

Social Media and the Local Television News Audience

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Abstract

Social Media and the Local Television News Audience

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Social media has transformed the relationship between the local TV news station and the viewer. Once a form of one-way communication, local TV news is now an interactive experience. Viewers now regularly use social media to communicate with the newsroom and share stories with their social networks. Positive interaction between the news outlet and the audience can result in engagement and other forms of social media sharing that boosts the station's visibility beyond its traditional viewing audience.

In order to implement a successful social media strategy, news directors need to know what the audience wants and what they do not want from the experience of interacting with their local station on social media.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND SOCIAL MEDIA BACKGROUND

In recent years, social media has quickly become an outlet for local television stations to provide news like they have never been able to before. No longer confined to newscasts at 6 and 11, breaking news can be reported as it happens—throughout the day and overnight—over a seemingly ever-growing number of social media platforms. When one thinks of traditional media news sources, television, radio and print publications such as newspapers or magazines most likely come to mind (Chan, 2003). However, with the emergence of social media, the ways in which people consume local news are as plentiful and diverse as ever.

While this thesis will only focus on one of the traditional media news sources, television, several social media sites, platforms and applications will be mentioned throughout. It is important that the reader has an understanding of each in order to fully understand the impact this relatively new medium has had on television news outlets and viewers.

The social media sites, platforms and applications that will be profiled include Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Vine, Pinterest, LinkedIn, Foursquare and Google+. The reader should understand that this list of social networks is by no means an exhaustive list of all current social media platforms, but a list of the most prominent platforms mentioned by researchers studying social media and television news.

1.1 Facebook

Facebook was created in 2004 and has gone on to become one of the most popular social networking sites in the world (Hsia, Jong, Lai, Liao, & Lin, 2014). Initially meant strictly for college students, Facebook membership opened up to high school students in 2005 (Focus on Facebook) before eventually allowing anyone over the age of 13 to join (Facebook Tips). Now more than 1.15 billion people (Bernstein, 2013) use the social network “to stay connected with friends and family, to discover what’s going on in the world, and to share and express what matters to them” (*Facebook.com*). Facebook’s creators have described it as “a social utility that helps people communicate more efficiently with friends, family and coworkers” (Mauri, Cipresso, Balgera, Villamira, & Riva, 2011). Facebook users share news, pictures, videos, links and personal status updates with a network of friends, or followers, while also consuming the same types of content shared by their friends or organizations and companies they follow.

When users ‘like’, share or comment on a piece of content, their own social network is made aware of the interaction regardless of whether or not they follow the account that originally provided that content. Such interactions, also known as engagement, will result in an increase in reach. Per Facebook, reach is “the number of people who saw your post” (*Facebook.com*). As a page’s followers like, share and comment on that page’s posts, their networks, which could include hundreds or thousands of additional followers, will see that content as well, providing opportunities for the person or organization who runs that page to cultivate new followers.

1.2 Twitter

Twitter is a “microblogging service” (Kwak, Lee, Moon, & Park, 2010) used by millions of people around the world on their computers and mobile phones (Huberman & Romero, 2008). Twitter users share news and communicate through the text message-like platform with tweets, which are messages that can include photos and links to videos and news articles, in 140 characters or less.

Twitter states that their message is “to give everyone the power to create and share ideas and information instantly, without barriers.” Twitter boasts a user base of 241 million monthly active users who send 500 million tweets per day in more than 35 different languages around the world (*Twitter.com*). If the content shared via tweet on a person or organization’s Twitter account is engaging, interesting or entertaining, followers of that account can choose to “retweet”, or share the tweet, with their network of followers, therefore increasing the reach of the initial account.

1.3 Instagram

Instagram is a photo and video-sharing platform. Instagram users capture and edit photos and 15-second videos with their mobile devices and upload them to be shared with a network of followers (*Instagram.com*).

Instagram “enables users to instantly turn their mobile snapshots into visually appealing images, which are then shared with others on the network. The images can be shared on other social networks as well...Instagram launched in October 2012 and currently has approximately 130 million monthly active users” (Salomon, 2013).

Unlike other social networks, Instagram primarily exists in a mobile app rather than on a website: “Instagram is dedicated to the mobile experience, and part of its growth was fueled by the rapid adoption of smartphones with high-functioning cameras. Although it now provides a website where users can view posts, images still can’t be posted from a web interface without a workaround” (Salomon, 2013).

In June 2013, Instagram added the capability to post short videos in addition to photos. In its relatively short existence, Instagram has already amassed more than 130 million users who upload more than five million new videos every day (Bernstein, 2013).

1.4 Vine

Instagram, originally a photo-based social app, actually added video capabilities in response to the introduction of “the growing popularity of Vine, a six-second video app” (Salomon, 2013).

Vine is a video-based app not created by, but now owned by Twitter. Vine is “a mobile service that lets you capture and share short looping videos. Like Tweets, the brevity of videos on Vine (6 seconds or less)” according to its developers, is meant to inspire creativity (Vine: A new way...). That aspect makes it: “unique in the social media spaces as a tool perceived, almost exclusively, as a creativity platform (*Mashable.com*).

The brevity of Vine, as mentioned above...

...might remind some of Twitter, but in reality the tools are quite different. Vine serves as a successful complement to Twitter.

But while Vine video is good for news and storytelling, the Vine app offers a radically different feed than many other networks. Spending six seconds on each post seems like an eternity compared to scanning your average Twitter feed (Ulanoff, 2014).

1.5 Pinterest

Pinterest can be thought of as an online bulletin board, on which users share content they have collected from around the web that they wish to remember or revisit later:

Launched in March 2010, Pinterest gained significant traction in late 2011...and is now one of the most popular social media websites...

Pinterest users organize objects by selecting an image from the webpage where the object exists using a browser bookmarklet (or by uploading an image from their computer). This technological affordance makes it easy to reuse and share images. Images uploaded via the bookmarklet contain a link back to the source website, but perhaps not to the original, as images may be used and reused several times on the web.

Pinterest also has many social components: users add boards to subject categories, 'repin' [share] objects from other users to their own boards, "like" or comment on objects and "follow" boards and other users' activity (Hall and Zarro, 2012).

Instead of collecting content, Pinterest account managers can choose to create original content, which that account's followers can share with their network of Pinterest followers.

A majority of Pinterest's user base of more than 70 million people are female (Bernstein, 2013).

1.6 LinkedIn

LinkedIn is a social network that allows users to share business, networking and career-related content with their network of followers, who in turn can share the same information with their network of followers.

LinkedIn:

Focuses on professional information, encouraging users to construct an abbreviated CV and to establish “connections.” Profiles are strictly professional, with little or no information about hobbies, political or religious affiliations, favorite music, books or movies included. People can solicit and make available recommendations from other members and control how much of their profile to show to the public and connections of their connections (Grudin and Skeels, 2009).

