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Hispanic journalism in the United States: analysis of four key models

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Abstract: This study focuses on four leading newspapers—*el Nuevo Herald* (Miami), *La Opinión* (Los Angeles), *El Diario* (New York), and *El Tiempo Latino* (Washington, D.C.)—in order to learn about the editorial and business formulas that work in today's media market. In addition to helping sustain, spread, and enrich the Spanish language, Hispanic journalism also lends cohesion to large communities in the United States. It is a public service that requires stable journalistic enterprises.

Key words: journalism, Spanish, United States, media, Internet

1. Introduction

The United States is where “the number of Spanish speakers is growing most fervently, thanks, mainly, to demographic factors,” according to the academic director of the Instituto Cervantes, Richard Bueno (Morales, 2018). Of the world’s 577 million Spanish speakers, 40 million live in English-speaking regions, and the prospects for the future are even more promising: by the middle of the 21st century, the total number of Spanish speakers will reach 754 million, due, in part, to the language’s growth in North America (Fernández Vítóres, 2017).

Although immigrants’ grandchildren tend to speak only English—a phenomenon linguists call the “three-generation model” (Ortman and Stevens, 2008)—there is no doubt that Spanish will endure (Alonso, Durand, and Gutiérrez, 2013). In fact, the U.S. is the world leader in students of Spanish as a foreign language, and 95% of Hispanics living in the U.S. consider it “very important” or “fairly important” that future generations preserve the language (Taylor, López, Martínez, and Velasco, 2012).

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Today’s media outlets play an essential role in this process, as they enable “the development of a foreign language within the U.S.; Spanish is more established in the country than any other wave of immigrants could have dreamed” (Márquez Pacios and Pérez San-José, 2015). News outlets do more than provide entertainment, education, and information; they also lend cohesion to population centers, support traditions and customs, and, ultimately, safeguard sociocultural values.

That said, the audience and revenue of most Spanish-language media outlets have been experiencing a sustained decline since 2013 (Shearer, 2016). The fact that a growing number of Hispanics are consuming news in English, as a report by the Pew Research Center notes, explains this downward trend (López

and González-Barrera, 2013). Even so, it is worth considering whether these consumer habits can be attributed to something more than the growing proportion of English-speaking and bilingual Hispanics in the U.S.

Do Spanish news outlets offer competitive content? In general, print editions have successfully maintained and even boosted sales (Matsa, 2015). Digital editions, on the other hand, have been confined to merely republishing print content, and they have not yet responded to the challenge posed by millennial audiences (González Tosat, 2015). But beyond the sterile print-digital dichotomy, which has proven outdated in today's total-convergence ecosystem, media outlets must be restructured in a way that guarantees their ability to operate in the new market.

Although hundreds of outlets provide Spanish-language content to Hispanic audiences, a service that has existed in the U.S. since the founding of *El Misisipi* in 1808, many survive on the energy and dedication of a small number of people working within major economic limitations. As Covarrubias points out, there is

everything from professional outlets backed by the most powerful and prestigious newspaper companies in the country to mere informational bulletins; from professional newsrooms equipped with the latest technology to makeshift home offices with little more than a computer and an Internet connection. (Covarrubias, 2016)

In the past few years, this landscape has been examined in several reports by the Observatory of the Instituto Cervantes at Harvard University (González Tosat, 2015; Covarrubias, 2016; and Hernández Nieto and Gutiérrez, 2017, among others). This study continues in that vein by focusing on four leading newspapers—*el Nuevo Herald* (Miami), *La Opinión* (Los Angeles), *El Diario* (New York), and *El Tiempo Latino* (Washington, D.C.)—to provide additional datapoints. It delves into these outlets' inner workings, with the goal of gaining insight into

their strengths and Achilles' heels, to determine what lessons can be learned from their experiences.

Why these four outlets? First, because the studies mentioned above, which lay out a comprehensive map of Spanish-language journalism in the U.S., recommend examining specific cases in order to isolate and understand their editorial and business practices. Additionally, these are four of the top five publications that González Tosat selected in her 2015 ranking of online media; they are leading newspapers with long track records in both their print and digital editions (Covarrubias, 2016).

This report examines these four publications' work through descriptive analysis, offering a multifaceted look at the organizations themselves: How did they emerge, and why? What are their human and financial resources? What do their production processes and language policies look like? What problems do they face? How profitable are they, and what are their prospects for the future? The answers to these questions could help create more prosperous journalistic enterprises and inspire today's editorial leaders, as well as new entrepreneurs.

Instead of using quantitative techniques, this study employs a qualitative method, the in-depth interview, to offer an interpretational analysis, rather than a statistical one, as a means of gathering details. These interviews provide context and facilitate understanding of subjects' attitudes and motivations, and their results are then contrasted with information previously gathered from the outlets' print and digital pages (corporate philosophy, sections, content, staff, language policy, style, design, advertising, social media presence, frequency of publication, cost, etc.).

Interviews were carried out with managers of each journalistic project in August 2018. Questions were adapted for each outlet and the dynamics of the

conversation (therefore, interview questions are not included as an appendix). The information attained from these in-depth interviews and from the descriptive analysis of the organizations offers a cross-sectional view of each newspaper. The results, which are presented separately for each publication, reveal the patterns that are common to all four of the outlets selected, which in turn explain the consistency of those outlets' offerings, as versus that of outlets which have not achieved the same level of quality.

This report is divided into four sections. The first, "*el Nuevo Herald*, the Hispanic newspaper of Miami and South Florida," shows the advantages of belonging to a major media conglomerate such as the McClatchy Group. The second, "*La Opinión*, the leading paper from Los Angeles," details the specifics of a publications that the National Association of Hispanic Publications (NAHP) has considered the best in the country for the past several years. The third section, "*El Diario*, the champion of New York Hispanics," outlines the evolution of one of the country's oldest newspapers (it was established in 1913 as *La Prensa*), which has also been named the country's best Hispanic paper by the NAHP. The case study closes with a fourth item, "*El Tiempo Latino*, news from Washington with the imprint of the *Post*." Some space is also dedicated to a "Conclusions" section, which draws together the results of the four preceding sections. This summary includes the foundations of these publications' popularity and prestige, without forgetting the fluctuations and uncertainties of the sector.

