes.

Visual Influence from Other Media

USA Today was not the sole trendsetter of visual fluff within American news media. Other media influenced editors, primarily television which had always been a huge contributor to visual communication techniques.

The broadcast media began using soft visual content and "scannable" presentation techniques long before print media. Research showed that informational content on television news was cut for more teasers, graphic effects and correspondent introductions. A trend similar to newspaper entry points, broadcast news introduced the "command center" backdrop for the anchors, complete with multiple video monitors that gave the appearance of an active newsroom. Another television phenomenon was

termed "videographic televisuality," which relied on eye-catching technology and swooping logos during broadcasts. 45

The news media shift to the online platforms was a harbinger of Marshall McLuhan's concept of the "global village." His media studies theory foretold that the average citizen would be bombarded by an onslaught of media messages in the new information age. And as a result of this onslaught, citizens would seek ways to exclude and filter information. McLuhan's theory certainly pertains to visual influences online, as the use of vibrant techniques that lack content appears to be spreading to newspapers' online version.

Visual personality and visual sensory overload are practical considerations as news organizations develop online publications. In research on Internet trends, Li Xigen⁴⁷ suggested that "eye-catching graphics on the Web page supports the notion that a shift from newspaper convention is unfolding in the Internet newspaper." The study noted that *The New York Times* site reflects a clean organization, while *USA Today* adopts a more graphic home page. The findings seemed to reflect the personality of their parent print products. "Like its printed version, *USA Today* used more striking graphics on its page (home page) than *The New York Times* and *Washington Post*."

Research in advertising referred to the "overload theory" as an informational processing approach that viewed the impact of ad clutter on the consumers' ability to process advertising messages. According to a 1984 research study on brand choice by Walter Schneider , the "overload theory proposed that when an individual is overloaded with too many advertisements at one time, the absorption of one piece of information will be at the expense of another piece of information" More recent studies found this theory

of negative response inconclusive and research results were inconsistent for information overload effects on message processing. **50**

Journalistic Quality and Visual Content

The voluminous research dedicated to issues such as news quality and credibility is not surprising. If citizens lose their respect for quality reporting, then the media's role to inform the citizenry and monitor the government begins to erode. In her study of media credibility, Cecilie Gaziano warned, "Decreased public trust also can lead to diminished freedom of the press and can threaten the economic health of some media." 51

Research identified three significant factors that link quality journalism with successful visual communication. First, editors should recognize that quality matters and is still a valuable product to readers. Next, editors should not underestimate the value of strong visual content with readers. And third, in the hands of a visual journalist who can balance content and aesthetics, the resulting product will have both substance and visual appeal.

A 2004 study examined whether news quality matters in U.S. newspapers and how the profit motive among the media companies conflicted with its journalism. The Pulitzer Prize traditionally is the benchmark to define quality journalism in the newspaper industry. Plus it is a standard that readers can identify as being a stamp of excellence for newspapers. Researchers Brian Logan and Daniel Sutter examined the connection between newspapers that have won a Pulitzer and their circulation. The study identified newspapers with circulations in excess of 100,000 that had the resources to achieve Pulitzer-quality work.

"The effect of Pulitzers on circulation is not merely highly statistically significant but also quantitatively large, with daily circulation 55 percent higher for papers which have recently won prizes, and is robust across different specifications of the Pulitzer Prize variable and circulation." ⁵²

Once editors define and value quality journalism, the next step should be to acknowledge that content-rich visual journalism is a significant piece of a newspaper's overall effectiveness to communicate. If a newspaper is dedicated to quality journalism, then visual components also provide meaningful recall of information among readers. In other words, it is a schizophrenic approach to pair solid text with visual fluff.

Prabu David and Jagdeep Kang⁵³ examined visual and verbal imagery and analyzed the impact of visual journalism with regards to reader recall. Their findings showed that visual imagery helped facilitate recall of text. The effect on readers was especially significant when content rich images and text were used congruently and that "there was significant gain in recall from the addition of either visual imagery through pictures or verbal imagery through high-imagery language."

But to achieve this effectively, editors must identify, hire, or promote leaders that have one foot in the arena of traditional, journalistic news-driven content and another on the eclectic palate of creative form. In the findings by Wilson⁵⁴, research showed that a newspaper's visual and design qualities increase based on the degree to which the designer maintains control over the work and the influence of competing news content.

While designers have impacted the print product, news Web design is in its infancy. The limitations of software for Web page design is limiting and allows for little more than a reoccurring template in a listing format. Yet the visual philosophy regarding perceptions of credibility remains a relevant consideration. Research on Internet clutter

demonstrated a link between news content and the fluff factor. In their 1997 study of advertising clutter, Louisa Ha⁵⁵ concluded that large amounts of advertising clutter lowered "the perceived editorial quality of the media." Other scholars supported the conclusion that increased content quantity on a single Web page will lead to lower recall and a reduced perception of editorial quality. ⁵⁶

Taken all together, it is up to the executive editor to set journalistic standards and define content and personality as newspapers construct their online visual character.

History shows that newsroom trends during the past two decades have influenced those values.

Spanning separate reigns at a newspaper with a strong visual tradition, two executive editors of *The Oregonian* compared the importance of credible content over visual fluff. Richard J. Nokes, former editor of *The Oregonian*, wrote:

"I know about experts who equate design with content. I know about research that shows readers want short stories and lots of fluff. But do you have respect? I think of the design of *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times* — probably the three most respected newspapers in the nation — and then I contrast them with the front pages of other newspapers that carry a couple of stories, two promotional boxes on what's inside, and a huge layout or chart in the brightest colors. I wonder what we are trying to say to our readers. Ain't we pretty, or here's the top of the news? Not that I object to color. But color should augment the news, not dominate it." 57

The answer is yet to be determined, whether the visual trends of print front pages will carry over to the newspaper's online component. The research for this thesis attempted to read the design Tarot cards regarding the progression of online visual personalities.

RESEARCH METHOD Visual Assessment and Eliciting Responses

This study applied a qualitative research methodology to learn how the visual content displayed on a newspaper Web sites — content from visual journalism to advertising, to visual fluff — influences perceptions of credibility among audiences, as American newspapers evolve their online presentation.

Media credibility in textual content has been the subject of intense study, including the effects of online credibility. A majority of previous studies applied a quantitative approach where credibility was measured by the degree to which individuals evaluated the media by ranking news stories. ⁵⁸ In this approach, media credibility scales were adapted from Philip Meyer's ⁵⁹ reduced five-credibility scale, which measures five reliability criteria: believability, accuracy, trustworthiness, bias, and completeness. In other research on credibility, scholars Thomas Johnson and Barbara Kaye⁶⁰ employed believability, fairness, accuracy, and depth of information in their study.

In these past surveys, researchers examined credibility in the context of news stories and news editing. In a study of online news credibility, researchers Jenn Mackay and Wilson Lowery⁶¹ developed three mock Web sites that all presented the same stories and content. Two of the sites were made to look like traditional news sites created by a news organization, and one site was intended to look like an individual's site.

While many of these studies took a quantitative approach, there have been successes with qualitative methodology with research on perceptions of product quality in advertising studies. Robert Craig, Philip Kretsedemas, and Bruce Gryniewski⁶² used a

photo elicitation methodology to study readers' perceptions of advertising images of African-Americans products. The study showed how social structure reflected in imagery, reinforced readers' association of quality in products. "The results provide insight into how advertisements pull readers into a web of ideological meanings."

Yet none of these studies explored the instinctive reactions to a newspaper Web site's visual character and viewer perceptions of credibility.

Selected Interviews Utilizing Visual Elicitation

This research used elicitation interviews to study daily newspapers' Web site home pages. The analysis was a variant of photo elicitation methodology, perhaps best described as visual elicitation.

Photo elicitation is a concept of inserting a photograph into a research interview. In its traditional form, this methodology presents subjects with photographs to help invoke a more detail-rich response during a research interview. Visual media researcher C. Zoe Smith advocated the use of photo elicitation, stating "visual journalists can learn a great deal about themselves and the worlds in which they report by employing the photoelicitation method using their own work or the work of established professionals." 63

Researcher Douglas Harper explained photo elicitation as: "The difference between interviews using images and text, and interviews using words alone lies in the way we respond to these two forms of symbolic representations." He suggested that elicitation studies could be done with other visual forms such as "paintings, cartoons, public displays such as graffiti or advertising billboards or virtually any visual image," and provided a detailed study using film elicitation. 64

Identification of Newspaper Web Sites

This study conducted visual elicitation interviews using a cross-section of American newspapers' online components. Six regional news Web sites were selected, with their individual home page targeted for viewer evaluation and reaction. The selection included major metropolitan areas that were based on their contrasting visual characteristics as well as geographical representation.

The research focused exclusively on newspaper Web sites that were displayed on traditional desktop-style monitors at a presentation size of 1024 pixels wide. The research did not analyze smaller online displays for handheld mobile devices or tablet-style readers. At the date of this research, these condensed displays were still being evolved and the researcher acknowledged that future examination of these formats will be necessary to understand their visual impact.

In order to provide a sample range for the content of each newspaper Web site, the research was conducted on three separate dates and at different times of the day. The first study was conducted on Saturday, November 21, 2009 at 9 a.m.; the subsequent research was performed at 6 in the evening on Wednesday, December 9, 2009, and the final session was held on Friday, January 15, 2010 also during the evening.

For the selection of specific online newspapers, the research avoided news organizations whose brand recognition may predetermine or influence a subject's response. Newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *USA Today* could have held predetermined stereotypes among some participants. And since the study participants were Missouri residents, this research did not select state-based newspaper Web sites

such as the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (www.stltoday.com) or the *Kansas City Star* (www.kansascity.com).

The decision to select newspapers that serve major metropolitan areas was due to the fact that these larger organization typically have the staffing and technology resources to produce custom content. The six online newspapers chosen for the research were identified based on recognition of their print components in the annual Society of News Design and Pictures of the Year International visual editing competitions. Diverse geographic regions in the United States also were considered for selection. Design variations among the Web sites compared with other newspaper Web sites in the group was a major factor for selection. Headline typeface and size; advertising placement, design organization were all visual features that offered the study a spectrum of visual characteristics. The six online newspapers selected for the study were:

The Denver Post http://www.denverpost.com
 The Miami Herald http://www.miamiherald.com
 The Seattle Times http://seattletimes.nwsource.com

• The Atlanta Journal-Constitution http://www.ajc.com

St. Petersburg Times http://www.tampabay.com
 Detroit Free Press http://www.freep.com

The goal of the study was to examine four key visual elements that establish the online newspaper's visual character in relation to perception of credibility — photography size, branding identity, design and organization, and use of advertising.

Seattle and Detroit were selected because they typically use a smaller percentage of the home page for the lead visual element, whether it is a still photograph or a multimedia link. Contrasting these two were St. Petersburg, Atlanta, and Miami that used a larger image size for the lead visual position on a standard width of between 316 –

400 pixels. The other three news sites displayed a maximum photograph width of less than 300 pixels. All the Web sites had a standard width of 1024 pixels and an average main photography size of 320 pixels. The 320-pixel size equated to approximately 31 percent of the full width of the home page display area. By comparison, a standard newsprint width of 66 picas (11 inches) that displayed a dominate photograph sized at four columns width of 44 picas (7.4 inches), was approximately 66.6 percent of the full width of the front page.

How an online newspaper chose to brand its name had the potential to provide clues to credibility. Some newspapers tie their identity to the print version and use similar masthead typography, while others choose to disassociate their site from the traditional newspaper and present an alternate or hybrid name. Miami, Seattle, and Denver Web sites provided a visual tie to their printed newspaper by using the original name and typography, as in the Old English font for *The Miami Herald*. Atlanta and Detroit marketed their Web sites with variations of their former products, using the "ajc" for *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and "freep" for the *Detroit Free Press*. The *St. Petersburg Times* presented its site with a complete different name, "tampabay.com," to capitalize on the regional influence. A small version of the *Times* original masthead appeared on site in black and white, just right of the aqua and blue "tampabay" san serif online nameplate.

Note: The naming style below each Web site images used in this research indicates the newspapers base city (Miami...) followed by the selected date of the study in the form monthdateyear (...112109...). The numerals following the dash (..-01) indicate whether the display showed the top of the home page, for "01," or the second scroll page for "02," and so forth.



Fig: Miami112109-01



Fig: Detroit120909-01



Fig: StPete120909-01

Advances in Web site design software allow news organizations greater flexibility to alternate the daily layout based on the news of the day. However templates are the mainstay of most daily operations since they provide a fast and functional solution to changing content. Each Web site's standard design template reflected a visual personality for the organization. All six of the news sites for the study were designed with a vertical configuration, which included a far right column that supported advertising and some boilerplate items such as a search feature and weather information. Also all six provided a wider, center-weighted news column that contained a main headline, the lead visual element, and a hierarchy of the most recent news. The primary difference among these formats was whether the headline included an accompanying story summary, the amount of secondary art elements, and how advertising was integrated into the template. As an example, the Atlanta and Denver sites presented headlines as bullet points without story summaries, in contrast to the Miami site that presented an opening sentence or lead paragraph with the headline.

Use and placement of advertising was a critical factor in the selection of the newspaper sites. Unlike a broadsheet printed newspaper, the display area of a Web page was much more confined and, therefore, created a more competitive visual environment. All of the Web sites used in the study incorporated animation within one or more of the advertisements. Some newspapers displayed ads only along the far right column in a fixed space, such as Seattle and Miami, while Atlanta and Detroit were much more aggressive and presented full-width, drop-down animated advertising at the top of the home page.

Identification of Research Subjects

The purpose of this visual elicitation methodology was to gather data from five selected American adult subjects, in the age range of 18 to 55. This sample size was reflective of interview data quantity by other similar research projects. The selection criteria was based on individuals who relied on established news organization Web sites for their daily news and community information, but did not have direct experience within the news media. According to the PEW Internet and American Life Project, online news interaction is highest among American adults under the age of 36 with athome, high-speed Internet connections. "For this age group, the internet is now on par with local TV as a daily source for news, and surpasses national TV, radio, and local papers as a news source." 65

The recruiting and selection process for study participants was aided by the Center for Advanced Social Research. The Center (CASR) is a survey and sampling department of the Missouri School of Journalism and is affiliated with the Donald W.

Reynolds Journalism Institute. Staff members at CASR conducted random telephone surveys with residents living in Boone County, Missouri. Phone solicitors relied on agerange and Web usage as the guiding criteria for narrowing potential candidates for the research study. Twelve individuals agreed to participate in the research, and a final five were chosen based on date and time availability; gender; contrasting age; education levels; and ethnicity. This research was granted "exempt" status by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Missouri, because none of the interview questions were intended to seek personal information, contain controversial topics, or be invasive by nature. Oral consent to participate in the study was obtained from each subject, and to be recorded in audio and video formats. Candidates participating in the study were paid \$25 as an incentive for their time. The study group participants were:

Jordan Grant, 25, male, online data manager

- Date / time: Saturday, November 21, 2009 at 9:00 a.m.
- Sites frequented: CNN, Columbia Daily Tribune, and New York Times

Rhonda Wyatt, 22, female, restaurant worker

- Date / time: Wednesday, December 9, 2009 at 6:00 p.m.
- Sites frequented: YouTube and Jefferson City News Tribune

Eric Nue, 54, male, state engineer

- Date / time: Wednesday, December 9, 2009 at 6:00 p.m.
- Sites frequented: slate.com, *Columbia Daily Tribune*, and the *Washington Post*

Valerie Brown, 38, female, foster parent

- Date / time: Friday, January 15, 2010 at 6:00 p.m.
- Sites frequented: MySpace and Columbia Daily Tribune

Elizabeth Corbett, 32, female, grocery store

- Date / time: Friday, January 15, 2010 at 6:00 p.m.
- Sites indentified: KOMU-TV online

Because the concepts of "visual" and "credible" are such subjective reactions to verbally qualify, the number of news organizations and subjects used was better suited to analyze data, and yet broad enough to provide a realistic content sampling. In all, the research yielded 30 data elicitations, which conforms to similar interview studies. In their research on journalistic fairness, John C. Beasley and Katherine A. McComas⁶⁶ collected 24 total elicitation from journalists who cover local political leaders. And in a study on educational professionals' perceptions of media responsibility, University of Canterbury researchers Natalie Dowman and Colleen Mills conducted 20 self-structured interviews.

