

Online News Production, Consumption and Immediacy: The Remediation Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Evidence suggests that media displacement theory has limitation to explain the current development in news industry. This paper turns to the work of Bolter and Grusin on remediation which promotes the idea that old media are being transformed into new digital forms. Anchoring on this idea, this paper offers ways of understanding the processes in which online news sources repurpose print news for digital spaces via remediation. Three processes were identified; (1) borrowing the content and reusing it in a different format, (2) borrowing the format only and not the content, and (3) absorbing the older medium in its entirety. The paper also explores users' experience with new news media and suggests that greater interactivity and user control in online environment indicate the experience of immediacy. To achieve immediacy is the goal of all media, and its manifestation ranges from an improved experience to a sense of being there (or presence) in media use. Linking remediation and literature in journalism studies, this essay contests the straightforward definition of news immediacy and introduces a theoretically driven concept focusing on a sense of presence in news consumption. The dimension of immediacy adds to our knowledge of the complementary use of online and print news media, and is central to the issue of media survival and competition in today's digital age.

Keywords: *Immediacy, remediation, online news, news consumption, media displacement*

INTRODUCTION

With the advent of the Internet, the future of print is bleak (e.g., Ahlers, 2006; Gillin, 2004; Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2007). Indeed, displacement theory seems to suggest that the demise of the latter is inevitable. The theory predicts either a reduction in consumption of old media as the consumption of new media increases or the old medium will be replaced by the new medium when overlapping functions appear between them (Newell, Pilotta & Thomas, 2008). Past research found support for time displacement effect such as television displaced by online media for informational function (Kayany & Yelsma, 2000) and online video services reduced the time spent on old video media and non-media activities (Lee, Lee & Kim, 2016). The logical appeal of displacement hypotheses, however, is not always supported in the literature. There is evidence for the survival of traditional media including print. Researchers often find no (absolute) displacement and conclude that traditional media complements the Internet in the provision of news and information to their audiences (Bromley & Bowles, 1995; Dutta-Bergman, 2004; Nguyen & Western, 2006). The new medium is seen as supplementing rather than displacing (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2000) and as complimentary to the newspapers (Vyas, Singh & Bhabhra, 2007). Studies also have showed that most online news consumers spend as much

time with traditional mass media as they did before (Project for Excellent in Journalism, 2005), indicating a “more pattern” of use of the Internet and traditional print media (Nguyen & Western, 2006). Media analysts (Preston, 2014) also have predicted the longevity of print media as digital advertising revenue has started to decline.

These facts suggest that “replacement” hypotheses have limited explanatory power for the relationship between print and online news. This article aims to provide a fuller explanation, by advancing remediation as a theoretical framework for understanding the relationship. The remediation approach to understanding new media is grounded in media research. Researchers have applied remediation concepts in understanding visual presentation of news (Cooke, 2005) to plot design changes between media over time and found that print, television and the internet had moved towards media visual convergence. The concepts have also been employed in various other media such as games (Jason, 2010), cinema (Baugh, 2005) and film (Scott and White, 2003) to understand how the use of new media is experienced through the interplay between immediacy and hypermediacy in each medium. Remediation is often employed in exploratory research. The testing of remediation concepts in empirical research, however, is still lacking, a point to which we return in the concluding remarks.

Bolter and Grusin’s concept of remediation is based on the idea that new media seek to improve upon the main inadequacy of the older media, that is, immediacy. Using the interplay between the logics of immediacy and hypermediacy, remediation theory provides a high degree of critical engagement with the process of change between older and new media. Mitchelstein and Boczkowski (2009) have argued that “scholarship about online journalism seems to be at the intersection between tradition and change; it still relies primarily on traditional conceptual lenses to make sense of emergent phenomenon, but shows potential for theoretical renewal” (p. 563). This paper contributes to knowledge in two ways; first by exploring theoretical renewal for understanding online news consumption and its contemporary practices using remediation perspective, and second by proposing theoretical conception of news immediacy as a multifaceted concept which includes timeliness and also a sense of presence as an experience with the news. The next section discusses the attractions of online news, to demonstrate the kind of media reform that is central to Bolter and Grusin’s work on remediation.