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2. *El Nuevo Herald*, the Hispanic newspaper of Miami and South Florida

By the time *el Nuevo Herald* received the 2002 Ortega y Gasset Award for the "quality, diversity, and rigor" of its reporting—an award that secured its position as one of the most noteworthy newspapers in the Spanish-speaking world—it had already been operating intensively for 26 years. A look at its trajectory offers a lesson in journalism and a chance to understand its remarkable adaptation to the digital ecosystem.

2.1. Origins: from short supplement to independent newspaper

At the outset, in 1976, *el Herald* was a Spanish-language supplement to the *Miami Herald*. It was not until 1998, according to its website,¹ that *el Nuevo Herald* became available as an independent newspaper. Its name was changed in 1987, when the supplement—though still not available apart from the *Miami Herald*—was redesigned, with a new masthead and a more functional, readable, attractive layout.

Today, *el Nuevo Herald* and the *Miami Herald* are part of the same corporation, the Miami Herald Media Company, which in turn belongs to the McClatchy Group, a media conglomerate that boasts 30 newspapers in the U.S., in both Spanish and English.² This business support explains the success of its current model, which has enabled the paper to develop powerful technical and editorial synergies, as discussed later on.

Although the paradigm shift that occurred in the media market in the 21st century necessitated massive restructuring, *el Nuevo Herald* remains faithful to its original mission: “Every single day for three decades, this dynamic newspaper—a breakfast-time ritual for thousands of readers—has successfully carried out its social role by providing citizens with news, analysis, and opinions that help them interpret the world around them” (Shoer Roth, 2017).

This service to the Hispanic community of Miami and South Florida has expanded with the proliferation of the Internet, as the outlet distributes its reporting on its website and social media, expanding its audience and strengthening its mission. The paper has become a bridge that connects members of the immigrant

¹ Cf. <https://www.elnuevoherald.com/servicios/quienes-somos/>.

² Cf. <https://www.mcclatchy.com/>.

population with their places of origin and vice-versa. Below, we will examine how that approach affects the publication's offering.

2.2. Print and digital news in the service of the community

The print version of *el Nuevo Herald*, which is between 20 and 24 pages every day, depending on the volume of advertising featured, is organized as follows: the first half of the paper, including the front page, places the spotlight on local news. The second half includes news from Latin America, the U.S., and the rest of the world. "The overwhelming majority of our readers are Cuban Americans, followed by a growing number of Venezuelans, Colombian, and Nicaraguans," says Managing Director Nancy San Martín.³ She highlights the importance of news stories that cover a wide range of topics relevant to the many Hispanic communities who call Miami home: "We talk about immigration, infrastructure, and the impact of climate change. We offer information close to people's lives." In this way, she tries to make the slogan in the masthead a reality: "Cada día, parte de tu vida" ("Every day, part of your life").

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The paper's international news coverage also reflects its readers' origins, paying special attention to what is happening in their countries of origin, such as Venezuela and Nicaragua. "International news is practically local for us, because Hispanic readers from those countries who live in Miami really cherish having a close link to their home countries, since they still have family and friends there," explains San Martín, illustrating her point with a few specific examples: "If there's an earthquake in Mexico, our readers need to know if it's affected their loved ones, or if it struck in an area where they still have a house. When there's a tragedy, people send remittances to help. We have to respond to all of these needs."

³ Statements from Nancy San Martín quoted in this report have been drawn from a telephone interview conducted by the author on August 9, 2018.

With this philosophy, *el Nuevo Herald* has created a noteworthy sphere of influence in Latin America and the Caribbean. Its print edition, which is distributed mainly in Miami-Dade, Broward, and Monroe counties, has 32,900 weekly subscribers and around 45,500 Sunday subscribers, according to data provided by the company. It is the only daily Spanish-language paper in South Florida, and, along with *La Opinión* (California), which we will look at later on, it has one of the highest circulations within this segment.

The paper costs two dollars at a kiosk or the supermarket; the per-copy cost is lower with a subscription. Access to the printed product in digital format costs \$129.99 annually. It is worth noting that the paper's website, www.elnuevoherald.com, is always up to date. This is in response, as we discuss in the next section, to the “digital first” model, which also has a bearing on the print edition. “We have the same content policy, but with more coverage of international news,” says Nancy San Martín, who emphasizes the global nature of the online audience: “There's the young reader living in the U.S., who's often bilingual and looking for that focus we usually place on the Hispanic community, but there are also citizens from Venezuela and Cuba who go to our website to learn what's happening in their countries with greater freedom, without fear of any kind of censorship.”

The website receives 3.2 million unique visitors and 14 million visits per month. This explains why the publication's working arrangements are geared towards multiplying and monetizing that audience— “donde está el futuro,” Nancy San Martín says—without neglecting the paper's print readers, who, for now, are its chief source of revenue.



Figure 1. Digital strategy, a priority for *el Nuevo Herald*. The digital version is noteworthy for its international outlook and multimedia focus, such as this video, which ties in with a news item on openness about Venezuela. Source: *elnuevoherald.com*.

2.3. Integrated journalism: media convergence

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The shift in the communications paradigm triggered by the Internet has a direct impact on the journalism sector. To adapt successfully, experts insist on the need for integrated journalism that makes media convergence a reality (Salaverría and Negrodo, 2009). This is an axiom that *el Nuevo Herald* and the *Miami Herald*'s parent company has taken to heart, and it has reorganized its newsrooms to fit within this new media ecosystem.

What does this change by the Miami Herald Media Company look like? After a structural reform, in order to reduce costs and improve efficiency, the company placed a single executive director, Aminda Marqués, in charge of the editorial departments at both newspapers, *el Nuevo Herald* in Spanish and the *Miami Herald* in English (each formerly had its own executive director). With this change, a single individual oversees both papers, which in turn have their own managing

directors, including Nancy San Martín, who heads the paper for the Spanish-speaking community.

Thus, the business operates as a bilingual newsroom that shares an office, technical materials, and human resources. In the workplace, the two staffs are physically separated by a central table, where editors from both publications decide which paper will cover which stories. Thanks to this approach, the company's fully bilingual writers take on specific issues for both newspapers. "A few years ago, a lot of the time, you would see a reporter from *el Nuevo Herald* and another one from the *Miami Herald* covering the same event," San Martín says. "That doesn't happen anymore, unless it's a really important last-minute situation and we don't have time to wait for a translation."

The papers also share a photojournalism department (it is not unusual to see the same shot published in both) and design; they have an identical layout in their print and digital versions. This graphic and textual unity gives the project a feeling of cohesiveness, in addition to reducing costs and optimizing investments. In many instances, a single employee covers the needs and expectations the Miami Herald Media Company's two newspapers.

