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**Spanish Language Media in Australia: Understanding
the Rise and Evolution of Australia's Spanish
Language Newspapers**

Michelle Genevieve Natolo

BA (Hons)

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

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Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

(Signed) _____

Date 31 January 2018

Michelle Natolo

Abstract

As a nation with a strong history of migration, Australia has become a rich multicultural society with an extensive history of migrant and Indigenous media. For migrant communities, community ethnic newspapers created 'by' the community 'for' the community, are powerful, yet overlooked cultural, informational, and linguistic resources. Community ethnic media are a vital part of multicultural Australia as they assist individuals to find a sense of community, belonging, and place. Media are a crucial space where migrant communities can debate and address issues and events that mainstream media ignores and are important mediums where communities understand themselves and one another. With an infinite number of community ethnic media platforms available from print to broadcast to digital, matters of access, representation and having their audiences' voice heard and recognised has become more important than ever.

Although research examining community ethnic newspapers in Australia has flourished since Gilson and Zubrzycki's pioneering work on the history and role of Australia's ethnic media in the 1960s, specific research as to why and how Spanish language newspapers were produced and consumed in multicultural Australia has remained unexamined. In particular, we lack knowledge concerning how Spanish language newspapers are an alternative space in which this invisible heterogeneous migrant community, not only has a voice and space to publish news and information but where it also maintains and promotes the Spanish language and culture.

This thesis addresses these knowledge gaps for Australia and elsewhere by examining and discussing the following three themes. First, the emergence and development of print and online Spanish language newspapers in Australia. Second, how the production and consumption of Australia's Spanish language newspapers influence language, culture, and identity in relation to the past, present, and future. Third, how Spanish language newspapers represent an imagined community, and contribute to a sense of place and belonging amongst community ethnic media producers and consumers.

This thesis analyses the results of a three-step study, drawing upon data derived from mixed-methods research. First, a community-based survey of first and second generation Hispanics from Australia's three largest capital cities — Brisbane, Melbourne, and Sydney —

examined the reasons for print and online Spanish language newspaper production and consumption. Second, semi-structured interviews with ethnic press professionals examined the emergence and evolution of the Spanish language press and the significance of the publication-audience relationship. Third, a textual analysis of print and online Spanish language newspapers verified and triangulated data from the community survey and interviews.

The analysis of the survey and interview data in this thesis provides insights into whether and how Spanish language newspapers have influenced Australia's socio-cultural and linguistic landscape. This thesis illuminates our understanding by demonstrating how Spanish language newspapers instil a sense of solidarity via a shared language, experience, and space, not only within the Hispanic sphere in Australia but also within a wider global sphere.

The principal finding of this thesis is that despite Australia's monolingual landscape, the Spanish language press continues to satisfy and maintain the linguistic, informational, and cultural needs of first and subsequent generations of Hispanics. This thesis identifies four key elements in Australia's Spanish language press. First, a need and market for Spanish language newspapers exists, as Hispanics continue to be under-represented and invisible in the Australian mainstream media. Second, Spanish language newspapers are a cultural and linguistic resource which creates a sense of place and belonging for Hispanics in multicultural Australia.

Third, this thesis identifies that Australia's diverse Spanish-speaking community consumes Spanish language newspapers not only to fulfil their informational and social needs, but to maintain Spanish as a community language, culture, and identity via a collective media space. That is, these newspapers have created an imagined sense of belonging to a pan-ethnic community, despite the community's diverse national origins and cultural and linguistic heritage. Fourth, digital communication technologies have contributed to the expansion of an imagined community, which has made it easier, cheaper, and faster to maintain and acquire a transnational audience. The findings of this thesis have implications for promoting community ethnic media, language and identity, and the use of digital communication technologies to facilitate community ethnic media opportunities.

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Natolo, M. (8-11 June 2011). The Internet and the Australian Ethnic Press. Presented at the *9th International Conference on New Directions in the Humanities*. Granada, Spain.

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Dedication

Para mi mamá, que me enseñó a amar la vida y el idioma castellano.

For my mother, who taught me to love life and the Spanish language.

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Dr Ester Roldán for her never-ending love, and support and encouragement to undertake a doctoral study. I am eternally indebted to her for her selflessness in transmitting, maintaining, and continuously teaching me *castellano* and my Argentinean heritage and culture. I thank her because without her constant transmission and maintenance of my heritage language and culture from my early childhood to adulthood, and her endless motivation, teachings, guidance, support, patience, confidence, perseverance, and persistence, this thesis would never have been possible. Thank you for standing by me and giving me the strength and support through your testimony to see this Doctorate through.

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Like others before me, I have also chosen to use the metaphor of a journey to describe the process of thesis writing. In my case, this journey was similar to climbing a rather large and high mountain. I would like to express my gratitude to numerous individuals for their guidance and support throughout my doctoral studies and the successful completion of this thesis. I will do this by taking you through the stages of climbing up the mountain. At the commencement, there are many foothills you can see at a distance; you select one of them because you need to find your path up. While gradually approaching the mountain, you examine how it is formed and where the passes and foothills lie. In my case, the birth of my mountain began in my childhood. I was raised in a multilingual environment and never felt the need to reflect on this until I began this thesis.

For this phase, I had to develop an approach to reaching the foothill of this mountain. In this first phase of formulating the research questions, research methods and data collection, I had many discussions with my first and former primary supervisor, Associate Professor Cristina Poyatos Matas, and Associate Supervisors Dr Amedeo Tosco, Professor Michael Meadows, and Dr Taeko Imura, who I would like to thank. It is at this point that I would like to extend a special thanks to all my respondents for their participation in the surveys and interviews, as this thesis would not be possible without them. Thank you for permitting me to explore your life, and for sharing your stories, history, and thoughts.

Whilst making my way up the mountain, I hit a difficult bit of terrain and needed to reroute my way in order to reach the mountain peak. Like in any task in life, one must try one way, and if that was unsuccessful, then a change of direction needs to be adopted. It is here that I would like to extend thanks and appreciation towards my current Principal Supervisor Professor Andy Bennett and my Associate Supervisor Dr Elizabeth Burrows, who willingly chose towards the end of this thesis to join this journey with me. I would like to thank them, especially for both their interest in the field and their patience, as they took me above the tree line and guided me up the mountain by clarifying on issues that were not fully addressed.

Beyond this, I wish to express my greatest appreciation to a few others who have been with me throughout this journey. I owe my deepest gratitude to my mother, for her unconditional love and unwavering belief in me. I wish to thank my sister and fellow doctoral 'traveller' Stephanie for her valuable time, continuous support, endless feedback and editing throughout all the stages of my thesis. Further, I would like to extend a special thanks to fellow doctoral 'traveller' Dr Wendy Hill, who also assisted me along this voyage, providing immense valuable assistance, feedback, inspiration, and constant support. Finally, immense thanks to all my friends in Australia, and around the world that have continuously motivated and supported me, championing me every step of the way.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Australia is among one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse nations in the world with an array of community ethnic media produced in a plethora of community languages. Community ethnic media caters to migrants and their children and fulfils various social, cultural, and linguistic roles. For Australians who do not possess knowledge of community languages such as Spanish, community ethnic media may seem foreign, even unknown to them. Yet, for decades, Spanish language newspapers have thrived in multicultural Australia. For this study, it is necessary to comprehend how the creation and evolution of Spanish language newspapers ‘by’ the community ‘for’ the community creates a sense of belonging and place for Hispanic Australians.

Reflecting on this, my position as a linguist and academic researcher is influenced by my background. I am an Australian-born female with Argentinean-born parents of Italian and Spanish heritage. Like many others, I have grown up listening, speaking, writing, and reading languages such as English, Spanish, and Italian. In terms of media, I have experienced first-hand my parents’ diverse media practices, to stay informed with news and events as well as to preserve the Spanish language and pan-Latin American identity within our family. My family’s diverse media ecologies have cultivated a sense of connection and belonging to Australia, Argentina, and the wider Spanish-speaking world. Thus, this thesis is concerned with the emergence and evolution of Spanish language newspapers, but more specifically, how newspapers as a linguistic and cultural resource create a sense of community, belonging, and place.

I open this thesis with a generalised question by American sociologist Robert Park (1922) from his study of *The Immigrant Press* in the United States: How do migrant communities connect to one another and their societies? This question will serve as a guide in exploring how Spanish language newspapers connect to the community. This research led me to think about my consumption of Spanish language media. I came to see that community ethnic media’s use of the Spanish language and the promotion of Spanish and Latin American culture via its various print and online forms is central in forging a sense of belonging to multiple spheres and imagined communities. Bearing these issues in mind has led me to undertake this PhD thesis, which has assessed the rise and evolution of Spanish language newspapers, newspaper production and consumption patterns of Hispanics, and the newspaper-audience relationship.

This thesis investigated the nature of interrelated factors in the Spanish language press via the concepts of community ethnic media and imagined communities. Community ethnic media performs a vital role in endorsing a sense of 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991). That is, the act of producing and consuming newspapers connects individuals with others who they may never know or meet one another because they share similar experiences, language, or background (Hatcher, 2005). The creation of ethnic media for reasons such as linguistic and cultural maintenance or finding a space to connect with other community members has resulted in a space where invisible migrant communities have now become visible (Matsaganis, Katz & Ball-Rockeach, 2011; Adams, 2009).

1.1 Previous Research

Since the 1960s, print and online Spanish language publications have been produced in Australia, nevertheless, specific research into why and how Spanish language newspapers were produced and consumed remains unexamined. Previous research that provides the foundation for this study is García's (2002) book, *Operación Canguro*. Although valuable, García's book analyses Spanish migration to Australia from the early 1950s to late 1960s and the development of early Spanish institutions such as social and cultural clubs and Spanish language media. Moreover, he theorises that the emergence of Spanish language institutions in Australia was due to the lack of Spaniards' accessing mainstream media, in addition to cultural and linguistic maintenance and promotion. Nevertheless, media occupies a space in García's book where Spaniards, as an invisible migrant community, had their own place and voice in Anglo-Saxon Australia.

Similar to García (2002), Avison and Meadows' (2000) study of Indigenous newspapers in Australia find that the Indigenous community's pursuit of media empowerment resulted in the emergence of Indigenous newspapers and their respective public spheres. That is to say, Indigenous media in Australia was created due to the Indigenous community being under-represented and invisible in Australian mainstream media. Moreover, the establishment of Indigenous media caters to their cultural needs by enhancing a sense of community, belonging, and place (Burrows, 2010; Meadows, 2009; Avison & Meadows, 2000).

1.2 The Hispanic Community as a Diaspora

As a consequence of globalisation, migrants are relocating to other countries more than before. 'Diaspora' has now become a key term in theorising migration, ethnicity, and identity, yet there is no agreement amongst scholars concerning the notion of 'diaspora' (Cohen, 2008). Traditionally, the term diaspora described the exile of individuals from their homelands (ibid). Scholars such as Johnson (2012), and Papoutsaki and Strickland (2008) apply Cohen's (2008) nine common elements of diaspora. Out of these nine, eight elements¹ correspond with the Hispanic community in Australia. These are: (1) that the community is dispersed over two or more countries; (2) that they are in search for employment; (3) there is a shared memory and myth of the homeland; (4) an idealisation of a real or imagined homeland exists; (5) frequent returns to the homeland; (6) a strong ethnic group consciousness is maintained over a long period of time; (8) a sense of community is felt amongst its members, and (9) an improved lifestyle in the country of settlement that promotes multilingualism (p. 23).

In this study, I characterise Australia's Hispanic community — whose origins encompass over 21 countries² located in Central and South America, the Caribbean, Europe, and Africa — within the contemporary notion of diaspora. This research utilises Bruneau's (2010) term of diaspora in its examination of Hispanic Australians where, "... [it] is now applied to all forms of migration and dispersion of a people, even where no migration is involved..." (p. 35). In this way, this term includes first generation Hispanics who migrate from Latin America and Spain and their descendants who are born in Australia. By conceptualising Australia's Hispanic community as a diaspora, this allows this study to consider two points. First, the interrelated concepts of Hispanic migration to Australia. Second, how the existence of Spanish language newspapers aids and endorses the idea of an imagined community.

¹ Cohen's (2008) seventh element that does not apply to Hispanics in Australia is a troubled relationship with host societies.

² These countries comprise of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

1.3 Defining Spanish Language Media: Issues of Terminology

Throughout the history of studying newspaper media for migrant communities, various interchangeable terms are used such as immigrant press, foreign-language press, community, ethnic, diasporic, and alternative media (Howley, 2010, 2005; Our Media, 2009; Georgiou, 2006; Miller, 1987; Wynar & Wynar, 1976; Gilson & Zubrzycki, 1967; Park, 1922). Yet, some terms are no longer suitable. For Wynar and Wynar (1976, pp. 14-15) 'immigrant press' insinuates that the press serves the desires of newly arrived migrants. Bearing this in mind, Spanish language media not only caters to first generation Hispanics, but to subsequent generations and second language speakers. The term 'foreign-language press' is also considered unsuitable as in Australia many individuals claim a language other than English as their native language (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Thus, for these individuals, the use of their native language is not interpreted as using a foreign language (Bell, Heilpern, McKenzie & Vipond, 1991).

Ethnic and diasporic media, on the other hand, produced 'by' and 'for' migrants [and their descendants] can be published in English, in the community language or both languages (Bozdog, Hepp, & Suna, 2012; Matsaganis et al., 2011; Bell et al., 1991), and delivers news about both 'here,' (i.e. the country of residence) and 'there' (i.e. the country of origin or heritage) (Georgiou, 2005; Vertovec, 1997). This definition also accords with Shah and Thornton's (2004) definition of an ethnic newspaper in that ethnic media is owned and staffed by migrant community members in a host country, and its content is orientated towards members of that community.

As for community media, Howley's (2005) definition is particularly fitting to this study of Spanish language newspapers. Community media are usually grassroots, local publications that act as an alternative means to voice their communities' issues, concerns, interests, languages, and cultures and responds to their dissatisfaction with mainstream media. For Bailey, Cammaerts, and Carpentier (2007) ethnic media are perceived as a form of alternative community media, not necessarily radical, but one which fulfils a social and occasionally, political role. Therefore, how are Spanish language newspapers defined in the broader mediasphere? This study, therefore, defines Spanish language newspapers in Australia as grassroots community ethnic media, which are published 'by' Hispanics 'for' the Hispanic Australian community.

1.4 Aims

The focus on Spanish language newspapers, with specific analysis on the Hispanic community has remained largely unexamined in the Australian context. In contemporary Australia, there is a research gap into how and why Spanish language newspapers emerged and evolved in Australia and how they maintain the Spanish language, culture, and a sense of community, belonging, and place. The purpose of this thesis is to bring Australia's Spanish language media to the centre of media research and to shift the enquiry towards a greater recognition of the active and salient role the Hispanic community plays in the Australian community ethnic mediascape. This is vital at a time when mainstream and community ethnic media are attempting to overcome technological, economic, and linguistic obstacles, in addition to changes in their audience's media ecologies. This thesis responds to this void by purposely directing its research focus on one of Australia's invisible migrant communities. It explores the practices that drive and impede first and second generation Spanish-speakers from Australia's three largest capital cities - Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane – to create, consume, and participate in Spanish language newspapers.

As issues of migration, media, community language, and cultural and identity maintenance are common to migrants and their children not only nationally, but also globally, the findings of this thesis provide significant insights into the fields of migration, media, and linguistics in terms of how the experiences of Hispanic Australians are mediated historically, socially, culturally, and linguistically. This thesis addresses one primary research question — How have Spanish language newspapers influenced language and culture in the Hispanic Australian community? The following three subordinate questions support the primary research question:

1. How and why did the Spanish language press develop and evolve in Australia?
2. What factors influence print Spanish language newspapers in Australia and how do Spanish language newspapers create a sense of place and imaginary?
3. What factors influence online Spanish language newspapers in Australia and how do Spanish language newspapers create a sense of place and imaginary?

1.5 Contributions to Knowledge

In addressing the above questions, this thesis makes four contributions to knowledge. First, this thesis to the best of my knowledge will be the first comprehensive study of how Spanish language newspapers were created 'by' Hispanics 'for' the Hispanic community. Second, this thesis signals that the Hispanic mediasphere forms part of both ethnic media and community media and it is difficult to place Spanish language newspapers into one category as it bridges both. Third, this indicates that Spanish language newspapers are not only an alternative space in which this migrant community has its own voice and space to publish content, but is one which sustains an imagined sense of belonging to a pan-ethnic community despite the community's diversity. Fourth, this thesis highlights how positive attitudes of members within the Spanish-speaking community influence the production and consumption of Spanish language media as a means to maintain and promote the Spanish language, culture, and identity in a multicultural setting. Fourth, and finally, the thesis demonstrates how the demand for print and online Spanish language newspapers influences informational, linguistic, and cultural exposure and participation in spaces, which were previously inaccessible.

1.6 Content and Structure of the Thesis

This PhD dissertation consists of eight chapters and is organised as follows. Chapter 1 (this chapter) contains an introduction to the study by addressing its motivation and significance. It establishes the relationship between the fundamental features of the study, including an introduction to the field, the research questions, and contributions to knowledge. Chapter 2, the literature review examines how migration from Spain and Latin America has led to the rise and evolution of the Hispanic community in Australia. Following this, Chapter 3 reviews theories and ideas relating to the emergence and role of community ethnic media such as Anderson's (1991) notion of imagined communities. This chapter also focuses on how digital communication technologies are transforming and challenging the journalism industry.

Following this, Chapter 4 presents the research methodology and instruments used to collect and analyse data. The results presented in the subsequent three chapters build a picture of

the emergence and evolution of Spanish language newspapers in the Australian context. Chapter 5 will then discuss how Spanish language media in Australia creates a Hispanic sphere and imaginary. It traces the period of Spanish and Latin American migration to Australia to the contemporary period and interweaves this with the rise and evolution of Spanish language newspapers. Chapter 6 draws connections between the factors that support and impede the survival of Australia's Spanish language print newspaper press. Chapter 7 analyses data and provides insights into the factors that support and impede online Spanish language newspapers in Australia. The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter 8 concludes by drawing together the multiplicity of issues raised within the previous chapters and provides directions for future research. The References and the Appendices then follow this chapter.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a synopsis of this thesis, delineating the background and rationale for this study, and the theoretical frameworks utilised. The research context, the aims of the study, and research questions reveal the importance of understanding the Hispanic community and Spanish language newspapers in Australia. By conducting this research, this thesis aims to enhance our understanding of how and why Spanish language ethnic media commenced and evolved in Australia, and how it provides an alternative space which makes this invisible and heterogeneous migrant community visible.

Chapter 2 Exploring Hispanic Migration to Australia

It has only been recently that Spain, Latin America, and Australia have become more associated with one another. Despite a vibrant Hispanic community residing in Australia, the perception had been that Spain and Latin America were too far away to warrant scholarly attention. Yet, a recent change in thought has resulted in serious interest in Spanish and Latin American cultural studies. The aim of this chapter is to describe migration flows of Spaniards and Latin Americans to Australia and how migration influenced the emergence and development of Spanish institutions such as clubs and community ethnic media. This chapter begins by describing the Spanish-speaking community. It then explores early migration from Latin America and Spain, followed by post-Second World War Spanish migration. The next section discusses how multiculturalism and the various immigration policies augmented the number of Spaniards and Latin Americans migrating to Australia. In particular, it describes Hispanic migration in multicultural Australia from the 1990s to the present and how current migration differs to post-war migration patterns. Finally, this chapter explores the making of the Hispanic community and how factors such as geopolitical insecurity, pursuing a better quality of life, and employment opportunities influence Hispanic migration to Australia.

2.1 Describing the Spanish-speaking Community

Although the history of Australia has been one of two hundred years of migration, the global history of Spanish migration over the last five hundred years has been a story of emigration. Spain has traditionally been known as a nation of conquistadores, not a land of mass migration. Yet, since the end of the 20th century, tens of thousands of Spaniards each year have migrated to the Americas, and to a lesser extent Australia, seeking a better life for themselves and their families (Dominguez, 2015; Hamburgische WeltWirtschaftsinstitut, 2006; Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, 2006; García, 2002). Historically, migration from Spain to Australia has been low, as migrants prefer Central and South America due to sharing a common language and culture, and its relatively close distance to Europe (Kath, 2016; Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004; Clyne & Kipp, 1999).

Although the Hispanic community is very heterogeneous with diverse national origins, socioeconomic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds, individuals are often grouped together as Latin Americans and/or Hispanics³. Yet, their 'unity' is in the end defined by their 'difference' (Brah, 1996). Diversity must be acknowledged when discussing the Hispanic community in Australia. The heterogeneity of the Hispanic community cannot be understood without considering the history and the factors, which motivated their migration to Australia (Jupp, 2001). The succeeding sections will outline early migration from the Spanish-speaking world to Australia and how over decades, Australia embraced the notion of multiculturalism resulting in a vivacious Spanish-speaking community.

2.2 Early Migration from Spain and Latin America to Australia

Research shows that the early migration period of Hispanics to Australia saw 500 Spanish from Northern Spain and less than 500 Latin Americans (del Río, 2014; Jupp, 2001). This low number continued during the 20th century as successive Australian governments manipulated the demographic structure of the population through strictly controlled immigration policies (Jupp, 2001). One of the first pieces of legislation enacted was the *Immigration Restriction Act* (1901). This Act signified the commencement of the 'White Australia Policy' and formed its legislative basis (ibid).

The White Australia Policy, including the 1901 Act and the subsequent acts that supported it, deliberately restricted non-white (understood to be non-European, although some Latin Americans were permitted) migration to Australia from 1901 to the early 1970s (Holmes, Hughes,

³ Though often used synonymously in English, 'Hispanic' and 'Latin American' are not identical terms to identify the Spanish-speaking population. Hispanic can refer to an individual of any racial background with at least one ancestor from Spain or Latin America. Latin American evokes the broad mix of individuals south of the United States of America, regardless of ancestry (Morales, 2002). This thesis alternatively uses 'Hispanic' as a collective term to refer to Spanish speakers living outside of Spain and Latin America and 'Latin American' for those originating from Latin America. By using these terms, this thesis acknowledges a common 'myth' of descent, shared history, language, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory, and finally a sense of solidarity as the foundations of ethnic identity. Yet, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine in its entirety the issues of utilising a specific label to categorise native Spanish speakers and their descendants.

& Julian, 2007). Due to Australia's restrictive migration policies (Clyne & Kipp, 1999), the Australian government classified individuals from Latin America as Southern Europeans, mixed races, or non-Europeans, and consequently excluded them from migration during the period of the White Australia Policy (Tamayo del Solar, 2001). This period was predominately assimilationist, requiring migrant communities to adapt to the language, behaviour, and institutions of the Anglo-Celtic way of life (Ozdowski, 2017). Despite the assimilation policy, many non-British migrants commenced their own social institutions to encourage and maintain the migrant community's culture, language, and identity, whilst asserting their contribution and place in Australian society (Dewhirst, 2002).

As stated earlier in this chapter, historically, Spanish migration to Australia has been low as many Spaniards chose to migrate to Central and South America. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), significant numbers of Spaniards decided to migrate to Australia. According to García (2002), many were experiencing poverty and hunger and wished to escape Spain's economic and political decline. By the middle of the 20th century, the Spanish-speaking community in Australia was relatively small, and it was only after the Second World War that migration numbers increased.

2.3 'Populate or Perish': Post-War Migration

The period following post-Second World War migration saw a renewed desire to increase Australia's population, with many believing the dictum 'populate or perish.' This derived from the threat of near invasion of Japanese forces during the Second World War (1935-1949) (McMahon, 2014; Khoo, Hugo, & McDonald, 2010). Post-Second World War migration was marked by changes within Australian society, as Australia had been predominately a white nation that had been settled by individuals originating from the United Kingdom and Ireland (Markus, 1994). After the Second World War, population growth that would not threaten Australia's Anglo-Celtic-Saxon culture was considered important to meet Australia's demand for labour in order to reconstruct, industrialise, and defend the nation (Colic-Peisker, 2011; Jupp, 1998). This was known as the populate or perish campaign. While the Australian government ideally desired British or Northern European migrants, this was not always possible (Mence, Gangell, & Tebb, 2015).

As a result of the populate or perish campaign, Australia increased the number of non-British migrants from Eastern Europe — Poles, Estonians, Latvians, and Russians — including refugees and displaced persons through the Displaced Persons Scheme (Mence et al., 2015; New South Wales Migration Heritage Centre, 2010). These migrants brought with them their languages, customs, and experiences (Teicher, Shah, & Griffin, 2000; Jupp, 1998). By the end of the Second World War, the White Australia policy was still alive and feelings of Anglo-Saxon superiority continued against migrants, as they were expected to assimilate and not integrate (Galvin & West, 1988). When the flow of refugees decreased, the Australian Immigration Department began to consider making agreements to attract migrants from Southern European countries such as Italy, Greece, and Spain (García, 2002). This ultimately resulted in increased migration from Southern Europe.

2.4 The Making of the Spanish Community in Australia

The Spanish population increased in Australia during the late 1950s due to the commencement of the Australian and Spanish governments Assisted Migration Program named *Operación Canguro*, where the Commonwealth government paid eligible Spanish migrants' travel costs, accommodation, placement in employment, and aftercare (Department of Social Services, 2014; García, 2002). From 1958 to 1963, approximately 20,000 Spaniards migrated including journalists (García, 2002). Referring to Spanish migrants that arrived during the 1950s and 1960s, García (2002) states that thousands of skilled and unskilled men and women breathed new life into post-war Australian industries. This period in Australia continued to be assimilationist and considered, for instance, ethnic newspapers to be agents of assimilation to the Anglo-Saxon-Celtic way of life (Ozdowski, 2016; Jakubowicz & Seneviratne, 1996). Prior to migrating, Spaniards were provided with Spanish language information booklets which described Australia's history, climate, religion, language and information on the nation's working conditions (García, 2002). The basic tenet of Australia's assimilation policy was that Spaniards would build a good rapport with Australians and thus, assimilate quickly.

Upon arrival to Australia, Grassby (1983) states that migrants such as the Spanish, possessed limited or no English language proficiency. Thus, linguistic deficiency was the greatest hurdle

migrants encountered, as some could not read English language newspapers, but wished to remain informed about Australian laws and services (ibid). According to García (2002, 1997), as no Spanish institutions existed in Australia, the Spanish communities of New South Wales, Queensland, and Victoria saw an opportunity to create their own establishments whereby they could socialise and feel as if they were 'back home' in Spain. He also reflects how this alternative space allowed for the maintenance of the Spanish language and culture within the Australian social fabric.

In terms of the establishment of Spanish institutions, the early 1960s saw the Spanish community create three pillars (i.e. social, educational, and institutional such as the press). This period saw the emergence of Australia's first Spanish club, *El Centro Español de Victoria* [The Spanish Centre of Victoria], and the first religious Spanish Catholic club in Sydney (Otaegui, 1972). Australia's second non-religious club, *El Club Español de Sydney* [The Spanish Club of Sydney] (García, 2002; Jupp, 2001) was established in 1961 when 1,808 Spaniards settled in Sydney (Department of Social Services, 2014). Two additional Spanish clubs, The Asturias Centre of Sydney and *Gure Txoco* [Basque for 'Our Corner'] both commenced in Sydney in the early and mid-1960s (Guretxoko, 2017; García, 2002). The authors note that these clubs catered to the needs of Spanish migrants from the Asturias and Basque provinces, as members felt that their identity was not being preserved and represented by the Spanish Club of Sydney.

García (2002) highlights that during the period of assimilation, Sydney and Melbourne's increasing Spanish population resulted in the appearance of the *Spanish Quarter*⁴. The functions of these institutions and the Spanish quarter were two-fold. First, they allowed Spanish migrants and their families to experience a slower and less traumatic integration into Australian society. Second, for other Spaniards, these institutions functioned as enjoyable intervals until they possessed sufficient capital to return to Spain. For García (2002), institutions were bridging the gap between Australians and Spaniards, seeing this invisible and under-represented Spanish community become visible. He adds that Spaniards showed Anglo-Celtic-Saxon Australian elements of Spanish popular culture, such as new ways of living, behaving, cooking, and music (ibid). Jacklin (2010) and García (2002) state that this period saw the appearance of Australia's first Spanish

⁴ The Spanish Quarter features Spanish clubs, restaurants, and grocery stores.

language publications with three Spanish language newsletters and three Spanish language newspapers. Therefore, despite community ethnic media emerging during a period of assimilation; this media played an important role for migrant communities as their voice, whilst providing news and maintaining their language and culture.

2.5 From Assimilation to Multiculturalism: Migration from Latin America (1970s-1980s)

There continued to be little migration from Central and South America to Australia after the Second World War (Morales-Gorecki, 1988), as the White Australia Policy still classified Latin Americans in the same category as Southern Europeans or as mixed races or non-Europeans (Tamayo del Solar, 2001). Additionally, the high cost of travelling between Australia and South America was prohibitive for many would-be Latin American migrants (Martín, 2008, 2002). Kokegei (2012) states that during this time, the 'populate or perish' campaign was losing support from politicians and the community, as Australians acknowledged the failure of the assimilation policy, opting for cultural diversity. Moreover, another change occurred during this period with the introduction of the Special Passage Assistance Program. This program aimed to attract skilled South Americans needed by Australian industries (Urribarri, Favoretto, Kath, Sinclair & Ferguson, 2016; Colic-Peisker, 2011).

In 1973, the Whitlam Labor Government rescinded the *Immigration Restriction Act* (1901), gradually replacing it with the notion of multiculturalism (Kokegei, 2012). The Minister for Immigration, Al Grassby, himself of Spanish origin, declared that same year that Australia was now a 'multicultural society' (Ip, 2013). The Whitlam Labor Government officially abolished the White Australia Policy and removed any official criteria based on the notion of ethnic origin, gender, nationality, race, religion, or colour in the immigration program, and implemented a Universal Migration Policy (Jakubowicz, 2010). The liberalisation of Australia's immigration laws during the 1970s and 1980s was principally a result of decreased migration from Europe, which meant that Australia was accepting migration from the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America (Ben-Moshe, Pyke, & Baldassar, 2012).

By the early to mid-1970s to 1990s, the increasing flow of Latin Americans to countries such as Australia was largely attributed to the Southern Cone experiencing political unrest and economic instability⁵ as a consequence of being governed by authoritarian regimes (Close, 2017; Weinberg, 2013; Hughson, 2009). Bendrups (2011) and Dio (2010) note that economic and political factors were reasons why many intellectuals and professionals from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru, and Uruguay migrated to Australia. Moreover, Refugee and Special Humanitarian Programs established to help Vietnamese and other migrant communities in the late 1960s facilitated the arrival of Latin American refugees from Central America (Calderon, 2016; Mason, 2014; Pacheco & Goopy, 2001; Amézquita et al., 1995). The Australian government's emphasis on increasing migration via the Family Reunion Migration Program during the 1980s and early 1990s further increased population numbers of the already established Argentinean, Chilean, and Uruguayan community (Martín, 2008).

Despite increased migration from Latin America, decreased migration from Spain during the 1980s was a result of Spain, in addition to many other European nations, joining the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986 (Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance Sur L'Europe, 2016). In other words, Europe had now changed to a continent, which received migrants instead of the one from which individuals migrated to other parts of the world. Australia's change to multiculturalism also created a sphere, which encouraged migrants such as Hispanics to maintain their language and culture (Jakubowicz, 2014; Thomson, 2014). The Australian government saw that migrants, especially those whose first language was not English, experienced hardships as they settled in Australia, and thus required more direct assistance (Ang, Hawkins, & Dabboussy, 2008). Rizvi (2014) and Ip (2013) state that the type of institutional support available to a migrant community in an English dominant society is important for the continuation of its language and culture. This need to aid migrants such as Hispanics and their families led to the establishment of country-specific educational, social, and cultural institutions by individuals from the Argentinean, Chilean, and Uruguayan communities (Uribarri et al., 2016; López, 2005; Ozolins, 1993).

⁵ For instance, Chile after 1973 due to Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship, Uruguay after 1973, and Argentina in 1976 (the *Junta* regime) (Martín, 2002).

During this period, Latin American journalists who had migrated to Australia primarily from Chile, Peru, and Uruguay, and to a lesser extent, Argentina, expanded on the Spanish institutions already created by Spaniards such as founding further Spanish language newspapers (Jacklin, 2010; Herrera-Keightley, 1989). Bell et al., (1991), Herrera-Keightley (1989), Tenezakis (1982), and Scott (1980) note how four additional Spanish language newspapers catering to the growing heterogeneous Hispanic community in Australia were a significant achievement. The emerging importance of Spanish language newspapers in Australia showed that a shifting trajectory within Australia's Spanish-speaking community resulted in a change of dynamics within the community and its mediasphere. As the Spanish language press was now evolving, its new role was that of a cultural broker, whilst maintaining the Spanish language and transmitting local, national, and international news, information and culture (Jacklin, 2010; Bell et al., 1991).

In addition to the establishment of community ethnic newspapers such as Spanish language print media (García, 2002), official recognition of the Spanish language occurred on community ethnic radio on June 9, 1975 (Grassby, 1983). The establishment of a community radio station was significant as it allowed migrants to have their own space to deliver news and information in their respective languages. The emergence of community ethnic radio was a sign that signalled that The Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) and Australian commercial networks had failed to respond to the needs of a changing and multicultural Australian society (Ang et al., 2008).

Australian community ethnic media practices further thrived as Australia's first multicultural government-sponsored television broadcaster, Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), emerged in the 1980s to cater to the linguistic and informational needs of migrants in their respective community language (Special Broadcasting Service, 2016; Ip, 2013; Ang et al., 2008). The beginnings of SBS challenged the perception of mainstream media's concept of a single Australian identity and monocultural audience (Ang et al., 2008). Despite the emergence of migrant institutions and the establishment of community ethnic radio and television, the exclusion of migrant communities from mainstream media continues to this day (Bloemraad, Graauw, & Hamlin, 2015). Nevertheless, SBS continues to grow as it considers cultural diversity a matter of 'public representation, interest, and conservation' (ibid, p. 3). In sum, the development of SBS and

community ethnic media by migrant communities challenged the perception of mainstream media driven by their assumption of a monocultural audience.

2.6 Latin American Migration to Australia (1990s-Present)

During the 1990s, Australia experienced a change in migration trend that allowed Mexicans, Venezuelans, Costa Ricans, Colombians, and Brazilians to migrate under the 'Skilled' or 'Family Streams' programs (Rocha & Corondado, 2014; Jupp, 2001). This flow differs from previous Spanish and Latin American migrants in terms of their motivations for migrating to Australia. Many individuals who now migrate to Australia do so by choice rather than under temporary or permanent migration schemes or humanitarian and family reunion programs. Other reasons for their migration include: (1) improved economic opportunities and better quality of life, (2) insecurity in their country of origin, (3) adventure, and (4) relationships (Calderon, 2016; Vázquez Maggio, 2016; del Río, 2014).

Hispanics who now migrate to Australia are well resourced, possess greater English language proficiency, cosmopolitan views, and in some cases, derive from more affluent economic backgrounds than Hispanics who migrated earlier. All these factors have important implications for their integration in Australia and in their production and consumption of Australia's Spanish language media. del Río (2014) writes that migration from the Hispanic world has now transformed the nature and shape of Australian society. For example, Hispanic migration to cities such as Adelaide, Brisbane, Melbourne, Perth, and Sydney has grown substantially. Most significantly, these areas have created and transformed Australia's vibrant Spanish-speaking community to what it currently is today (ibid).

Australian census data collected in 2016 reveals that 140,776 native and heritage language Spanish-speakers reside in Australia and that Spanish is the ninth most spoken language in the nation (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). In terms of media production, Sinclair (2014) highlights that temporary migrants such as Spaniards and Venezuelans have established numerous forms of print and online Spanish language news media in Australia to cater to new migrants, however, these were only temporary as many migrants returned home. To understand the

emergence of Spanish language newspapers in Australia, and how their public perceives their functions, it is vital to understand the how and why community ethnic newspapers came to be and developed.

Chapter Summary

Following on from Chapter 1, this chapter provided a holistic outlook on how migration from the Hispanic world influenced the rise of institutions, such as clubs and media, catering to the Hispanic community in Australia. This chapter noted that there is a large Spanish-speaking community in Australia and that shared elements unite this vibrant heterogeneous community such migration, culture, and language. It provided a discussion on Australia's immigration policies and how these influenced the migration of individuals from the Spanish-speaking world. It also revealed that migrants have not always been embraced in Australian society, yet their lack of representation and invisibility in mainstream media resulted in the creation of community ethnic media and migrant institutions.

This chapter found that prior to the Second World War, migration from the Hispanic world was minimal. Nevertheless, during the period of Australia's White Australia Policy, Spaniards were the founders of Australia's first Spanish social and cultural institutions. The transformation of Australia's immigration policies of the 1960s enhanced multicultural Australia's linguistic and cultural landscape at both institutional and cultural levels. This chapter identified that political and economic instability in Spain and Latin America increased the number of Hispanics in Australia and not only saw the expansion of this community's population but that of its media and institutions. Moreover, in contrast to post-World War Two Hispanic migration, migration from the 1990s to the present is a result of an individual's personal choice rather than migration schemes or humanitarian and family reunion programs.

Despite the rise and evolution of Australia's national multicultural news broadcaster SBS, Australian mainstream media continues to exclude migrant communities. To understand the processes that influence migrant communities to produce and consume community ethnic media in multicultural settings, the next chapter will examine media concepts relating to the reasons for

the establishment of Spanish language newspapers as community ethnic media and the role they play for migrant communities.

Chapter 3 Media

As a country with a rich history of migration, a high level of cultural diversity and a long tradition of ethnic media, Australia's community ethnic media, and its relationship with their audience have been of interest to scholars. As research on Australia's Spanish language newspapers remains unexplored, it is important for this chapter to how and why community ethnic media emerged and developed, the role newspapers play in migrant communities, and how newspapers represent an imagined community.

The aim of this chapter is to explore notions of community ethnic media as the theoretical strands that underpin the thesis. This chapter begins by reviewing the theories and ideas embodied in community ethnic media. These theories and ideas are the key modes for understanding why migrant communities establish and consume community ethnic media. This chapter then explores the various roles of community ethnic media, followed by a discussion on community ethnic media creating their own online space via websites and social networking sites. This section also outlines the various roles digital communications technologies can play for individuals and migrant communities. Included within this chapter is a discussion on the motives for consuming ethnic and transnational media and the influence an individual's social network has on their media ecology. Finally, this chapter explores how digital communication technologies affect the future of community ethnic media.

3.1 Theories and Ideas

Community ethnic media is multifaceted and complex. Various notions have been developed to justify how it emerged and why it is valuable to migrant communities. In terms of theories, Habermas' (1989) public sphere, Kessler's (1984) dissident press, and Anderson's (1991) imagined communities have been utilised by media scholars and researchers such as Sun, Gao, Yue, and Sinclair (2011), Georgiou (2010, 2006, 2001), Shi (2009, 2005), and Mogul (2003) in their examination of community ethnic media. These notions which are tied to this thesis will be discussed in the following sections.

3.1.1 The Public Sphere and the Dissident Press

From a theoretical viewpoint, Habermas (1989) and his public sphere theory can explain the rise of community ethnic media such as newspapers. Habermas' (1989) notion goes back to 17th and 18th century Europe, where he traces the development of the public sphere from the French Court to salons, and later to coffee houses where individuals gathered to discuss matters of 'public concern' or 'common interests.'



Figure 3.1

Interior of a London Coffee House circa 1695. Unknown artist.

The above Figure 3.1 demonstrates how coffee houses were spaces of public discourse and how print news across Europe provided opportunities for debate. These spaces or 'discursive arenas' were important for the creation of what Habermas (1989) calls a 'bourgeois public sphere.' The bourgeois public sphere was a space, open and accessible to all. In this space, individuals gathered freely to voice their concerns, exchange ideas as equals, and identify societal problems, and

through that discussion shape public opinion and political action (McQuail, 2005; Habermas, 1989). Similar to Habermas' theory, Kessler (1984) calls discursive arenas 'marketplaces' where the press is (or at least should function) as an open arena for the discussion of ideas. This marketplace functions to present the public "a diversity of theories, thoughts, sentiments and opinions" (p. 8).

Contrary to Habermas' notion of inclusivity and equality, Fraser (1992) argues that the bourgeois public sphere discriminated against marginalised groups such as women and minorities and thus, excluded them from taking part in the public sphere. These marginalised groups formed their own public spheres which Fraser (1992) terms 'counter-publics' or 'subaltern counter-publics.' Likewise, in the United States established mainstream media during the 17th and 18th centuries rejected diversity. Similar to Fraser's (1992) review of Habermas' (1989) notion, Kessler (1984) writes that dissidents such as migrants, created their own 'marketplaces' via newspapers and print publications as they were also denied access to the established media at that time.

Around the world, nations such as the United States and Australia have seen the number and popularity of community ethnic newspapers increase. Avison and Meadows (2000) investigate the reasons for the emergence of print Indigenous media in Australia and Canada and they find that the increase of community ethnic media is due to mainstream media (i.e. the dominant public sphere) ignoring Indigenous and migrant communities. Consequently, this has led to migrants and Indigenous communities to create their own space or spheres. It is in these spheres where individuals with similar cultural backgrounds can maintain their language and culture and truthfully represent the community in a space where they can call their own. Forde (1999) writes that the popularity of community ethnic media contributes to an expanded public sphere in which the emergence and development of ethnic media are seen as an alternative, which diversifies society and combats the homogenisation encouraged by mainstream media. To defy homogenisation, Kraaier (2010) writes that many of Australia's community ethnic newspapers were established by migrant institutions that operated establishments similar to Habermas' French court and coffee houses. Moreover, ethnic media's 'Letter to the Editor' or lively letter pages' are continuations of discursive arenas in their columns (York, 2003). Thus, the emergence and popularity of community ethnic media can be considered as a form of alternative media, which diversifies society (Forde, 1999; Kellner, 1989).

Scholars such as Bingham-Hall (2017) and Rasmussen (2014) write that Habermas' (1989) theory also correlates the rise of a national social consciousness with the development of postal systems and the increased literacy among the working class. For Habermas (1989), the postal system allows for more rapid circulation and the exchange of information. Relating to the rise of postal systems to newspapers, Bingham-Hall (2017) notes that the growing trade in newspapers, supported by these growing communication networks⁶ was encouraging a new 'reading public' of people in virtual, imagined communion with other readers.

3.1.2 Community Ethnic Media in the Imagined Community

Anderson's (1991) concept of community formation or 'imagined community' is a useful starting point for this thesis to understand the role of ethnic media and communication in forging a sense of communal belonging to a migrant community. Anderson developed the notion of an imagined community in his analysis of nationalism, suggesting that a nation is an imagined community "... because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members meet them or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion" (ibid, p. 6). As an imagined community is different from an actual community, individuals can imagine themselves with others they have not yet met across time and space (ibid).

For Anderson (1991), print media performs a salient role in creating national identities and in the notion of an imagined community. Thus, community ethnic newspapers act as the technical means of representing an imagined community that is the nation. Furthermore, Anderson (1991) describes the reading of newspapers as a daily ceremony, which national societies are imagined through their imagined commonality with other readers that they have never met. For Anderson (1991), the daily newspaper's readership is a synchronised mass action, which forms a 'community imagining.' While reading newspapers may be performed in 'silent privacy,' each individual is aware that this action is being replicated simultaneously by thousands of others who they do not know personally, but, with whom they share this communal experience and imagine themselves

⁶ Bingham-Hall states that 17th century trading ships performed the role of "transoceanic optical cables of their day" (2017, p. 68).

as members of an imagined community. Yet, for Johnson (2000), although ethnic media does not create a migrant community, it maintains and endorses the idea of community within the group.

In addition to print capitalism and book publishing, Johnson (2000) and Anderson (1991) consider that language provides the roles needed to imagine that individuals form part of a much larger community of similar persons. Anderson (1991) notes this point when he emphasises that:

It is a mistake to treat languages in the way that certain nationalist ideologies treat them - as emblems of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dances, and the rest... Much of the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarities. (p. 133)

The above statement shows that language also occupies an important position in Anderson's notion, as language dispenses ideas and unites individuals. For the Hispanic community, a common language, history, and symbols can connect community members to one another through media. This imagining can occur when individuals believe that they are living parallel to those of other substantial groups of people – if never meeting but along the same trajectory (Anderson, 1991). Hence, by migrants reading community ethnic newspapers in their community language, this demonstrates that they have a need to socialise with others from the same linguistic community (Vermeulen, 2006).

Similarly, Cohen's (1985) framework states that a community is imagined by generating a 'community consciousness' via its structures and institutions that are subordinate to its symbols, (i.e. community print, radio, and television). For Misajon and Khoo (2008), migrant communities in Australia are also imagined, often via their similar stories of migration, separation from their native country, and their shared experiences of living either temporarily or permanently in their new country. Moreover, Riggins (1992) adds that as migrant communities are a collective group of individuals who share a common culture, ancestry, language, history, religion, or customs, they are also imagined.

In Australia, community ethnic media performs a slightly different role in imagining a community compared to other forms of community media such as local and suburban newspapers

(van Vuuren, 2007). Although local and suburban newspapers also play a role in imagining the community, these newspapers “are also more heavily rooted in a geographically bound locale” which is based on the shared interest of their audience as opposed to shared experiences (ibid, p. 100). Hence, compared to local or suburban newspapers — that are fixed in place — the geographical location for community ethnic newspapers is irrelevant as the community, which is connected by a shared language or ethnicity, can reside anywhere (Meadows, 2009). Another difference is that unlike local and suburban newspapers, migrant communities at times have more than one community ethnic publication to choose from, thus providing the community with alternative views on news and a variety of community voices. By migrant communities having numerous community ethnic newspapers produced in their community language, this is seen to also strengthen their position and visibility in the community ethnic mediasphere (Tosco, 2005).

Yet, at the national level, community ethnic newspapers are unified as they all aim to build the community and promote their community’s common goals, beliefs, social and cultural practices, which are realised through its content. This section has thus far discussed how notions of the public sphere and the imagined community can aid to explain why community ethnic media is created. The following section discusses another element of community ethnic media, which differentiates media produced ‘by’ members ‘for’ members of a migrant community.