MEDIA REFORM AND ONLINE NEWS

The switch from traditional media to new media in news consumption, especially among youth, is a global trend. The World Association of Newspapers (2007) has stated that the Internet has become the first choice for news and information among young people. Most often, youth prefer online news because it is convenient, fast, free, flexible and easily accessible (Tiong, Asiah, Liana & Siti Suriani, 2015) and capable of providing alternative views (Wilson, Leong, Nge & Hong, 2011). In line with this development, existing media are increasingly making their presence felt online. Newspapers worldwide have followed the trend to expand their brands and reach wider audiences. This seems to be a matter of survival for newspapers (Peng, Tham, & Xiaoming, 1999; Shahrul Nazmi Sanusi & Normah Mustaffa, 2015) and a strategic move to prepare for digital migration.

Online news media surpasses traditional print media in terms of attractive attributes. Studies suggest that the shift towards online news sources stems from the attraction of the Internet as news' medium (Pew Research Center, 2004; Zulkafli, Omar & Hashim, 2014). Among the most notable of these attractions are the delivery of breaking news all through the day or news immediacy (Karlsson, 2007; Omar, 2007), the (mostly) free access to online news sources, the unlimited media choice of form - text, audio and videos (Stovall, 2004) - and the capacity to find information faster than using offline media (Oostendorp & Nimwegen, 1998; Online Publishers Association, 2004). In addition, online news stories can be "hyperlinked" to further and more in-depth information. Pavlik (1999) has argued that the use of "hypertext" creates a more "contextualized" condition – one that gives news and information a richer historical and cultural background.

Access to abundant information has become the key advantage of online news media over traditional print. Unlike traditional print and broadcast news, digital news has reached multiple networks. In addition to the news that is supplied by mainstream news organizations, people also have online access to alternative news and views from non-mainstream media sources and individual news providers. There is also evidence of a proliferation of news outlets. Amongst those considered unique to the Internet are Rich Site Summary (RSS) feeds, news aggregators, news blogs and even news wikis (Tewksbury & Rittenberg, 2012). News providers also make use of social media tools such as Facebook and Twitter to actively disseminate news. In addition to social media use, the development of convergent mobile news applications (commonly referred to as "apps") allows news consumers the convenience of accessing breaking news using mobile devices. These underscore how accessible online news is compared with newspapers. Barnett (1997) has argued that this is an important component of effective democracy since it helps to create "a more knowledgeable citizenry, whose understanding of issues and arguments is fostered by the availability of relevant, undistorted information and access to collective rational debate in which citizens can deliberate and develop their own arguments" (p.195). Other, earlier studies (Bucy & Gregson, 2001; Papacarissi, 2002) have also argued that easy access to information leads to stronger democracy.

Effective democracy is not complete without participation. One of the characteristics of new media that distinguishes them from traditional print is that the internet allows interaction with the medium, between users and producers, and also among users themselves. This leads to the rise of online "citizen journalism", a new media environment in which ordinary users engage in journalistic practices. According to Goode (2009), citizen journalism includes a wide range of practices, from users acting as content creators (including current affairs-based blogging, photo and video sharing and comment postings on current events) to users participating in news-making processes (including re-posting, tagging, rating and commenting on news posts by other users and professional journalists). Citizen journalism has gained much attention in recent scholarship (e.g., Nah, Yamamoto, Chung & Zuercher, 2015; Wall, 2015). The extent to which users participate in the production of news has become a key issue in online news research (Mitchelstein & Boczkowski, 2009).

Scholars have often argued that the interactive features of the Internet enable audiences to participate in the creation of news and to discuss issues through their own

websites/blogs and in various social media (Domingo et al., 2008; Duez, Bruns & Neuberger, 2007). Some have argued that news production has thus become a collective effort because the relative positions of journalists and audience have changed from one-way communication to a dialogical one (Boczkowski, 2004; Deuze, 2003). A dialogical relationship denotes conversation (dialogue) as practice, method and metaphor in journalism (Kunelius, 2001) and is characterized by interactions between “journalist and sources, text and sources, text and other texts, text and audiences, journalist and audiences, sources and audiences, and between audiences” (Hornmoen & Steesen, 2014). Thus, digital journalism harnesses a plurality of truths (Hornmoen & Steesen, 2014; Karlsson, 2011) as multiple viewpoints are accessed and disseminated. This is a revolutionary media use that traditional media, especially print, are incapable of providing. Deuze (2006) has asserted that:

Individuals become active agents in the process of meaning-making (participation) then adopt and at the same time modify, manipulate and thus reform consensual ways of understanding reality (remediation) and finally reflexively assemble own particular versions of such reality (bricolage) (p 69).