"This sample was constructed so that all positions in a school's management structure were represented. ... Each interviewee was asked to explain his/her interpretation of three newspaper articles that reported on events in the education sector involving responsibility and accountability issues." 67

Research Design and Approach

The primary goal of this research was to gauge the subjects' visceral responses to the Web pages' visual content and presentation. The elicitation began with an explanation of visual journalism terminology such as photojournalism, multimedia, graphics, and news hierarchy. The subjects were encouraged to evaluate their perceptions of credibility based on the use of those defined visual elements — photojournalism, informational graphics, design structure, overall hierarchical organization, and the influence of advertising. While headline type size and weights were examined, the subjects were instructed not to read the stories.

The research was conducted in the "Futures Lab" of the Donald W. Reynolds

Journalism Institute at the Missouri School of Journalism. Three individual sessions

were held on random days within three distinct months. Two of the sessions were

conducted in the early evenings, and the third during a weekend morning. Two were on

weekdays and the third on a Saturday. This approach provided research participants with

a balanced representation of the newspapers' report and the circumstances of daily news

coverage. It also promoted a varied selection of participants based on their employment

schedules and any other personal responsibilities.

During the sessions, each interviewee was stationed at a Macintosh computer with an Ethernet-line Internet connection. The home pages of the six news organizations were pre-launched with a refresh rate to ensure consistent content viewing among all participants. The participants were instructed to review the home page of all six Web sites within a 30-minute timeframe, or approximately five minutes viewing time per news home page. The subjects were asked to only review the home page and not explore additional page links. The time limitation ensured that the respondents reacted to only those visual impulses that had an immediate impact, plus it limited the subjects' ability to read the stories in detail. During the review sessions, the subjects were encouraged to make reflection notes. So while the five-minute per page limitation restricted reading, it did provide adequate time to make thoughtful notes on each home page viewed.

Notepaper and pens were provided to each participant.

Following verbal introductions to the subjects, the researcher began the elicitation interviews by directing the participants to provide sincere and innate reactions to the visual characteristics and their perceptions of credibility among the six sites. Each Web

site's home page was displayed on the computer monitors to serve as visual reference during the elicitation. The elicitation sessions were recorded with a digital audio recorder and a digital video camera. The audio files were transcribed and appear in full in the appendix of this thesis. The videos were processed into a single .mov file, burned onto a CD, and are included with this report. Screen-capture .jpg images were made of each Web site's complete home page to preserve the specific visual data that the participants reviewed. Eighteen images were captured, representing each of the six home pages, covering the three research sessions. These images also are presented in the appendix. Selected screen captures were included in the research findings and other chapters as visual examples that tie to either the discussion topic or concept.

Elicitation Interview Procedures

After the 30-minute review of the six Web sites, the researcher interviewed each participant, either individually or in pairs. An initial dialogue engaged the participants using an open-ended, semi-structured interview process. To begin the elicitation, the interviewer prompted the participants to react to three specific topics:

- 1. Discuss which news sites you find credible and why.
- 2. Explain what visual elements contributed to those influences of credibility.
- 3. Identify which news site you would personally rely on regularly as a source of news and information.

During the interviews, the researcher questioned the participants to expand on their responses on a variety of specific issues related to the visual content. Some of these specific discussion topics included:

- 1. Is the use of color a positive or negative factor in regards to credibility?
- 2. How does the size and content of the photos compare among the sites?

- 3. Is there a design organization distinction between news content and advertising content?
- 4. Does the use of advertising affect your response to the news content?
- 5. With regards to credibility, how would you rank the sites?

The first session on November 19 included a single participant, and the following two sessions in December and January each included two elicitation subjects. The interviewer was aware that the data from the two-person sessions might be influenced by interaction and responses between the participants. To provide an accurate reflection of each subject's experience, this researcher moderated the interviews so that each individual was provided the latitude for a complete dialogue. The exchanges between a single subject and the interviewer were directed to avoid one person's comments being interrupted by another participant. Once fully explored, the same topic was directed to the other subject for his or her response. The elicitation video was included with this thesis to provide full transparency regarding the interaction and non-verbal communication among the participants during the interviews.

The elicitation interviews averaged about 30 minutes for each session. The interviewees were encouraged to rely on their notes taken during their review of the newspaper Web sites. Specifics on each session were:

- November 21 interview duration 33 minutes with Jordan Grant
- December 9 interview duration 34 minutes with Rhonda Wyatt and Eric Nue
- January 15 interview duration 24 minutes with Valerie Brown and Liz Corbett

Gathering data from a visual elicitation was essential for attempting to answer the central research question regarding visual media influences. The visual elicitation called on the subjects to provide their interpretation of the visual personality and determine those newspapers Web sites that they would rely on most as a credible source of news

and information. Plus as C. Zoe Smith explained in describing the elicitation method, the feedback allows journalists to

"... learn something from the subject even after the report has been produced encourages ... critical and reflective thinking throughout the entire creative process. In a curriculum that tends to concentrate on the professional practice of 'doing' and/or 'making,' visual journalists can learn a great deal about themselves and the world in which they report by employing the photo-elicitation method using their own work or the work of established professionals." ⁶⁸

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS Design and Photography Offer Visual Clues for Credibility

The five elicitation interviews produced data that reflected how viewers reacted to visual content and how those influences impacted their perceptions of credibility of online newspapers.

Once the interviews were completed, the audio files were transcribed in full and are compiled and included in the appendix of this report. Data from the elicitation was evaluated and the researcher employed a color-coding system to highlight specific excerpts from the transcript that corresponded to the themes being analyzed. Quotes related to credibility were given a beige tone; photography issues a blue tone; design, organization, and use of color received a purple tone; and the participants' rankings of the sites were highlighted in gray. This coding system provided an effective method to visually scan the data and begin analyzing the results. A color key is provided at the beginning of the transcribed interviews.

The research findings are detailed in separate themed sub-sections within this chapter. These sub-sections were identified based on data that showed photography usage and design organization as the two aspects that received the subjects' primary focus. As expected prior to the research, these two factors also were connected with their perceptions of credibility.

Some expected findings did not materialize, while other surprise results also offered new insights into what visual factors impact an audience.

Visual journalism design and presentation tools that were commonly used in print versions of newspapers, were non-existent in their online components during the period of this study in late 2009 and early 2010. However, this researcher presumed that similar visual concepts used in a newspaper's print version also would be present in their online components. But, informational graphics and photo illustrations, widely used on newspaper front pages, were not displayed on any of the six newspaper Web site home pages during the dates of the research. Design flourishes such as artistic typography, decorative text borders, and tint boxes for stories also were absent. This could be due to the fact that page design software used for the print product was purely a functional tool to achieve deadline production. And for similar functional reasons, most Web site design for online newspaper during this period used a content management system that employed a series of pre-designed templates for daily use. These Web-building templates used html-formatted coding, and during this point in digital evolution, did not have the sophisticated versatility of print page design software. It is interesting to note that none of the participants recognized the similar vertical format among all six sites nor did they realized that this design similarity was due to content management templates.

One of the most startling findings was the significant visual role that online advertising played on newspaper Web sites. This factor provided an interesting dynamic when analyzing the visual response among the participants. All six of the sites prominently displayed online advertising along the far right column, in many instances occupying nearly 1/3 of the width available. Plus a few sites, as mentioned earlier, included banner-style advertising across the top of the page. Many of these ads were designed with a high degree of visual stimulation that included movement, Flash

animation, and vibrant color schemes. The interesting analytical challenge was how each newspaper chose to present a design that allowed the advertising to share the same home page space with news content. During the elicitations, many of the study participants found it difficult to divorce the impact of adverting from news content. Because of this revelation, issues regarding advertising's visual impact were included under the "design" color-coding umbrella.

And finally, this researcher predicted that the branding or name of the newspapers' online component would have a bearing on credibility. The six Web sites that were chosen offered a spectrum of name branding — some used the traditional newspaper name with consistent typography in the print editing and others marketed the site with a completely different name or variation of the print name. As mentioned earlier, *The Miami Herald* clearly labels its Web site with its traditional Old English typography for the masthead, while the *St. Petersburg Times* markets its Web version as "tampabay.com" and minimized its connection to the newspaper. This factor is also detailed in a sub-section of this report.

The Impact of Visual Content

The use of still photograph continues to be the mainstay of newspapers, even as they evolve into online publications. Of the 18 Web sites reviewed in the research, only one displayed a video as the lead visual on the home page. All of the Web site designs incorporated a central photograph as the focal point, or center of visual impact, on the home page. In regards to photographic influences, the research encouraged respondents to provide discussion of the content of the photography and the sizing of the images.

Fourteen sites published local photographs from staff photographers as their lead image, compared to four that used wire service images. It is worth noting that one of the review dates, January 15, was just three days after the major earthquake in Haiti that killed hundreds of thousands. The significance of the news event and the power of photography to report the story was a relevant factor when the Web sites were researched. During this major story of 2010, only two of the six newspaper Web sites used Haiti as their lead photograph. Miami and Denver gave significant photo presentation to the Haiti disaster, using wire services as their source. Detroit's lead content focused on the city's 2010 Detroit Auto Show and displayed a feature photo from one of the events as the main image. The home page also displayed a full-width banner gallery of other related photo galleries. Haiti was a bullet item down page under "Latest Headlines."



Fig: Detroit011510-01



Fig: Miami011510-01

From the local photographs displayed, four were from news events, four human-interest features with an accompanying story, and two were light feature photos without a relevant story. Three sites used non-original photographs as their lead visual — Detroit and St. Petersburg relied on mug shot panels as their lead visual, and Atlanta used a file photograph of real estate signs as their lead image.

For a majority of the participants, the content of local photograph ranked as an important factor when reviewing the sites. This was especially true when the photograph was related to a story item. Four of the six subjects made direct references that the use of local photographs and news photographs had a direct impact on their relationship with the site. Rhonda specifically mentioned that the bolder news photographs "caught my eye more than anything, the pictures went more with the stories than the advertising catching my eye."

Jordan: I notice that the Seattle Times (used) photos to show stories. But I would like to see more photos associated with the headlines, if at all possible. ... Most of them seem to put good news photos on there, most of the photos are associated

with good news. Their use of photos were good, I like this, you can tell it's very local photo, which is very cool.

Valerie: The pics could be better, so the readers could read it. They want to grab readers to read the newspaper, that's how they make their money.

So while participants favored the use of local news photography, the direct link to credibility is only hinted. Perhaps more was revealed by analyzing how selection and use of photos held the potential to erode credibility with file photographs, headshots, or celebrity photos as news content. When examining the Detroit site, Eric expressed disappointment that the site presented a pair of sports mug shots as the main visual on the page, and said that in terms of credibility, "it would seem like they're less serious. It doesn't lend credence to the Web site to me."

In addition to Eric, three other participants reacted negatively to soft feature content in photo selection. Jordan caught the use of Atlanta's use of a file photo to illustrate a story on the real estate market and commented "it seems like a very stock photograph. There are no personal photos, as compared to Denver which has got this local group of students"

Liz: I noticed on a lot of the newspaper sites, and I think this is just common with today's society. But there's too much garbage about TV stars and athletes, and their personal lives, and I notice that a few of the newspapers focused a lot on those. I wanted to add, too, that the Tampa Bay one, to me it didn't really look like a real news source either, because the first article was a video of a guy rapping in court.

Valerie: I don't want to see somebody singing in court. They didn't have to put the video on there at all.

Valerie emphasized the importance of viewing content-rich photographs when going to a newspaper Web site for information. "You have to put pictures on there to

grab those people's attention, touch them, I guess at their heart. This is what's going on in society."

Approach to Photography Size and Editing

The study found that the sizing of photography for newspaper Web sites was predicated on the design template. All six newspaper Web sites were built on a design template of 1024 pixels wide, which was a standard Web format employed by a majority of Web designers during the study period. Each home page displayed a lead photograph that averaged about 320 pixels wide, equal to one full column of a three-column Web template. Overall sizing did not vary significantly among the sites that were reviewed, which ranged from the smallest width of Detroit at 285 pixels wide to the widest with St. Petersburg at 400 pixels. Listed below were the standard photo sizes, from largest to smallest, regularly used within each newspapers online template design:

•	St. Petersburg	400 pixels
•	Atlanta	338 pixels
•	Miami	316 pixels
•	Denver	300 pixels
•	Seattle	296 pixels
•	Detroit	285 pixels

The study showed that the differences in impact were the result of how the photographs were selected and cropped, rather than the template size allotted for photo use. Seattle and Miami both had approximately the same dimension width to display images. Among the three daily postings, Miami showed an inclination to select photographs that offered tighter composition with clean backgrounds, cropped from proportional horizontals into square dimensions. The effect of cropping the images into a

more square proportion served to increase the overall display area on the home page.

These two editing techniques gave the perception of a larger photo display. In comparison, Seattle's display on January 15 selected a wide shot of a road mudslide cropped to a narrow horizontal. The selection of the distant, or wide-angle news photo would have required significant size for viewers to be able to discern the complexities of the image. The result was a contrast to Miami's presentation and gave the perception of a much smaller photograph that is harder to view.

Liz: The Seattle Times pictures, they put that they were really small and some of them you couldn't really tell what the picture was of.



Fig: Seattle011510-01



Fig: Miami112109-01

This perception of photo size became evident when research participants compared the newspaper home page display. Liz referred to Detroit's photographs as being "either non-existent or very small," while another made the comment that Atlanta and Miami sites' "top pictures were so big you got less news articles."

Rhonda: Yes, on that one, and then also on the Atlanta, I noticed almost the whole top screen, and I think it was the Atlanta, and the Miami, their top pictures were so big you got less news articles. I mean, you had to scroll down there more, the pages were so long, but the top pictures were so large, and the others were just so small. I mean, it's a cover story, it's supposed to be more important. But to me, it just seemed like the pictures were larger.

Eric: Yup, they were larger.

Rhonda: Because it was the little boy in the courtroom and then the lady crying, just the picture was so large, you had to scroll halfway down the page just to finish the story to find out why. When I'm reading something, it's just I don't have the visual in my head and reading at the same time.

This provided clues on how audience members perceive size relationships on the Web. While the physical dimensions were not that different, the selection and cropping of the photograph did provide more impact. This factor is especially relevant since news

photography and advertising are within close proximity due to the Web page limitations and the formatted design templates.

Jordan: When the photos are the same size as the ads, somehow they become almost like mini-ads or less important. That's one of the reasons I like Miami, because it was the only one that had this big photo up front that is the size of two of these ads combined. They put more stock in their photo than their ads.

One of the primary findings of this study showed that the greatest detraction for participants was the use and placement of advertising in proximity to the news content and the related photographs. Liz noted that the Atlanta newspaper Web site "didn't really look like a real newspaper to me." She made a direct correlation on how the relationship of the advertising to the news photography and that juxtaposition influenced her sense of credibility. "I use the word cheesy. They were really cheesy ads, and all the pictures of those ads were bigger than any of the article pictures."