3.1.3 Media ‘by’ the Community ‘for’ the Community

Australian academic studies and governmental and non-government reports have commented on some of Australia’s most powerful media on their failure to consider Australia as a multicultural society with diverse ethnicities, cultures, languages, and religions (Burrows, 2010; Meadows, 2009; McCallum & Holland, 2009; Goodall & Jakubowicz, 1994). Thus far, this chapter has revealed that migrant communities in Australia have established community ethnic media due to mainstream media’s lack of diversity in its media organisations and its failure to participate with migrant communities (Forde, Foxwell and Meadows, 2009; Jakubowicz, 1994).

Caspi and Elias (2011) emphasise that community ethnic media provides to the needs of a community when the media is produced ‘by’ members of the community, compared to media that

is produced by an out-group community member 'for' another community. Caspi and Elias' (2011) 12 criteria determines whether ethnic media is 'by' or produced 'for' a migrant community. The first criterion is whether the media founder has the same identity as their audience. If so, this would support the aim and content of the media message between the newspaper founder and their audience. The second criterion explores whether media is public or privately owned. The third criterion examines the nationality/identity of newspaper personnel and the fourth, the nationality/identity of the newspaper. Both these criteria should align with the identity of the newspaper's audience. Shumow's (2012) research exploring Spanish language media for the Venezuelan community in the United States supports Caspi and Elias' (2011) first four criteria. His study finds that ethnic media was founded, produced, and managed 'by' Venezuelans, 'for' Venezuelans.

The fifth criterion is the agenda of the media and whether it reflects its priorities as well as its identity. Media 'by' echoes the views of the community, while media 'for' attempts to adopt the majority agenda (Şahin, 2017; Shumow, 2012). The sixth criterion is whether media supports the community's desire for their native and heritage country. In light of the fifth and sixth criteria, Rodriguez's (2005) study of Indigenous Mexican radio programs and Aguilar's (2002) research into Spanish language community radio in Australia finds that the success of community ethnic media is due to radio presenters showing concern and empathy towards issues that their communities are experiencing.

The seventh criterion is whether the content disseminated via community ethnic media supports the majority discourse. The eighth criterion is the reference group. In other words, media 'by' the community is produced by low-key journalists who are not aligned with mainstream media. Although community ethnic media may be low key, they deem themselves as diverse from mainstream media for having a stronger newspaper-audience relationship (Misajon & Khoo, 2008; van Vuuren, 2005). The ninth criterion is whether the community has easy access to its media. Returning to Rodriguez's (2005) and Aguilar's (2002) research, both the Indigenous Mexican audience and Australia's Spanish-speaking audience have easy access as they can participate in radio talk programs and telephone the radio station to request music.

The tenth criterion is political control. Media 'by' which are mostly privately owned media are more likely to display resistance against a government or political parties. Economic control is the eleventh criterion. Media 'by' are more likely to be privately owned and are subject to closer economic control than media 'for.' As community ethnic newspapers are privately owned, many need to survive in a tough environment with competition with many types of other media (i.e. radio, television, print, and online), thus sustainability is a vital issue for media producers. Houston (2012) indicates that two categories of the ethnic media business exist. The first is small to medium businesses which are operated by individuals or families. The second, are large business ventures which have "strong economic capability, competence and strength to identify and capitalize on new markets, services and opportunities to identify, capture, and hold their audiences" (p. 4). The last criteria, public control, considers that media 'by' the community are likely to be attentive to their audience and exercise closer public control than media 'for' (Caspi & Elias, 2011). Although migrant communities have established their own space by creating media 'by' and 'for' their community, this space and their roles have little recognition and visibility outside the migrant community.

3.2 The Roles of Community Ethnic Newspapers

Before the Whitlam government actively encouraged multilingualism in Australia in the early 1970s (Ozolins, 1993), official attitudes towards ethnic newspapers were tolerant. The Australian government believed that even though the ethnic press played a transitional role for first generation migrants, by the second generation community ethnic newspapers would be obsolete (Kraaier, 2010; Bednall, 1992; Tenezakis, 1982). For the government, second and subsequent generations would become entirely Australian and would have no need for community ethnic newspapers (Ata & Ryan, 1989).

Yet, data obtained from the Community Relations Commission of New South Wales (2015, 2008) shows a different story, revealing that the current landscape of ethnic media in Australia is incredibly complex and dynamic. The community ethnic newspaper sphere in Australia now features over 145 ethnic print and online newspapers, representing 41 migrant communities in over 36 languages, including English. With over a quarter of the Australian population born

overseas, these publications are read by first generation individuals and a generation that was born in Australia, but desires for a connection to their heritage language and culture (Multicultural New South Wales, 2018).

The success of Australia's community ethnic media is attributed to various factors. For example, the diverse population structure of Australia as a migrant country which has a top-down policy endorsing multiculturalism (Ang & Stratton, 1998), and the uniqueness of migration in Australia in that in many cases, migrants are residing in a country further away from their countries of origin (Karanfil, 2007), and the lack of representation in mainstream media (van Vuuren, 2005). More so, according to Allan Kaufman of Leba Ethnic Media, the success of community ethnic media is also due to Australia's ethnic press professionals understanding "what they [audiences] want to read and learn about;" otherwise, they would be defunct (Bacchetti, 2010). Kaufman further expresses, "When I started in 1991, there were about 50 publications, now [in 2010] there are over 300 Australia wide," and adds that Australia's continued migration population growth has contributed to this success (ibid). Given the high number of community ethnic media publications, this indicates that the role of community ethnic media in Australia in building the community, providing news, culture, information, and fomenting community participation among migrant community members continues to be central for social wellbeing.

Due to the increasingly high number of community ethnic media servicing migrant communities around the world, media scholars find that community ethnic media fulfils numerous roles in migrant communities. For instance: (1) to maintain and promote the community language (Georgiou, 2010, 2006; Ríos, 2000; Cortés, 1987), (2) to inform the migrant community (Añez, 2014; Georgiou, 2014; Li, 2013; Lay & Thomas, 2012; Tosco, 2005; Johnson, 2000); (3) contribute to social cohesion, (4) provide culturally relevant information and news (Hebbani & van Vuuren, 2015; Tudsri & Hebbani, 2014; Ewart, 2012; Tosco, 2005); and (5) counter mainstream media constructions of migrant communities and provide a space for identity negotiation (Hebbani & van Vuuren, 2015; Ewart, 2012). It is therefore fundamental to delve into the roles of community ethnic media and examine how the provision of content in community languages influences the production and accessibility of community ethnic newspapers.

3.2.1 The Community Language as a Cultural Marker for Community Ethnic Media

The role of the community language is a significant factor in community ethnic media. Karim (2012) identifies that one of the main reasons for the existence of community ethnic media is that it is a form of cultural expression of the migrant group, something that mainstream media cannot provide. Thus, producing and consuming media in an individual's native and heritage language is one form of engagement between media and their audience, and their audience with other members of the imagined community (Retis, 2014, 2007; Añez, 2014).

Research also indicates that the existence and use of the community ethnic media such as newspapers indicates an individual's desire to access media in their community language, in addition to cultural and linguistic maintenance (Najdovski, 1997). Language is, therefore a central cultural marker in which migrants express their identity (Lustanski, 2009; Howard, 2000). For Yagmur and Kroon (2003) language is far more than a means of communication, arguing that it is the heart of "culture and identity... and... identity provides a sense of security, belongingness, and feelings of common heritage" (p. 320). As discussed in Chapter 2, many migrants long to maintain their language and culture, with some individuals feeling a sense of loss, insecurity, and isolation (Trlin, 2012; Grassby, 1983). For Matsaganis et al., (2011), at times of uncertainty or crisis, the very existence of community ethnic media such as newspapers can perform the role of 'teachers' by delivering support and direction to their audience during these difficult times.

Community ethnic media can preserve and promote the community language and enable migrants and their descendants to keep in touch with their native and heritage country and the migrant community. The role of language in community ethnic media has led to scholars to investigate the use of community ethnic media as a form of language maintenance across generations. Considering the use of ethnic media across generations, Deuze (2006) writes that the first and second generation consume community ethnic media primarily to obtain information about their native and heritage country and country of residence. The third generation primarily accesses community ethnic media "to enable dialogue with parents and grandparents" (ibid, p. 273). The fourth generation's interest in community ethnic media is to "search for their roots" (ibid). Therefore, Deuze's (2006) analysis is useful in examining community ethnic media's

audience from the generational standpoint as it can elucidate the reasons for the growth and popularity of community ethnic media.

Thus far, research primarily indicates that the first generation produce and consume community ethnic media due to their limited fluency in the language(s) of their country of residence (Hwang & He, 1999; Grassby, 1983). In Australia, emphasis on community ethnic media consumption has been placed on first generation migrants, with little consideration given to the relevance of ethnic media to their children, the second generation (Bell et al., 1991). However, Australian (see Natolo, Poyatos Matas, & Imura, 2015; Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004) and US studies (Villarreal & Peterson, 2008; Akst, 2003; Rios & Gaines, 1998) examining second and subsequent generations consumption of Spanish language newspapers find that the Spanish language and culture are important cultural markers for these generations. ;

Studies also find that media produced in an individual's native and heritage language can provide them with the opportunity to connect with family and friends across generations in their native and heritage country and across time and space (Natolo et al., 2015; Jurva & Jayam, 2008; Hafez, 2000; Morley, 2000). Thus, migrant communities enjoy and value the use of a community language via media as they can self-identify with other community members who possess knowledge of the same language (Cover, 2012).

Recent research by Cover (2017) reveals that the Italian Australian newspaper, *Nuovo Paese*, considers that the role of community ethnic media has changed. Its primary role is no longer to disseminate information about Italy — as their public can obtain this information via other traditional and online media — but to make the Italian language more visible in Australian society. This decision by *Nuovo Paese* is an integral aspect of community ethnic media in their aim to maintain and promote a multilingual Italian community in Australia for generations to come. Overall, the studies discussed in this section show that community ethnic newspapers perform an important role in publishing news and information in a community language, which is not visible in mainstream media.

3.2.2 Informing the Community

As stated earlier in this chapter, as mainstream media lacks ethnic and racial diversity in its newsrooms and provides limited coverage of news, issues, and information about their homeland and country of residence, one function of community ethnic media is to bridge these gaps and maintain the community informed (Li, 2013; Lay & Thomas, 2012; Kenix, 2011). Researchers such as Lay and Thomas (2012), Ben-Moshe et al., (2012) and Karim (1998) note the salience of community ethnic media (print and online newspapers, radio, and television) in performing these roles and creating a sense of connectedness between their audience, their local and transnational community, and their native and heritage country. Australian studies which highlight the role of community ethnic media in delivering news and information concerning their native and heritage country and country of residence is Tosco's (2005) historical study of Italian newspapers in Australia and Kim's (1985) analysis of Korean newspapers in Australia. Both their findings show that Italian Australian and Korean Australian newspapers perform these vital roles in their provision of news and information that is not covered by Australian mainstream media.

Moreover, Bonini (2011) and Naficy (1993) state that while community ethnic media informs the migrant community about their homeland, reading news also allows individuals to: (1) briefly return home, (2) replace their nostalgic memories by learning more about their native and heritage country, and (3) share and comment about news with family and friends within national and transnational contexts. In the Italian Australian newspapers Tosco (2005) analyses, he finds a 'deep nostalgia and longing for home' echoed through letters to the editor, in addition to other newspaper content published. For Boyce-Davies (2002), the publication of nostalgic, past-present stories, which collide in time such as remembering actors, artists, or writers, is "one way to cross the boundaries of space, time, history, place, language... in order to make reconnections..." (p. 12). However, these articles do not suit all readers. For instance, Sreberny (2001) finds that first generation audiences are more likely to access community ethnic media, as they can relate to its content more than the second or subsequent generations. Although ethnic media performs a vital function in providing their public with news, information, and events from their country of residence and origin, Tosco (2005) stresses that their role in social cohesion is equally important.

3.2.3 Community Ethnic Media and their Contribution to Social Cohesion

Another role of community ethnic media is that of contributing to social cohesion. That is, building a sense of community for their audience and creating a space where community members can contact one another (Viswanath & Arora, 2000). In the past, the role of the ethnic press in countries such as Australia was to assist migrants and their families to become 'good citizens' (Tosco, 2005). Nowadays, a more liberal view considers "that the ethnic press, in maintaining links between immigrants and their homeland, in building links to their new society, and in the debates, it nourishes, plays an essential role in the process of building one nation from many cultures" (McLaren, 1989, p. vii). For Ata and Ryan (1989), community ethnic newspapers function as a "link to the institutions of the community itself, its clubs, societies, and cooperatives – the things that maintain cohesion." (p. 1)

For Lay and Thomas (2012), London's community ethnic media also establishes a sense of community cohesion where their public feels 'invested' by ethnic media. Australian studies (Ewart, 2012; Meadows, Forde, Ewart, & Foxwell, 2007) add that community ethnic radio programs foster inclusion into civic and social life. This is due to community ethnic media establishing a sense of community cohesion via the information they disseminate to their public (ibid). Likewise, Tosco (2005) finds that community ethnic media's role in disseminating social and political news in Australia creates a 'connective tissue' for the Italian community. According to Tosco (2005), Italian Australian newspapers are also a 'social glue,' as they encourage Italians to maintain the Italian language and culture, and integrate into Australian society.

Another significant community cohesion role ethnic media has is that of a sentinel. That is, community ethnic newspapers can provide an independent voice and space for their voiceless and invisible migrant communities and warn readers of external threats and changes (Li, 2013; Matsaganis et al., 2011). For example, presenting stories about crime against migrants, changes to immigration laws, and advocating on behalf of their community's political, economic, social, and cultural interests (Liu, 2004). Numerous studies show how community ethnic newspapers perform as a counter-public sphere. Tosco's (2005) study finds that Italian Australian newspapers are publishing "messages to its readers that were in contrast to those sent by the Australian

newspapers” (Tosco, 2005, p. 21). Another study is that of Maori community media in New Zealand. As rural-to-urban migrating Maoris were being misrepresented in mainstream media, the Maori community commenced their own media, which allows them to have their own voice and views (Alia, 2005). Moreover, another study in Spain shows that Romanian ethnic media journalists also act as spokespersons for the Romanian community (González Aldea, 2012). Thus, community ethnic media provides a space and an opportunity for community members to represent themselves in their own words, and reflect ethnically specific interests and ideologies.

Community ethnic media plays another role in relation to social cohesion, which is that of a community booster (Viswanath & Arora, 2000). As a community booster, ethnic media provides local news and information about cultural events, constructs positive images of the community, and shares success stories of its fellow community members. Overall, this section has shown the diverse roles of community ethnic media with its main function of enabling social inclusion by disseminating cultural information and news to their audience. It should be noted that if community ethnic media uses the community language to represent themselves in their own words, the effectiveness of their community’s representation in mainstream society is limited.

3.2.4 Providing Culturally Relevant Information and Local News

Community ethnic media offers a space for their public to temporarily reconnect and maintain a link to their roots by delivering news, information, and culture in the community language (Wong, 2012; Georgiou, 2005, 2004; Markus, 1993; Bell et al., 1991; Ata & Ryan, 1989). Community ethnic media are also an intermediary and a valuable social and cultural outlet, which encourages and promotes cultural news and events. For instance, art, music, film and food festivals, independence days, and other celebrations (Lay & Thomas, 2012; Carreira, 2002; Viswanath & Arora, 2000; Bell et al., 1991).

Saric, Gammelgaard and Zaric’s (2012) study investigates the developments in national holiday celebrations in nine countries of Central Europe and the Balkans: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Macedonia, Montenegro, Poland, Serbia, and Slovakia after the fall of communism. These authors indicate that “national holidays provide a yearly recurrent

opportunity for people to reflect upon the identity of the collective they belong to. When people talk and write about those reflections, they contribute to the construction of collective identity, that is, they contribute to the question: “Who are we?” (p.5). Saric et al., (2012) and Slater, Tacchi, and Lewis’ (2002) studies show how newspapers can facilitate social inclusion within the community and in the wider community by providing their audience with opportunities to participate in spaces and activities outside of the newspaper. Whilst community ethnic media provides their audience with cultural news, events, and information, supporting their audiences’ identity negotiation and countering mainstream interpretations are issues also worth exploring.

3.2.5 Negotiating Identity and Countering Mainstream Constructions

Ethnic media performs a vital function in countering mainstream media interpretations of migrant communities and are a space where communities can negotiate their own identities. Recent research (Sun & Sinclair, 2016; Hebbani & van Vuuren, 2015; Brooks, 2012; Deuze, 2006) on community ethnic media examines its role in negotiating identity and counteracting mainstream constructions. These scholars find that print and online newspapers publish stories of positive contributions made by migrants to the majority society. Moreover, these studies reveal that news, information, and events published in the community language, bilingually, or in the majority language in ethnic media can aid to negotiate an individual’s diverse identities.

Early research by Bell et al., (1991) examines the value of the ethnic press as a cultural, identity, and linguistic tool for second generation readers. The authors conclude that the second generation does not consume community ethnic newspapers as they fail to offer this generation a link to identify back to their heritage culture. However, a decade later, studies examining how second and subsequent generations of Hispanics in Australia (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004) and the United States (Valdés, 2001) show that they participate in Spanish language newspapers for language and identity maintenance and negotiation. Moreover, these two studies reveal that the second generation is comfortable identifying with a hybrid identity.

In addition, community ethnic media delivers a counter to the absence of migrant communities in mainstream media by discussing ethnic and racial issues in a space where the

community can be heard. For instance, Ojo (2006) finds that Canada's migrant communities negotiate their identities via community ethnic media, published in English. Community ethnic media provides a space where migrant communities have their own independent voice to negotiate their identities and represent the community in their own terms (Ewart, 2012; Meadows et al., 2007). The next section turns to community ethnic media establishing their own space online.

3.3 Community Ethnic Media Creating Their Own Online Space

Research (Mellado, Hellmueller, & Donsbach, 2017; Westlund, 2013; Finkelstein, 2012; Pavlik, 2008, 2001; D'Amico, 2006;) finds that global political, technological, and economic transformations, as well as audience fragmentation, has affected both the print newspaper environment and journalistic culture compared to last century. The meteoric rise of digital communication technologies has resulted in an individual's easy and rapid access to the online media marketplace. This marketplace not only entails traditional print newspapers and other forms of print publications, but online media accessible in real time for free or at little cost via computers, smartphones, or tablets (Little & McGivern, 2014; Shi, Rui, & Whinston, 2014; Carlin, 2009; Beecher, 2005). Thus, globalisation, the internet, and digital communication technologies are "rewriting the rules of modern communication" (Beecher, 2005, p. 24), and this has also led many individuals to consider that print media is irrelevant in their lives (Lopez & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2013).

Digital communication technologies have redefined and repositioned the media-audience relationship and the way in which journalists produce and disseminate news and information in their newspaper. In the past, newspapers were considered superior to other forms of media due to their large space for simultaneous information. This large space, allowed print publications to cover more topics of public concern than, for instance, television or radio news broadcasts (Furnham, Gunter, & Green, 1990). However, the advent of digital communication technologies and its immense space has led to a reconsideration of whether newspapers remain superior due to their claim for their large space for simultaneous information. Considering this, the technology of paper is inefficient as audiences are now trapped within pages, rather than feeling free to

browse numerous links. For Henry (2009), traditional media such as newspapers are “not being eliminated, but updated” as paper is also a technology. Hence, competing mediums to paper such as digital communication technologies could be calling for a re-invention of print newspapers, rather than for its removal (ibid).

As community ethnic media becomes more prevalent in both the offline and online mediascape, scholarly interest aims to understand how community ethnic media are addressing the challenges and leveraging opportunities associated with adopting digital communication technologies (Mellado, 2015; Matsaganis et al., 2011). Australian studies (Sun & Sinclair, 2016; Hebbani & van Vuuren, 2015; Kraaier, 2014, 2010; Velissaris, 2012; Bacchetti, 2010) find that migrant communities such as the Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, Jewish, Greek, Italian and Korean respectively are defying the technological and generational challenge presented to them. These studies also find that many of Australia’s community ethnic newspapers have integrated digital communication technologies, complementing their print newspapers with websites, e-papers, social networking sites (such as Twitter and Facebook), and smartphone and tablet⁷ applications for various reasons. These include: (1) to cater to their audiences’ diverse media ecologies, (2) to maintain a strong community focus and the newspaper-audience relationship, (3) to compete with the popularity of transnational media, (4) to deliver more local news and events, (5) to maintain the community language, (6) to tell their stories and counter mainstream constructions, and (7) to reach a greater audience for a fraction of the cost of print newspapers.

Despite the popularity and ease online newspapers produce, Bressers (2006) and Van der Wurff and Lauf (2005) state that in regards to content, many online newspapers are more entertainment focused and lighter in content than their offline version (Prior, 2005). Bearing this in mind, Thottam (1999) endorses that community ethnic newspapers together with their online product “should complement the primary product and persuade readers to pick up the print version” (p. 220). This ensures readership to both platforms and more so, the newspaper’s survival in the offline and online mediascape. Research has also delved into the reasons behind why some ethnic media may be slower to integrate technology as a complement to their traditional platform.

⁷ The Greek Australian newspaper, *Neos Kosmos* has created their own Apple and Android application in both Greek and English.

These reasons include: (1) the time and cost to create and maintain online media, (2) the fear or resistance to change, and (3) the preference to maintain a print audience (SBS, 2015; Matsaganis et al., 2011; Fernández Chapou, 2010; Libedinsky, 2007; Pavlik, 2008). Thus, as the world becomes increasingly connected, these factors will also influence the way in which media interacts and engages with their audience.

Velissaris (2012) writes that since 1996, the Greek Australian newspaper *Neos Kosmos* has had an online platform where it delivers news in both English and Greek. The establishment of an online outlet was to compete with the digital world of journalism and satellite television. *Neos Kosmos*' Managing Director, Christopher Gogos indicates that by allocating more resources to their online content, we may "Possibly [have] a bigger audience than our print editions" (ibid). The establishment of online community ethnic newspapers and their respective social media platforms have thus become additional vital resources where migrant communities can maintain, strengthen, and recreate formal and informal networks; foment ties back to their community; and shape and reinforce their individual and collective identities (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012; Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010; Brinkerhoff, 2009; Estevez, 2009). Moreover, these virtual spaces allow individuals to briefly return home through their online platforms which are designed to cater to the needs and tastes of their audience.

The emergence of online spaces by Australia's community ethnic media has also seen Australia's community ethnic newspapers expand their branding and exposure in the digital sphere, seeing them gain a wider national and unexpected international audience (Velissaris, 2012). For example, Velissaris (2012) and Bacchetti (2010) find that an online presence allows Australia's community ethnic newspapers to obtain information such as website traffic data statistics and observe where their audiences are located. Christopher Gogos reveals that excluding their Greek Australian audience, 30 to 35 per cent of *Neos Kosmos*' traffic originates from Cyprus, Greece, and the United States. Similarly, Surak Doungruapana, editor of the Thai Australian newspaper, *Thai Oz*, reveals that apart from their nationwide print circulation, their website receives over 500 hits per day. The before-mentioned online Australian community ethnic newspapers catering to diverse migrant communities demonstrate that by ethnic media complementing an online outlet, they can reach more individuals not only from within their

respective migrant community in Australia but also worldwide. Scholars such as Browne (2005) and Appadurai (1998) state that by community ethnic media and their audiences adopting digital communication technologies, the community ethnic media industry, its content, and their audience are becoming more embedded in transnational networks, and this is challenging the idea of a single culture and bounded territory.

3.4 Social Networking Sites

The majority of existing studies examining community ethnic newspapers in the digital age focus on three aspects: media consumption of the diaspora, online content, and building a greater newspaper-audience relationship. Nevertheless, the use of social networking sites is not one of these focuses. Hebbani and van Vuuren (2015) emphasise that many ethnic media producers “remain focused on old media (radio, the press, and television)” and the potential of social networking sites and other online media needs to be considered (ibid, p. 54). They conclude that more research needs to focus on whether newly arrived migrants will adopt traditional media platforms as willingly as previous generations (ibid, p. 43).

Social networking sites can offer an interactive nature. That is, they can facilitate participation and feedback between newspaper producers and their audience, and are another means for their audience to interact with other members of the imagined online community. Social networking sites have become an integral part of modern life. The growth and popularity of social media have seen an ‘explosion’ in online interactivity and user involvement. Hampton, Sessions Goulet, Rainie, and Purcell (2011) state that social networking sites are made to enable social interactions. Seargeant and Tag (2014) and Lay and Thomas (2012) write that the emergence of social networking sites such as Facebook have altered the manner in which individuals and migrant communities interrelate. Social media platforms such as Facebook are alternative vehicles where migrant communities can share information, voice their concerns, and tell their stories in their own terms. Therefore, social networking sites are not simply another way of communicative contact; they provide a number of notably different communicative dynamics and structures. Seargeant and Tag (2014) state that whilst the telegraph and telephone before the advent of digital technologies and social networking sites introduced new means for individuals to

communicate - and in some way altered both communicative practices and forms of social relations – social networking sites are having an intense power on the linguistic and communicative practices in which individuals engage, as well as social groupings and networks they produce. For Jones (2009), these online communities are thus not just duplicating offline communities, but are building and expanding them.

Due to the popularity of digital communication technologies, Deuze (2006) highlights “that journalism must re-engage with its audience as fellow citizens rather than customers” (p. 275), and social media, forums, and message boards are additional means by which community ethnic newspapers can undertake such a task. For instance, migrant communities can access and share information, news, and stories with their newspaper, their social network, and with other members of the community (Lay & Thomas, 2012; Balnaves, Mayrhofer, & Shoesmith, 2004). In sum, these technologies have not only made it cheaper, easier, and faster to attract new customers, but they are also appealing to a younger generation of readers who prefer to access news via these means.

Community ethnic media’s use of digital communication technologies can perform a symbolic function for individuals who desire to obtain news and information from their native and heritage country. That is, an online hub allows their audience to ‘be in two worlds’ or ‘here’ and ‘there’ (Georgiou, 2014; Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010; Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004; Ahmadi, 1997; Ålund, 1997). According to Seargeant and Tagg (2014), digital communication technologies are simply continuations of pre-existing offline social networks, which individuals can gain access to across time and space. These authors agree that geographical location is no longer important for the maintenance and performance of the community relations. That is, digital communication technologies permit globally dispersed members to maintain connections, and continue to provide a sense of ‘local’ shared knowledge despite the real-world milieus and affiliations the online audience of newspapers may have at the time. According to Seargeant and Tag (2012), this thus takes the form of the shared culture that is indexed in the connections individuals experience.

One of the significant elements of digital communication technologies such as social networking sites is how they facilitate diverse types of social memberships and interaction based

on shared interests, affiliation, and the extension of offline groups, and how patterns of group interaction develop because of these digital technologies (Sergeant & Tag, 2012). As a result of digital communication technologies, these patterns can vary from or extend from the forms of offline social organisation. Thus, technology can aid to establish and make possible these connective and communicative options (ibid). By studying the influence of digital communication technologies in community ethnic media, it can provide an insight into why and how individuals come together and how they perceive, value, and act on these connections (Fontaine, 2006), and aid in our understanding of community in the digital world.

That said, community ethnic media's use of digital communication technologies is diminishing physical and psychological boundaries between individuals and their native and heritage country, and connecting dispersed members across a transnational sphere (Parker & Song, 2006; Anderson, 1983). Matsaganis et al., (2011) attributes transnational connectedness to the internet, which also includes online community ethnic newspapers. This transnational connectedness amongst readers creates transnational virtual communities. That is, connectedness between the individuals and their native and heritage country and between migrants and fellow compatriots in other countries. Shumow (2012) and Thompson (2002) write that transnational virtual communities that connect migrant communities with their native and heritage country via the internet reinforces transnationalism. Community ethnic media and social networking sites foster imagined communities as they create and uphold virtual transnational connections. However, they still uphold the role of community ethnic media by linking and reflecting on issues from an individual's native and heritage country and with their country of residence (Shumow, 2012).

3.4.1 Digital Communication Technologies, Memory, and Imagined Communities

Researchers of communities (see Coles & West, 2016; Bollmer, 2011; Brabazon, 2001) have also adopted Anderson's (1991) notion of imagined communities and adapted it to the online context. If traditional communities are imagined (Anderson, 1983), thus online communities are also imagined. As Anderson (1991) highlights, the ideal criterion for an imagined community is not the

falsity/genuineness of the community, but the manner in which a community is imagined. His statement can help explain the case of online or virtual communities.

Various scholars label a virtual or online community as a “metaimagined community” (Brabazon 2001, p. 2) or as “the new imagined community” (Fox, 2004). Although not every online platform is designed to produce and maintain a community, social media have created imagined communities among their target groups, and these communities have been found to also transcend physical boundaries (Grădinaru, 2016; Kavoura, Pelet, Rundle-Thiele & Lecat, 2014). For instance, studies conducted by Hayes, Pages and Buhalis (2013), and Gruzd, Wellman, and Takhteyev (2011) examine Twitter in its role of not simply establishing an imagined community, but in also enhancing a shared sense of community and engagement. They find that Twitter’s imagined community comprises of important features extracted from Anderson’s (1983) notion of imagined community. For example, Twitter members share a common language, a sense of temporality exists, and there is no need for reciprocity and interaction between platform members (Hayes et al., 2013).

Another study by Coles and West (2016) also reveals the establishment of an imagined community via online newspaper comment threads. They identify that the central facets of online imagined communities are: individuation, mutual influence between posters, shared history for both the users and the online space, and the use of humour to reinforce social bonds. They also find that in some newspapers the role of membership is unnecessary, as individuals can publish comments anonymously. Thus, in cases such as these “even without a formal infrastructure to support the formation of communities, users of a given online space will seek to join with like-minded individuals to establish an imagined community” (Coles & West 2016, p. 46).

Coles and West (2016, p. 47) observe an interesting finding in their study that even though members do not know each other, they need to decide who is and who is not a member of their community. The symbols of the community, for instance, language, modes of connecting, and a shared history make a group perform as a community. Through the act of identifying members and the non-members of the community, the assumptions concerning what the identity of the

community ought to be, the community's codes, values, and practices, or the contact among its members are clearly put to into action (Grădinaru, 2016).

Another key factor that ties individuals together into an online community is a collective memory. Grădinaru (2016) writes that for communities which already have a tradition and history, there is also a constant archive which can comprise of materials such as photos, comments, and videos. The online environment has thus created a "new digital temporality of memory" (Hoskins, 2009, p. 93), that permits a fluid movement of memory. The digital archive that each online community establishes can turn into a reference for all its community members and for those individuals that read comments made by in-group members but who do not contribute. For Rheingold (2000), the knowledge included into an online community can be associated with a "living encyclopaedia," a communal repository that represents the identity of the community (p. 46).

Hoskins (2009) delineates a new "emergent digital networked memory – in that communications in themselves dynamically add to, alter, and erase, a kind of living archival memory" (p. 92). "On-the-fly" memory acknowledges the function of mediation and mediatization of our daily digital media and its intrinsic processes of construction and re-construction (Grădinaru, 2016). Therefore, this new digital memory which Hoskins (2009) describes is a hybrid one, as it is at the same time: public and private, actively produced and recently recorded, well stored and fluid, adaptable and fixed; as a digital trail will continue eternally in the network. The new media memory is communally modified because it performs as a social glue for communities (Tosco, 2005) and actively supports individuals' lives and their identities. Landsberg (2004) applied the notion of 'prosthetic memory' to show the function of media in producing, communicating, and archiving memory. She writes that:

Mass cultural technologies have the capacity to create shared social frameworks for people who inhabit, literally and figuratively, different social spaces, practices, and beliefs. As a result, these technologies can structure 'imagined communities' that are not necessarily geographically or nationally bounded and that do not presume any kind of affinity among community members (ibid, p. 8).

For Landsberg (2004), mass cultural works create and instill memories in their audience and these memories come to stand in for real ones, thus they are *prosthetic*. Despite this, media research demonstrates that prosthetic memories enable that relationship between individuals and collective and historical pasts regardless of whether they were experienced or not (Marschall, 2017; Paca, 2017; Landsberg, 2004).

3.5 Motives for Consuming Community Ethnic and Transnational Media

Various studies (Georgiou, 2014; Matsaganis et al., 2011; DeBell & Chapman, 2006) indicate various motives as to why migrant communities access online and print ethnic and transnational newspapers. For instance, research investigating Hispanics in Australia (Sinclair, 2014; Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004), Latin Americans in Spain (Lobera & Giménez, 2017), and Korean and Japanese migrants in Canada (Lee, 2016) show that individuals consume ethnic media for both information and entertainment. Likewise, individuals consume transnational media to relax, entertain themselves, and to stay abreast with news and events, which can then be shared within their domestic and transnational social networks (Oh, 2015; Shi, 2005).

In addition to these two motives, other studies relay various reasons why first and subsequent generations consume ethnic and transnational media such as: (1) for linguistic and cultural maintenance, (2) to update and modernise native and heritage language registers, and (3) to negotiate identities in order for individuals to understand themselves and their place (Marino, 2015; Horst, 2010; Georgiou, 2007; Sreberny, 2001; Karim, 1998). In terms of identity, Horst's (2010, p, 139) research of Jamaican Americans finds that print and new media aids individuals to understand themselves and their place. Media consumption studies in Europe with a specific focus on the first generation also find that ethnic and transnational media is vital to their identity (Retis, 2007; Christiansen, 2004; Weibull & Wadbring, 1998).

In the Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism (2005), State of the New Media report, they indicate that unlike online transnational media, print community ethnic newspapers are the

preferred medium which can support the cultural, entertainment, informational, and linguistic necessities of senior members of the community who cannot access satellite television, the internet, or who do not consume mainstream English language media. This finding demonstrates that for some readers, transnational media is of no interest to them as they can obtain in-group specific news from print newspapers. Moreover, Matsaganis et al., (2011) write that if an individual desires news about their native and heritage country, then transnational media may be more appropriate than community ethnic newspapers or even mainstream media. However, if any individual desires local news, events and information, ethnic media is more suitable as transnational media does not disseminate and cannot fulfil the individual's local news and informational needs. The next section will focus its attention on how an individual's social network can influence their consumption of community ethnic and transnational media.

3.6 Social Networks and the Consumption of Ethnic and Transnational Media

In migrant communities, an individual's social network usually entails the use of the community language. Hence, an individual's social network, be it family and friends, can be a factor which influences their consumption of ethnic and transnational media. Regarding ethnic and transnational media consumption in migrant families, Georgiou (2006) writes that "The family is the assumed context in most of the migrant and diasporic media consumption research but it is rarely discussed as a significant analytical category per se" (p. 5). Elias and Lemish's (2011) research into the meaning of ethnic and transnational media in the lives of Russian-speaking migrant families in Israel and Germany shows that community ethnic media is significant for migrant families as it assists them to obtain news and information from their native and heritage country and country of residence, and aids them to preserve their culture and language. As for intergenerational media consumption, Georgiou (2006) investigates transnational media use among Greek Cypriots in New York and London. She finds that Greek Cypriot children consume the same media as their parents (i.e. Greek television and radio programs) and are conscious and supportive of the quality family time this creates. Moreover, she reveals that children also access Greek media and music. These actions show their efforts for maintaining Greek as a community

language and in their quest to become multilingual. Similarly, Zhang's (2008) study of Chinese families in Philadelphia in the United States, unveils that second generation children also report being frequently immersed in their parents' preferences for Chinese language media and, consequently, increase their access to it.

Similarly, Cover's (2017) study of community ethnic media serving the Mandarin Cantonese, Jewish, Vietnamese, and Italian migrant communities in South Australia finds that not only are newspapers being read within the family context, but that they are later shared with friends, relatives, and neighbours. This context provides another opportunity where the use and status of community ethnic media are elevated. The act of an individual sharing a newspaper with their social network allows other individuals to remain abreast with local news and information. It also provides community language speakers with a variety of topics for discussion, thereby enhancing a sense of community cohesion, and facilitating the preservation and promotion of cultural capital (Law, 2013).

Social networks operate in an environment where numerous significant factors have changed the character of social reality and thus the types of communities that individuals construct. During the pre-internet era, the telephone, telegram, and letters allowed migrants to somewhat overcome the issue of distance, the sensation of rootlessness and receiving news from home. Digital communication technologies have now radically changed the concepts of space for individuals as distance is no longer a problem as it was before the emergence of the internet. Now family, friends and other migrant community members are advising and keeping each other updated on news and information online via social networking sites (SBS, 2018; Ye, 2006). The concept of time has also transformed, as individuals can communicate with family, friends, and other members of their social network to nearly any destination, instantly, rapidly, and relatively cheaply with any device that enables an internet connection. Yet, one of the most important questions to ask is, with the popularity of digital technologies making a connection with one's native and heritage country, family, and friends closer than before, what does the future hold for community ethnic newspapers? This next section will offer a perspective on this question.

3.7 The Future of Community Ethnic Newspapers

The future of community ethnic newspapers depends on the future of the community it serves, migration, and second and subsequent generations accessing it. Most present-day migrants arriving in Australia have sufficient knowledge of the English language, thus its former role of interpreting and translating a new culture and that of social integration is now less important. With the advent of digital communication technologies, little is known at this point how they will affect community ethnic newspaper production and consumption. Technology is transforming the way news is perceived, read, and experienced, thus the future of the press rests on various factors. These factors include: (1) the rising cost of print media, (2) declining first generation audience, (3) decreasing migration numbers, (4) ethnic media producers' fear or resistance to change, (5) changes in their audiences' media ecologies, (6) the linguistic proficiency of second and subsequent generations, and (7) technological changes (SBS, 2015; Matsaganis et al., 2011; Chuang, 2010; Peiser, 2000; Pe-Pua, Morrissey, & Mitchell, 1994).

Studies (Leibowitz, 2013; Matsaganis et al., 2011; Chuang, 2010) reveal that it is unlikely that digital communication technologies will drastically transform or substitute community ethnic media. Nevertheless, community ethnic media has had to reconsider their audiences' ecologies, as consumers of all ages are choosing media that resonates with their interests and style. For ethnic media audiences, globalisation and the global awareness of interconnectedness have increased the benefits of multilingualism and the thirst to connect with other places and people (Georgiou, 2001). If community ethnic media consider these linguistic, technological, and identity shifts, these elements could provide opportunities for the creation of new content that reflects their globalised audience. Hence, the future of ethnic media relies on their reflection and representation of their diverse audiences.

Ethnic media has also come across a new challenge, which is probably more difficult to overcome than any financial or social constraints: the younger generation. The main issue for community ethnic media is whether the younger generation will continue accessing print and/or online newspapers. Knowledge of a community language is one key factor which will affect the longevity of newspapers. Consequently, publishing some sections of the newspaper in English is

thought to result in a brighter future for ethnic media and the next generation of community members (Velissaris, 2012; The Pew Hispanic Center, 2011; Downey, 2010). The Pew Hispanic Center (2011) in the United States finds that the number of bilingual media outlets serving the Hispanic community has doubled since the year 2000. As second and subsequent generations grew up with little or no knowledge of their parents' culture, traditions, and language, now as adults, they are accessing these mediums whilst learning and developing their bilingual skills (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011; Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004). It is here where community ethnic media also plays a vital role in maintaining and negotiating the hybrid identity of these generations (Hennessy, 2004).

However, some community ethnic media producers have mixed reactions concerning the future of the press in English. Hennessy (2004) cites that Nino Randazzo, editor of the Italian Australian newspaper, *Il Globo*, does not see a future in printing in English. He notes that their younger readership accesses his newspaper for language learning as the Italian language is continually evolving. Furthermore, Randazzo adds that if mainstream media cannot attract younger readers, then the chances of ethnic media surviving are slim to none (ibid). Therefore, a consensus is to strike a balance between the community's identities with that of the global perception of individuality and community integrity. Beyond the language of production, ethnic media producers need to consider that their content, which primarily targets the first generation, may not be suitable to the needs and experiences of future generations. Chuang (2010) writes that as younger generations may not relate to community ethnic media, they are finding new ways to express themselves. For instance, technology allows the younger generations to create their own imagined community where they can share experiences, language, culture, and voice their concerns. Thus, unlike the first generation, the second and subsequent generations are coming of age in a time when links between 'here' and 'there' are much easier to maintain thanks to technology and the ease of travelling.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined notions and ideas concerning the rise and purpose of community ethnic media and the role it plays in creating and maintaining an imagined community and sense

of place and belonging for migrants and their descendants. It discussed how an individual's access to community ethnic media also creates a sense of being 'here' and 'there,' as their desire to reconnect back to their native and heritage country is strong enough to traverse barriers of a larger transnational community, which is also lived and imagined.

This chapter has noted that the growth of ethnic media is linked to processes such as migration, globalisation, and technological innovation, yet migrant communities remain largely invisible and under-represented in mainstream media. This chapter showed how theories and ideas such as Habermas' (1989) public sphere, Kessler's (1984) dissident press, and Anderson's (1991) notion of an imagined community are useful for understanding community ethnic media. This chapter addressed Caspi and Elias' (2011) twelve criteria outlining whether community ethnic media is 'by' or 'for' the community. It found that these criteria are useful in illustrating that media 'by' the community plays a salient role in disseminating local and transnational news and information to a community that is overlooked by mainstream media. It also reviewed how its diverse roles not only contribute to the community's visibility in the mediasphere, but how it also provides a sense of social cohesion and aids in linguistic, cultural, and identity maintenance. Ethnic media also counter mainstream media interpretations of their community by forging communal belonging, in addition to being a space where identity negotiation can also take place.

This chapter noted that the conventional notion of ethnic print media as print has been challenged by a more economical and accessible online format to deliver news and information to both mature and younger generations who are looking at additional means to express themselves. It finds that an individual's physical and online social network can influence their consumption of community ethnic and transnational media and their thirst for news and information. The adoption of digital communication technologies also transforms national communities into transnational ones, thus forming part of a transnational sphere.

Finally, this chapter identified several challenges and opportunities that may affect the future of community ethnic newspapers. To overcome these challenges, it showed that community ethnic media need to consider demographic, linguistic, cultural, and technological factors. The forthcoming chapter will present the research methodology for this study. This

chapter discusses quantitative and qualitative research methods, the data collection tools, and the data analysis techniques used in this study. The use of a mixed-methods approach is used to respond to this knowledge gap by examining how and why the Spanish language press emerged and developed in Australia and how it provides an alternative space for this underrepresented heterogeneous migrant community to become visible in Australia.

Chapter 4 Methodology

The first three chapters have laid out the foundations for this thesis by providing an introduction and discussing the literature on Hispanic migration and theories and ideas related to the emergence and roles of community ethnic media. These chapters provide the basis for the structure and content for analysing survey, interview, and print and online Spanish language newspapers that will provide the data and findings discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Before discussing the results obtained in this thesis to comprehend how and why the Spanish language press emerged and evolved in Australia, this chapter explains the methodological methods used in this study.

The first section of the chapter details the research questions, followed by a rationale for using a mixed-methods approach in this study. In addition to focusing on the validity and reliability of the research findings, this chapter also reviews the literature on qualitative and quantitative research methods. This chapter describes the design of the community survey, semi-structured interviews, and print and online newspaper analysis. Moreover, it outlines how these three instruments collected data from first and second generation Hispanics in Australia, media producers, and their respective print and online newspaper platforms. This chapter also describes the criteria for participant selection, the pilot stage, and the sample size. Additionally, it presents data collected via surveys and semi-structured interviews and concludes by describing the data analysis procedures and presentation.

4.1 Research Questions

This thesis investigates the creation, evolution, role, and future of Spanish language newspapers in Australia, in addition to its use by the Hispanic community. Through reviewing related literature, this thesis raised the following research questions to provide answers to the reasons why Spanish language newspapers exist in Australia and how and why individuals produce and consume them. This thesis addresses one primary research question — How have Spanish language newspapers influenced language and culture in the Hispanic Australian community? The following three subordinate questions support the primary research question:

1. How and why did the Spanish language press develop and evolve in Australia?
2. What factors influence print Spanish language newspapers in Australia and how do Spanish language newspapers create a sense of place and imaginary?
3. What factors influence online Spanish language newspapers in Australia and how do Spanish language newspapers create a sense of place and imaginary?

As limited academic research exists concerning the rise and evolution of the Spanish language press in Australia and its role in the Hispanic community, the purpose of this study was to enhance our knowledge and understanding of Spanish language newspapers as more than just a space to deliver news, but one of a cultural and linguistic resource for the Hispanic community. The answers to this study's research questions may contribute to related research fields, as it bridges the areas of migration, linguistics, and media research. Current research examining community ethnic media focuses on topics such as migration, language, and culture. Although studies have investigated this topic from a media viewpoint, the use of digital communication technologies and social media by community ethnic media producers and their public remains largely absent. In order to provide some insight and to contribute pre-existing literature and data pertaining to Australia's Spanish language newspapers, a mixed-method approach was developed, to provide both a richer, deeper insight into the issue, through a community survey, semi-structured interview, and textual analysis of print and online Spanish language newspapers in Australia.

4.2 Mixed Methods

Mixed method studies use both qualitative and quantitative research approaches (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). This method adds a degree of rigour and triangulation, in addition to the completeness in understanding the topic under investigation (Johnson, Turner & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). In Georgiou's (2007) use of mixed methods in her study of diasporic media in Europe, she suggests that this approach is proven to be more productive in recording and interpreting media practices and the diversity of migration and diasporic experience.

Methodological choices should reflect the special nature of migrant communities and thus, allow a space for everyday life, experience, and culturally specific ways of communicating

and information sharing to be incorporated in the research design (Papoutsaki & Strickland, 2008). Hence, this study, by blending of both quantitative and qualitative methods, collected, analysed, and interpreted data, which added breadth and depth to this thesis (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). The data collection instruments (community survey, semi-structured interview, and textual newspaper analysis) adopted in the mixed method approach was considered appropriate to produce data that would contribute to a deeper understanding of Spanish language newspapers in Australia. Combining qualitative and quantitative methods were used to capitalise the strengths of the two approaches and compensate for their weaknesses (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Armstrong, 2013; Johnson & Turner, 2003).