Deuze’s term “remediation” has suggested a change in our understanding of reality, arising from the many types of media reform. The manifestations of these reforms of particular interest for this article can be seen in the attractive attributes of online news and the contemporary practices of the latter that support a better democracy. My argument is that the reforming of old media by new media is supported theoretically by the work of Bolter and Grusin, who posit that new media are expected to be better than the old: “Each new medium is justified because it fills a lack or repairs a fault in its predecessor, because it fulfills the unkept promise of an older medium” (Bolter & Grusin, 1999, p. 57). In the digital era, older forms of news media have evolved into much more accessible forms of news and information, and journalism is being changed by user participation in the news-making process. Thus, the notion of journalism is remediated, from a practice once determined by print and broadcast technologies, to its digital form. The process of change involves evolutions in news production. We explore this in the next section, using remediation as the theoretical lens.

NEWS PRODUCTION AND THE PROCESS OF REMEDIATION

The borrowing of media content is one of the principal methods by which websites are filled with news content. Boczkowski (2004) has used the term “repurposing” to describe how news media adapt to online environment. Repurposing, according to Boczkowski, is the republishing of online stories originally produced for print. Using the term “shovelware”, Stovall (2004) has also described how news content from traditional media of newspapers, radio and television are repurposed or poured into newspaper websites. This method resonates with Bolter and Grusin’s concept of remediation, which they describe as a representation of one medium in another. The process, as they described it, occurs in three different ways: (1) borrowing the content and reusing it in a different format, (2) borrowing the format only and not the content, and (3) absorbing the older medium in its entirety.

The first process is one in which the content has been borrowed and indeed, early work examining online news sites found that the content available online is, most often, very similar to offline content. At least one study has showed that as much as 90 percent of online news content resembles news already published in print (Robinson, 2007). Similarly, Singer (2003) has argued that internet news sites simply expand access, rather than content. Examining the “most-read” news items on the New York Times website on December 14, 2006, Weldon (2008) has found that the news published on the website was reproduced from the print version. Hindman (2008) has also claimed that “with only a handful of exceptions, newspaper websites overwhelmingly present the same articles, prepared by the same staff, as the paper’s print edition” (p. 97). There is also evident for reciprocity of influence between the Internet and traditional news media in determining news contents. For instance, Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee (2005) have found a significant influence of traditional news media over the Internet bulletin board when covering the general election in South Korea at the beginning of the event, but later they found the Internet exert greater influence on traditional news media and also the coverage of other media.

Scholars have argued that many news organizations follow this content replication rule because they lack the resources to develop new content (Boczkowski, 2004; Singer, 2006), are unable to modify existing organizational processes (Boczkowski, 2004) and are increasingly dependent on news wire services (Tewksbury & Rittenberg, 2012). This is because the motive for traditional media to move into online production is to defend their existing territories (Boczkowski, 2004) rather than to explore new ones. As the move becomes a trend in the news industry, online news content simultaneously produces and reproduces its capacity to surpass traditional news media content, through the provision of constant news updates and breaking news stories (Massey & Levy, 1999), incorporating additional features in terms of local content and opinion pieces (Tewksbury & Rittenberg, 2012) and adopting user-generated content initiatives (Thurman, 2008).

While such repurposing of older media content has become the norm for some news organizations, there is also growth in independent news sites not affiliated with any pre-existing news organizations. These new sites are normally regarded as a form of alternative journalism. Today’s alternative journalism ranges from news sites produced by independent organizations (such as Indymedia), which often employ trained journalists to process news, to individual amateurs (such as weblogs) who have no formal training in news production. In the case of Indymedia, for example, Downing (2001) has claimed that it remediates oppositional and radical media that could be found before the advent of the World Wide Web. Meanwhile, Katz (2000) has associated weblogs and group weblogs with the private radio stations of the 1970s and 1980s, the self-legitimizing entities that broadcast unfiltered views in opposition to those broadcast by mainstream news corporations. Predating the Internet, alternative journalism played an important role in providing diverse views and challenging existing ones. Drawing on the remediation concept, it can be argued then that independent news sites adopt only the form, not the content, of older practices of alternative journalism.