LinkedIn caters to a more educated, business-minded crowd, as 50% of users have their Bachelor’s or Graduate degree (Bernstein, 2013).

1.7 Google+

Google+ is Google’s attempt at a social network platform, which, since its introduction in 2011, has been fairly successful:

The platform was announced as a new generation of social network and included several new features, such as circles that allow users to share different content with different people and hangouts that let users create video chatting sessions and invite up to nine people from their circles of friends to share the environment (Almeida, Cha, Comarela, Magno, & Saez-Trumber, 2012).

Interestingly, the user base for Google+ is the opposite of Pinterest, with 67% of its user base being male (Bernstein, 2013).

1.8 Foursquare

Foursquare is a location-sharing service, which, similar to Instagram, is primarily a mobile-based social platform (Cramer, Rost, & Holmquist, 2011).

Foursquare...

...describes their service as a “mobile application that makes cities easier to use and more interesting to explore. It is a friend-finder, a social city guide and a game that challenges users to experience new things, and rewards them for doing so. Foursquare lets users ‘check in’ to a place when they’re there, tell friends where they are and track the history of where they’ve been and who they’ve been there with”. Foursquare has clients for smartphones such as iPhone, BlackBerry, Palm and the Android platform.

Foursquare lets people connect to friends, which are equivalent to the concept of friends on other social networks. Users can check-in to locations to say that they are currently there. When doing a check-in, foursquare examines the user’s current location and shows a list of nearby places. Users can also register new places.

When a user checks into a place, a check-in notification is by default pushed to their foursquare contacts (Cranshaw, Hong, Lindqvist, Wiese, & Zimmerman, 2011).

The “check-in” feature was initially unique to foursquare, but has since been adopted and utilized by Facebook as well.

Again, while this list explains most of the social sites and platforms to be discussed later, it is only a small sampling of social media sites, which at the time of this paper’s publication, seem to be the most popular with news seekers and distributors, and will most likely be different in the very near future.

CHAPTER 2: EMBRACING CHANGE

In a time when social media seems to have changed the way almost everyone communicates, interacts, shares and interacts with family, friends, co-workers, politicians, celebrities and companies alike, it should come as no surprise that local television news viewers would be among the population of those who have embraced it.

Researchers agree that individuals have embraced social media to seek information, communicate and connect with others, follow others' activities, engage in social networking and seek entertainment (Reitz, 2012). With audience members turning to non-traditional means of communication for information, news directors are now faced with the decision of whether or not their stations will embrace the change as well. In more cases than not, as social media experts, researchers and television news workers are finding, the answer is more frequently becoming, "yes."

Social media, which is "quickly emerging as an important and prominent outlet for news engagement" (Weeks & Holbert, 2013, p. 213), "can be described as a fusion between sociology and technology, altering communication from monologue (one to many) into dialogue (many to many) (Reitz, 2012, p. 46)" or in other words, advances the traditional one-way broadcast method of news dissemination to a two-way relationship between a television news organization and the viewer. This "collaborative environment" is unique in the fact that the news organization and its viewers are now both senders and receivers of information. In the traditional model...

...news seekers are mere consumers who receive only the information provided by news organizations, have little choice

over content and for the most part consume content at a time that is pre-determined.

In addition, sharing content (e.g., cutting an article out of the newspaper for a friend) or controlling the time of consumption (e.g., recording a program on a DVR) are somewhat onerous acts with traditional mass media.

With social media, however, users maintain much more control over their information environment. Consumers can actively participate by selecting the content they wish to consume at a time that is convenient to them, and also quickly disseminate news to numerous others. The ease with which social media news consumers can share information with others sets it apart from the traditional mass media experience. This distinction exemplifies the nature of social media, and most importantly for the current research, the understanding that these sites allow for both reception and dissemination of news (Weeks & Holbert, 2013).

A 2011 RTDNA/Hofstra survey found that almost every television news station in the country had a Facebook page and almost 90% had at least one Twitter feed (Agresta, 2011). Another survey found that social media is now the most frequently used form of internet communication, surpassing “older and more established” forms such as email distribution, RSS feeds or blogging (Standley, 2013). Social media has become so popular that more than a third of American adult internet users maintain an online social network profile (Maier, 2010).

News directors increasingly claim that social media has been instrumental in recent successes. “I think social media helped [us] win every newscast during February sweeps,” said Salt Lake City’s KUTV news director Jennifer Dahl (Potter). At a 2013 Atlanta Press Club Newsmakers luncheon, 11 Alive’s news director Ellen Crooke said, “It’s all part of what we do. It’s integrated into everything we do. It’s the future of who we are. It’s who we are now” (Ho, 2013). TV news professionals

recognize that social media is “one of the most powerful mediums of our times” (Agresta, 2011).

What makes social media such a powerful tool for broadcasters is that “through interactions, organizations can establish authentic relationships with their publics by determining the needs, wants, and concerns...In sum, organizations and their publics [or local news stations and their viewers] to create and disseminate content through social media that can help authenticate their relationships (Reitz, 2012). Social media strongly centers on relationships, which sets it apart from past models of television news viewer and station (Kahle, Kim, Lee, Minton, & Orth, 2012).

CHAPTER 3: “THAT INNOVATIVE FEELING”

A recent study has found that “Facebook is by far the largest social networking site among U.S. adults, and with half of its users getting news there, is also the largest among U.S. adults when it comes to getting news” (Gottfried, Holcomb, & Mitchell, 2013). The findings of a 2013 survey by the Pew Research Center’s Journalism Project restate the fact that half of Facebook users get news on the social networking site and the same can be said for Twitter.

However, many TV news organizations are already considering new ways to connect with their audiences in addition to the platforms that seem to be talked about the most.

3.1 Beyond Facebook and Twitter

Concerning alternate social media platforms, such as YouTube, LinkedIn and Pinterest, the 2014 Pew report says, “News plays a varying role across the social networking sites.” Only about one-fifth of YouTube’s user base uses the platform for news, and the number for LinkedIn users who turn to that social platform for news is even smaller. “And Pinterest,” the report says, “is hardly used for news at all” (Gottfried, et al., 2013).

However, the size of each social network’s overall user base gives a clearer representation of how many people in the U.S. use each platform to get news:

Facebook is by far the largest social networking site among U.S. adults, and with half of its users getting news there, is also the largest among U.S. adults when it comes to getting news...Roughly two-thirds (64%) of U.S adults use the site, and half of those users get news there—amounting to 30% of the general population. YouTube has the next greatest reach in terms of general usage, at 51% of U.S. adults. Thus, even though only a fifth of its users get news there, that amounts to

10% of the adult population, which puts it on par with Twitter. Twitter reaches just 16% of U.S. adults, but half (8% of U.S. adults) use it for news. Reddit is a news destination for nearly two-thirds of its users (62%). But since just 3% of the U.S. population uses reddit, that translates to 2% of the population that gets news there (Gottfried et al., 2013).