4.3 Research Design

The main reason for undertaking a quantitative approach was a result of little research and limited data on the Hispanic community in Australia. In this thesis, survey data were used to create a profile as to why first and second generation Hispanics consumed and participated in Australia's print and online Spanish language newspapers (Alreck & Settle, 1995). Although limited studies examining Spanish language newspapers in Australia exist, their scope was limited and the information they provided was insufficient, as they did not delve into matters such as the history of the Spanish language press, and its use by first and second generation Hispanics. The reasons this study utilised a community survey were supported in Hall's (2008) statement when he wrote that:

The survey is by far the most frequently used method in the social sciences. It is most widely used in sociology, but is also used extensively in all other social sciences. The reason for this is partly due to its simplicity. If you want to find out why people behave in certain ways or what people think about certain issues, then the most obvious technique to use is to ask them. (p. 115)

Due to the extent of the topics raised in the survey, it proved preferable, particularly in collecting candid and reliable responses (Evans & Mathur, 2005). This study acknowledged that a common risk amongst all surveys is the low response rates that can potentially affect the reliability of data.

To increase participant response rates, the survey was designed to be “short, relevant and of interest to the respondent” (Ray & Tabor, 2003, p. 35). This study’s high response rate among first and second generation Hispanics in Australia suggests that participants found both the study and the community survey relevant and of interest to them.

Qualitative research utilises data collection tools, such as interviews to obtain a greater understanding of a certain phenomenon from the participant’s perspective (Creswell, 2014; Asselin, 2003). For this thesis, this meant that it was important to look beyond the content of Spanish language newspapers to understand the reasons how and why Hispanics in Australia produced and consumed Spanish language newspapers.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

Prior to data collection, the community survey and interview questions to individuals 18 years and older was approved by Griffith University Research Ethics Committee (LAL/06/08/HREC). Quantitative and qualitative data were collected between October 2012 to June 2015 concerning the production and consumption of Australia’s Spanish language newspapers. Participants were advised that answering the community survey and interview was voluntary and that they could withdraw from this study at any point without prejudice. Respondents did not receive any compensation or stimulus for completing the community survey or for partaking in the semi-structured interview. Confidentiality and privacy were also guaranteed. For the sake of confidentiality, all respondents were de-identified in the data set and research reports. Interview respondents’ real names were replaced by pseudonyms and codes that indicated their profession. For survey respondents, their real names were also replaced by pseudonyms and codes, which indicated which generation they pertained to, their city of residence, and nationality.

4.5 Data Collection Instruments

As this study adopted more of a qualitative approach, the following section explains this study’s data collection instruments and the methods used to recruit respondents and access newspapers.

4.5.1 Community Survey

Respondents were recruited through an information flyer posted online and offline in local community centres and Latin American club notice boards in Australia's three largest cities — Brisbane, Melbourne, and Sydney. This flyer, written in English and Spanish (see Appendix 1) encouraged members of the Hispanic community to participate in the community survey. This flyer briefly detailed the importance of the research and the potential interest for respondents (Brown, 2003). It featured Griffith University's logo and was written in a friendly formal tone. The flyer notified potential participants of numerous items. These items stated that the survey was being conducted as part of a doctoral thesis, the aims of the study, its approximate time length, the researcher's contact details, and this study's ethics approval number.

As this research was more qualitative, this study used purposive sampling to recruit individuals from the Hispanic community in Australia. The purpose of this method chooses samples in a deliberate way with "The goal or purpose for selecting the specific units is to have those that will yield the most relevant and plentiful data, given your topic of study" (Yin, 2011, p. 88). Although respondents who were recruited by purposive sampling were not statistically representative, it was acceptable because this study did not intend to generalise its findings to the universal population of the Hispanic community. Therefore, purposive sampling was an appropriate method for this research.

This research recruited 150 first and second generation Hispanics who were residents of Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane as research subjects. The potential participants had to meet the following criteria to be eligible. The criteria for first generation respondents were that he or she must be a person who was born in Latin America or Spain and migrated to Australia. For second generation participants, the criteria were that he or she must be an Australian-born person with one or both parents born in Latin America or Spain. All survey respondents were given an information sheet in English and Spanish outlining the nature of this research (see Appendix 2a). The overall goal of this study was to recruit intergenerational participants from diverse countries and investigate their consumption and participation in Spanish language newspapers.

The community survey was written in English and Spanish (see Appendices 2b and 2c) and accommodated to respondents' language preference, as this option permitted them to express their thoughts, opinions, and stories in their own words (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). To obtain data concerning the use of Spanish language newspapers, the survey was divided into six sections. Each section and each question were geared towards answering the research questions. These six topics enquired into: (1) demographic information, (2) languages, (3) identity, (4) print Spanish language newspapers in Australia, (5) online Spanish language newspapers in Australia, (6) Australian English language print and online newspapers, and (7) the internet and transnational media newspaper consumption.

The survey included multiple choice, five-point scale, dichotomous, and open-ended questions, allowing for a deeper understanding of respondents' reasons for consuming Spanish language media. Before the community survey was provided to participants, a pilot survey was conducted. Bell (2014) stated that surveys should be piloted to: (a) test how long recipients take to complete them, (b) check that the instructions and questions are clear, and, (c) advise the investigator to modify instructions or questions. Thus, the survey was pilot tested with one first generation Spaniard and one first generation Argentinean colleague and based on their feedback, minor amendments were made to the wording of some questions to improve clarity.

4.5.1.1 Community Survey Respondents Demographic Data

This research recruited 75 first generation and 75 second generation Hispanics (75 males and 75 females), aged between 18 and 67 years, and resided in the cities of Brisbane, Melbourne, and Sydney. The majority of first generation respondents (76%) migrated to Australia between 1961 to 1985, whereas 24 per cent of respondents migrated during the 1990s to early 2005. Many first generation respondents in this research migrated to Australia for humanitarian reasons; however, some migrated for economic or family reasons. As discussed in Chapter 2, the migration patterns of the Hispanic community have evolved over the last decades. Confirming the literature for reasons into migrating to Australia, first generation respondents explained that political and economic uncertainty in their country of origin, insecurity, and high inflation led them to migrate. This study obtained a diverse sample of first generation Hispanics survey respondents from

numerous Hispanic countries. Table 4.1 breaks down first generation respondents by country of birth and city of residence in Australia.

Table 4.1

First Generation Basic Demographic data

Respondents Birthplace	Australian cities respondents resided			Total (n=75)
	Brisbane	Melbourne	Sydney	
Argentina	10	4	4	18
Uruguay	7	2	3	12
Chile	6	1	2	9
Colombia	4	1	2	7
Spain	5	1	1	7
El Salvador	2	2	0	4
Peru	2	0	1	3
Mexico	1	1	1	3
Nicaragua	1	1	0	2
Ecuador	0	1	1	2
Venezuela	0	1	1	2
Costa Rica	0	1	1	2
Bolivia	0	1	1	2
Cuba	1	0	0	1
Paraguay	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	52% (n=39)	24% (n=18)	24% (n=18)	75

The above table demonstrates that the largest number of first generation survey respondents originated from Argentina, followed by Uruguay, and Chile. A little over half (52%) of these survey respondents resided in Brisbane, equally followed by Sydney (24%) and Melbourne (24%). With regards to occupations, first generation Hispanics classified themselves as professionals (51%), pensioners (16%), trade workers (15%), retirees (11%), stay at home parents (5%), and tertiary students (2%). All second generation respondents reported that they were born in Australia between 1970 to 1989. They were aged between 18 and 43 years and resided in the cities of Sydney (36%), Melbourne (34%), and Brisbane (30%). In regards to their occupation, this

generation reported to work as professionals (61%), trade workers (19%), students (12%), and stay at home parents (8%).

4.5.1.2 Self-Evaluated Language Proficiency of Survey Respondents

Language competence is significant for this study to analyse, as it can provide significant indicators on whether their proficiency level in the Spanish language played a part in individuals accessing Spanish language media. Research has assumed that migrants access ethnic media due to their linguistic deficiency in the language of their country of residence (Hwang & He, 1999). Thus, the community survey inquired into respondents' self-evaluated Spanish and English language proficiency in the following four macro-skill categories: speaking, reading, writing, and listening. For each category, respondents were required to choose each category from a five-point scale, which ranged from 'Excellent' to 'Very Poor.'

Data extracted from the first generation revealed that 93 per cent self-categorised their speaking, reading, and listening competencies as 'Excellent'. A high number (86%) classified their writing as 'Excellent', whilst 14 per cent selected 'Very Good'. As with the first generation, it was equally important to investigate how second generation respondents self-evaluated their Spanish language proficiency. Heritage speakers indicated that they had 'Very Good' to 'Excellent' across all Spanish language capabilities. Their high proficiency levels were due to many studying the Spanish language at secondary school, complementary school, language institute, or at university. Although the arbitrary nature of language competence differs between individuals, all respondents mentioned they were capable of reading newspaper articles in Spanish.

Another potential determinant of news media production and consumption was analysing both generations' English proficiency in the four macro-skills. As English is the majority language in Australia, this factor can cause community language loss in the second and subsequent generations. For community ethnic media, community language loss could affect their livelihood. The data indicated that first generation, self-evaluated their speaking as 'Excellent' (89%), 'Very Good' (5%), 'Good' (4%), and 'Poor' (2%). For reading, 91 per cent indicated 'Excellent', 'Very Good' (7%), and 'Poor' (2%). Writing and listening were categorised as 'Excellent' (90%), 'Very Good' (5%), 'Good' (3%), and 'Poor' (2%). As English was the second generation's first language,

they all declared their skills as 'Excellent.' Although respondents in this research did not undertake a language proficiency test, data indicated that they self-perceived themselves to be multilingual.⁸

4.5.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

Since this research was concerned with understanding how and why the Spanish language press emerged and evolved and why first and second generation Hispanics produced and consumed Spanish language newspapers in multicultural Australia, the interview, just like the community survey served as a conduit for exploring this media-audience relationship. This allowed the researcher to obtain first-hand data about the Spanish language media industry and their public, which could not be asked in the community survey. Before undertaking interviews with community ethnic media professionals, interview questions were also piloted with a former community ethnic newspaper journalist. This allowed for minor modifications to the wording of some questions for clarity (Jensen & Laurie, 2016; Bell, 2014). Interview questions were categorised into the following six themes: (1) general information, (2) Spanish language press history, (3) newspaper information, (4) newspapers and the community (their audience), (5) the internet and digital communication technologies, and (6) the future of Spanish language newspapers (Appendices 3d and 3e). The advantages of using semi-structured interviews in this study compared to structured interviews were that they were more flexible and fluid (Mason, 2004), and they permitted the interviewer to ask additional questions to elucidate additional information.

4.5.2.1 Recruitment of Interviewees

As Australia's National and State libraries⁹ held large collections of Spanish language publications, their holdings were searched to identify the names of individuals who wrote for Australia's Spanish language publications during the 1960s to 2015. Creating a list of interviewees was an evolving and time-consuming process, as a number of individuals were deceased, others had

⁸ This study's findings do not represent the overall Hispanic Australian community.

⁹ National Library of Australia, and the State Libraries of New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, Western Australia, and the Northern Territory.

returned to reside abroad, whilst others could not be located, or chose not to participate. Potential interviewees were contacted by telephone where the study was briefly explained to them and they were asked if they were interested in participating in this study.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face with 12 Australian ethnic press editors and journalists from Brisbane, Sydney, and Melbourne at a mutually agreed and comfortable location. These interviews explored the emergence, evolution, and challenges the ethnic media industry faced, by enriching and verifying survey data. Ethnic media producers were considered as experts due to their experience and knowledge of producing community ethnic media in the Australian mediascape (Gläser & Laudel, 2009). Before undertaking interviews, respondents were provided with an information sheet written in both English and Spanish (see Appendix 3a) that outlined the overview of the research. Prior to participants undertaking the interview, they provided written consent by signing a consent form in either English or Spanish (see Appendices 3b and 3c). As all the interviews were digitally recorded, all interviewees provided verbal confirmation that they agreed to participate in the study. Notes were taken during the interviews, which served two key purposes. First, note taking provided additional interview material in case that digital recording equipment failed. Second, these interview notes allowed the researcher to delve deeper into important topics in my study that the interviewee raised.

4.5.2.2 Semi-structured Interview Respondents Data

Among the 12 interviewees, nine were male and three were female (see Figure 4.1). The number of male respondents was much larger than females. This gender imbalance of sample was primarily a result of respondent accessibility.

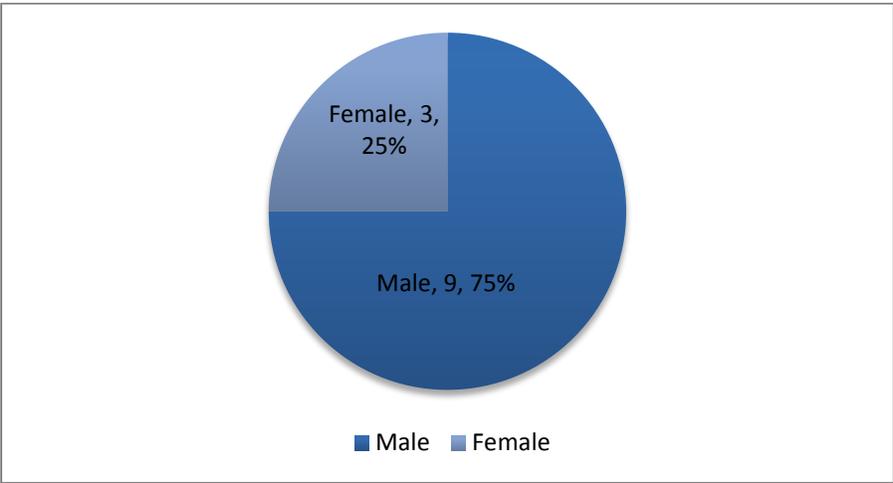


Figure 4.1

Gender and Number of Interview Respondents

The age of interview respondents spanned from between 45 and 69 years. Despite the low number of respondents, their countries of birth were diverse. Interviewees reported that they were born in Chile (2), Argentina (3), Spain (3), Uruguay (3), and El Salvador (1) (see Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2

Birthplace of Interview Respondents

As for respondents' occupations within the Spanish language press in Australia, eight were journalists and four were editors (see Figure 4.3).

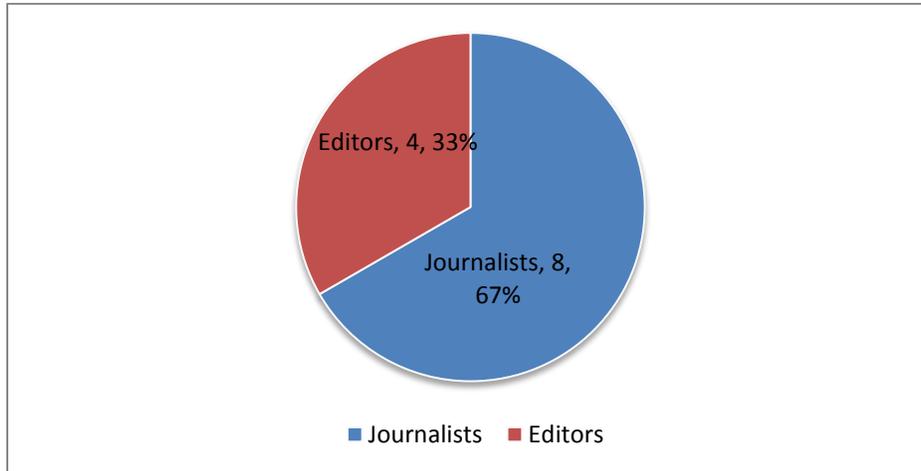


Figure 4.3

Interviewees Occupations within the Spanish Language Press

As for media professionals, the average amount of years employed in the Australian community ethnic press industry ranged from eight to 35 years (see Figure 4.4.).

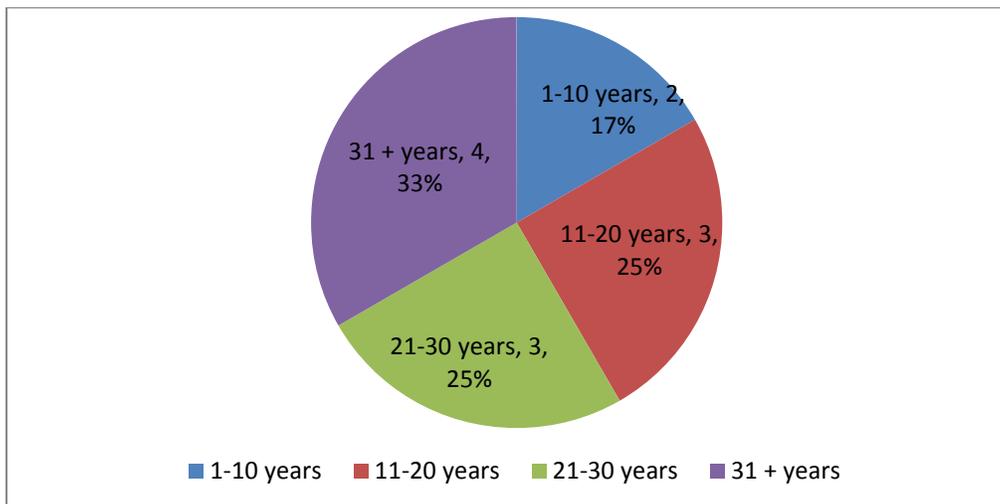


Figure 4.4

Interviewees Period of Employment in the Spanish Language Press

Based on Figure 4.4, more than half of media professionals had been employed for over 20 years in the Spanish language press. In addition to collecting survey and semi-structured interview data, this research also conducted a textual analysis of print and online Spanish language newspapers.

4.5.3 Analysing Spanish Language Newspapers

In order to validate the data gathered from the community survey and semi-structured interviews, a textual analysis of Spanish language newspapers was also undertaken. As early individuals who founded or were employed in Spanish language media were deceased or no longer resided in Australia, analysing newspapers provided this study with information that would otherwise not have been available. This analysis sought to discover what content was being published, and if the newspapers published information about their newspaper organisation, newspaper production, its functions, their development, and challenges. An advantage of textual analysis is that it is non-reactive, in that the document was not produced with the knowledge that it would be subjected to analysis. Yet, a disadvantage was that some documents were not accessible to the researcher or difficult to obtain (Sarantakos, 2012).

This research undertook a textual analysis for two key reasons. First, I discounted a content analysis, as it would not have provided the data and information to answer this study's research questions. While a content analysis would have provided quantitative information for this study, the data would not have answered the how and why questions this research sought to answer. Second, a content analysis of Spanish language newspapers would have been an enormous task to carry out within the scope of this research. The Spanish language newspaper industry consisted of numerous publications and a comprehensive content analysis of even one or more newspapers, in addition to the community survey and interview would have been a long and vast task. Likewise, limiting this research to only a handful of newspapers would not have provided a wide view of the production and consumption of print and online Spanish language newspapers.

To produce a list and gain access to Spanish language newspapers, a search of the National and States libraries¹⁰ was undertaken. This search identified that Australian libraries held numerous Spanish language newspapers produced in Australia, Spain, and Latin America. Due to the focus of this research, I narrowed my search to only Spanish language newspapers published in Australia. In order to retrieve these newspapers, search terms were used to locate publications, such as Spanish language newspapers, Latin American newspapers, Spanish language periodicals, Hispanic Australians, and Spanish Australians.

Print and online newspaper analysis were used to gain an understanding of: (1) the purpose of the newspaper, (2) style, (3) circulation and distribution, (4) connection to organisations within the Spanish-speaking community, (5) motivation and goals of media producers, (6) targeted audience, (7) language used and, (8) funding, and other issues. As more analysis was carried out, it became clear Spanish language newspapers fell into two eras, the *Spanish* era, and the *Latin American* era. The undertaking of a textual analysis of the newspapers into two eras permitted the researcher to consider the changes in media practices across different time periods (McKee, 2003).

The decision to examine online Spanish language newspapers for data collection was strategic for two reasons. First, digital communication technologies permitted the access to a large number of back issues of newspapers. Second, the newspapers were easily accessible and inexpensive to retrieve. Overall, textual analysis formed a significant role in this study's design, as the data collected provided new information that supported and validated those obtained from the community survey and semi-structured interviews.

4.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

According to Yin (2011), there are five phases of data analysis: compiling data, disassembling data, reassembling data, interpreting data, and making conclusions. This study undertook these data analysis procedures. Upon completion of data collection, data were entered into a Microsoft

¹⁰ National Library of Australia, and the State Libraries of New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, Western Australia, and the Northern Territory.

Access database, crosschecked for inconsistencies in data entry, and these were analysed in the Statistical Package for Social Sciences software (SPSS version 19) and NVivo10. Using SPSS verified the normality of the data. In addition, descriptive analyses (percentages and frequency counts) variables were calculated to obtain data about survey respondents, and this descriptive information is presented throughout the subsequent data analysis chapters.

In the first phase, I transcribed the digital recordings of the interviews and input them into NVivo10 to build a database for this study. The second phase of data analysis was disassembling. In this phase, I coded data with several themes such as the use of print media, the use of online media platforms, usage patterns of social media platforms, languages used in newspapers, and other themes related to the research questions. This task was undertaken with the node defining function in NVivo. Secondly, I used the case defining function of NVivo to code the data according to the attributes of respondents. For instance, place of origin, age, number of years in Australia, and the city of residence. The third phase of data analysis was reassembling the data. This allowed for several matrices with the dimensions of nodes and cases to be generated.

As this study was mostly qualitative, and showing immense texts in matrices to reveal findings was impracticable, matrices were used as mental frameworks for this study's data analysis. These were vital because they provided the structures for reconstructing data, which were used during the data analysis procedure. Following data reassembling, the last two procedures of data analysis were data interpretation and conclusions. Textual analysis and survey and interview data presented in this research were obtained in both English and Spanish, thus their English translations were included between parentheses ([]). To ensure the reliability of these translations, two native Spanish language teachers were asked to review the translations.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented how a three-phase methodological approach investigated how and why Spanish language newspapers emerged and evolved in Australia. In previous chapters, I suggested that community ethnic media play a very important role in migrant communities in Australia. Hence, my proposal for examining Australia's Spanish language press was made on the basis that

Spanish language newspapers provide social, cultural, and linguistic links within the dispersed Hispanic community and aid to maintain elements of their identity. Hence, this study aimed to offer an updated picture and shed new light into Spanish language newspapers in Australia.

This chapter provided a rationale for the application of a mixed methods approach. It also outlined how a combination of data collection methods via a community survey, semi-structured interview, and print and online newspaper analysis collected data to answer the study's research questions. It discussed the use of purposive sampling to recruit respondents and defined the survey and semi-structured research participants. This chapter presented how it conducted the analysis of Spanish language newspapers, which in turn increased the validity of this study's findings. Finally, it explained the data analysis procedures used to analyse and present data. The next chapter is one of three data analysis chapters, which details the emergence and evolution of Australian Spanish language newspapers. It will provide new knowledge on how Spanish social institutions and the Spanish language press promoted a sense of community and created a space where all Hispanics could unite and belong. Finally, it will reveal findings relating to the Hispanic community in Australia by exploring why some Spanish language newspapers have survived whilst other ceased publication.

Chapter 5 The Emergence and Evolution of the Spanish Print

Language Press

This chapter is the first of three data findings and discussion chapters that responds to the subordinate research question: How and why did the Spanish language press develop and evolve in Australia? Given that there is a dearth of research into the emergence and evolution of the Spanish language press, the data provided from previous studies are very limited. This chapter fills an important knowledge gap by examining how the Spanish language press emerged and developed in Australia. By drawing on qualitative data from interviews with media professionals and newspaper analysis, this chapter first describes the current Hispanic community in Australia as a language media market. It examines how a common language and history promotes the practice of aggregation, which minimises linguistic, national, ideological, and other divisions that may exist within this community. This is then followed by a discussion on how Spanish migrants led to the rise of Spanish social institutions. This chapter also examines the rise of Spanish language print media in Australia from the 1960s to the present. Included within this chapter is a discussion of its founders, their motivation for establishing Spanish language newspapers, content, and their focus. It also analyses the reasons why some Spanish language newspapers survived while others ceased publication. This chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings.

5.1 The Hispanic Community in Australia as a Language Media Market

Australia's Latin American and Spanish communities are part of a global network of Spanish-speakers. In 2016, Spanish was ranked the ninth most spoken language in Australia with 140,776 speakers (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). The current Spanish language media market, which comprises of 0.6 percent of the Australian population, were born in Spain or Latin America or identified as having Hispanic and Latin American ancestry (ibid). For Sinclair (2014), the high number of Spanish-speakers in Australia reveals that the need for the production of Spanish language media exists despite the market being divided by national identity or political ideologies.

When discussing the pluricentric character of Spanish language media in Australia in the 21st century, interview respondents mentioned several advantages and drawbacks. One such advantage interviewees mentioned is that Australia's Spanish-speakers create a large enough critical mass to merit the production of Spanish language newspapers, community radio, and television news broadcasts. On this subject, interview respondent Silvia*, journalist (P6-I) commented that:

Una ventaja es que como productores de los medios étnicos en Australia podemos proveer a una comunidad grandísima. O sea, en la comunidad de habla hispana, tenemos muchísimas personas de 21 países por alrededor del mundo. Y, sobre todo, todos compartimos el mismo idioma, o sea, el español. Pero también tenemos que reconocer que somos diversos y nuestros periódicos lo demuestra. Nuestros lectores no solo son de un país, sino de muchos países, y el contenido en cada uno de nuestros diarios refleja esa diversidad.¹¹

[An advantage is that we as ethnic media producers in Australia can cater to a large community. In other words, in the Spanish-speaking community, we have many people from 21 Spanish-speaking countries from around the world. And above all, we all share the same language, that is, Spanish. But we also must acknowledge that we are diverse and our newspapers demonstrate that. Our readers are not only from one country, but from many countries and the content in each one of our newspapers reflects this diversity.]

Likewise, to the respondent above, interviewee David*, editor (P7-I) mentioned that community ethnic newspapers have remained important to migrant communities in the 21st century, despite members of the Hispanic community settling well in Australia and possessing adequate knowledge of the English language. The above two comments demonstrate that the Hispanic community is very diverse, and this community still needs and desires for news in the Spanish language.

¹¹ All translations are my own.

5.2 The Spanish Era: Spanish Migration and the Rise of Social Institutions

This study found that the first Spanish social clubs in Australia resulted from Spanish migration due to the Spanish and Australian government supported scheme, which occurred between 1958 and 1963. Interviewees stated that prior to the appearance of these Spanish institutions, many Spaniards experienced structural and emotional losses, such as family, a familiar society, language, social structures, and support networks. Data uncovered that due to the lack of Spanish institutions, Spaniards wished to remain in contact with Spain, but experienced slow and expensive media communication. On this subject, interview respondent David*, editor (P7-I) stated that Spanish migrants relied on letters from family and friends, and obtained news concerning the arrival of new Spanish migrants by boat. Interview respondent Pablo*, editor (P12-I) also elaborated that:

A diferencia de la rapidez de la tecnología de ahora, donde cualquiera pueda conectarse al instante con su familia y amigos en el extranjero, o la popularidad de las páginas de Facebook de la comunidad o de los inmigrantes, donde la gente hace preguntas y otros publican noticias e información... antes de todo esto, los inmigrantes se reunían en los cafés o en sus casas y hablaban sobre las noticias, información, y de las cartas que enviaban y recibían de sus familias en España, o de las noticias e información que se enteraban por amigos nuevos que hicieron aquí en Australia. El intercambio de noticias y estar en compañía con otros españoles, disminuyó un poco la sensación de estar solo.

[Unlike the rapidness of today's technology where anyone can instantly connect to their family and friends overseas, or the popularity of community or migrant Facebook pages, where people can ask questions, and others post news and information... before all of this, migrants would meet in cafes or in their houses and talk about news, information and, the letters they sent and received to their families back in Spain, or news and information they found out through new friends they made here in Australia. This news exchange and being in the company of other Spaniards, somewhat diminished the sense of loneliness.]

This respondent's comment demonstrates that during this period, a migrant's adjustment to Australia depended on their own social network, which was important for socialising and exchanging news, and information with other migrants. To combat these structural and emotional losses, due to the migration experience, interview data confirmed García (2002), Jupp (2002), and Otaegui (1972) in that Spaniards were the builders of Spanish language institutions in Australia, establishing three Spanish clubs.¹² These clubs are somewhat comparable to Habermas' coffee houses as Spaniards wished to have their own space and place where they could maintain the Spanish language and culture, and discuss news and events. The establishment of these clubs was a clear sign that the Spanish community was growing and they wished to become a visible and represented migrant community in Australia. Yet, how did the establishment of Spanish clubs result in the emergence of Australia's Spanish language press? The subsequent section will discuss the rise of the Spanish language press in Australia.

5.2.1 The Emergence of Australia's Spanish Language Press

For migrants in Australia, starting a new life in a new country proved difficult due to lack of contacts, linguistic deficiency, and cultural differences. Interviewees stated that the Spanish community's need to fill these voids eventually led to the establishment of Spanish language newsletters in the 1960s. Similar to Najdovskis (1997) study of Macedonians in Australia, findings revealed that migrants produced community ethnic media for three key reasons: to obtain news and information from Australia and their country of origin, and for cultural and linguistic maintenance. Congruent with García (2002), this research found that three Spanish language newsletters appeared. These Spanish newsletters emerged via institutional powers of the Spanish State via the Spanish Consulate in Sydney and the Catholic Church through its migrant chaplains and social clubs (see Table 5.1).

¹² *El Centro Español de Victoria* [The Spanish Centre of Victoria], (2) *El Club Español de Sydney*, [The Spanish Club of Sydney], and (3) The Catholic Club of Sydney.

Table 5.1

Spanish Language Newsletters in the 1960s

Newsletter Title	Place of Publication	Publication Language	Intended Audience	Publication Dates
<i>El Español</i> ¹³	Sydney	Spanish	Spanish	1960
<i>El Pilar</i> ¹⁴	Hawthorn, Victoria	Spanish	Spanish	1962-1967
<i>Boletín de Noticias</i>	Sydney	Spanish	Spanish	1964-2011

In line with van Vuuren's (2007) discussion on the differing roles of ethnic, local, and suburban newspapers, the above table demonstrates that Spanish language newsletters were fixed to a geographical location. Thus, performing the role of local and suburban print media. Interviewees commented that the first recorded Spanish language publication *El Español* was produced in Sydney via the Spanish Consulate. *El Español's* founders were Spanish Vice-Consul José Luis Díaz, and journalist, Francisco Gallego Salicio¹⁵, who edited the newsletter. As for the motivation for creating this newsletter interview respondent Federico*, journalist (P4-I) communicated that this was the first attempt to give the Spanish community information in their own language about news and current affairs occurring in Spain and Australia.

This study found that Australia's second Spanish newsletter was *El Pilar*. The founder of Australia's first religious newsletter was Father Eduardo Sánchez, who was appointed to Melbourne from the Franciscan Order. Interviewees noted that it was common for migrant Spanish Catholic chaplains to establish and distribute newsletters throughout their missions. Newspaper analysis and interview data revealed that Sydney's Spanish Club created the third Spanish newsletter — *Boletín de Noticias*. Data analysis further confirmed Caspi and Elias' (2011) first criterion in that all three newsletter founders – who were Spanish – were of the same

¹³ No record of this publication was found in Australian libraries.

¹⁴ The National Library of Australia holds issues.

¹⁵ In the mid-fifties, Francisco settled in Australia. After writing for *El Español*, he became a travel correspondent for the Sydney mainstream English newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph*.

nationality as their audience. During the interview, interview respondent Silvia*, journalist (P6-I) pondered on the emergence of Spanish language newsletters. She stated that:

Los boletines del Consulado Español y de los clubes fueron nuestra primera forma de prensa, o sea, imprimida en Australia. Los boletines proveían información y noticias, porque muchos de los migrantes recién llegados tenían un bajo nivel o no tenían conocimiento del idioma inglés. También demostró que la comunidad de habla hispana necesitaba más que los clubes para permanecer unidos aquí en Australia.

[Newsletters were from the Spanish Consulate and clubs were our first form of media, in other words, print in Australia. Newsletters provided information and news, as many recently arrived migrants had little or no English language proficiency. It also showed that the Spanish-speaking community needed more than just clubs to stay united here in Australia.]

This respondent's comment on the appearance of Spanish newsletters confirms García's (2002) findings in that community ethnic media had relationships with other important pillars of the community such as social institutions. Similar to Elias and Lemish's (2011) findings, Spanish language newsletters — which were connected to these institutions — played overlapping roles such as, removing the sensation of rootlessness and nostalgia, creating a bond with a migrant's native country, maintaining the community language, identity, and individual and group membership.

In regards to content, interview respondent Mariano*, journalist (P1-I) stated that in contrast to *El Español*, which published consular and community news, *El Pilar* discussed topics such as religion, mission activities, marriage by proxy, Australia's Family Reunion Policy, and Spanish language classes for children of Spanish migrants. Interestingly, data analysis uncovered that news and events that occurred outside the Catholic Church were not published. Mariano* also identified this finding stating that:

Este boletín estaba centrado únicamente en los eventos que ocurrían dentro de la iglesia, y si los inmigrantes querían noticias de Australia y España, pues, tenían que buscar en otros lugares.

[This newsletter solely focused on events that occurred within the church and if migrants wanted news from Australia and Spain, well, they had to search elsewhere for it.]

On the other hand, *Boletín de Noticias* did not have ties to the Spanish Consulate nor the Catholic Church. Findings revealed that it published club news, finances, and voiced their discontent concerning the misbehaviour of its Spanish patrons at the Sydney Spanish club. According to interviewees, these newsletters had a common aim to inform the community and to maintain Spaniards' sentiments of being 'here' in Australia, and 'there' in Spain.

Similar to Lay and Thomas' (2012) analysis on London's ethnic media, data analysis revealed that all three newsletters also performed a key role in enhancing a sense of community via a common nationality, religion, or by being a member of a Spanish social institution. It can be seen how *El Pilar's* content maintained the idea of community and sense of belonging via the publication of religious news and events. Comparable to undertaking the task of reading in silent privacy (Anderson, 1991), this newsletter also created the sense that all Spanish migrants were partaking in similar religious activities in Australia at the same time by reading the newsletter's content.

This section has revealed how this period in which print Spanish language media emerged was a sign of empowerment for the Spanish community in Australia. The imagined community created by Spanish Consulate, Catholic Church, and the Spanish Club via its pages forged a sense of belonging and place to a migrant community. Yet, when and for what reasons did Spanish language newspapers emerge? The following section focuses its discussion on answering this question.

5.2.2 The Rise of Spanish Language Newspapers During the 1960s

After the establishment of Spanish language newsletters in the early 1960s, newspaper and interview analysis revealed that by the mid-1960s three Spanish language newspapers surfaced.

The first Spanish language newspapers Australia saw were *La Crónica*¹⁶ (1964-1966) from East Melbourne, *El Español en Australia*¹⁷ (1965-present) from Sydney, and *Excelsior*¹⁸ (1969-1971) from Melbourne. Newspaper analysis found that on Saturday, July 11, 1964, Australia's first Spanish language weekly newspaper, *La Crónica* emerged. In line with Caspi and Elias' (2011) first criteria, this study found that *La Crónica's* founders were two Spaniards: Manuel Perdices, the newspaper's Director, and Manuel Varela, Chief Editor.

Newspaper and interview data revealed that José Fernández¹⁹ from Galicia, Spain founded and became editor of Australia's second Spanish language newspaper - *El Español en Australia* in March 1965. In 1969, the third bi-monthly newspaper, *Excelsior* was founded by Sydney-based Catholic Priest Father Rico. In alignment with Caspi and Elias' (2011) third criteria for media 'by' and 'for' a migrant community, data analysis revealed that newspaper staff from all three Spanish language newspapers were of Spanish origin. In other words, newspaper staff were of the same nationality as their target audience.

As for the motivation for establishing Spanish language newspapers, interviewees cited a common theme. According to interview respondent Daniel*, editor (P10-I), the founders of these newspapers saw a niche in Spanish language newsletters and believed that Spanish language newspapers would cater better to the needs of post-Second World War Spanish migrants. Moreover, Spaniards desired for a press that was free from religion and politics.

This study uncovered that the title of *El Español en Australia's* first issue read, "An independent Australian-Spanish newspaper." According to interview respondent David*, editor (P7-I), this statement confirmed that this was an independent newspaper free from religious and political influences. Newspaper analysis of *El Español en Australia's* first issue revealed another motivation for Fernández establishing his newspaper. He wrote that his publication was "to keep

¹⁶ The National Library of Australia holds September 1964 to April 1966 issues; The State Library of Victoria holds issues from July 11, 1964 to September 5, 1964.

¹⁷ Almost complete collections of both titles are available in Queensland municipal libraries, The National Library of Australia, and the State Libraries of New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, Western Australia, and the Northern Territory.

¹⁸ The National Library of Australia holds issues.

¹⁹ Fernández was Editor of *El Español en Australia* until the end of the 1960s.

our manners and customs for the time we stay in this country,” so that “the next generation do not feel themselves to be foreigners within their own families” (*El Español en Australia*, 1965 March 3, p. 1). Interview data indicated that in contrast to the motivations for the emergence of *La Crónica* and *El Español en Australia*, Father Rico established *Excelsior* to compete with Fernández’s *El Español en Australia* due to differences between both men.

Newspaper analysis of *La Crónica* and *El Español en Australia*’s content revealed that these newspapers enhanced a sense of community. Spaniards felt invested by Spanish language newspapers as content was delivered in a common language. As mainstream Australian media and Spanish newsletters provided limited coverage of Spanish news and issues, newspaper analysis found that similar to Li’s (2013) and Kenix’s (2001) results, both these newspapers filled this gap and functioned as connective tissues for Spaniards in Australia. In contrast, *El Pilar* primarily focussed its content on religious life in Australia, delivering minimal community news.

Data analysis also discovered that a writer only identified as E. M. Ordóñez wrote the Spanish community’s first women’s gossip column named *La Página Feminina* [Women’s Page] during *La Crónica*’s first year of publication. Interview respondent Maria*, journalist (P9-I) communicated that during the 1960s, Australia received migration of single Spanish women under Plan Marta.²⁰ Hence, this column provided news and information for Spanish-speaking women and created another sphere or marketplace for women. Similar to Misajon and Khoo (2008), this column catered to the imagined community of Spanish women who could bond via their stories of migration and experience.

Newspaper analysis and interview data revealed that at times, *La Crónica* performed as a counter to mainstream Australian media. For example, the newspaper highlighted inaccurate information released by the Australian government. *La Crónica* published that the Australian Government had deceived Spaniards into migrating to Australia by falsely stating that they would be employed in the same field as in Spain, when in fact they were not (Varela, 1964, December 3, p. 3.) Events occurring in Spain and Australia also created rugged debate within *La Crónica*’s pages

²⁰ This plan aimed to ease the gender imbalance amongst the migrant population due to many single Spanish men migrating to Australia.

and within the Spanish community. To reflect this finding, interview respondent Gabriela*, journalist (P8-I) recalled that:

La gente escribía al periódico y discutían acerca de cualquier cosa, pero algunas personas escribían tan, pero tan mal en español que nadie podía entender lo que esa persona quería decir. A veces el periódico tenía que borrar lo que sus lectores habían escrito, pero eso no ayudó mucho porque igual no se entendía nada.

[People would write to the newspaper and argue about anything, but some people wrote so, but so badly in Spanish, that no one could understand what they were trying to say. Many times, the newspaper had to delete what their readers had written but that did not help much because it was still incomprehensible.]

In line with this statement, newspaper analysis discovered that *La Crónica* censored what their readers wrote, publishing on December 3, 1964, “When one cannot make any sense of what is written or read, it is best to discuss it at the pub” (*La Crónica*, p. 3). The above comments demonstrate how *La Crónica’s* pages were a discursive arena where Spaniards tried to deliberate with one another and develop their own counter-discourses.

Similar to Jacklin’s (2010) and García’s (2002, 1997) results, this study also discovered that creative writing performed a fundamental role for both *La Crónica* and *El Español en Australia*. Newspaper analysis revealed that creative writing commenced in 1965, with Varela’s own column titled, *Los ripios de la semana* [Verses of the week.] Data analysis found that Varela’s column performed as a discursive arena, which confronted community issues in verse. For example, Varela wrote poems, which discussed issues such as language (Varela, 1965 July 28, p. 3), and economic hardship (Varela, 1965, August 4, p. 3). Newspaper analysis also revealed that Varela acknowledged that there were divisions within the Spanish community. For instance, one of his poems expressed his discontent concerning how Spaniards originating from different autonomous regions in Spain established various clubs across Australia (Varela, 1965, June 24, p. 3). For Varela, the formation of these separate clubs did not contribute to a collective sense of belonging to a united, imagined Spanish community created by previously established Spanish clubs.

This study identified that similar to Viswanath and Arora (2000), *La Crónica* performed the sentinel role. Newspaper analysis revealed that by the end of 1965 *La Crónica* published content showing that relations between Australians and Spaniards were not always cordial. Interview respondents communicated that for a number of Anglo-Saxon Australians, migrant communities, such as the Spanish were perceived as a threat to the mainstream culture. The newspaper published that many Spaniards were discriminated against for their use of Spanish in public domains and there were discrimination and crimes against Spaniards in Melbourne and Sydney (Varela, 1964, May 20, p. 3; Varela, 1965, July 11, p. 1). Overall, these findings demonstrate that community ethnic media played the role of a watchdog, which was vital for the community.

Meadows et al., (2007) discussed the issue of limited financial capital in community media. In respect to this, interview and newspaper analysis found that both *La Crónica* and *El Español en Australia* had suffered financially since their establishment. This study found that Spanish language newspapers relied on advertising from retailers, organisations, and businesses such as Spanish clubs, grocery stores, and restaurants to reach their intended audience. The appearance of advertisements from the community demonstrates that community members aimed to support and promote the cultural and economic sustainability of the community. Nevertheless, during this decade, *La Crónica* faced another challenge, which was that their subscribers failed to pay for their newspaper subscriptions. During the interview, Jaime*, journalist (P5-I) recalled that *La Crónica* had published that they were going to cease mailing issues to subscribers who had not paid. He further stated:

Lo peor era que amenazaron a sus lectores diciendo que iban a publicar los nombres y las direcciones de las personas quienes debían dinero al diario. Por más que un periódico este endeudado, esto es algo que simplemente uno no hace, vio... estaba clarísimo que estaban desesperados y enojados; ellos se pusieron en contra de la comunidad. No pensaron, ni consideraron las consecuencias que esto tendría para su diario.

[What was worse was that they threatened their readers by saying that they were going to publish the names and addresses of the people who owed the newspaper money. As much as a newspaper is in debt, this is something that you just do not do, you know... it

was clear that they were desperate and angry; they were turning against the community. They did not think, nor consider the consequences that this would have for their newspaper.]

In addition to the financial troubles the newspaper experienced, interview respondent David*, editor (P7-I) further expressed how *La Crónica* came to cease publication. He stated that *La Crónica* also did not welcome the appearance of *El Español en Australia*. He added that:

Recuerdo que ellos [La Crónica] querían todo el control del mercado de los medios en español, y la comunidad española no aceptó el comportamiento de La Crónica.

[I remember that they [*La Crónica*] wanted all the control of the Spanish language media market, and the Spanish community did not accept *La Crónica's* behaviour.]

Newspaper analysis discovered that *La Crónica's* April 13, 1966,²¹ issue stated that it would temporarily cease publication for three weeks due to changing typographic workshops. Despite *La Crónica's* claim of 568 subscribers in Sydney alone (*La Crónica*, 1966, p. 1), they could not compete with their technologically advanced²² competitor, *El Español en Australia*. Although *La Crónica* and *El Español en Australia's* founders were both of Spanish origin, the community did not tolerate *La Crónica's* animosity and bitterness towards its competitor. As a result of their negative behaviour and limited financial capital, this newspaper soon folded.

Continuing with the discussion on the reasons for newspapers ceasing during the 1960s, newspaper analysis and interview data uncovered that *Excélsior* also became defunct. Unlike *La Crónica* which experienced limited financial capital, *Excélsior* stopped publication in December 1971, as Father Rico was called back to return to Spain. During Pablo's*, editor (P12-I) interview, he stated that few Spanish religious publications appeared after *Excélsior*. Pablo*, editor (P12-I) further reflected that:

²¹ This was *La Crónica's* last issue.

²² John Jakobi — a German migrant to Australia — offered Fernández the use of his printing equipment in return for a share of the newspaper's profits.

La diversidad religiosa de la comunidad de habla hispana continuó aumentando en Australia. Esta diversidad religiosa afectó que surgieran más publicaciones católicas para atraer a más personas a sus publicaciones. La mayoría de sus mensajes publicados fueron basados en la creencia de una solidaridad religiosa, pero en el fondo, estas publicaciones eran sólo para los católicos. La Iglesia Católica y la Iglesia en España se creían que una religión común era lo que unía la comunidad de habla hispana.

[The religious diversity of the Spanish-speaking community continued to increase in Australia. This religious diversity made it more difficult for more Catholic publications to emerge or attract more people to their publications. Most of their messages published, were based on the belief of religious unity, but deep down, these publications were only for Catholics. The Catholic Church and the Church in Spain believed that a common religion was what united the Spanish-speaking community.]

As Hispanics belonged to various religious denominations, the above comment shows the difficulty the Catholic Church encountered by using religion as a common uniting marker. Despite efforts from print publications such as *Excelsior* to unite the Spanish-speaking community under a common trait, this factor also led to their disappearance in the Spanish mediasphere in Australia. Overall, this decade saw that the Spanish language press played an important role in providing a sanctuary for the Spanish community to thrive, whilst new migrants learnt more about their new country. The emergence of Spanish language media saw Spaniards immerse into an imagined community where most members of the Spanish community would never meet; yet their chosen social institution or newspaper provided a forum through which they could feel connected as if they were one (Anderson, 1991). Although the majority of these newspapers did not surface for long, this did not deter others within the Spanish-speaking community from commencing their own newspapers as an informational, cultural, and linguistic resource in the 1970s.