At the other extreme, remediation operates by absorbing the older medium entirely, to minimize the discontinuities between the two media. An example of this kind of remediation,

given by Bolter and Grusin (1999) is the adaptation of filmic techniques in digital games such as *Myst* and *Doom*. In many cases, digital games are versions of Hollywood films and are sometimes even called “interactive films”. The opposite move, from games to films, has also occurred, such as with *Lara Croft*, where what was originally a digital game became the subject of a major Hollywood film. This opens possibilities of competition and rivalry between new and old media. New media remediate old media in terms of content and form, whilst older media remediate the new by deploying digital production techniques. These possibilities are also present in the case of print and online newspapers. The absorption of the older medium in entirety can be found in the development of e-papers which combine the advantages of both media: the portability and readability of print newspapers, with the Web’s continuous updates and user interaction. This was made possible through the development of hand-held electronic reading devices such as Kindle and Sony Reader.

E-reader technology is expected to change the way how users read books, as well as magazines and newspapers. Specialists in media and computer technology have seen this development as a revolution in the news industry. Recent projection, however, has shown a bleak future for e-reader technology. Market researchers have forecasted a steady decline in e-reader demand due to the arrival and growing popularity of more general purpose mobile devices such as tablets and smart phones (Bensinger, 2013). Likewise, social researchers have not paid much attention to e-papers. On the other hand, there is a growing interest in investigating the personalization of news (Thurman & Schifferes, 2012) through the use of mobile news apps (Weiss, 2013) and social media (Lee & Ma, 2012), commonly associated with the use of mobile phones. The popularity of the versatile portable devices over the single-task e-reader as a way to access news is evident. It is tempting, then, to argue that mobile devices (smart phones and tablets) are remediating the e-reader, the processor of display technology originally designed to remediate the ink on the printed page. The process of remediation, in this instance, helps to explain how new media pay homage to, rival, and refashion older media forms. Bolter and Grusin (1999) assert that new media do this in order to achieve immediacy, the goal of which is to create experiences of unmediated media use.

NEWS CONSUMPTION AND THE GOAL OF IMMEDIACY

The logic of immediacy, according to Bolter and Grusin (1999), can be defined according to the experience that the media provide. In an immersive medium such as virtual reality, immediacy meets the user’s need for presence or a sense of “being there”. The emphasis is on experiencing the “real” through media use. The experience of immediacy is also at work, these scholars have said, in non-immersive media such as film, television, photography and computers. The manifestations of the desire for immediacy can be different – for example, film may strive to achieve the “authenticity” of experience, while computer graphics strive to achieve a “transparent interface”. Immediacy is, therefore, a media goal; it is what each medium strives to achieve. It operates, however, as a counterbalance to the second logic of remediation, that is, hypermediacy. While the logic of immediacy strives to eliminate acts of representation, the logic of hypermediacy acknowledges multiple acts of representation. Hypermediacy appeals to the “rich sensorium of human experience” (Bolter & Grusin, 1999, p.54). Hence, the desire for

greater immediacy is what drives the production of “hypermedia” or hypermediated media use. The interplay between the two logics is useful for explaining users’ experiences with the media.

The double logics of remediation help to explain the experience of using online news media. Online newspapers or news sources provide interactivity and user control, made possible by the non-linear structures of new media. The goal is to achieve immediacy. Easy access to the latest on-demand news by a click of the mouse, and movement between different mediums such as text, audio and visual, help users to achieve the immersive “virtual” experience of immediacy in an online environment. But such an experience is impossible without the multiplication of spaces and media – and works – through changing windows on a computer screen. The immediacy is stimulated by the non-linear character of these new media: the use of links to access news – in the forms of text, audio and video – supports the multiplication of spaces and media. These activities define the very concept of hypermediacy – as described by remediation theory. Little is known about the effects of hypermediacy, because so far empirical research examining what Bolter and Grusin (1999) have called the half-logic of immediacy is almost non-existent. The effects of non-linearity – the key characteristic of hypermediacy – however, have received great attention in media research.

