

## In search of the audience: the performance of civic, infotainment, and service roles in news<sup>1</sup>

*En busca de la audiencia: materialización del rol cívico, de infoentretenimiento y de servicio en las noticias*

*Em busca do público: materializando o papel cívico, de infoentretenimento e de serviço nas notícias*

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Based on a content analysis of a sample of news from 12 media outlets from Spain (n= 6 088), the study analyzes the presence of three journalistic roles that address audiences: service, infotainment, and civic. The data has shown that the infotainment role is the most present in the four platforms analyzed, while the presence of the service and civic roles is similar. Therefore, it has been concluded that the journalistic media in Spain conceptualize their audiences as spectators. Regarding the factors that explain the greater presence of each role, the thematic content is the most relevant.

**KEYWORDS:** Audience, journalistic roles, Spain, infotainment news.

Basado en un análisis de contenido de noticias de 12 medios de comunicación en España (n=6 088), el trabajo analiza la presencia de los roles periodísticos que abordan las audiencias: de servicio, infoentretenimiento y cívico. Los resultados han puesto de manifiesto que el rol de infoentretenimiento es el más presente, y que es muy similar la presencia de los roles de servicio y cívico. Se ha concluido que los medios periodísticos conceptualizan a sus audiencias como espectadores. Respecto a los factores que explican la mayor presencia de cada rol, la temática noticiosa es el más relevante.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Audiencia, roles periodísticos, España, infoentretenimiento, noticias.

*Com base numa análise de conteúdo de notícias de 12 meios de comunicação em Espanha (n= 6 088), o trabalho analisa a presença de funções jornalísticas que o público aborda: serviço, infoentretenimento e cívico. Os resultados demonstraram que a função de infoentretenimento é a mais presente, sendo a presença das funções de serviço e cívica muito semelhantes. Concluiu-se que os meios jornalísticos conceituam seus públicos como espectadores. Quanto aos fatores que explicam a maior presença de cada função, o tema noticioso é o mais relevante.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Audiência, papéis jornalísticos, Espanha, infoentretenimento, notícias.

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## INTRODUCTION

In their daily practice, the media implicitly or explicitly arrive at an image of the audience to which their journalistic content is directed. As such, journalists and media outlets make suppositions about the individual and collective needs of their readers related to the public sphere. In this sense, even in spite of the opportunities that technology offers to learn about their readership, journalists may be disconnected from part of their audience. Following this reasoning, media outlets and journalists are focused on constantly redefining their journalistic roles in order to adjust to audience expectations (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 1997) and make decisions in practice that impact news content.

There is no question that their understanding of their audience is partly related to the professional culture of journalism and regulatory ideals regarding the roles of the media. Traditionally, journalists conceived of the public as consumers or citizens (Underwood, 1993), which generated a debate between journalism as a public service and commercial journalism (Eide & Knight, 1999). The exclusive distinction between citizen and consumer and the connection between said concepts and specific models of press coverage stand as obstacles to a finer understanding of the journalistic roles that address audiences.

Today, it is worth asking whether the complexity of audiences, the technological revolution, social changes, new news consumption habits, and the increased commercialization of the journalistic market have given way to a new array of relationships between the media and their audience.

In this context, Mellado and van Dalen (2017) posit a breakdown of the classic dichotomy, ushering in a three-dimensional model that implicates the concept of audience members as citizens, spectators, and clients.

In this paper, the author explores the presence of the three roles—service, infotainment and civic—that the media use to approach their audiences more directly. A content analysis was conducted using a 12-month sample of news from Spanish media outlets ( $n=6\ 088$ ).

## JOURNALISTIC ROLES AND AUDIENCE APPROACHES

Historically, there have been various models of journalism, each characterized by their own way of defining the audiences that they appeal to. Schudson (1999) refers to the advocacy, trustee, and market models. The literature has traditionally highlighted two ways of conceiving of the audience: as citizens or as consumers (Bro & Skovsgaard, 2017; Mellado & van Dalen, 2017). The first concept is influenced by normative theories on the press in Western democratic societies (Christians et al., 2010), which claim that individuals seek to be well-informed by the news so that they can act and make decisions in the most rational way possible. This vision requires journalists to serve a social purpose in defense of the public interest. On the opposite end of the spectrum, the perspective that defines individuals as consumers establishes that audiences demand the presence of entertainment and light content in the news. The connection between this vision and the phenomenon of *tabloidization* is appreciated as a threat attributed to the commercialization of the media as degrading critical rational discussion of public affairs (Johansson, 2007).