5.3 The Latin American Era: 1970s-1990s

Chapter 2 briefly discussed how Australian governments shaped Australia's population matrix by manipulating immigration from Spain and Latin America. This study found that the Spanish

mediasphere experienced a shifting trajectory in the 1970s. This was a result of a change of dynamics within community ethnic media (i.e. the introduction of South and Central American journalists in the newspaper industry and Latin-American readers. As a consequence of Latin American migration, newspaper analysis revealed that eight newspapers emerged during the 1970s to the 1990s (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2

Spanish Language Newspapers Established in the 1970s-1990s

Newspaper Title	Media Founder(s)	Place of Publication	Publication Dates	Publication Frequency	Publication Language	Target Audience
<i>La Prensa</i> ²³	Jorge Velásquez & Sergio Montenegro	Sydney	1971-1975	Fortnightly	Spanish	Latin American
<i>The Spanish Herald</i> ²⁴	Eugenio Correa & Germán Urriola ²⁵	Glebe, Sydney	1971-present	Bi-weekly	Spanish	Hispanic
<i>Noticias y Deportes</i> ²⁶	Manuel Arriguetti ²⁷	Fairfield, Sydney	1975-present	Weekly	Spanish	Uruguayan
<i>El Expreso</i> ²⁸	Patricia Boero, Luis Abarca ²⁹ & John Brotherton	Kingsford, Sydney	1979	Fortnightly	Spanish	Hispanic
<i>El Faro: Semanario Informativo</i> ³⁰	Agustín Pérez & Rafael ³¹	Sydney	1975-1979	Weekly	Spanish	Spanish
<i>Extra Informativo</i> ³²	Eduardo Cristóbal	Sydney	1980-present	Weekly	Spanish	Hispanic
<i>Tribuna</i> ³³	Unknown	Sydney	1983	Weekly	Spanish	Hispanic
<i>The Spanish Weekly</i> ³⁴	Unknown	Melbourne, Victoria	1986-1987	Weekly	Spanish & English	Hispanic

²³ The State Library of New South Wales holds issues.

²⁴ The National Library of Australia and the State Library of New South Wales holds issues.

²⁵ Germán Urriola studied newspaper and magazine design at the University of Santiago, Chile. Chilean journalist Eugenio Correa & Urriola commenced *Aquí Esta*, and later changed the title to *The Spanish Herald*.

²⁶ The National Library of Australia, and that State Libraries of New South Wales and South Australia hold issues from December 1, 1977.

²⁷ Former *La Prensa* journalist.

²⁸ Only the State Library of New South Wales holds issues.

²⁹ Luis Abarca was Director of *El Expreso*. He was a Chilean journalist and former correspondent for earlier Spanish language newspapers such as *La Crónica* and *El Español en Australia*.

³⁰ The State Library of New South Wales holds almost complete issues.

³¹ Rafael's surname was unknown to interview respondents.

³² Since 1992, a cross-ownership exists with the privately owned, commercial Spanish language radio station, *Radio Austral* that was founded by Arkel Arrua, Sergio Montenegro, and Eduardo González Cristobal.

³³ The State Library of New South Wales holds from May 1982 to February 28, 1983. The National Library of Australia holds sporadic issues.

Table 5.2 reveals that Latin Americans established Spanish language newspapers in Sydney. As for language, most newspapers were in Spanish, yet English language content appeared in the *Spanish Weekly* in the mid-1980s. Moreover, the table also illustrates that the wider Spanish-speaking community was the intended audience for the majority of newspapers during this period.

Interviewees provided two justifications for the increase and re-diversification of Spanish language newspapers during this period. The first was that due to increased Latin American migration, these new migrants needed media produced in their community language to cater to their informational, linguistic, and cultural needs. In alignment with Fraser (1991), findings confirmed that Spanish language newspapers established by Latin Americans created a plethora of public spheres (for example, Australian, Hispanic, Latin American, Uruguayan, and Spanish). This study found that Spanish language newspapers were not reliant on whether members of a particular nationality felt marginalised, or underrepresented in mainstream society, but primarily emerged as a means to maintain their culture, language, identity, and community solidarity in an Anglo-Saxon-Celtic society. Second, data analysis revealed that the emergence of newspapers by Latin Americans was due to the Australian government encouraging migrant communities to preserve their community language and identity.

When asked about how Latin American migration to Australia motivated some individuals to establish Spanish language newspapers during the 1970-1990s, interviewees mentioned various reasons. During the interview, David*, editor (P7-I) expressed that for some Latin Americans:

Formar nuestro propio periódico era un sueño que se convirtió en una realidad. Australia nos dio la oportunidad de hacerlo y lo hicimos.

[Creating our own newspaper was a dream that became a reality. Australia provided us with the opportunity to do that and we did it.]

³⁴ The State Library of Victoria only holds Numbers 19 and 20 from May 29, 1987 to June 5, 1987.

Adding to this comment, interview respondent Mariano*, journalist (P1-I) reflected that:

Al llegar a un país que está muy lejos de uno, donde hay una nueva cultura, idioma, y todo es diferente... ser capaz de crear los medios de comunicación en un idioma distinto del inglés es un triunfo. Una de las razones porqué se crearon los diarios en español fue para personas, Latinos como yo, quienes desean obtener información y noticias de aquí de Australia y de nuestro país, en nuestro idioma. Como los diarios de los españoles seguían enfocando a la comunidad española, no reflejaron los cambios dentro de la comunidad.

[Arriving in a country which is so far away from your own, where there is a new culture, language, and everything is foreign... being able to create media in a language other than English is a triumph. One of the reasons why Spanish language newspapers were created was for individuals, Latins like me, who desired to obtain information and news here from Australia and our home country, in our language. As the Spanish newspapers continued to focus on the Spanish community, they did not reflect the changes within the community.]

The above comment demonstrates that similar to Spaniards such as Manuel Varela and José Fernández, Latin American media producers also saw a niche in the Spanish language media market. This niche was that Spanish newspapers were not catering to the Latin American community in Australia. For many interviewees, established newspapers such as *El Español en Australia* failed to unite all members of the Spanish-speaking community, as its sole focus was on the Spanish community. Thus, the very existence of Spanish language media newspapers for the Latin American community allowed the community to become visible and represented in the Australian and Hispanic mediascape.

Data also showed that newspapers founded by Latin Americans differed from their Spanish predecessors by catering to all native Spanish-speakers and their children. However, this premise did not apply to all newspaper founders. Newspaper analysis found that *Noticias y Deportes* served the Uruguayan community and *El Faro* served the Spanish community respectively. This led to the formation of their own spheres (Uruguayan and Spanish) and their own imagined communities (Uruguayan and Spanish).

Many first generation Spanish and Uruguayan survey respondents wrote that upon migrating to Australia, they accessed newspapers published by members of the same nationality or region. For example, Uruguayans and Argentineans accessed *Noticias y Deportes*, whilst many Spaniards turned to *El Español en Australia* and *El Faro*. Survey data revealed that these survey respondents searched for media 'by' and 'for' members of the same nationality as these newspapers provided in-group news and information from their country of origin and Australia. This finding also demonstrates their solidarity and support towards fellow community members who undertook the role in providing news and information for the community.

Further newspaper analysis also discovered that many articles published in both these newspapers were not produced locally, as they were sourced from Spanish and Uruguayan mainstream newspapers. Interview respondent Federico*, journalist (P4-I) confirmed these findings during his interview when he stated that:

Noticias y Deportes era conocido por la comunidad como 'Noticias y Recortes.' El Faro también era conocido por 'copiar y pegar' artículos de periódico El País de Madrid y artículos también de algunas revistas españolas.

[*Noticias y Deportes* was known in the community as 'Cut and Paste News.' *El Faro* was also known to 'copy and paste' articles from the newspaper *El País* from Madrid and articles from some magazines from Spain.]

For this respondent, the inclusion of original and untouched mainstream content from Spanish and Uruguayan newspapers suggested that these newspaper producers desired to maintain the authenticity of these articles for their communities. This study found that the majority of Spanish language newspapers aimed to provide the Hispanic community with news from their countries of origin, in addition to local news, events, and information focusing on migrants and their children. In this manner, newspapers created a sense of connectedness and belonging to a united community

Confirming Añez (2014) and Meadows et al., (2007) findings, interviewees stated that Australian mainstream media continued to provide limited coverage of local and international

news and events related to migrant communities, thus it was essential for community ethnic media to fill this void. Interview and first generation survey data revealed that the production and consumption of Spanish language newspapers was a desire *for* home, rather than a desire to *return* home. However, newspaper analysis found that for *La Prensa*, their desire for home was more political as its content focused heavily on Latin American politics and political change, seeing non-political matters play a secondary role (*La Prensa*, August 22, 1971). Interviewees believed that this was due to the editors' own political views and experiences.



Figure 5.1

Front Page of *La Prensa*

Figure 5.1 is one example of *La Prensa's* focus on Latin American news, which discussed a commercial agreement between Argentina and Chile. It also shows how *La Prensa's* newspaper staff placed a high value on delivering and discussing Latin American politics in the Hispanic mediasphere. Similar to *La Prensa*, data uncovered that *The Spanish Weekly* published local Latin American community news and issues relating specifically to Victoria. Particularly significant was this periodical's openness in discussing local political issues and the publication of political cartoons. In alignment with Avison and Meadows' (2000) research that multiple spheres exist in ethnic media, this study found that these two newspapers also developed multiple spheres which permitted their audience who possessed similar cultural backgrounds to engage in activities concerning issues and interests that mattered to them, such as politics.

Newspaper analysis found that the 1980s-1990s saw fewer newspapers emerge. Interview respondent Gabriela*, journalist (P8-I) stated that this hiatus was due to factors such as improved socio-economic and political stability in Latin America and Spain, resulting in fewer Spaniards and South Americans migrating to Australia. As stated in Chapter 2, the mid-1980s to the early 1990s saw Australia receive thousands of Central American migrants who had arrived as refugees fleeing civil wars in their own countries. Upon discussion of this topic, Diego*, editor (P3-I) reflected how Central American migration influenced the Hispanic mediasphere. He further stated:

La llegada de muchos centroamericanos nos hizo reconsiderar el contenido de nuestro periódico y nuestros lectores. Ya estábamos publicando noticias y todo lo que pasaba en América Central. Empezamos a escribir sobre la comunidad centroamericana aquí en Australia porque recién llegaban, no tenían voz, ni lugar para obtener noticias e información. La prensa hispana y la comunidad de habla hispana querían que ellos se sentirían cómodos como en casa, y tener en cuenta sus necesidades, después de todo lo que tuvieron que soportar. Era lo mínimo que podíamos hacer para ellos.

[The arrival of many Central Americans made us reconsider our newspaper content and our audience. We were already publishing news and everything that was taking place in Central America. We commenced writing about the Central American community here in Australia because they just arrived, they had no voice, nor place to obtain news and

information. The Spanish language press and all the Spanish-speaking community wanted them to feel welcome, like at home, and bear in mind their needs, after everything they endured. It was the least we could do for them.]

This respondent's quote resonates with the role of community ethnic media in that media 'by' the community reflected the community's needs. This finding also shows that the Hispanic mediasphere opened up to new members and created a sense of community consciousness based on shared symbols. Interview data revealed that interview respondent Manuel*, journalist (P11-I) migrated from El Salvador in the late 1980s. He stated that when he and his family arrived in Australia, one of the first things they did was search for Spanish language media such as newspapers. His family aimed to find a medium which provided not only news and information in Spanish, but one which provided a sense of connectedness, belonging, and place (Adams, 2009), "like back home before the war" (Manuel*, journalist, P11-I). For Manuel* like many respondents, community ethnic newspapers allowed migrants to connect with Australia, and regain a sense of community, which they had lost during the civil war and migration process.

Similar to Spanish language newspapers in the 1960s, interview and newspaper analysis revealed that Latin American media producers also included creative writing in their newspapers. The creative writing sphere performed an identical role during this period as they did in the 1960s. That is, creative writing acted as a discursive arena for both media professionals and the Hispanic community. Moreover, interview respondent Daniel*, editor (P10-I) relayed that creative writing was also strategic as it was a means to maintain and promote Spanish literature, language, and identity within the Latin American community. Newspaper analysis uncovered examples of creative writing with Luis Abarca, editor of *El Expreso* in his column *Bladi Woggi*³⁵ where he discussed community language use and the experiences of Spaniards and Latin Americans (Abarca, 1978 August, 22 p. 6). Other discussions in his column included: (1) lack of content, (2) concerns over news coverage, (3) objections to the women's page, (4) tensions between Spanish language

³⁵ In Australia, the term 'wog' became widely used with an increase in migration after World War Two and was used to refer to individuals of Southern European, Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and Eastern European ethnicity or appearance who were perceived to contrast with the majority Anglo-Saxon-Celtic population and culture. In contemporary Australian English, the term is used as a term of endearment or in a derogatory context.

newspapers and Spanish language radio, and (5) diversity of newspaper staff (Abarca, 1978, September 12, p. 23; Abarca, 1978, September 26, p. 22). In sum, newspapers created a discursive participatory space within the community ethnic mediasphere and an imagined Hispanic community, which allowed their public to have a voice.

Another factor, which played an important role in Spanish language newspapers, was finance. In common with the findings of Meadows et al., (2007), interview respondent Silvia*, journalist (P6-I) reported that declining newspapers profits saw newspapers such as *El Español en Australia* sold to John Jakobi's company. Adding to this, interview respondent Mariano*, journalist (P1-I) commented that *The Spanish Herald* was sold to Foreign Language Press — a consortium of Greek Australian newspapers in the 1980s. He added that Urriola and Correa were in so much debt that Correa did not wish to continue operating the newspaper at a loss, so he returned to Chile. Interestingly, interview respondent Pablo* editor (P12-I) stated that although Germans and Greeks owned two Spanish language newspapers, they retained Spanish-speaking staff and the newspapers' idea of community. Despite the fact that some newspapers were experiencing financial difficulties, this did not deter other newspapers such as *Extra Informativo*, *Tribuna*, and *The Spanish Weekly* from emerging.

Although financial capital is one of the key factors that affect the survivability of the ethnic press, this study found that numerous other factors led to newspapers ceasing publication. Findings resonate with Caspi and Elias' (2011) fifth point in that the media content failed to echo the community it represented, as it aimed to impose the newspaper's views and opinions onto its readers. Interview respondent Diego*, editor (P3-I) noted that during the early 1970s, the Spanish population exceeded that of the Latin American community. Thus, Spaniards did not purchase the newspaper, as its content did not concern nor interest them. Second, Latin Americans were more focused on settling in Australia and preferred not to delve into political issues occurring in their home countries. These two factors show that Hispanics turned against their own media as they felt that this newspaper did not represent their interests nor did it reflect the values of the community.

Newspaper analysis and interview data uncovered that the major factors, which led to *El Faro* ceasing publication in 1979, were low readership numbers from within the Spanish community and decreased migration from Spain by the end of the 1970s. Interview data also discovered that some members of the Spanish community preferred to obtain news from SBS radio, letters, or by attending social institutions such as the Spanish Club. It can thus be deduced that the Spanish community sought out additional linguistic and informational resources to fulfil their desire in finding a sense of community, belonging, and place.

Newspaper analysis additionally found that *Tribuna* folded nine months later in February 1983 after its establishment. Reflecting on *Tribuna's* closure, interview respondent Germán*, journalist (P2-1) commented that *Tribuna* appeared at a time when the market for newspapers already had well-established weeklies catering to Sydney's Spanish-speaking community, and therefore did not offer an alternative to gain readership. The perseverance of many Spanish and Latin Americans to produce media in Australia revealed the high price of admission into the media industry and the value they placed on community ethnic media for identity, the Spanish language, culture, and political and social awareness. Despite the drawbacks they experienced during these decades, this did not deter more newspapers from surfacing in the 1990s.

5.4 Spanish Language Newspapers: 1990s - Present

Almost four decades after the appearance of Australia's Spanish language newspapers, the late 20th and early 21st century saw the birth of three new Spanish language newspapers: *El Corresponsal*, *The New Spanish Herald*, and *El Semanario Español*. Table 5.3 below illustrates that by the 1990s and 2000s efforts in establishing Spanish language newspapers in Australia had fallen considerably.

Table 5.3

Spanish Language Newspapers Established in the 1990s-2000s

Newspaper Title	Place of Publication	Publication Dates	Publication Frequency	Publication Language	Intended Audience
<i>El Corresponsal</i> ³⁶	Cannington, Western Australia	1992	Weekly	Spanish & English	Hispanic
<i>The New Spanish Herald</i> ³⁷	Sydney	2003	Weekly	Spanish	Hispanic
<i>El Semanario Español</i> ³⁸	Sydney	2007-present	Weekly	Spanish	Hispanic

The table above reflects how *El Corresponsal* was the only newspaper established during the 1990s. Moreover, the turn of the new millennium saw two news periodicals with *The New Spanish Herald* and *El Semanario Español* entering as newcomers to the already established Spanish language media market.

Newspaper analysis discovered that *El Corresponsal* was Western Australia’s first and only Spanish language newspaper. The appearance and publication of this bilingual, Spanish-English newspaper from the western side of the continent was now competing with newspapers produced in Sydney, and Melbourne. As for the motivation for establishing *El Corresponsal*, interview respondent Silvia*, journalist (P6-I) mentioned that this newspaper surfaced to cater to the small but rising Western Australian Hispanic population’s cultural, information, and linguistic needs. During the 1990s, many Hispanics moved to Western Australia for employment, study, or to escape the hectic, east coast city life. She added that *El Corresponsal* created a social network connecting dispersed members with one another. The appearance of *El Corresponsal* resulted in Sydney’s Spanish language newspapers expanding their coverage and distribution network to other areas throughout Australia. To reflect this finding, interview respondent Pablo*, journalist (P12-I) expressed that:

³⁶ The State Library of Western Australia holds issues from August 1992 to November 1992.

³⁷ The State Library of New South Wales holds issues.

³⁸ The National Library of Australia and the State Library of New South Wales hold sporadic issues.

Durante la década de los noventas, muchos latinoamericanos y españoles fueron a trabajar a las minas en South Australia, el norte de Queensland, y Western Australia. Nos dimos cuenta que necesitábamos ampliar nuestra cobertura y distribución del diario. Como muchos de la comunidad residían por todo Australia, nos queríamos asegurar que ellos también recibieran noticias, y más, decir a ellos, en nuestro modo, que seguían formando parte de la comunidad. Al final, aumentamos las zonas de distribución... nos costó más, pero en el final, valió la pena.

[During the 1990s, many Latin Americans and Spaniards went to work in the mines in South Australia, Northern Queensland, and Western Australia. We realised that we needed to expand our coverage and distribution of the newspaper. As many from the community were residing across Australia, we wanted to ensure that they also received news, and more, tell them, in our way, that they continued forming part of the community. In the end, we increased our distribution areas... it cost us more, but in the end, it was worth it.]

This respondent's comment clearly demonstrates the reasons why Spanish language newspapers in the 1990s expanded their distribution network to all Australian states and territories. Although for some newspapers this cost was high, this study also found that these newspapers reached individuals who did not know of the existence of Spanish language newspapers, consequently boosting readership numbers. This move also allowed Spanish language newspapers to further promote the Hispanic identity and the Spanish language, and invite new members into the imagined Hispanic community to be part of their readership. Concerning distribution, interview respondent Diego*, editor (P3-I) articulated that for many years, *El Español en Australia* distributed free copies to businesses around Australia where a considerable population of Hispanics resided. He further added:

En los 1990s, empresas australianas como carniceros que sólo hablaban inglés tenían muchos clientes de habla hispana. Durante este tiempo, uno podía encontrar periódicos hispanos que eran gratis para todo el público, tanto para la comunidad de habla hispana como para aquellos que no lo eran. Esta estrategia era una forma de marca para el diario y

otros negocios, porque quieran pretender a informar a la gente sobre las noticias y eventos culturales por todo Australia.

[During the 1990s, Australian businesses like butchers who only spoke English had many Spanish-speaking customers. During this time, one could find Spanish language newspapers that were free to the public, for both the Spanish-speaking community like for those who were not. This strategy was a form of branding for the newspaper and other businesses as they aimed to inform people about news and cultural events across Australia.]

The above comment demonstrates how agreements between the newspaper and local businesses were not only a promotional business strategy but also an incentive to increase and attract customers. The increased visibility of this newspaper allowed all members of Australian society, Spanish-speaking or not, to feel that they were members of the Spanish-speaking community.

Interviews and newspaper analysis uncovered that both *El Corresponsal* and *The New Spanish Herald* ceased publication shortly after they emerged. Reflecting on newspaper closures, interview respondent Manuel*, journalist (P11-I) commented that *El Corresponsal* folded due to a small population of Spanish-speakers residing in Western Australia not forming a large enough critical mass, lack of funding, and capital. Moreover, interview respondent Federico*, journalist (P4-I) added that the *New Spanish Herald* ceased due to the high number of existing newspapers already servicing Australia's Spanish-speaking community. He added that as for the only surviving Spanish newspaper born in the new millennium - *El Semanario Español* – has now become one of the most influential Spanish language newspapers in Australia. This is primarily due to the newspaper offering an array of alternative news and supplements such as culture, technology, and sport which no other Spanish language newspaper has thus far offered the Hispanic community in Australia.

At the time of writing this thesis, data revealed that the following five Spanish language newspapers were in circulation. These were *El Español en Australia*, *Extra Informativo*, *Noticias y Deportes*, *El Semanario Español*, and *The Spanish Herald*. Given the longevity of these newspapers

in the Hispanic Australian mediasphere, interview respondent Mariano*, journalist (P1-I) expressed that:

El Español en Australia ha sobrevivido durante más de cinco décadas. Eso nos tiene que decir que el personal del diario está llevando el diario bien. Es genial ver que durante tantos años el periódico siempre se enfocó hacia la comunidad y ha mantenido y promovido la cultura española y latinoamericana y el idioma español.

[*El Español en Australia* has survived for more than five decades. That must tell us that newspaper staff are doing something right. It is great to see that for so many years the newspaper has remained community focused and has preserved and promoted the Spanish and Latin American culture and the Spanish language.]

Sharing her views on this topic, Gabriela* journalist, (P8-I) communicated that:

La prensa de habla hispana ha sobrevivido todo este tiempo porque amamos lo que hacemos. Queremos servir a nuestra comunidad y conectarlos con su país de origen y con las demás personas de la comunidad. Nuestros periódicos se esfuerzan y tienen una meta de satisfacer las necesidades de nuestra comunidad tan diversa. Lo hacemos publicando información y noticias de buena calidad.

[Spanish language newspapers in Australia have survived this long because we love what we do. We want to serve our community and connect them with their home country and with other individuals from the community. Our newspapers strive and have a goal to meet the needs of our diverse community. We do this by publishing good quality news and information.]

The above comments indicate that Australia's Spanish language newspapers have and continue to act as an informational, cultural, and linguistic resource for this community. Despite more than four decades since the creation of an imagined Hispanic community, Anderson's (1991) notion of community formation remains important for Spanish language newspapers in building communal belonging and identity in the Hispanic media market. As the Hispanic migrant community is

imagined — because diaspora members will never meet all their fellow members — the image of the community remains present in newspapers.

Chapter Summary

The intention of this chapter was to explore the reasons for the emergence and development of Australia's Spanish language newspapers as newspaper history is social and cultural history. It showed how Spanish language newspapers emerged and developed in Australia, creating a homogenised, imagined Hispanic community. This chapter identified five key findings. First, that Australia permitted migrants to establish their own community ethnic institutions as cultural and linguistic resources for migrants. It found that Spanish migrants were the first builders of the community at the club level as they longed for their own communal place and space to maintain their language and culture. Second, Spanish language newsletters emerged in the 1960s as an information dissemination medium via institutional powers of the Spanish State via the Spanish Consulate in Sydney and the Catholic Church. The appearance of Spanish language newspapers in the mid-1960s were motivated by the community desiring their own independent press, and the fear that the Spanish language, culture, and identity would someday disappear in Australia.

Third, global (external) and national (local) political and economic factors in the 1970s increased the diversity of Australia's Hispanic community. Latin American migration saw a greater pool of Spanish-speakers from diverse countries and origins produce and consume Spanish language media. It found that Latin Americans aggregated the Hispanic community into one homogenous imagined Hispanic community with an understanding that this nationwide readership shared a common identity, language, and culture. Fourth, Spanish language newspapers were inherently distinct from mainstream media as they provided local, national and international news and information in the community language.

Fifth, presently five well-established newspapers with a long publication history exist in Australia. In addition to being an alternative space, newspapers were found to make Australia's Spanish-speaking community more visible in the Australian mediasphere. It found that Spanish language newspapers were created by the community for the community, and played an

important role in creating a sense of community, belonging, and place, and in representing an imagined community in multicultural Australia. The forthcoming second data chapter will provide new findings by examining factors, which support and impede the production and consumption of print Spanish language newspapers by the community for the community in multicultural Australia.

Chapter 6 Factors That Influence Print Spanish Language Newspapers in Australia

This preceding chapter revealed that behind much of the drive for the emergence and development of Spanish language newspapers in Australia was the desire by Spanish migrants in the 1960s to have their own space to obtain homeland and Australian news in addition to maintaining their language and culture. Taking into account the rise of Spanish language newspapers in Australia, this chapter thus explores the role and importance of print Spanish language newspapers for Australia's Hispanic community. This chapter is the second of three data chapters that responds to the following subordinate research question: What factors influence print Spanish language newspapers in Australia and how do Spanish language newspapers contribute to making a sense of place and imaginary?

In order to produce an updated picture of the Spanish language print newspapers in Australia, I have combined the data from all three data collection instruments to establish not only connections, but also points of arguments to support my statement that Australia's Spanish language newspapers provide social, cultural, and linguistic links within the dispersed Hispanic community in Australia, and aid to maintain elements of their identity in connection to their past, present, and future. This chapter first explores whether print Spanish language newspapers uphold the notion of community in the diasporic mediasphere in Australia. Following this section is an examination of the audience of Spanish language print newspapers and the factors which result in their consumption of print Spanish language newspapers. The subsequent section examines the various roles of print Spanish language newspapers for the community, such as language, providing news and cultural information, and maintaining and promoting a sense of community and identity.

This section also examines how the dynamic transformations in the newspapers' content, determines the main types of connections established by the newspapers and their audiences. This chapter then explores the twofold role of print advertising in print Spanish language newspapers, ensuring its sustainability and performing a social function by connecting newspaper consumers to each other and to the newspapers. The last section discusses the newspaper-

audience relationship and examines how social networks such as the home domain can influence an individual's consumption of ethnic print media. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings and outlining the common themes that influence print Spanish language newspapers in Australia to further support the statement that Spanish language newspapers provide social, cultural, and linguistic connections to Australia's Hispanic community while supporting them in navigating through their multiple identities.

6.1 The Idea of 'Community'

This study explored the idea of community in print Spanish language newspapers. When interview respondents were asked about their idea of community in ethnic media, the majority stated that this entailed: (1) having a shared symbol such as language and/or culture, and (2) their focus on news and announcements, as their newspapers offered a unique service that other media did not offer their public. Interview data showed that the publication of local community news and events in community ethnic newspapers was about guaranteeing the coverage of news and events, as these would be unlikely to be reported in mainstream print publications, for instance, Australian national newspapers such as *The Australian*, city-based papers such as Brisbane's, *The Courier Mail* or Sydney's, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, or suburban community newspapers. However, this research found that this was not always the case.

As noted in Chapter 5, it was not until the 1970s that Latin Americans aimed to unite a diverse Spanish-speaking audience by aggregating the Hispanic community in Australia into one homogenised imagined community. They did so based on shared experiences, language, and culture, as early Spanish language newspapers excluded other members of the Spanish-speaking community from their publication's content. For interviewees, aggregating the Spanish-speaking community in their newspapers did not signify a homogenisation of their identity. Instead, respondents saw newspapers as a medium which provided news and information based on similar interests and experiences. For interview respondents Federico*, journalist (P4-I) and Silvia*, journalist (P6-I) being Hispanic and working in community ethnic media provided them the opportunity to reflect their similar interests and experiences with the diverse Spanish-speaking community as neither English language newspapers nor mainstream newspapers from Latin

America or Spain undertook such a task of enhancing a sense of belonging, security, and inclusion. Interview respondent Gabriela*, journalist (P8-I) shared the following thought on the role of community in the ethnic newspaper industry.

Creo que el papel de los periódicos étnicos está centrado en la comunidad, cumpliendo con las necesidades de la comunidad, informándolos, educándolos, y entreteniéndolos y haciendo que participen en el diario y en los eventos de la comunidad. Tenemos mucha gente que nos ayuda a hacer esto...tenemos periodistas locales y nacionales, colaboradores, personal de marketing, representantes y corresponsales en el extranjero de muchos países de habla hispana. Pero, siempre tenemos que recordar que la comunidad es número uno... la comunidad es nuestra prioridad.

[I consider the role of ethnic newspapers is centred on the community, fulfilling the community's needs, by informing, educating, and entertaining them, and having them participate in our newspaper and in the events that take place in the community. We have many people to help us do this... we have local and national journalists, collaborators, marketing staff, sales representatives, and foreign correspondents from many Spanish-speaking countries. But, we always need to remember that the community is number one... the community is our priority.]

The above comment demonstrates that the community was the prime focus of Spanish language newspapers, and Hispanic media professionals residing in Australia and abroad aided community ethnic newspapers to achieve this goal. Moreover, newspapers allowed members of the Hispanic community to find a common space in the Australian mediasphere and unite with others who shared the same language and culture.

Survey and interview data revealed that community ethnic newspapers were diverse from mainstream newspapers as they represented their audiences and the Hispanic Australian community's identity via the ideas of their native and country of origin, the local community, migration experiences, and settling in Australia. Having said that, the results of this study showed that Spanish language newspapers as community ethnic media thus functioned within a perception of identity built via hybridity. This was seen in the ways in which interview and survey

respondents collectively considered themselves not as the 'Spanish community of Australia,' or the Hispanic community in Australia but as a hybrid community. For instance, the 'Hispanic Australian community' or the 'Spanish Australian' community. By newspapers fulfilling their role in their provision of local news and information from Australia and their native and heritage country, and publishing stories that stabilised their hybrid identity, they constructed and maintained the hybrid identity for both individual audience members and the migrant community.

In alignment with the literature, interview results revealed that despite the emergence of other sources of information, digital communication technologies, and the perception that print ethnic newspapers are less relevant than in the past, interviewees had no intention of deviating from the idea of community in their print newspapers, nor cease print production as their audiences continue to rely and purchase print papers as a source of news and information.

Despite this thought, data showed that the four-current circulating print Spanish language newspapers (*El Español en Australia*, *Extra Informativo*, *Noticias y Deportes*, and *The Spanish Herald*) could be purchased in a variety of places. Based on the information provided by interview respondents, without mentioning names, the following summary describes the places where print Spanish language newspapers could be found. For instance:

- Selected newsagents
- Spanish Food Stores
- Latin American Food Stores
- Spanish and Latin American Cafes
- Dental Clinics
- Medical Clinics
- Churches with a Spanish-speaking congregation
- Hair and Beauty Salons
- Butchers
- Realtors
- Lawyers and Migration Agents
- Local municipal and state libraries

The above showed that print Spanish language newspapers can be found in a variety of locations. The following sections turns to the factors for print Spanish language newspaper consumption.

6.2 Factors for Print Spanish Language Newspaper Consumption

Factors for print Spanish language newspaper consumption were analysed. Data revealed that the most popular contemporary print Spanish language newspapers first and second generation survey respondents consumed were *El Español en Australia*, *The Spanish Herald*, *Noticias y Deportes*, and *Extra Informativo*. Based on the interview and survey data, three types of print Spanish language newspaper readers emerged (see Figure 6.1). This diagram helps visually explain that although the interests of the Australia’s print Spanish language newspaper audiences were varied and they may or may not have deemed themselves to be part of Australia’s Spanish-speaking community, by being united by a common culture, language, and history, and sharing similar identities, they established connections to Australia’s print Spanish language newspapers on diverse levels.

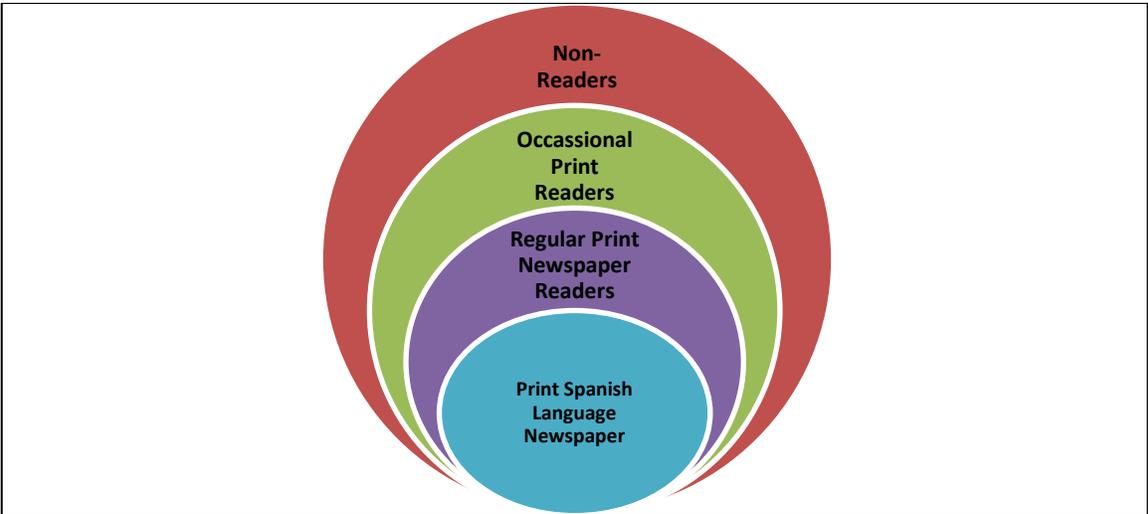


Figure 6.1

The Print Newspapers’ Audience Circles

Figure 6.1 shows that survey respondents formed three categories. The first group were those who regularly read print newspapers, the second group were occasional print readers, and the third group were those who did not read print newspapers at all. The survey findings showed that although regular print readers (51% of first generation respondents) had resided in Australia for on average 30 years, their regular print consumption signalled that many still longed for a connection to their native country. Thus, print newspapers performed a symbolic function allowing respondents to 'be in two worlds.' Moreover, this indicates that the idea of 'homeland' continued to play a part in the imagination of the Hispanic community. This study also found that a low number of second generation respondents from Sydney (29%), Melbourne (25%), and Brisbane (19%) were regular print readers, accessing newspapers between eight to 15 years.

The second group (38% of first generation respondents and 12% of second generation respondents) were occasional print newspaper readers. Respondents were found to be occasional consumers due to the following factors: (1) newspapers were passed on to them by relatives and Spanish-speaking friends, (2) they read both print and online Spanish language newspapers, (3) they read print newspapers whilst visiting Hispanic businesses, and (4) they picked up the newspaper to search for a news story, information, or event. Second generation survey respondent Paola* (P152-S) of Spanish heritage from Melbourne stated that although she does not have a connection to print Spanish language newspapers like her parents do, she nonetheless accesses print newspapers every now and again to find specific information such as events that promoted the Hispanic culture as her local English language newspapers did not do so. Data also discovered that pensioners formed part of this group, as many could not afford to regularly purchase or subscribe to print newspapers. Survey respondents stated that they would alternate purchasing newspapers with their friends, which they later shared. This finding also shows that although these respondents were not regular readers, they still wished to form part of the Hispanic mediasphere.

The survey also explored respondents' motivations for consuming print newspapers. In alignment with Lobera and Giménez (2017), Lee (2016), and Gibbons and Ramirez (2004), this study found seven motivations for their consumption. For instance: (1) linguistic and cultural maintenance, (2) access in-group information, (3) to connect with the local community and native

and heritage country, (4) to relax, (5) to maintain the tradition of reading print newspapers³⁹, (6) print Spanish language newspapers provide more news and information than their websites, and (7) to have topics of discussions with family and friends. Supporting the findings of Horst (2010), Georgiou (2010, 2006, 2004), and The Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism (2005), the following comments illustrate some of the reasons as to why interview and survey respondents in this study valued print Spanish language newspapers. In regards to the first point, linguistic and cultural maintenance, second generation survey respondent Melanie* of Costa Rican heritage (P101-S) expressed:

Since I was a teenager, I have been reading Spanish language newspapers to help me learn more about the Spanish language and culture. For me, newspapers are great because they are different to a textbook. There's always new phrases, expressions, and words and they publish news, events, and information that are real and that have a real value when you talk about these things with other people. I have improved my Spanish so much and I am super grateful that newspapers exist. They are a lot cheaper than books and much more entertaining than learning new words from a dictionary.

For the second point, accessing in-group information, interview respondent Maria*, journalist (P9-1) said:

Los periódicos étnicos son cruciales para la generación más madura. Pueden leer y estar al día con las noticias e información en español porque muchos no tienen acceso al internet o televisión vía satélite de Latinoamérica o España.

[Ethnic newspapers are crucial for the older generation. They can read and stay updated with news and information in Spanish because many do not have access to the internet or satellite television from Latin America or Spain.]

³⁹ Purchasing and/or reading print newspapers are a common quotidian activity in Latin America and Spain. It is also as a sign of culture, demonstrating that individuals wish to stay updated on current news and events. Notably, this routine was passed onto the second generation in Australia.

For this point, survey respondents such as first generation Bolivian respondent Kevin*, from Sydney (P93-S), wrote the following comment.

El internet ha tenido un impacto en casi todo, pero mucha gente todavía prefiere leer la versión impresa y llevar el diario a todos lados que van. Creo que esto es porque hay más noticias acerca de Australia y noticias de la comunidad en comparación con lo que nos ofrece en el periódico en línea.

[The internet has had an impact on nearly everything, but many people still like to read the printed version and take it everywhere they go. I think this is because there is more Australian and community news compared to what the online newspaper offers us.]

Similarly, to this respondent's statement, Max*, a second generation Brisbane respondent of Colombian heritage (P7-S) indicated, "Spanish print newspapers are great for me because they publish a lot of news about the community, information, and little entertainment. I don't care for entertainment." For the third point, to connect with the local community and native and heritage country, interview respondent Germán*, journalist (P2-I), expressed that:

Nuestros periódicos ayudan a todas aquellas personas que tienen problemas con el idioma inglés y por eso, muchos no tienen acceso a información y noticias locales. Los diarios les da la oportunidad de estar al tanto de lo que está ocurriendo en Australia. Como la mayoría de nosotros quienes trabajan en los diarios étnicos somos inmigrantes, hemos pasado también por estas experiencias migratorias y basada en nuestra experiencia y de otras personas que conocemos, podemos determinar el contenido porque ya que tenemos una buena idea de lo que nuestro público les gusta leer en nuestros periódicos.

[Our newspapers help all those people who have problems with the English language and because of that; many do not have access to local news and information. The newspapers provide them the opportunity to stay updated on what is occurring in Australia. As many of us working in the ethnic media newspapers are migrants, we too have gone through these migration experiences and, based on our experience and other people that we

know, we can determine the content because we have a fairly good understanding of what our audiences like to read in our newspapers.]

As for the fourth point, consuming print newspapers to relax, survey respondent, Andrea*, a first generation Chilean from Sydney (P84-S) communicated:

No hay nada mejor como leer la prensa escrita. Lo voy leyendo tranquilamente cuando desayuno, o en mis ratos libres.

[There is nothing better than to read the printed press. I read it calmly when I have breakfast, or in my free time.]

The fifth point respondents mentioned was the tradition of reading print newspapers. Tony* (P-123), a first generation Argentinean survey respondent from Brisbane declared:

En mi país, Argentina, se acostumbra comprar el diario todos los días para estar al tanto de todo lo que pasa en el país y en el mundo porque es parte de nuestra cultura. Lo lees y a la tarde te juntás con tus amigos o familia y discutís un poco de todo. Inmigré a Australia y sigo haciendo lo mismo, es una lástima que son semanales, pero en cierto modo cumplen la misma función y sigo manteniendo ese costumbre a pesar que llevo más de 40 años en Australia.

[In my country, Argentina, it is customary to buy the newspaper every day to be up-to-date with everything that is happening in the country and the world because it is part of our culture. You read it and, in the afternoon, you get together with your friends or family and you discuss a little of everything. I migrated to Australia and I continue doing the same thing, it is a shame that they are weeklies, but in some way, they continue to fulfil the same function and I keep maintaining that habit despite the fact that I have over 40 years in Australia.]

This sixth point indicates that for some respondents, print Spanish language newspapers provided more news and information than their websites. The following comment obtained via survey data from Eduardo*, a first generation Venezuelan from Melbourne (P51-S) revealed why this was so.

Mi amigo me dijo que podía acceder los periódicos en línea, pero encontré el formato de algunas páginas web inconvenientes con mi celular. Tengo que mover en diferentes direcciones y eso me molestaba y perdía tiempo haciendo eso. Y también me di cuenta que no tenían tanta información y noticias en línea, así que, por todos estos motivos, he vuelto a leer los periódicos impresos.

[My friend told me that I could access the newspapers online, but I found the format of some webpages inconvenient with my mobile phone. I have to move in different directions and that was annoying and time wasting for me. And I realised that they did not have as much news and information online, so for all these reasons, I returned to reading print papers.]

As for the final point, newspapers aiding individuals to have topics of discussions with family and friends, Felipe*(P107-S), a first generation Brisbane respondent from El Salvador commented:

Para muchas personas o quizás las personas mayores, el diario impreso es mejor. Pueden llevar el diario con ellos en el auto, autobús y visitar amigos, hablar y mostrar las noticias que han leído sin tener que conectar al internet. A diferencia con los diarios online, las páginas de los diarios imprimidos no van a actualizarse, ni ser borrados. Tampoco van a tener problema de quedarse con poca pila, ni tener problemas con la conexión de internet.

[For many people or maybe older people, the print newspaper is better. They can take the newspaper with them in the car, bus and visit friends, talk and show the news that they have read without connecting to the internet. Compared with online newspapers, printed newspaper pages will not be updated, nor deleted. They will neither have a problem with having a low battery, nor have internet connection problems.]

Adding to this comment, interviewee respondent Gabriela*, journalist (P8-I) expressed the following statement.

Los hispano hablantes tienen una costumbre llamado sobremesa. Comemos, chateamos, y discutimos noticias y eventos que leemos en los periódicos, escuchamos en la radio o vemos en la televisión. Los niños también pueden participar. A pesar que muchos hispanos tienen más años en Australia que en sus propios países, muchos siguen con esta tradición de discutir noticias y eventos que están en los medios porque es parte de nuestra identidad.

[Spanish-speakers have a custom called *sobremesa* [table talk.] We eat, chat, and discuss news and events that we read in newspapers, hear on the radio, or see on television. The younger children can also participate. Even though many Hispanics have more years in Australia than in their own countries, many continue with this tradition of discussing news and events that are on the media because it is part of our identity.]

All the statements by interview and survey respondents reveal the value of print newspapers for regular and occasional print readers. Moreover, these comments also confirm Anderson's (1991) notion in that reading newspapers were performed in silent privacy. Moreover, the ritual act of reading led to individuals discussing these topics in spaces with other community members.

The last group, (4% of first generation respondents, and 7% of second generation respondents) stated that they did not read print Spanish language newspapers. In alignment with Matsaganis et al., (2011), respondents justified that they did not read print newspapers because: (1) they did not know about the existence of print newspapers, (2) preferred other print and online media, (3) lack of time to read, and (4) were not interested in reading print Spanish language newspapers. The following comments by first and second generation survey respondents provide insight into their reasons for not consuming print Spanish language newspapers. For the first finding – did not know about the existence of print newspapers – Clarisa* (P141-S), a second generation female respondent of Paraguayan heritage from Brisbane wrote:

I did not know that there were any newspapers until now. I'm stunned that I had no idea.

For the second finding – those of preferred other print and online media – survey data found that Dana*, (P24-S) a first generation Nicaraguan from Brisbane was a former reader of print Spanish language newspapers. She stated that she read them in the early 1990s; however, she stopped reading them as local news was mostly about Sydney and featured little news concerning her city of residence, Brisbane and her country of origin, Nicaragua. Now Dana* reads Australian newspapers and international newspapers online. This respondent’s comment shows how some community members felt excluded from the newspapers’ content and how Spanish language newspapers lost readership as they could not cater to their reader’s needs.

For the third finding – lack of time to read – survey data also revealed why the second generation did not read print Spanish language newspapers. For instance, survey respondent Richard* (P79-S) of Mexican heritage from Sydney stated, “If I do not even read English language newspapers, the chances of me reading one in Spanish is very low.” For the fourth finding – those who were not interested in reading print Spanish language newspapers - Nicolas* (P122-S), a first generation Mexican survey respondent from Melbourne mentioned:

Al principio éramos leales y nos atrajimos a los diarios. Tal vez no es muy bien decirlo... pero ya no me importa más lo que está sucediendo en América Latina, España o incluso en mi propio país, México, a menos que sea algo importante.

[At the very beginning, we were loyal and attracted to the newspapers. It is probably not a good thing to say... but I do not care anymore what is happening in Latin America, Spain or even in my own country, Mexico, unless it is something important.]

Thus, the statements provided by respondents and the print audience circles show that some members of the Hispanic community value the presence of print newspapers, while others did not. The subsequent section discusses the role of print Spanish language newspapers in Australia.

6.3 The Roles of Spanish Language Print Newspapers

Similar to the results found by Deuze (2006), interviewees in this study considered that their print newspapers were a blend of community, ethnic and participatory media. In light of this, print

Spanish language media were also in the position of being “bottom-up facilitators and moderators of community-level conversations among citizens rather than functioning as top-down storytellers for an increasingly disinterested public” (ibid, p. 275). Congruent with media scholars such as Georgiou (2014), Lay and Thomas (2012), and Tosco (2005), data revealed that print Spanish language newspapers undertook various community ethnic media roles. The succeeding sections will discuss these roles in more detail.

6.3.1 The Role of the Spanish Language as a Cultural Marker

As community ethnic media is one of the great strengths of multicultural Australia, Jacklin (2012), writes that they are multilingual islands in a monolingual society. Bearing in mind Jacklin’s (2012) statement, Spanish language newspapers were one of many islands of media in which the Spanish language was maintained amidst Australia’s dominant language, English. In alignment with Wong (2012), Lustanski (2009), and Howard (2000) and as seen in Chapter 5, the Spanish language was a central marker in which the Spanish and Latin community expressed their concerns to the newspapers and with other community members in spaces such as Letter to the Editor. Hence, print newspapers forged an imagined sense of community and belonging to a pan-ethnic community.