Non-linearity suggests greater control of the use of new media. In online environments, newspaper readers have more control over and choices about what to read. The non-linear structure of the Web requires readers to use the mouse/pad to select links in order to explore content, by going from one page to another, and using the scroll bar while reading. One study has shown that paging and scrolling, when combined, increase reading time and decrease the memorization of information (Oostendorp & Nimwegen, 1998). Studies have also established that online readers survey a narrower range of topics than those who read print newspapers (Schoenbach, Waal & Lauf, 2005). Online readers have displayed poorer comprehension of content (Macedo-Rouet, Jean-Francois, Isaac & Pierre, 2003) and have lower recall of information about public affairs (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2000). Earlier studies have also asserted that non-linearity causes disorientation (Dillon, 1996; McDonald & Stevenson, 1996) and cognitive overload (Macedo-Rouet, Jean-Francois, Isaac & Pierre, 2003), which impair learning from the Web (Eveland & Dunwoody, 2001).

Comparisons of the two forms of text have shown that readers of print text have a sense of location because they know the center of the text, while hypertext has no center to guide reading (Modir, Guan & Abdul Aziz, 2014). While the fixed, unitary texts of traditional print newspapers help readers to follow the sequence of the stories or information in a structured way, online readers must continually shift their attention each time they come across new information – which can come in the form of text messages, pop-ups, emails and audio visual media content. The hypermedia structure demands that users be highly involved in deciding what links to follow and navigating the spaces in order to get to information. Navigation through websites requires high degrees of user control of the pace, order, and content of instruction. A number of researchers (e.g., Dillon, 1996; McDonald & Stevenson, 1996; McKnight, 1996) who examined users’ experience of the Internet found a common drawback: a feeling of being disoriented or getting lost in the vast hypermedia space.

Lee (2005) has explained that the feeling of becoming lost in hyperspace – not knowing where one is or where to go next – is not the only type of disorientation. Users can also experience disorientation when they have difficulty achieving a coherent understanding of the content because of cognitive overload – also known as cognitive disorientation. Cognitive load is defined as “the amount of mental effort required to locate specific information and understand how this information is oriented within a larger information source” (Eveland & Dunwoody, 2001). Disorientation and cognitive load effects coincide to the extent that previous studies tend to use the two terms interchangeably (Lee, 2005). In more recent work, cognitive overload has also been seen as a kind of breakdown; a state in which all communication input cannot be utilized or processed effectively. Rutkowski and Saunders (2010) have used “emotional and cognitive overload” (ECO) to refer to “a wide range of dysfunctions – from emotional (frustration and impatience) to cognitive (accepting lower performance levels, making poorer decisions)” (p.96), as online users cope with ever increasing volumes of new data to be processed in the digital world.

Inexperience with the medium – and its new interfaces – is one of the causes. Given the Web’s non-linearity, new media produce disorientation among users (Modir, Guan & Abdul Aziz, 2014) with little or no experience of the medium or its content domains. Such disorientation is similar to that felt when navigating through unfamiliar physical space. Results from previous research are mixed but indicate promise. Studies at the beginning of the Internet revolution (Dillon, 1996; McDonald & Stevenson, 1996; McKnight, 1996) frequently cited the problem of disorientation, while later studies often, though not always, found either no significant effects of hypertext on disorientation (Eveland, 2001), or the opposite, wherein users in the linear mode report greater disorientation than those in the nonlinear mode (Baylor, 2001). These findings suggest that as more people become more accustomed to using the Web, the disorientation effects associated with it diminish. Yet, the evidence is far from conclusive. As new technology is introduced, Lee (2005) argues, unfamiliarity with the new interface causes disorientation, especially among the less adventurous. In the current context, then, online users are continuously embracing new technologies that demand extra mental effort from them to learn the newer version – and unlearn the older– as well as to adapt to altered Web interfaces in order to stay current (Rutkowski & Saunders, 2010). Hence, problems of disorientation and cognitive load persist as the technology evolves.

The disorienting effects of hypertext are discussed widely in the literature; as are the possible ways to reduce these effects. The question has attracted researchers from various disciplines – including computer science, education and communication - into investigating further. Some studies focus on easing disorientation in the hypertext environment through the use of such devices as cues in the form of path trails (or “breadcrumbs”) and simple graphics indicating position (Herrington & Oliver, 1995), metacognitive maps (Lee & Baylor, 2006), design guidelines (Smith & Marsh, 2004) and navigation support systems (Madrid, Van Oostendrop & Melguizo, 2009). Some researchers have found that increasing the number of links can contribute to cognitive load and hence they suggest restricted access to links (DeStefano & LeFevre, 2007) and the use of hierarchically structured text (Van Nimwegen, 1999). There are also studies of content design that recommend the use of leads to access hyperetext nodes

(Antonenko & Niederhauser, 2010) and short news summaries (Chen & Lin, 2000) in order to make orientation easier and to enhance a coherent understanding of digital content. Thus, improving the navigability of websites has become a goal of new media with the aim of overcoming disorientation. Attempts to reduce disorientation also imply a striving for immediacy.

