

ICA Regional Shanghai Conference, 8-10 November 2013

Transforming Digital Media Industry Cultures: Accessing News in Asian Mobile Internets

Dr. Tim Dwyer, University of Sydney, Australia

Abstract

As part of a broader Australian Research Council-funded project into the mobile Internet we assume the enduring importance of media diversity, in particular news diversity, as a policy priority in a convergent media era. The purpose of the news diversity research component of the Moving Media project is to investigate the implications of mobile news content provision, including for the development of media diversity policies. The research examines how news production practices operate in a context of proliferating media devices, escalating social media usage, media convergence and mobility. As people increasingly access news by way of mobile Internet-connected devices, it is suggested that mobile Internet media cannot be based upon naïve assumptions of service or content plurality, despite the expansion of online publishing outlets and delivery systems. Mobile computing and software raise complex industrial and socio-cultural questions regarding access to Smartphone news apps. By investigating the openness (and restrictedness/exclusivity) of mobile Internet platforms/news apps, the research aims to develop our understanding about how these mobile media ecologies are being used by media producers and consumer/citizens. These Asian case studies explore the dynamic relations between old and new media industries including as part of these transformations: the governance/content management of digital news apps and how this relates to other masthead content; their availability and how they're accessed; the usage patterns of particular news brand apps; and, their affordability together with platform access and handset (cultural) histories, including branded/proprietary content arrangements associated with specific portals and telecommunications networks.

Introduction

Emerging mobile Internets are a key area of digital media transformation in the twenty-first century, generating intense, complex changes in our mediascapes and many challenges for media managers and workers, policymakers and media and communication scholars. In this paper, which is a part of a larger Australian Government funded project with my colleagues at the University of Sydney, I firstly will give an overview of mobile Internet development and characteristics, focusing on the Internet's convergences with telephonic, televisual and locative technologies. The second part of the paper then explores media industry cultures and access to news through the lens of three quite distinct Asian news organization case studies in Hong Kong, Seoul, Korea and Mainland China. It's evident that mobile Internets have as yet not been integrated into digital media policy frameworks, regulatory institution operations, and governance processes of the Internet; nor have its implications for public media been grasped. It is intended that this research contribute to the evidence-base for future policy frameworks.

In conceptualizing the management challenges of mobile Internet this research is positioned in the field of global media policy studies (Raboy, 2002), which seek to understand the institutions, actors, central issues and politics of policy formation and to analyze how these are connected within, and beyond, territorial media ecologies. It is

recognized that research into media use and consumption is paramount to understanding how technological change unfolds. Without a clear, nuanced understanding of media forms, affordances and cultures of use, media managers and public commentators can tend to be swayed by boosterist projections of new media take-up and social significance.

The Rise of Mobile Internets

Globally the rapid growth of mobile Internet infrastructure and use has required urgent policy attention; most obviously in spectrum allocation and bandwidth access as network demand accelerates. Mobile broadband subscriptions in developed countries more than tripled between 2007 and 2011, and in developing economies increased ten times, although from a much lower base (International Telecommunications Union, 2011), particularly in Africa, where the mobile Internet is in its early roll-out stage (Rao, 2011). As Smartphone ownership has increased, so has the rate of Internet access from mobile phones relative to desktop access, nearly leveling in Japan, the UK and North America (Google, 2011). In 2011 alone ownership of networked tablets tripled to 34 million, and each generated more data traffic than the average Smartphone (Cisco, 2012). Cisco estimates that by 2012 the number of mobile-connected devices had overtaken the world's population, and by 2016 there will be 1.4 mobile devices per capita. The telecoms analysts firm Gartner estimates that in 2013 the mobile phone will overtake PC's as the most common access device (Gartner, 2013). Although so-called 'leapfrogging' (access to the Internet by mobile phone and thereby bypassing PC access) has benefits from the perspective of narrowing the digital divide, scholars are now also identifying significant affordance deficits with policy implications (Napoli and Obar, 2013).

Internet-worked, personalized, portable media, such as Smartphone and e-readers, underpin new expectations held by consumers of media and communications, including social networking, self-publishing and online trade. Increasingly, the future of media itself is bound up with the evolution of the Internet, something underscored by national plans for next-generation broadband Internet and telecommunications infrastructures, and debates around their design, features and management (Given, 2010). Such media are becoming pivotal to education, work and commercial life. Thus mobile Internets will have a cardinal influence on media industries, political, cultural and societal arrangements.