This vision of two competing journalistic styles has been surpassed by new approaches (Atkinson, 2011; Brants & De Haan, 2010; Costera Meijer, 2003; Eide & Knight, 1999) that have opened up new concepts of audience –such as audience as clients– that do not lead to mutually exclusive journalistic roles (Mellado & van Dalen, 2017). As such, audiences can be approached by the media through the performance of three professional roles: the service role, the infotainment role, and the civic role (Mellado, 2015, 2021).

### *The service role*

The service role is linked to the production of news that include the provision of advice and guidelines for daily life that are offered to the audience as clients. News serves as a vehicle that impacts the audience's day-to-day lives, with information on advice, complaints or individual risks, as well as consumer advice pieces (Mellado, 2015, 2021). This new professional role emerged to address audiences' new

demands regarding their daily life and “breaks down” the traditional dichotomy between journalism for citizens and journalism for spectators (Mellado & van Dalen, 2017).

Eide and Knight (1999) define service journalism as “the way the media provide their audiences with information, advice, and help about the problems of everyday life” (p. 525). It responds to the complexity of what is called *late modernity*, in which individuals do not only act as citizens in the traditional political sphere or through organized civil society. Rather, they seek out entertainment and also act as consumers and clients. The scholars argue that service journalism is directed at a hybrid social subject (Eide & Knight, 1999).

This type of journalism has been assimilated with news content that differs from the classic structure of news sections such as politics, finance, and police and crime. Underwood (1993) referred to this type of content as “news-you-can-use”, that is, news about medicine, personal finance, diets, self-help and, in general, any content that is not very complex and is not part of public affairs and government activities (p. 101). Hanusch (2012) uses the term “lifestyle journalism”, which would include news about “travel, fashion, style, health, fitness, wellness, entertainment, leisure, lifestyle, food, music, arts, gardening and living” (p. 4).

However, Eide and Knight (1999) caution that service journalism does not only address individual needs, but “lends itself to collective, political action as it shares common ground –the problematization of the everyday life-world– with the social movements, advocacy and activism groups that are the driving force in subpolitics” (p. 545). This argument leads them to state that service journalism is not reduced to specific news topics, but can also be a new form of practicing journalism in news areas such as politics.

### *The infotainment role*

The infotainment role is based on content related to sensationalism, emotions, morbidity, and curiosity in order to entertain and relax the audience, which is considered to be comprised of mere spectators (Mellado, 2015, 2021). This model of journalism is not new. The aspect of infotainment journalism that is new is that it is not limited to a single topic or specific content, but has become a cross-cutting journalistic

style that has its origins in the response of media agents to the expansion of their audiences, modifying the news content to make it more attractive. This resulted in what is called consumer-driven journalism (Bro & Skovsgaard, 2017) or market-driven journalism (McManus, 1994). Underwood (1993) described the changes in the management of news rooms and news content, and how managers displaced journalists in the 1980s.

Commercialization extended from the North American media system to the rest of the world driven by the domination of neoliberalism (McChesney, 2001). As Hallin and Mancini (2004) have noted, the most important commercialization process in Europe is derived from the liberalization of radio and television systems, which distanced the “European media system away from the world of politics and towards the world of commerce” (p. 277).

The effects of commercialization have also been notable in journalism in non-Western contexts. In Latin America, the media system has followed the liberalization and commercialization model in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile since the 1980s. This has created media elites with close connections to economic and political powers. These entities configure what are called “captured liberal media systems” (Guerrero & Márquez-Ramírez, 2014).

The commercialization of information has led to *tabloidization* (Sparks & Tulloch, 2000), a term that refers to the trend by which news media utilize the styles and formats of classic tabloid newspapers. This connection between infotainment and tabloid journalism (Steenveld & Strelitz, 2010) has led to a normativist analysis of this role of the press by both academia and journalists themselves. The transgression of this type of journalism of values more closely identified with social responsibility of the media and the concept of public interest is cause for concern.

Altschull (1995) determined that the tabloidization process provokes the media to shift away from classic journalistic values and towards entertainment values. Academics also have expressed concern about the effects of consumption of this type of journalism. For example, Jebiril et al. (2013) warned of the effect of political cynicism associated with exposure to infotainment in Denmark, the United Kingdom, and Spain.