In journalism studies, immediacy is often described as an important news attribute. There is a trend in communication studies research to try to understand the reasons for online news adoption (Salwen, Garrison & Driscoll, 2005; Nguyen, 2010) and there is general agreement that immediacy predicts the adoption of online news sources. Massey and Levy (1999) have affirmed that immediacy has markedly distinguished online news from its print counterpart. Karlsson and Strömbäck (2009), too, have claimed that online news is characterized by both immediacy and interactivity. Karlsson (2011) has further claimed that the practice of instant reporting of online news promotes transparency in journalism. Nguyen (2010) has found that an increase in online news attributes – in terms of 24/7 updates, customized news and no cost – predicts newspaper displacement. He has asserted that immediacy (measured by 24/7 updates) is the central defining characteristic of online news, and his study has revealed that it is the strongest reason for online news adoption and the strongest predictor of the take-up of online news. Immediacy of news is about the speed of news reporting. However, the remediation perspective suggests that the straightforward definition of news immediacy is contested; immediacy is, rather, multifaceted.

A MULTIFACETED CONCEPT OF THE IMMEDIACY OF NEWS

Immediacy in online news is about delivering news immediately. It has always been associated with news timeliness. The Web enhances timeliness by “creating a dateline situation every time there is breaking news, no matter what time of day it occurs” (Stovall, 2004). Karlsson (2007) has defied immediacy as no lag between when the information is received or created by the news producer and when it is passed on to news consumers. In other words, the news cycle has been radically shortened (Singer, 2003), a phenomenon that arises from competition among news organizations to be the first to report a news event. In addition to the speed of production, immediacy of news is also defined as freshness of content (Lim, 2012). Most often, immediacy in relation to online news refers to the availability of breaking news and its fast-changing content in online publications, which together offer new possibilities for updating, changing and reshaping news.

The real meaning of immediacy, however, is not so straightforward. Literally, it refers to something that seems real and important and makes people feel involved in whatever is being described (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Most often, immediacy is linked to closeness or intimacy between people (Mehrabian, 1969). According to these literal interpretations, immediacy is not a unidimensional construct. This suggests that it does not denote only the quality of being timely – or a state of timeliness – as is usually implied in media studies. I would argue that “presence” is another dimension of the immediacy of news. In this context, presence refers to users’ perceptions of immediacy as they interact with both the news content and the medium.

It refers to the experience of “being there” felt by audiences when they read a particular news story.

This notion of presence has foundations in a number of fields including computer sciences, psychology and communication. Most often, it is described as a sense of “being there” in a mediated environment. Lee (2009) has listed six conceptualizations of presence found in previous studies: subjective or objective social richness; perceptual or social realism; transportation of self, place or other selves; perceptual or psychological immersion; social interaction with an entity within a medium; and social interaction with a medium itself. Taking into account several definitions of presence, Lombard and Ditton (1997) summarize it as “a perceptual illusion of non-mediation”.

The concept of presence as used in the studies just cited resonates with Bolter and Grusin’s concept of immediacy, which can also be summarized as having a dual character: transparent immediacy and perceptual immediacy. While immersive media (such as virtual reality and three-dimensional computer graphics) strive to achieve transparent immediacy or “interfaceless” interface, non-immersive media (such as television, film and the Web) strive to attain perceptual immediacy. As online news media can be categorized as non-immersive, the focus there is on a perceptual immediacy denotes the connection of news readers’ consciousness to the news that they read. In other words, their perceptual immediacy allows them to bypass the medium, interact with the contents, and feel the horror or the joy that the news attempts to convey. It relates to the feeling of being if not physically there, then otherwise there where the events occur.

Thus, immediacy is a multifaceted notion, and just as the concept of attitude has affective, cognitive and behavioral components, so the immediacy of online news also has various dimensions: viz timeliness and presence. Both timeliness and presence can be hypothesized as significant indicators of immediacy in news research. Given that the availability of breaking news and its swiftly changing content have distinguished online news from traditional newspapers, timeliness is expected to predict online news consumption. On the other hand, the survival of print is an indication of the sense of presence experienced by print news readers. The immediacy of traditional newspapers – in terms of the presence dimension – is evident as the legibility and portability of the medium allows readers a perceptual immediacy that connects their consciousness to the news they read. While traditional news reinforces this sense of presence in order to survive in today’s digital age, it is also expected that online news will flourish as it continuously offers – in addition to breaking news – content in multimedia forms and interactive environments that support the experience of immediacy in news consumption.