The salience and use of the Spanish language in community ethnic media were continuously emphasised by interview and survey respondents alike. In alignment with Jurva and Jaya (2008), the fact that articles were being published in the community language and in print Spanish language newspapers indicated that newspapers had created and maintained a linguistic connection with their Spanish-speaking audience. To illustrate this finding, survey respondent Paul*, a first generation Uruguayan (P130-S) from Brisbane expressed in his survey how newspapers published in the Spanish language aided in his migration experience in Australia.

Quando emigramos, los diarios jugaban un rol importante para la comunidad y brindaban mucha información que la gente necesitaba. Nos orientaron y nos mantenían al tanto de todo.

[When we migrated, newspapers played an important role for the community and provided a lot of information that people needed. They orientated us and maintained us updated on everything.]

The above comment reveals that Spanish language print newspapers provided the Hispanic community with news and information they needed to navigate in Australia. Moreover, first generation Salvadorian survey respondent Hannah* (P20-S) from Melbourne wrote how she also benefited from reading print newspapers in Spanish stating:

A veces no entiendo perfectamente los medios de comunicación en inglés, pero el idioma español es mi lengua materna y poder tener las noticias en mi idioma hace que mi vida sea un poco más fácil. Realmente se los agradezco.

[Sometimes I do not fully understand English media, but Spanish is my mother tongue and being able to have news in my language makes life a little easier for me. I really appreciate them for that.]

This respondent's comment shows that newspapers publishing in the community language were vital for individuals and were also a form of engagement between newspapers and their public. When interviewees were asked whether a change in the language of print publication would take place, most media professionals stated that print newspapers would continue to publish in the community language as the presence of four print newspapers published in the Spanish language clearly showed the visibility of the Hispanic community in the Australian mediasphere. Interview respondent Pablo*, editor (P12-I) stated that he would continue publishing his print newspaper in the community language, as this was his way of combating community language attrition and educating and informing the younger generation of their heritage language, Hispanic culture, and traditions.

However, this study found that not all newspapers published content entirely in Spanish, revealing that in the mid-2000s *The Spanish Herald* became somewhat of a bilingual newspaper. Newspaper analysis discovered that page 10, provided a full page of English local and national news. Moreover, newspaper staff produced half of these stories whilst the remaining half were

news derived from *News Limited*⁴⁰, a mainstream Australian English language news website. According to interview respondent Federico*, journalist (P4-I), the appearance of an English language page signalled that changes were not only occurring within the Hispanic community but within community ethnic media.

The motivation for English language content was to offer native and subsequent bilingual generations, and their non-Hispanic audience, such as Spanish language learners, alternative news stories that they may not have come across in their consumption of print and/or online mainstream Australian media. For two interviewees, a newspaper produced in both English and Spanish was a product to capitalise on the community's identity, by seeking to speak to and for them, in languages, which the majority of their audiences possessed some knowledge of. This finding also shows that irrespective of the language of print community ethnic newspapers, their aim was to inform their audience and provide them with a sense of belonging to the imagined Hispanic and Australian community. Thus, signalling a hybrid identity.

6.3.2 Settling Down in Australia: Newspapers Informing and Maintaining Social Inclusion and Identity

This study found that the successful acculturation of Hispanics in Australia was dependent on various factors such as cultural, psychological, and economic efforts. This section outlines how the print Spanish language newspapers reflected this process and how their audiences perceived it. Maintaining imagined ties with an individual's native and heritage country was a central characteristic of the Spanish-speaking community and Spanish language print media. The first years of the newspapers were found to build the foundation for the newspapers' content. That is, the publication of news and information concerning Latin America, Spain, and Australia and the inclusion of creative writing. More so, in the case of Spanish language print newspapers, the fact their founders, editors, journalists, and collaborators share the same linguistic and cultural heritage as their readers aided to shape the content which their audiences desired.

⁴⁰ <http://www.news.com.au>

In addition to journalists writing in the newspapers, newspaper analysis revealed that migration agents, accountants, lawyers, and medical practitioners wrote other columns. This content played a central role in fostering social and civic inclusion into the broader Australian community, counteracting what community members may have otherwise sensed as social exclusion. Thus, newspapers offered news and information concerning taxes, local government activities, schools, local politics and elections, healthcare, community, and cultural events, which were vital to the social and democratic life of their audience. On this topic, interview respondent Maria*, journalist (P9-I) described how this information assisted new migrants who arrived in Australia. She expressed that:

La mayoría de los inmigrantes sienten un poco de ansiedad cuando primero llegan. Durante los 60 y 70, muchos emigraron solos y no conocían a nadie, y mucho menos sabían cómo acceder a los servicios que ofrecía Australia. Esta falta de conocimiento y el estar en un país nuevo fue abrumadora para mí y muchos inmigrantes. Como dije, pasé por este mismo proceso. Los periódicos de habla hispana intentan de cierto modo, ayudar que la comunidad se siente cómoda así pueden progresar en Australia, pues... que sea más fácil para todos. Nos tenemos que ayudar entre nosotros, sino, no tiene sentido ser una comunidad.

[Most migrants experience some form of anxiety when they first arrive. During the 60s and 70s, many migrated alone and did not know anyone, and even less know how to access the services Australia offered. This lack of knowledge and being in a new country was overwhelming for me and many other migrants. Like I said, I experienced this process myself. Spanish language newspapers try in some way, to help the community feel comfortable so that they can progress in Australia, well.. make it easier for everyone. We need to help one another, if not, there is no point in being a community.]

This respondent's comment shows how print Spanish language newspapers undertook several roles for new migrants and how the notion of community was vital for not only newspaper producers but for members of Australia's Spanish-speaking community. For instance, data showed that print Spanish language newspapers provided: (1) a sense of community, (2) connected

individuals with other community members, (3) informed their audience on services Australia offered, and (4) relieved and diminished the sense loneliness and rootlessness. Thus, the publication of this content during this time helped create the impression of an imagined and prosperous community, which had the opportunity to develop in Australia.

This research also found that a common aim of newspapers was to promote participation as a means of educating and creating awareness amongst the community. Newspapers published numerous articles from their inception to the late 1990s explaining for example, how to open a bank account, how to obtain a driver's licence, how to enrol in English language classes, and how to commence their own business in Australia. Newspaper analysis also discovered that a series of articles, jointly written by migrant organisations such as the Adult Migrant English Service and Adult Multicultural Education Services in Sydney and Melbourne, invited migrants to attend workshops and classes delivered in the Spanish language. These articles continued throughout the decades and at times, targeted specific audiences such as women and mature members of the Spanish-speaking community. For example, there were articles which offered English classes, aged care courses, seminars and workshops concerning how to find employment, craft classes, and computer literacy classes. Moreover, in the early to late 1990s, print newspapers regularly published medical columns. For instance, *The Spanish Herald* published on Page 2, a column titled *La Medicina a su Alcance* [Medicine at your Fingertips], written by Dr S. Moryosef from Madrid. In this column, Dr Moryosef offered the Hispanic Australian community advice on general health issues, anxiety, work, and family life. Interviewees such as Jaime*, journalist (P5-I) and Manuel*, journalist (P11-I) stated that their audiences favoured these columns as medical practitioners explained these issues in simple Spanish.

This study found that the publication of Australian news balanced content concerning how to gain important skills in Australia. Interview respondent Germán*, journalist (P2-I) indicated that this created a more familiar and understandable setting for Hispanics and their family to settle down in Australia. Amongst such stories were a series of articles covering national, state, and municipal elections in Sydney, including interviews with Australian and Hispanic Australian Labor Party candidates such as Telmo Languillero and Carlos Balvino, and changes to immigration laws, healthcare, and home loans. According to interview respondent David*, editor (P7-I), print Spanish

newspapers aimed to build a relationship with their readers by communicating with them and filling the emptiness that some were experiencing in the process of adjusting to their new life in Australia. In sum, this study found that news and stories published in newspapers collided in time, and were based on community members' past (i.e. a common language and pan-ethnic identity), their present lives (i.e. migrant stories), or their future lives (how to obtain and use newly acquired abilities or information to successfully settle in Australia).

Findings also revealed that the 1990s-2000s saw new topics and sections such as travel, youth, technology, television, real estate, Brisbane, Adelaide, and Melbourne community news, and paid columns written by religious and community organisations in newspapers. In addition, this research found that a new migration column appeared. This column was an accumulation of different news and updates related to the migration process, and changes to Australian migration law. Newspaper analysis also indicated that newspapers included more community and international news for recently arrived Ecuadorian, Nicaraguan, Peruvian, and Salvadorian migrants. According to Maria*, journalist (P9-I), the inclusion of these sub Spanish-speaking groups in newspaper content made these new groups feel part of the imagined community portrayed by newspapers. During the interview, interview respondent Jaime*, journalist (P5-I) justified the addition of new topics and sections in print newspapers. He stated that:

Como la comunidad creció en Australia, pudimos ver la diversidad de la comunidad y que los miembros vivían en otras ciudades, no solo en Sídney y Melbourne. Algunos de nuestros lectores quienes se mudaron a otras ciudades seguían comprando el diario, pero querían saber más acerca de lo que estaba sucediendo en su propia comunidad. Recibimos muchas cartas diciendo: "¿por qué no publican sobre nuestra comunidad aquí en tal y tal lado? Queremos saber lo que está sucediendo en nuestra comunidad, estar al tanto de los próximos eventos y queremos que escriben acerca de lo que estamos haciendo." Ahora las páginas extras de los diarios publican noticias de la comunidad y de eventos de Adelaide, Brisbane, Canberra, Sídney, Melbourne y Perth. También hemos ampliado nuestro contenido internacional.

[As the community grew throughout Australia, we saw the diversity of the community and that members were living in other cities apart from Sydney and Melbourne. Some of our readers that moved to other cities continued purchasing the newspaper but wanted to know what was happening in their own community. We received many letters saying, “Why don’t you publish about our community here in so and so place? We want to know what’s happening in our community, be up-to-date on upcoming events, and we want you to write about what we are doing.” Now the extra pages of the newspapers publish community news and events from Adelaide, Brisbane, Canberra, Sydney, Melbourne, and Perth. We have also expanded our international content.]

This respondent’s comment reveals that these publications were responding to community expectations and demands. This finding also shows that there was a push from the community to expand the scope of Sydney publications to include more community and national news that would interest the greater Hispanic Australian community and their sense of inclusion into the Hispanic community in Australia.

The appearance of additional stories in newspapers covered events organised by Australian and Hispanic organisations and other migrant communities in which Australian government officials, Ambassadors and Consuls from Spain and Latin America, and members of Australian and Hispanic organisations including newspaper staff participated. The publication of these events showed how newspapers were involved and engaged with the Hispanic and Australian community. Overall, these stories according to Maria* journalist (P9-1) promoted a sense of community, the Spanish language, culture, and understanding of the Hispanic world, among the Hispanic diaspora and the wider Australian community.

This research found that readers also commenced generating topics of discussion that consequently led to the publication of articles to cater to their audiences’ needs. For example, interviewees and survey respondents mentioned that parents searched the newspapers for tutors and Spanish language teachers as parents wanted their Australian-born children to excel academically at school and to ensure their children’s connection to their heritage language and culture. Newspaper analysis uncovered that their audiences’ needs led to the publication of

articles and advertisements in which tutors and Spanish language teachers in Sydney, Brisbane, and Melbourne such as *La Asociación de Profesores de Español en Victoria* [Victorian Association for Teachers of Spanish Teachers] came forward and offered parents their assistance. Moreover, The University of New South Wales published stories offering free English classes and courses, whereas The Council of Adult Education offered English language courses for a fee to individuals who wished for family members to improve their English whilst temporarily visiting Australia. The publication of community organisation stories in community ethnic media was important in sustaining the idea of an imagined community. According to interviewees, their audiences felt more assured about the accuracy of news and information when community organisations conveyed it in their newspapers.

As for local community news and Australian content in print newspapers, interview respondent Germán*, journalist (P2-I) stated that 45 to 55 per cent of the news content in his newspaper was local and Australian news, followed by Spanish, Latin American and international news. This respondent further indicated that community ethnic media professionals produced their own local news to reconnect with the community. Newspaper analysis also confirmed Germán's* statement showing that newspaper producers received positive feedback from their audiences for undertaking a more community stance, as the publication of local news and information allowed their audiences to gain a better understanding of Australia. However, survey data uncovered that although Hispanics have resided in Australia for numerous years, many still had a strong desire to be informed about news and events occurring in their country of origin, and print newspapers producers understood this and continued to provide their audience with that information. Thus, for survey and interviews respondents, print newspapers were not simply a source of information, but a link that connected them back to their country of origin.

Akin to Viswanath and Arora (2000), data analysis revealed that Spanish print newspapers were and continued to perform the role of both community sentinels and boosters. This study found that for instance, *The Spanish Herald* undertook the sentinel role when it published stories in both Spanish and English. For instance, electricity price increases, and government plans to assist women of domestic violence (*The Spanish Herald*, August 1, 2014, p. 10), bullying in schools, and racist attacks against a Jewish school in Sydney (*The Spanish Herald*, August 8, 2014, p. 10).

Although these stories did not directly portray members of the Hispanic community per se, Daniel*, editor (P10-I) indicated that their audience could relate to these issues, and thus, they were included to create awareness within the community.

Newspaper analysis also noted that there were few negative stories concerning members of Australia's Hispanic community. Two interviewees stated that an individual learning about negative news of fellow community members would reflect poorly on the community in Australian society. The lack of these articles thus showed that media professionals opted to produce positive stories and reinforce pride in the Hispanic community and in the Hispanic mediasphere. On this subject, interview respondent Manuel*, journalist (P11-I) also communicated that unlike the negative experiences and stereotypes that many members of the Hispanic community experience in the United States in their daily lives, employment, and in the media (for instance, as criminals, illegal migrants, and housekeepers), Australia did not stereotype the Hispanic Australian community in that fashion. Thus, Australia's Spanish language media did not have to perform the role of a sensitising agent, as there was little need to engage in public sphere activity in challenging and publishing alternative constructions of the community.

Data showed that as a community booster, Spanish language media provided news and information concerning cultural events such as independence days, film and music festivals such as The Spanish Film Festival and the Latin American Film Festival which are held annually across Australia. This study found that the majority of Spanish language newspapers published numerous positive stories reporting on the community's success. For instance, business and profiles of successful community members were one such example of community boosters (see Figure 6.2).

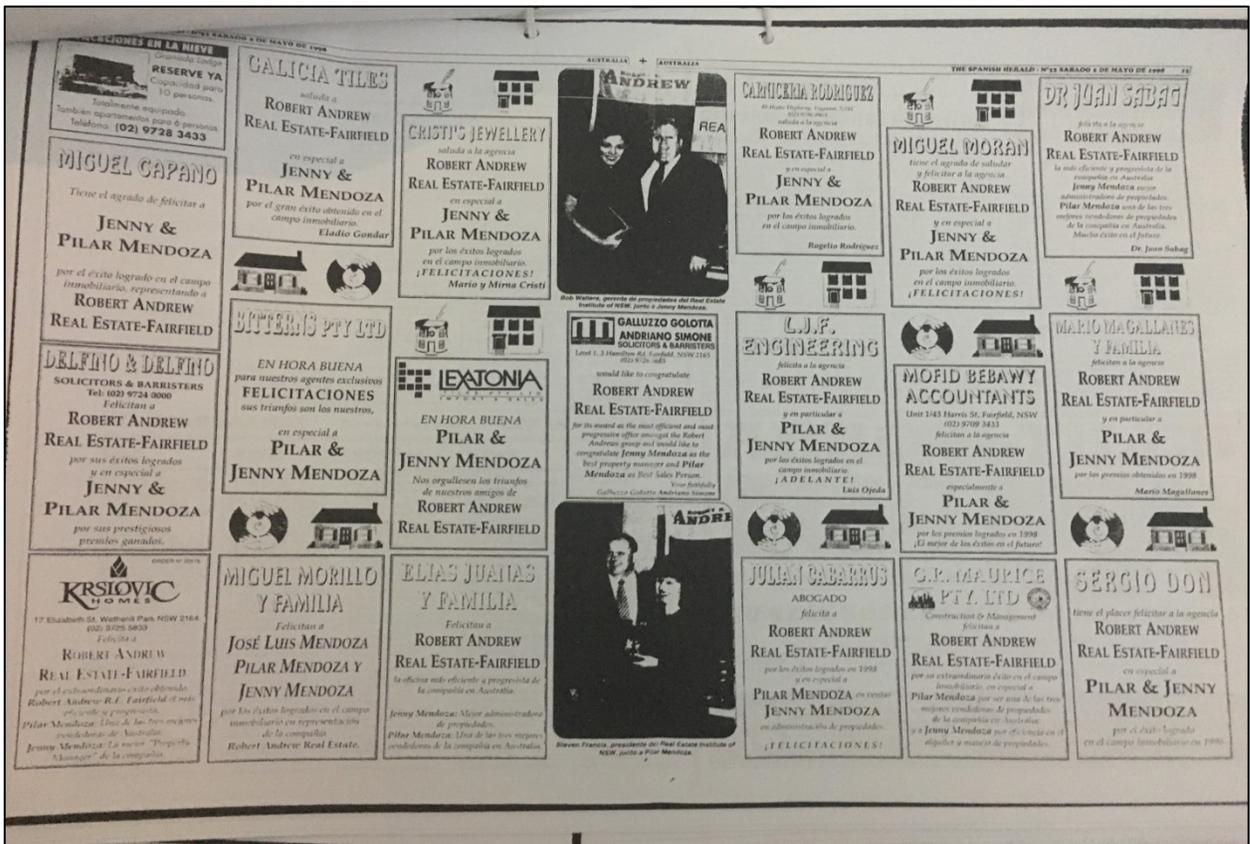


Figure 6.2

Example of the Community Booster Role in *The Spanish Herald*

Figure 6.2 displays how *The Spanish Herald* performed the community booster role, publishing photos in which two Spanish-speaking realtors received awards from the New South Wales Real Estate Institute (*The Spanish Herald*, May 2, 1998, pp. 14-15). The publication of this event allowed *The Spanish Herald's* audience to take part in this communal event across time and space. What can also be noted from the above figure is how members of the Hispanic and wider Australian community (for instance, realtors, lawyers, accountants, butchers, jewellers, tilers, and families) complimented the two realtors on their success via the publication of their Spanish and English congratulatory notices. These two pages of compliments revealed how there was a great sense of pride and solidarity from within the Hispanic and wider Australian communities. Overall, findings show that Spanish language newspapers created a virtual social network between the readers by publishing stories of individuals from the community who were successful in their employment, and participation in community events.

6.3.3 Print Newspapers Providing Cultural Information and Culturally Relevant Local News

Data analysis revealed that the publication of cultural news and information reflected the local character of community ethnic media. Newspapers achieved this via the publication of community news, outcomes of Hispanic club elections, and stories of upcoming Australian and Hispanic social and cultural events across Australia. For instance, newspaper analysis found articles on the participation of Hispanic community members and representatives in local and international events such as Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) day, the 2000 Sydney Olympics, and meetings between Latin Americans and Spanish business leaders and government officials to establish and promote language, culture, and trade amongst nations. These stories aimed to enhance a sense of connectedness and recognition that Australia valued the Hispanic community.

Print newspapers also performed the role of cultural identifiers for the Hispanic community via their promotion of stories and advertisements for Latin American and Spanish events. For example, *El Inti Raymi – Fiesta del Sol y del Inca*⁴¹ [The Sun and Inca Festival], *Las 13 Lunas en Progreso*⁴², the *Gauche* fiesta, Chilean folkloric fiesta, independence days, soccer tournaments, and Spanish and Latin American music, film, cultural festivals. According to David*, editor (P7-I), the publication of these events were aimed to create awareness of the Latin American and Spanish cultures, traditions, and customs, not only for members of the Hispanic community but also for the wider Australian public. The diverse array of cultural events illustrates how the migratory movements of individuals and cultures have transformed spaces and demonstrated the Hispanic community's sense of solidarity and interest with its Hispanic and Indigenous cultures.

Moreover, these diverse activities were found to give the Hispanic Australian community a high profile as a great deal of time was dedicated by numerous community members to establish, promote, and enhance real and not imagined interaction with members of Australia's Spanish-speaking community. Survey respondent, Julian*, a second generation of Nicaraguan descent from

⁴¹ This festival is an Indigenous ritual, which is principally celebrated in Cuzco, Peru.

⁴² A Salvadorian poetry, painting, and sculpture festival.

Brisbane (P32-S), indicated in his survey how print Spanish language newspapers provided cultural and social news which aided in his quest for identity negotiation. He wrote:

I read print newspapers to reinforce who I am because I'm Australian and Latino. I read the news, but I also read to find out what social events are in Brisbane.

This comment acknowledges that print newspapers were an intermediary between social and community organisations and the community. Furthermore, the publication of news and events aided to negotiate their audiences' diverse identities. In sum, print newspapers have provided their public with cultural news, events, and information in a manner that facilitates social inclusion in Australia and in the wider imagined Hispanic community.

6.4 Print Advertising as a Social Instrument

This research also explored the role of advertising in maintaining a sense of community. As government funding was limited, advertisements constituted an important source of income for print Spanish language newspapers and while advertising allows print newspapers to survive — as it is the 'bread and butter' of the newspapers — interviewees considered that advertising was another avenue to connect with their audiences. For example, Mariano*, journalist (P1-I) commented that a common historical, linguistic, and cultural background shared by newspaper staff and his newspaper's audience were salient for ensuring the success of community ethnic media such as Spanish language newspapers.

According to interview respondent Maria*, journalist (P9-I) advertising has always been considered as a source of education, information, and entertainment for the community. As English language newspapers did not publish advertisements tailored to the Spanish-speaking community, print Spanish language newspapers filled this void. Hence, advertising served as a tool to conserve not only print newspaper consumption but was a vehicle that conveyed comfort to the community and promoted social connections via a common language.

This research found that since the inception of Spanish language newspapers in Australia until the year 2000, the number of businesses run by Spanish-speakers and the variety of national and transnational businesses had increased. For instance, newspaper analysis revealed that since the 1980s, over 80 per cent of local advertisers were Hispanic community organisations, wholesalers of Spanish and Latin American food stores, restaurants, travel agents, pharmacists, realtors, brokers, migration agents, accountants, and lawyers. The remaining advertisements were by transnational corporations such as Western Union, *Aerolíneas Argentinas*, and *LAN*⁴³ airlines (now known as *LATAM*⁴⁴). In addition to the before-mentioned advertisers, the 1990s also saw new advertisements from telephone companies, mortgage brokers, construction companies, mechanics, interpreters, translators, and beauty and hair salons. Survey data revealed that primarily the first generation valued this content as their level of English was basic or they desired to support community members even though their level of English was fluent enough to be able to obtain this information from a broader network of professionals who were not of Hispanic origin. For example, first generation Paraguayan survey respondent James* (P149-S) from Melbourne indicated:

Los periódicos étnicos son buenos, en cuanto eres un inmigrante y llegues a un nuevo país no sabes cómo son las reglas de las hipotecas, agentes de viajes, o cómo comprar un coche etcétera. Si tu inglés no es muy bueno, los periódicos pueden ayudar mucho. Para muchos de nosotros quienes tenemos un buen dominio del idioma inglés, no tenemos que depender sólo de los hispanos. Pero yo, como muchas otras personas, queremos que nos apoyemos, el uno al otro.

[Ethnic newspapers are good, in that when you are a migrant and arrive to a new country you do not know what the mortgage rules are, travel agents, or how to buy a car etcetera. If your English is not so good, newspapers can help a lot. For many of us that have good English language proficiency, we do not have to rely just on Hispanics. But I, like many other people, want us to support one another.]

⁴³ *Líneas Aéreas Nacionales* - Chile's national airline.

⁴⁴ Acronym for Latin American.

Newspaper analysis also revealed that many Hispanics wanted to ensure that their family maintained connections with the Spanish language and culture, and this led to an increased number of advertisements of Spanish language and music teachers and tutors, sporting clubs, and Spanish language schools. According to interview respondent Germán*, journalist (P2-1), the publication of advertisements and editorials relating to mortgages, insurance, healthcare, and other services were to provide their readers (settled or recent arrivals) with valuable information that they may not have received or obtained elsewhere. The findings also showed that mainstream advertisers accounted for less than five percent of total advertising, confirming the literature in that mainstream advertisers lacked interest in ethnic newspaper media and the claim that the Spanish-speaking community has been invisible to mainstream media.

Data revealed that during the 1990s, print newspapers published advertisements of popular Latin American and Spanish musicians and artists who were touring Australia. The aim of these announcements was to connect their audiences to their past identities. For instance, *The Spanish Herald* published that Braulio López, a Uruguayan musician (*The Spanish Herald*, May 9, 1998, p. 3), and a Colombian music band from the mid-1970s named *Los Tupamaros* were touring Australia (*The Spanish Herald*, May 2, 1998, p. 1; *The Spanish Herald*, May 12, 1998, p. 15). Similar to *The Spanish Herald*, other Spanish language newspapers regularly published about other Spanish and Latin American bands, musicians, and artists before, during, and after they toured Australia. Data revealed that newspapers aided in the negotiation of their audiences' identities by advertising local and national events and campaigns such as Clean-up Australia, Australia Day, the Glow Winter Arts Festival, and the Royal Easter Show. These events encouraged community members to participate, learn, and celebrate Australian specific events. The publication of these stories reveals that newspapers connected their public to: (1) their past identity and, (2) the present broader Australian identity. Thus, evidence of hybridity.

The majority of interviewees mentioned that until early 2000, over 40 per cent of their print newspaper content was advertisements. Since then advertisements have decreased, seeing them averaging between 15 to 35 per cent of the newspapers' content. Professionals acknowledged the difficulty in attracting new advertisers; however, newspapers such as *El Español en Australia* and *Extra Informativo* were publishing new advertisements from *UBI World TV* and

Qantas Airlines. For interviewees, such as Daniel* editor, (P10-I), businesses and individuals who continue to publish advertisements in Spanish language newspapers provide an indication of the Hispanic community's economic and social activities across Australia. For instance, data indicated that social activities and events took place at theatre clubs, The Peruvian Club, Club Ecuador, The Marconi Club, Rodelu Soccer Club, and The Spanish-Speaking Cancer Community Network Inc., whilst economic activities were lawyers, health professionals, travel agents, and realtors.

On the subject of government advertising, interview respondent Manuel*, journalist (P11-I) relayed that print community ethnic newspapers receive few advertisements from the Australian government, and when they did and do, they are principally for elections and health notices. In addition, Manuel* stated that the governments of Spain or Latin America also advertised little in community ethnic newspapers as many embassies and consulates now communicate with their respective communities via their own group page on Facebook or via email. Overall, print advertisements connected the newspapers' audience to the Hispanic and greater Australian community in physical spaces where language and culture could be further maintained and promoted.

Newspaper analysis and survey and interview data discovered that advertisements of ethnic food such as Spanish and Australian food stores, restaurants, and culinary festivals played a vital role for the Hispanic community. Interview respondent Silvia*, journalist (P6-I) communicated that food is an essential part of the community's individual and ethnic identities. First generation Argentinean respondent Horacio* (P99-S) from Sydney mentioned that he first accessed print newspapers not particularly to obtain news, but to seek where he could find Spanish or Latin American food products so he would not lose his Argentinean identity in Australia. Moreover, Daniel*editor, (P10-I) stated that:

Publicamos muchos avisos de restaurantes, tiendas de alimentación, y de mayoristas. La comida no sólo brinda un sentido de comodidad, pero es parte de nuestra cultura, porque nos une con los demás. Estos avisos son importantes porque hay ciertos platos o alimentos que tenemos durante diversos días festivos y celebraciones y estos anuncios lo refleja.

[We publish many advertisements from restaurants, food stores, and wholesalers. Food not only comforts us, but it is part of our culture because it unites us with others. These advertisements are important because there are certain dishes or foods that we have during different holidays and celebrations and these advertisements reflect that.]

The above statements by interview and survey respondents illustrate the social and cultural role that advertisements published in community ethnic newspapers play for migrant communities. These advertisements show that Australia's migrants look for information and that they play a function that Australian mainstream media does not fulfil by providing cultural information to aid in the community's preservation of their cultural heritage.

6.5 Print Newspapers and their Relationship with Their Public

The study examined the relationship between print Spanish language newspapers and their audience. This research found that ethnic media producers desired that their public communicated, and participated with the print newspaper and fellow community members. Interview respondent Jaime*, journalist (P5-I) expressed that in contrast to mainstream media which put profits before its people, community ethnic newspapers aimed to sustain a more personal relationship with their audience. Moreover, data uncovered that the audience of print Spanish language newspapers were not simply passive readers of news and events, but were additional contributors and a source of information and feedback.

Data showed that the discursive arenas in print newspapers were not limited to Letter to the Editor pages, as a number of articles were written by audience members. Newspaper analysis revealed that community members were critical of Spanish language newspapers and voiced their point of view on the performance of newspapers and the quality of their news stories. As Spanish language newspapers in Australia are privately owned, interviewees relayed that many needed to consider how to survive in a tough and competitive media environment. They stated that although they hired professional journalists, their lack of resources and the small size of their companies were factors that could have impeded their performance. On this topic, interview respondent Diego*, editor (P3-I) indicated:

Es cierto que a veces no teníamos buenas noticias, pero somos una pequeña empresa y los fondos que tenemos son limitados para hacer muchas cosas. Siempre estamos tratando de mejorar y satisfacer a nuestros lectores.

[It is true that sometimes we lacked good news stories, but we are a small company and we have limited funds to do many things. We are always trying to improve and satisfy our readers.]

Despite these drawbacks, media professionals such as Germán*, journalist (P2-1) stated:

Apreciamos los comentarios de la comunidad y los consideramos todos. Buscamos nuevas formas de mejorar el periódico. Siempre mantenemos la comunidad informada.

[We value the community's comments and consider all of them. We look for new ways to improve the newspaper. We always keep the community informed.]

Examples of the above statement were found in newspapers such as *The Spanish Herald*, *El Español en Australia* and *Extra Informativo*. These newspapers maintained their audiences updated, for instance by publishing new locations where individuals could purchase their newspapers. Moreover, they stated that if their newspapers were not available in their area, then readers could ask their newsagent to order the periodical for them, or alternatively, they could subscribe to the newspaper.

Congruent with Balnaves et al., (2004), all print newspapers encouraged their audience to undertake a more participatory role and contribute to the Hispanic mediasphere by sharing their stories and photos of elated and mournful events such as births, engagements, birthdays, graduations, weddings, and memorial services (see Figure 6.3). The publication of these notices was dependent on community members and not from newspaper editorial staff.



Figure 6.3

Community Page of *The Spanish Herald*

Figure 6.3 demonstrates the participatory role of *The Spanish Herald's* audience. The above figure shows how a member of Sydney's Hispanic community participated in the Hispanic mediasphere by sharing their wedding photos with the newspaper and with members of the Hispanic community (*The Spanish Herald*, September 3, 2014, p. 4). Interviewees and survey respondents valued how community members willingly shared their personal stories with the wider Hispanic community. This demonstrates that not only did these stories present an image of their communion but that they also enhanced a sense of community by virtually participating in these events. Overall, data shows that the application of participatory journalism by fellow community members was a positive factor for newspapers. In sum, this indicates that a positive newspaper-audience relationship exists where both the newspaper and members of the Hispanic Australian

community aim to enhance a sense of belonging to the Hispanic community in Australia and boost the community's spirit.

6.6 The Role of Social Networks

The research examined the role of social networks in print Spanish newspaper access and consumption. Both generations indicated that family and to a lesser extent, friends were factors that influenced their access to print Spanish language newspapers. Twelve per cent of second generation respondents reported that whilst growing up, they had been exposed to Spanish language media by either by their parents and grandparents reading Spanish language newspapers.

Likewise to Georgiou (2004), print Spanish language newspaper consumption in the home domain benefited first and second generation respondents in various ways. First, print newspapers were another vehicle to enhance and maintain cultural awareness as well as ensure that younger bilingual members felt a sense of place, and a connection to their heritage language, culture, and Spanish-speaking community. Second, newspapers were another outlet, which improved and augmented the second generations' Spanish language proficiency and maintained that of the first. For example, Aurora* (P124-S), a first generation Uruguayan survey respondent from Sydney commented that:

Mi esposo y yo alentamos a nuestros hijos a leer periódicos impresos y utilizar otras formas de medios en español porque creemos que ya como son recursos auténticos, podrían ayudarles a aprender mejor la lengua y la cultura.

[My husband and I encourage our children to read print newspapers and use other forms of Spanish language media because we believe that since they are authentic resources, they could help them learn the Spanish language and culture better.]

This respondent's comment indicates how native Spanish-speaking parents of Australian-born children accessed print Spanish language newspapers in their aim of heritage language learning. In

addition to language maintenance, print newspapers were found to create quality family time as grandparents and parents encouraged the second generation to read stories together or to 'flick through' Spanish language newspapers to connect back to their roots. Second generation survey respondent Martín*, (P3-S) from Sydney who is of Paraguayan heritage commented how newspapers enabled quality family time. He stated:

When I was younger, I read articles from *El Español en Australia*. I would go to my mum or grandma and share what I read to them and ask questions. They would tell me more about what happened. This connected me more to my family because it was all in Spanish, and to the news.

This respondent's comment confirms the results of Elias and Lemish (2011), demonstrating how Spanish language print media created moments and spaces for discussion. Results showed that community print newspapers performed the role of the public sphere in which individuals later discussed topics with family, friends, and acquaintances. For example, Melanie* (P143-S) a second generation survey respondent from Melbourne of Spanish origin wrote:

My family always reads Spanish newspapers at home. I sometimes read news in both English and Spanish to stay up-to-date. When my family talks about news and events with family or friends, I like to join in their conversations.

This respondent's quote also resonates with Law's (2013) statement where consuming media provides community language members with topics for discussion, facilitating them to preserve and reinforce cultural capital. Data also showed that a family's media choices positively affected the second generation in such a manner that this led to some respondents choosing to study and working in the journalism field, and even contribute to community ethnic media. For instance, Lauren* (P42-S) a second generation survey respondent of Argentinean origin from Sydney expressed:

I grew up with my parents reading *El Español en Australia*, *Noticias y Deportes*, and Australian papers. I began reading newspapers at a young age, as it is a custom I inherited from my parents. I am a journalist now and I write in the Spanish newspapers, even

though I was born in Australia. This is all thanks to my parents buying newspapers and teaching me Spanish.

The above comment reveals how the use of Spanish language resources in the home domain, such as newspapers do not merely speak to their audiences, they also speak for the diverse Spanish-speaking community and about them. Moreover, this finding shows that even though the children of first generation migrants grow up in a completely different environment to that of their parents, they build their identities in many cases with their parents. Overall, findings revealed that the first and second generation's access to print Spanish language newspapers validated their desires to access in-group community information and preserve their linguistic and cultural heritage despite their physical and cultural distance from other Spanish-speakers in Australia and those of the Spanish-speaking world.

Chapter Summary

The objective of this chapter was to cast a spotlight on the factors that influence the survival of print Spanish language newspapers in Australia. This chapter examined how community ethnic media maintained the idea of community in their print newspapers and the implications this had on the Hispanic mediasphere, and print newspaper producers and consumers. This chapter identified five key findings.

First, print ethnic media performed a vital role in community building, language, and identity promotion and reflected the community in a way mainstream media could not. Print Spanish language newspapers produced 'by' the community 'for' the community and created an imagined sense of belonging to a pan-ethnic community, regardless of the community's diversity. Second, although Spanish language newspapers were business ventures, they continued to serve the heterogeneous Hispanic community on a civic scale and in the community language. Print newspapers performed various community and ethnic media roles such as in their provision of local, national, and international news and information, community building, civic engagement, and language, culture and identity promotion and maintenance.

Third, the provision of local and international content in the Spanish language played a vital role in print newspapers and created a roadmap for their audience to settle down in Australia. As content was at the very core of print newspapers, this chapter also discussed the principles this content was built on, and to what extent it reflected the community in its aim of publishing, present and future-related content. Print Spanish language newspapers showed how members of Australia's Hispanic community are supported by Spanish language newspapers in the process of their settling down in Australia via the account of the real-life experiences, stories, and survival tips communicated by the newspaper, in addition to selective news from across Australia. Fourth, although advertising in media is commonly analysed from the revenue perspective, this chapter revealed that advertising in Spanish language newspapers played a salient twofold role as not only did it ensure the sustainability of print newspapers, but it performed substantial social functions for the Hispanic community by connecting their audiences to the community, to one another, and to their print newspapers.

Fifth, Spanish-speaking family and extended social network positively influenced print newspaper consumption in an individual's effort for information, and language and cultural maintenance. The third and final data chapter will examine key elements that influence online Spanish language newspapers. This chapter will examine how digital communication technologies influence Spanish language newspapers and the maintenance and promotion of the Hispanic Australian community, the Spanish language culture, and identity in the online mediascape.

Chapter 7 Factors that Influence Online Spanish Language Newspapers in Australia

The previous chapter examined the factors that influence print Spanish language newspapers in Australia. It found that print community ethnic newspapers upheld the notion of community by providing news and cultural information to maintain and promote the community language and culture in Australia. Yet, does this motivation to remain community focused also apply to online community ethnic newspapers? This chapter seeks to address this question by answering the following subordinate research question: What factors influence online Spanish language newspapers in Australia and how do Spanish language newspapers create a sense of place and imaginary?

This chapter examines whether and how Spanish language newspapers in Australia are connecting with the Hispanic community in the digital age. This chapter first discusses whether Spanish language newspapers established an online platform of their publication. It discusses how digital communication technologies are maintaining the newspaper-audience relationship by enhancing the community's presence on the online mediasphere via the community language and the publication of content. Included within this chapter is a discussion on how variables such as transnational media, social networking sites, and social networks are essential in how individuals experience news and how this affects Australia's Spanish language newspapers.

Finally, this chapter explores the future of community ethnic media as changes in audience media ecologies, digital communication technologies and social networking sites challenge the livelihood of community ethnic journalism. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings and outlining the common themes that influence online Spanish language newspapers in Australia to further support the statement that Spanish language newspapers provide social, cultural, and linguistic connections to Australia's Hispanic community.

7.1 Connecting the Community via Online Spanish Language Newspapers

This study has examined the emergence and development of Spanish language newspapers in Australia since the 1960s, with findings showing that print community ethnic media undertake various roles such as in the provision of news, culture, and information. This study investigated whether issues experienced by print community ethnic media (such as printing costs, catering to audience members who favoured online news from Australia or abroad) would be reduced by establishing an online outlet.

In alignment with Mellado et al., (2017) and Westlund (2013), the advent of digital communication technologies has altered the role and feasibility of many community ethnic media newspapers as their audiences now have access to a vast number of direct online sources, from anywhere. Moreover, digital technologies could produce more competition for community ethnic newspapers, signifying the potential loss of some of their community-building roles, if their audiences are dedicating time to other sources rather than community ethnic media. Thus, possibly reducing the vital character of community ethnic print media in the maintenance and promotion of migrant communities.

This study finds that it has been just over one decade that the Hispanic community has joined the online mediasphere. Since the mid-2000s, the adoption of digital communication technologies by Hispanic community ethnic media producers in creating online community ethnic media platforms has provided their Hispanic audience with easy access to their online Spanish language newspapers. This finding resonates with Caspi and Elias' (2011) ninth criteria in that media 'by' the community, 'for' the community allows for this easy access.

This study enquired into the motivations Spanish language media producers had for establishing an online platform. Interview respondent Silvia*, journalist (P6-I) commented that similar to their reasons for establishing print community ethnic newspapers, online outlets were an extension of the community established by print newspapers. It can be seen that today's imagined community, whether national or not, is also imagined via the internet as it has replaced

in many ways print media such as books and newspapers which Anderson (1991) states in his theory. Moreover, and likewise to print newspapers, online Spanish language newspapers emerged as vital resources to maintain and promote the Spanish language and culture in Australia for current and future generations of Spanish-speakers.

As digital communication technologies are economical and accessible catalysts, which expose individuals to a plethora of content for direct and rapid consumption, this study found three additional factors which influenced the creation of their online platforms. These were: (1) the rising costs of print newspapers, (2) the uncertain future of the print press, and (3) competition from other community, mainstream and transnational media. In regards to the last factor, Jaime*, journalist (P5-I) mentioned during his interview that online Spanish news publications from Australia such as *Viva* magazine⁴⁵, *LatinAmerica Viva*⁴⁶, and *Latinhub*⁴⁷ offered the Hispanic community alternative news and information. Furthermore, he stated that their presence was a negative factor for them, as they were more businesses that Spanish language newspapers had to compete with. Hence, branding and implementing digital communication technologies in their business was vital if they wished to remain in the community ethnic media industry.

In contrast to Sinclair's (2014) study, which found that only one Spanish language newspaper — *El Semanario Español* was online, interview findings and newspaper analysis discovered that all five currently circulating newspapers also had a website or online presence. Newspaper analysis revealed that the first Spanish newspaper to establish a website to complement its print edition was *Noticias y Deportes*⁴⁸ in 2007. For interviewees, the appearance of online Spanish language newspapers after the mid-2000s was a sign that Hispanics as an invisible migrant community in Australia were becoming visible in the online mediasphere.

⁴⁵ *Viva magazine* is published every two months in English (Viva Magazine, 2013).

⁴⁶ A Sydney-based Uruguayan journalist founded *LatinAmerica Viva*. The website states that it is 'the only Latin daily online news in Australia' (LatinAmerica Viva, 2017).

⁴⁷ A Sydney-based journalist from Uruguay created *Latinhub*. This webpage publishes news and offers a national community directory in Spanish to Latin Americans in Australia and abroad (Latinhub, 2015).

⁴⁸ <http://www.thehispanoamericannewspaper.com>

Newspaper analysis revealed that on Saturday 29, December 2007 *Noticias y Deportes'* page *Quienes Somos* [Who are we] published a brief description of the Spanish-speaking community in Australia. This page discussed that Latin American migrants arrived to Australia from the late 1960s, seeing many members of the community work in social and cultural groups and organisations, and although they left everything behind, they have adapted to their new country, culture, and language, and are contributing to Australia's progress. As *Noticias y Deportes* claimed that they were the most popular weekly Spanish language newspaper with the most readers, this page further stated:

Nos sentimos con obligación de seguir creciendo, y con el mismo ímpetus de siempre enfrentamos nuevos desafíos. En este caso nuestro portal en Internet informa en un contexto global de todas las actividades que se desarrolla en la comunidad de habla hispana en Australia.

[We feel obliged to continue to grow, and with the same impetuses of always facing new challenges. In this case, our Internet portal reports in a global context the activities that take place in the Spanish-speaking community in Australia.]

The above statement by the newspaper demonstrates the community focus of the newspaper to continue reporting on the community in a global sphere. Although discussed later in this chapter, findings revealed that this website offered readers free access to local Hispanic community news and Australian national news, as well as video interviews with community members.

Shortly after the online appearance of *Noticias y Deportes*, *El Español en Australia*⁴⁹ joined the online mediasphere in 2008. Yet, at the time of writing this thesis, this page still stated " *Muy pronto online*, [Online very soon.] This study also enquired into the reasons why some newspapers did not have a functioning website or presence on social networking sites. Interview respondent Pablo*, editor (P12-I) mentioned that this was due to reasons such as limited staff, time, financial resources, the fear of or resistance to change, and the digital illiteracy of their audiences. Expressing their thoughts on this, interview respondents Mariano*, journalist (P1-I) and David*,

⁴⁹ <http://www.elespanolenaustralia.com>

editor (P7-I) indicated that newspapers such as *El Español en Australia* were examples of how newspapers found it difficult to have an active website due to the costs associated with creating and maintaining online media. Interview respondent Diego*, editor (P3-I) also felt that as Australia's oldest circulating Spanish language newspaper, it possessed a more mature readership that preferred print newspapers. Hence, this comment shows that an online presence was not, and is still not a priority for *El Español en Australia*. For this newspaper, not having an online presence did not affect their business, as print newspapers remain the main source of news and information for their audience.

The next newspapers which followed suit by establishing online platforms were *The Spanish Herald*⁵⁰ and *El Semanario Español*⁵¹, with their appearance of e-papers. These free e-papers were digital copies of their print editions. For instance, interview respondent Germán*, journalist (P2-I) stated that the motivation behind utilising e-papers was to deliver news and information to all community members, especially those who could not find print newspapers in their area and for Hispanics residing abroad who wished to stay abreast with news and events from Australia. First generation (34%) and second generation (8%) survey respondents valued these e-papers stating that media producers were altruistic, in that they gained no financial benefit from their online readers. Furthermore, survey respondents mentioned that the websites of these e-papers did not feature pop-up advertisements on their websites, which made their reading experience less intrusive. Similar to Cover's (2012) results, which found that some of Australia's community ethnic newspapers ceased print publication, and moved online, this study uncovered that this transition only occurred with *El Semanario Español*.

El Semanario Español was also found to publish various supplements such as *El Semanario Español Deportes* [Sports], *Ciencia y Tecnología* [Science and Technology], and *Cultura* [Culture.] Jaime*, journalist (P5-I) stated that the rise of newspaper supplements is an example of vertical expansion back-to-back publication and is favoured by newspapers due to its low-risk expansion. He added that specialty weeklies commonly undertake this strategy whereby they attach a new

⁵⁰ <http://thespanishherald.com.au/>

⁵¹ There are two options for accessing *El Semanario Español*: (1) Free subscription by sending an email to the editorial team or (2) downloading the e-paper via the Latin American Community Association of Queensland webpage (<https://www.lacaqld.org.au>)

title to their existing publication and in this case, *El Semanario Español*. Survey findings revealed that *El Semanario Español* was popular amongst both generations due to the array of supplements they offered the Hispanic community. This finding suggests that media producers were utilising an alternative space to thus, satisfy the linguistic, cultural, and informational needs of Australia's diverse Hispanic community. On the topic of online-only newspapers, Jaime*, journalist (P5-I) compared print newspapers to the declining independent movie rental business stating the online move is inevitable, and that in the future newspapers will only be available online. He further stated:

En mi opinión, la prensa escrita no desaparecerá totalmente, pero con el tiempo todos vamos a tener que mudarnos en línea. Lo que está sucediendo ahora mismo con los periódicos impresos es similar a lo que ha estado ocurriendo con el negocio de alquilar películas. Antes había muchos negocios como Video Ezy, Blockbuster y negocios independientes que alquilaban videos, existía el video casete, después el DVD... ahora es streaming en línea con el internet con YouTube y otras páginas de la red. Es lamentable ver que muchos han desaparecido y que no hay muchas de esas empresas restantes. Volviendo a los periódicos, es la misma historia. He visto que los periódicos impresos están de a poco desapareciendo o mudando totalmente en línea. Esto no es una linda cosa para mí decirlo, pero esa es la realidad del campo de los medios y del entretenimiento.