The market-focused orientation and increase in competitiveness in the commercialization of journalism also has been referred to as the cause of a process of *McDonaldsization* of the press (Franklin, 2005). This process is characterized by news becoming standardized products of a low-cost industry. Infotainment also has recently been associated with phenomena unique to the attention economy such as clickbait (Bazaco et al., 2019) or social media as a tool that audiences can use to access news on digital platforms (Zhou & Cristea, 2017). The search for readers is increasingly connected to the presence of emotions or trivialization of complex issues (Kilgo et al., 2018). In Spain, Casero-Ripollés (2018) and Díaz Nosty (2015) pointed to these trends, and Bravo-Araujo et al. (2021) determined that it is more common among digital natives and in soft news in their study on the use of clickbait. For their part, Segado et al. (2022) found that the number of times a news piece is shared is closely linked to sensationalism.

### *The civic role*

The civic role is characterized by the presence of information on public demands, the formation of the rights and duties of members of the public, and all manner of news about topics related to public participation in social, political, and cultural life in news content (Mellado, 2015). This role is connected to the tradition of public journalism (Rosen, 1994), which empowers the audience to participate in public life, encouraging civic awareness about the public sphere in an exercise of social responsibility by the media, which act as catalysts in the communication of public demands on those in government.

Civic journalism began in the 1990s as a reform movement in response to the loss of credibility of the United States media that brought a Golden Age (the 1970s) to an end. For Carey (2003): “In the public’s eyes, the press had become the adversary of all institutions, including the public itself” (p. 85). This distancing between journalists and citizenship suggests the different understandings of the roles of journalism held by both groups. While journalists believe that good journalism is based on acting as watchdogs and contributing to an informed society (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001; Weaver et al., 2007), the audience emphasizes a populist and civic approach along with more interpretive journalism (Holton et al., 2013).

## HYPOTHESIS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this paper, we started from the concept developed by Mellado (2015, 2021) on professional role performance manifested in six different dimensions that are generated through three axes: the presence of the journalist's voice in the news, the relationship between journalism and those in power, and the way that the audience is approached (Donsbach, 2012; Hanitzsch, 2007).

The dimension of the approach to the audience involves the way in which journalistic practices build their relationships with it. In other words, it is a matter of how the media understand the needs of their audience and how they build the news based on that information. This allows us to identify three roles. The first is the service role, which is linked to offering advice to the audience/clients in their everyday lives. The second, the infotainment role, is based on sensationalism, emotions, morbidity and curiosity, entertaining the audience/spectators, and helping audience members to relax. Finally, the civic role provides information and education on the demands, rights and responsibilities of the audience/citizens, as well as other issues linked to its capacity to exercise them and participate in social, political, and cultural life (Mellado, 2015, 2021).

Studies on professional role performance have sought to go beyond mere description and the procurement of typologies, seeking out explanatory variables that are different in nature and level of analysis. First, news topics have proven to be important predictors of the materialization of roles in different contexts and media outlets (Hellmueller et al., 2016; Humanes & Roses, 2018; Márquez-Ramírez et al., 2020; Mellado et al., 2017, 2018, 2021; Mellado & Lagos, 2014; Wang et al., 2017). As such, the civic role is mainly enacted in coverage of protests or human rights, and the service role is basically associated with health information or education.

At the organizational level, characteristics such as type of media outlet, organization size, and ownership type have also been identified as predictors of role performance (Hellmueller et al., 2016; Humanes & Roses, 2018; Mellado et al., 2017; Mellado & Lagos, 2014; Mothes et al., 2021; Wang et al., 2017). The infotainment role is generally more

present in popular newspapers. In terms of ideology, more progressive media outlets tend to enact the civic role to a greater extent.

Based on these theoretical suppositions, we posed the following hypothesis regarding the presence of journalistic roles related to the audience:

H1: The infotainment role will have a greater presence, though with differences based on the media platform.

We also developed two research questions:

RQ1: Which specific indicators characterize each role?

RQ2: Which factors –news topic, media platform and interventionist role– best explain the differences in the presence of the three journalistic roles in the media outlets analyzed?