Design Values Impacted by Advertising

The effect of advertising placement on news credibility within the study did not end with photography. When the elicitation interviews focused on the Web sites' overall organization and clarity of hierarchy, all five participants struggled with the impact of advertising on news content.

As newspapers evolve their online component, the lines between news content and advertising have become more blurred. In a newspaper's traditional print version, advertising is placed at the bottom of the page and ruled off from the news content. Even as more and more newspapers accept advertising on the front page of their print version, the print design structure provides visual separation between the two. For newspapers

sites that were selected for the study, advertising was placed along the right rail or as a drop-down banner from the top of the site. However, even the left column of the home pages mixed editorial content with advertising, including information about inside stories, the weather, and indexes highlighting feature content.

Rhonda: In the newspaper, you have advertising, but it's not on their cover page, it's on the second, third page at the bottom, the little Dillard ads. But you don't have something just blinking in your eye, just catching your attention. But it doesn't do that. It actually led me off of the stories than what would be the regular newspaper.

Two participants, Rhonda and Eric, said that the animation of many ads was a significant distraction to news content. They explained that they accepted advertising on the newspaper Web sites, but preferred those ads that were less visually intrusive. Eric responded negatively to one of the sites that featured an advertisement that "popped up and blacked out everything, or blinked out everything, where you have to go close it, otherwise you can't even read it." Rhonda agreed "it just seems like they're using more of the page for advertising, and less news," and she preferred a news environment where "the news catches my attention." In a different session, Valerie and Liz pointed to an advertisement on the Seattle site for a Hawaiian resort that they found very distracting and deduced that the editors "decided to take up the whole page." Rhonda noted, "I'm not concentrating on something that's blinking right in my eye, other than the story, the bold writing that I can get that."

In general the participants understood the newspapers' need for advertising support. Eric's concern was that it may be getting to the point where there are too many ads fighting for the limited space, and he compared it to many of the fashion magazines

where the first 50 pages are nothing but ads. It "weighs a half pound because it's half advertising," he noted.

Another participant, Jordan, suggested that advertising guidelines might be the best way to balance advertising and news content. With today's almost limitless digital design and animation capabilities he pointed out the contrast of advertising content used on the Detroit site.

Jordan: Ads tend to detract, and it seems that unless they're done well. For example, "freep," the Detroit one's got both sides of the coin, because it's got this very obnoxious one, the one I actually mouse over it that basically takes up 40 percent of the screen. However, these other ads, these sponsored by Varsity or sponsored by McDonalds are very unobtrusive, and they kind of say that yeah, go see our sponsors, but we're not going to let that interfere with your news reading experience.

It is important to note that while advertising's intrusion received a significant backlash, it did not seem to reflect on the newspapers' credibility. Eric summed up the conflict by noting "whether you're looking at a newspaper or you're looking at a Web site, I'm going there for the news, not the ads." However he added: "It doesn't necessarily ... determine whether the Web site is credible or not."

Visual Organization and Newspaper Branding

The results of these interviews indicated that advertising that is intrusive or excessively animated does detract viewers from news content. However, there did not seem to be any evidence based on these interviews that advertising dilutes a newspaper's online credibility.

There was some indication that a well-designed online product that presented a visual personality based on the print version, may provide viewers a certain comfort

level. Several of the participants looked for visual furniture from newspapers that were familiar to them. For example, Liz described how Miami offered an organization approach to their Web site that was comfortably reminiscent of the traditional newspaper.

Liz: I think that the Miami was by far the best, it looks just like a newspaper on a computer screen. Yeah, to me, it looks like the paper that I could pick up and buy at the store. There were few ads on the home page, they were off to the side, and smaller pictures than the pictures that went along with the articles. The (news) pictures also grabbed my attention, (because) you could look at the picture and know what the article was about without reading any words and it just really grabbled my attention.

For most print newspapers, the official masthead has come to symbolize a foundation of credibility and authority among subscribers. And as newspapers made the progression to an online product, there have been different approaches to marketing. Of the six Web sites, three reflected the name of their print version — *The Miami Herald*, *The Seattle Times*, and *The Denver Post*. The other three sites either changed their name or used a branding variation — the *Detroit Free-Press* used "freep.com," *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* used "ajc.com," and the *St. Petersburg Times* used "tampabay.com."

Three of the research participants made specific comments tying newspaper branding or the masthead to credibility. Although titled "freep," Eric found credibility in the language that accompanied the masthead.

Eric: I like their (the *Detroit Free Press*) banner, because they said right up at the top, this paper has been giving the news for 178 years, so it kind of gives it credibility — It's age. When the web page had a banner that looked like the banner on the newspaper. I like that.

This contrasted with the observations from other participants, like Jordan, who said that Detroit's choice for online branding was bad, "because what is freep?" and

criticized that their choice was "not associated with a newspaper." Liz and Valerie also found the "freep" slang confusing.

Liz: At first the Atlanta news and sports one to me didn't really seem, because it's just ajc.com is their title, so that it doesn't really sound like a very credible source when you first look at it.

Valerie: Yes, because you want something that you know of.

Liz: Freep just sounds like -- Is someone trying to come up with a cool name? I was always taught to go down to the bottom of a page to see their copyright, and I'm pretty sure that the Detroit had no legitimate source at all. They said they had a copyright, but they weren't like a news group or company or journalism anything, and they didn't have a date.

Eric and Rhonda split on the issue of whether the traditional name of the newspaper had influenced their perceptions of credibility. For Rhonda, it was not a consideration at all, while for Eric, a long-time print newspaper reader, the name held significance. "It just felt like I was looking at the first page of a newspaper," he said.

These reactions suggested that visual perceptions of credibility may be marginally influenced by how an online newspaper brands its product. The results from these limited interviews are inconclusive and further research is necessary to obtain more definitive results. In the case of the *Detroit Free Press* and *The Atlanta Journal - Constitution*, local familiarity with these long-standing newspapers may be a factor with the abbreviation "ajc" and use of the slang, "freep," reflecting a relationship between the newspapers and readers that goes back decades.

Factors that demonstrated significant influence among the viewers were design, organization (navigation), and news content presentation. How a newspaper set a visual hierarchy for news content played a significant role in whether they viewed the site as being "professional." And these concepts had a direct relationship to a newspaper's print component. All six of the test Web sites provided viewers with topical sections of

interest, such as Sports, Business, Local News, and others. These identifier "tabs" were positioned just below the newspapers' Web site name and most included links within color bars to visually differentiate the navigation from the news content. And all six sites continued the content themes throughout the main body of the Web site as well, using typographical subordinate labels to direct the audience to specific topics.

All five of the participants specifically noted that clarity of organization aided their navigation of the news content. Rhonda commented that Web site provide more flexibility to retrieve information. "I guess you don't sit there and flip through all the pages, if you're looking for a certain story. It seems that you can find almost, there's a heading for — you can click on that article and be there." Eric echoed her by adding, "When I started out looking at it, it seemed like all of them have tab sections at the top so that you can go to editorial or entertainment or sports or local or national." He specifically viewed these organizational features as a sign of credibility.

The study suggested that subtle design differences may have an impact on audience navigation. While all six sites subdivided their sections on the home page, most used either bold typography or reversed type within a color bar labels. Miami was the only site that used color-coding as an organizational design tool to provide visual separation among the sections. Using difference colors of auburn, green, red and gold, Miami's design incorporated horizontal rules that stretched the full width of the home page to organize the content accordingly — Multimedia, The News Grid, Neighborhoods, Commentary, and Marketplace.

Jordan's opinion of Miami was influenced by its "good use of color" and design as an organizational tool that made the site "real clearly laid out ... with regard to whatever section you're in."

Jordan: I'd definitely prefer *The Miami Herald.* It becomes more credible simply because the ease of navigation, the layout. Everything would make me want to come here, as compared to something like this, Tampa Bay, (which) I wouldn't come back to this site. And I think that would be the key to credibility is getting someone to come back. I would say I was trying to come from the viewpoint of credibility, but it was really hard to separate the ease of user experience from believable source.

Design and organization of a Web site was especially crucial to newspapers due to the abundance of information and news content present on a daily basis. The interviews reflected that an in-depth and thorough report gave viewers a higher sense of professionalism, which touched an aspect of the site's credibility. For example Jordan expressed an appreciation for Web pages that do not "sprawl out and clutter the rest of the page," and felt that "more (news content) exposure to me sounds like more credibility." Eric went so far as to compare the vertical scroll length of the study Web sites and remarked "*The Seattle Times* was really long."

Eric: I don't know that it affects my opinion as far as whether it's a good place or a credible place, it definitely I guess from the technology standpoint, it's like they put a little bit more into it, the people that have the scrolling windows in their web design.

The overall amount of news content on a newspaper Web site did not necessarily equate to successful visual flow or retention of the material. The Web sites were highly visual by their nature and all the six newspaper home pages used a combination of typography and art to serve as organizational tools and highlighted various content or sectional topics. Yet some of the sites were more successful at capitalizing on the use

photography and display typography to give visual contrasts on the Web page. As an example of the range, the Denver site used three secondary photographs as navigation links, compared to Detroit that used almost 18 photographs or art icon links. Aside from the main headline, Atlanta and Seattle displayed typography that was the same size, weight, and color throughout the page. Miami and Detroit, in contrast, incorporated three variations of typography to set a visual hierarchy and establish organizational separation among the content elements. A direct contrast showed that in the December online review, Atlanta and Miami used almost the same number of secondary photos — seven and eight, respectively. The difference was that all of the Atlanta typography was presented in the same font size and color, while Miami provided a visual contrast of size, weight and color.

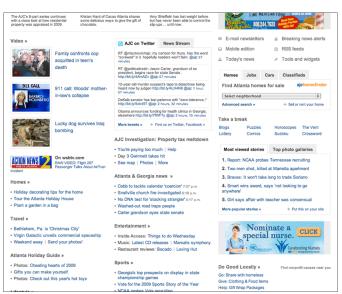


Fig: Atlanta120909-02



Fig: Miami120909-02

Among the six newspaper Web sites reviewed, those that were not as successful in presenting an organized design left a perception among the participants of poor navigation and a cluttered online environment.

Eric: There was also a couple that would have very large sections of the front page that would have no graphics, just line after line of the lead-in to a story, and that seemed congested. Yeah, each one was a link, but there was no icon, no graphic, no anything like that. It just seemed very congested, not user friendly.

Liz: There was one (tampabay.com) I wrote something down about this didn't have hardly any pictures at all, and they had like 100 articles that you could click on, just so many words, just too many words.

Rankings Measure Visual Credibility

During the elicitation, the five participants were asked to explain which of the six newspaper Web sites they found most credible. To be consistent with the semi-structured form, the participants were encouraged to explain why they gave their top newspaper the specific rank, and what newspapers did not meet their credibility mark.

The Miami Herald was overwhelmingly viewed as the most credible among the six newspaper Web sites studied based on visual perceptions. Four participants listed Miami as their first selection — Jordan, Eric, Valerie, and Liz. Detroit and Denver were given high marks as a number two or three selection for four of the participants. Seattle received only one vote, as the other five participants did not mention that site in either their top or bottom choices. Atlanta and St. Petersburg were viewed by two participants as the least credible based on visual influences. The list below provides a qualitative ranking among all five participants based on their elicitation dialogue, with a numeral "1" as their most credible Web site and an "X" as their least credible:

Web site	Jordan	Rhonda	Eric	Valerie	Liz
Miami	1	-	1	1	1
Detroit	3	-	2	X	-
Denver	2	-	-	X	3
St. Pete	X	2	X	2	-
Seattle	-	-	-	-	2
Atlanta	X	1	X	_	_

1 = top selection; 2 = second selection; 3 = third selection; X = negative reactionThose represented with a hyphen (-) indicates there was no mention made as either top or bottom. Results showed Miami received top selections from three participants.

As this was qualitative research, it was not possible to assign an exact measure on how each visual factors influences the participants' reactions. Asking the subjects to consolidate their perceptions by selecting just one or two newspaper Web site presented them with a very subjective challenge. Some of the reactions were based on their responses to individual influences described earlier in these findings. For example, Eric said he liked Miami's credibility because it just felt like a newspaper and Liz had a similar reasoning.

Three of the subjects provided specific insight to their reasoning, mixing organization and content. Jordan placed Miami high on his list due to typographical organization with headlines. "It's easy to see the headlines, and they give you either the first couple of sentences or a summary of the story up front. It just looks more professional." Rhonda and Valerie both cited the sites' high level of content as their guiding criteria. Rhonda's selection of Atlanta was based on "the fact that it had the better topics (and) seemed like it was more in-depth on stories, local stories." Valerie's reaction included influences based on a number factors — from the photographic and headline coverage of the Haiti disaster, to the visual distraction of diet advertising.

Valerie: It's (Miami) serious, because the other ones, you know, am I too fat or am I too thin. We don't need to hear that. That's what we have TV for. Newspaper should be for giving us the information that we actually need on what's going on. They told us everything that's happening (in Haiti) — who's going to be there, what the United States is going to do about this problem, rather than Miami's weather, how many people lost weight.

Rhonda's and Valerie's reactions may have reflected more on visual content and design organization, because the structure of the study limited participants from reading the stories in detail, and the individuals were only reacting to their visual presentation.

CONCLUSION The Need to Create an Improved Online News Canvas

This research showed that the visual personality of newspaper Web sites —
photographic size and content; the visual influences of advertising; design and navigation
— all play a role in a viewers perception of the credibility.

The most substantial discovery from the study was the simple fact that all five of the participants actually made a "credibility" selection. Based solely on their perceptions of the six Web sites' visual character, they all identified one or more of the newspaper Web sites as having a higher degree of credibility over another. Had the participants been universally indecisive or non-committal, then it could be determined that a newspaper Web site's visual personality does not influence viewer perceptions.

The research also presented news organizations with a philosophical dilemma that may get at the core of the survival of journalism. The defined space of a given Web page presents a visually competitive environment between news content and advertising. And it resurrects the debate over the role of a free press within a democratic society, which is reliant on a capitalistic marketplace.

Jordan: Regarding credibility, yes, it seems like the more thought that was put into the design, would make it more credible. It just seems like when there's no garish ads, it seems like the money's not the primary goal, it's more like conveying information.

While the study participants expressed frustration over intrusive advertising, those sophisticated display techniques should not be viewed as the villain that is diluting visual journalism online. Online advertising is created by commercial design firms that employ teams of aesthetically motivated artists. In contrast, newspapers staffs continue to be

trimmed and deadline pressures inhibit sustainable creativity. The research showed that advertising can have a diluting affect on news content, which is a crucial factor considering that news organization's premium commodity is credible content and information. Perhaps the responsibility to provide a balance rests with the management of news organizations to create online platforms for advertising and news content to coexist. Certainly further research must address the intriguing question generated from this study is: How does news content on Web sites achieve visual parity when challenged by advertising that is visually aggressive?

The narrow scope of this research presented many limitations to the findings.

One principal factor was that none of the participants was familiar with the newspapers.

More conclusive data might be obtained conducting similar research with participants in, for example, St. Petersburg or Atlanta. Another limitation was that the six Web sites were functioning newspapers that conformed to an individual design style for headlines and color use. To understand the nuances of perception, a research model could construct an online newspaper prototype that would permit the researcher to maintain consistency within visual variations.

This research has explored how newspapers present their journalistic standards and quality news reporting and editing through their online design. These standards have, for decades, built a foundation of credibility among readers in their print version.

And visual journalism content plays an essential role in determining news organizations' "visual character" and a reader's visceral perception of overall quality and authority.