[In my opinion, print media will not disappear entirely but eventually we will all have to move online. What is happening right now in the print newspaper business is similar to what has been occurring with the movie rental business. Before there were many stores like Video Ezy, Blockbuster and independent video rental businesses, there was the video cassette and then the DVD... now it is online streaming from the internet with YouTube and other websites. It is lamentable to see that many have disappeared and that there are not many of those businesses remaining. Going back to newspapers, it is the same story. I have seen that the print newspapers are slowly disappearing from print or moving completely online. This is not a great thing for me to say, but that is the reality of the media and entertainment industry.]

In view of this respondent's comment, other interviewees admitted that their first year of launching their newspaper's own website was challenging from a financial point of view, but they have survived and evolved into interesting newspapers thanks to the support of the community, their readers, and advertisers.

Results revealed that another newspaper, which possessed an online platform, was *Extra Informativo*. Interestingly, the primary focus of its webpage was that of its partner and radio program, *Radio Austral Broadcasting*⁵². Hence, the newspaper and its content played a secondary role. First generation (41%) and second generation (19%) respondents reported that a benefit of *Extra Informativo* was that they could access local, national, and international news and community events via various platforms — print newspaper, online website, and online and analogue radio. For interviewees, these numerous media platforms clearly indicated that *Extra Informativo* was augmenting its branding in the Hispanic Australian mediasphere. This page also enhanced the notion of an imagined community and sense of place by providing their Hispanic audience with web links to diverse Australian and Hispanic community organisations and businesses. For example, data analysis found links to the Uruguayan Club in Sydney, Fairfield City Council, Fairfield Police Station, The Cervantes Institute, Elias Pharmacy, and the Embassies and the Consulates of Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Spain, and Uruguay, respectively. The publication of these web links allowed both the newspaper and its readers to connect to Hispanic organisations and businesses in both physical and virtual spheres.

7.2 Online Content Supporting the Community

Alike findings which demonstrated that the first years of print newspapers built the foundation for the newspapers' content, results revealed that the same applied to their online platforms. That is, the publication of news and information concerning Latin America, Spain, and Australia and the inclusion of creative writing. The fact the editors, online journalists, and collaborators shared the same linguistic and cultural heritage as their audiences assisted to shape the content which their online audiences desired.

⁵² A national Spanish language radio station that airs Australian and International news in real time (<http://radioaustral.com.au>).

This study uncovered that the content of online Spanish language newspapers was important for two reasons for both survey and interview respondents. First, the availability of online content enhanced the notion of community by building the community's visibility in the online sphere. Second, content disseminated by online Spanish language newspapers facilitated an invisible social connection amongst Hispanics and non-Hispanics who have never met but were interested in news, the Spanish language, and Hispanic culture. Interview respondents such as Manuel*, journalist (P11-I) mentioned that finding content for community ethnic media, for the time being, was not a challenge. This respondent further expressed that:

Por lo tanto, si los periódicos tienen lectores que pueden manejar el español con fluidez o tienen lectores de la segunda generación que tienen un nivel alto de español, entonces no vamos a quedar corto de información, ni noticias.

[As long as the newspapers have readers who are fluent in Spanish or have readers from the second generation who have a high level of Spanish, then we will not be short of news nor information.]

Interview data confirmed Cover's (2012) results that over 80 per cent of all four⁵³ of these newspapers' online content was original and produced by their journalists and newspaper collaborators. For instance, interview respondent Maria*, journalist (P9-I) stated that Spanish language newspaper staff understood that their public desired that news and events should be written by in-group members. Newspaper analysis discovered that along the years, travel stories were written by Hispanic travel journalists whilst economic news and commentary were written by accountants and economists. Moreover, she mentioned that these stories accompanied by photos and videos were published with the aim to reconnect their audience back to the newspaper and to others within the global community.

Newspaper analysis of *Noticias y Deportes* confirmed interview data obtained from Maria*, journalist (P9-I) showing that online content since 2008 changed according to the desires of the community. More community news and commentary from across Australia and abroad

⁵³ *Noticias y Deportes, Extra Informativo, El Semanario Español* and *The Spanish Herald*. As stated earlier, *El Español en Australia* does not have an active online presence.

were included. In addition, interview findings confirmed newspaper data in that online newspapers saw the increased contribution of stories by transnational collaborators residing in Chile, Argentina, Spain, and Uruguay. For example, Latin American entertainment and tourism pages by Elizabeth Robero from Chile, and Latin American culture and creative writing stories by Dr Nelson Dell'Isola, President of the Academy of Tango from Uruguay and other transnational members from Latin America and Spain.

As for maintaining a local community focus, the newspaper published news and events such as when the Colombian Consul, Marta Lucía Jaramillo, in Sydney finished her term, the Sydney to Hobart annual yacht race, and articles on the Uruguayan community in New Zealand. Moreover, the newspaper contained film reviews and announcements on the National Multicultural Festival in Canberra written by Miguel Santana who was the Public Relations Officer for the Melbourne organisation, *Fonda La Clínica*. *Noticias y Deportes* was found to publish various announcements from the Consulate General of Uruguay in Sydney. Interview respondent Federico*, journalist (P4-I) indicated that the Uruguayan Consulate understood that many Uruguayans accessed the online version of this newspaper due to its owners and editors also having Uruguayan nationality. Thus, this was a good avenue for them to communicate with the wider Uruguayan community who may not have received notifications from the Consulate, for instance via email. Furthermore, data analysis revealed that, for instance, during tax time, the newspaper published announcements and articles by Spanish-speaking accountants and from the Australian Taxation Office for all members of the community. These articles explained to Hispanics what employees should know about filing their tax returns, and suggested that if individuals possessed limited English language proficiency, to contact the Australian government's Spanish-speaking translators and interpreters. These findings show that newspapers were seen as a valuable tool that supported the community and other institutions.

This study found that *Noticias y Deportes'* website contained webpages offering news and events to members of the Hispanic community residing in cities across Australia. For example, a page titled, '*Desde Adelaide*' [From Adelaide] by Luis Milans discussed South Australian and Adelaide political and economic news and cultural events. Newspaper analysis revealed that Milans' column discussed a variety of community content. For instance, the *Brazil Fest*, the

Spanish Meetup group, the Spanish School - Gabriela Mistral, electricity price increases, community organisation offering workshops on health and cancer prevention for Hispanic women, and Adelaide's soccer team, Adelaide United. The latter finding illustrates the sporting nature of the community and their online content reflected this. Interview respondent Jaime*, journalist (P5-I) expressed that sports such as soccer played a vital role for the online and offline community, thus, the online discussion of this popular sport was further evidence that it was a factor that united individuals. Overall, this page demonstrates the value of community placed on the Hispanic community in South Australia, and in particular, the city of Adelaide.

Similarly, a 'Melbourne' page in *Noticias y Deportes*, contained news, and stories related to the city. This page also published articles such as such as the Labor government's plan of returning to work, advertisements of interpreting services, and announcements in both English and Spanish, stating that The Victorian Multicultural Commission Major Grants Program were open. Similar to print newspapers, interview respondent Pablo*, editor (P12-I) stated that community organisations prepared these announcements, as statements made by organisations reassured the newspaper's audience on the accuracy of news and information. This study also discovered that not only Uruguayan community organisations such as the Uruguayan Social Club of Melbourne were publishing news and events, but members from other Hispanic nationalities were also accessing, publishing, and contributing to the online content of *Noticias y Deportes*. For instance, newspaper analysis of the community page unveiled that other community organisations such as *Asociación Paraguaya de Sydney* also contributed to the online Hispanic Australian mediasphere by writing and publicising their events for the community.

Noticias y Deportes' page also revealed that since the inception of their online newspaper, they have been publishing health news and events such as World Aids Day. Newspaper analysis uncovered that Dr Nicolás Oddone wrote a regular medical column. The findings also showed that in 2014, Vicente Scali wrote a regular column titled, *Dilemas Sociales* [Social Dilemmas.] In this column, he offered the community advice and discussed a variety of issues such as violence in schools, depression, being altruistic, mental health, and advising that individuals should communicate and listen to one another. Overall, online Spanish language newspapers have become a digital archive for the Hispanic community.

Moreover, this study found that *Noticias y Deportes'* online content was not solely focused not only on the Hispanic community but on other communities in Australia. For instance, a January 2012 article published how the High Court of Australia was deciding on an extradition agreement between Hungary and Australia for war crimes. Data analysis also discovered that as online Spanish language newspapers aided in the negotiation of their audiences' identities by promoting local and national events and campaigns such as Harmony Walk, Foundations Festival, and Clean-up Australia. In one such article in February 2012, *Noticias y Deportes* explained the purpose of Clean-up Australia, further stating that:

Todos pueden hacer su parte por Australia, individualmente o como parte de un equipo. Clean Up Australia Day es una manera sencilla de limpiar, reparar y conservar nuestro recurso más importante – Australia. En 2012, miles de voluntarios saldrán a las calles con bolsas blancas y amarillas y guantes para limpiar su comunidad. Las inscripciones para unirse al Equipo de Limpieza del año 2012 están abiertas. Para inscribirse, visite: www.cleanupaustaliaday.org.au

[Everyone can do their part for Australia, individually or as part of a team. Clean Up Australia Day is an easy way to clean, repair and conserve our most important resource - Australia. In 2012, thousands of volunteers will take to the streets with white and yellow bags and gloves to clean their community. Registration to join the Cleaning Team of 2012 is open. To register, visit: www.cleanupaustaliaday.org.au.]

This announcement reveals how newspapers such as *Noticias y Deportes*, not only encouraged community members to partake and celebrate Australian events, but also demonstrates how online newspapers were enhancing a sense of belonging to the wider Australian community. This can be seen in the newspaper's statement when they write that everyone should partake in a nationwide Australian event as we are part of a greater community, Australia. Overall, data showed that by newspapers publishing events such as these, they maintained and promoted the community's hybrid identity (i.e. Hispanic and Australian) in a multicultural society.

7.2.1 Newspapers Providing Cultural Information and Culturally Relevant Local News

Data revealed that for both first and second generation survey respondents, the publication of local news and events, which promoted the preservation of both Australia and Hispanic culture (for example, Independence days, film, music, and art and festivals) enhanced the media's relationship with them and their relationship with others. Similar to Hennessy (2004), this content was a form of Hispanic cultural expression. That is, a place where Hispanic Australian culture, such as music, dance, art, and narratives were published. Newspaper analysis revealed that during October 2011, *Noticias y Deportes'* online website discussed and promoted the first competition of Latin Music Bands *Clave Contra Clave* [Clef against Clef] in Australia across various weeks. As for including content aimed at promoting subsequent generations of Hispanics in Australia, data uncovered that *Noticias y Deportes* published the first art competition for children of Uruguayan heritage, which took place in Australia.

Articles concerning various Hispanic holidays, anniversaries, and other community celebrations served as a bridge between the past and the present. Online newspaper analysis also revealed that they published an array of cultural events such as the Emerging Cultural Leaders Showcase, *Baila Brazil*⁵⁴, and *Fiestas Chilenas*⁵⁵ to remember '*la patria lejana*' [the distant homeland.] In the article titled *Fiestas Chilenas*, the newspaper stated that two orchestras: Sydney Latin Addiction and Cubanacan, in addition to folkloric groups would be performing. As this study found, newspapers aggregated the diverse community into one homogenous imagined community, and the *Fiestas Chilenas* article portrayed this by stating:

Un muy feliz <<18>> a todas las organizaciones chilenas, clubes deportivos, hermanos chilenos y todos gritemos: ¡Viva Chile!

[A very happy <<18>> to all Chilean organisations, sports clubs, Chilean brothers, and we all yell: Long live Chile!.]

⁵⁴ This event took place at the Concert Hall at the Sydney Opera house in January 2015.

⁵⁵ This event took place on September 18 at Fairfield Showground to celebrate Chile's Independence Day.

For recently arrived first generation migrants, survey results revealed that the online publication of these community holidays from the past fulfilled a purpose to their present time settling in Australia, as these brought a sense of belonging to the Hispanic community whilst they were becoming familiar with Australian holidays, celebrations, and events. As first generation survey respondent Ivan* (P73-S), a Costa Rican residing in Sydney wrote:

Como pertenecemos a este país [Australia], es importante saber más acerca de estos días, tanto de Australia como de los de nuestros paisanos de habla hispana y los diarios nos ayudan mucho.

[As we belong to this country [Australia], it is important to know more about these days, both from Australian and from our Spanish-speaking country men, and the newspapers help us a lot.]

Data indicated that other first and second generation survey respondents were also eager to stay updated on Australian and Hispanic celebrations. Many survey respondents did so in order to attend these with their family and friends. On this subject, survey data uncovered that Luis* (P41-S), a first generation Ecuadorian from Melbourne expressed that his family consumed online Spanish language newspapers to remain updated on upcoming cultural celebrations with the aim that his Australian-born children would grow up and appreciate their linguistic and cultural heritage. He expressed that:

Tengo dos niños pequeños, así que siempre estoy buscando fiestas en los periódicos para llevarlos. Quiero que mis hijos hablen el idioma español y conozcan más nuestra cultura, patrimonio, y tradiciones.

[I have two small children, so I am always looking for celebrations in the newspapers to take them. I want my children to speak Spanish and know more about our culture, heritage, and traditions.]

This respondent's comment confirms Lvovich (2000), in that holidays, are salient and are glue, which unites individuals via historical events or cultural/religious celebrations. Moreover, the aim

of online newspapers, just like their print counterparts was according to interview respondent Pablo*, editor (P12-I), to forge a sense of community cohesion, where their public felt invested in both the offline and online Hispanic spheres. The publication of these events also reveals a deep sense of solidarity. The comradeship that Anderson (1991) considered as one of the main features of the imagined community was clearly visible in the online community. Survey data reflected this respondent's statement showing that both first and second generation respondents appreciated the fact the online Spanish language newspapers were publishing news, stories, events, and memories, with many simply writing "We like the newspaper the way it is."

Five percent of total survey respondents indicated that they would appreciate Spanish language newspapers having an online event calendar that summarised all community events for the month. Respondents' motivations for this were because they were particularly interested in information about holidays and celebrations to allow them to stay connected to their cultural heritage and to the community. Thus, the online community extended the notion of an imagined community based on the feeling for their culture and homeland that was in fact transnational. Overall, these results show that 'nations' are thriving in cyberspace and the internet and digital communication technologies have, in the space of a few years, maintained nations and communities who for political, social, or economic reasons are dispersed, or due to citizens deciding to reside abroad whether temporarily or permanently.

Similar to Boyce-Davies' (2002) data, online news and stories generated a connection through time and space. This study uncovered that the production and consumption of articles and stories such as music and culture also collided in time and reminded respondents of when they were young. According to Gabriela*, journalist (P8-I), the production of these stories aimed to connect Hispanics to their past and facilitate a sense of connectedness to the wider imagined Hispanic community. On this topic on newspapers publishing such stories, Vanesa*, a first generation Argentinean survey respondent from Brisbane (P16-S) wrote that:

A mi esposo y a mí nos gusta leer todos los artículos que se trata del tema musical... como música de los años 40s – 70s, tango, milonga, y rock. También leemos artículos culturales porque nos traen recuerdos de cuando éramos jóvenes en Argentina.

[My husband and I like to read all the articles that are about music... like music from the 40s - 70s, *tango, milonga*, and rock. We also read cultural articles because they bring back memories of when we were young in Argentina.]

Figure 7.1 is an example of a past-present article in *Noticias y Deportes*, which discussed the life of a Uruguayan artist (Dell'Isola, November 13, 2013).

El Loro Collazo

Por Dr. Nelson Sica Dell'Isola

RAMÓN COLLAZO PATALAGOITI, que así era su nombre completo, nació en el Barrio Sur, el 25 de enero de 1901 poco más de tres años después que Soliño, y falleció el 16 de julio de 1981, dos años antes que Soliño, músico, pianista, director, y compositor, figura destacada del Teatro popular, con más de cincuenta años de actuación, que comenzaron en 1923 con la Troupe Ateniense, fue también inspector municipal y después empleado en un frigorífico. Era tan conocido su apodo como "El Loro, que tuvo una casa en las cercanías de Playa La Mulata, a la que llamó "Psicacosis", aludiendo a una enfermedad de los loros. -

En 1928 compuso sus primeros tangos titulados "Giulio Cesare" y "Bolita", muy pronto "Pato", que grabó Rosita Quiroga, y después Gardel, "Araca París" con letra de Carlos Lenzi también grabado por Gardel, "Mama, yo quiero un novio" suceso mundial, con letra de Fontaina, "Agua Florida", grabado por Alberto Vía, "Venganza", "Vieja Loca", "Saber Vivir", "Hombrecito", "No te quiero", "Adiós", "Picaflor", "Montevideo", "Adiós mi barrio", letra de Soliño, siempre presente en el ambiente montevideano. Y muchos más, pues también compuso canciones criollas y temas de jazz.

Y este es el tango PATO, letra y música de su autoría:

Como vemos, usa muchos términos lunfardos: Pato: como indigente; bacán, el adinerado que mantiene una amante; fifi: pituco; mina, mujer en forma peyorativa; seco, indigente; vento, dinero; espiente; partida, retirada; bullón, comida; mangar, pedir; ranie, atorrante; otario, tonto. La mayor parte incorporados actualmente al habla común en los países platenses. En tanto que Pigall, se refiere al cabaret Royal Pigall.

Collazo, estudió música aunque sólo por un año, en el Instituto Verdi, por lo que más bien fue autodidacta, que llegó a tener su propia Orquesta Típica, con la que viajó a Buenos Aires en 1930 para grabar discos con la ODEON. Y participó como músico y como actor en una película uruguaya: "Soltero soy feliz", dirigida por Juan Carlos Patrón, donde actuaban: él, la Orquesta de Carlos Wa-ren, Alberto Vía y Mirta Reid.

Hoy el Teatro de Verano del Parque Rodó recientemente remodelado, inaugurado el 15 de enero de 1944, en el lugar donde eran las canteras de Francisco Piria, que antes solían ocupar carpas de circos, lleva su nombre desde el 26 de enero de 1986.

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Figure 7.1

Past-Present Article about Ramón Patalagoiti

This past-present article is one such example of how *Noticias y Deportes* went back in time and became as Bollmer (2011) stated, a community of memory. Similar to Landsberg's (1996) idea of prosthetic memory, these stories clearly illustrate how newspapers created collective memories, which are not necessarily based on lived experience. This article discussed the life of Ramón Patalagoiti, a Uruguayan musician and composer. According to Diego*, editor (P3-I), the intention behind articles such as these are to connect a newspaper's present audience with the past and act as a digital archive via the publication of such stories. First generation survey respondents reported that they enjoyed reading these past-present stories due to their absence in mainstream English language newspapers. Although revisiting the past was important for a number of first generation respondents, survey data showed that second generation respondents were less inclined to read these articles. Survey data encountered that only five respondents from the second generation dwelled on reading news about famous public figures, holidays, their heritage, culture, and traditions stating that it brought them back childhood memories. Interview respondent Maria*, journalist (P9-I) reflects this point in her comment. She stated that:

Es un poco de un dilema incluir este tipo de artículos. Sabemos que la nueva y joven generación de hispanohablantes no saben ni quiénes son estas personas, ni de sus contribuciones al mundo. Al escribir estos tipos de artículos, estamos tratando de educarlos y ojalá, que puedan aprender algo no sólo del país de sus padres, sino también del mundo hispano.

[It is a bit of a dilemma including these sorts of articles. We know that the new and younger generation of Spanish-speakers do not know who these people are, nor what their contributions to the world were. By writing these types of articles, we are attempting to educate them and hopefully, they may learn something about not only their parents' homeland, but also that of the Hispanic world.]

Adding to this comment, interview respondent Diego*, editor (P3-I) communicated:

Al publicar y recordar estas personas famosas, nos da como una sensación de que estamos entrevistando a estrellas invitadas, pero del pasado. No creo que los lectores más jóvenes

se sienten fascinados por sus historias, pero ellos son parte de nuestra historia y cultura y debemos tratar de recordarlos.

[By publishing and remembering famous individuals, it gives us a sensation that we are interviewing guest stars but from the past. I do not think that the younger readers feel fascinated by their stories, but they are part of our history and culture and we should try to remember them.]

Although newspapers such as *Noticias y Deportes* aimed to maintain a sense of belonging and generating new forms of collaborative remembering via the publication of this content, these two statements demonstrate the challenges newspapers face in catering to an intergenerational audience.

7.3 Factors for Online Spanish Language Newspaper Consumption

Similar to the findings for print Spanish language newspapers, data revealed that both first and second generation Hispanics consumed online Spanish language newspapers for: (1) linguistic and cultural maintenance, (2) information, (3) entertainment, (4) relaxation, and (5) to feel a bond with the wider Hispanic community. The survey also enquired into the weekly access to Australia’s online Spanish language community ethnic newspapers. Table 7.1 outlines both generations’ responses.

Table 7.1
Weekly Consumption of Online Community Spanish Language Newspapers

Online Newspaper Title	First generation	Second generation
<i>El Semanario Español</i>	79%	29%
<i>Extra Informativo</i>	31%	9%
<i>Noticias y Deportes</i>	78%	63%
<i>The Spanish Herald</i>	82%	32%

Table 7.1 demonstrates that the first generation primarily accessed the bi-weekly newspaper, *The Spanish Herald*, followed by *El Semanario Español*, primarily due to its numerous online supplements. The table also shows that the second generation primarily accessed *Noticias y Deportes* followed by *The Spanish Herald. Extra Informativo* was the least read online newspaper amongst both generations due to reasons stated by survey respondents such as the newspaper publishing little content on their website. Survey data also revealed that both generations accessed more than one online newspaper on average twice per week.

In light of these survey findings, this study categorised readers into three groups for online newspapers (see Figure 7.2). Just as in Chapter 6, this diagram aids to visually describe that even though the interests of Australia's online Spanish language newspaper audiences were diverse and they may or may not have deemed themselves to be part of Australia's Spanish-speaking community; by being united by a common culture, language, and history, and sharing similar identities, they created connections to Australia's online Spanish language newspapers on diverse levels.

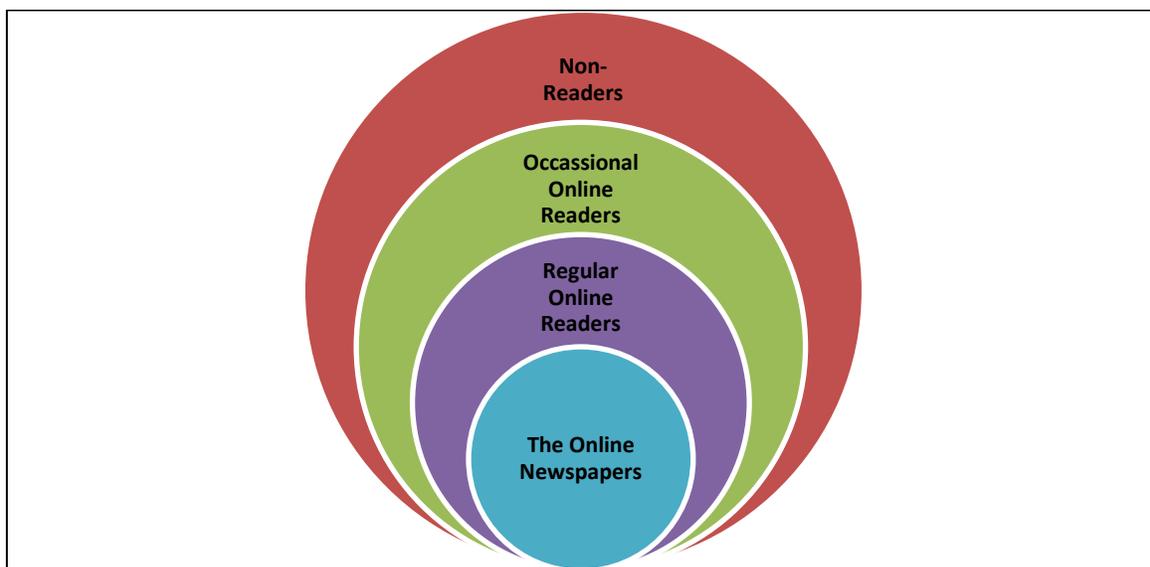


Figure 7.2

The Online Newspapers' Audience Circles

The above figure shows that likewise to print newspapers survey respondents were categorised into three groups. First, those who regularly read newspapers, second, those who occasionally read, and third those who did not read online Spanish language newspapers. Seventy-eight per cent of first generation and 65 per cent of second generation respondents were regular online readers and had read these online Spanish language newspapers for three to eight years.

Both generations provided numerous reasons for consuming online newspapers such as: (1) its ease and rapidness, (2) that Spanish language print newspapers contained old news, (3) to remain updated on breaking national and international news and events, and (4) to remain updated on local community news and events. Robert* (P67-S), a first generation Argentinean survey respondent from Brisbane, justified his access to *Noticias y Deportes'* website writing that:

Si no compro el periódico, fácilmente puedo acceder a su página web y me pongo al día con las noticias que me perdí.

[If I do not buy the newspaper, I can easily access their webpage and catch up on the news that I have missed.]

Other survey respondents elaborated that newspapers played a vital routine in their family life, as they are accustomed to reading newspapers in their household. For example, Ruben* (P105-S) a second generation Sydney survey respondent of Venezuelan heritage, wrote that: "I don't like missing out on the news. My family always reads print and online newspapers. I still do it even though I don't live with them anymore." It can be noted that although this respondent (Ruben*) no longer resides with his family, he continues with the tradition of reading newspapers passed on to him by his parents.

The second group, which occasionally read online newspapers, stated that they did so whenever they had a chance, or when they searched for a specific piece of news, information, or events. Survey data showed that second generation Melbourne survey respondent Valentina* (P53-S) of Uruguayan heritage belonged to this second group of readers. This respondent mentioned that she occasionally reads *The Spanish Herald* and *Noticias y Deportes* online to maintain her heritage language and to remain updated on Latin American news and social events

in Melbourne. Like this respondent, Camila* (P27-S), a first generation Peruvian from Sydney mentioned, “*Leo los diarios en línea de vez en cuando.*” [I read the online newspapers once in a while.]

The last group were individuals who did not read online Spanish language newspapers. Respondents (3% from the first generation and 28% from the second generation) expressed various reasons for this such as: (1) they did not know about the existence online newspapers, (2) they preferred Spanish language print newspapers, (3) their lack of time to read, (4) their disinterest in reading online Spanish language newspapers, and (5) digital illiteracy. The following comments are an example of some of this study’s survey respondents’ reasons for not consuming online Spanish language newspapers. For the first finding — respondents did not know about the existence online newspapers — second generation respondent Yasmin* (P7-S) of Colombian origin from Brisbane wrote:

I didn’t know they had online newspapers. I have always read the print papers. I never read anywhere that they were online, maybe I did not see it there. Next time I’ll take a better look.

For the second finding — the preference for print Spanish language newspapers — Jacob*, a first generation Sydney respondent from Argentina (P47-S) noted:

Me gusta sentir el periódico en mis manos. No es que lo mismo con un tablet o una computadora.

[I enjoy feeling the newspaper in my hands. It is not that same with a tablet or computer.]

For the third point — lack of time to read — survey respondents such as Eugenio* (P63-S), a second generation male respondent from Melbourne of Chilean heritage noted:

I don’t read online papers as I get instant and current information from the Chilean and other Latin Facebook groups from Australia.

For the fourth finding — the disinterest in reading online Spanish language newspapers— survey data obtained from a recent migrant, first generation Sydney respondent Argentinean William*

(P99-I) revealed that during the first years upon migrating to Australia, he read print Spanish language newspapers from cover to cover and their online websites to learn more about Australia and the Hispanic Australian community. However, he stated that as time passed by, he settled down and did not have so much of a need to read print nor online Spanish language newspapers. For the fifth point, digital illiteracy, first generation Spanish survey respondent Virginia* (P80-I) from Brisbane wrote:

Nunca me enseñaron y nunca tomé clases sobre cómo usar el internet. Esta es la razón por la cual no acedo las noticias en línea.

[I was never taught, and never took classes on how to use the internet. This is the reason why I do not access any news online.]

Similar to Virginia's* comment, interview respondent German*, journalist (P2-I) communicated that:

Muchos de las personas maduras de la comunidad pasan la mayor parte de su tiempo en casa, viendo la televisión en español, o escuchando la radio en español cuando quieren relajarse o cuando están aburridos. Muchos no saben cómo usar una computadora, a pesar de que nuestros periódicos constantemente publican artículos avisando a la comunidad que hay clases de computación gratis y disponibles para ellos. Pero entiendo que por alguna razón u otra no pueden ir y aprender. Por lo tanto, entiendo que nuestros periódicos en línea no son adecuados para ellos y por esa razón todavía tenemos los periódicos impresos.

[Many of the mature members of the community spend most of their time at home, watching Spanish language television, or listening to the Spanish language radio when they want to relax or when they are bored. Many do not know how to use a computer even though our newspapers constantly write articles advising the community that there are free computer classes are available for them. But I understand that due to whatever reason they cannot go and learn. Thus, I understand that our online newspapers are not suitable for them and that is the reason why we still have out print newspapers.]

Despite these findings, Spanish language online newspapers were found to possess a wider online audience base. To illustrate this fact, interview respondent Silvia*, journalist (P6-1) mentioned that:

Nuestros sitios están recibiendo consultas de todo el mundo y vemos que tenemos nuevos lectores de América Latina, España, Asia, y de otros países del continente europeo. Es bueno ver cómo los periódicos hispanos de Australia están atrayendo a gente de todo el mundo y que están leyéndolos para enterarse de lo que está ocurriendo en la comunidad aquí en Australia. Creo que es porque publicamos cosas que no se pueden encontrar en línea, y por eso lo leen.

[Our websites are receiving hits from around the world and we see that we have new readers from Latin America, Spain, Asia, and other countries from Europe. It is good to see how Australia's Spanish newspapers are attracting people from around the world and that they are reading them to find out what is occurring in the community here in Australia. I think it is because we publish things that cannot be found online, and that is why they read.]

Overall, results indicate that online newspapers extended the sense of community and belonging from their print newspapers and followed this through to the online Hispanic mediasphere, as individuals residing abroad were accessing in-group specific news and information provided by community ethnic media which could not be obtained via other mediums.

7.4 The Language of Online Newspapers

The language(s) of online newspapers was explored to see whether language played a pivotal role in online community Spanish language media. Newspaper and interview data revealed that like Australia's print Spanish newspapers, online Spanish language newspapers also aggregated the diverse Hispanic community into one imagined audience via their publication of news and events in the Spanish language. By aggregating the diverse Spanish-speaking community into one homogenous imagined Hispanic community based on a shared language, in addition to culture,

and shared experiences, online newspapers continued to reflect the community in a way that mainstream media could not.

Both generations also emphasised the importance of the use of the Spanish language in community ethnic media, as individuals could imagine themselves being part of a wider, global, Spanish-speaking community. For survey respondents, a common language connected them to other community members and was the basis in which newspaper producers and consumers expressed and maintained the community's online identity. This finding is similar to Vermeulen's (2006) claim in that migrant's desire to socialise with others who speak the same language even though they have never met. Moreover, for interview respondents such as Gabriela*, journalist (P8-I) and David*, editor (P7-I) reporting and writing for the online Hispanic audience in the Spanish language created the sense of unimaginable connectedness with an infinite number of members from the Hispanic world. Overall, these findings confirm Ríos (2000) and Cortés' (1987) results in their analyses of Spanish language media in the United States, in that Australia's online Spanish language newspapers maintained and transmitted the Spanish language and simultaneously enhanced the Hispanic community's pride as a migrant community.

Although the main language of online newspapers was Spanish, this study found that *The Spanish Herald* and *Noticias y Deportes* also offered their online audiences local, national, and cultural news and information in English. The publication of English language content aimed at Hispanics and non-Hispanics intended to enhance the sensation that these individuals were part of the imagined Hispanic community regardless of their Spanish language proficiency. During her interview, Maria*, journalist (P9-I) further noted that community ethnic media practitioners could not ignore the changing linguistic trajectory that was occurring within the Hispanic community. She stated that:

Con los años, nos dimos cuenta que el nivel del idioma español de algunos de los hijos de los hablantes nativos no era tan bueno como el de los otros chicos, y sabemos que el futuro de la comunidad está en sus manos. Con el personal del periódico, hablamos y reflexionamos sobre el futuro y decidimos que teníamos que publicar noticias y eventos en inglés, y eso es lo que hicimos. Por lo tanto, comenzamos a publicar secciones en inglés.

Como resultado, hemos recibido muchos correos electrónicos por parte de los padres agradeciéndonos porque ahora sus hijos y nietos pueden leer noticias y eventos en inglés. Esta es nuestra forma para hacer que todos se sienten cómodos con quienes son y que no se sienten separados de la comunidad debido a su nivel de español.

[Over the years, we noticed that the Spanish language skills of some of the children of native Spanish speakers were not as good as those of other children, and we know that the future of the community is in their hands. With newspaper staff, we talked and we reflected on the future and we decided that we needed to publish news and events in English and that is what we did. So, we started publishing sections in English. As a result, we received many emails from parents thanking us as now their children and grandchildren can read news and events in English. This is our way of making everyone feel comfortable with who they are and that they do not feel separated from the community because of their level of Spanish.]

For other interviewees, providing content in both the dominant and community language was a representation of how dynamic the multicultural Australian identity is, and was a positive sign which showed how the industry is keeping up with the times. Bearing this factor in mind, newspaper analysis of *Noticias y Deportes* showed the following five English webpages: (1) community events, (2) news and events from New South Wales, (3) news from Melbourne, (4) Footscray Community Arts news, and (5) Crime Stopper news. Closer examination also revealed that local and national politicians contributed to the online Hispanic mediasphere by publishing media releases into abolishing the carbon tax, smoke-free dining in restaurants, petitions to save Medicare, and the Mayor of Fairfield taking on the Ice Bucket Challenge. These various webpages demonstrated the community focus of *Noticias y Deportes*.



Figure 7.3

English Community Events Webpage

Figure 7.3 provides an example of English language content published on October 31, 2014, on *Noticias y Deportes'* website. The two events discussed the ANZAC day services — held annually on April 25th —, and an annual morning tea fundraiser for breast cancer awareness (*Noticias y Deportes*, October 31, 2014). For interviewees such as Jaime*, journalist (P5-I), the publication of these stories indicated how newspapers aimed to unite the Australian and Hispanic community offline and online.

When survey respondents were asked whether they accessed the English section of Australia's Spanish language online newspapers, 68 per cent from the first generation and 41 per cent from the second generation claimed to do so, as English language content differed to those

published in Spanish. Furthermore, publishing content in English was further evidence of the newspapers' efforts to uphold the notion of community online and maximise their audience by creating an all-inclusive mediasphere.

7.5 Online Newspapers and Their Relationship with Their Public

This study also examined the relationship between online newspapers and their audience. Data found that likewise to their print newspapers, media producers desired that their online audience communicate with their newspapers and with each other. Interviewees also talked at length about how their online media-audience relationship was another means to ensure their publication's sustainability. Conveying this view, interview respondent Silvia*, journalist (P6-I) noted that:

Necesitamos ser dinámicos en todas las áreas para atender a nuestros lectores y tener una presencia en el mundo real y digital.

[We need to be dynamic in all areas to cater to our audience and have presences in the real and digital world.]

Similar to this study's print newspaper findings, the online audience of Spanish newspapers were also not passive readers, and were a source of information and feedback. Newspaper analysis showed that online newspapers allowed for communication with their audience via email, online forums, and online guest books. This study uncovered that newspapers' audience had corrected, for instance, errors they found in both traditional and online newspaper articles and voiced their views on local and international news and current affairs. For example, an online newspaper analysis of *Noticias y Deportes* discovered that on August 19, 2014, a reader named Victor Favieri wrote to the newspaper concerning a grammatical error that he found published in an article from their print newspaper on July 31, 2014. He wrote:

Sr editor... el 31/7/2014..aparecio pagine [sic] 25 un comentario sobre los "afrodescendientes", para querer aclarar... "Los" y "la" afrodescendientes, deseo llamarle la atención que el artículo "lo" es neutro, no tiene ni genero ni número, por lo tando [sic], cuando dice los

afrodescendientes están incluidos hombres y mujeres, o sea, todos... Gracias Víctor Favieri Australia... { soy un ferviente lector de noticias y deportes por mucho anos [sic], desde el principio...gracias...

[Mr. editor... on the 31/7/2014..appeared on page 25 a comment regarding the “Afro-descendants”, to clarify... “the” (masculine, singular) and “the” (feminine, singular) Afro-descendants, I wish to draw your attention that the article “it” is neutral, has neither gender nor number, thus, when it says the Afro-descendants, this includes men and women, that is, everyone... Thank you, Victor Favieri Australia... { I am a fervent reader of news and sports for many years, since the beginning... thank you...]

The above comment reveals that Victor accessed both the online and print newspapers of *Noticias y Deportes*, but more so, he accessed the online discursive arena to voice his concern about a news article whilst at the same time showing his support towards them.

Further newspaper analysis discovered that, for example, *Noticias y Deportes’* online guest book titled ‘*Carta del Lector*’ [Reader’s letter] received messages of support from numerous organisations and individuals, such as the Uruguayan Consulate in Sydney, the Editor of Uruguay’s daily mainstream newspaper, *El País*, and Hispanics from Australia, Europe, New Zealand, and South America. This shows how the internet appears to be removing national boundaries and allowing ‘national’ diasporas to come together. Thus, it can be said that as there is a lack of physical, face-to-face contact, the imagined online communities of diasporas such as the Hispanic community across the internet are stronger, more visible to other Spanish-speakers. Further data analysis reveals that during 2014, various Hispanic community organisations across Australia showed their support for the online platform of Spanish language media by writing the following comments on the newspaper’s online guestbook.

Nuestro agradecimiento, continúa siendo eterno hacia ustedes, toda vez que vuestra ayuda, es sumamente necesaria para nuestra comunidad Incondicionalmente “Grupo de Apoyo” Club Uruguayo de Melbourne (Daniel Lagos — April 24, 2014).

[Our thanks, continues to be eternal towards you, every time that you help, it is extremely necessary for our community sincerely, “Support group” Uruguayan Club of Melbourne (Daniel Lagos - April 24, 2014)]

El Grupo de Apoyo 2014 del Club Social Uruguayo de Melbourne, continúa repitiendo en cada mensaje: “GRACIAS”, por la publicidad que involucre desde ustedes, cada uno de nuestros eventos (Daniel Lagos — July 17, 2014).

[The Support Group 2014 of the Uruguayan Social Club of Melbourne continues repeating in each message: “THANK YOU,” for your involvement in publishing each one of our events (Daniel Lagos – July 17, 2014.)]

Sunshine Spanish Community Radio Inc.... felicita the Hispanoamerican Newspaper Noticias y Deportes por su constante apoyo a nuestra comunidad latinoamericana desde su comienzo 1974 hasta la fecha! Genial! Incondicionalmente Sunshine Radio!! (F6WZ - August 10, 2014).

[Sunshine Spanish Community Radio Inc... congratulates the Hispanoamerican Newspaper *Noticias y Deportes* for their constant support to our Latin American community since it began in 1974 to the present! Great! Unconditionally Sunshine Radio! (F6WZ - August 10, 2014.)]

Furthermore, interview respondents such as Gabriela*, journalist (P8-I) reported that these messages of gratitude were a result of online Spanish language newspapers providing the Hispanic community and its organisations with higher visibility in the online Hispanic sphere. Findings also uncovered that individual Hispanics also showed their support, thanking the newspapers such as *Noticias y Deportes* for their online outlet. For instance, a newspaper consumer named Nadja wrote on August 26, 2014:

Felicitaciones, Noticias y Deportes, siempre informando a la comunidad, y ahora con el diario digital, además con los excelentes reporteros que Uds. tienen. Muchas gracias.

[Congratulations, *Noticias y Deportes*, always informing the community and now with a digital newspaper, in addition to the excellent reporters that you all have. Many thanks.]

On August 4, 2014, another reader wrote:

Agradable sorpresa al encontrar estas interesantes páginas.... felicitaciones Oscar Marín.

[Pleasant surprise to find these interesting pages... congratulations Oscar Marín.]

These comments show that many Hispanic Australians wished to remain in contact with the Hispanic Australian sphere and for some individuals, their access to an online platform was valued as a number of individuals could not obtain the print edition in their area. As seen in the subsequent online comment.

Para mí, personalmente fue una alegría poder contactarme por este medio porque, en la zona que vivo se hace difícil conseguir el diario.

[For me, personally, it was a joy to be able to connect through this medium because, in the area that I live, it is difficult to obtain the newspaper.]

This reader's comment demonstrates the instrumental value of how an online community ethnic media outlet can connect individuals back to the community and validate their sense of belonging to an imagined community. Moreover, data analysis showed that transnational Hispanics readers also expressed their thanks and support to Australia's online Spanish language newspapers as their online hubs allowed them to remain updated with news and events occurring in Australia. These findings also show that newspapers have a local and global audience in which online platforms were considered as preponderant conduits which united Hispanics worldwide, and allowed them to be 'here' and 'there.' Furthermore, for those Hispanics residing in Australia and abroad who could not obtain a print copy, their access to online community ethnic media fulfilled their desire for in-group news and information. In sum, digital communication technologies played a role, which print newspapers could not do. This role was to perform the role as a digital archive and reconnect community ethnic media back with members of the imagined Hispanic community around the world in places and spaces previously unimagined.

Data analysis also found that *Noticias y Deportes* adopted the use of an anonymous online voting poll during the developmental stages of its website⁵⁶. Interview respondent Maria*, journalist (P9-I) shared that the newspaper wanted their audiences' thoughts and opinions about how this website could be improved to better cater to the community's needs. She further added that:

Las encuestas decían 'genial' y 'fantástico', eso realmente dio el periódico una inyección de confianza.

[The polls were saying 'great' and 'fantastic,' that really gave the newspaper a confidence boost.]

In alignment with the findings of Balnaves et al., (2004), this study found that *Noticias y Deportes* encouraged the community to play a more participatory role via its page titled *Sociales* [Social.] Survey respondents indicated how this page allowed for interactive journalism, thus ensuring a strong sense of belonging and community spirit. This page encouraged the online Hispanic community to participate in the Hispanic mediasphere by sharing their photos and stories of special life events such as births, birthdays, graduations, weddings, and family reunions (see Figure 7.4).

⁵⁶ Individuals could anonymously vote by choosing from: "*Fantástico*" [Fantastic], "*Genial*" [Great], to "*No está mal*" [It is not too bad.]



Figure 7.4

Noticias y Deportes Sociales Webpage

The above figure is one such example of how two members of the Hispanic community participated in the online Hispanic mediasphere by sharing the birth of their children with other members of the community (*Noticias y Deportes*, August 1, 2014). With regards to interactive journalism, 37 per cent of all survey respondents stated that they had shared family and community events at least once with an online newspaper. Confirming Carlin (2009) and Anderson's (1991) findings, digital communication technologies have become more people orientated by redefining and repositioning the relationship between newspapers and their audience. This space played an important role, not only by publishing news, but by enhancing their sense of belonging to a united, imagined Hispanic community where individuals could temporarily participate in events across time and space with other community members through the ritual of reading.

7.6 Transnational Newspaper Consumption

This study also examined whether survey and interview respondents accessed transnational newspapers and if this access influenced their online community ethnic media production and consumption. Similar to Bonini's (2011) and Naficy's (1993) results, 78 percent of first generation respondents accessed Spanish language media from their native country as they wished to remain updated with news and events. Transnational Spanish language media played two key roles for first and second generation respondents. First, it enhanced a sense of belonging to the Spanish-speaking sphere via the access of in-group specific news and information in Spanish in real time. Second, transnational media assisted respondents in maintaining the Spanish language, as it was another medium, which updated them with the modernisation of lexical terms in Spanish. Hence, their access to transnational media was a validation of both generations' desire to connect to the Hispanic world via the access of in-group news and information despite their physical, geographical, and cultural distance.

The popularity of online transnational media for both generations was due to its: (1) 24/7 access to news and information, (2) cost (i.e. free), and (3) importance for linguistic and cultural maintenance. First generation survey respondents reported frequently reading mainstream dailies such as *La Nación*, and *Clarín* (Argentina), *El Comercio* (Peru), *El País*, *El Mundo*, and *La Vanguardia* (Spain), *El País* (Uruguay) and news websites respondents accessed in Spanish included *BBC-Español*, *CNN-Español*, *Deutsche Welle-Latinoamérica*, *Euronews*, *Yahoo-Argentina*, *España*, and *Mexico* on average three times per week. They also mentioned reading national and transnational English language newspapers such as *The Australian* and *The Age* (Australia), *The New York Times* (USA), *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* (UK). This finding is highlighted in a survey response by Sebastian* (P39-S), a first generation Chilean respondent from Melbourne. Sebastian* indicated that he obtained Spanish news from SBS radio and television, and read *El Mercurio* (Chile's national daily newspaper) daily on his computer but no longer accessed Spanish newspapers from Australia. In his survey response, he wrote:

Sigo siendo chileno. No leo los periódicos españoles de Australia porque publican noticias viejas y aburridas incluso en línea, así que por esas razones no me molesto en leerlos.