With this structure, "we do more with less," says Nancy San Martín, who recognizes that this approach has helped the company weather the crisis that the sector is currently facing. That said, not all resources are shared: *el Nuevo Herald* has a dozen writers and editors, more than under the earlier independent model. "We have more staff than two years ago," she says, "because the reach of the digital edition has expanded. We've diversified our newsroom to accommodate a more pluralistic audience, which we need to represent in our reporting if we want to provide value."

Journalists write in “international Spanish,” using terms from the Latin American countries being covered, with the sole additional requirement that those terms also be comprehensible to a Miami readership. As for style, they adhere to the stylebook of the Associated Press, which provides basic guidelines on spelling, grammar, syntax, punctuation, and journalistic style.⁴

2.4. Income diversification

Today, *el Nuevo Herald*'s business model is based on the sale of advertising space in its print edition, without which it would be impossible to offer a high-quality service to the Hispanic community. Their main advertisers are major brands, which use the newspaper as a vehicle for reaching their target segment of the population. Advertisers include Macy's, Brandsmart, Publix, Home Depot, Farmacias Navarro, AT&T, Sprint, Baptist, Kohl's, Lowe's, Verizon, South Motors, Rooms To Go, JC Penney, and Leon Medical Centers.

Good journalism costs money (Jones and Salter, 2012) and the labor conditions of journalists directly affects the product that readers receive (Ufarte Ruíz, 2012). Cognizant of this, *el Nuevo Herald* is diversifying its revenue in order to ensure medium- and long-term financial viability, preparing for the intensification of the current trend: a decrease in single-copy and print subscription sales paired with growth in the number of online readers.

As part of these efforts, the paper has created a subscribers-only area of its website, where paying members can join an online community. For \$12.99 per month, they receive full access to the content of elnuevoherald.com and to the

⁴ The English manual of style, the *AP Stylebook*, which has been periodically updated since 1953, is an important reference text for journalists, writers, editors, students, and academics. The Associated Press published its first Spanish manual of style online in 2012, with the goal of standardizing the use of Spanish in Latin America and the United States. Due to a lack of subscribers, the AP canceled the service for Spanish-speakers in 2018. Cf. <http://www.manualdeestiloap.com/>.

publication's mobile apps. The company also offers special publications to commemorate, for example, National Hispanic Heritage Month,⁵ and it is diversifying its business model through more event-based projects, such as Carnival Miami the Latin Cup.

Belonging to the Miami Herald Media Company—which in turn belongs, as we have seen, to the McClatchy Group—has made it easier for *el Nuevo Herald* to adapt to today's media environment. Support from this conglomerate enables the paper to experiment and gives it access to otherwise unattainable resources. The company's management is aware that, business interests aside, this kind of journalism is essential for informing, educating, and entertaining Spanish-speaking readers who, at the same time, wish to maintain contact with their language and their culture (Covarrubias, 2016).

3. *La Opinión*, the leading paper from Los Angeles

La Opinión, founded in Los Angeles in 1926, is the leading Spanish-language newspaper in the U.S., with a combined digital and print audience of around 15 million readers per month. The evolution of the paper—which, in the past few years, has repeatedly been awarded the NAHP's Premio de Oro José Martí—is noteworthy for its ownership by ImpreMedia, the largest Spanish-language newspaper publishing company in the country.⁶

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3.1 *The voice of the Hispanic community since 1926*

La Opinión was launched by Ignacio E. Lozano and his family, who emigrated from Mexico in the early 20th century, hoping to embrace a better life in the U.S.,

⁵ National Hispanic Heritage Month, which is celebrated from September 15 to October 15 every year, recognizes the history, traditions, and contributions of Hispanic communities to the United States.

⁶ Cf. <https://laopinion.com/tema/nahp/>.

far from social injustice and political unrest. Their wish for independent, high-quality journalism prompted them to venture into the media market, where the family continues to have a presence. The founder's granddaughter, Mónica Lozano, is *La Opinión's* current CEO, but since 2004, the paper has been published by ImpreMedia, a leading company in Spanish-language publishing. Headquartered in New York, it controls over 72% of the Hispanic market in California, New York, Florida, and Illinois, and runs seven Spanish-language newspapers that, according to the company, reach 16 million readers.⁷ In addition to *La Opinión*, its most notable publications include *El Diario* (New York), which is discussed in the next section, as well as *La Raza* (Chicago)⁸ and *La Prensa* (Florida).⁹

Both in its early years, with the infrastructure that a family-run publication could provide, and today, as part of a major media conglomerate, the paper has had the same mission: to be the voice of the Hispanic community, sharing information with vulnerable groups as a public service. To achieve that mission, editor Francisco Castro explains, one must reflect on the immediate reality of Los Angeles and on national issues with broad appeal: "Our goal is to report and analyze what is happening. Because what the president or some other government official says can be interpreted a thousand different ways. *La Opinión* offers context and shows readers how the message they see plastered across every front page actually affects them" (telephone interview, Castro, 2018).

The top issue in the Trump era is immigration, since, in one way or another, "it affects every Latino in the U.S.," explains Castro, who says that local safety, crime, and education are also among the most frequently covered topics. This

⁷ Cf. <http://www.impremedia.com/>.

⁸ Weekly publication, in print, with daily updates online. Cf. <https://laraza.com/>.

⁹ Weekly publication, in print, with daily updates online. Cf. <https://laprensafl.com/>.

closeness to its readers' interests explains the paper's strong connection with its audience. In fact, readers and users submit their questions to the paper so frequently that an immigration lawyer responds to them every week through email and over the phone. "People need to know what's going to happen with their lives," Castro says, convinced that the paper provides a public service: "A lot of Latinos distrust the authorities because of experiences they had in their countries of origin. The newspaper steps in and makes life easier for a lot of people with problems who don't know what to do or who to turn to."

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La familia de Nathan Nicolás Benavides, de 7 años, celebró que el niño fue oficialmente juramentado como ciudadano estadounidense este lunes en la biblioteca pública del centro de Los Angeles (LAPL). Su padre Ottmar Benavides, de origen ecuatoriano, dijo que hace más de una década él se hizo ciudadano pero decidió regresar a su país y continuar su vida allí.

"Me casé, tuve a mis hijos y tenía muy buen trabajo", recordó Benavides.