During the past two decades, many newspapers adopted reader-friendly personalities with soft, feature-oriented content in an effort to attract readers and reverse

declining circulation. Also during that era, technological advances in design software offered newspapers visual tools that could be employed toward multiple meanings — one as a creative and efficient way to present the news, and another to adorn the page for marketing purposes. The findings of this study hint that the online world for newspapers may follow a similar path, yet advertising's visual dominance could blind readers from the news content.

Despite declines in circulation, there are proven design techniques that have been successfully used in newspaper print products. The question is, could similar approaches be applied in the future by online newspapers?

Further research is crucial in several areas. And to reiterate an earlier limitation, this study did not analyze smaller online displays for handheld mobile devices or tablet-style readers. As technology advances, newspapers will need to offer multiple display platforms, on traditional large monitors for full Web display to more condensed palm-size displays. Future research of these formats will be necessary to understand their visual impact on readers.

Foremost, further research is necessary to measure the impact that visual journalism offers in relation to advertising's visual stimulus in a contiguous environment. Ongoing experimentations are necessary to study a variety of Web news designs that provide authoritative content within a structured organizational approach, and then test how name branding can sustain and build credibility. Research also should examine possible Web design alternatives that take advantage of the power and impact that visual journalism provides. Many of the classic guidelines for visual editing that proved successful for print can certainly apply to Web home pages — for example, building a

center of visual impact; establishing news hierarchy; and implementing visual separation between conflicting news and advertising elements. A wealth of data could be obtained with a series interviews where viewers are presented with a variety of design templates that selectively spotlight key design concepts.

The concern is whether past trends will continue as newspapers develop and evolve their online products. Will news editors and visual journalists be encouraged to build newspaper Web sites founded on traditional journalistic principles, or will the pressures of commercialization compromise news content in favor of profits and popularism? Nicholas J. Nicholas, Jr., CEO for Time-Warner, gave a haunting foreshadowing on the future role of the visual journalist:

"The line between them (entertainment and journalism) has blurred. ... This requires us to presume that the public has the intelligence of a high school sophomore and that given the choice between news and entertainment, it will usually choose the former only if it's dressed up in the clothes of the latter." 69

Through a series of elicitation interviews, this research examined how the visual choices that online newspapers make — their "visual character" — can influence audience perceptions of news credibility. The responses showed that readers' perceptions of credibility are influenced by the visual content on a newspaper Web site. The study participants gauged credibility based on factors like photography use, competing advertising, and design organization. The study also showed that visual branding links to the newspaper print version could add to credibility.

Currently there is little research that evaluates reader reception of visual journalism online and how visual characteristics affect perceptions of credibility. This study is an initial step to help identify those factors of influence. This researcher hopes

this study may inspire others to expand on these findings and continue the necessary research critical for the survival of online newspapers, and to further define the role visual journalism might play in rebuilding the "fourth estate" in our democratic society.

APPENDIX I Research Study Web Sites

Saturday, November 21, 2009 at 9 a.m.

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

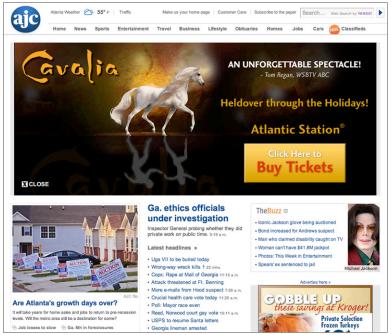


Fig: Atlanta112109-01 — home page top

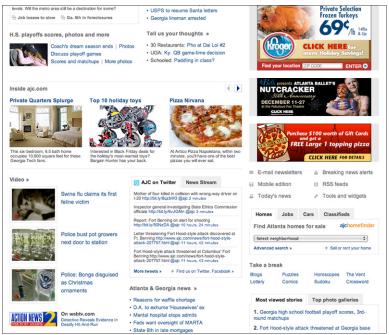


Fig: Atlanta112109-02 - scroll to 2nd full page frame

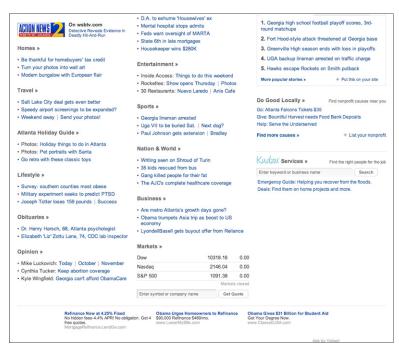


Fig: Atlanta112109-03 — scroll to 3rd full page frame

The Denver Post



Fig: Denver112109-01 — home page top

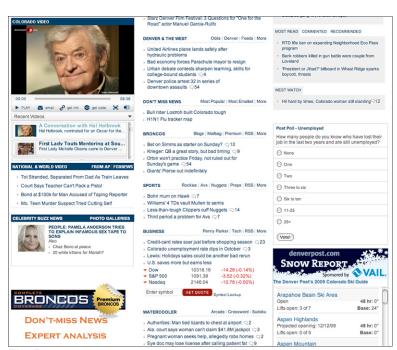


Fig: Denver112109-02 — scroll to 2nd full page frame

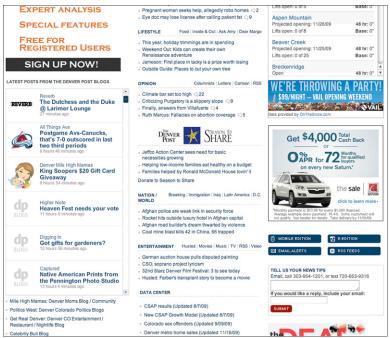


Fig: Denver112109-03 — scroll to 3rd full page frame

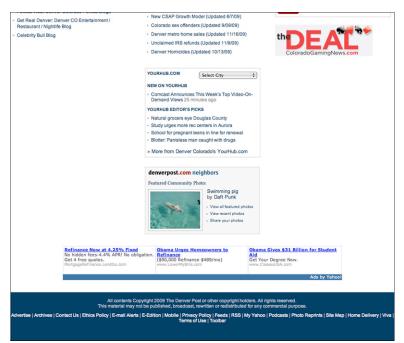


Fig: Denver112109-04 — scroll to 4th full page frame

Detroit Free-Press

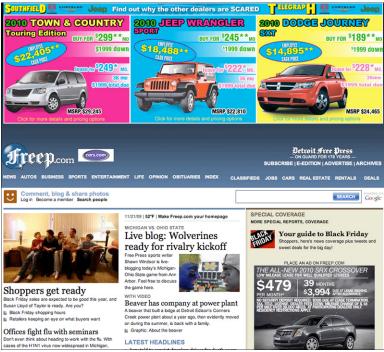


Fig: Detroit112109-01 — home page top



Fig: Detroit112109-02 — scroll to 2nd full page frame

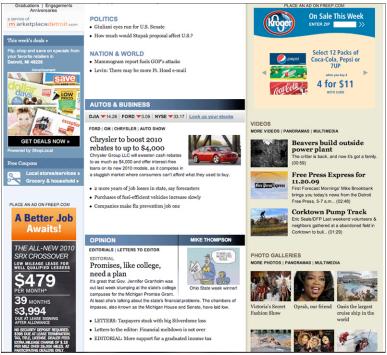


Fig: Detroit112109-03 — scroll to 3rd full page frame

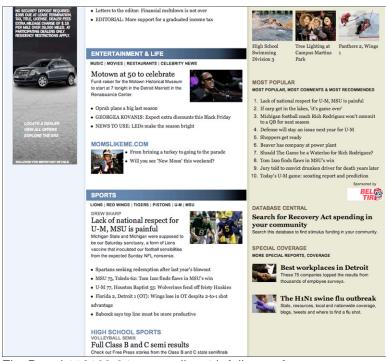


Fig: Detroit112109-04 — scroll to 4th full page frame

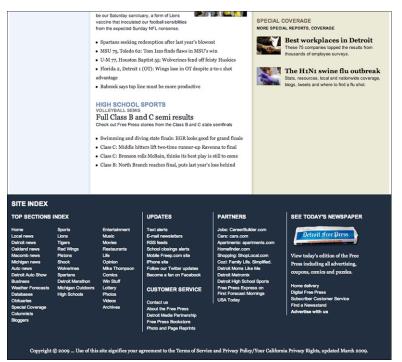


Fig: Detroit112109-0five — scroll to fifth full page frame

The Miami Herald



Fig: Miami112109-01 — home page top

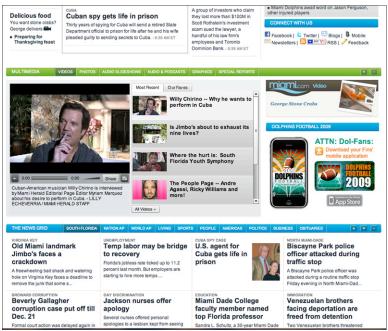


Fig: Miami112109-02 — scroll to 2nd full page frame

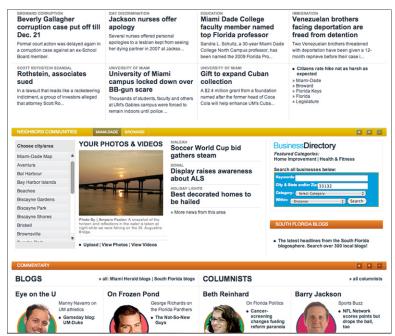


Fig: Miami112109-03 — scroll to 3rd full page frame

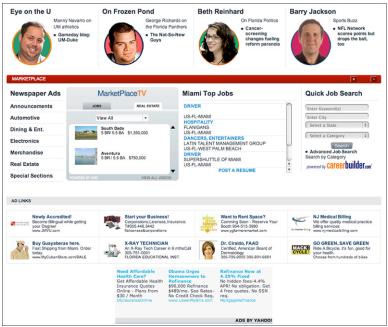


Fig: Miami112109-04 — scroll to 4th full page frame

The Seattle Times



Fig: Seattle112109-01 — home page top

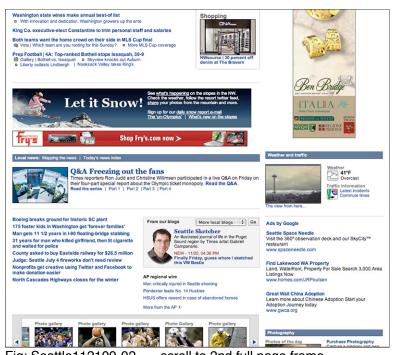


Fig: Seattle112109-02 — scroll to 2nd full page frame



Fig: Seattle112109-03 — scroll to 3rd full page frame

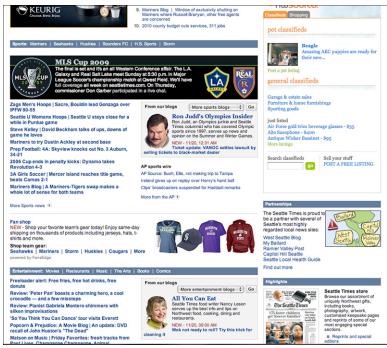


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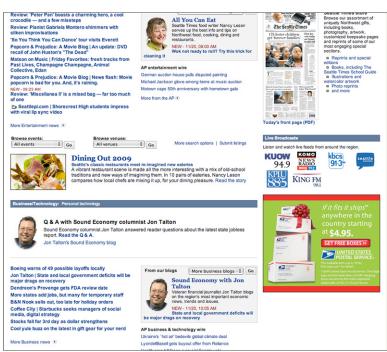


Fig: Seattle112109-0five — scroll to fifth full page frame

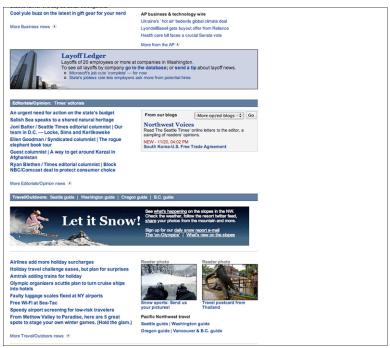


Fig: Seattle112109-0six — scroll to sixth full page frame

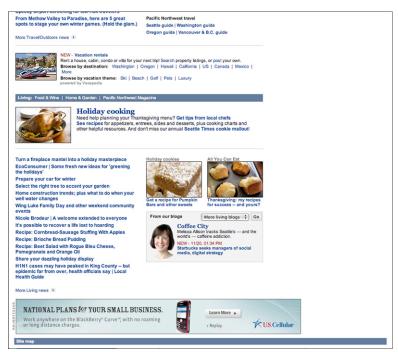


Fig: Seattle112109-07 — scroll to 7th full page frame

St. Petersburg Times



Fig: StPete112109-07 - home page top

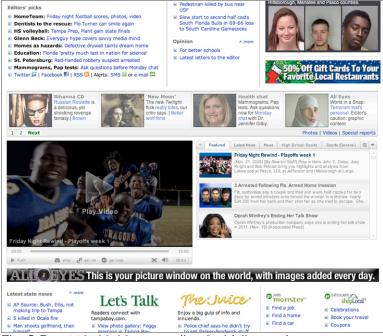


Fig: StPete112109-02 - scroll to 2nd full page frame



Fig: StPete112109-03 — scroll to 3rd full page frame



Fig: StPete112109-04 — scroll to 4th full page frame

Wednesday, December 09, 2009 at six p.m.

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

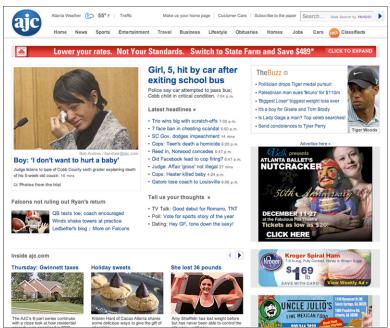


Fig: Atlanta120909-01 — home page top

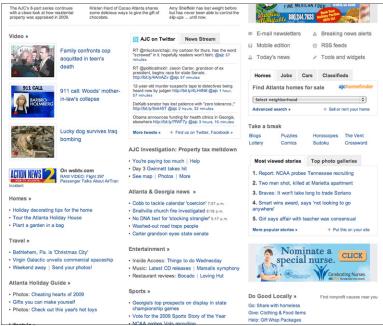


Fig: Atlanta120909-02 — scroll to 2nd full page frame

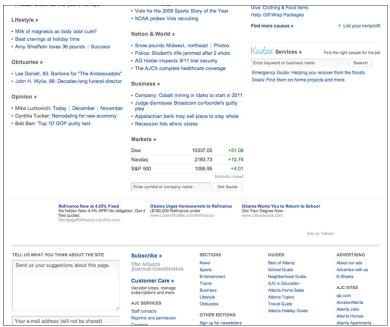


Fig: Atlanta120909-03 — scroll to 3rd full page frame

The Denver Post



Fig: Denver120909-01 — home page top

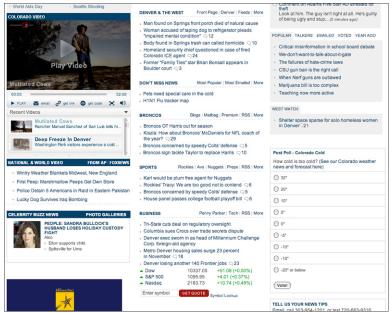


Fig: Denver120909-02 — scroll to 2nd full page frame

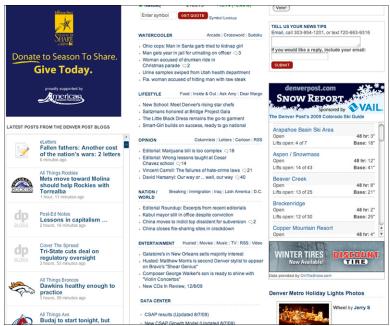


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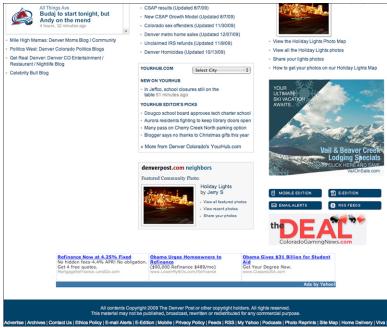