Although the user base of most social networks are comparatively small when compared to Facebook, television news stations have been experimenting with social media platforms beyond Facebook and Twitter for some time.

3.2 Experimenting with Social Media Platforms

NBC New York started experimenting with Google Hangouts to let viewers join live video chats with the station's meteorologists in 2013 (C Carlson, 2013).

Atlanta's 11 Alive, who's news director Ellen Crooke says it's necessary to have a presence on social media, is on photo-based social network Instagram, as well as 6-second looping video social network Vine. "We have to embrace every new thing," says news Crooke, "That allows us to speak to people. Some things will be a fad. Some things won't. When TV first started, it was the cool kids...We'll ruin our industry if we don't have that innovative feeling" (Ho, 2013).

In 2011, WCAU, an NBC affiliate in Philadelphia, shared "that innovative feeling" when they announced a partnership with the geo-location social media platform Foursquare. According to NBC Universal, WCAU, or NBC 10, was one of the first local television stations in the country to integrate news content into the Foursquare platform (Burke, 2011). NBC 10 "promised to assign one reporter to use the station's Foursquare account to report on a lead news story each day. He or she [would] check in upon arrival at the event location and provide regular updates as

the story [developed]”, eventually planning to use the platform to cover multiple stories per day (Indvik, 2011).

However, as of April 2014, NBC 10’s experiment seems to have been unsuccessful, as a recent visit to the station’s Foursquare page (foursquare.com/nbcphiladelphia) indicates that it has not been updated in over a year. In such experiments, sometimes embracing that feeling of innovation pays off, and other times, it will not.

When it does pay off, though, the local news station and viewer start to engage in something no other news medium had allowed for before: A two-way relationship between local TV news outlet and the viewer.

CHAPTER 4: RELATIONSHIPS

Social media has changed the nature of television news by providing a platform for viewers and the news organization to engage with each other in “dynamic, synchronized, and multidirectional dialogue that represents varied voices.” Social media provides the television news audience with new ways to connect with journalists. “Social media users are now able to ‘friend,’ ‘like’ or ‘follow’ news organizations and journalists with whom they wish to establish a connection and interact. (Weeks & Holbert, 2013). In this environment, the television news organization provides output and receives feedback from its viewers.

According to Kent and Taylor (1998), fostering dialogue is critical for organizations using [social media]. [Social media] can be used as tools to help facilitate relationship building between organizations, such as television news outlets, and their publics, or viewers, in order to improve responsiveness to their publics’, or viewers’ needs:

[News] organizations are able to adapt and adjust quickly based on what they learn from their [viewers] through the two-way, synchronized environment social media offer. Therefore, the [viewers are] seemingly satisfied as the [television news] organization is taking what it learns and adapts and adjusts accordingly to satisfy the [viewers’] needs. In turn, the [news] organization is also satisfied because its needs are met by the opportunity to learn first-hand its [viewers] interests and opinions (Reitz, 2012).

Social media strongly center on relationships (Kahle, et al., 2012). When a user connects with a journalist or television news organization on social media, he or she receives updates and information (including news stories) from that organization. Users can also comment on news stories from that organization and

interact with journalists. “More than a superficial gesture, friending journalists/news organizations is related to more active engagement with news content. Friending signifies that one is interested in the news product, and interest has been...to lead to enhanced activity within social media sites” (Weeks & Holbert, 2012).

4.1 Reporters and the Audience

With the emergence of social media, “the roles of television journalists have morphed from providing content for a single medium into stories that are multi-purposed for various forms of traditional and new media platforms” (Ferguson & Greer, 2011). Many reporters have embraced social media, both as a source and a way to connect to their audience. 11 Alive news director Ellen Crooke says, “Any journalist who doesn’t do social media isn’t worth their salt” (Ho, 2013).

Reporters recognize that social media represents a new opportunity to reach their audience faster and possibly more directly than in the past when they would have only had the chance to provide information during the time allotted by a newscast.

For example, Twitter may serve...

...as a breaking news source that provides information about current events ahead of traditional media, particularly when going live is not possible. A prominent example is the emergency landing of a US Airways jet on the Hudson River in 2009. Before news of the crash landing was broadcast on the mainstream media, Twitter users had already heard about the event (Ferguson & Greer, 2011).

Freelance journalist Genevieve Belmaker says, “When I use Twitter and Facebook on a story, I get in as close contact as possible with the source of the

information I am tracking, and find out as much as possible about them” (Belmaker, 2012). And the Pew Research Center’s Project for Excellence in Journalism reports: “Some local reporters and anchors have developed followings that dwarf their stations’ on-air audience. Nancy Loo, a reporter and fill-in anchor at Tribune’s WGN in Chicago, has 683,000 subscribers to her public posts on Facebook. The station’s main newscast draws fewer than 400,000 viewers” (Potter, Matsa, & Mitchell, 2012). This works out well for the news organization, as researchers argue that reporters who have social media followers “might be enhancing viewers’ affinity toward the news person’s television station” (Ferguson & Greer, 2011).

These types of relationships between viewer and reporter or station, made possible by social media, illustrates a “more personal and connected” television news model—one of which NBC New York’s Coralie Carson says, “...strengthens the bond the viewers have with the station, all in a few seconds it took to reply to a tweet or post” (2013).

4.2 A Voice for the Viewer

While social media has undoubtedly changed the way news is delivered, the way it is consumed has also evolved. Watching television is no longer a one-way experience, as explained by the industry website *Broadcast Engineering*:

New research...reveals that 64 percent of US consumers surveyed said they remembered seeing a social media symbol, such as Facebook “Likes” while watching television, and a third said they interacted with social media after seeing the symbol on their TV Screens.

The Accenture survey, which polled 1,000 TV viewers, shows the most respondents said they noticed and were also familiar with how to interact with social media symbols while watching TV.

Accenture's global Internet segment managing director goes on to say that social media enables audiences to interact directly for a richer viewing experience (TV-driven social media..., 2012).

In a traditional newscast, the viewer does not have a voice. The viewer takes in the message being conveyed by the newscaster, and that is where the process ends. Social media has changed the process dramatically: "Social media [has] the potential to transform news coverage into a meaningful experience for the audience. Through its interactivity, social media can be used to create two-way dialogue between the news organization and the audience" (Standley, 2013). Thanks to social media, news is now participatory.

NBC New York's Coralie Carlson (2013) explains:

Television news is inherently a one-way conversation: the viewers at home listen to the reporters and anchors. But social media is opening up a two-way conversation that is changing the dynamic.