For this reason there is a need to ensure nascent digital communications networks and media platforms provide all citizens with equitable, inclusive means of representation and participation in public life. Effective media management through appropriate policy and regulatory frameworks is critical in securing these goals. But the international scope and rapid pace of technology change, combined with the little-understood dynamics of user innovation pose significant issues of research and analysis.

Although there has been as yet little systematic research on mobile media and its regulation, there are early signs that mobile Internets appear to profoundly expand the domains and modes of policy-making, the actors involved and the processes of public engagement and deliberation. It is also expanding the concept of media, hybridizing telecommunications, traditional media (press, broadcasting) and new media (online, mobile) to embrace a wider range of technologies and settings. The rise of mobile Internets involves developments across three major axes of media convergence with the broadband Internet: with mobile telephony, with digital television broadcasting and with the new media

ecologies evolving around locative, spatial/mapping, and sensing technologies. Understanding the drivers of these transformations helps in conceptualising effective policy development processes and responses.

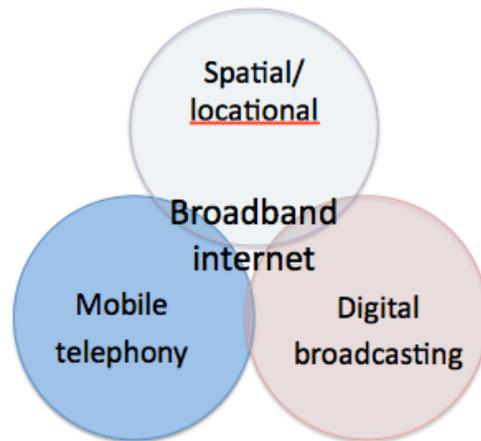


Figure 1: mobile internet axes of convergence

Mobile Internet-phone convergence

The convergence of the Internet with the mobile phone stretches back at least until the mid-1990s, and can be broken into two periods: the birth of the Web and Wireless Application Protocol (WAP), and the growth of high speed data networks.

The popularity of the Web and its affordances — multimediality, hypertextual linking of Internet resources, interoperability (working across devices, platforms, applications and screen) and ease of use — quickly suggested the mobile phone as a platform for the telephony industry to concentrate its online R&D efforts. Finnish giant Nokia, along with Motorola, Ericsson, and Unwired Planet (later to become Phone.com), instigated the WAP platform in 1997, and it became a key way that mobile manufacturers and carriers sought to implement an Internet-like environment on mobile phones. Yet due to slow data speeds and limitations on handsets, operating systems, and applications, WAP proved a frustrating experience for users, attracting limited interest.

The celebrated pioneer in early mobile Internet, however, was the i-Mode “ecosystem”, developed by the Japanese carrier NTT DoCoMo. The i-Mode system was a packet-switched data service that operated over the mobile phone network. Content providers were encouraged to develop products (such as mobile music), and consumer subscription and purchases were made as easy as possible — a notable achievement in the early days of the mobile Internet.

It took some years before a similar ease of use was available in other countries, with the widespread use of ‘WAP 2.0’. Mobile portal and premium services took off in 2002-5, harnessed to different business models with music, video, and other downloads, and multimedia and text messaging proving business mainstays. This eventual take-up of WAP and the applications, and services it incubated are obvious precursors to Apple’s iPhone, Google’s Android, and other smartphones, as well as their accompanying apps and apps stores. Internet development communities also had a burgeoning interest in the mobile

Internet, with Web developers leading the bridge building with the mobiles vendors and carriers.

The second period of mobile Internet transformation dates roughly from 2004-5, characterised by increased network data capacity, more diverse forms of network access, accelerating consumer take-up and broadband Internet substitution for telephony. With enhanced 2G networks and introduction of 3G networks, the Internet could be much more easily accessed via mobile networks (in the global north, at least) for mobile video, games, music, photo-sharing sites, and other contemporary high bandwidth Internet experiences. USB modems or chips enabled high-speed access for laptop computers, tablets, and other devices. These shifts saw mobile broadband achieve rapid take-up around the world.