Fig: Denver120909-04 — scroll to 4th full page frame

Detroit Free-Press

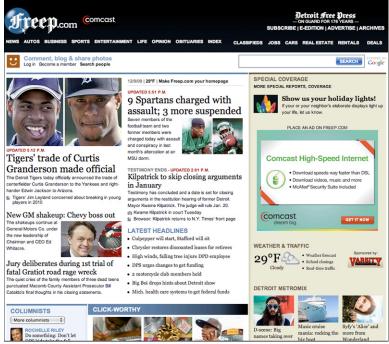


Fig: Detroit120909-01 — home page top



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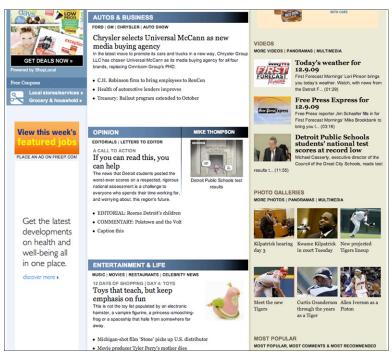


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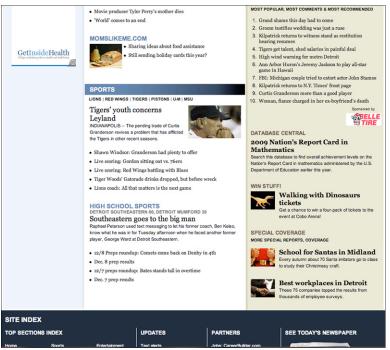


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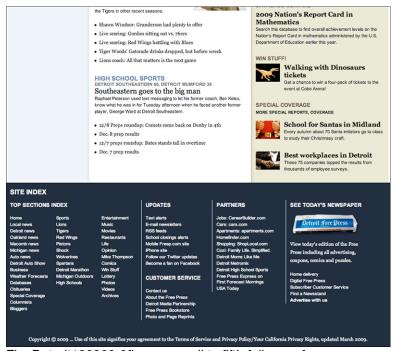


Fig: Detroit120909-0five — scroll to fifth full page frame

The Miami Herald



Fig: Miami120909-01 — home page top

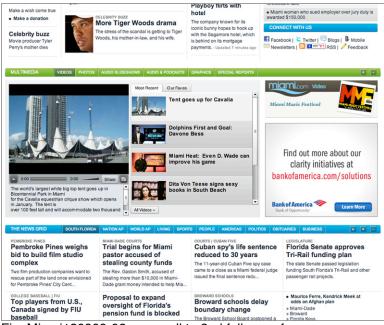


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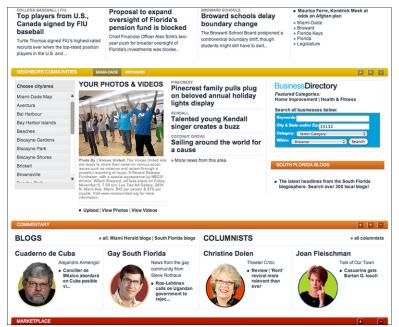


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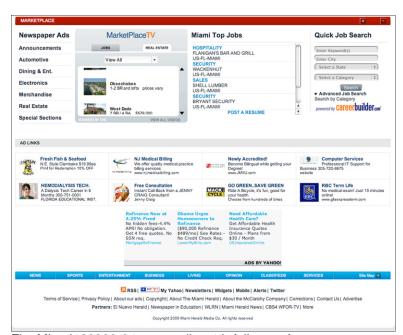


Fig: Miami120909-04 — scroll to 4th full page frame

The Seattle Times



Fig: Seattle120909-01 — home page top

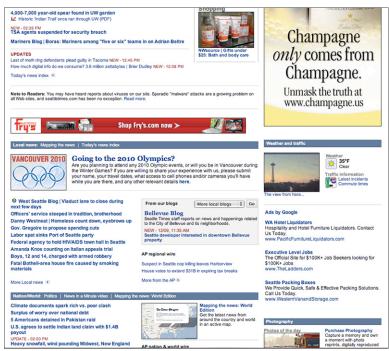


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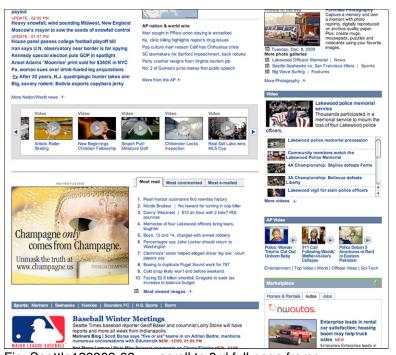


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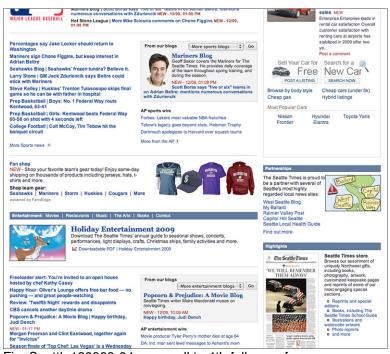


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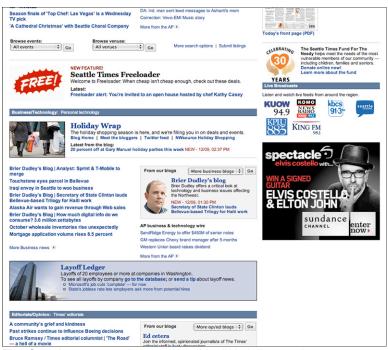


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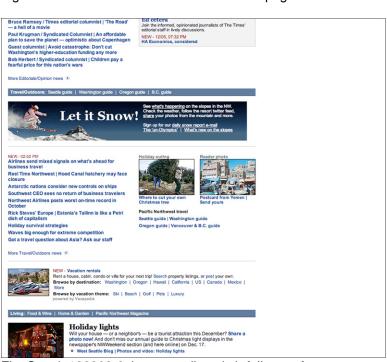


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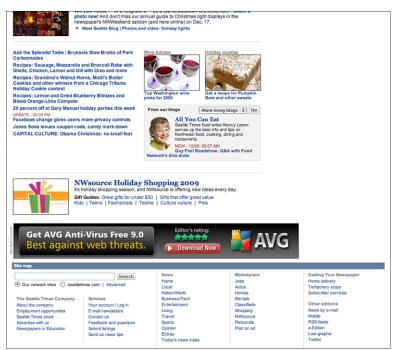


Fig: Seattle120909-07 — scroll to 7th full page frame

St. Petersburg Times



Fig: StPete120909-07 — home page top



Fig: StPete120909-02 — scroll to 2nd full page frame

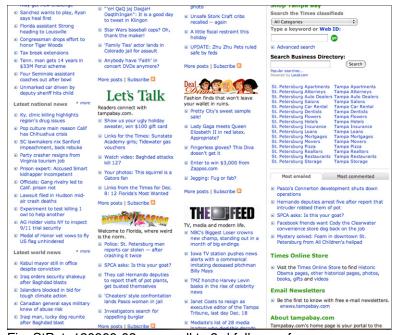


Fig: StPete120909-03 — scroll to 3rd full page frame



Fig: StPete120909-04 — scroll to 4th full page frame

Friday, January 1five, 2010 at six p.m.

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

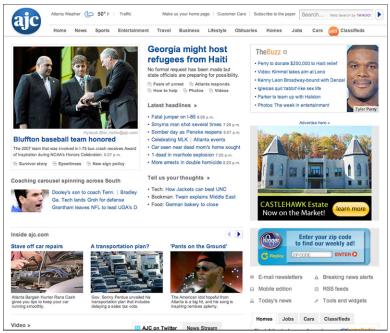


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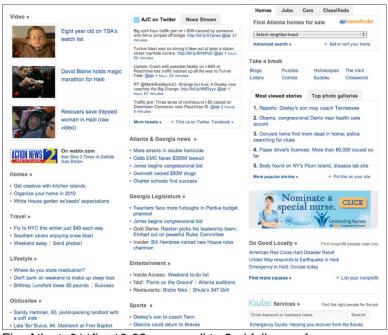


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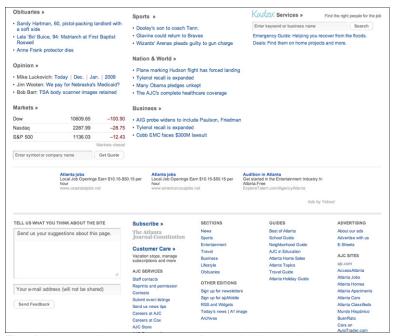


Fig: Atlanta011five10-03 — scroll to 3rd full page frame

The Denver Post



Fig: Denver011five10-01 — home page top

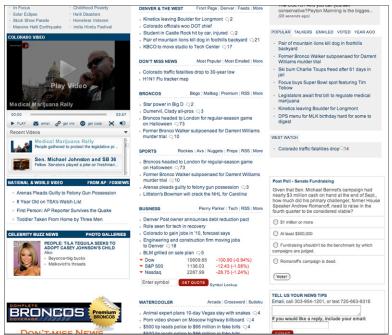


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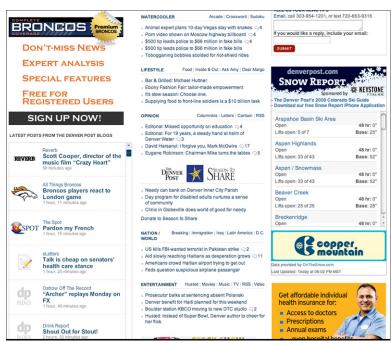


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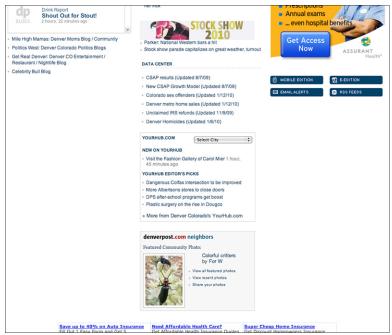


Fig: Denver011five10-04 — scroll to 4th full page frame

Detroit Free-Press



Fig: Detroit011five10-01 — home page top

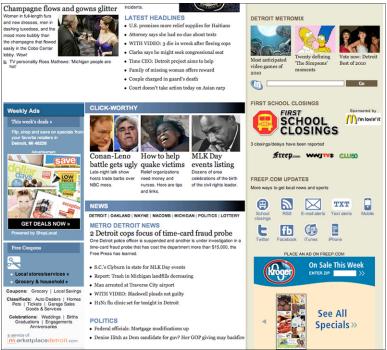


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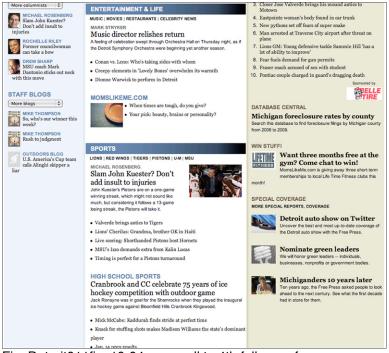


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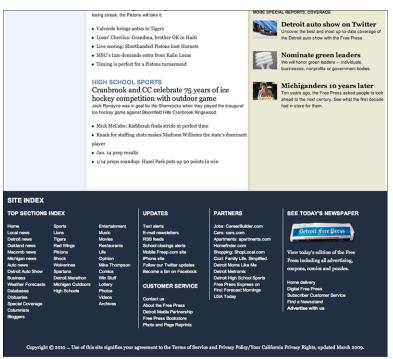


Fig: Detroit011five10-0five - scroll to fifth full page frame

The Miami Herald



Fig: Miami011five10-01 - home page top

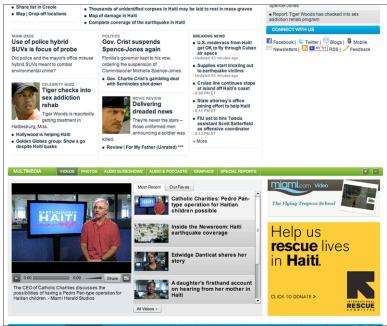


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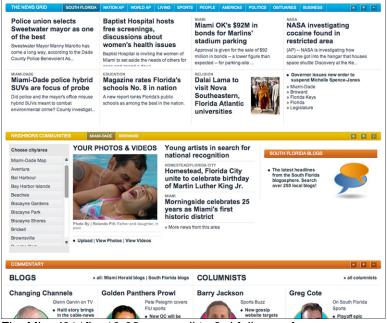


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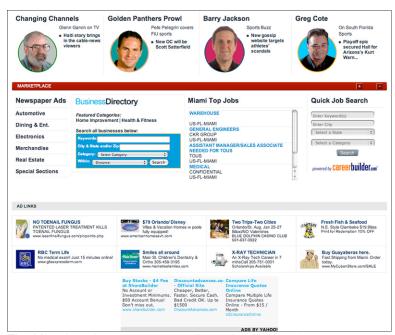


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The Seattle Times

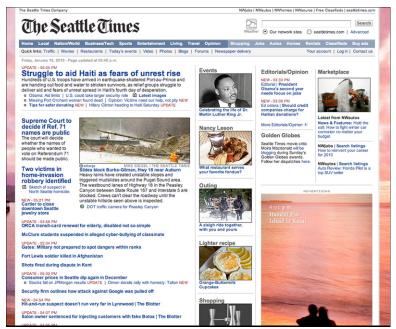


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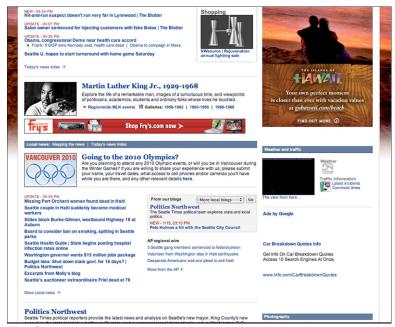


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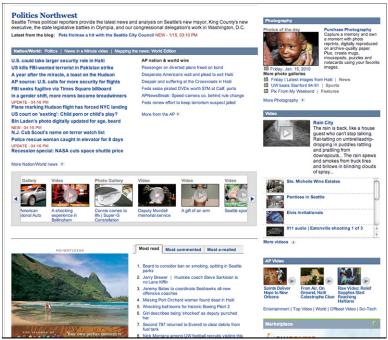


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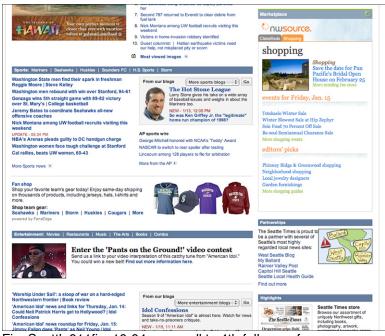


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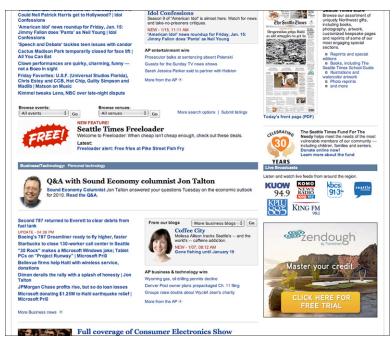


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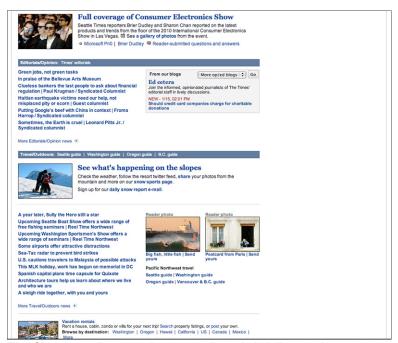


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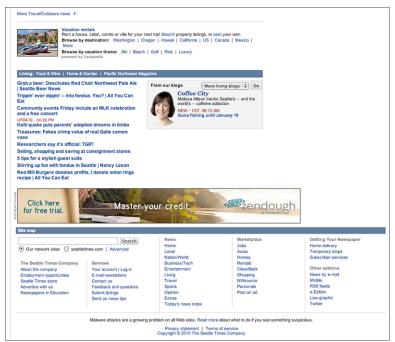


Fig: Seattle011five10-07 — scroll to 7th full page frame

St. Petersburg Times



Fig: StPete011five10-07 — home page top



Fig: StPete011five10-02 — scroll to 2nd full page frame

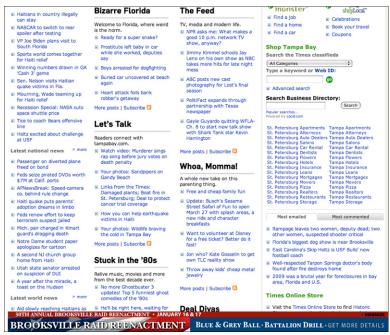


Fig: StPete011five10-03 — scroll to 3rd full page frame



Fig: StPete011five10-04 — scroll to 4th full page frame

APPENDIX II Research Study Interview Transcripts

Data from the elicitation was evaluated and the researcher employed a color-coding system to highlight specific excerpts from the transcript that corresponded to the themes being analyzed.