Now viewers are tweeting to reporters, anchors and the station. We can answer their questions in real time and use their comments on our broadcast.

At NBC New York, we post questions about current events on Facebook and read some of the best comments on our morning show, Today in New York. We also solicited questions for a mayoral debate on Facebook and Twitter, in effect letting the public tell us what they thought was most important to ask the candidates...

The feedback from our viewers influences our report—by giving us tips and information (including photos and video), and by letting us know what they are interested in.

The power social media gives to the viewer represents an opportunity for audience members to have a voice in the news process unlike any form of mass media has before.

4.3 Tornado Drill

While the relationship building aspect of social media can be positive for both viewer and news outlet, as social media use in television news gains popularity, there are also researchers and experimenters looking into the disadvantages of using social media to connect with an audience depending on the message the outlet has to convey—particularly, in one case, when it came to breaking weather news.

Forecasters at the National Weather Service ran a social media experiment in 2013:

The National Weather Service office in Norman, Okla., deep in the heart of the large swath of land known as “Tornado Alley,” has for years been at the forefront of using social media in disseminating weather-related information.

But they [tried] a new approach in an attempt to find new better ways to reach people, holding an online “tornado drill.” The recent effort entailed posting a tornado drill message—in English and Spanish—to both Facebook and Twitter and asking followers to “like,” share and retweet it. The post gave tips for using the sites during severe weather.

This was the first time any National Weather Service office conducted a social media experiment:

“One of the purposes is to demonstrate the power of social media when it comes to sharing...information,” said Rick Smith, the warning coordination meteorologist for the weather service in Norman. “But also, to demonstrate the limitations of using social media for weather information.”

The post had reached close to 800,000 people 12 hours after it was published:

But that's little help to forecasters who have on average a 15-minute lead time for a tornado warning. It's not clear where the people who saw the post were located, and Smith said the majority of them saw it because one of their friends "liked" or shared it.

'That's one of the things we actually wanted people to get out of this and point out. While social media is a powerful tool for sharing...information, you can't totally rely on it for being your sole source of warnings,' Smith said, adding that Facebook and Twitter are useful in getting information out days or hours [in advance] (Eaton, 2014).

Much of the usefulness comes from the fact that many people are now getting news on devices they carry with them all the time.

CHAPTER 5: MOBILE MEDIA

With the introduction of smart phones and tablets, the likelihood of someone getting news on a social media platform increases. The Pew Research Center's Journalism Project states that "news consumers on social networking websites are more likely than the general public to use a mobile device for news, including roughly half of Twitter and LinkedIn news consumers" (Gottfried et al., 2013), which may be related to the relatively new experience provided to the local news consumer of consuming and interacting with television news outlets on social media using a mobile device:

On the receiver side, people can carry the news with them via portable devices, such as a cell phone, personalize the content they want through the internet, and participate in the creation and distribution of news content...Social media, such as Facebook and Twitter are furthering transforming news from a simple form of push communication, based largely on media organizations, into a 'social experience' (Ferguson & Greer, 2011).

A 2014 study performed as part of The American Press Institute, The Associated Press and Norc at the University of Chicago's Media Insight Project, found that nearly half of Americans with Internet access sign up for news alerts of some kind...And people with smartphones were 'three times as likely to get news through social media as those without smart phones..."

Nielsen's *State of the Media: The Social Media Report 2012* finds that "Having a mobile device on-hand while watching TV has become an integral part of consumer routines—41 percent of tablet owners and 38 percent of smartphone owners use their device daily while in front of their TV screen. Not surprisingly,

social networking is a top activity on both devices... “ (Potter, Matsa, & Mitchell, 2012).

Another Pew study, in collaboration with the Economist Group, finds that younger, highly educated people are using mobile devices to get news (The Demographics of Mobile News), which is mainly in line with the demographics of social media news consumers overall, which can then be divided into smaller subset demographics:

A look at the demographic characteristics of news consumers on...social networking sites show that, while there is some cross-over, each site appeals to a somewhat different group. LinkedIn news consumers stand out from other groups as more likely to be high earners and college educated. Twitter news consumers are significantly younger than news consumers on Facebook, Google Plus and LinkedIn. And Facebook news consumers are significantly more likely to be female than news consumers on YouTube, Twitter and LinkedIn (Gottfried et al., 2013).

The multitude of new devices, social platforms, news habits and relationships between the local television news audience and outlet is becoming so important in today’s changing media landscape that they are handled by people who hold jobs that did not exist just a few years ago.

CHAPTER 6: A NEW OPPORTUNITY

Recognizing the potential of and need for a well-managed social media strategy, news stations have followed national news organizations in hiring social media editors to manage their news outlets' social media efforts. According to the *American Journalism Review*:

Social media's prominence has led many news organizations to hire social media editors, full-time staff members—sometimes several full-time staff members—completely dedicated to the rapidly growing phenomenon....[A social media editor] looks for articles, tips and eyewitness reports to complement the work being done by...reporters when news breaks, maintains [the news outlet's social media accounts] and trains reporters in how to use social networks in their journalism....

[Dean of student affairs at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism Sree] Sreenivasan says the social media editor "is a new breed of person in the newsroom who is able to bring immense value by harnessing all the content that the newsroom provides and help bring it eyeballs and traffic." This "is crucial as a business decision, but it also makes for really good ways to help you listen for better stories, trends and ideas" (Gleason, 2010).

News director Mike Dreaden, of Atlanta's Channel 2 Action News, says the newsroom needs to have people on staff watching social media trends. Without dedicated social media staff members, news director Ellen Crooke says that during a 2013 school shooting in her market, her station's social media editors were integral in pickup up viewers' concerns in real time, allowing anchors to address them on the air (Ho, 2013).

In February 2013, NBC O&O (owned and operated station) KXAS in Dallas found itself in trouble with viewers over a Facebook post. The story was about a soldier at Fort Hood who had hiccups. Trying to scare away his hiccups, another

soldier put a gun in the first soldier's face and accidentally shot and killed him. KXAS posted the story to their Facebook page with the caption: "BOOoops...a Fort Hood soldier was fatally shot after his friend tried to cure him of hiccups by scaring him with a loaded gun. The shooter has pleaded guilty to involuntary manslaughter. [story link] SHARE your best solution for getting rid of hiccups below!"

According to local TV news blog TVSPY, the post generated a number of negative comments from the station's Facebook followers. "It's not funny to make a joke about someone's death. Especially a young soldier who died because of a stupid, stupid prank," one viewer posted.

In response to the viewer outrage, the station removed the post and replaced it with an apology: "We have removed the previous post to our Facebook page that many of you felt was insensitive. We apologize for the error in judgment." Another viewer replied, "It is good to know that a MAJOR TV outlet can admit its errors. Thank you, do not change" (Knox, 2013). Such an exchange would have taken hours, if not days, in a time before social media. In cases similar to this, the voice given to the audience by social media allows for immediate feedback, resulting in simultaneous change.