Now fourth generation (4G) mobile networks, involving a mix of mobile cellular and wireless Internet (Wi-Max and other Wi-Fi successor technologies) technologies, promise much faster Internet access. Developments in next-generation broadband networks have also accelerated the process of replacing traditional fixed and mobile telecommunications circuits with Internet protocol based packet-switch networks (Middleton & Given, 2011).

Another significant factor in mobile Internet has been the continued evolution of multimedia handsets. These enabled easy network access, media downloads, social media and app use, with Smart phones becoming fashionable particularly from mid-2007 following the success of the Apple iPhone, and then Google's Android operating system.

Yet this trajectory of use is not culturally uniform. In Asian countries, mobiles have long been important in Internet access and use, especially in their pioneering of social software, with long-established communities around applications such as Cyworld (South Korea) and Mixi (Japan) (Hjorth, 2009). In the West social networking systems were developed around desktop platforms until comparatively recently (with the exception of social software experiments in the 1990s). So it was not until 2007-8 that social software and systems became widespread on mobiles in non-Asian countries, and then the growth was phenomenal (Nielsen, 2010).

Further the global dominance of mobile social systems such as Facebook cannot be assumed. By 2010 it was certainly the West's leading social networking system, with a substantial proportion of mobile users. In the process it also became a platform adopted, and reshaped, by users in non-Western countries, underscored by its role in the Arab Spring uprisings of late 2010 and early 2011. Yet Facebook's rise has obscured the cultural importance of other social networking and social media applications, not least in markets like China where instant messaging service QQ and "weibo" or microblogs such as Fanfou, and later Sina, have led the growth of public commentary on social, cultural and political issues.

Mobile Internet-television convergence

Social networking, with its user focus on media sharing, is also a factor in the development of another convergence axis for mobile Internet: the intersection between online video and television broadcasting. Television has long had its own development trajectory towards digital broadcasting and portable consumer equipment. More recently the "post-broadcasting" world of the Internet (notably Web and peer-to-peer video sharing services) has contributed to new forms of television (Meikle & Young, 2008; Turner & Tay,

2009) that integrate websites, on demand content, live video-streaming, chat and user generated content.

From 2005, we saw the Internet and television ‘co-evolving’. Broadband networks had become widespread in the world’s more prosperous or more technologically advanced communities. By 2011, infrastructure had improved to the extent that the long-lived video store and mail-order models were able to be seriously challenged by companies such as Netflix, in the US, and global online distribution systems such as Apple’s iTunes. There is now a widespread expectation on the part of industry, policy, and scholars that next-generational broadband networks, such as Australia’s National Broadband Network, will become the decisive distribution platform for television broadcasting.

Bandwidth maturation has supported the rich televisual possibilities of new Internet services, applications and cultures – from peer to peer (P2P) file sharing through to, more recently, video search and ‘social’ television, which is at the forefront of the medium’s development (Ducheneaut et al, 2008). The Internet-based architecture of video-sharing services and applications has provided a way that you, the viewer, can “broadcast yourself”, as the YouTube motto goes (Burgess & Green, 2013), remix, curate and share your favourite works, with such activities becoming a central part of the formation and practices of television audiences.

Concerning mobiles, so-called “mobile television” was developed from the late 1990s, as part of the development of digital television technologies and standards. However mobile television remains at an early stage, partly because of the cautiousness of providers, but also (as proponents have realized since the first flush of enthusiasm for the idea) because there are technical, regulatory and content issues to be surmounted. For their part, mobile carriers have moderated or even dropped their claims about mobile television, now presenting the mobile phone as one of many ways to consume audio-visual content. As one market research report put it “Mobile TV is dead – long live mobile video” (Budde, 2011b).

So with ‘official’ mobile television slow to find a strong base of consumers, mobile television practices unfolded instead in the user cultures of the Internet and the increasingly hybrid environment of global mobile media (Goggin 2011a; Marcus et al., 2010) — that is, along our second axis of the mobile Internet.

A kind of popular mobile television emerged when users articulated the cellphone’s video camera and screen display capabilities with YouTube and Vimeo’s distributed, do-it-yourself broadcast systems. Mobile phones were being used for recording video from the mid 2000s, as dramatized by the increased news broadcast use of mobile video footage in instances where higher-quality amateur video or professional footage was not available, such as the 2005 London terrorist bombings. From this period mobile video recordings also became a key element of social media practices, with video consumption, creation, modification and sharing constituting ‘unofficial’ digital television (Lobato 2012).