## METHODOLOGY

An analysis was conducted of news content (n=6 088) published in 12 media outlets in Spain during 2020, including four media platforms (print press, radio, television and digital native media) that were chosen based on their audience penetration and various editorial lines (Table 1).

### *Sample*

To avoid biases derived from daily and monthly variations, the sample was selected by dividing the year into two six-month periods: January-June and July-December. A constructed week was created for each period by randomly selecting the start dates on one Monday in January and one Monday in July. Using intervals of three to four weeks, each of the six following days was chosen: one Tuesday, one Wednesday, one Thursday, one Friday, one Saturday, and one Sunday. This procedure guaranteed the analysis of each of the seven days of the week for each semester and that each month of the year would be represented by at least one day, avoiding overrepresentation of any one period.

Finally, the unit of analysis was each news piece, defined as the set of verbal and, where applicable, sound and/or visual elements that referred to a single event/issue/person. The author chose news on



TABLE 1  
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MEDIA OUTLETS ANALYZED

Media outlet	Year founded	Ownership	Type of media
<i>El Confidencial</i>	2001	Titania Compañía Editorial, S.L.	Digital native
<i>Okdiario</i>	2015	Dos mil palabras, S.L.	Digital native
<i>eldiario.es</i>	2012	Diario de Prensa Digital S.L.	Digital native
<i>Huffpost Spain</i>	2012	PRISA Noticias	Digital native
<i>El País</i>	1976	Grupo PRISA	Print press
<i>El Mundo</i>	1989	Unidad Editorial	Print press
<i>La Vanguardia</i>	1881	Grupo Godo	Print press
<i>Ser</i>	1924	Grupo PRISA	Radio
<i>Ondacero</i>	1990	Atresmedia	Radio
<i>Antena 3</i>	1990	Atresmedia	Television
<i>La 1</i>	1956	State	Television
<i>La Sexta</i>	2005	Atresmedia	Television

Source: The author.

the following topics: government, politics and electoral campaigns, economics and business, police and crime, the courts, defense/national security, education, health, the environment, energy, transportation, housing, accidents and natural disasters, religion and churches, work and employment, demonstrations and protests, social problems, the media, sports, science and technology, lifestyle, culture, and entertainment and celebrities. Editorials and opinion pieces and news on the weather, horoscopes, supplements, sponsored content, events and recreation were not included in the content analysis.

### *Measurements and coding*

The author followed the operationalization proposed by Mellado (2015, 2021) to measure the presence of professional roles in the news. This approach to the coding process has been validated in previous studies (Humanes et al., 2021; Humanes & Roses, 2018; Mellado et al., 2017, 2021).

The coding manual included the operational definitions of the performance of the service, infotainment, and civic roles. Five indicators measured the service role, five indicators measured the infotainment role, and nine indicators measured the civic role (Table 2). Each indicator was measured on the basis of presence (1) or absence (0). In addition, and based on the theoretical foundation of role performance (Mellado, 2021), we assumed that journalistic roles could co-exist. As such, the measurements were not treated as mutually exclusive.

TABLE 2  
INDICATORS OF EACH ROLE AND INTERCODER RELIABILITY LEVEL

Professional roles	Indicator <sup>1</sup>
Service role (Ka = .85)	Impact on daily lives Suggestions and advice (complaints) Suggestions and advice (individual risks) Information for consumers Advice for consumers Personal assistance
Infotainment role (Ka = .78)	Personalization Private life Sensationalism Emotions Morbidity
Civic role (Ka = .75)	Citizen reactions Citizen demands Citizen credibility Education on rights and obligations Local impact Impact on social communities Context information Citizen questions Information on citizens' activities Support for social movements

The full operationalization of the indicators can be consulted on the website of the project Journalistic Role Performance: <https://www.journalisticperformance.org/appendices>

Source: The author.

The coding was conducted by four people who were trained in advance. They conducted pretest reliability analyses and monitored the coding process in order to improve the agreement between coders. Finally, a post-test process was conducted to determine the reliability of the coders in the real coding process. Using Krippendorff's alpha (Ka), the final global intercoder reliability was 0.80 (Table 2 includes the value of Ka for each role).

After conducting a confirmatory factorial analysis (CFA),<sup>3</sup> the individual indicators that comprise each dimension were combined to generate a final score for each role. The gross scores (total scores divided by the total number of items for each role) were calculated to obtain descriptive statistics. The individual indicators that comprise each role were thus combined on a continuous scale of 0 to 1. A higher score expresses a greater presence of each journalistic role in the news and vice versa.