Sin embargo, Nathan, quien fue diagnosticado con parálisis cerebral poco después de nacer, enfrentó otro problema a los 4 años. Las escuelas de Ecuador no le ofrecían una educación adecuada debido a su discapacidad. Entonces Ottmar decidió regresar a Estados Unidos y solicitar la residencia para su familia. Una vez en este país sus conocidos le dijeron que Nathan tendría más posibilidades como ciudadano estadounidense.

"Al principio de año comencé el proceso, pero después vi que cuesta mucho dinero y ya había dicho que mejor no, pero me dijeron que lo haga y más a como están las cosas ahorita [con la administración Trump]", dijo Ottmar.

Y fue así como los padres

Niños de 20 países reciben certificados de ciudadanía



Guillermo Herrera, de 9 años, con sus padres Luis y María Herrera y su hermano Aaron, de 4 años, se convirtió en ciudadano de EEUU ayer en Los Angeles. /FOTOS:AURELIA VENTURA



Franzel Saidana junto a sus padres.



Nathan Benavides y sus padres.

Un niño nacido fuera de EEUU puede recibir su ciudadanía al nacer sí:

- Ambos padres eran ciudadanos estadounidenses casados al momento del nacimiento del niño.
- Uno de los padres es ciudadano estadounidense al momento de nacimiento.
- Uno de los padres es un ciudadano estadounidense en el momento del nacimiento del niño y su nacimiento es antes de Noviembre 14, 1986.

Un niño nacido fuera de EEUU puede recibir su ciudadanía después de su nacimiento si:

- El niño es menor de 18 años o no había nacido para febrero 27, 2001.
- El niño era menor de 18 años de diciembre 24, 1952 a febrero 26, 2001.
- El niño fue adoptado por un padre ciudadano estadounidense.

jor de todo es que Franzel ya no tendrá que temer que Trump lo eche del país, un temor que ahora enfrentan

partido por el pequeño Guillermo Herrera, de 9 años, quien también se hizo ciudadano el lunes.

"Es muy triste", dijo este originario de México.

Guillermo llegó a EEUU junto a su madre María Magdaleno hace cinco años después que su padre Luis Herrera, quien nació aquí, los emigrara legalmente.

"Me siento feliz y orgulloso de ser ciudadano", dijo el pequeño.

Su padre señaló que él trata de explicarle los beneficios de ser ciudadano para poder valorar su nuevo estatus.

"El otro día estábamos viendo las noticias y creo que está muy mal lo que les hacen a los niños [migrantes]. Están muy chicos para pasar por eso", dijo Luis. "Es algo que le pudiera pasar a cualquiera que no es ciudadano [americano]".

Lealtad a Estados Unidos

Aunque la mayoría de los niños ya juran lealtad a la bandera en sus escuelas, ayer fue la primera vez que lo hicieron como estadounidenses.

"Ya son nuevos ciudadanos de América, pero es importante que conozcan la historia de inmigración de su familia y se tomen el tiempo de aprenderla", les dijo Donna Campagnolo, directora del Servicio de Inmigración y Ciudadanía de Estados Unidos (USCIS) región Los Angeles.

Figure 2. Immigration, a recurring topic in Hispanic media. This figure shows the content on the front page of *La Opinión* on July 10, 2018. In addition to the news, the paper also includes a block offering readers information on how children can receive U.S. citizenship. Source: *La Opinión*.

La Opinión's editorial strategy also revolves around positive stories that foster hopefulness in the community by describing Hispanic community members who have built lives in California and enjoy a certain degree of social influence, such

as businesspeople and artists. The paper gives space to issues that would never be featured in the *Los Angeles Times*, for example. As Castro puts it, “We tell stories that English-language outlets don’t publish. We can put a win by the Mexican national soccer team on our front page. That’s how we create community. A lot of our readership was born outside the U.S., so we have a close link to their home countries. People have strong roots and we need to speak to that.”

3.2 The “Glocal” strategy: key to the editorial and business model

Thinking globally, acting locally. That is the strategy that guides everyday operations at the ImpreMedia Group in general and at *La Opinión* in particular. It is an approach that enriches journalistic offerings, boasting more and better content without increasing costs. It is similar to the approach that the Miami Herald Media Company employs with *el Nuevo Herald*, as we saw in the section above, in sync with the demands of the new ecosystem: media convergence and newsroom integration are an obligatory opportunity (Salaverría, García Avilés, and Masip, 2010).

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This philosophy means that both *La Opinión* and *El Diario* publish the same digital content, which makes it easy to share human resources, content, and infrastructure. However, they still have their own independent staffs for their print editions. *La Opinión* has a CEO, six editors, two reporters, a photographer, two designers, and a sales department. Additionally, the paper relies on a reporter in Washington, D.C. who produces content for the group’s various outlets and a correspondent in Mexico City whose work is available to all of ImpreMedia’s enterprises. Francisco Castro says that, ultimately, “every outlet decides what approach is best for its market.”

The autonomy of the staff working on the print edition is noteworthy, given that, under other circumstances, it would be impossible to provide value to the Los Angeles Hispanic community. For example, the data that ImpreMedia has provided for this study shows that the lion's share of *La Opinión's* readership is Mexican, Salvadoran, Guatemalan, or Honduran. However, in another market, such as New York, the publication of reference (*El Diario*) is read by Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Mexicans, and Ecuadorians, which necessitates different editorial decisions. The same is true for local advertisers, who find value in each outlet's segmentation.

Despite this independence, it is also essential to highlight the degree of cooperation between the group's various brands. Besides integration of online content, the publications all use the same computer and design system for both print and digital editions. Thus, the print edition of *La Opinión* in Los Angeles and of *El Diario* in New York have the same visual appearance, as do their digital versions. The group's transversal mentality also enables its subsidiaries to share national and international articles: legislative reporting from Washington, D.C. or coverage of an earthquake in Mexico are available to each paper. This arrangement applies to general-interest topics as well, such as health, the environment, technology, and entertainment; the group has journalists who prepare multimedia articles for all of its brands.

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In this way, *La Opinión* multiplies the capacity of its Los Angeles staff and overcomes the challenges posed by the sector with the help of ImpreMedia's strength on the market.

3.3. Bilingual journalists with a multimedia mentality

La Opinión's staff is notable for its diversity. "We are a microcosm of Latin America," explains editor Francisco Castro, whose daily collaborators include a

Salvadoran, an Argentinian, a Mexican, and a Colombian. For the sake of smooth communication, he points out, they avoid using region-specific language: “Spanish is Spanish and we all understand each other, unless we start talking in our own idiosyncratic ways.” They prioritize the desire for understanding—both on the staff and with their readership—above all else.