Luckily for KXAS, even though the initial post was most likely something they should have thought twice about before sharing, they had someone on staff to handle the viewer feedback and change negative feedback into positive attitudes.

Not all situations will be as easily quelled as the one KXAS got itself into. When a local TV news director finds him or herself in one, he or she will benefit from having at least one dedicated staff member to deal with fixing it instead of

taking time away from show producers, web writers, managers or reporters who are already busy enough doing their primary jobs to bring the newscast to air.

CHAPTER 7: THE LOCAL TV NEWS SOCIAL MEDIA SURVEY

News directors are finding that integrating social and television is a necessity—whether to reach viewers who might not watch their TV news programming or to drive people to watch (Ho, 2013).

The rapid growth of news use within social media, the increased presence of reporters on social platforms and the ability these platforms afford users to act as influential content distributors have made it imperative that news directors better understand how their audience engages news within social media (Weeks & Holbert, 2013).

As social media continues to grow in popularity and accessibility (Rutledge, 2008), a news director who knows what his or her audience wants or expects from their station on social media will be able to use that information to craft the best social media experience for their viewers. A news director needs to ask him or herself, “What does a local news audience want from a local news station on social media?”

“Although social media [is] now an important source of news for many citizens, the empirical study of how people engage this content is in its infancy. Scholars have only recently begun to explore the uses, gratifications, and effects of news within social media.” (Weeks & Holbert, 2013).

However, there is information available. To start, the news director may want to look at the results of the *Broadcast Engineering's* 2012 “Social Media on TV Survey”, which asked people why they use social media while watching TV.

Reasons included:

- To get more information on a show, product or service
- Receiving coupons and promotional codes
- Entering a contest or sweepstakes
- Watching another video
- Interacting with others who share similar interests
- Sharing or recommending a video or the program to others
- Buying something (“TV-driven social media...”, 2012)

The news director could use a survey similar to the “Social Media on TV Survey”, but with questions specific to social media and local TV news in order to answer: How do viewers want to interact with their local TV news stations on social media?

The *Local TV News Social Media Survey* was designed to answer the question asked above.

7.1 Survey Method

The *Local TV News Social Media Survey* was distributed to respondents across the United States through several social media channels (Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter), as well as email in June 2013.

The administrator of a Twitter account called “Survive TV News Jobs” (www.twitter.com/survivetvjobs) shared the survey with the account’s followers, and among several @survivetvnewsjobs followers who retweeted the survey was a reporter at KHQ Local News in Spokane, Washington, Katie Steiner, who shared it with her followers.

The survey was presented as a Google Form, and results were collected and analyzed via Google Analytics.

7.2 Survey Demographics

The *Local TV News Social Media Survey* respondents were predominantly white, college-educated women between the ages of 20-29. Other audience members represented were those who identified themselves as African American, Latino, Indian American and “Other”; people ranging in age between 15-19 and 65-69; and men. 65% of respondents said they had completed college, and 28% have gone on to complete a graduate or doctorate program.

The demographics of the survey takers were most likely pre-determined by the way in which the survey was given—as mentioned previously, via links on Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn—two out of three of which have predominantly female user bases (Heine, 2013).

7.3 Television News and Social Media Habits of the Local Audience

Eighty percent of survey respondents said they watch local newscasts on television, but less than half (33%) watch a local newscast every day.

Almost all of the survey respondents (97%) have at least one social media account, which most respondents (77%), unlike the case of their local television newscasts, check at least once—if not multiple times—per day.

When asked to list social media platforms that they used, the platforms survey takers mentioned Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter, Instagram, Vine, Google+, foursquare, Pinterest and Tumblr—each of which were described earlier. Additionally, several respondents included the photo-sharing service, Flickr, as well

as the mobile photo-messaging service, snapchat, in their lists of social media platforms they use. Before the survey had been completed, the author of this thesis had not come across either platform in any article, journal or publication throughout the course of research into television news or social media. This further legitimizes a sentiment that has been made several times, which is that social media, as a medium itself and as a potential news source, is a seemingly ever-changing form of digital communication.

Social media platforms used the most by respondents of the *Local TV News Social Media Survey* were, in descending order of popularity: Facebook, Twitter and Instagram.

7.4 Survey Respondents on Their Relationships With Local TV News

More than half of the survey respondents (58%) follow at least one local news station on social media. Some of them follow multiple local news stations, but the majority of respondents do not follow more than two. This is important to note, as news directors based in markets with multiple local television news outlets will most likely find their organizations competing with more stations than their area's viewers are willing to follow on social media—creating additional pressure to make their news product stand out.

Of survey respondents who do follow a local TV news outlet, 84% note that following local TV news on social media makes it easy for them to keep up with the news related to their surrounding communities. Following specific news reporters or anchors is less common than following a station, which fewer than half (43%) of respondents do. While there are many reporters who find success engaging with

their viewers through social media (Weeks & Holbert, 2013), this information should be a sign to the local TV news director that his or her reporters' social media presence should come secondary to the overall news organization, which is primary, when first implementing a social media strategy.

While there is an audience for the reporter and anchor's personal social media accounts, the audience's desire to engage with the station on social media is greater.