## RESULTS

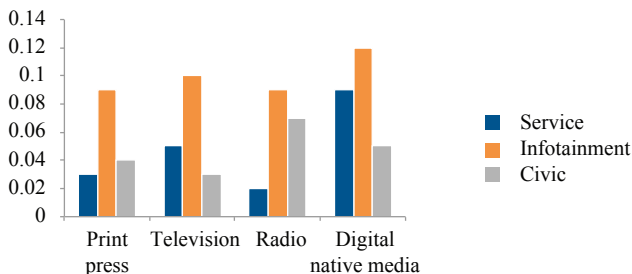
### *Presence of the service, infotainment, and civic roles in the news*

Considering the entire sample, the role with the greatest presence is infotainment ( $M = .10$ ;  $DT = .17$ ), followed by a similar presence of the service role ( $M = .05$ ;  $DT = .12$ ) and civic role ( $M = .05$ ;  $DT = .10$ ), though statistically significant differences ( $p = .000$ ) between the platforms (Figure 1) have been found. The service role presented the greatest differences across platforms ( $\eta^2 = .037$ ), and was most present in digital native media outlets. The differences in the other two roles are weaker ( $\eta^2_{\text{infotainment}} = .004$ ;  $\eta^2_{\text{civic}} = .016$ ), and the infotainment role was more present in digital media and television, while the civic role had a greater presence in radio.

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<sup>3</sup> Multivariable statistical analysis that measures the interdependence among variables. It is used to confirm latent structures that have been theorized, in this case journalistic roles.

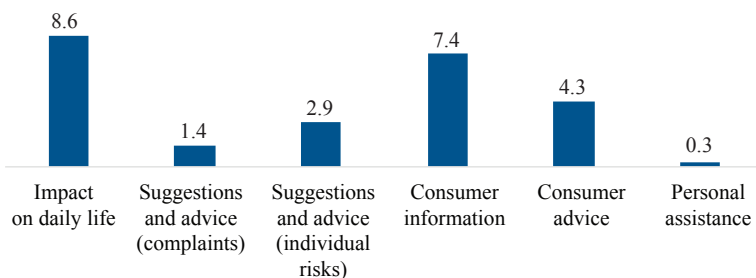
FIGURE 1  
PRESENCE OF ROLES ON MEDIA PLATFORMS



Source: The author.

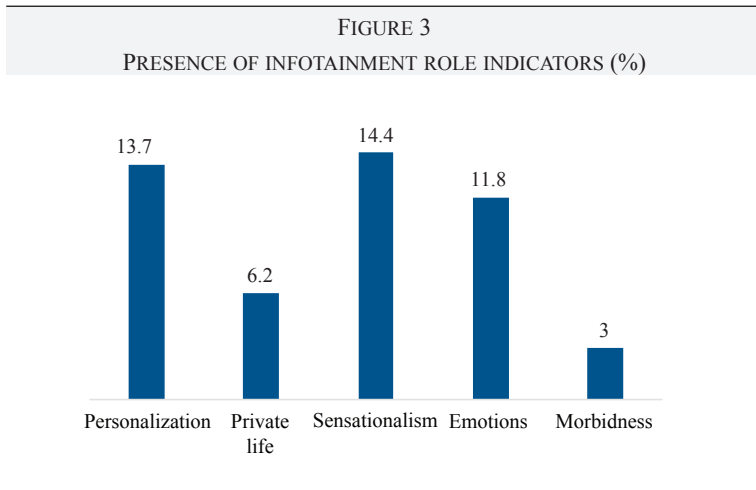
As we indicated in the methodology section, each role includes different indicators that express their specific characteristics. As shown in Figure 2, the service role is basically manifested through the news that shape the impact that certain events have in citizens' daily lives. This is followed by the two indicators oriented towards information on consumption. The service journalism dimension that refers to the advice that journalists can offer to people when they have to confront negative situations or risks in their daily lives have a more limited presence.

FIGURE 2  
PRESENCE OF SERVICE ROLE INDICATORS (%)



Source: The author.

Figure 3 highlights indicators for the infotainment role related to the style of the news. The approach with the greatest presence is verbal emotions followed by sensationalism. The indicator related to topics that appeared most frequently was personalization, trailed at quite a distance by the presence of news about individuals' private lives.