REMEDICATION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

To sum up my argument thus far: The complementary or supplementary relationship between new and traditional media contradicts the prediction of the media displacement theory, suggesting that the latter is insufficient to explain the influence of the Internet on older media use. Previous studies (Newell, Pilotta & Thomas, 2008; Robinson, Barth & Kohut, 1997) have echoed the same concern about the limitations of media displacement theory. In this context,

we turn to remediation theories: New media remediate older media by borrowing content and form; in effect, the new and the old engage in a dispute over the “real” or the “authentic”. This explains the situation of the print medium in the present age of digital technology. Following remediation arguments, in borrowing formal elements of print, new media adopt its cultural significance. Thus, the authenticity of print medium explains its survival despite displacements. This oldest form of mass medium still exists, despite the proliferation of other, new forms of media.

In a review of recent research on online news production, Mitchelstein and Boczkowski (2009) have advocated the importance of recognizing the historical antecedents and evolutionary paths of contemporary practice, thus supporting Bolter and Grusin’s claim that media continuously remediates or refashions other media in their self-formation. The claim is supported by other scholars too. Manovich (2001) work on the Language of New Media, for example, has established the historical connection of new media to cinema. Unlike researchers who direct their investigations to a particular medium or practice, Bolter and Grusin have demonstrated the universal application of remediation in media-related contexts. They propose a wide range of applications, ranging from photography to computer games. Dobson (2006) has acknowledged such a wide application of remediation. Another book on remediation, *Moving Media Studies: Remediation Revisited* edited by Philipsen and Qvortrup (2007) have provided a general meta-theory of communication and case studies of different media, in an attempt to analyze Bolter and Grusin’s (1999) work critically. Remediation is, therefore, heuristic. In another review of remediation, Dobson (2007) has claimed that Bolter and Grusin (1999) work has attained the status of a classic study.

And yet, as noted earlier, remediation concepts have rarely been tested against empirical settings and thus, remediation is often criticized as vague (Baetens, 2006) and involving too instrumental a view of media technology (Dobson, 2007), making it difficult to test the concept beyond exploratory studies. Although richly illustrated, its complexity relates mostly to the definition of key concepts. The term remediation itself is not directly defined, but relates to the mutual relationship between two logics; immediacy and hypermediacy. Yet, immediacy is superior to hypermediacy. Bolter and Grusin have stated that “the logic of immediacy has perhaps been dominant in Western representation, at least from the Renaissance until the coming of modernism, while hypermediacy has often to content itself with a secondary, if nonetheless important, status” (Bolter & Grusin, 1999, p. 34). This is because a medium becomes hypermediated in order to achieve immediacy. As a goal of media, immediacy is the ultimate goal. Hypermediacy on its own is also a goal of media, but cannot be considered the final one. This is because hypermediacy leads to immediacy, whilst immediacy is an end in itself. Research attention, therefore, has focused on immediacy rather than hypermediacy. Like other research, this article too is exploratory as it attempts to understand online news consumption through a remediation lens. Yet despite these limitations, it enhances our understanding of online news consumption, which is not commonly discussed at a theoretical level. One potential contribution of this paper is the introduction of a multifaceted concept of immediacy in news consumption; which has great potential for empirical testing in future research.

Future research investigating immediacy might include testing it as a multifaceted concept, which can now be conceptualized through the theoretical lens of remediation – as can presence. Immediacy in news research can be established in two senses: timeliness (speed in news production) and presence (the feeling of being there). The testing of immediacy using the indicator of presence is relevant to recent developments in online journalism. An increase in the use of online news video, for example, suggests the relevance of testing immediacy as an experience rather than as an attribute alone. This development – and future expansion – shows that examining users’ senses of “being there” in news consumption has great potential for future research. Testing a multifaceted concept of immediacy in the context of current news consumption and emerging phenomena in digital journalism would constitute a new direction for research. Throughout media history, immediacy is what each medium strives to achieve (Bolter & Grusin, 1999). As the striving continues, so does research in this field.

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