Alongside amateur mobile footage, online video services offer the mobile consumption of content that originated from television, resembles television forms and genres, or forms part of contemporary television media systems.

This appearance of a new television ecosystem centring on the mobile Internet is especially due to the ‘affordances’ or utilities (Gibson, 1977) of smart phones and tablet computers, which lend themselves to audio-visual cultures. On the consumption side the screen is larger (especially in the case of tablets), visual quality is enhanced and Internet protocols are harnessed to different cultures of use, from automated media content

purchases through to downloading via torrent platforms. Further the software ecologies of mobile media, involving the creation of applications (apps) distributed via ‘apps stores’, function as effective platforms for third-party developer innovation and personalised consumer use (Goggin, 2011b). At the same time the fragmentation of mobile and wireless services has seen the growth of commercial ventures like Netflix or Hulu, which seek to provide integrated, and increasingly user pays forms of television across all available platforms.

Mobile Internet, then, presents policymakers with questions of access to, and participation in, the development of television ecosystems. This is already apparent in, for example, in European debates on open standards and interoperability between distribution technologies and mobile TV devices.

Mobile Internet-locative technology convergence

The third interface of contemporary mobile Internet is perhaps the most complex. It involves a range of new, networked information and communication technologies and infrastructures that exploit geographic and spatial data, and relative locative associations, being reconfigured in relation to each other. A short (and certainly not definitive) list includes: broadcasting to mobile networks; innovative network models such as mesh networks and cognitive radio; sensor technologies; radio frequency identification (RFID); the geospatial web; and location-based, mapping and positioning technologies. For illustrative purposes here, we will focus on the ecologies of what is now often termed ‘locative media’ (Gordon and de Souza e Silva, 2011).

Location technologies for cellular mobiles have been in development since at least the late 1990s. Locative media developed steadily during the 2000s and were the focus of artistic, activist, urban design and innovation initiatives. Mobile media are now awash with various kinds of customizable location devices and functions that have greatly expanded earlier conceptions of how place could be constructed, explored, capitalized upon, and mobilized. As well as the location technologies developed by cell phone companies and carriers, we have also seen the rapid development of Bluetooth, whether in advertising or user file-sharing, satellite navigation technologies (satnav), and the development of geoweb applications (Google Earth and Apple Maps). Location information has become critical in diverse activities such as alternative reality mobile gaming, or finding of friends, intimates and new contacts with social software. Experiments with location-aware information apps demonstrate the capacity for media to deliver contextual news tailored to the user’s relationship with place (Øie, 2012). Finally there are annotation, photographing, filming, recording and mark-up of locales through mobile Internet applications, and also Smartphone apps that take advantage of the possibilities of location technologies.

As the brief discussion of these three cardinal axes hopefully shows, mobile Internets have moved well beyond their early form on mobile handsets to encompass a complex, inter-related and convergent set of technologies, infrastructures and emergent user practices and cultures (Feijóo, Pascu, et al. 2009; Feijóo, Maghiros, et al. 2009; Goggin, 2011a; Ibrus, 2013). While research on mobile Internets is developing this has yet to be integrated into a comprehensive understanding of policy frameworks, regulatory institutions, and processes of the Internet — let alone media and management practices.

Many countries, still lack consolidated, convergent media and communications policies and regulation. From the mid-to-late 1990s onwards, national parliaments, policy-

makers and regulators have sought to grapple with Internet, mobile media, and national broadband through subsidiary regulation, policy measures, and new legislation. More recently, convergent media regulation has been the subject of many international and national policy inquiries and initiatives, while in media research convergent media and its policy implications is a central problematic (Dwyer, 2010). While my colleagues and I have done foundational research on media diversity and influence in relation to online news (Dwyer & Martin, 2010; Dwyer, Martin & Goggin, 2011) there is no work we are aware of that considers diversity issues in relation to mobile platforms.

Given the headlong rush of news and media providers into mobile media (especially apps) and new subscription and pay models, this type of research is critical to underpinning effective policy for equitable access and participation in digital media systems (ACMA, 2009; 2010; 2011). As yet, we know little about the kind of media content — news, entertainment, other forms — that appear on apps or the role that Smartphone, tablets, and apps play in wider cross-platform, convergent media ecologies. Nor are we aware of specific regulatory consideration of these mobile Internet forms and the policy issues they pose. That this is a problem for public interest policy making is further emphasised when we consider how users are positioned in usually quite locally specific culture of news and access diversities. Therefore, in the following section of the paper I want to sketch out, in a preliminary way, three quite specific and localized cultures of mobile and online news access.