Quote color key: Credibility Photographs Color and design Rankings

Study participant: Jordan Grant

Date of interview: Saturday, November 21, 2009 at 9 a.m.

Interviewer: Let me just explain what we're doing. You're Jordan, and you're from

Columbia? Jordan: Yes.

Interviewer: Are you originally from Columbia?

Jordan: Yeah.

Interviewer: Okay, great. What I'm doing is basically looking at newspaper Web sites to get a sense, not from the textural stories, in other words, reading through the stories or anything like that, but purely a — I think if you crank this handle on the side, it'll tighten that — to get a sense of credibility. In other words, which of - there's going to be six newspaper Web sites, and as you go through them, none of them are famous ones like the New York Times or anything like that, so it would sort of skew your opinion, because it's a big one. And none of them are local, we didn't use Kansas City or St. Louis or Columbia, so these are regional newspapers in fairly big cities. But when you're looking at them, looking as if they were all from the same community, and when you look at them, which ones, just based on a five-minute glance of the home page. You're going to be looking at just the home page. You're not going to be digging deep or anything like that, spend about five minutes with each one - and then get a sense of is this Web site from a newspaper something that you would rely on as a news source, does it have a sense of newsworthiness, does it have a sense of credibility, objectivity, and it's almost like a visual personality. In other words, if you look at the way that the branding and things are done for McDonalds versus a high-end restaurant or something like that, you can get a sense just by, even if you arrived from outer space, you could tell that one was a low-end fast food establishment, the other was more of a high-class restaurant, just by the way they present themselves. I work for Pictures of the Year International, and our focus is on visual journalism, so the photographs that these Web sites produce, the design of it, the use of graphics, the advertising that's on it, how much of it comes across as being a verifiable, newsworthy, something that you would go to for a credible source of news, and which ones are not so much, which ones may present visual information, or visual

personality or character that comes across as perhaps not to the standards that you would rely on. So when you're looking through these six or so, there's note paper and pen there, feel free to take notes, and what I'd like you to do is spend about five minutes with each one, just on the home page. The POY site there is just sort of a cover so you're not staring at one. Once you click off of it, you can actually go to the others are set up behind them, and you can start at any point. So we're looking at the visual personality, and which ones come across as more credible than others, and I'm going to be asking you, in a conversational way after you look through all six, is we're just going to be having a conversation, I'm going to be asking you, which ones do you find more credible on a visual sense, visceral reactions, first reaction - boom this one, this one I could trust for a news source, well this one looks more like a use-car salesman - explaining the visual elements that contribute to your decision, photographs, graphics, the overall design of it. Whenever we design Web sites, we always try and present a roadmap, a hierarchy, going from the most important to other things, is that clearly established. And then identify which sites, that if all things were equal, which ones would you go to of these six as the best one or two. So, I'm just going to kind of keep an eye on time, and give you about five minutes per site, and then we'll talk.

Jordan: Okay, sounds good.

Interviewer: And here's some water if you care for some water.

[End of study overview]

Interviewer: Jordan, how old are you?

Jordan: I'm 25.

Interviewer: What do you do? Are you a student?

Jordan: No, I'm actually an alum. I'm a software developer for CarFax.

Interviewer: What is CarFax?

Jordan: It's a vehicle history report service.

Interviewer: Oh, I know that, CarFax, great. Let's just start at the beginning: First of all, I guess I would ask were there, based on how I set this up, were there definite visual things, either with photographs of the design that separated some Web sites from others regarding credibility.

Jordan: Regarding credibility, yes, it seems like the more thought that was put into the design, would make it more credible. It just seems like when there's no garish ads, it seems like the money's not the primary goal, it's more like conveying information. Use of color varied a lot, and added to some sites, while it took away from some other sites. Miami had a very good use of color, I don't know what it is about it, it just makes it real clearly laid out, it seems like they want you to see everything clearly with regard to whatever section you're in. As opposed to Tampa and *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* had very little -- they didn't try to pull your eye towards the story at all. It really is all about this ad here, which is really in your face. Everything else was pretty mellowed out, and then this really makes you look away from the news. and then I saw Michael Jackson here, and it immediately made me think old news. One more thing, too, is the social media integration varied on the sites, I think there were three that really had it, but Denver did a good job of making it really stand out and say, hey we can deliver your news in the media of your choice. *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* wasn't real good about

showing it, because it was all monotone, and the *Miami Herald* also brought some color to show you that they also had it.

Interviewer: That's a great point. So in general, not that you need to rank them, but what do you put toward the top, and what do you put toward the bottom regarding visual credibility?

Jordan: Miami, I think the *Miami Herald* would probably go up at the top, just because it's easy to see the headlines. They give you either the first couple of sentences or a summary of the story up front,. It just looks more professional, I think than say the Tampa Bay has got this big video taking up a lot of space, they really have just a couple of sentences, it seems like all the headlines should be up front to deliver as much news as possible on the first impression.

Interviewer: So would Tampa Bay be ranked toward your bottom?

Jordan: Yeah, this would be toward the bottom. *Atlanta Journal Constitution* would probably be towards the bottom as well. *Denver Post* was pretty good. And if I had to rank them, it'd probably be Miami, Denver, Detroit, then Seattle, and then the other two at the bottom.

Interviewer: Let me just follow up on that with - at the top of the Web site, does the name of the news organization play a part, in terms of whether it comes across with the old style name that you would traditionally see on the front of the newspaper.

Jordan: Like the font.

Interviewer: Right.

Jordan: That didn't matter to me so much, I just wanted to be able to see it, and understand it. Detroit was bad in that regard, because what is freep, that's the *Detroit Free Press*, I understand, but they didn't choose to make that their headline. They chose to make Freep.com their header, so I guess here it is, it's in smaller text, *Detroit Free Press*. But if I was looking at Freep.com, that might be somewhere along the lines of Dig or some other name that's not *associated* with a newspaper.

Interviewer: Let's go into ads. How did the advertising affect your sense of visual credibility? Is that something that detracted or added?

Jordan: Ads tend to detract, and it seems that unless they're done well. For example, Freep, the Detroit one's got both sides of the coin, because it's got this very obnoxious one, the one I actually mouse over it that basically takes up 40% of the screen. However, these other ads, these sponsored by Varsity or sponsored by McDonalds are very unobtrusive, and they kind of say that yeah, go see our sponsors, but we're not going to let that interfere with your news reading experience. Miami - I don't know how they choose the ads, but these seem just not out of alignment with the color scheme, the integrate well with the rest of the stories, there's no ad on here that is more detracting then nearby news. There was a bad one in the Atlanta one I think. Do you know how to switch between these windows?

Interviewer: Not really, I just hit them all so they're up there.

Jordan: I just got them out of order. The *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* had this one, though. They didn't use enough color or something, because this ad pulls away from all the *stories*.

Interviewer: One question back now on the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, they label their pages "ajc." You had mentioned the freep before, as opposed to others say *Denver Post*, or *Miami Herald*, did that fall into the similar thing as freep, or you knew. Jordan: I don't know, the first thing I saw up here was Atlanta news, sports and Atlanta weather. It's just the way they chose to highlight it. This one started with Freep, so it was more like a logo. It became more like a logo than a title, just like MTV.

Interviewer: Sure. Based on the main visual elements that are usually associated with news and determine credibility, are the photographs, multi-media pieces like video pieces, graphics, those kinds of things, what visual elements among them influenced your thoughts on them?

Jordan: This *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* has got a very generic photo. And I guess I'm not supposed to take the headline for what it is, but it seems like a very stock photo for it, which actually now that I come to think of it, you don't actually start to get outside of stock photos. It looks like, until the video section, and then even after that, there are no personal photos, as compared to Denver which has not this local group of students. It looks like, and then there's some celebrity news, it looks like. Even Detroit, somehow makes this, no this isn't a stock photo, it looks like a close and personal. It looks like they interviewed people for this story, even though it's just about Black Friday. However, I notice that the Seattle Times a real good times with these seminal photos to show stories, but I would like to see more photos associated with the headlines, if at all possible, but I do like their choice of, most of them seem to put good news photos on there, most of the photos are associated with good news, they're not showing soldiers overseas right now, which isn't to say they don't need to be seen.

Interviewer: What about Miami, you were referring to Miami at the top of your list, what about their use of photos?

Jordan: Their use of photos were good, I like this, you can tell it's very local photo, which is very cool, they've got their local college, it doesn't look like they have a lot of photos, but I think they do make up for it by having sizeable chunks of information. I do like how they have all their rich media separated out into its own section, so it doesn't sprawl out and clutter the rest of the page. The photos are very easy to navigate, which makes it very good, more exposure to me sounds like more credibility almost.

Interviewer: Any of them use graphics or charts or anything like that? Jordan: The only charts that I really seen were just icons associated with the weather, which were important. I liked the ones with more information as opposed to less. I didn't really see any charts that conveyed much information, it would be nice, even to see - I know we see it on the federal news, but stock charts, as much information as you can give in a little blurb.

Interviewer: One more question regarding the photo. What about photo sizing? When does small become too small to where you can't - does that influence it at all? Jordan: When the photos are the same size as the ads, somehow they become almost like mini-ads or less important. That's one of the reasons I like Miami, because it was the only one that had this big photo up front that is the size of two of these ads combined, it looks like.

Interviewer: So the size of the photo, would you say, influenced a sense of credibility over, and give it more prominence in the ads?

Jordan: Yeah, they put more stock in their photo than their ads. Denver was similar in that similar sizes, but the picture was smaller. I guess the content of the ad doesn't matter so much as the size of the ad, and the color.

Interviewer: The Tampa, if we can find the Tampa one, you had mentioned that this actually started out with video, which is basically starts out with a photo of a person. Tampa was near the bottom of your list, was the fact that it was a video influence your thoughts on that, or does it really matter?

Jordan: Yeah, it kind of did, because there's a little bit of overhead in having a video there, I'm just missing a lot of the news up front, there's a very small center column with some news, this is all just overhead as far as I'm concerned, and the ads are out of the way, so I really only get this little bit of good information, and most of it's taken up by a lot of white space and this big video. I don't know what it is about the text, but I would like to see text before I see media. And a lot of the other sites actually adhere to that, they have their stories and headlines up front with their rich media down below, same here media down below.

Interviewer: When you traditionally look at Web sites for information, if you're presented with a still photograph or something that says "this is the video, play it", how much video would be sit through, or multi-media, say it's a slide show.

Jordan: I wouldn't sit through a slide show, I'd probably just click through it quickly, but I think I'd have more patience for a slide show than a video, especially since most video that plays on its own is an ad, so I wouldn't necessarily - I don't think I have an immediate - a video player up front is as good as having just photos, because it gives me the option to delve further into do I want to learn more about this.

Interviewer: Great, well one last question. You've sort of ranked in your mind which ones you thought came across as having more visual credibility. If they took away the name, and I know this question kind of overlaps with the firs, but if they took away the name and put Columbia Tribune up there, which one of these sites would you rely on based on what you've seen to go to for your local. If the Columbia Tribune could set it up where it resembled one of these, which and why? The way that you had them ranked, was Miami and Denver at the top, and the AJC and Tampa toward the bottom, and it may be the same answer, but it may be different for other reasons, so the first question was which ones do you find credible based on visual influences. Now I'm asking of Columbia could do one, which one should it model itself after?

Jordan: After giving them just another once through, I would definitely prefer the Miami Herald-type layout. Oh, that's nice, too, I didn't notice that, the stories change, or they just changed, but it's just got a lot of information up front it seems to me, and a large supporting photo for the main one, I'd definitely prefer this Miami Herald one, just because of the - I don't know what it is - it would become more credible simply because the ease of navigation, the layout, everything would make me want to come here, as compared to something like this, Tampa Bay, I wouldn't come back to this site, and I think that would be the key to credibility is getting someone to come back to it. It's not that I don't believe what the Tampa Bay site has to say, it's just not as professional-looking.

Interviewer: That's great information. Is there anything else that I may not have asked that you want to make points on?

Jordan: Mostly I would say I was trying to come from the viewpoint of credibility, but it was really hard to separate the ease of user experience from believable source, so if this was all untrue, and it still gave me this experience, it might read some conflicting things, but that would probably make me go out and question other things more, because I don't tend to rely on just one source. But just the ease of navigation, and it seems like they put more stock in their product.

Interviewer: Do you traditionally go to - where do you go when you read news? Jordan: Slash.net is one. I do go to the New York Times and CNN.com.

Interviewer: How about Missouri football, or if there's a local thing, or something like that, a local source?

Jordan: There's a Missouri Blues Association, which is just blues news around town, that's a very amateurish site.

Interviewer: That's fine, that's an entertainment site. There's not a lot of new in Columbia.

Jordan: When I go to a Columbia news site, it's typically the Tribune, as opposed to the Missourian, just out of habit, I suppose.

Interviewer: Okay, that's great, thank you.

[End of interview]

Study participants: Rhonda Wyatt and Eric Neu Date of interview: Wednesday, December 09, 2009 at 6 p.m.

Interviewer: Let me kind of lead you through this. First of all, I need to get some basic information, just to set up what we're doing. So, what's your age?

Rhonda: I'm 22.

Interviewer: And are you from Columbia?

Rhonda: I was born here, but I'm actually from Jeff City.

Interviewer: Okay, you're regional, mid-Missouri. What do you do, are a student or

work?

Rhonda: I'm actually a mother, a single mom of two, and I work at Taco Bell. Not the best of what I want to do with my life, but I saw this opportunity.

Interviewer: And typically, when something happens in Columbia, and you want to find out about it, or even Missouri, where do you go?

Rhonda: The internet, I use the internet for everything, it's also a lot easier for me because I have kids, and I have a 1 year old that's learning to walk, so if I set down with a big old newspaper in my hand, I have her touch around it, all the time.

Interviewer: So what newspaper, or even just other, not even newspaper, but just Web sites would you go to find out about --

Rhonda: I use YouTube a lot, they always have a lot of videos of stuff that happens, but my main thing is when I get on the internet, the News Tribune is always one internet that I stop there, because I know what's going on around me, I had a chance to do it while I'm also on the computer doing whatever else I need to do, and it's so much more easier to do, it's already in the process of doing something else.