[I am still Chilean. I do not read the Spanish newspapers from Australia because they publish old and boring news even online so I do not even bother reading them.]

For this respondent like many others in this study, their preference to access in-group specific media from their native country in addition to other countries is indicative that Australia's Spanish language press failed to provide some community members with the news that they were after. In terms of transnational newspaper consumption for media practitioners, interviewees reported accessing transnational newspapers to: (1) remain updated on news from the Hispanic world, and (2) to obtain news content for their own newspapers. Transnational media was a quintessential marker for their identity and a validation of their access to news and information despite their geographical and cultural distance from their country of origin.

Despite the first generation residing in Australia for many years, transnational media assisted them in their conceptualisation of their country of origin in terms of accessing and sharing culture, news, and experiences with other Hispanics. While some scholars have argued the online environment is leading to a fragmentation of public sphere(s), this thesis suggests that in the case of the Spanish community, it is re-connecting families and migrants. Moreover, it is establishing, sustaining, and strengthening the Spanish transnational public sphere.

Likewise to the first generation, the second generation also consumed mainstream Spanish language newspapers such as *Clarín* and *La Nación* (Argentina), *El Mercurio* (Chile), *ABC España* and *El País* (Spain), and news from websites in Spanish such as *Yahoo*, *BBC*, and *CNN* on average once per week. This generation also reported reading national and transnational English language newspapers such as *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Age*, *The Australian*, *The Guardian* (UK), and *The New York Times* (USA).

Survey data revealed that first generation Brisbane respondents (82%) consumed more transnational media than Melbourne (75%) and Sydney (72%). This slightly higher number was due to two reasons: (1) the absence of the Brisbane community in Spanish language publications, and (2) they preferred to access transnational news and information instantly. For example, first generation Peruvian respondent Nancy* (P21-S) from Brisbane expressed that:

Leo las noticias de los sitios extranjeros para mantenerme al día con las noticias de mi país, Perú, y del todo el mundo. Al leer el diario en el internet, me permite viajar a mi país sin salir de Australia.

[I read news from overseas sites daily to stay up-to-date with news from my country, Peru, and the world. By reading the newspapers on the internet, it allows me to travel back to my home country without leaving Australia.]

As for the second generation, slightly more from Brisbane (37 per cent) consumed transnational media than did respondents from Melbourne (32%), and Sydney (28%). A downside noted by the majority of survey respondents (71 percent of total) was that transnational media did not provide the Hispanic Australian community with Hispanic Australian community news and information. They mentioned that if they desired specific community news and information, Australia's Spanish language print and online newspapers filled that niche.

Data also found that the increased availability of online community and transnational Spanish language media for first generation (69%) and second generation (25%) respondents decreased their desire to engage in Australian mainstream English media. Furthermore, this reduced consumption was due to transnational media outlets disseminating news, which mainstream Australian media, did not broadcast, or publish. Therefore, this study's findings were indicative that transnational media played a crucial role in satisfying both survey and interview respondents' desire for news in English and Spanish. This study uncovered that the overall access and popularity of transnational media for this study's respondents were similar to Appadurai's (1998) results, in that digital communication technologies transformed invisible national communities into one transnational sphere. Thus, transnational media had extended the idea of individuals sensing that they belonged to a greater global homogenous imagined Hispanic community. Nonetheless, as transnational media primarily focuses on news and events occurring in Spanish-speaking nations, it failed to contribute to making a sense of place in Australia.

7.7 Social Networking Sites

In alignment with Coles and West (2016) and Gruzd et al., (2011) this study revealed that social networking sites acted as community builders, focusing on virtual or online networking which thus led to the extension of imagined communities. The instrumental value of social media in community language and solidarity permitted media producers and survey respondents to develop, maintain, and recreate social networks via newspapers and the Spanish language. Likewise to Johnson's (2000) findings, for interview respondents, social networking sites did not aim to create a community, yet they were tools which maintained, promoted expanded the notion of community.

This study found that *El Español en Australia, Extra Informativo, Noticias y Deportes*, and *The Spanish Herald* had also incorporated social networking sites such as Facebook, Google+, and Twitter. Interviews also revealed that community ethnic media could not ignore the popularity of social networking sites and thus, their newspapers reflected their audiences changing media ecologies by adopting and joining them on social media. Data discovered that 63 per cent of first generation and 48 per cent of second generation respondents liked these newspapers' Facebook pages and followed them on Twitter. Interview data confirmed this study's survey results in that their social media audience was aged between 25 to 70 years. Survey data also showed that for survey respondents, their use of these sites performed overlapping roles such as removing the sensation of rootlessness, relieving nostalgia, creating a bond between their native and heritage country, and maintaining the community language and culture.

When asked how community ethnic newspapers used social networking sites, interviewees such as Pablo*, editor (P12-I) replied that these social networking sites allowed them to report on breaking news and important events, find leads for stories via social media, and organise tasks with journalists and collaborators residing abroad. For both generations of survey respondents, social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter developed, maintained, and recreated new outlets for them to participate in, and were preponderant conduits that united Hispanics worldwide into one community despite their national, linguistic, and cultural differences. These sites further provided respondents with another space in which this migrant community voiced,

published, and accessed in-group specific news and events. The frequency of posting on social networking was another factor media producers considered when they delivered news content to their audience (see Figure 7.5).

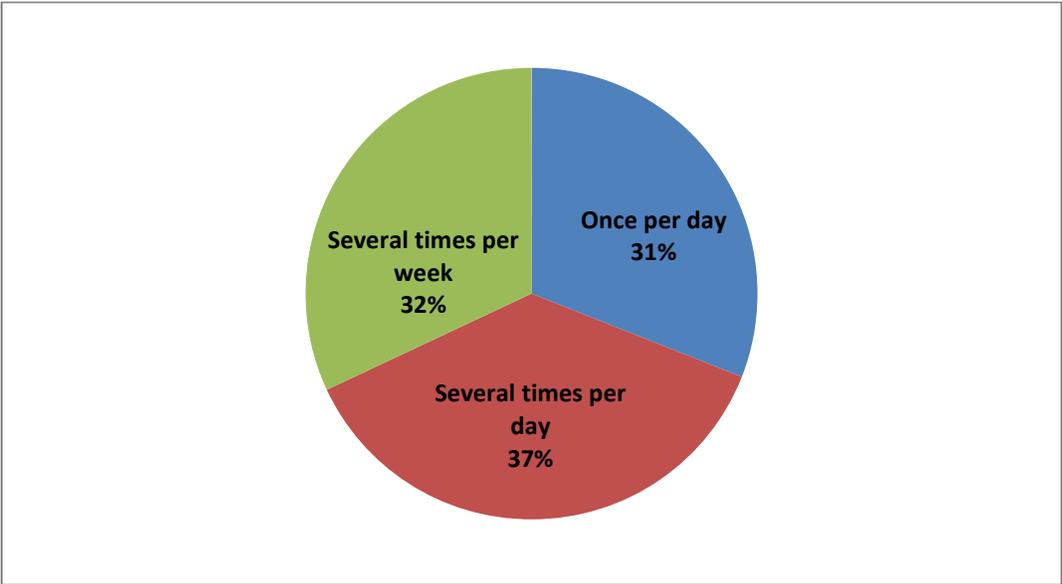


Figure 7.5

Frequency of Posting on Social Networking Sites

The above figure shows that most Spanish language newspapers were primarily posting several times per day (37%), closely followed by several times per week (32%), and once per day (31%). The advantages of posting on social media were due to its ease and rapidness, in addition to being free. For example, Diego*, editor (P3-I) also informed that his newspaper’s Facebook page featured daily posts and that they notified their followers that a new online edition of their newspaper was available. For instance, 37 per cent of first generation and 12 percent of second generation respondents claimed to have read information that community ethnic newspapers posted on Facebook - such as local, national, and international news and events. Facebook — as a source of news — far outstripped other social media applications. According to Daniel*, editor (P10-I), this was largely due to Facebook’s popularity and larger user base compared to other social media platforms and the fact that most of its users obtain news from it.

However, like Thottam's (1999) statement, this study found that although print newspapers promoted their online outlets throughout their print pages, their websites and their social networking accounts did not persuade readers to access their print editions. Despite this finding, data showed that the webpages and social media accounts of community ethnic newspapers were a sign of their investment in the community. Similar to the online forums and guest books of online newspapers, this study uncovered that positive images of the community were made by the first early posts of new members, showing the warm and hopeful network of the Hispanic community.

Apart from the newspapers communicative role of delivering news, according to interview respondents such as Daniel*, editor (P10-I) social media positively impacted the media-audience relationship as it permitted both generations to virtually participate and share news and information not only from Australia's Spanish language press, but that of other social and cultural pillars. Data showed that social networking sites allowed newspapers to publish community news, results of Spanish and Latin American club elections, and stories of upcoming Australian and Hispanic social and cultural events across Australia.

Interview respondent Gabriela*, journalist (P8-I) also stated that social networking sites were being used for social good. That is, ethnic media were not only used for disseminating news and cultural and social events via social media, but were another tool to engage their audiences to raise awareness and support to the wider local, and international Hispanic and global community the community. For instance, by donating items or raising funds for local community Hispanic organisations, impoverished schools in Latin America, for disaster relief (the 2010 Haiti Earthquake), and to aid families who were experiencing financial difficulty to pay for medical operations. Moreover, data analysis confirmed Gabriela's* statement, finding that newspapers provided real-time updates on the progress of these campaigns, reaffirmed how their donations would be used, indicated on how far away an individual's or non-for-profit organisation were from meeting their goals, and thanked donors and volunteers for their contribution. This finding clearly illustrates how community ethnic media use of social media created awareness for greater community causes and forged a sense of solidarity and connectedness with others from the wider community.

Data revealed that social networking sites also provided newspapers and community members with the opportunity to interact with others without ever meeting, and more so, gave individuals the tools to further enhance the sense of community without being co-located. Interviewees confirmed this stating that their audiences interacted with them more on a social and familial level compared to their print periodicals. For instance, Figure 7.6 from May 2015 is an example of how an audience member participated in the online Hispanic social mediasphere, stating in English that an International Tango and Social Dance Milonga would take place at the Polish Club in Ashfield, New South Wales. This Facebook user posted the following message:

Dear Hispanoamerican Newspaper, Fans, Colleagues and Readers.

Hope that you are well and in good health. Attached and below are the particulars for the International Tango and Social Dance Milonga event which I am organising *el Sabado 20 de Junio* [Saturday, June 20] at the Polish Club en Ashfield and it would be greatly appreciated if you could assist us to spread the word out across to your various social networks, colleagues, and relatives. *Muchas Gracias!* [Many Thanks] International Tango Show & Social Dance.



Figure 7.6

Noticias y Deportes Facebook Page

The above figure illustrates how a member of the community advertised a popular Latin American and Spanish music and dance event with the aim of connecting other members of the online, imagined Hispanic community to their past identities. This figure also shows how social media such as Facebook, have been revolutionary in how individuals socialise, as it allowed

members of the online imagined community to mirror the local character of community ethnic media, and engage with others by posting their own content on a community ethnic newspaper's page to create a stronger sense of community. It can be seen how similar to Anderson's (1983) imagined community for print media how shared symbols (for instance, language, and common interests) forge a sense of community for individuals via social media.

What can also be noted is how social media such as Facebook, had a different structure to that of traditional newspaper media as members of Facebook can function as content producers and reproducers of collective memory. This is even more evident when community ethnic newspapers encouraged their audience to contribute to creating a stronger sense of community by interacting, commenting, engaging and sharing a valuable commodity (i.e. content) with others members of the imagined Hispanic community and with their online social network.

Second generation Brisbane respondent Luisa* (P125-S) of Chilean heritage shared that she followed Australia's Spanish language newspapers on Facebook and frequently commented on their posts and retweeted their news. She reflected how she enjoyed this imagined social and communicative connection with media as she was able to participate in conversations with members of diverse Spanish-speaking nationalities from Australia and abroad who she had never met physically. This finding shows that despite the asymmetric nature of Twitter, it allowed users such as Luisa* to interact with other community members by following or retweeting what the newspapers or users have published, thus permitting for social bonds and connections to be developed.

For interview respondents, social media was a strategic and beneficial two-way communication platform where newspapers and their public virtually communicated with one another. For example, social media sites such as Facebook allowed the newspapers to receive comments and feedback and allowed them to learn more about their audiences. For example, *Noticias y Deportes'* introduced a Facebook plug-in to their webpage, which also performed as a discursive arena. Newspaper analysis uncovered that on April 16, 2014, Marisa a transnational reader from Uruguay posted via this plug-in the following comment:

Muchas gracias por enviarme el periódico online. En realidad es una maravilla que la deseaba hace tiempo y me tomó por sorpresa el recibirlo. Nuevamente gracias y adelante, como siempre!!!

[Many thanks for sending me the periodical online. In reality, it is wonderful, that I wished for some time and it took me by surprise when I received it. Thanks again and keep going as always!!!.]

Marisa's comment demonstrates the instrumental value social networking sites have in reconnecting individuals and enhancing a sense of belonging back to the community and allowing them to express that. The consumption of community ethnic media via social networking sites by individuals residing abroad was indicative of changes occurring in their readership. When asked about responding to comments posted via social media, 78 per cent of interviewees stated that they replied to most of their social media comments. Moreover, they emphasised that a failure to respond to their public was bad business practice, as community ethnic media represents the needs and interests of the community. Therefore, the popularity of social media platforms has given rise to new and instant forms of community ethnic communication and participation by media producers and consumers and has also enhanced the visibility and experiences of the Spanish-speaking community in the social networking sphere.

Data also revealed that social media reshaped respondents' morning news routines. This study found that first generation respondents primarily accessed news via the physical newspaper, followed by accessing news via digital communication technologies. In contrast, digital communication technologies and social media were the second generations' first sources of daily news. Compared to previous decades where individuals read physical newspapers, younger respondents accessed news first thing in the morning via social media.

7.8 Online Advertising as a Social Instrument

This study explored the advent of digital communication technologies and the impact of online advertising in community ethnic media. Contrary to Matsaganis et al., (2011) findings, online

advertising was not the online newspapers' main source of income as these pages contained few to no advertisements. As interview respondent David*, editor (P7-I) discussed during his interview:

Mi modelo para mi negocio es lo siguiente. Primero la comunidad, y después, la publicidad. Mi modelo no es como los de los principales periódicos que piensan primero en el dinero y después su diario.

[My business model is the following. First, the community, and then advertising. My model is not like those of mainstream newspapers who first think about advertising money and then about their newspaper.]

Similar to this respondent's statement, other interviewees mentioned that news was a service to readers rather than a means to generate profit. Reflecting on this subject, interview respondent Manuel*, journalist (P11-I) expressed his view that:

Muchos creen que la publicidad en línea es rentable, pero no es para muchos periódicos étnicos en este momento.

[Many believe that online advertising is profitable, but it is not for many ethnic newspapers now.]

Findings showed that the overall presence of advertisements in online Spanish language newspapers accounted for 25 percent, whilst the remaining 75 per cent was news and information. Newspaper analysis revealed that *Noticias y Deportes* and *Radio Austral's* websites featured advertisements from travel agents, lawyers, accountants, optometrists, restaurants, dentists, food stores, and different community organisations promoting events (see Figure 7.7).



Figure 7.7

Advertisement Page of *Noticias y Deportes*

Figure 7.7 from *Noticias y Deportes* (May 5, 2014) shows the array of advertisements from tourist agencies, dentists, health practitioners, and an Argentinean social club celebrating Argentina's Independence Day. Interviewees expressed that despite the low number of online advertisements compared to those in Australian mainstream media, the advantage community ethnic media had was that their advertisements specifically targeted the Hispanic community.

First generation (21%) and second generation (7%) respondents claimed that online advertisements filled a niche, as these connected respondents back to the community. Emily*, a first generation Spaniard from Sydney (P80-S) expressed this point when she commented that:

Leo el diario para ver que fiestas habrá en el futuro. De ese modo puedo ir y llevar mis nietos y amigos y podemos pasar un rato juntos.

[I read the newspaper to see the events are happening in the future. In that way, I can go a take my grandchildren and friends and we can spend some time together.]

Similarly, survey respondent Kevin* (P100-S) a first generation Cuban from Brisbane stated:

Para personas como yo que no hablan bien el inglés, estas publicidades ayudan muchísimo. A través de estos puedo encontrar dentistas, abogados, inmobiliarias etc., que hablan español.

[For people like me who do not speak English well, these advertisements help a lot. Through these advertisements, I can find dentists, lawyers, realtors, etc., who speak Spanish.]

For these two respondents, online advertisements of businesses and social and cultural events in Spanish connected the online world to the offline world in places and spaces where individuals could further maintain and promote the community language and culture with their social network. As this thesis indicated in Chapter 2, the Hispanic community in Australia comprises of individuals of 21 different nationalities, and as a result, online newspapers published events catering to various Spanish-speaking nationalities that co-exist within Australia's Spanish-speaking community. These groups displayed their identity in various manners through their photos of upcoming music concerts, charity events, art exhibitions, religious holidays, culinary, film and dance festivals such as the Culinary Carnival.

7.9 Social Networks and Technology

The role of social networks examined whether they influenced survey respondents' consumption of online community newspapers. Similar to Elias and Lemish's (2011) results, this study uncovered that the social network of survey respondents was an important factor in their consumption of online community ethnic newspapers. First generation (33%) and second generation (19%) respondents stated that family and friends had recommended Australia's online Spanish language newspapers to them. Many indicated that their social network did so as a means

for respondents to remain connected and updated on Hispanic Australian news and social events, and was another vehicle to maintain the Spanish language and culture. To illustrate this finding, Joseph*, a second generation Spaniard from Brisbane (P14-S) wrote in his survey that:

My Latin friends told me about the Spanish newspaper webpages because I wanted to learn a lot more about other Latin American cultures and social events in Brisbane. They told me which ones they read, so now we are all reading them.

This comment confirms Horst's (2010) findings that for this respondent (Joseph*) his social network's knowledge of online Spanish language newspapers also allowed him to find another place to belong, bond, and learn about his heritage language, culture, and friends.

Survey results were also congruent with Law (2013) and Jurva and Jayam (2008) in that respondents' multi-choice media practices provided topics for discussion with their online social network. It is here where the proliferation of digital communication technologies and an individual's social network had two effects. The first effect was that respondents' media practices allowed them to maintain and reinforce their community language and culture whilst creating and maintaining connections to their social network and community. The second effect was that respondents could interact with other Spanish speakers, thus expanding their Spanish language social network across physical and virtual spheres.

7.10 The Future of Australia's Community Ethnic Press

As explained in Chapter 3, the worldwide mediascape has experienced a technological and industrial transformation. Yet, the overall future of journalism remains uncertain as digital communication technologies and social networking sites have challenged print and online journalism to reinvent itself. Community ethnic media has been caught in a technology trap where digital communication technologies and social media are taking their audience, diminishing its profits, and changing consumers' media ecologies. Yet, community ethnic media remain able to serve a niche audience by publishing distinctive news and information.

As for the future for community ethnic newspapers, interviewees mentioned six factors. These factors included: (1) aging readership, (2) changes in their audiences' media ecologies, (3) linguistic proficiency of their audience, (4) advancements in technology, (5) transnational media, (6) online advertising, and (7) migration. Population growth is central to the success of community ethnic media. Interview respondents such as David*, editor (P7-I) mentioned that population growth in terms of new migrants settling in Australia has greatly influenced the trends of the ethnic media. This respondent continued stating that older migrant communities such as the Greek and Italian were experiencing a decline in newspaper audience numbers as migration from these countries to Australia has declined considerably. However, for the Hispanic community, there is still much interest from the Spanish-speaking world to migrate Australia. Overall, data showed that this continued migration flow from the Spanish-speaking world benefits Spanish language newspapers as they continue to cater to a first generation audience.

In terms of newspaper format, over half of interview respondents proffered that in the near future, community ethnic print media would have no choice but to utilise a cross-media platform if they wished to remain in the community ethnic mediasphere and service the community. However, other interviewees stated that online newspapers were a complement to, and not a substitute for, print newspapers. On this topic, interview respondent Diego*, editor (P3-I) articulated that:

Debemos tener en cuenta y aplicar múltiples plataformas para mantener y aumentar una audiencia nacional y mundial. No creo que por el momento que la tecnología va a sustituir completamente nuestros medios impresos porque todavía muchos de nuestros lectores prefieren el diario impreso.

[We must consider and implement multiple platforms to maintain and augment a national and global readership. I do not believe that technology will completely substitute our print media anytime soon because many of our readers still prefer print newspapers.]

Overall, this respondent's comment reflects how cross-media platforms were quintessential not only for the survivability of their business, but in connecting with dispersed members of their community with their newspaper's, and with each other. Despite some survey respondents'

preference for print periodicals, interviewees acknowledged that the younger generation wants and are accustomed to obtaining most of their news via digital communication technologies. They stated that in the future the act of reading news and information from the physical newspaper will vanish and that individuals will instead be obtaining and reading news and information via digital communication technologies and smartphones. Upon discussion of this topic, interview respondent Mariano*, journalist (P1-I) stated:

Ahora, las personas no tienen que ir a buscar la noticia, la noticia llega directamente a ellos 24/7 por email, Facebook o simplemente por acceder la página del diario de la web. Si la gente ya está acostumbrada a esto, entonces ¿cuáles son las posibilidades de que alguien recoge un ejemplar del periódico impreso? La probabilidad es muy baja... así que esto ha afectado todo el campo de los medios impresos.

[Now, people do not have to go to collect the news, news comes directly to them 24/7 via email, Facebook, or simply by accessing the newspaper from their website. If people are now accustomed to this, then what are the chances of someone picking up a copy of the print newspaper? The probability is very low... so this has affected the whole print media industry.]

This respondent's comment indicates that individuals are accessing online news through computers and mobile devices via a variety of platforms such as social media and shows that these practices are integrated into the everyday lives of individuals, as news is always on for anyone today who has a device with which enables an internet connection. Moreover, the meteoric rise of social media has resulted in a new, younger generation of news readers who read news delivered in 140 characters or less. Interviewees such as Pablo*, editor (P12-I) attributed this reading change to the fact that millennials may not have the attention span to read long articles in English and even less in Spanish. Thus, media producers were aware of their need to adjust and embrace emerging technologies and provide shorter news content because if they fail to do so, these readers will ultimately prefer other types of media which cater to their needs.

Despite the array of news available online, interviewees stated that online news was to remain free, as they had no intention to introduce a digital paywall system or paid subscription to

access specific content. Moreover, as their online newspapers were already offering news and information to their public for free, they saw no need to change this. Interviewees did acknowledge however that their adoption of a free model might negatively affect them financially in the future. They acknowledge that charging for content may ultimately make sense financially as news is a valuable commodity and consumers will respect it more if they have to pay for it.

For media producers, the before-mentioned factors point to the fact that building and maintaining close relationships with their audience and investing and harnessing in technology rather than being controlled by it, reinforces community ethnic media's civic role. Nevertheless, this study found that there is still a need for the physical newspaper to be present on newsstands as many individuals continue to pick up, purchase, and talk about news and events published in print media. For the majority of interview and survey respondents, the Hispanic culture and Spanish as a community language in Australia, is for the time being, assured, as Spanish language media is strong and active in both the print and online diasporic mediasphere. As interview respondent Gabriela*, journalist (P8-I) commented:

Hemos sobrevivido porque la gente necesita medios de comunicación y una voz donde puedan recibir noticias e información que no pueden encontrar en ningún otro lado y más en su lengua nativa o segunda lengua. Los diarios étnicos son una necesidad; en caso contrario, nos hubiéramos desaparecido del todo.

[We have survived because people need media and a voice where they can receive news and information that they cannot find anywhere else and more so, in their native or second language. Ethnic newspapers are a necessity; otherwise, we would have disappeared completely.]

On this topic, Mimi* (P15-S), a Colombian survey respondent from Brisbane, communicated her point of view of the present and future of Spanish language newspapers in the diasporic mediasphere:

Los diarios de habla hispana siempre fueron, son, y van a ser diarios para esta generación, y para las próximas. Me da orgullo que con tantos diarios podemos aportar y promover

nuestra lengua, cultura, y tradiciones en Australia, sea con diarios imprimidos o en línea. Estoy segura de que los diarios de habla hispana van a seguir por muchos años más, con todo el apoyo de toda la comunidad de habla hispana.

[Spanish-speaking newspapers always were, are, and will be for this generation, and the next. It gives me pride that with so many newspapers we can contribute and promote our language, culture, and traditions in Australia, whether it be with print or online newspapers. I am sure that Spanish language newspapers will continue for many more years, with the full support of the Spanish-speaking community.]

Overall, findings revealed that despite the geographical dispersion of their readers and the challenges community ethnic media has faced, members of the Hispanic community created print and online Spanish language newspapers as a cultural and linguistic resource for fellow members of the Hispanic community.

Chapter Summary

This final data chapter analysed numerous factors influencing online Spanish language newspapers and their audience in Australia. It examined the emergence of online Spanish language newspaper platforms, and the implications this had on the Hispanic mediasphere and imagined community. This chapter identified six key findings. First, the advent of digital communication technologies resulted in four out of five circulating Spanish language newspapers with a long print publication history in Australia establishing their own online presence via websites and social media for members of the Hispanic Australian community. This allowed them to create a digital communal space, which has challenged mainstream media's hold on catering to an online audience.

Second, the emergence of digital communication technologies permitted community members and community ethnic newspaper professionals to have free, easy, and rapid access to a plethora of news and information for direct consumption. It found that the community ethnic newspapers understood the need to extend beyond traditional platforms by tailoring to their audiences' diverse media ecologies, and linguistic and cultural needs. Despite the positive

implications of technology, *El Español en Australia* did not have an active online presence and this did not affect their business or their readership.

Third, online newspapers functioned similarly to their print counterparts in their creation of a sense of community, belonging, and place. Moreover, their online hubs did not create another imagined community, but extended the pre-existing one. The variety of online media platforms such as websites and social networking sites allowed respondents to extend their sense of belonging to an imagined online community and online media sphere. Digital communication technologies have altered not only how Hispanics communicate with others across time and space, access, and share news and information, but also how they socialise as markers such as a shared language, history, and culture allowed the Hispanic group to act as a community. Fourth, the presence of online Spanish language outlets extended their audience base by catering to a local and overseas audience. These spaces reconnected members of the global Hispanic community back to the Hispanic Australian mediasphere and with others from the community via their desire to access in-group news and information.

Fifth, transnational media consumption was quintessential in aiding individuals in the conceptualisation of their native and heritage country, despite their geographical, physical, linguistic, and cultural distance. The consumption of transnational newspapers assisted in accessing and sharing in-group news, culture, and experiences with others. Finally, this thesis found that the future of the press remains uncertain, yet for the time being, their consumers preferred both print and online newspapers. The next and final chapter of this thesis is the Conclusions chapter. This chapter will respond to the research questions I proposed at the beginning of this thesis. Moreover, it will provide concluding thoughts, and note the limitations of this thesis, in addition to providing recommendations for future research.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

Introduction

This study began by recognising that research on community ethnic newspaper media, but more specifically, Spanish language media newspapers in Australia have remained largely unexamined in the contemporary mediascape. As a significant void exists with regards to research concerning print and online Spanish language newspapers in Australia, this thesis examined how and why first and second generation Hispanics in Australia produce and consume community ethnic newspapers and the influence this has for the Hispanic community in Australia. In this last chapter, I summarise my main research findings, which answer the primary and subordinate research questions I posed at the beginning of this thesis. To answer the research questions, this thesis applies notions such as community ethnic media and the imagined community by examining the interrelated factors influencing print and online media for community ethnic media producers and their audience.

This study addresses this knowledge gap in Australia and with a specific focus on three themes. First, why and how Spanish language newspapers were produced and consumed, and what they achieved in multicultural Australia. Second, how the production and consumption of print and online Australia's Spanish language newspapers influence language, culture, and identity. Third, how print and online Spanish language newspapers represent an imagined community, and contribute to a sense of place and belonging amongst community ethnic media producers and consumers. This last part of this chapter also identifies the original contribution of the findings to knowledge. It proposes that further research should focus on the challenges and success of community ethnic newspapers in forging a sense of community amongst members of a migrant community.

8.1 Research Aims and Questions Revisited

Specific research on the emergence and development of Australia's Spanish language newspapers has remained largely unexamined in the contemporary landscape. In contemporary Australia,

there is a void of research regarding how Hispanic media producers and consumers capitalise on Spanish language newspapers to maintain and transmit not only news and information but, also the Spanish language, culture, and identity. This study also enquired into respondents' reasons for producing and consuming print and online Spanish language newspapers. This thesis aimed to examine this void by examining the processes that drive and impede individuals to produce, consume, and participate in Spanish language newspapers.

By this thesis reviewing national and international literature on Australia's Spanish-speaking community, community ethnic media, technology, language, and identity maintenance, it thus indicated key gaps in the literature review that were used to create questions on which a community survey, newspaper analysis, and semi-structured interviews were based. Together, the triangulation of the literature review and analyses of responses from the data collection instruments enabled this research to answer the primary research question: How have Spanish language newspapers influenced language and culture in the Hispanic Australian community? In addition, three subordinate questions supported the primary research question:

1. How and why did the Spanish language press develop and evolve in Australia?
2. What factors influence print Spanish language newspapers in Australia and how do Spanish language newspapers create a sense of place and imaginary?
3. What factors influence online Spanish language newspapers in Australia and how do Spanish language newspapers create a sense of place and imaginary?

The following section contains the answers to these questions that guide this thesis.

8.2 Summary of Research Findings

8.2.1 The Emergence and Development of Australia's Spanish Language Newspapers

To understand the emergence of Australia's Spanish-speaking community and its institutions such as Spanish language media, this research shows that Australia allowed migrants to establish their

own space to obtain news and information to assimilate into Australia. In alignment with García (2002), the findings of this study reveal that most Spaniards migrated to Australia during the 1960s under a Spanish and Australian government supported scheme known as, *Operación Canguro*. This study notes that approximately 20,000 Spaniards migrated to Australia under this scheme to work in labour-intensive sectors of Australia. Some Spaniards who migrated were journalists who later established or found employment in media.

Furthermore, data shows that the Spanish migration experience involved various structural and emotional losses and experiences. That is, family, a familiar society, language, social structures, and support networks. This research explains that during the 1960s, Spaniards wished to remain in contact with Spain as many had nostalgia for home and experienced slow and expensive communication. Due to these factors, many migrants depended on their social network, which at the time was important for socialising and exchanging news and information with other migrants about their home country and Australia.

This thesis supports García's (2002) findings by also revealing that Spanish migrants are the first builders of the Spanish institutions, which were Spanish clubs. This thesis suggests that Australia's early Spanish clubs were somewhat similar to Habermas' coffee houses where the Spanish community wished to have their own communal space and place to promote and maintain the Spanish language, culture, and identity and discuss news and events. The rise of Spanish clubs across Australia is a clear sign that the Spanish community developed spaces which gave community members the sensation of being 'here' in Australia and 'there' in Spain. However, this thesis uncovers that clubs did not fully meet the informational needs that Spanish migrants needed in order to settle down in their new country.

Like Najdovski's (1997) and Grassby's (1983) results, linguistic deficiency, cultural differences, and lack of information are hurdles that many migrants such as the Spanish-speaking community encounter in Australia. In order to fill these voids, this thesis reveals that Spanish journalists, consulate staff, and Catholic priests established Spanish language newsletters. This data indicates that Spanish language print newsletters established by Spanish migrants are evidence of the commencement of a Spanish and diasporic mediasphere in Australia. In addition,

these newsletters were the first forms of Spanish language community ethnic media, which aimed to create a sense of imaginary, belonging, and place. Moreover, Spanish newsletters were the first stepping-stones, which paved the way for the creation and long-term establishment of other forms of Spanish language community ethnic media such as newspapers.

This thesis reveals that various motivations existed for the emergence of Spanish language newspapers in the mid-1960s. For example, this thesis finds that there were members of the Spanish community who desired their own independent press (i.e. not aligned with the Spanish State or the Catholic Church). Other reasons include providing an alternative to mainstream Australian media and establishing newspapers due to the fear that the Spanish language, culture, and identity would someday disappear in Australia. Thus, Spanish language newspapers were and remain to this day, vital resources for linguistic and cultural maintenance and in creating a sense of connectedness and belonging to the wider Spanish-speaking community.

Another important factor, which also influences the print Spanish language newspaper sphere, is Latin American migration. This thesis finds that global (external) and national (local) political and economic factors from the 1970s are vital factors in the development of Australia's Spanish language newspapers. This study shows that several Latin American journalists who migrated to Australia established or found employment in community ethnic media. Data shows that Latin American migration also saw the rise of both Latin American newspapers and newspaper readers. This suggests that many Latin Americans desired news and information from Australia and Latin America in their native language (i.e. Spanish) as they also wished to maintain a connection and a sense of belonging to both Australia and their country of origin. This thesis also indicates that Latin Americans via their respective newspapers aggregated members of diverse Spanish-speaking nations into one imagined, homogeneous Hispanic community, acknowledging that their national print readership shares common symbols such as language, culture, and experience.

Overall, this study also indicates that at the present, five well-established newspapers each with a long publication history are catering to the Hispanic Australian community in the diasporic mediasphere. It finds that all newspapers maintain the original aims of the founding

fathers of the Spanish language press. That is, to maintain and promote the Spanish language and culture, and uphold a sense of community, belonging and place for current and future generations. In line with Caspi and Elias' (2011) 12 criteria of media 'by' and 'for' a migrant community, this thesis finds that all of Australia's past and contemporary print Spanish language newspapers have been established 'by' members of the Spanish-speaking community, 'for' members of the Spanish-speaking community.

8.2.2 The Role of Australia's Print Spanish Language Newspapers

This study found that in order to provide a cohesive picture of Spanish language print newspapers in Australia, data derived from all three data collection instruments not only demonstrates correlations, but also points to arguments that support my statement that Australia's Spanish language newspapers, provide social, cultural, and linguistic links within the dispersed Hispanic community in Australia, and aid to preserve elements of their identity in connection to the past, present, and future.

This study, in alignment with Deuze (2006), reveals that print Spanish language newspapers are a mix of community, ethnic, and participatory media. Confirming the data by Lay and Thomas (2012), Wong (2012) and Tosco (2005), it finds that print newspapers perform various community and ethnic media roles to aid the Hispanic community to settle in Australia. These roles include their provision of local, national, and international news and information, as a sentinel and community booster, and a tool to maintain and promote the Spanish language, Hispanic culture, and the Hispanic Australian hybrid identity. Print Spanish language newspapers show how members of Australia's Hispanic community are supported by Spanish language newspapers in their process of their settling down in Australia via the account of the real-life experiences, stories, and survival tips communicated by the newspaper, in addition to selective news from across Australia. This study adds to the current literature finding that since the inception of print Spanish language newspapers, they have fostered social and civic inclusion into the Hispanic and the wider Australian community, counteracting the sensation of feeling socially excluded.

Similar to Boyce-Davies (2002), this thesis shows that the content of print newspapers also collides in time and space, with articles and events positioned within the past, present and future. For instance, past content in print Spanish language newspapers relating to Spanish or Latin American musicians reminds primarily first generation respondents of when they were young. Present articles are primarily concerned with current news and affairs, whereas future content provides their audience with news and information on services and programs that Australia offers in order for community members to gain important skills. This study finds that this array of content is the very heart of community ethnic newspapers as they aim to relieve and diminish any sense of loneliness and rootlessness members may be experiencing. Moreover, it provides their audience with a roadmap to settle down, and unite with other community members, thus becoming a vibrant and successful community in Australia.

This thesis acknowledges that print Spanish language newspapers play a salient role in building and promoting the Hispanic community in the Australian mediasphere. It finds that print Spanish language newspapers in Australia maintain the idea of community by emphasising shared symbols and experiences, in the local nature of news, information and events, and in the efforts to maintain and promote the Spanish language, culture, and identity. Moreover, Hispanic media producers offer a unique service in that their print Spanish language newspapers reflect the community in a manner that mainstream Australian, Latin American, and Spanish newspapers cannot.

This study finds that not all survey respondents accessed print newspapers. The print newspaper audience circles portrayed in this thesis not only shows the connections survey respondents have with the newspapers and their level of involvement, but also on the frequency of their interaction with them. For some respondents, the connection with print Spanish language newspapers was a two-way street as it was their link to their local community and Australia.

This research discovers that significant drawbacks affecting mainstream and community ethnic print media include digital communication technologies, an ageing first generation audience, and the difficulty in attracting younger readers. Yet, despite these negative factors, this study finds that primarily first and to a lesser extent, second generation respondents continue to

access and participate in print Spanish language newspapers and rely on them as a source of local, national, and international news, information, and culture. Likewise to Georgiou (2014) and Alonso and Oiarzabal (2010), this thesis demonstrates that print newspapers play a symbolic function for both generations as they are one means which allow individuals to connect to the local and transnational Hispanic community across time and space. That is, producing and accessing print newspapers allows Hispanics to be 'here' and 'there.' Nonetheless, this research also confirms Matsaganis et al., (2011) and Chuang's (2010) results in that there are Hispanics who do not access print Spanish language newspapers for reasons such as they do not know of their existence or their lack of time to read print newspapers.

This study also acknowledges that for both survey and interview respondents, the Spanish language is a central marker in community ethnic media. It is via a common language that members of the Hispanic migrant community can connect with the newspaper, newspaper staff, and each other, counter mainstream constructions, and express their concerns in spaces such as in the Letter to the Editor. The publication of news and information in Spanish should not be interpreted that Spanish language media does not value English as the majority language. On the contrary, this thesis finds that *The Spanish Herald* publishes an English language page, which provides news and information and at times, performs as a sentinel. Hence, the presence of both English and Spanish language content indicates that Spanish language newspapers are capitalising on the community's identity, speaking to and for them in both the majority and community language. By publishing in two languages, newspapers are also emphasising that their audience belongs to both the Hispanic and Australian community.

Another salient facet of print community ethnic newspapers is advertising. This study reveals that as English language newspapers do not publish advertisements directed towards migrant communities, community ethnic newspapers thus fill this gap. Although advertising is important from a revenue perspective, this study finds that community ethnic advertising is also a salient social tool that maintains a sense of community, in that it can connect individuals to one another and their newspaper, and in their identity negotiation. For respondents, business and cultural advertisements from diverse Hispanic businesses and community organisations give this community more visibility in Australia. Overall, this study finds that print advertisements provide

their audiences with links to physical spaces where they can connect with the wider Hispanic and Australian community, and in these spaces further maintain and promote the community language, culture, and identity.

Spanish-speaking family and an individual's extended social network is another factor that influences print Spanish language newspaper consumption. This thesis adds to Cover's (2017) and Georgiou's (2004) findings, in that print newspapers are being read within the family context, and are also being shared with Spanish-speaking friends and relatives. This study adds to the current literature finding that Spanish-speaking parents and grandparents positively support and encourage the second generation to read print Spanish language newspapers to learn more about and connect to their heritage language and culture. For some respondents, the act of reading print newspapers is a cultural tradition that is passed on from one generation to the next, as parent's desire that their children stay updated with news and events. Moreover, in alignment with Law (2013) and Elias and Lemish (2011), first and second generation respondents in this study value the quality family time print newspapers create with family and friends. Overall, thesis findings indicate that social networks positively influence an individual's access to in-group news and to preserve their linguistic and cultural heritage despite their physical and cultural distance from other print newspaper readers and their native and heritage country.

8.2.3 The Role of Australia's Online Spanish Language Newspapers

This thesis acknowledges that the digital communication technologies are a key factor in the evolution of online community ethnic media such as Spanish language newspapers. In contrast to Sinclair's (2014) data, this study reveals that since the mid-2000s, four out of the five currently circulating Spanish language newspapers in Australia have an active online presence in the form of websites and social media. The findings in this study resonate with Matsaganis et al., (2011) and Chuang (2010) in that Australia's Spanish language newspaper producers acknowledge that digital communication technologies are influencing the media ecologies of newspaper readers around the globe and this has influenced their business. Thus, Spanish language newspapers have complemented their print newspapers with online hubs to cater to their online audiences' diverse informational, linguistic, and cultural needs. Despite the benefits of technology for both

media producers and their audience, this study reveals that although *El Español en Australia* does not have an active online presence, this does not seem to affect their newspaper business or their audience.

Another important factor affecting online Spanish language newspapers is audience. The online newspapers audience circles figure shown in this thesis not only displays the connections survey respondents have with the online newspapers and their level of involvement but also on the frequency of their interaction with them. This study also reveals that Australia's Spanish language newspapers have extended their audience base by catering to a local, national, and transnational audience. This study shows that the younger generation of Hispanic Australians prefers to access online Spanish language newspapers rather than the print editions of Spanish language newspapers. It also finds that a significant number of first generation Hispanics access and participate in online Spanish language newspapers not only for cultural, linguistic and identity maintenance, but because news and information are free and can be accessed anywhere at any time.

This study finds that online Spanish language newspapers functioned similarly to their print platforms in extending a sense of community and belonging to their online audience. Interview and survey results indicate that respondents value the local nature of online Spanish language newspapers and the fact that it is community focused as they publish local news and events, stories, and memories. For both survey and interview respondents, the publication of these stories allows them to virtually travel to these places or experience events with other readers that they may never know or meet in reality.

Data also shows that advertisements and stories concerning Spanish and Latin American community holidays from the past fulfil a purpose to their present time in Australia and bring a sense of belonging to the community while they also celebrate Australian holidays and celebrations as part of their hybrid identity. Survey data also indicates that first and second generation survey respondents were eager to obtain information concerning Australian and Hispanic celebrations via online Spanish language newspapers, so they could attend these with their children, family, and friends.

Congruent with Balnaves et al., (2004), this research shows that online newspapers are facilitating and encouraging the Hispanic community to play a more participatory role in the online community ethnic mediasphere by publishing their stories, news and community information on their webpages and social media sites. The publication of events 'by' and 'for' the Hispanic community in Australia is another social connection provided by the online platforms of community ethnic newspapers, which extend the sense of community. Digital communication technologies are also revolutionary in that they are altering how the Hispanic community communicate and share news and information with one another, and the manner in which they socialise. Thus, respondents value the decision made by online newspapers in facilitating a more personal relationship with their local and transnational public as this further enhances their sense of belonging and connectedness with other Hispanics that they may never know or meet.

This research finds that similar to print Spanish language newspapers, their respective online platforms also aggregate the Hispanic community, in a way mainstream media cannot. The Spanish language also serves as a connection between online newspaper, its newspaper staff, and other readers as the Spanish language is an essential part of their individual and ethnic identity. As the Spanish language is a vital facet that unites the community, it serves as a transnational link between respondents and their linguistic, historical, and cultural heritage. Another factor, which benefits community ethnic media, is the English language. Although the principal language of online newspapers is Spanish, two newspapers - *The Spanish Herald* and *Noticias y Deportes* publish information, local and national news, and cultural content in English. This change in language publication shows how newspapers are catering to both a Spanish and non-Spanish language newspaper reading audience and instilling a sense of connectedness, belonging, and community. For interviewees, the publication of news and events in both English and Spanish maintains a sense of community cohesion where their audiences feel invested by community ethnic media. Thus, this shows that newspapers support the intergenerational continuity within Australia's Spanish-speaking community, aiding both children and their parents in aligning their identities.

Another important factor that influences community ethnic media is their audiences' access to transnational media. Respondents' access to transnational media are validations of their desire to

reconnect to the Hispanic world and share in-group information and experiences with others despite their physical, geographical, and cultural distance. In alignment with Georgiou's (2004) results, both generations' access and consumption of transnational media provides them comfort and a sense of belonging to a transnational Hispanic community. Although respondents' use and participation in transnational Spanish language newspapers benefit individuals (i.e. by reconnecting them with their family and others, in the conceptualisation of their homeland, and strengthening and sustaining the Spanish transnational sphere), this study reveals that it does not perform the same role of community ethnic media by supplying their audience with local community news and information. Thus, transnational media fails to contribute to making a sense of place for Hispanics in Australia.

Similar to Matsaganis et al., (2011) and Chuang (2010), the future of the community ethnic media is undefined as aging readership, migration, digital communication technologies and social media are influencing the print and online newspaper industry to reinvent itself and maintain their hold on their audiences. This study finds that for the time being, both generations possess favourable attitudes towards print and online Spanish language newspapers in multicultural Australia.

8.3 Research Contribution

This study's examination of the emergence and evolution of Australia's Spanish language newspapers and their commitment to the maintenance and promotion of the Spanish language, culture, and identity of the Hispanic community advances on extant literature and contributes to a better understanding of community ethnic media in Australia. This thesis makes five contributions to knowledge.

First, this study differs in that it is the first comprehensive study which examines why and how Hispanics created print and online Spanish language newspapers for the Hispanic community. Although pre-existing studies such as García (2002) of Spaniards in Australia is of significant value to this study, none features a specified research focus on neither the Latin American community nor the Hispanic community in the community ethnic newspaper sphere. Therefore, this research

fills this knowledge gap by examining why and how Spanish language newspapers were produced and consumed, and what they achieved in multicultural Australia.

Second, this thesis signals that the Hispanic mediasphere forms part of both ethnic media and community media and it is difficult to place Spanish language newspapers into one category as it bridges both. It highlights that Spanish language newspapers play various roles in the community. For instance, it has described how a symbol such as a shared language is the basis for the provision of news, events, and information from Latin America, Spain, and Australia. It also highlights its role as a community booster and sentinel in providing cultural news and information and negotiating identity. It identifies how content published by newspaper producers and their audience allows the Hispanic community to maintain and enhance their sense of belonging and connection to a united, homogeneous imagined community. Thus, this thesis highlights how content allows readers to travel across time and space, linking their past with present experiences and future actions.

Third, this thesis identifies that print and online Spanish language newspapers have aggregated Australia's native and subsequent generations of Hispanics into one homogenous community emphasising commonality at the expense of diversity. It demonstrates how this aggregation by community ethnic newspaper producers aims to decrease any national, ideological, and other divisions that may exist within the Hispanic community in Australia. Furthermore, they are maintaining the original aim of the founding fathers of Spanish language community ethnic media by maintaining a sense of connectedness and belonging for current and future generations of Hispanics.