Accessing News in Asian Mobile Internets

In researching mobile Internets my colleagues and I make an assumption about the enduring importance of media diversity, in particular news diversity, as a policy priority in a convergent media era. The purpose of the news diversity research component of the Moving Media project is to investigate the implications of mobile news content provision, including for the development of media diversity policies. The research explores the production, distribution and access to news in a context of proliferating media devices, escalating social media usage, media convergence and mobility. My argument is that news diversity is increasingly a matter of this complex and dynamic set of interrelationships between news and audience usage cultures, access devices, operating systems, platforms and sharing. That is, it's useful to conceive of news content distribution as much through the lens of digital media industry transformations as it is through more traditional theoretical perspectives (source, content, exposure) on news diversity (Napoli, 2008; Dwyer and Martin, 2010).

Transformations in the political economy of mobile computing and software raise complex industrial and socio-cultural questions regarding access to Smartphone news apps. The approach here is to explore the dynamic between old and new media industries including as part of these transformations: the governance/content management of digital news apps and how this relates to other masthead content; their availability and how they're accessed; the usage patterns of particular news brand apps; and, their affordability together with platform access and handset (cultural) histories, including branded/proprietary content arrangements associated with specific portals and telecommunications networks.

To investigate some of these broader questions I will give a brief overview of three case studies in the contemporary Asian news media sector: *The Apple Daily* in Hong Kong; *The*

Korea Herald in Seoul, and *The China Daily* in Beijing. The intention is not to give a highly detailed account of these cultures of news and access diversities, but rather to put forward a selected ensemble of practices of news production and consumption and their institutional expression in these locations (Ibrus, 2013: 277). My purpose is to provide case study exemplars that illustrate the dynamic evolution of socio-cultural-industrial elements in these digital news media production locations.

Apple Daily

An understanding of the corporate history of Next Media Interactive and the *Apple Daily* gives you an insight into their unique socio-cultural-industrial news production features.

Next Media limited (the owner of the *Apple Daily*) was incorporated and listed on the Hong Kong Stock Exchange in 1981 (Next Media Ltd, 2013). From that time, through until the late 1990s, the company provided commercial printing and reprographic services for books and magazines, and was a magazine publisher. In 1999 it acquired Next Media Interactive limited from Next Media Magazine Holdings, and the controlling shareholder became Mr. Jimmy Lai (although he founded the *Apple Daily* in 1995 by investing \$100 million). In July 2000, Next Media Limited acquired *Apple Daily* Online Limited, which included the online version of the *Apple Daily*. There is some contention around whether or not the *Apple Daily* is the second or first most popular daily newspaper in Hong Kong, and how online readership is factored into these figures (Lo, 2013). In Taipei, the *Apple Daily* is the leading daily newspaper. In Hong Kong, the main competitors include the *Oriental Daily* and *The Sun* (with both groups being controlled by the Oriental Press Group). The latter group is claimed to take a pro-PRC line, and is therefore always in a polarized position in relation to the *Apple Daily*'s 'pro-democracy' stance. Together with *Oriental Daily* and *The Sun*, they dominated around 70% to 80% of the print market share in 2011 (The Hong Kong Audit Bureau of Circulations Limited, 2012).

A series of takeovers in 2001 enabled Next Media Limited to become the largest publicly listed Chinese Language print media organization, from the position of market share and sales. Successful operation of the company allowed it to expand to Taiwan in the early 2000s, launching the Taiwan *Apple Daily* in 2003. The Taiwan version of the *Apple Daily* is now the most widely read daily newspaper. The group launched the *Sharp Daily* in 2006, as the group's first free daily newspaper. There have been other ongoing online and print acquisitions to boost the company. Lai was criticized for launching the free *Sharp Daily* because, the argument went, it would cannibalize the paid for content of the *Apple Daily*. Despite this, Lai argues that the rise of Smartphone and quick response codes (QR codes) has created advertising opportunities to counter potential paid-for circulation loses. He argues that people want to watch video and be entertained in the burgeoning virtual world that is accessed by branded Smartphone and other mobile devices (Jacob, 2011). Indeed, Next Media Interactive offer their news to audiences as 'native' apps (via apps stores), as mobile web apps, and for mobile net browser search by way of various devices/operating system (iOS, Android, Windows, Blackberry). In total, Next Interactive offers around 20 apps across the main operating systems. In recent times, the Android operating system has overtaken the Apple's iOS (Yung, 2013).