The profile of *La Opinión*’s journalists also clearly demonstrates a digital mindset, especially when it comes to new hires. Managers are trying to ensure the publication’s medium- and long-term future by hiring Spanish/English bilingual professionals who can identify, create, and program news content for the group’s various platforms. Unsurprisingly, ImpreMedia’s employment listings at the time of this study all required this transversal skillset. The search for synergies, discussed above, is a strategic business move.

Furthermore, journalists must possess four non-negotiable characteristics, in addition to having at least three years of experience in the sector: (a) extensive knowledge of issues relating to Hispanic life in the U.S.; (b) the ability to express themselves effectively in both languages, so that texts are orthographically and grammatically flawless and attractive from a narrative point of view; (c) proficiency in photo and video editing software; and (d) a strong background in digital platforms.

This last item includes the ability to identify online trends and plan news content to increase audience participation, a skill that requires competency in analytics platforms such as Google Analytics in order to track performance and make the necessary changes in response. Along with these professional abilities, hires must possess a competitive spirit, critical judgment, interpersonal skills, the ability to work in a fast-paced environment, a flexible schedule, and a bachelor’s degree in communications.

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3.4. Towards a new model and preparing for the hundredth anniversary

La Opinión is not exempt from the crisis affecting news media around the globe (Soengas Pérez, 2018). Its managers, aware of the change taking place in consumer and leisure habits, have chosen to hold true to the newspaper's editorial commitment—to provide value to their niche of readers—while simultaneously reshaping their business model. “I think that newspapers will always be around, but I don't know what form they'll take,” says Francisco Castro, who, as editor, is a strong advocate for high-quality newspapers: “The more information a community has, the better prepared it will be for life. My 12-year-old son might never buy *La Opinión* at a news stand, but that doesn't mean he'll never read it.”

Today, the paper's print edition (32 pages) has a run of 25,000 copies per day. Its main source of revenue is print advertising, which bolsters income from single-copy sales (the paper costs one dollar). The company also profits from the sale of special branded content and digital advertising. It is currently examining ways to monetize the online audience after a failed 2016 experiment with a paywall.

In all it does, *La Opinión*—which will celebrate its hundredth anniversary in 2026—is preparing for a digital future. Its market research indicates that the average reader of the print edition is older than 40 and does not read English-language newspapers, although there is also a notable minority of bilingual readers who trust the brand and its deep roots in the Hispanics community; these readers purchase *La Opinión* because of its link to the Spanish language. Although this phenomenon speaks to the paper's credibility, that audience is not being replaced by the next generation, and the number of subscribers is slowly declining as older readers pass away.

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Figure 3. Social networks, an opportunity to build community. *La Opinión* has 500,000 followers on Facebook. The future lies in monetizing these digital readers without neglecting the print version. Source: *La Opinión* (Facebook page).

Only 10% of print readers also follow the paper online, and the profile, size, and interests of the digital audience are different. The company's statistics reveal that the paper's regular online visitors are younger (under 40), tend to live in other countries (mostly in Latin America), and have a preference for sports news. The entertainment and classified sections are also popular with this audience. The paper's online offerings are categorized under as many as 12 different headings: daily news, Los Angeles news, breaking news, horoscopes, politics and immigration, entertainment, soccer, cars, consumer reports, jobs, lottery, and weekly news.

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Despite making its content free for all visitors, this digital strategy has enabled the paper to build a promising virtual community, with over 400,000 subscribers to its daily newsletter. The publication's next challenge is to monetize that audience without abandoning its philosophy: to speak for Hispanics, as a place where they can learn, debate, and grow.

4. *El Diario*, the champion of New York Hispanics

El Diario is the oldest active Spanish-language newspaper in the U.S. It was founded in Lower Manhattan as *La Prensa* in 1913, and in 1963 it merged with

El Diario to become *El Diario / La Prensa*. Since 2004, it has belonged to the ImpreMedia Group, the first national Spanish-language newspaper company, which was formed that same year, the fruit of an alliance between two of the country's largest Hispanic media outlets: *La Opinión* in Los Angeles and *El Diario / La Prensa* in New York. These papers sought to head off the journalistic enterprises of the Tribune Company, owner of, among other outlets, *Hoy Nueva York*, which ImpreMedia ultimately bought in 2007 and closed in 2009, neutralizing *El Diario*'s competition and positioning it as the most influential Latino newspaper on the East Coast.¹⁰

4.1. Its own agenda and social role

ImpreMedia's motives for creating a new national conglomerate were not strictly financial; it also sought to carry out a social role within the Spanish-speaking community. But to be a voice for the voiceless, it first had to create a streamlined newspaper company. Most of the conglomerate's staff is based in either Los Angeles or New York. To reduce costs, they share many resources, as outlined in the section above on *La Opinión*, the group's other star publication. With this vision, each newspaper focuses its efforts on the production of local news stories that would otherwise never see the light of day.

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ImpreMedia's vice president for digital content, Rafael Cores, offers insight into the criteria applied when determining *El Diario*'s content: "We try to cover issues that the English-language media doesn't talk about. So, we offer our leaders articles with useful information (about transportation, recreation, government processes, etc.) to help make their lives easier" (telephone interview, Cores, 2018). At the same time, the paper also plays a social role, denouncing certain actions as a sort of countervailing power. Cores says that this is an essential part of the

¹⁰ Like *La Opinión*, *El Diario* has been awarded the Premio de Oro José Martí by the NAHP on several occasions in the past several years. Cf. <https://eldiariiony.com/tema/nahp/>.

job that “the mainstream media tends to forget when it affects immigrants or refugees.”



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Figure 4. “El mundo en 2 minutos” (“The World in 2 Minutes”), an *El Diario* online exclusive. To complement its local coverage, ImpreMedia's New York paper offers a daily two-minute video bulletin with the most important international news. Source: *eldiario.com*.

One example of silence from the mainstream media that was later corrected by *El Diario* was the story of Pablo Villavicencio, a 32-year-old Ecuadorian man who was detained when delivering pizzas to an Army base in New York City in early June, 2018. “He was delivering the order to Army Garrison Fort Hamilton. When he got there, he was allegedly questioned about his immigration status and

illegally arrested by the soldiers,” reported *El Diario*, whose very human story included statements from Villavicencio’s wife (a U.S. citizen) and a photograph of the man with his two daughters (three and four years old), withholding the identity of the minors.