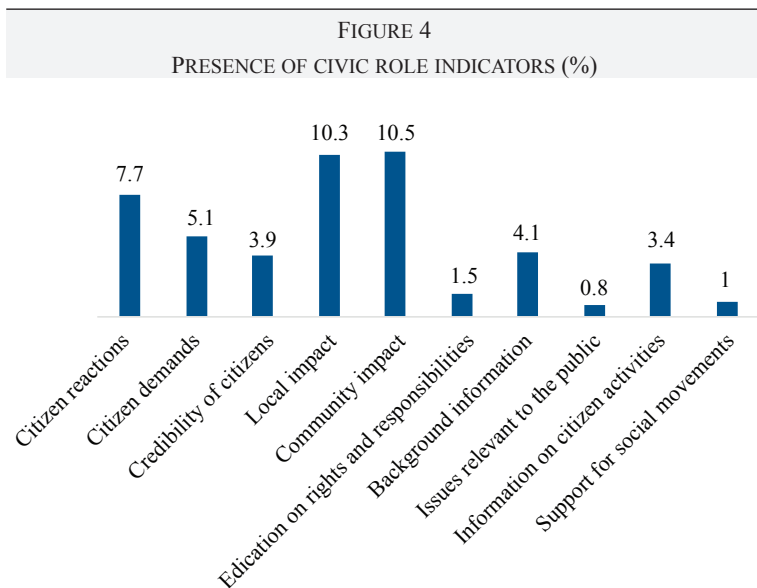


Source: The author.

Finally, Figure 4 highlights indicators for the civic role that are connected to a more advocate dimension in which news that include citizen reactions and demands dominate, while the publication of issues posed by the public and support for social movements are the characteristics with the most limited presence. When we consider a more educational dimension of the civic role, the inclusion of news that address the local and community impact of political decisions stands out. Information on rights and duties of citizens represents less than 2% of the news.

#### *Explanatory models of professional roles related to the audience*

The second goal of this article is to determine which factors explain the presence of each role in the news. Multiple linear regressions were conducted for each role, generating three models, all of them



Source: The author.

statistically significant ( $p < .000$ ). The successive steps method was used to introduce the predictor variables, which were grouped into three blocks (Table 3). The first is related to the media platform and is comprised of four variables. The second block is comprised of ten dichotomous variables related to the news topic. We also added a variable related to the presence of the interventionist role due to its cross-cutting nature, which generates intermediate roles when combined with other roles (Humanes et al., 2021). The interventionist role focuses on the presence of the journalist or medium as a stakeholder in the news and is materialized in the use of interpretation or opinion in the news (Mellado, 2015, 2021).

The model explains 16.5% of the variance of the service role and is mainly associated with the following topics: lifestyle (.260\*\*\*), social issues (.137\*\*\*), science and technology (.128\*\*\*) and the economy (.125\*\*\*). In regard to media platforms, the regression analysis showed that it is more present in news published using digital media (.147\*\*\*)

and broadcast on television (.101\*\*\*). It also confirmed the relationship between the service role and the interventionist role (.108\*\*\*).

The model explains 12.7% of the variance of the infotainment role. Two issues have greater explanatory capacity: news related to entertainment (.211\*\*\*), and police and crime (.102\*\*\*). In this case, the media platform does not have relevant explanatory capacity, but the relationship to the interventionist role is strong (.208\*\*\*).

Meanwhile, the model for the civic role explains 12% of the variance. The issues stand out as predictors. News on social issues (.314\*\*\*) and health (.113\*\*\*) are covered more frequently through civic journalism. Neither the media platform nor interventionist role are relevant when it comes to explaining the presence of this role.

TABLE 3  
EXPLANATORY MODELS OF THE MATERIALIZATION  
OF PROFESSIONAL ROLES

Predictor	Service	Infotainment	Civic
<b>Platform</b>			
Digital native media	.147***		
Television	.101***	.056***	-.065***
<b>Print press</b>			
Radio			.054***
<b>News Topic</b>			
Lifestyle	.260***		
Science and technology	.128***		
Social issues	.137***	.036**	.314***
Economy and business	.125***	-.090***	.054***
Health	.092***	-.031*	.113***
Politics	-.061***		.087***
Police and crime	-.031*	.102***	
Entertainment		.211***	
Sports		.082***	
Accidents and natural disasters		.035**	
Interventionism	.108***	.208***	
Corrected R <sup>2</sup>	.165	.127	.120

Source: The author.

## CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, we started with the idea that the media and journalists relate to their audiences based on their expectations of the latter's news needs. As such, the news reflects these expectations and understandings of the audience as citizens, spectators, and clients (Mellado & van Dalen, 2017). We conducted a content analysis of over 6 000 news pieces and analyzed the presence of the three journalistic roles related to audience approaches –service, infotainment and civic– in order to determine how the media interpolate their audiences through the news as citizens (civic role), clients (service role), and/or spectators (infotainment role). Based on the results, we can hypothesize about the type of content that media outlets create in response to audience demands.

We first posed the hypothesis that the infotainment role is generally dominant in Spanish media based on the trend of spectacularization of the information, which was corroborated by the literature. The results found here make this clear, and this role is more present on the four platforms analyzed. This conclusion reinforces the fact that it is also the role with the weakest differentiation between platforms ( $\eta^2 = .004$ ). The other two roles have an equal presence in the news. They are represented in 5% of news coverage compared to 10% in the case of the infotainment role.

As such, one initial conclusion of the analysis is that journalistic media in Spain offer their audiences news that basically address their characterization as spectators who are seeking entertainment. This trend is stronger in television and digital native media (see Table 1).

Starting here, we were also interested in identifying the specific characteristics that define each role in the Spanish case (RQ1). In the infotainment role, indicators related to narrative style are dominant (Mellado, 2021), and Spanish media outlets are marked by sensationalism –that is, the presence of the unusual and spectacular– and emotions. Meanwhile, personalization –the inclusion of information on intellectual, physical, mental, social or personal aspects of the people involved– is the most important element related to a more factual dimension.



The two possible areas –promotional or personal assistance– (Mellado, 2021) have a similar presence in the service role (about 13% of news in both cases). In the civic role, indicators related to a more educational orientation dominate –education on rights and obligations, local impact, impact on social communities and context information–. Meanwhile, defense-oriented coverage –the reactions and demands of citizens, citizen credibility, and issues raised by members of the public, information on social activities, and support for social movements– are less present (Humanes, 2021).

Finally, we explored factors that could explain the increased presence of each role in the news. Overall, the topic is the best predictor in the three cases. This result aligns with previous studies conducted both in Spain (Humanes, 2023) and in other contexts (Márquez-Ramírez et al., 2020; Mellado et al., 2021). As such, service journalism basically focuses on information about lifestyle, while the vision of the audience as spectator is localized in news on entertainment, and the civic role is exercised more frequently in news on social matters. Given that the interventionist role (the presence of the journalistic voice in the news) cuts across all categories, we also wanted to determine whether its presence explains the materialization of roles that address the audience. Regression analyses revealed that it does so more forcefully with the infotainment role, giving way to what we could call more expressive journalism and in the service role that orients it towards the promotional (Mellado, 2021). In regard to the civic role, we have not found that connection. As such, it would seem that advocate journalism is not being developed in the case of Spain. The media platform is the least important predictor in all categories, except for the service role, and especially in digital native media. This is a very widespread trend in different context (Mellado et al., 2024). One possible explanation for this finding may be the preferences of readers on this platform, which focuses on lifestyle news (Cox, 2014).

The findings raise new questions that should be addressed in future studies. First, scholars must analyze how journalism's audiences perceive the journalistic roles present in the news and the degree to which the media address their news needs. This is related to the loss of

trust in the media and phenomena such as news avoidance. In addition, on the side of broadcasters, qualitative studies must be considered in order to better understand the editorial decisions behind the news.

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## PROFILE

Professor of Journalism in the Department of Journalism and Corporate Communication of Rey Juan Carlos University. She has a PhD in Information Sciences from Complutense University of Madrid (1997). Has taught at Complutense University and University of Salamanca. Her main line of research focuses on the study of professional cultures in journalism. Belongs to the Group for Advanced Communication Studies (GEAC), a high-performance group at the Rey Juan Carlos University, and is a member of the scientific associations International Communication Association (ICA), International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) and the Spanish Association of Communication Researchers (AEIC). She is currently part of the Executive Committee of the Journalistic Role Performance project and leads the Spanish team within it.