The *Apple Daily*'s popularity can be attributed to a number of presentational factors including its extensive use of Cantonese language. Lee argues that its success can also be attributed to a focus on reporting crime, celebrity news, eroticism, gambling, and drug use

(Lee, 1997: 131). It is unabashedly a ‘tabloid’ formula news product in both traditional and online/mobile guises. Characteristically, the *Apple Daily* has adopted a position of being anti the central Chinese Government (PRC), and so generally anti-Beijing, as well as being critical of pro-China governments in Hong Kong and editorially pro-‘democracy’. Lee and Lin (2006) have argued the *Apple Daily*’s often-critical position of the Hong Kong government is a ‘marketing strategy’ in the context of post-colonial British rule.

In terms of news programming, the *Apple Daily* is well known internationally for its so-called ‘Action News’ format and related YouTube video channel. Next Media Interactive are not alone among news media organizations in using animation in news production. CNN are another media organization who have done so, and it’s been referred to as becoming a ‘mainstream’ practice (Cheng and Lo, 2012: 132). As Cheng and Lo point out, ‘animation is typically adopted as a way to visualize an event for which there is no video footage, or when the issue reported is abstract and needs visual illustration’. However, Next Media Interactive have developed this form of animation-enhanced, or augmented reality news video to the point where their brand survival stands or falls on its continued supply. Low quality animated CGI segments are prepared by Next Media’s ‘Next Animation’ studios based in Taiwan for the breaking news story. Next Media Animation in Taiwan employs around 500 animators, which makes it a similar size to the Australian animation studio Animal Logic when it was operating at its peak making movies such as *Happy Feet*, and juggling outsourced Hollywood CGI contracts. This approach is considered to be an inherent element in the rise to popularity of the *Apple Daily*, and the popularity and credibility of their online news product with audiences is dependent on the form. Although there are many categories of traditional and new media news product in Hong Kong, this popularity of Action News is an important constitutive element in the Hong Kong news mediascape.

The editorial and IT managers of Next Media Interaction have ongoing challenges to maintain the necessary level of computer infrastructure, to develop a satisfactorily skilled number of staff to make the news animations, and to turn breaking news items around in as little as 2-3 hours (they are produced in Taiwan and then returned to Hong Kong). Next Media Animation’s website divides the development process of Action News animation into six stages: (1) understanding the news story; (2) script development; (3) the 3-D model consultation and development; (4) storyboarding; (5) actors performing scenes from the script; and (6) final edits on animation (Next Media Animation, 2012).

The *New York Times* has described the Action News form as about ‘the new world of Maybe Journalism, offering a glimpse at the future of the tabloid division’ (Cohen, 2009). Cheng and Lo describe it as ‘melodramatic emotion-laden and movie-like animation’ (2012: 146). In this augmented reality of the animation, tabloid-styled content aims to both attract the younger generation who no longer read paper-printed news, and to engage older audiences who are culturally attuned to traditions of cartoon-like formats. Perhaps the best-known example internationally of the form relates to the adultery scandal of celebrity golfer Tiger Woods in 2009. Next Media Interactive’s animators depicted the events using CGI, dramatically showing Tiger Wood’s now ex-wife chasing Wood’s car with a golf club. Next Media Interactive achieved their main traffic objective: it quickly went viral on the net. Or, to take another more recent example in 2013, a CGI-enacted murder-suicide scenario in Hong Kong, involving a mother who murders her young son and then takes her own life using the gas oven in the apartment’s kitchen, was among the highest viewed news videos at

the *Apple Daily*. Viral videos can trigger very high traffic figures, however total video views on the Next Media Interactive mobile channels/apps can typically reach the 5 million per day mark. An important production element of the video news segments is that they need to be the right length to be consumed between subway stations in Hong Kong. Commuters need to be able to view the video news stories before they get off at their station on the way to work (Yung, 2013).