Fourth, this thesis highlights how positive attitudes in an individual's social network influence the production and consumption of Spanish language newspapers. It identifies that the second generations' access and consumption of Spanish language newspapers is a consequence of their personal and familial desire for linguistic, social, and cultural maintenance, and sense of belonging. Thus, this thesis emphasises that Hispanic media producers and consumers in Australia have pride in their language and culture, and these positive attitudes are visible via their use of print and online Spanish language community newspapers.

Fifth, the thesis demonstrates how respondents use of print and online Spanish language newspapers, transnational media, and digital communication technologies influence and augment informational, linguistic, and cultural exposure and participation in spaces, which were previously inaccessible. For instance, many of Australia's Spanish language media producers and consumers are capitalising on digital communication technologies by virtually participating in news, information, and events across time and space, allowing them to be in two worlds at once. This space allows the newspapers' audience to voice their views on issues and share stories and photos of elated and mournful events, thus providing more opportunities to enhance and promote a sense of community, the Spanish language, and culture. This thesis shows that despite the endless quantity of media accessible to Hispanic-Australians in the digital age, Australia's Spanish-speaking community continues to demand and support traditional Spanish language print media as a vital tool to maintain and promote Spanish as a community language, culture, and identity in Australia.

8.4 Research Limitations

To evaluate the contributions and implications of this study, some limitations need to be acknowledged. This thesis recognises that it has treated Spaniards and Latin Americans as one homogenous group, as Hispanics share a common language and culture. However, a benefit of focusing on the Hispanic community in Australia is that the results obtained from this study may be generalised and potentially applicable to other migrant communities. Nevertheless, triangulation assisted in verifying data from surveys, interviews, and newspaper analysis, generating a more comprehensive and thorough examination. This leads to my final limitation. Due to limited time and financial resources, I am unable to enrich the data by investigating more Spanish language newspapers in depth; interview more Spanish language producers (as many who produced Spanish language newspapers have passed away, were unavailable, did not wish to participate or I was unable to locate them); and survey more first and second generation Hispanics in other Australia cities. However, the ability to generate more rich and in-depth data offset thesis limitations. Although these elements limit the scope of this study, they do not diminish its validity. In the subsequent section, I suggest a few ideas that may be of interest to explore in the future.

8.5 Directions for Future Research

This thesis is a point of reference for future studies addressing and exploring community ethnic media, and more specifically Australia's Spanish language newspapers, its media producers, and consumers. Investigating the challenges and experiences that Spanish language media producers face, and attitudes that first and second generation of Hispanics in other Australian cities or in other culturally diverse nations have towards Spanish language media may lead to interesting and valuable findings that other studies will be able to compare with the findings presented in this study. Hence, it would be interesting to profile the emergence, development, and role Spanish language community ethnic newspapers play for other first and second generation Hispanics in a wider globalised context as there is no existing research.

This study also aims to increase interest in promoting more community ethnic media research in Australia into other migrant communities. More scholarship in the future is required to gain a deeper understanding of the community ethnic media experiences of first and subsequent generations of Hispanics and other migrant communities. An examination into the use of Spanish in traditional and online media spaces, media producers, and their audience's engagement with media and technology, can provide a more holistic outlook of this community in local and transnational contexts.

Another point this thesis raises is the role advertising performs for the Hispanic community in Australia. As literature commonly looks at advertising from a revenue viewpoint, this study shows that it performs additional functions. By examining these functions more in-depth, future research can reveal how community ethnic media producers can use advertising as a channel to reinforce connections with their audience and to one another, thus enhancing a sense of community in addition to securing the sustainability of community ethnic media. Finally, investigating the role and influences of digital communication technologies in media, not only within other Spanish-speaking groups in Australia, but among other migrant communities nationally and worldwide would advance our knowledge into the reasons why digital outlets were established, the patterns of media production and consumption, and particularly, the role social

networking sites play in community representation, language, culture, and in preserving elements of the community' identity in connection to the past, present, and future.

Overall Summary

I opened this thesis with a generalised question – How do migrant communities connect to one another and their societies? The goal of this thesis was to unveil the interrelated factors supporting the emergence and development of Spanish language newspapers in Australia. By drawing on theories and ideas embodied in community and ethnic media such as the imagined community, this study has advanced our knowledge of Australia's Hispanic community in the print and online mediasphere. It has investigated how print and online Spanish language newspapers forge and enhance a sense of belonging and community for both media producers and their public. This thesis has identified that we lack an understanding concerning media 'by' and media 'for' migrant communities and the impact this has on the imagined community in both the online and offline spheres.

I began this thesis by considering how I became interested in community ethnic media, particularly, the press. I have lived my entire life as a second generation Argentinean in Australia, and I know how living in a diasporic context and consuming media in my heritage language, aided me to know where I come from and how I fit into Australia. However, I am left contemplating what kind of country Australia will be in the future. I wonder if, and whether community ethnic media with the support of the community will continue to promote and maintain a united homogenous Hispanic community, language, identity, and culture. Will other migrants and their descendants continue to feel connected to their native or heritage language and culture when producing and consuming news? Or, will they feel disconnected?

This analysis of the Spanish-speaking community and their respective print and online newspaper platforms asserts that as one of Australia's migrant communities, Hispanics consider that it is their responsibility to support and ensure the maintenance and promotion of the Spanish language, culture, and identity for current and future generations in Australia. This study also

highlights the need to support the future of the Hispanic community and Spanish language community ethnic media.

This thesis may appeal to sub-groups of Australia's Spanish-speaking community, as this heterogeneous community has been aggregated into one imagined homogenous community due to shared elements such as language, culture, and experiences. This study demonstrates that upon deeper examination, these shared elements, which unite Hispanics, also differentiates them from other members of the Hispanic community. Finally, issues influencing the livelihood of community ethnic media such as digital communication technologies, changes within the community's media ecologies and an ageing audience are common to migrant communities nationally and globally, thus, it would be valuable to investigate these issues further.

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Appendix 1 Participant Flyer (Spanish and English)

Hispanos en Australia ¡Le Necesitamos!

Este estudio quiere averiguar las opiniones y experiencias de la comunidad de habla hispana en Australia. Queremos que su voz sea escuchada al participar en una encuesta que nos ayudará a entender los factores relacionados entre el consumo de periódicos de habla hispana en Australia con el propósito de obtener información, y entre otras razones, mantener el idioma castellano, la cultura, y la identidad.

Esta investigación forma parte de un estudio de doctorado realizado por Michelle Natolo de la Escuela de Filosofía y Letras, de la Universidad de Griffith, Brisbane, Australia. Le llevará aproximadamente 20 minutos completar la encuesta.

Para mayor información sobre la investigación o cualquier duda, antes, durante y/o después en general sobre la encuesta, y/o de la confidencialidad de la información, por favor contacte: Michelle Natolo - Tel: (07) 55 529798 o Email: m.natolo@griffith.edu.au. Toda la información recibida será anónima y será manejada con estricta confidencialidad.

¡Gracias!

*Griffith University Ethics Approval Number: LAL/06/08/HREC

Hispanics in Australia We need you!

This study seeks to find out the opinions and experiences of Australia's Spanish-speaking community. We want your voice to be heard by participating in a survey that will help us understand the interrelated factors in consuming Spanish language newspapers for reasons such as to maintain the Spanish language, culture, and identity.

This PhD study is carried out by Michelle Natolo from the School of Languages and Applied Linguistics, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia. It will take approximately 20 minutes to complete the survey.

For more information about the investigation or any questions, before, during and/or after the survey, and/or the confidentiality of the information, please contact: Michelle Natolo - Tel: (07) 55 529798 or Email: m.natolo@griffith.edu.au. All information collected will be anonymous and will be handled with strict confidentiality.

Thank you!

*Griffith University Ethics Approval Number: LAL/06/08/HREC

Appendix 2A Community Survey Package
Information Sheet for survey respondents (English and Spanish)

<p>Survey: A case study of Spanish Language Newspapers in Australia</p> <p>Who is conducting the research? I am conducting an investigation on the diasporic Spanish language press in Australia. This PhD study is carried out by Michelle Natolo from the School of Languages and Applied Linguistics, Griffith University, Australia.</p> <p>Why is the research being conducted? The objectives of this research are to investigate the interrelated factors in Spanish language media consumption. It also explores Hispanics use of newspapers to maintain the Spanish language and their identity.</p> <p>My participation in this research I would like you to complete this survey, which will take approximately 20 minutes. You will give your consent to participate in this research by completing the survey and returning it to the researcher.</p> <p>Is participation voluntary? Your participation is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you can withdraw your participation at any time without consequences. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to and remain in this research.</p> <p>Expected benefits of the research The information gathered from this research will contribute to our understanding of the Hispanic community's consumption of newspapers.</p> <p>Risks to you Participating in this research will not pose any risks to you. Your personal data or any other information that could be traced back to you will not be gathered.</p>	<p>Encuesta: Un estudio de los periódicos hispanos en Australia</p> <p>¿Quién realiza la investigación? Estoy realizando una investigación acerca de la prensa hispana en Australia. Esta investigación forma parte de un estudio de doctorado realizado por Michelle Natolo de la Escuela de Filosofía y Letras, de la Universidad de Griffith, Australia.</p> <p>¿Por qué se realiza esta investigación? Esta investigación se propone explorar los factores relacionados con el consumo de los medios de comunicación en el idioma español. También explora si los hispanos usan periódicos para mantener el idioma español y su identidad.</p> <p>Mi participación en esta investigación Me gustaría que Usted rellene esta encuesta, que le llevará aproximadamente 20 minutos. Usted dará su consentimiento para participar en esta investigación al devolver la encuesta rellena a la investigadora.</p> <p>¿Es voluntaria la participación? Su participación es absolutamente voluntaria. Si decide participar, puede retirar su participación en cualquier momento sin consecuencias. También puede negarse a contestar cualquier pregunta que no quiera y aun así mantenerse en esta investigación.</p> <p>Los beneficios anticipados de la investigación La información obtenida en esta investigación contribuirá a nuestra comprensión del consumo de periódicos por hispanos en Australia.</p> <p>Los riesgos para Usted No se corre ningún riesgo al participar en esta investigación. Sus datos personales ni cualquier otro tipo de información relacionada con Usted serán recopilada.</p>
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Will you be paid to participate?

You will not receive any payment for completing this survey.

More information

If you have any questions or concerns about this research please contact:

Michelle Natolo

Ph: (07) 55 529798

Email: m.natolo@griffith.edu.au

The Ethical Conduct of this research

Griffith University conducts research in accordance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research. If you have any concerns or complaints with the ethical conduct of this research project contact: The Manager, Research Ethics, Office for Research, Bray Centre, Nathan Campus, Griffith University

Phone: +61-7-3735 5585

Email: research-ethics@griffith.edu.au

Confidentiality

The conduct of this research involves the collection, access, and/or use of your identified personal information. The information collected is confidential and will not be disclosed to third parties without your consent, except to meet government, legal or other regulatory authority requirements. A de-identified copy of this data may be used for other research purposes. However, your anonymity will at all times be safeguarded. For further information consult the University's Privacy Plan at: www.gu.edu.au/ua/aa/vc/pp or telephone (07) 3735 5585.

¿Me pagarán para participar?

No recibirá ningún pago para rellenar la encuesta.

Más información

Si tiene algunas preguntas o preocupaciones sobre esta investigación, por favor contacte:

Michelle Natolo

Tel: (07) 55 529798

Email: m.natolo@griffith.edu.au

La Conducta Ética de esta investigación

La Universidad de Griffith realiza investigaciones de acuerdo con la Declaración Nacional Sobre la Conducta Ética de la Investigación Humana. Si tiene cualquier preocupación o queja con respecto a la conducta ética de esta investigación, por favor póngase en contacto con:

El Gerente, Research Ethics, Office for Research, Bray Centre, Nathan Campus, Griffith University

Teléfono: +61-7-3735 5585

Email: research-ethics@griffith.edu.au

Confidencialidad

La conducción de esta investigación implica la recolección, el acceso y/o el uso de su información personal. Su información personal es confidencial y no será revelada a terceros sin su consentimiento. Una copia de los datos sin elementos que permitan identificar su información personal podría ser utilizada para otros fines de investigación. Sin embargo, su anonimato será siempre protegido. Para más información consulte el Plan de Privacidad de la Universidad en: www.gu.edu.au/ua/aa/vc/pp o llame al teléfono (07) 3735 5585.

B5. How long have you been studying Spanish? _____

B6. Please rate your **English language** proficiency (**Please tick your answers**)

	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Poor	Very Poor
Speaking					
Reading					
Writing					
Listening					

Section C: Identity

C1. How do you identify yourself individually? _____

C2. Why? _____

C3. How do you identify yourself collectively? _____

C4. Why? _____

C5. Do you consider yourself bilingual? a. Yes b. No

C6. What is your preferred newspaper language?

a. Spanish b. English c. Spanish & English d. Other: _____

C7. Why? _____

C8. Do you consider reading newspapers in Spanish central to your identity? a. Yes b. No

C9. Why? _____

Section D: Print Spanish language newspapers in Australia

Please note that some questions in this section may not apply to you, as they are directed to the first generation or second generation. Please disregard them and leave them blank.

D1. Upon immigrating, did you know Spanish newspapers existed in Australia? a. Yes b. No

D2. Which newspapers did you read? _____

D3. Why? _____

D4. Were you satisfied with the content? a. Yes b. No

D5. How did you receive news about your country prior to the internet? _____

D6. Please indicate whether you currently read any of the following Spanish newspapers.

- a. El Español en Australia b. The Spanish Herald c. Noticias y Deportes
d. Extra Informativo e. El Semanario Español f. None (**Please go to Question D15**)

D7. How long have you been reading Spanish language newspapers? _____

D8. Why? _____

D9. How do you gain access to the print newspaper/s?

- a. I purchase it b. I read it in Hispanic businesses c. I read it in my local library
d. I subscribe to it e. It is passed to me by a friend/relative f. Other: _____

D10. How often do you read Spanish language newspapers?

- a. Daily b. Weekly c. Bi-weekly d. Fortnightly e. Monthly f. Occasionally g. I do not read

D11. Where do you read the newspaper? a. Home b. Work c. Other: _____

D12. What type of news do you read? (Please rank your answers from 1 to 10).

- a. Local Hispanic community news b. News from Hispanic countries c. Australian news
d. Sport e. Politics f. International News g. Science and Technology
h. Entertainment i. Opinion j. Other: _____

D13. What is the role of Spanish language newspapers? _____

D14. Does reading Spanish language newspapers create a sense of belonging for you? a. Yes b. No

D15. Why? _____

D16. For what reason/s do you not read?

- a. I read Australian English language print newspapers b. I read Australian newspaper/s online
c. Spanish newspapers are not available in my city d. Spanish newspapers are too expensive
e. I am not interested in reading Spanish newspapers f. I did not know they existed
g. Other: _____

D17. Do you know of family or friends that do not read Spanish language newspapers? a. Yes b. No

D18. Do you know their reason/s for not reading? _____

D19. Have you used Spanish language newspapers to...?

- a. Search for employment b. See what event is happening in your state
c. Purchase a product/s d. Require a service

D20. Is it important for Australia to have Spanish language newspapers? a. Yes b. No

D21. Why? _____

D22. Please evaluate the quality of the following newspapers. (Please circle your answers).

	Excellent	Good	Average	Poor	Very Poor
<i>El Español en Australia</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extra Informativo</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Noticias y Deportes</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>El Semanario Español</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>The Spanish Herald</i>	1	2	3	4	5

D23. Are you satisfied with the content the newspaper/s publish? a. Yes b. No

D24. Why? _____

D25. Do you have any suggestions for their improvement? _____

D26. Do you know whether an English page is published? a. Yes b. No

D27. If so, which one/s? _____

D28. Do you read it? a. Yes b. No

D29. Why? _____

D30. What do you do with the newspaper after you or your family has read it?

- a. Keep the newspaper b. Give/lend to a friend c. Recycle it
d. Give/lend to a family member e. Dispose of it f. Other: _____

D31. In your opinion, who can benefit from print newspapers? Why? _____

D32. Do you believe that newspapers should be bilingual? a. Yes b. No

D33. In your opinion, do newspapers preserve the Spanish language and culture? a. Yes b. No

Section E: Online Spanish language newspapers in Australia

E1. Have you read any ethnic Spanish language newspapers online?

a. Yes, which newspaper do you read and why? _____

b. No, why? _____

E2. How did you discover the newspaper was online? _____

E3. How long have you been reading the online newspaper/s? _____

E4. Do you read the print and online newspaper? a. Yes b. No

E5. Why? _____

E6. How often do you read them?

- a. Daily b. Weekly c. Bi-weekly d. Fortnightly e. Monthly f. Occasionally g. I do not read

E7. What type of news do you read? (Please rank your answers from 1 to 10).

- a. Local Hispanic community news b. News from Hispanic countries c. Australian news
d. Sport e. Politics f. International News g. Science and Technology
h. Entertainment i. Opinion j. Other: _____

E8. Why? _____

E9. In your opinion, do online newspapers provide more news and events than print editions? a. Yes b. No

E10. Why? _____

E11. Have you subscribed via email to any newspaper? a. Yes b. No

E12. Have you bookmarked any newspaper to favourites? a. Yes b. No

E13. Have you liked any of the Facebook pages of the newspaper/s? a. Yes b. No

E14. Do you follow the newspapers on Twitter? a. Yes b. No

E15. Do newspapers offer interactive journalism? a. Yes b. No

E16. Have you ever participated? a. Yes b. No

E17. Why? _____

E18. Do you know whether an English page is published? a. Yes b. No

E19. If so, please indicate which one/s?

E20. Do you read the English page? a. Yes b. No

E21. Why? _____

E22. Are you satisfied with the newspaper content? a. Yes b. No

E23. Why? _____

E24. Do you have any suggestions for their improvement? _____

E25. In your opinion, can both print and online newspapers co-exist? a. Yes b. No

E26. Why? _____

E27. Does reading Spanish language newspapers create a sense of belonging for you? a. Yes b. No

E28. Why? _____

Section F: Australian English language Print & Online Newspapers

F1. Do you read any Australian print newspaper/s?

a. No b. Yes, which one/s? _____

F2. Is the newspaper? a. Purchased b. Free community newspaper c. Both

F3. How often do you read them?

a. Daily b. Weekly c. Bi-weekly d. Fortnightly e. Monthly f. Occasionally g. I do not read

F4. Do you read any online Australian newspaper/s?

a. No b. Yes, which one/s? _____

F5. How often do you read them?

a. Daily b. Weekly c. Bi-weekly d. Fortnightly e. Monthly f. Occasionally g. I do not read

Appendix 2C Spanish Community Survey

Fecha: _____ Nombre: _____ Código: _____

Encuesta completada por: Primera generación Segunda generación

Sección A: Información demográfica

Por favor, tenga en cuenta que en esta sección, algunas preguntas no se aplicarán a Usted ya que están dirigidas a la primera o la segunda generación. Por favor, ignoralas y déjelas en blanco.

- A1. Género: a. Masculino b. Femenino
- A2. ¿Cuántos años tiene? _____
- A3. ¿En qué ciudad vive? _____
- A4. Estado civil: a. Soltero/a b. Casado/a c. Separado/a d. Divorciado/a e. Viudo/a f. Cohabita
- A5. País de nacimiento: _____
- A6. Si nació en Australia, ¿dónde nacieron sus padres? _____
- A7. Ocupación/Oficio/ Profesión: _____
- A8. Nivel más alto de estudio/s: a. Primaria b. Secundaria c. Terciario d. TAFE e. Otro: _____
- A9. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo en Australia? a. 1-5 años b. 6-15 años c. 16- 30 años d. 31 + años
- A10. ¿Tiene esposo/a o pareja? a. Sí b. No
- A11. ¿Dónde nació? _____
- A12. ¿Es de ascendencia hispana? a. Sí b. No
- A13. ¿Su esposo/a o pareja habla español? a. Sí b. No

Sección B: Lenguas

Por favor, tenga en cuenta que en esta sección, algunas preguntas no se aplicaran a Usted ya que están dirigidas a la primera o la segunda generación. Por favor, ignoralas y déjelas en blanco.

- B1. ¿Cuál es su lengua materna? a. Español b. Inglés
- B2. Por favor califique su capacidad del idioma español. (Por favor marque sus respuestas)

	Excelente	Muy bien	Bien	Pobre	Muy pobre
Hablar					
Leer					
Escribir					
Escuchar					

- B3. ¿Estudió español? a. Sí b. No

B4. ¿Dónde estudió español? _____

B5. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva estudiando el idioma español? _____

B6. Por favor califique su capacidad del idioma inglés. (Por favor marque sus respuestas)

	Excelente	Muy bien	Bien	Pobre	Muy pobre
Hablar					
Leer					
Escribir					
Escuchar					

Sección C: Identidad

C1. ¿Cómo se define étnicamente en forma individual? _____

C2. ¿Por qué? _____

C3. ¿Cómo se define étnicamente en forma grupal? _____

C4. ¿Por qué? _____

C5. ¿Se considera una persona bilingüe? a. Sí b. No

C6. ¿Cuál es su lengua preferida para leer diarios?

a. Español b. Inglés c. Español e inglés d. Otro: _____

C7. ¿Por qué? _____

C8. ¿Piensa que leer diarios en español es central para su identidad? a. Sí b. No

C9. ¿Por qué? _____

Sección D: Periódicos impresos de habla hispana de Australia

Por favor, tenga en cuenta que en esta sección, algunas preguntas no se aplicaran a Usted ya que están dirigidas a la primera o la segunda generación. Por favor, ignoralas y déjelas en blanco.

D1. Al inmigrar, ¿sabía que existían los diarios en idioma español en Australia? a. Sí b. No

D2. ¿Cuáles leía? _____

D3. ¿Por qué? _____

D4. ¿Estabas satisfecho/a con el contenido? a. Sí b. No

D5. ¿Cómo recibías noticias acerca de su país antes del internet? _____

D6. Por favor, marque si lee algunos de los siguientes periódicos en idioma español.

- a. El Español en Australia b. The Spanish Herald c. Noticias y Deportes
d. Extra Informativo e. El Semanario Español f. No los leo (Continúe a la pregunta D15)

D7. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva leyendo los periódicos en idioma español? _____

D8. ¿Por qué? _____

D9. ¿Cómo accede los periódico/s impresos?

- a. Lo/s compro b. Lo/s leo en negocios hispanos c. Lo/s leo en la biblioteca local
d. Tengo una suscripción e. Me lo/s da un amigo/familiar f. Otro: _____

D10. ¿Con qué frecuencia los lee?

- a. Diariamente b. Semanalmente c. Bisemanal d. Cada quincena
e. Mensualmente f. Ocasionalmente g. No los leo

D11. ¿Dónde lee el diario? a. En casa b. En el trabajo c. Otro: _____

D12. ¿Qué tipo de noticias lee? (Por favor, marque sus respuestas de 1 a 10).

- a. Noticias locales de la comunidad hispana b. Noticias de países hispanos c. Noticias australianas
d. Deporte e. Política f. Noticias internacionales g. Ciencia y Tecnología
h. Espectáculos i. Opinión j. Otro: _____

D13. ¿Cuál es el rol de los periódicos? _____

D14. ¿El acto de leer diarios en español crea un sentido de pertenencia para Usted? a. Sí b. No

D15. ¿Por qué? _____

D16. ¿Por qué razón/es no lee?

- a. Leo los diarios impresos australianos en inglés b. Leo los diarios australianos en inglés en la red
c. Los diarios no están disponibles en mi ciudad d. Los diarios son demasiado caros
e. No me interesa leerlos f. No sabía que existían g. Otro: _____

D17. ¿Conoce a familiares o amigos que no leen diarios del idioma español? a. Sí b. No

D18. ¿Sabe por qué razón/es no lee/n? _____

D19. ¿Ha utilizado los periódicos para...?

- a. Buscar empleo b. Ver qué evento ocurre en su Estado
c. Comprar un producto/s d. Requiere algún servicio

D20. ¿Es importante para Australia tener periódicos del idioma español? a. Sí b. No

D21. ¿Por qué? _____

D22. Por favor, evalúe la calidad de los siguientes periódicos. (Por favor, haga círculo en sus respuestas).

	Excelente	Bueno	Mediocre	Malo	Malísimo
<i>El Español en Australia</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extra Informativo</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Noticias y Deportes</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>El Semanario Español</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>The Spanish Herald</i>	1	2	3	4	5

D23. ¿Está satisfecho/a con el contenido que publican los diarios? a. Sí b. No

D24. ¿Por qué? _____

D25. ¿Tiene alguna sugerencia para su mejoramiento? _____

D26. ¿Sabe si los diarios publican una página en el idioma inglés? a. Sí b. No

D27. En caso afirmativo, por favor indique cuál/es: _____

D28. ¿Usted lo lee? a. Sí b. No

D29. ¿Por qué? _____

D30. ¿Qué hace Usted con el periódico después que Usted y/o su familia lo leyó?

- a. Guardar el periódico b. Lo regala/presta a un amigo c. Lo recicla
d. Lo da/presta a un miembro de su familia e. Lo tira f. Otro: _____

D31. En su opinión, ¿quién se puede beneficiar de los diarios impresos? ¿Por qué? _____

D32. ¿Cree que los diarios deberían ser bilingües? a. Sí b. No

D33. En su opinión, ¿los diarios mantienen el idioma español y la cultura? a. Sí b. No

Sección E: Periódicos digitales de la comunidad habla hispana de Australia

E1. ¿Has leído alguna vez diarios del idioma español en Australia?

a. Sí, ¿Cuál/es lee y por qué? _____

b. No, ¿por qué? _____

E2. ¿Cómo descubrió que el periódico estaba en línea? _____

E3. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva leyendo los periódicos en línea? _____

E4. ¿Usted lee el periódico impreso y digital? a. Sí b. No

E5. ¿Por qué? _____

E6. ¿Con qué frecuencia lo/s lee?

- a. Diariamente b. Semanalmente c. Bisemanal d. Cada quincena
e. Mensualmente f. Ocasionalmente g. No los leo

E7. ¿Qué tipo de noticias lee? (Por favor, marque sus respuestas de 1 a 10).

- a. Noticias locales de la comunidad hispana b. Noticias de países hispanos c. Noticias australianas
d. Deporte e. Política f. Noticias internacionales g. Ciencia y Tecnología
h. Espectáculos i. Opinión j. Otro: _____

E8. ¿Por qué? _____

E9. En su opinión, ¿los diarios digitales publican más noticias y eventos que su edición impresa? a. Sí b. No

E10. ¿Por qué? _____

- E11. ¿Ha suscrito por email a algún diario? a. Sí b. No
- E12. ¿Ha añadido algún diario a favoritos? a. Sí b. No
- E13. ¿Ha gustado la página de Facebook de los diarios? a. Sí b. No
- E14. ¿Sigue los diarios por Twitter? a. Sí b. No
- E15. ¿Ofrecen los periódicos periodismo interactivo? a. Sí b. No
- E16. ¿Alguna vez ha participado? a. Sí b. No
- E17. ¿Por qué? _____
- E18. ¿Sabe si los periódicos publican una página en inglés? a. Sí b. No
- E19. En caso afirmativo, indique cuál/es: _____
- E20. ¿Usted lee las páginas en inglés? a. Sí b. No
- E21. ¿Por qué? _____
- E22. ¿Está satisfecho/a con el contenido de los diarios? a. Sí b. No
- E23. ¿Por qué? _____
- _____
- E24. ¿Tiene alguna sugerencia para su mejoramiento? _____
- _____
- E25. Para Usted, ¿pueden coexistir los diarios impresos y digitales? a. Sí b. No
- E26. ¿Por qué? _____
- E27. ¿El acto de leer diarios en español crea un sentido de pertenencia para usted? a. Sí b. No
- E28. ¿Por qué? _____

Sección F: Periódicos impresos y digitales australianos escritos en el idioma inglés

- F1. ¿Lee algún periódico impreso australiano?
a. No b. Sí, ¿cuál/es? _____
- F2. ¿El periódico es? a. Comprado/s b. Gratis de la comunidad c. Ambos
- F3. ¿Con qué frecuencia lo/s lee?
a. Diariamente b. Semanalmente c. Bisemanal d. Cada quincena
e. Mensualmente f. Ocasionalmente g. No los leo
- F4. ¿Lee algún periódico australiano/s en línea? a. No b. Sí, ¿cuál/es? _____
- F5. ¿Con qué frecuencia los lee?
a. Diariamente b. Semanalmente c. Bisemanal d. Cada quincena
e. Mensualmente f. Ocasionalmente g. No los leo

Sección G: El Internet y el consumo de periódicos transnacionales

- G1.** ¿Tiene acceso al internet? a. Sí b. No
- G2.** ¿Qué dispositivos tecnológicos tiene? a. Smartphone b. Computadora c. iPad d. Tableta
e. Satélite f. Otra: _____
- G3.** ¿Cómo cambió su vida con la tecnología? _____
-
- G4.** ¿Lee periódicos en línea de países de habla hispana? a. Sí b. No
- G5.** ¿Cuál/es lee? _____
- G6.** ¿Con qué frecuencia los lee? _____
- G7.** ¿Por qué lo/s lee? _____
-
- G8.** ¿Qué tipo de noticias lee? (Por favor, marque sus respuestas de 1 a 10).
- a. Noticias nacionales b. Noticias internacionales c. Política d. Deporte
e. Opinión f. Cultura g. Ciencia y tecnología h. Espectáculos
i. Economía y Finanzas j. Otro: _____
-
- G9.** ¿Ha suscrito por email a algún diario de habla hispana? a. Sí b. No
- G10.** ¿Ha añadido algún diario a favoritos? a. Sí b. No
- G11.** ¿Ha gustado la página de Facebook de los diarios? a. Sí b. No
- G12.** ¿Sigue los diarios por Twitter? a. Sí b. No
- G13.** ¿El acto de leer diarios en español crea un sentido de pertenencia para usted? a. Sí b. No
- G14.** ¿Por qué? _____
- G15.** ¿Lee noticias de otras fuentes en español, aparte de los diarios en español? a. Sí b. No
- G16.** ¿Cuál/es? _____
- G17.** ¿Lee periódico/os en línea de países que no son países de habla hispana? a. Sí b. No
- G18.** ¿Cuál/es? _____
- G19.** ¿Cuáles son las ventajas/desventajas de consumir comunicación transnacional? _____
-
-

Gracias por completar la encuesta. ¡Sus comentarios son inmensamente apreciados!

Appendix 3A Community Interview Package

Information Sheet for interview respondents (English and Spanish)

<p>Interview: A case study of Spanish Language Newspapers in Australia</p> <p>Who is conducting the research? I am conducting an investigation on the diasporic Spanish language press in Australia. This PhD study is carried out by Michelle Natolo from the School of Languages and Applied Linguistics, Griffith University, Australia.</p> <p>Why is the research being conducted? The objectives of this research are to investigate the factors relating to the commencement and evolution of the press. It also explores the role and future of ethnic newspapers for the community and the diasporic newspaper industry.</p> <p>My participation in this research I would like you to participate in an interview, which will take approximately 60 minutes. If you agree, please sign the consent form. Oral consent will be obtained prior to undertaking the interview.</p> <p>Is participation voluntary? Your participation is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you can withdraw your participation at any time without consequences. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to and remain in the research.</p> <p>Expected benefits of the research The information gathered from this research will contribute to our understanding of the diasporic press in Australia.</p> <p>Risks to you Participating in this research will not pose any risks to you. Your personal data or any other information that could be traced back to you will not be gathered.</p> <p>Will you be paid to participate? You will not receive any payment for completing an interview.</p>	<p>Entrevista: Un estudio de los periódicos hispanos en Australia</p> <p>¿Quién realiza la investigación? Estoy realizando una investigación acerca de la prensa hispana en Australia. Esta investigación forma parte de un estudio de doctorado realizado por Michelle Natolo de la Escuela de Filosofía y Letras, de la Universidad de Griffith, Australia.</p> <p>¿Por qué se realiza esta investigación? Esta investigación se propone explorar los factores relacionados con el comienzo y evolución de la prensa. También explora el rol y el futuro de los periódicos étnicos para la comunidad y para la industria.</p> <p>Mi participación en esta investigación Me gustaría que Usted participe en una entrevista que le llevará aproximadamente 60 minutos. Si Usted está de acuerdo, por favor firme el formulario de consentimiento. El consentimiento oral se obtendrá antes de que se realice la entrevista.</p> <p>¿Es voluntaria la participación? Su participación es absolutamente voluntaria. Si decide participar, puede retirar su participación en cualquier momento sin consecuencias. También puede negarse a contestar cualquier pregunta que no quiera y aun así mantenerse en la investigación.</p> <p>Los beneficios anticipados de la investigación La información obtenida en esta investigación contribuirá a nuestra comprensión de la prensa étnica en Australia.</p> <p>Los riesgos para Usted No se corre ningún riesgo al participar en esta investigación. Sus datos personales ni cualquier otro tipo de información relacionada con Usted serán recopilada.</p> <p>¿Me pagarán para participar? No recibirá ningún pago para participar en la entrevista.</p>
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More information

If you have any questions or concerns about this research please contact:

Michelle Natolo

Ph: (07) 55 529798

Email: m.natolo@griffith.edu.au

The Ethical Conduct of this research

Griffith University conducts research in accordance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research. If you have any concerns or complaints with the ethical conduct of this research project contact: The Manager, Research Ethics, Office for Research, Bray Centre, Nathan Campus, Griffith University

Phone: +61-7-3735 5585

Email: research-ethics@griffith.edu.au

Confidentiality

The conduct of this research involves the collection, access, and/or use of your identified personal information. The information collected is confidential and will not be disclosed to third parties without your consent, except to meet government, legal or other regulatory authority requirements. A de-identified copy of this data may be used for other research purposes. However, your anonymity will at all times be safeguarded. For further information consult the University's Privacy Plan at: www.gu.edu.au/ua/aa/vc/pp or telephone (07) 3735 5585.

Más información

Si tiene algunas preguntas o preocupaciones sobre esta investigación, por favor contacte:

Michelle Natolo

Tel: (07) 55 529798

Email: m.natolo@griffith.edu.au

La Conducta Ética de esta investigación

La Universidad de Griffith realiza investigaciones de acuerdo con la Declaración Nacional Sobre la Conducta Ética de la Investigación Humana. Si tiene cualquier preocupación o queja con respecto a la conducta ética de esta investigación, por favor póngase en contacto con:

El Gerente, Research Ethics, Office for Research, Bray Centre, Nathan Campus, Griffith University

Teléfono: +61-7-3735 5585

Email: research-ethics@griffith.edu.au

Confidencialidad

La conducción de esta investigación implica la recolección, el acceso y/o el uso de su información personal. Su información personal es confidencial y no será revelada a terceros sin su consentimiento. Una copia de los datos sin elementos que permitan identificar su información personal podría ser utilizada para otros fines de investigación. Sin embargo, su anonimato será siempre protegido. Para más información consulte el Plan de Privacidad de la Universidad en: www.gu.edu.au/ua/aa/vc/pp o llame al teléfono (07) 3735 5585.



Appendix 3B English Informed Interview Consent Form

A case study of Spanish Language Newspapers in Australia

Researcher: Michelle Natolo
Doctor of Philosophy
Ph: (07) 55 529798
m.natolo@griffith.edu.au

By signing below, I confirm that I agree to participate in this study and that I have read and understood the information sheet and in particular I understand that:

- My involvement in this research will involve an interview in order to help the researcher conduct an investigation into the Australian diasporic press;
- I have had any questions answered to my satisfaction;
- There will be no direct benefit to me from my participation in this research;
- My participation in this research is completely voluntary;
- My name and my company's name will not be used in future public reports, publications and/or presentations of this research;
- If I have any additional questions I can contact the researcher;
- I am free to withdraw at any time, without consequences and;
- I can contact the Manager, Research Ethics, at Griffith University Human Research Ethics Committee on (07) 3735 5585 (or research-ethics@griffith.edu.au) if I have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the project.

Name:

Signature

Date:

Appendix 3C Spanish Informed Interview Consent Form

Un estudio de periódicos hispanos en Australia

Investigadora: Michelle Natolo
Doctorado en Filosofía y Letras
Tel: (07) 55 529798
m.natolo@griffith.edu.au

Al firmar a continuación, confirmo que estoy de acuerdo en participar en este estudio y que he leído y entiendo la hoja de información y en particular entiendo que:

- Mi participación en esta investigación incluirá la participación en una entrevista con el fin de ayudar a la investigadora realizar una investigación acerca de la prensa étnica en Australia;
- He tenido todas mis preguntas contestadas de manera satisfactoria;
- Que no habrá ningún beneficio directo para mí en lo que se refiere a mi participación en esta investigación;
- Mi participación en esta investigación es completamente voluntaria;
- Mi nombre y el nombre de mi empresa no se utilizará en futuros informes, publicaciones y/o presentaciones públicas;
- Si tengo alguna pregunta adicional puedo contactar a la investigadora;
- Puedo retirarme en cualquier momento sin consecuencias y;
- Puedo contactarme con El Gerente, Research Ethics, Griffith University Human Research Ethics Committee en (07) 3735 5585 (o research-ethics@griffith.edu.au) si tengo alguna preocupación acerca de la conducta ética del proyecto.

Nombre:

Firma

Fecha:

Appendix 3D English Interview Questions

Date: _____

Name: _____

Interview number: _____

Starting time: _____ am/pm

Finishing time: _____ am/pm

Contact details for further information: _____

Notes: _____

Section A: General Information

1. Can you tell me a little about yourself?
2. Did you study journalism?
3. Did you work in the media industry in your country of origin?
4. Tell me about your migration experience to Australia.
5. How long have you been working in the newspaper industry in Australia?
6. Have you worked in another profession or always in this one?

Section B: Spanish language press History

1. Can you tell me what you know about the history of Hispanic immigration to Australia?
2. How did the press commence in Australia?
3. Why did the Spanish-speaking community need publications in Spanish?
4. What were its functions?
5. Do you know what type of content was published?
6. Do you know how they were distributed?
7. Did migration from Latin America and/or Spain influence the industry in any way?
8. Did any rivalry exist between the newspapers? Within the community?
9. Do you know why some newspapers are in circulation and others ceased?

Section C: Newspaper Information

1. When did your publication commence?
2. What type of content did it publish?
3. What was its original role?
4. What is current your business model? (Weekly? Bi-weekly? Monthly?)
5. What current role does your newspaper fulfill?
6. Where can the newspaper be purchased?
7. How many people work for the newspaper?
8. How many correspondents do you have in Australia? Internationally?
9. How did you obtain news and infotainment prior to the internet?
10. In your opinion, what type of content do your readers expect from a newspaper?
11. Could you please tell me your circulation numbers?
12. Can you tell me the demographics of your readership?
13. Has the newspaper made any changes over the years?
14. Does the newspaper publish an English language page?
15. In which way does your newspaper interact with readers?
16. Does your readership contribute to the content of the newspaper and how?
17. Have you considered that in the future, the newspaper could be bilingual?
18. What types of articles/information does the newspaper publish to build or maintain connection to the past, present or future?

Section D: Newspapers and the Community

1. In your opinion, why does ethnic media continue to exist in Australia?
2. Do you believe that newspapers are a necessity or complement to other media?
3. Has the press changed over the years?
4. Apart from the first generation, does your newspaper target other generations?

5. What does the newspaper do to attract younger readers?
6. Can an individual maintain his/her language and culture via media?
7. Has migration over the years influenced the press?
8. What have been the roles of the press over the past years?
9. In your opinion, do newspapers create a sense of belonging and place for the community?

Section E: The Internet & Digital Communication Technologies

1. How does your newspaper use the internet?
2. How has the internet impacted the journalism field?
3. Do you have a print and online newspaper?
4. What is the advantage of a newspaper being online/offline?
5. When did your online newspaper commence?
6. What type of content do you publish online?
7. Do differences exist between the print and online newspaper content?
8. What type of readers does your online newspaper target?
9. Can you tell me the demographics of your online readership?
10. Can you tell me how your newspaper differs from others available on the internet?
11. In your opinion, do online and print newspapers perform the same role?
12. Has the content from the online newspaper changed over the years?
13. Does the newspaper publish an English page?
14. In what ways does your newspaper interact with online readers?
15. What does the newspaper do to attract younger readers?
16. Do you know if your newspaper receives overseas traffic?
17. What is the advantage of an online newspaper for you as a media producer and for your readers?
18. In your opinion, why do individuals consume online newspapers?
19. Does your newspaper utilise social media?
20. Could you tell me the demographics of your social media audience?
21. What is the role of social media for newspapers?

Section F: The future of Spanish language newspapers

1. What is your forecast for online and print media?
2. What would be the demographics of your audience?
3. How would you meet your readers' demands?
4. What would be the role of your newspaper?
5. What role would language play?
6. Do you think that individuals could continue to use your newspaper to maintain their language, culture, and sense of belonging?

Thank you for your participation and your time to undertake this interview.

Appendix 3E Spanish Interview Questions

Fecha: _____

Nombre: _____

Numero de entrevista: _____

Hora que empieza la entrevista: _____ am/pm

Hora que termina la entrevista: _____ am/pm

Detalles para más información: _____

Notas: _____

Sección A: Información general

1. ¿Puede contarme un poco acerca de Usted?
2. ¿Estudió periodismo?
3. ¿Trabajó en algún medio de comunicación en su país de origen?
4. Cuéntame acerca de tu experiencia migratoria a Australia.
5. ¿Cuánto tiempo hace que trabaja en la industria de la prensa en Australia?
6. ¿Ha trabajado en otra profesión o siempre en esta?

Sección B: Historia de la prensa hispana

1. ¿Me puede decir lo que sabe sobre la historia de la inmigración hispana a Australia?
2. ¿Cómo comenzó la prensa en Australia?
3. ¿Por qué la comunidad de habla hispana necesitó publicaciones en español?
4. ¿Cuáles eran sus roles?
5. ¿Sabe Usted qué tipo de contenido estas publicaciones publicaban?
6. ¿Sabe Usted cómo se distribuía/n?
7. ¿Influyó en alguna manera la inmigración de América Latina y / o España a la prensa?
8. ¿Había rivalidad entre los periódicos? ¿Dentro la comunidad?
9. ¿Cuáles son las razones porque algunos periódicos siguen en circulación y otros no?

Sección C: Información sobre el periódico

1. ¿Cuándo comenzó su diario?
2. ¿Qué tipo de contenido publicaba?
3. ¿Cuál era el rol original?
4. ¿Cuál es su modelo de negocio actual? (¿Semanal? ¿Quincenal? ¿Mensual?)
5. ¿Qué papel actual cumple su periódico?
6. ¿Dónde se puede comprar el periódico?
7. ¿Cuántas personas trabajan para el diario?
8. ¿Cuántos corresponsales tienen en Australia? ¿En el extranjero?
9. Antes del internet, ¿cómo obtuvieron acceso a noticias, información y entretenimiento?
10. ¿En su opinión, que tipo de contenido esperan sus lectores de un diario?
11. ¿Me puede decir su número de circulación?
12. ¿Me puede decir los datos demográficos de sus lectores?
13. ¿El periódico ha cambiado a lo largo de los años?
14. ¿El diario publica una página en inglés?
15. ¿En qué manera interactúa el periódico con los lectores?
16. ¿Sus lectores contribuyen de algún modo con contenido al periódico y cómo?
17. ¿Ha considerado que en el futuro, el periódico podría ser bilingüe?
18. ¿Qué tipos de artículos/información publica el periódico para construir o mantener una conexión con el pasado, presente o futuro?

Sección D: Los periódicos y la comunidad

1. En su opinión, ¿por qué la prensa étnica continúa existiendo en Australia?
2. ¿Cree que los periódicos son una necesidad o un complemento a otros medios de comunicación?
3. ¿Ha cambiado la prensa en los últimos años?
4. Aparte de la primera generación, ¿su periódico se dirige a otras generaciones?
5. ¿Qué hace el periódico para atraer a lectores más jóvenes?
6. ¿Una persona puede mantener el idioma español y/o su cultura a través de los medios?
7. ¿Ha influido la emigración a la prensa a lo largo de los años?

8. ¿Cuáles han sido los roles de la prensa a lo largo de los años?
9. ¿En su opinión, los periódicos crean un sentido de pertenencia y lugar para la comunidad?

Sección E: El Internet y las tecnologías de la información y la comunicación

1. ¿Cómo usa su periódico el internet?
2. ¿Cómo ha impactado el internet al campo de periodismo?
3. ¿Tiene un periódico impreso y digital?
4. ¿Cuál es la ventaja de que un periódico este en línea / offline?
5. ¿Cuándo comenzó su diario en línea?
6. ¿Qué tipo de contenido publica en línea?
7. ¿Existe alguna diferencia entre el contenido del diario impreso y digital?
8. ¿Qué tipo de lectores capta su diario digital?
9. ¿Me puede decir los datos demográficos de sus lectores digitales?
10. ¿Me puede decir en qué manera su periódico se diferencia a los demás que se encuentran en el internet?
11. En su opinión, ¿los diarios impresos y digitales realizan el mismo papel?
12. ¿Ha cambiado el contenido del diario digital a lo largo de los años?
13. ¿Publica el diario una página en inglés?
14. ¿De qué manera interactúa su periódico con sus lectores digitales?
15. ¿Qué hace el periódico para atraer a lectores más jóvenes?
16. ¿Usted sabe si el periódico recibe tráfico del extranjero?
17. ¿Cuál es la ventaja de un periódico digital para Usted como productor y para sus lectores?
18. En su opinión, ¿por qué la gente consume diarios digitales?
19. ¿Su diario utiliza las redes sociales?
20. ¿Me puede decir los datos demográficos de su público de las redes sociales?
21. ¿Cuál es el rol de las redes sociales para los periódicos?

Sección F: El futuro de la prensa hispana

1. ¿Cuál es su previsión para los diarios impresos y digitales?
2. ¿Cómo sería los datos demográficos de sus lectores?
3. ¿Cómo satisfacerían las demandas de sus lectores?
4. ¿Qué papel tendría su periódico?
5. ¿Qué papel jugaría el idioma?
6. ¿Cree usted que la gente podría seguir usando su periódico para mantener su idioma, cultura, y tener un sentido de pertinencia?

Gracias por su participación y su tiempo para realizar esta entrevista.