Interviewer: Are there any other major ones you get beyond Columbia?

Rhonda: The Jeff City News, I always want to know what's going on up there because it's all family up there, and Columbia doesn't sell it, the Jeff City News Tribune, so it's easier for me to just get on the internet and see what's going on up there.

Interviewer: Eric, I know a little bit about you. What's your age?

Eric: 54.

Interviewer: And are you from here? Where are you from originally?

Eric: Cincinnati.

Interviewer: You told me what you do for a living, but I forget.

Eric: Engineer.

Rhonda: I'll trade you job.

Eric: As long as I still have one, they've been laying everybody off for quite

some time.

Interviewer: And typically, you said that you were kind of a news junkie. Where do

you go?

Eric: Well, Slate.com, but for local, if I want to find out something about what's going on in Columbia, I get the Tribune, and I read it every day, and sometimes, I'll go to the Tribune Web site, but it mirrors the paper almost exactly, it seems to me that there's not a whole lot extra on their Web site as compared to what's in their newspaper, but other than links to other stuff. If I go for national news or something like that, Washington Post Web site.

Interviewer: Okay. Well, I think the first thing that I set out is just, and I'll ask some more specific questions later, but basically, the three things that I want to find is, among the six sites that you looked at visually, just based on their photographs, and their layout and design, which ones did you find more credible, and explain why, what were the influences of that. Rhonda, you can start if you want.

Rhonda: Just like on the Atlanta, Miami, and Detroit, they used, I'm not going to say bolder writing, but it caught my eye more than anything, the pictures went more with the stories than the advertising catching my eye. Which the internet has a lot of advertising, but the writing stood out to the picture more than anything so that I got the better stories, the better topics. And then on the Seattle, they used a lot more color in their advertising on that site to catch your eye.

Eric: They probably had very colors than Seattle does.

Rhonda: Yeah, they used more of their - to catch your eye, to get you to read their stories than more than anything, less pictures, I think the color caught your eye more than the pictures.

Interviewer: Was the color used in the news content or in the ad?

Rhonda: The advertising, that's one thing they put more room on the page for advertising in colors, and not enough on the story. The Tampa, the color caught your eyes, but the videos are one thing --

Interviewer: Which one is that, I'm sorry?

Rhoda: Tampa, each one of them had videos, but on Tampa it seemed like it had more videos than anything, and when I see a picture of a little boy in a courtroom, I want to know more, I want to see more, that's what catches my eye, I want to know why the little boy is sitting in there, what's going on. And the video, that's one thing, it gives you the news feeling, like you're watching the news, you get every idea, every concept out of

it. Other than the news, you see that one little picture, and don't see anything else, because they always just give you one picture per ad, they don't give you more to look at. Seattle, to me, used better topics to catch the eye of the public, the topic did have something about shopping, about the movies, about sports, and that's what people want to know, they want stuff that will catch their eye, and shopping is a big thing for me, so that's the first thing I would want to click on with that. And then with the, I think it was Detroit that used the Tiger Woods, that would catch, in general, a guys attention because it's sports, they put something on there that someone's going to want to read. On the first one, I don't remember what it was, the first internet site, but it showed something that's more like world news. Something that they were trying to bring out the world news, about what's going on in a different country. And to me, I want to know stuff about that, but I'd rather read something about a sports player that I know is going on, I know more about them too.

Interviewer: Eric, you want to follow up on that same question, that broad, which of the sites are credible, and what were the influences that contributed to that?

Eric: Well, I guess the one, in the short time that I looked at each one, the one I like the best was the Miami Herald, they had a dedicated section for the editorial commentary part with pictures of the bloggers, and the editorialists.

Interviewer: Which one was this?

Eric: The Miami Herald, and what I kind of discovered after looking at this the way you've been asking us to look at it, is the ones I liked the best were the ones that were more like holding a newspaper. And when you hold a newspaper, at least with the Tribune or a lot of newspaper, on the editorial page, they'll have a picture of the editorialist, sometimes it's not a very up-to-date picture, but I guess that's what I liked about it. The Detroit Free Press, it seemed to me, had more ads. I like their banner, because they said right up at the top, this paper has been giving the news for 178 years, so it kind of gives it credibility, it's age. When the Web page had a banner that looked like the banner on the newspaper, I like that. The Atlanta news place, it didn't look like a newspaper, it didn't even have a banner. The St. Petersburg Times had, right on the front as soon as you looked at the Web page, mug shots like on a post office wall.

Interviewer: Which one?

Eric: The St. Petersburg Times, the Tampa site, that made it seem tabloidish is what I wrote, because even when I read the Tribune, the actual paper, I'll look at the page where they have people that are wanted or whatever, but to lead with that, as soon as you open the Web page, the home page has this picture of mug shots, it just seemed kind of -- Rhonda: It said mugshots.com actually.

Eric: It just seemed kind of (inaudible). I like the ones that had less animation, whether it was an advertisement, most of the animation is in the advertising, it seems like, but I think there were a couple that weren't advertisements, that they were news stories, I kind of like it better when they didn't have a whole lot of animation.

Rhonda: I'm the same way, because then it gives you a chance for the news to catch my attention, I'm not concentrating on something that's blinking right in my eye, other than the story, the bold writing that I can get that.

Eric: On the Seattle Times, when you first open it up, they have what looks like a marquee on a movie theater, saying trips to Las Vegas.

Rhonda: Hotels and everything.

Eric: There was another page that had something that I really don't like, the Denver Post, they have that thing where it types the words across the page, and if you want to find out what it's saying, you have to sit there and wait for it to type out. It's like if you're going to tell me, just put it up there, don't type each letter going across the page. The Detroit Free Press, their lead was local sports, not like local news, or national news, I mean, right up front it's all about what's going on with the Tigers or Michigan State, or something like that.

Interviewer: And how does that reflect to you in terms of credibility?

Eric: It makes it seem like they're, I guess it would seem like they're less serious, although I know that that's not necessarily true. Another day, they may not lead with sports, this looked like it was a couple of big things, trades --

Rhonda: Yeah, that's what I was going to say, it wasn't only just one picture concentrating on the sport, they had another one about the Michigan students and the Soul Chargers, more sports, and down below they had more important stories that should have been at the top.

Eric: It could be that tomorrow they won't lead with the sports stories, but right up front, it looked like sports, and it's like sports is part of the section, but it's never part of the front page, usually, unless you win a national championship or something.

Interviewer: Okay, and you can continue on some of these themes, because they're going to be the same things as we go through. I'm just curious, if you were to put, and I don't mean to rank, but let's rank, based on just when you're looking at it, if each one of those was the Missouri Journal, without a city name attached to it, what two would you put at the top as seeming to be, based on its visual, more credible, and which two would you put at the bottom.

Rhonda: I didn't write down the names of all of them, I just put the cities, but the one where he said about, I would definitely put at the bottom.

Interviewer: Which one was that, do you remember?

Rhonda: The one about Michigan, the one with all the sports on it.

Eric: Oh, that was the Detroit Free Press.

Rhonda: Oh, Detroit, and the sports and everything. And then the mug shot, I would definitely put at the bottom also, like you said, because it's not more accurate, the one where he said it's the 178 years, that was the --

Eric: Detroit, that was the Detroit. Rhonda: Yeah, well then, I'm wrong.

Interviewer: I still want to get your top two, if you can, just --

Rhonda: Well, Atlanta I would put at the top just for the fact that it had the better topics, I mean, it seemed like it was more in-depth on stories, local stories, than it did than anything.

Interviewer: And which two would you just not, you didn't find them, they weren't doing anything for you.

Rhonda: The Seattle used more room for advertising on their page than their cover stories. The Detroit didn't. It didn't bring up the news, it brought up more sports and advertising, and put their most important topics toward the bottom, when they should have been at the top.

Interviewer: And you have Atlanta toward the top. Between the other ones, I think it was Miami, Denver, Seattle. Were any of those toward your top?

Rhonda: No, not Seattle, I put towards the bottom. Tampa I like because of the videos demonstrating more news. My thing is, when I go to look at something, I'm not saying judging a book by its cover, but it's more like that to me if I see something I like at the time, I'm going to click on it, other than scrolling down to the bottom of the page to find if there's something else that I like on that story. It's like the front page, but you can see if the page is what you want to look at, and I'll click on that, but to me, it didn't seem like Seattle did that.

Interviewer: So you're putting Tampa and Atlanta toward the top, and then Seattle and Detroit. Okay, I'll go into more of this in a little bit. Eric, what were your top two and bottom two?

Eric: I'd say the top two would be the Miami Herald and maybe the Detroit Free Press. My bottom two would be the St. Petersburg, Tampa one, and the Atlanta.

Rhonda: At least we're opposite, anyway. Eric: And age difference, probably.

Interviewer: No, you may not be, but you're looking at some different things, and this is where I want to go next. Let's talk about photo selection and use of color. You had mentioned one of those that was using mug shots, and that was Detroit, I think.

Rhonda: Tampa Bay.

Eric: Yeah, the Tampa Bay one.

Interviewer: And you said that that just doesn't --

Eric: It doesn't lend credence to the Web site, to me.

Rhonda: The point of looking at something and showing the news, is to make sure that a viewer comes back and looks at it every day, and to me, I don't think I want to see mug shots of three different people every day, because it even has its own internet site. Interviewer: That's great. What about size, were some of the pictures too big, too small?

Eric: Well, the page itself, I actually made a note of that on some of them, like the Seattle Times was really long, and I don't know that I think that's bad or good, but I just noticed that on some, like the Denver paper, to scroll down, the scroll bar on the right hand side of the screen, it didn't go as far to look at the whole home page. Where on the Seattle Times it really went long, so you didn't have to page through to get to things, but it also seemed like that on the Seattle Times, there weren't any windows within that home page that had scroll bars. But on the Denver page, because it wasn't as long, wasn't as deep, it had several windows where, within the home page, you could scroll through stories and pictures, videos and stuff like that.

Interviewer: And so how does that, I mean --

Eric: I don't know that it affects my opinion as far as whether it's a good place or a credible place, it definitely I guess from the technology standpoint, it's like they put a little bit more into it, the people that have the scrolling windows in their Web design.

Interviewer: You mean the Denver Post.

Eric: Yes, the Denver Post had the most windows, at least as quick as I looked at them, that had a window within the home page that you could scroll thing down. And Rhonda, did you notice that at all.

Rhonda: Yes, on that one, and then also on the Atlanta, I noticed almost the whole top screen, and I think it was the Atlanta, and the Miami, their top pictures were so big you got less news articles, I mean, you had to scroll down there more, the pages were so long, but the top pictures were so large, and the others were just so small, I mean, it's a cover story, it's supposed to be more important, but to me, it just seemed like the pictures were larger.

Eric: Yup, they were larger.

Rhonda: Because it was the little boy in the courtroom and then the lady crying, just the picture was so large, you had to scroll halfway down the page just to finish the story to find out why. When I'm reading something, it's just I don't have the visual in my head and reading at the same time.

Eric: The Seattle Times had, to me, the most visually arresting picture when you look at it, because it had that Mardi Gras picture --

Rhonda: Yeah, that's the one I was talking about, the Mardi Gras.

Eric: Yeah, the Seattle Times, and it also had the very long page, way several -- Rhonda: But also on that one, it had the Mardi Gras picture, but it had a lot of writing down toward the side, so that you got to read more, there was more to the story. On the other ones, the pictures were so big, the writing was all the way halfway down the page. That was a good sized picture on that one.

Interviewer: That's good, that's really good. Let's go back to what these things are called. Eric, you had mentioned that that for you, having that masthead, that traditional masthead, meant a lot for you in terms of credibility. Rhonda, did that affect anything, whether it was called Free or Tampa Bay.com versus --

Rhonda: Oh no, I just more into the news, I'm not more into the pictures, it's just the stories, what stories they choose to put on the front is am I going to read the rest of the newspaper, like, there's only certain stuff that I look at the newspaper, but if I see something that catches my eye, I'm going to read it more, I don't stare at the heading, the heading doesn't get my attention, just the pictures, the bold writing, stuff that will catch my attention. I guess that didn't catch my attention, but I understand where he's saying from, it's more of a --

Eric: It just felt like I was, if you're looking at the first page of a newspaper -- Rhonda: And he reads the newspaper every day, I have a chance, when I have a chance, I view the internet site.

Interviewer: Great, okay. Just a couple of more questions. Advertising - a plus, a detraction, too much, too little, not enough? One of you had mentioned that --

Rhonda: That would be definitely one reason why I would sit down and read the newspaper every night, is you don't -- in the newspaper, you have advertising, but it's not on their cover page, it's on the 2nd, 3rd page at the bottom, the little Dillard ads, but you don't something just blinking in your eye, just catching your attention. Which also, I can see why they put it on there, it causes you to try to focus on the page more, but it doesn't do that, it actually led me off of the stories than what would be the regular newspaper.

Eric: Only one of the sites that I went onto, and it could be they all have it, I just wasn't there long enough or something, but only one of the sites had an ad that popped up and blacked out everything, or blinked out everything, where you have to go close it, otherwise you can't even read it.

Interviewer: Do you remember which one that was?

Eric: It was the Seattle Times. That was the only one that that happened, but

they did allow you to close it, you didn't have to sit through the whole thing.

Interviewer: Were there others that you found too detracting?

Eric: It seemed to me, I have a note here underlined, that the Detroit Press had more ads, and I agree with Rhonda, whether you're looking at a newspaper or you're looking at a Web site, I'm going there for the news, not the ads. They have other sites for looking at ads and shopping, but I realize that the Web sites, that's the only way they're going to pay for it, with the ads. I guess, to me, that's the one drawback of internet newspaper sites, is that when I read a newspaper, a paper newspaper, I never look at the ads, I couldn't tell you what ads are on the page for the most.

Rhonda: I look at the AT&T one just because it was blinking.

Eric: Yeah, but on these, just by their nature, they distract from everything else. It doesn't necessarily, but to me, I don't see that as, I may not like it, but I don't see that it is determining whether the Web site is credible or not.

Interviewer: Got it, okay.

Eric: The type of ad doesn't do that, maybe the amount of them does, if there's just way too many ads. It's like a comparison would be, you pick up a GQ magazine, or these fashion-type magazines, good LORD, the first five0 pages before you even get to the content page, is advertisements. The magazine's this thick and weighs a half pound because it's half advertising.

Rhonda: I think it was on the Seattle, it was a Mardi Gras mass, but it was a long advertisement, that it was a long picture, which you could have turned it the other way and made it small or did something, but it just seems like they're using more of the page for advertising, and less news.

Interviewer: Is that with Seattle, or is that overall?

Rhonda: Seattle, that was the big picture, but overall, I think more advertising is used than on the newspaper sites. But I use the internet news because it's more convenient for me. If I actually had a decision, could I sit down and read a newspaper every night, I would, it's just seems like I get more of a feeling of being in the news, being there, seeing what happens.

Eric: If my kids were your age --

Rhonda: Well I have one that's 3, and one that's getting ready to be 3, so when I get off work, it's like --

Eric: Yeah, I have a 7 year old and a 14 year old, so it's not like -- they spend a lot more time on the internet than I do, they're much better at it then me, too.

Interviewer: So this is a similar question, and I guess it's almost the same question, but the first question that I asked in ranking them is based on credibility, but if there was one that you would, and it called Missouri Times, if there was one that you would go to --

Eric: Pick one out of all these -Interviewer: Yeah, that you would go to.

Eric: It would be the Miami Herald site.

Rhonda: Either Atlanta or Miami. Seattle and Tampa is not what I like.