The launch of Action News animated news video approach to news of the *Apple Daily* site has proven to be a very successful move. The *Apple Daily* ranks first in both the Apple Store and Google Play for Android Phones compared with other newspaper apps in Hong Kong. The popularity of this kind of news has arisen due to a cluster of socio-cultural and industrial factors, which occur in Hong Kong, Taiwan and other Asian contexts. But it is implausible to suggest that it is confined solely to Asian societies: even CNN uses news animation in their news, if not at the same level of popularity or daily frequency. From the perspective of Western or perhaps even Anglo-American news traditions there is an ethical question over the practice of combining 'factual' and 'dramatic' televisual conventions in the presentation of mainstream news stories. The reporting of criminal stories or matters before courts appear to be particularly problematic in terms of the legal doctrine of sub judice contempt. Facial appearance, dress codes, or general demeanour may all convey information about perceptions of guilt or innocence concerning an accused person that allows viewers or worse, jurors or judges, to form prejudicial impressions of conduct. Legal principles of the right to a fair trial and innocence until proven guilty seem to complicate simple accounts of audience popularity with these animated news formats.

It's been reported that Next Media have been attempting to sell their traditional newspaper and television assets in Taiwan to focus on their online and mobile media platforms. That this is happening while the Taiwanese government is attempting to improve relations with Beijing has not escaped some industry commentators (Mishkin, 2013). But it is also evident that the Next Media group has strategically positioned itself as a multi-product (apps and mobile websites), multi-device/operating system (iOS, Android, Windows, Blackberry) and multi-platform digital media organization. Currently, Android-based devices are dominating the handset market, but they have only recently overtaken Apple's iOS (iPhones) in Hong Kong.

Facing significant IT infrastructure content distribution and cross-platform challenges, the Next Media group views its future as one dominated by social, mobile and locative media (or 'SoMoLo'), user generated content, and increasingly, greater personalisation of news (Yung, 2013).

The Korea Herald

As one of a handful of English language newspapers in South Korea, *The Korea Herald* began in the 1950s having morphed from the *Korean Republic*. As with other Asian English language newspapers (for example the *China Daily*), *The Korea Herald* have always had an educational, English as a second language set of objectives, in addition to media organization goals. They operate English language 'Hagwons' (Korean not-for-profits) learning centres, and manage the 'English village', an English language immersion centre. *The Korea Herald* controls over 50% of the English language newspaper market, its main competitor is the *Korea Joongang Daily*, a more liberal paper associated with the *International Herald Tribune*.

They were on the net in 1995 and they launched their Smartphone app in July 2010. Owned

by Herald Media Inc. the paper is perceived as a serious masthead, conservative, with editorial and advertising positions that are generally subservient to Korea's infamous Chaebol structure (or the favoured, Korean family-controlled politically influential conglomerates such as Samsung, Hyundai or LG which generate about 50% of Korea's GDP).

Nash and Bacon in a review of the English language press in South East Asia have made some useful observations that are relevant for this research on news diversity, even though the two studies these have quite disparate foci. Drawing on Bourdieu's field theory the authors argue:

the English language media is read by most foreign diplomatic and business workforces, by many non-government organization (NGO) workers, and by some foreign tourists and travelers. It thus constitutes a major venue or field where the decisions, attitudes and activities of all who participate and contest the use of power in *national* decision-making are represented to the international stakeholders in foreign governments, transnational corporations and international NGOs...(Nash and Bacon (2006: 107)

From the perspective of journalism and the public sphere, this is a useful point to make about English language media in Asia. However, to this overview of significant audiences/readerships we need to add the English learning elites and their media consumption practices, in the societies where these Asian newspapers are located. These elite readers participate in various economic, political and social networks and therefore are involved in a range of contemporary issues. These English language media are therefore central to government strategies for the promotion and take-up of English, for reasons of business and cultural exchange. Another more fundamental point to be made regarding selecting the English language press in Asia for the purpose of analyzing digital media transformations concerns transparency and availability for Western media researchers.

Westlund has undertaken extensive longitudinal research into the transformation of the *Gotesborg-Posten*: a Swedish language paper which has the second highest reach among quality subscribed print newspapers in Sweden (Westlund, 2011). He has tracked the transformation of the traditional newspaper from its earliest digital moves into digital mobile media operations.