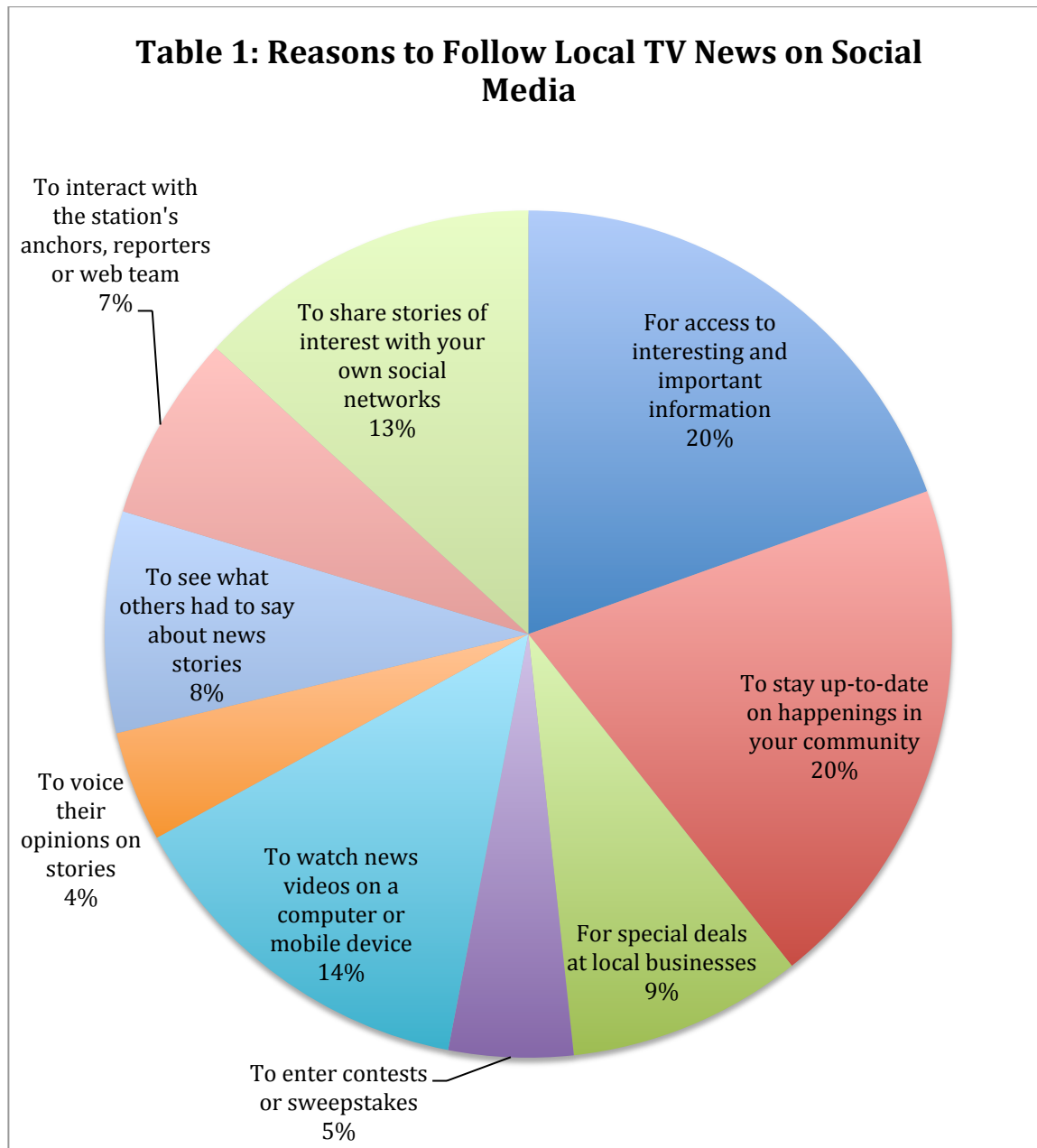
7.5 The Audience's Reasons for Connecting with Local TV News Social Media

To help figure out why the survey respondents chose to follow local television news on social media, they were asked to agree or disagree with a series of options similar to those listed in the "2013 Social Media on TV Survey" (TV-driven social media..., 2012) noted above, with a few additional options.

The respondents were asked to agree or disagree whether or not they followed local TV news on social media:

- For access to interesting and important information
- To stay up-to-date on happenings in their community
- For special deals at local businesses
- To enter contests or sweepstakes
- To watch news videos on a computer or mobile device
- To voice their own opinions on stories
- To see what others have to say about news stories
- To interact with the station's anchors, reporters or web team
- To share stories of interest with my social media followers

The following chart illustrates the percentage of which survey respondents agreed with each option:



As the table shows, the dominant reasons why survey takers said they follow a local news station on social media were to access interesting and important information and to stay up-to-date on happenings in their communities.

The order of which respondents had other reasons for following a local TV news social media account, from most-to-least popular, were: to watch news videos on a computer or mobile device; to share stories of interest with their own social networks; for special deals at local businesses; to see what others had to say about news stories; to interact with the station's anchors, reporters or web team; to enter contests or sweepstakes; and to voice their opinions on stories.

These answers represent valuable information for a local news director. Most notably, that the main reasons the respondents say they follow local TV news on social media have to do with getting timely and accurate news they find relevant to their communities. While many may think of social media as a source of entertainment, and may therefore go into developing a social media strategy focused on contests and fun, personal updates from reporters, they would not be creating the kind of local TV news social media experience their viewers, if they're anything like the survey respondents, would want.

A similar sentiment was repeated in the next section of the survey, in which respondents were asked to add any reasons why they followed local TV news on social media that were not included in the previous list of options. "With Twitter, I can quickly overlook the stories that I am not interested in," said one respondent. "I...follow the weather anchor due to specific weather threats common in my area," said another. "Breaking news on social media...gives real time updates and eyewitness reports not necessarily being broadcast." "To get breaking news immediately." "I feel more connected to...my community because of it."

Again, one can see in these additional responses that it's the accuracy, timeliness and local focus of news shared on a station's social media platforms that the viewers find important.

7.6 Viewers Suggest Changes in Current Local TV Social Media Strategies

If a station is not living up to the standards of their local audience, the audience always has the choice to disconnect—un-follow, un-friend, un-like, etc.—with the station on any social platform. While most (82%) of those who follow local TV news on social media say they are happy with the relationship they have with their local station, they have suggestions that could be valuable for news directors to learn of in order to avoid losing audience members through social media.

When developing, running, or re-working their station's social media strategy, members of the local TV news audience, via the *Local TV News Social Media Survey*, say they need to be more engaging on social platforms. Audience members surveyed suggest engaging in “more conversation” instead of “just posting updates.” “More interaction. Less than ‘headline’ tweeting,” says one respondent. Through these suggestions, the audience, via the survey, is hinting at something important for news directors to remember, which is the “social” aspect of social media. When a news outlet moves onto a social platform, it is a different experience than when they were sharing news via television, which is a one-way communication platform. The audience is on social media to be social, and if the local station is in the social sphere, the audience expects that the news organization is there to reciprocate.

Another theme that comes from the suggestions of the *Local TV News Social Media Survey* respondents for news directors is that the audience wants

professionalism in their local news station's social media presence. In other words, adding social media management to the list of existing responsibilities of producers or reporters may not be enough to meet the expectations of the audience.

With requests such as, "Instead of tweeting or posting headlines, they should summarize the [story] to 140 characters. That would be a lot easier and faster," when it comes to Twitter messaging, and statements including, "I can't stand when messaging is pushed from Facebook to Twitter or vice versa. Messages should be crafted as appropriate," most respondents seemed to be getting at what one said simply: "Hire employees dedicated to social media."

This is important, because the younger television news-viewing audience of today, which includes people between the ages of 18 and 24, is made up of digital natives. They have been using social media in their everyday lives for a much larger percentage of their lives compared to those in older demographics, and are much more likely to interact with television through social media (TV-driven social media...) than any other age group. As they become a news outlet's target demographic, they are going to be able to tell the difference between good and bad social media output and content better than any audience group that came before them. It's also going to be more important to them as well, so it should be important to a local news director to have someone dedicated to managing his or her station's social media strategy and efforts.