Eric: I guess the other really nice thing about the internet site that you can go to, if I see a paper in the Missouri, if I read an article on the Missouri Tribune paper or on

the Missouri Tribune site, or hear somebody at the water cooler talk about what happened in Atlanta, well, pre-internet, you wouldn't get anything unless you saw it on the news, or they might have some little story about it, but you can go to the Atlanta site, and you're guaranteed to find out more about it. For sports people, you want to read about the Gators, go to the St. Petersburg Times, they had more Gator stuff on there than you can shake a stick at.

Rhonda: But also on the internet, it seems like you get more, I guess you don't sit there and flip through all the pages, if you're looking for a certain story, it seems that you can find almost, there's a heading for -- you can click on that article and be there, instead of right at the bottom page, well murder trial on page 2D, and you have to sit there and flip through the pages, and try to find --

Eric: You can search too, all of them have a search block.

Interviewer: One more quick question on photos that I forgot. Did you notice any distinction between the use of local photos versus pictures from East Zimbabwe somewhere, does that make a difference. you mentioned the mug shots was a real detraction, but was there any --

Eric: Most of them seem to have, whether it was sports, or hard news, I guess, for lack of a better term, most of them seemed to be local pictures right when you got on the page without scrolling down.

Rhonda: So if it was a Detroit newspaper, and you've seen something about Detroit, whether it was sports, whether you see them talking about this happening over here, and this happening over here, you see more of what's happening in that local area, which would be a reason why it would be called a local newspaper.

Interviewer: Were there any of the local photos, specifically, the main photo on the page that you would recall:

Rhonda: Tiger Woods on the --

Eric: Yeah, Tiger Woods was on the, I think that was on the Atlanta one, I remember thinking --

Rhonda: No, Atlanta was the woman crying about they were doing an interview on the nephew of the five year old that got killed.

Eric: Yeah, I do remember seeing that picture.

Rhonda: And then the little boy -- and then there was one on, I think it was Miami of the man who was a nine year old was raped near a lake and a field, and they sent him to prison for it for a life sentence, and they finished his life sentence, now the DNA says it wasn't him.

Eric: Yeah, he was exonerated.

Interviewer: It was a courtroom shot or something?

Rhonda: Yeah, it was a courtroom shot.

Interviewer: Do you remember which paper was the Tiger Woods? Do you think it

was Detroit?

Eric: I thought it was --

Rhonda: It is the Detroit, and the Atlanta was the lady, and the Miami was the boy.

Eric: One picture that stands out --

Rhonda: And Denver was the one about the man in the DNA testing.

Eric: The one picture that stands out of all the ones that I looked at was that really colorful picture, I say Mardi Gras, it looked like somebody in a Mardi Gras.

Rhonda: Because that one caught my left eye, because I figured just by looking at it, it looked overseas news. I have cousins and stuff in Iraq, it's not stuff that the war and everything overseas, it just doesn't attract my attention at all. I want stuff that knows what's going on in the United States, that all around me.

Interviewer: Okay, great. Is there any other points you want to make? I'm going to ask you to leave your notes, too, just so I can refer to them. Is there any final point?

Rhonda: I put internet advertising, I also put the internet is more layered, giving people more of an option to view more, knowing more than what's shown in the newspaper.

Interviewer: Good point.

Eric: When I started out looking at it, it seemed like all of them have tab sections at the top so that you can go to editorial or entertainment or sports or local or national, but it seemed like the Seattle Times had more of those than any other one, there were a whole lot of tabs across the top and small, and there were a couple of --

Interviewer: And you define that as a good thing for credibility?

Eric: Yeah, I would think so. There was also a couple that would have very large sections of the front page that would have no graphics, just line after line of the lead-in to a story, and that seemed congest.

Interviewer: Do you recall which one?

Eric: Well, I wrote it down, it's the Atlanta news, and I guess that was it, the

Atlanta news.

Interviewer: They had line after line of text, is what you're saying.

Eric: Yeah, each one was a link, but they would be, there was no icon, no graphic, no anything like that, it just seemed very congested, not user friendly.

Rhonda: Which one was it that you said had more editorial, because that's one thing I like to look in the newspaper on the back page, I like to read other people's advice what they give to the editorial, sometimes they have stuff in there, as a mom with children what should I do, different stuff that your kids should do if they're doing this, school, it gives you a chance to actually to interact and see what something is on a man or woman's mind when they're writing this stuff to the newspaper, why did they pick that story. To me, editorial is a big part for me too.

Interviewer: Great, that does it, that covers it, thank you very much for your time. [End of interview]

Study participants: Valerie Brown and Elizabeth Corbett Date of interview: Friday, January 15, 2010 at 6 p.m.

Interviewer: Thank you both for helping with this, I really appreciate it. Let me just get a couple of little things if I can. Valerie, are you from Columbia originally? Where are you from?

Valerie: Glasgow.

Interviewer: Oh. Do you work here in town?

Valerie: Foster parent.

Interviewer: Oh, really, okay. Not that you have to be truthful about this, but can you give me an age range? (Negative shake head from subject.) Okay. When you're in Columbia, and you want to find out something, when a show might be going on, or when there's information that you need to know, you hear a big boom in the middle of the night, and you want to find out what it was the next day or whatever, where do you go?

To my brother, he's a cop. Valerie:

Interviewer: Oh well, there you go. Is there any Web sites that you surf around on?

Valerie: The Tribune. Interviewer: The Tribune site. Valerie: And local news.

And television news. Okay, great. You go by Liz? Interviewer:

Liz:

Interviewer: Liz, the same - are you from Columbia?

Liz: No, Air Force brat, I lived all over, but I lived in (inaudible) in Kirksville,

unfortunately.

Interviewer: What do you do around town? Liz: I work part time at HyVee.

Interviewer: Oh really, you almost have to ask which one now?

Liz: Broadway, the original.

Same question, if you hear something going on and you want to find out Interviewer:

about it, where do you go? Liz: KOMU online.

Okay. What about either one of you, not necessarily news sites or Interviewer: anything, but what are your favorite other Web sites, national sites, or big things, YouTube.

Valerie: MySpace, Tweeter.

Liz: I have to be honest, I don't like to watch the news, I like to read the news.

Interviewer: Good, that's valid. What about just other sites, like YouTube or --

Liz: My husband occasionally shows me stuff on YouTube. Occasionally, I'll look at the news if I hear something interesting at work, but other than that, I don't want to come across something depressing.

Interviewer: Do you watch movies or TV shows, or do you use the Web for anything?

Liz: We watch, CSAN the Democratic channel.

Okay, great. Well let's just jump in and Valerie, I'll start with you. So Interviewer: what did you think of the six, which ones did you - I mean, you're looking at an old newspaper, you're thinking about the time when they had the old newspaper, and now they're all online. Do they come across as newspapers, do they have the same sort of feel of a --

Valerie: (indicating no), especially this one, the Seattle, it's too womeny, it doesn't catch any of the readers, the younger generation, it's supposed to be like a sex ad or something with the little two people.

Interviewer: So the advertising --

Valerie: Doesn't represent - what is it for?

Liz: It's for a resort in Hawaii, but they decided to take up the whole page. Interviewer: Okay, so lots of space for the advertising. Do you sense that detracted you from --

Valerie: That's the only thing I looked at. And then with the earthquake in Haiti happening, they have a little thing for it, over here, it's Martin Luther King, and I just don't want to read it.

Interviewer: That's a good point. So what of the six was the one that you felt like did a better job.

Valerie: Miami. I did like Miami, but on to the side, how can you win a 2010 Jeep Wrangler, so they could have used more space and put something else that was important, they could have waited to the left.

Liz: That's changed in the last 10 minutes, I think, because when I looked at it, it was a different ad.

Interviewer: So Liz, and please speak right into the little mic there please, so sort of the same question, what did you think overall, which were ones that --

Liz: Well, if I were writing a paper for school, I would not feel comfortable using the Detroit Free Press as a reference, nor the Seattle Times.

Interviewer: Which ones did fair better than those?

Liz: I think that the Miami was by far the best, it looks just like a newspaper on a computer screen.

Interviewer: It looks like a newspaper, okay. So I'll ask this of you, Liz, and then I'll get back with you, expand on that a little bit more, in terms of the visual elements, why did Miami do it and Detroit didn't do it?

Liz: Detroit seems like all the subjects were materialistic or about hobbies related to only Detroit, and so their news took priority, I mean, national news.

Interviewer: Their news was more local perhaps?

Liz: Yeah, and the pictures were either non-existent or very small. I noticed on a lot of the newspaper sites, and I think this is just common with today's society, but there's too much garbage about TV stars, and athletes and their personal lives, and I notice that a few of the newspapers focused a lot on those types of articles.

Interviewer: Okay, that's a good point. What was it about Miami, in terms of the visual content that you did like, you said it looked like a newspaper.

Liz: Yeah, to me, it looks like the paper that I could pick up and buy at the store, just like -- there was few ads on the home page, they were off to the side, and smaller pictures than the pictures that went along with the articles. The pictures also grabbed my attention, you could look at the picture and know what the article was about without reading any words, and it just really grabbled my attention.

Interviewer: Good.

Liz: I wanted to add, too, that the Tampa Bay one, to me it didn't really look like a real news source either, because the first article was a video of a guy rapping in court, and they had really cheesy ads like fortune teller ads all over the home page. Interviewer: Okay. Valerie, same question for you now that you've identified them, what were the visual things, the photos, the make-up of the paper, why did Miami come across as feeling like, just from --

Valerie: It tells you, right there, it grabs your attention, it's something that happened in our world, instead of focusing on this is what we're doing in her town, it has all that in it.

Liz: Like Tiger Woods is going into treatment.

Valerie: Right. It's serious, because the other ones, you know, am I too fat or am I too thin, you know, we don't need to hear that, that's what we have TV for. Newspaper should be for giving us the information that we actually need on what's going on. Interviewer: So, you had mentioned earlier Haiti, is the amount of space that they give,

Interviewer: So, you had mentioned earlier Haiti, is the amount of space that they give, does that play a part in it.

Valerie: They told us everything that's happening, who's going to be there, what the United States is going to do about this problem, rather than Miami's weather, how many people lost weight.

Interviewer: And what was it about, you said Seattle, you didn't like that one ad, but were there other things regarding Seattle or another one that, just based on their use of photography or any sort of layout that made you feel like it wasn't a good news --

Valerie: Yeah, the Denver Post.

Interviewer: Why so?

Valerie: The pics could be better, so the readers could read it, they want to grab readers to read the newspaper, that's how they make their money, you have to put pictures on there to grab those people's attention, touch them, I guess at their heart, this is what's going on in society.

Liz: Spark some kind of interest.

Valerie: Right.

Interviewer: Okay. That's great. Let me ask another question, and we'll get back to photos in a little bit, some of the Web sites have a traditional Old English topper, like a newspaper would, and other ones had very different. Did that at all influence whether it felt credible or not to you?

Liz: At first the Atlanta news and sports one to me didn't really seem, because it's just AJC.com is their title, so that it doesn't really sound like a very credible source when you first look at it.

Valerie: I don't even watch sports.

Liz: I didn't have much good to say about that site anyway.

You were shaking your head that that didn't matter to you.

Valerie: It's all about what they're saying.

Interviewer: Liz, you were about to take off on Atlanta.

Liz: Oh you want me to say it? Okay, the first thing I wrote was it didn't really look like a real newspaper to me. Again, I use the word cheesy, but there were really cheesy ads, and all the pictures of those ads were bigger than any of the article pictures, and I put, why is American Idol making front cover news, because one of their big subjects was something about American Idol.

Interviewer: Good, that's a good point. What was your feeling on Atlanta?

Valerie: I skimmed it.

Interviewer: So it didn't come across to you either as something.

Valerie: To me, there just wasting time.

Liz: Unfortunately, people real all that garbage on the internet, and they think

it's real.

Valerie: Yeah but, today they want to see what appeals to the youth.

Interviewer: So when you're looking at these sites, let's talk about photo use for just a little bit, big, small, does it matter, how easy are some pictures to read, are they too small to read?

Liz: The Seattle Times pictures, they put that they were really small and some of them you couldn't really tell what the picture was of.

Valerie: On the Tampa, I don't want to see somebody singing in court, they didn't

have to put the video on there at all.

Liz: That's what YouTube's for.

Valerie: Right, or the Worlds Dumbest Court people.

Interviewer: Good point, very good point.
Valerie: And they repeated it on there.

Liz: Yeah, it was on there twice, I wrote that down too, not only once, but

twice.

Valerie: I think that Detroit needed more info.

Interviewer: Great, this is great, I really appreciate it. So, now then, let's do this, and don't agree with each other, or do agree with each other, it doesn't matter, but don't let one influence the other - rank them, what would be your top two and your bottom two, in terms of when you first look at it, and you're looking at the pictures, and the headlines, and the way it's presented, which two come across as, yeah, that's one that I would go to, and these two are at the bottom.

Valerie: Yeah, that's hard, because my top one would be the Miami, I wouldn't know how to rank the other ones.

Interviewer: Well, what would be a close second, or distant second.

Valerie: I don't want to say the Seattle, I would go with the guy in the courtroom.

Interviewer: Which one was that?

Valerie: Tampa.

Interviewer: That's good. And what would you put at the bottom?

Valerie Detroit

Interviewer: Is there another one you would put down there?

Valerie: Denver.

Interviewer: Okay, Liz, what's your --

Liz: My number one would be Miami. Number two might be the Seattle Times. Number three Denver Post, and Atlanta and the other one, they would just be down there at the bottom somewhere.

Interviewer: That other one would be, I think we talked about them all. When you saw, you have mentioned, I want to go back just a second, and have you guys just talk about the names, we talked about whether a masthead or something influences just the look of it, but what about when it brands itself something like the newspaper, where it's Seattle Times versus Freep or AJC. Does that have an influence at all in terms of credibility?

Valerie: Yes, because you want something that you know of.

Liz: Freep just sounds like --

Valerie: We could go Google it to find out what is the word.

Liz: Is someone trying to come up with a cool name, I was always taught to go down to the bottom of a page to see their copyright, and I'm pretty sure that the Detroit had no legitimate source at all, they said they had a copyright, but they weren't like a news group or company or journalism anything, and they didn't have a date.

Valerie: So now you never know when that had been posted, that could have posted 2 or 3 months ago.

Liz: That's why I put completely illegitimate resource. I wrote absolutely no legitimate source info.

Valerie: Now that makes it kind of iffy about the Miami, since it has that Wrangler jeep on the side.

Liz: Well, they had at the bottom of their stuff, the Miami one.

Interviewer: Let me just take a moment to make sure I've got -- what about color, anything there strike you, is there too many dancing balloons or was it too bland?

Valerie: That was that one.

Liz: The Seattle Times with the Hawaii picture in the background, I didn't know what to think of that at first, it's very distracting.

Valerie: That's the Seattle Times. I was like who does this concern.

Liz: There was one I wrote something down about this didn't have hardly any pictures at all, and they had like 100 articles that you could click on, just so many words, just too many words.

Interviewer: Which one was that, do you recall?

Liz: Tampa Bay.

Interviewer: So that was overwhelming?

Liz: The only pictures they had were those two video clips, and then the rest

were ads.

Valerie: Which I don't understand, why would they put one at the bottom, one at

the top.

Liz: Just to catch your attention at different.

Valerie: Put it on repeat.

Interviewer: That's great, this has been very helpful. Is there anything else that you

want - I'm going to collect your notes and go through them, I appreciate --

Valerie: I was going to take my notes with me, they're sloppy.

Interviewer: That's okay, I'm good with sloppy. Is there anything else you wanted to

mention?

Liz: I think that's it.

Valerie: I'm going to Miami next month --

[End of interviews]

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