According to sources cited by *El Diario*, “the Army is not authorized to detain civilians, interrogate them on their legal status, or hold them,” for which reason the story triggered outrage among the Hispanic community. When the content was shared, including on social media, English-language news outlets began telling the story, which eventually received international attention. In fact, Villavicencio’s release after 53 days in the custody of Immigration and Customs Enforcement was reported by a number of international outlets, including the *Guardian*,¹¹ *BBC Mundo*,¹² and *Agencia EFE*.¹³

Despite the sizable media impact this kind of coverage can have, Cores acknowledges that “it’s impossible to have exclusive coverage every day, because resources are tight and sometimes it makes more sense to follow the lead of the bigger outlets.” Even so, *El Diario* has a daily print run of between 20,000 and 25,000 copies, which are especially targeted to Puerto Rican, Dominican, Ecuadorian, and Mexican enclaves. Online, *eldiariony.com* receives around six million unique visitors every month.

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4.2. One newsroom, two staffs

El Diario has different staffs for its print version and for its digital platform, the latter of which, as we have seen, draws from the same body of content as *La Opinión*. The group’s different outlets share an outlook in order to reduce

¹¹ Cf. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jun/06/ice-undocumented-pizza-delivery-deportation>.

¹² Cf. <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-internacional-44406171>.

¹³ Cf. <https://www.efe.com/efe/america/ame-hispanos/esposa-de-inmigrante-ecuatoriano-reclama-su-libertad-con-una-nueva-mocion/20000034-3653668>.

technical and business costs but, surprisingly, *El Diario* does not integrate its print and digital editions. Why this autonomy? Would it not make more sense, as experts recommend (Arrese, 2015), to assert the value of the brand over the medium? Such an arrangement would require a mixed staff that would produce content for all of the outlet's different channels.

The paper creates this division in response to the diversity of its audience, whose disparate profiles make individualized production the wise choice. "In a single workspace, *El Diario* has a print newsroom and a digital newsroom, with separate roles. Even though they share some content, the news production criteria are different," says Rafael Cores, who is in charge of editorial strategy. The print edition has a more traditional structure, with the classic breakdown of sections (local, national, and international), while eldiariony.com breaks with that structure and classifies news stories by topic ("The Trial of El Chapo," "ICE," "NYC Subway," "Donald Trump," etc.).

The print edition has set quality standards that prevent the volume of advertising per issue from exceeding 40%, thereby guaranteeing that the news has the most prominence (articles make up between 60% and 70% of the volume, depending on the demand for advertising). The online offerings, however, are more erratic. Members of the staff often ask, "What is our audience interested in?" and then reorient their actions based on traffic metrics (origin, number of visitors, time on page, among others). They work on the most interesting items, trying to have an impact, with no obligation to create content for a fixed list of sections.

That said, there is unanimity when it comes to use of Spanish. "Since we're targeting a very heterogenous group of people, we try to be neutral in the way we use the language," says Cores. He tries to build bridges with all Spanish speakers: "We focus on the things we have in common, not on our differences. If there's a word that everyone who speaks the language of Cervantes understands,

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why create a linguistic obstacle?” Journalists follow the standard rules of spelling and grammar but, from time to time, readers may encounter a foreign term. “We don’t write in Spanglish,¹⁴ but sometimes we incorporate words that are better understood in English,¹⁵ if they’re part of the everyday language of Spanish-speakers,” Cores concludes.

4.3. Winning over Latino millennials

Like *La Opinión* in Los Angeles, *El Diario* is experiencing a gradual decline in its paper edition; its 20,000-copy circulation is dropping in tandem with its print advertising revenue. This context, in turn, triggers a reduction in the size of the paper itself, which is no longer than 32 pages unless it includes a special supplement. In those instances, when there is a healthy number of advertisers, it can reach 48 and sometimes even 52 pages. The price is always 50 cents (half a dollar), a symbolic sum that places value on the product, but which is ultimately not enough to cover the paper’s expenses.

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In this uncertain climate, *El Diario* has joined ImpreMedia’s digital strategy to win over Latino millennials on the web. The paper’s research indicates that their readers under 30 do not read the paper in print or on a desktop computer, but directly on their mobile phones. With this in mind, the paper has succeeded in expanding its audience, as is clear from social media data: in November 2018, on Facebook alone, the paper had over 750,000 followers. Thanks to this online growth, the business is increasing its revenue by supplementing classic advertising with programmatic advertising through Google, which verifies digital traffic, categorizes it, and displays banners for brands that fit the target audience.

¹⁴ The Dictionary of the Spanish Language defines “Espanglish” as “a modality of Spanish employed by some Hispanic groups in the United States in which lexical and grammatical elements of Spanish and English are combined.”

¹⁵ One such expression might be the English “pick up”, which is used in place of the Spanish “recoger.”

El Diario's priority is to remain, as its slogan proclaims, "El campeón de los hispanos" ("The Champion of Hispanics"). This mission involves following through on its social commitment to keep the Hispanic community informed and implementing a sustainable model that guarantees the publication's long-term future without sacrificing quality. Today, the outlet is working to monetize its community of digital readers in two ways: through advertising and through a paid-subscription model. Management does not view the Spanish version of *The New York Times* as competition, as they believe it is targeting a more elite segment of the population with reporting and analysis on international topics.¹⁶ While the "gray lady" of journalism chooses to focus on Latin America, *El Diario* is intended for the Spanish-speaking audience in the U.S. and, in particular, in New York, for which reason it offers local news.

5. *El Tiempo Latino*, news from Washington with the imprint of the Post

Founded in 1991, *El Tiempo Latino* is the leading Spanish-language newspaper in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. Unlike the daily papers discussed above, *El Tiempo Latino* is published weekly, on Fridays, when it is distributed throughout D.C., Maryland, and Virginia. It was acquired by the *Washington Post*'s parent company in 2004 and subsequently sold to El Planeta Media in 2016.¹⁷ The paper enjoys broad influence among the Hispanic community: according to the Alliance for Audited Media (AAM), it has a print run of 50,000 copies and over 120,000 weekly readers.

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¹⁶ *The New York Times* has been offering an online version of its publication in Spanish since February 7, 2016. Cf. <https://www.nytimes.com/es/2016/02/07/un-saludo-de-nuestra-editora/>.