The final theme seen in the list of suggestions for local news directors from the *Local TV News Social Media Survey* was touched on previously by the respondents' answers to another question, but they took the chance to make

suggestions to elaborate: They follow local television new stations on social media for local news. One respondent offers the following information illustrating why she prefers following one local station in her market over another:

“One of the stations in my market does a great job posting about news of the day, community events and weather. The other station posts...about tabloid topics that have nothing to do with the surrounding communities. Although it’s good to interact with your viewers, I would rather see that through local topics and stories rather than meaningless happenings of the world.”

Another respondent wishes his local station would “share only relevant content. Sometimes they can be overbearing by sharing all their stories rather than one that may be more important.”

Other respondents echo the same sentiment—that they are following the station on social media for news, and that is it. They do not have time for, or the desire to tolerate, teasers in their social media feeds. “Don’t tell me to wait for the 6 p.m. news for information on a story,” one respondent says, “If I’m following you on social media, I’m getting my news there, too. I don’t want to wait for news...” Another said that they have no interest in a station trying to be “hip” on social media, adding, “Just give me the important facts.”

As stated before, this is good information for news directors who are thinking of making their social media presence more fun and feature-driven. According to the respondents of the *Local TV News Social Media Survey* that would be a mistake.

Of course, not all survey respondents follow local TV news on social media. Of those who do not follow a local station on social media, the main reason they gave

was because they did not want news outlets included in their social media feeds. This should not dissuade the local news director from developing a social media strategy, or diminish the importance of having a social media presence, because as will soon be noted, social media is an important aspect of the modern local news audience's multichannel-based news intake practices.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SOCIAL MEDIA GUIDELINES FOR THE NEWS DIRECTOR

Based on the findings of the *Local TV News Social Media Survey*, a news director tasked with creating a social media plan for his or her station should know the following:

8.1 There is a Local News Audience on Social Media

More people use social media than watch local TV news. Those social media users could be viewed as an untapped demographic, more likely to get their news from social media than television, as 73% of *Local TV News Social Media Survey* respondents do, or even interested in tailoring their newsgathering experience and open to multiple news sources such as social media and television.

An alternate Pew survey correlates with the findings of the *Local TV News Social Media Survey*, in that its results illustrated: “Social media news consumers still get news from a variety of other sources and, in some cases, even more so than the general public does. YouTube, LinkedIn and Google Plus news consumers are more likely than Facebook and Twitter news consumers to watch [television] news.” Interestingly, the Pew survey notes that, “Twitter news consumers are among the least likely to turn to local and cable TV”, meaning that the news outlet that figures out how to best incorporate Twitter into an overall successful social media strategy would be more likely to gain new audience members.

The Pew survey results go on to say that “nearly four-in-ten LinkedIn news consumers listen to news on the radio, compared to about a quarter of the general population” (Gottfried et al., 2013). The news director who realizes the best social media strategy could be more likely to gain new audience members. Sally Mauk, in a

Missoulain article from 2013, explains that, “18 to 31 year-olds watch, read or listen to the news only about half as much as those of the Boomer generation (46 minutes a day to 77 minutes, respectively). According to Nielsen Media Research, the median age of the viewer watching [an evening] newscast is now 63.” “The days of reading the newspaper in the morning, listening to radio news on the hour during the day, and watching a TV newscast at night,” Mauk says, “are fast disappearing as more and more people get their information instantly online” (Social Media outduels...).

8. 2 Know the Audience, Know the Platforms, Interact Accordingly

Most social media users who follow a local TV news station only follow one account, so stations need a comprehensive and sustainable social media plan to attract users away from market competitors.

Stations will find their largest prospective social media audience on Facebook, so a news director implementing social media strategy for the first time will want to start there. 71% of online adults use Facebook, followed by 22% who use LinkedIn, 21% who use Pinterest. 18% use Twitter and 17% on Instagram (Pew 2014). However, experts believe Twitter will likely become even more popular for both TV news reporters and audience members in the future:

With postings limited to 140 characters, [researchers argue] that Twitter seems to be more like a ‘broadcast medium’ when compared with other popular social network systems. Perhaps it is that characteristic that is most appealing to local television news personnel and their followers...

The tentative conclusion is that Twitter use for following TV news will grow in the future (Ferguson & Greer, 2011).

Ferguson and Greer go on to say that Information-seeking provides a definite motivation, but personal and arousal-related motivations are also factors in building

relationships between TV news personalities and their followers” (Ferguson & Greer, 2011).

However, the few *Local TV News Social Media Survey* respondents who did follow on-air talent said that they were more likely to say that they follow on-air talent on their personal social media accounts are more likely to follow them for updates and info rather than for anything related to their talent’s personality, or as Ferguson and Greer put it, factors relating to personal and arousal-related motivations.

8.3 Viewers Want News on Multiple Platforms and Devices

The main reason people follow local news on social media, according to *The Local TV News Social Media Survey*, is for the news. They want accurate, up-to-date information on stories they see as important. In fact, a recent study from The American Press Institute, The Associated Press and NORC at the University of Chicago reports that as long as audience members are getting that accurate, up-to-date news, they’re not really concerned where they get it.

In 2014, author Chris Gayomali explained:

The way we consume news is a hot topic in the media industry. Startups...are banking on the fact that people frequently prefer their news updates delivered in snack-sized bites...

A new survey, however, unearthed some interesting data regarding our news consumption: Readers don’t seem to really care about what organization they’re getting their news from, or what device format they’re reading on; what matters, really, is the news itself.

The survey is part of the just-announced Media Insight Project...Its initial focus is on the ‘personal news cycle,’ or how various content platforms and gadgets fit into the consumption habits of Americans.

While the title of Gayomali's article, *Study: Social Media Isn't Replacing Traditional News Outlets At All*, seems to contradict the impact this paper's author claims social media has, he goes on to explain that social media is a very important part of a news model where people rely on multiple channels for news consumption:

...the overwhelming majority of Americans have no problem relying on multiple information channels to get their news. Although conventional wisdom might suggest otherwise, loyalty to a few primary sources just wasn't there...

Social media, for example, isn't 'replacing' traditional news outlets. Instead, it's adding to the existing news cycle and augmenting it in a way that wasn't there a decade ago.

According to the findings, four in 10 Americans said they got their news from social media like Twitter and Facebook. But more than 80% said they also go directly to news organization websites for updates, too. Just because they found out a celebrity died on Twitter isn't going to dissuade them from reading an obituary later (Gayomali, 2014).

But what Gayomali's interpretation of the study results leaves out is something else found in *The Local TV News Social Media Survey*, which is that a majority of those audience members looking not just to social media, but the web for news, are doing so on a mobile device.