¹⁷ El Planeta Media was founded in 2004. In addition to *El Tiempo Latino*, it also publishes *El Planeta*, the Hispanic newspaper with the largest circulation in Massachusetts.

5.1. Credibility and adaptation as the keys to success

According to Executive Editor Rafael Ulloa,¹⁸ with *El Tiempo Latino*, El Planeta Media acquired an outlet with an excellent reputation and a distinguished identity as an imprint of the *Washington Post*, which aided the development of the project and made it essential for the paper to uphold some of the highest quality standards in the sector. Numerous theoretical and empirical studies have confirmed that, in a world full of fake news and information overload, credibility is the cornerstone of a successful press (Palau Sampio and Gómez Mopart, 2014).

That said, although the seal of the *Post* linked *El Tiempo Latino* to a legacy of editorial excellence, at the time of the acquisition, it had not yet adapted to the new media ecosystem: “It didn’t have an online focus,” recalls Ulloa, who spearheaded the change in mindset. “We transitioned from being a print publication that had a website to being a print and digital publication. So, little by little, we’re expanding our community on social networks.” The goal was to create a D.C.-area replica of the digital strategy that had yielded such good results for *El Planeta* in Massachusetts.

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The digital transformation enabled the paper to operate with a broader outlook, tailoring the content of each platform to best suit its audience. The print edition consists of 70% local content, while the website features precisely the opposite: “Online, we prioritize national and international news, especially when it’s from Latin America, given our readership’s diverse geographic backgrounds,” says Ulloa. The website also publishes multimedia, enriching its online publication with videos and photo galleries.¹⁹

¹⁸ Statements from Rafael Ulloa quoted in this report have been drawn from a telephone interview conducted by the author on August 1, 2018.

¹⁹ Multimedia material has a specific section on the website’s homepage. Cf. <http://eltiempolatino.com/>.

On both platforms, the priority is to cover topics of interest to a Spanish-speaking audience that are neglected by English-language media outlets. This service mission, which is just as present at the newspapers examined above, is clear from the paper's defense of an unwavering editorial policy: undocumented people "do not deserve to be demonized" just because they do not have their papers in order; assuming that all immigrants with irregular status are dangerous is a form of fanaticism.²⁰ *El Tiempo Latino* covers crimes committed by Hispanics, but it also covers their struggles, dreams, and fears.

5.2. Infrastructure and staff: doing more with less

One of El Planeta Media's earliest decisions was to close *El Tiempo Latino*'s office on the fifth floor of the *Washington Post*'s building and move to a coworking space. "We could have kept paying rent, but we realized we could cut costs and invest that money in improving our journalistic output and adapting it for the digital world," explains Ulloa. Since the sale in 2016, the newspaper has been based in a WeWork coworking office near the White House.²¹

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This location, near the *Washington Post* headquarters, facilitates the relationship between the newspapers, which have a formal contract that allows *El Tiempo Latino* to translate and publish content from the *Post* that could be of interest to the Hispanic community (articles and graphics). The editors of both publications also have a close professional relationship and, from time to time, they collaborate on stories, which they publish bilingually.²²

²⁰ For more information, see the article "Ellos han sobrevivido horrores que nadie sabe: los adolescentes indocumentados no merecen ser satanizados" ("They have survived unknown horrors: Undocumented Teenagers Do Not Deserve to Be Demonized").

Cf. <http://eltiempolatino.com/news/2017/mar/31/ellos-han-sobrevivido-horrores-que-nadie-sabe-los/>.

²¹ Cf. <https://www.wework.com/es-ES/buildings/metropolitan-square--washington-DC>.

²² *The Washington Post* includes a link to *El Tiempo Latino* for its Spanish readers, and vice-versa.

The staff of *El Tiempo Latino* is led by the executive editor, who is also at the helm of *El Planeta*, and a senior reporter in charge of editorial coordination in all formats. Of the paper's 12 freelance journalists, six cover local news stories, attend press conferences, and do field work on current issues. The other half focus on national politics and, particularly, the activities of Donald Trump, as well as international stories. The staff also includes two designers, the head of administration and finance, a sales chief, four salespeople, a manager in charge of online traffic monetization, and the head of distribution, who leads a team of ten.

El Planeta Media's strategy relies on a bare-bones core of full-time employees and an expansive network of freelance collaborators, which lends the model a degree of precariousness. "Most of the staff is the same as before, from when we belonged to the *Post*, but we've had to reconsider our structure in order to survive," asserts Ulloa, who is happy with the service provided: "We have very committed journalists who cover what's happening in Latino communities at the neighborhood level. Of course, having a bigger budget would be great, but we offer sound reporting and help people form their opinions."

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Every issue of the paper is between 26 and 38 pages, depending on the volume of advertising. The first section is dedicated to local news, followed by the Latin America section, the national section, and sections on other topics, such as health and technology, depending on the number of articles in that issue. Classifieds are always in the middle of the paper, and the final sections are "Sports," "Trends," and "Culture." Because breaking news is posted online every day, by the time the weekly print edition is released, some of the content is already available on the paper's website. That said, the print edition also always includes something new: more thorough coverage, human interest stories, or commentary.

5.3. Audience: from print fidelity to online diversity

The profile of *El Tiempo Latino*'s readers depends on the medium through which they read the paper. The print readership is led by the Salvadoran community, followed by Bolivian, Peruvian, and Mexican populations. Of the 50,000 copies printed every week, says Ulloa, most are distributed in Maryland and Virginia (20,000 per state), and the remaining 10,000 remain in D.C. Distribution focuses on areas with a high concentration of Latino readers, as well as other areas, such as downtown D.C., for brand visibility.

Users who follow the paper on social media and on its website, on the other hand, tend to be more heterogeneous. Statistics show that national readers come chiefly from D.C., California, Florida, and Texas, and are joined by an international Hispanic audience from countries such as Mexico, El Salvador, and Venezuela. Digital readers are less faithful to the paper than those who read the print edition, as is common in the sector: with countless other platforms only a click away, the public "has become promiscuous" by nature (Prado, 2011).

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Given this cultural and linguistic diversity, *El Tiempo Latino*'s articles are written in neutral language that all Spanish speakers can understand. The paper avoids using regionalisms and, when this kind of terminology is essential to the richness of a story, it includes a complementary description. This practice is essential, Ulloa explain, because the paper can be a lifeline for new immigrants who arrive in the U.S. without speaking the language: "These people arrive with little or no English and, in the newspaper, they find a link that allows them to integrate and even find a job" (Ulloa, 2018).

5.4. Reinvent or die

A 2018 report by the Pew Research Center shows that the declining circulation of Hispanic periodicals touches all newspapers, regardless of the frequency of their publication. For now, *El Tiempo Latino* has a stable print run, and its business model gives it reason to be optimistic. While the paper is still working to improve its digital offerings, which it hopes to monetize through a community of paid subscribers, it has capitalized on the value of its brand to diversify revenue streams.



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Figure 5. Organization of sponsored events, a parallel line of business. Spanish-language media outlets, like presses everywhere, are trying to reinvent their business model to counteract the drop in advertising and single-copy sales. Source: *eltiempolatino.com*.

Income from the print edition comes from sales and advertising placement. Within this segment, classified ads are especially important, given their popularity among the Hispanic community. In fact, according to the paper, there is more demand for classified ads than there is space to print them, since they try to dedicate at least half of their space to articles. Classifieds, too, have an important social function, albeit a different one than news content, since they include

employment opportunities, homes available to rent, affordable immigration attorneys, etc.

El Tiempo Latino also leverages the prestige of its brand—which is still associated with *The Washington Post*—to organize events and attract sponsors, an approach that has opened up a parallel line of business. These events are always held in the D.C. area under the auspices of one or several companies, who receive extensive visibility. These events include annual gatherings, such as a two-day celebration of Latino traditions and cultural contributions,²³ and other, more sporadic events, such as health or networking campaigns to connect professionals of different nationalities.

Thus, the paper is attempting to adapt its model to fit the new media paradigm, while simultaneously maintaining the high-quality journalism that has won it the NAHP's National Outstanding Hispanic Weekly award 14 times in its history.

6. Conclusions

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This study confirms the relevance of Hispanic journalism in the U.S., which lends cohesion to the “multiethnic community” and shapes the “pan-Hispanic identity” (Gómez Mopart and Coperías Aguilar, 2014). Although many Spanish-language newspapers are simple informational leaflets (Covarrubias, 2016), there are also sound journalistic undertakings, such as those discussed here, that amplify the wealth of Latino culture and speak for marginalized groups. Coverage of topics that do not figure in the agenda of major English-language outlets generates a strong link to Hispanic readers, who see their realities reflected in these publications. This is especially true of articles on immigration, analysis of political decisions, and local news, all of which help uphold customs, traditions, and sociocultural values.

²³ Cf. <http://eltiempolatino.com/news/2018/sep/26/un-fin-de-semana-de-fiesta-latina/>.

Despite this public service, social trends have prompted a “decrease in Latin American emigration and an increase in U.S.-born Latinos,” which has resulted in an uptick in English monolingualism and English/Spanish bilingualism (Rosana Hernández, 2018). This means a reduction in the audience for Spanish media outlets and, therefore, a drop in revenue. Even so, they continue to play an essential social role, thanks to their own agendas and the opportunities they offer to more vulnerable immigrant communities, which have fewer economic, linguistic, and cultural resources available to them. In this landscape, the Hispanic press must reassert the meaning of its mission and improve the quality of its offerings, so that new generations, though they may be able to read English, will find value therein.

Achieving journalistic excellence in the current landscape, marked by the gradual drop in circulation, requires reinventing the old business model. *El Nuevo Herald*, *La Opinión*, *El Diario*, and *El Tiempo Latino* have not yet succeeded in monetizing their digital audiences, but they have begun a restructuring that they hope will ensure their middle- and long-term future. Instead of retreating to advertising sales, which still generates the lion’s share of their economic resources, these outlets have strengthened their business strategy by organizing sponsored events and seeking to effect synergies between the various outlets within their umbrella corporations: *el Nuevo Herald* and the *Miami Herald*, both of which are subsidiaries of the Miami Herald Media Company, operate as a single bilingual newsroom; *La Opinión* and *El Diario*, both of which belong to ImpreMedia, share some staff; and *El Tiempo Latino* has an agreement with the *Washington Post*—its former parent company—that allows it to translate the *Post*’s articles and use some of its graphic materials.

The success of the outlets examined here, which were selected precisely because of their relevance, lies in a three-pronged approach: (a) specialization, with contents that the Hispanic population cannot find elsewhere; (b) credibility, won

through decades of ethical and professional journalism; and (c) adaptability, a quality that has proven vital in the face of the new, Internet-driven paradigm shift. Additionally, these outlets' roles within major media conglomerates highlight the importance of forging business alliances in such a competitive and fast-changing landscape. Rather than employing large staffs, these outlets operate within structures that are slim but professional; this is true for journalists and editors as well as for high-level employees in other key areas, including business, marketing, and technology.

Efforts dedicated to digital offerings merit special attention. As is happening in other segments of the population, the percentage of Latinos who get their news online is increasing with every passing year (Flores and López, 2018), while television, radio, and print news audiences are declining (Rosana Hernández, 2018). Even so, Hispanic online media “do not always avail themselves to the latest digital tools on their websites or, at least, they do not do so adequately” (González Tosat, 2015). At this point, there is no doubt that the four outlets discussed here are the exception and not the rule: rather than adapting their print edition for an online format, they target a distinct online audience, with articles composed for precisely this format and staffs skilled in multimedia production. They are fully equipped to face the challenges of online journalism. Although there is cause for optimism (*El Diario* in New York, for example, has an online community with over 700,000 followers on Facebook), full integration will require further efforts: the future lies not just in the medium—digital or analogue—but in generating brand loyalty, with a broad mindset that encompasses all channels.

As for use of Spanish—a top priority for the Observatory of the Instituto Cervantes at Harvard University—it is worth highlighting the neutrality of the language in the newspapers examined. Unlike the Spanish edition of *The New York Times*, which will be the subject of a dedicated study in late 2019, these outlets use neutral

Spanish that all Spanish speakers can understand. In order to reach this heterogeneous readership, they avoid using regionalisms. That said, to what extent is it possible to ensure understanding without diminishing cultural and linguistic fullness? This question will be addressed in greater detail in the study on the “gray lady” of journalism, which, since February 2016, has been offering the Hispanic community a digital newspaper with reporting that taps into the inexhaustible richness of the Spanish language.

Ultimately, *El Nuevo Herald*, *La Opinión*, *El Diario*, and *El Tiempo Latino* have a clear understanding that innovation will be impossible if they betray their roots. For this reason, they are endeavoring to build their digital publications on the pillars of their earlier success: high-quality news and inscrutable writing.

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