This is a very important point for a local TV news director to pay attention to, as although the results of *The Local TV News Social Media Survey* are from 2013, a year later, mobile content was named one of the "Top 3 Social Media Trends for 2014" by *Social Media Today*. Author Julia McCoy explains:

Mobilized material is a must. People are leaving desktop technology behind and flocking to their smart phone and tablet devices...Smart phones are quickly outnumbering other types

of technology, ushering in what many are dubbing ‘the mobile revolution.’ It is imperative that businesses take their digital properties beyond mere mobile optimization in 2014. Digital properties need to be responsive and adaptive, able to fluidly change and respond to the viewing capabilities of any mobile device. Audiences are also expecting real time information based on relevance and location, which means digital properties must be search engine optimized for local search parameters (2014).

The mobile web has become, as Rani and Kumari say, “near-ubiquitous” (2013) in the lives of younger demographic members, that possible future versions of *The Local TV News Social Media Survey*, or other surveys similar to it, will have to inquire further into how the audience use mobile-based methods of accessing news via social media or other means.

In further discussion about mobile technology, McCoy (2014) adds that audiences expect the “one-to-one personalization”, which is similar to the “social” aspect of social media. News directors need to realize and act on their audience’s willingness to interact—otherwise they are taking the “social” out of social media. There is more to social media than just posting links to news stories on a social media platform. There needs to be a strategy.

8.4: Dedicate Resources to Social Media Management

Some local TV news stations have made social media engagement a part of their existing reporters and producers’ jobs. Veteran news talent executive Mendes Napoli told Diana Marszalek of the broadcasting business blog *TVNewsCheck*, “The social media stuff is just starting to creep into the contracts” (2014). However, local TV news organizations such as News 12 in Woodbury, NJ, hope to find success by hiring a dedicated social media professional to manage their relatively new social

media community. As illustrated in News 12's 2014 job posting for the social media producer position, the responsibilities of a potential local television news social media professional go beyond simply tweeting the news:

Job Requirements: News 12 is seeking a talented social media producer to help build and execute strategy across our various Social Media channels, including but not limited to Facebook and Twitter. This individual will manage and curate content to social media sites to generate interest and conversation with viewers. They will also prepare and execute all aspects of news and other content for delivery on all Interactive platforms including web, ITV and other emerging technologies, as needed.

Manage and monitor day-to-day activities on branded social media profiles and on-site communities. Ensure a clear brand voice and approach, and to support and clarify News 12 content across platforms. Measure impact of our various social channels and test specific tactics to optimize. Generate dynamic conversation and maintain on-going dialogue with social media followers.

Content promotion on social media platforms, including Twitter, Facebook and other social media/user-generated accounts.

Recommend new social media tools, sites, apps as part of the social media mix. Monitor and report on social media growth and campaign results ("Social Media Producer").

The range of skills and experience one needs to fit News 12's social media producer job description shows how important a social media strategy is for a local TV news station to prosper in a new, more complex media environment.

Combine this information with another fact gained from the results of *The Local TV News Social Media Survey*, which is that people want and expect interaction from their local TV news station on social media, and the importance of having at

least one social media expert—if not several—on staff would benefit the modern local television news outlet.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

More and more people are turning to quicker and more interactive mediums for local news consumption than traditionally available. Web-based technology, including social media, is changing the way people consume news, say Ferguson & Greer.

In order to stay relevant to the audience they aim to serve, the local TV news station has to evolve (2011). Social media makes local news more personal and connected to the television audience, and allows news organizations to expand their respective reaches well beyond their coverage areas (Carlson, 2013).

While current platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn are the dominant social media news sources for many people, it is hard to know what the preferred method of news consumption will be even a few years from now. The rate at which the current popular social networks became an integral part of the local news experience could happen again with a medium that has not even been developed yet.

As McCoy says, "The world of social media is anything but static" (2014). However, that should not intimidate the local news director. He or she simply needs to pay attention to current digital trends, interact with the audience and adapt their stations' news delivery to fit whichever platform or delivery method is most convenient for their audience.

As illustrated by the recent rise of social media use by local TV stations, those who can evolve with their audiences as new platforms, technology and communication models appear, are most likely to find success.

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APPENDIX A: THE LOCAL TV NEWS SOCIAL MEDIA SURVEY

1. Do you watch local newscasts on television?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

2. If yes, how often?
 - a. Every day
 - b. More than once per week
 - c. Once a week
 - d. Less than once a week
 - e. I don't watch local news

3. Do you have at least one social media account?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

4. If yes, please list which social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.) you use:

5. How often to you check your favorite social media accounts?
 - a. Once a day
 - b. Several times per day
 - c. Once week
 - d. Once a month
 - e. Less than once a month

6. Do you follow any local news stations on social media?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

7. If yes, how many?
 - a. 1
 - b. 2
 - c. 3
 - d. 4
 - e. More than 4

8. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

I am more likely to find out about breaking news from a local station on social media than by watching a newscast or checking the station's website.
Disagree strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Agree strongly

Following my local station on social media makes it easy for me to keep up with the news.

Disagree strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Agree strongly

9. Do you follow at least one news anchor/reporter's personal social media account? (Example: 6abc's Brian Taff on Twitter: @briantaff6abc)

- a. Yes
- b. No

10. I follow a news anchor or reporter on social media because:

- a. I'm a fan of their work
- b. It makes me feel more connected to them
- c. They are a direct source for updates and info
- d. I like them as a person
- e. I don't follow any anchor/reporter on social media

11. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

I follow a local news station on social media:

...For access to interesting and important information:

Disagree strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Agree strongly

...To stay up-to-date on happenings in my community:

Disagree strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Agree strongly

...For insight on special deals at local businesses:

Disagree strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Agree strongly

...To enter contests or sweepstakes:

Disagree strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Agree strongly

...To watch news video on my computer or mobile device:

Disagree strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Agree strongly

...To voice my opinions on stories:

Disagree strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Agree strongly

...To see what others have to say about news stories:

Disagree strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Agree strongly

...To interact with the station's anchors, reporters or web team:

Disagree strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Agree strongly

...To share stories of interest with my social media followers:

Disagree strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Agree strongly

12. Is there a reason you follow local news on social media not listed above?
Please add your own reasons here:
13. I don't follow local news on social media because:
- I don't pay attention to the news
 - I get enough news from TV
 - I don't use social media
 - I don't want news outlets in my social media feeds
 - I used to follow, but they posted too much so I un-followed
 - I do follow local news on social media.
14. If you do follow local news on social media, are there any changes the station could implement to make the experience better?
- Yes
 - No
15. If yes, please explain:
16. Age: _____
17. Gender:
- Male
 - Female
18. Highest level of education completed:
- High School
 - College
 - Graduate program
 - Doctorate
19. Racial identity:
- Caucasian
 - African American
 - Asian American
 - Native American
 - Other