1995 marked their entrance into online news publishing, by 1998 news was distributed by SMS and in 2001 they made news available by WAP. In 2008 they hired a dedicated mobile editor and launched a one-year project group dedicated to mobile developments. From 2008 a project dedicated to mobile developments (MktMobil) was formed by the Stampen Group and its four newspaper group partners in the digital developments network of MktMedia. In this network, representing 47 newspaper companies, GP constitutes the largest organization and has been expected to drive innovation... In 2009 the mobile project was terminated and GP started to form a more permanent organizing group for collaborative digital developments ...in 2010 orchestrated through the launch of the Digital Development Group (Westlund, 2011).

Westlund argues that the transformations of the *Gotesborg-Posten* may be explained in terms of the 'joint efforts' of three management groups: editorial, business and IT departments. He concludes that the tensions between these groups will tend to shape how traditional media groups create new media, such as mobile apps. His view is that given the transition to online and mobile media use in society its 'not surprising that contemporary news media are forming omnipresent strategies to become accessible any time, any place

and through any device' (Westlund, 2011). Their motives (and survival) are, of course, linked to this provision of ubiquitous cross-media news access and exploring new revenue sources.

Westlund's explanatory framework resonates with the digital media developments at *The Korea Herald* (and also with the other case studies). The transition to digital media news production contains some shared components: traditional media organizations have retooled their operations from products and services to organizational structures and cultures. The actual development process in these newspapers is usually a narrative of stop-start and interactive testing processes between the management groups. Ongoing innovation, for example around offering news apps has also become an increasingly commonplace step by these media outlets. The actual institutional 'sensemaking' (using Westlund's term) processes will vary: for example, some news organizations may choose to go straight to offering a native news app via an online store (Windows Store, Apple's App Store, Google Play, or the Android market) as either a free or pay-for download, alternatively, breaking news content may first become available as a web app (content that is specifically packaged for mobile phone devices and accessed via a browser). Most news organizations at this stage in the digital transformation of news appear to make both available, even if the rollout makes one kind of access available before the other. Yet unique questions of revenue, user experience and closely linked to these, technological possibilities (local market preference/take up of branded handsets/infrastructure costs) will also play into this innovation decision-making process by media corporations.

The unfolding chain of events in the decision-making process at *The Korea Herald* leading to the introduction of their news apps is a global story, albeit one with specific localized socio-cultural and industrial inflections, that is linked to declining circulation and the changing consumption practices of audiences. *The Korea Herald* paid app, available from app stores, provides text and audio, so audiences can read and listen to a selection of daily news items. Audiences of *The Korea Herald* publications are wanting both domestic and international news items, and 'to advance their English proficiency' (Yang, 2013). The organization also distributes e papers and these provide English language study sections with translation exercises. *The Korea Herald* optimized for reading on the iPhone is also available on Apple's 'Newsstand', which has undergone a series of updates and improvements.

The Korea Herald importantly also provides Korean language, packaged news for the two biggest Korean portals, Naver.com and Daum.net (these are the Korean equivalents of the aggregators Google News and Yahoo News). These are the most popular destinations for audiences seeking news in Korea and they include pages optimized for mobiles. The placement of news content at the top of the pages in those portals is an indicator of the significance of news within Korean media culture. The influence of these aggregators should not be underestimated in the Korean news access mediascapes, with web traffic to *The Korea Herald* largely driven by the users and redirected visits from the portals (Yang, 2013). Clearly, then, as with the critics of Google and Yahoo News often argue, these portal news aggregators are the principal beneficiaries of the advertising that relies on these large traffic flows. Monthly content fees paid to *The Korea Herald* are a miniscule fraction of the revenue generated by the news aggregators. Many other print, broadcast and online media organizations are placed in a similar position when they supply content to the aggregators. In the face of this dominance by portals in news access (over 50%) in Korea, news

organizations have attempted to claw back some of this audience share by upgrading their websites, offering apps and mobile optimized news content. But the app market from the perspective of *The Korea Herald* has failed – at least in terms of the original purpose it was developed to address: the hemorrhaging of revenue from the masthead due to the decline in print media circulation. The idea was to introduce a new subscriber-based media platform for accessing news. Premium content that people would pay for would, it was hoped, provide new revenue streams. However this has never eventuated for *The Korea Herald*.

It is a story that is being repeated throughout the world. The exceptions are business-oriented newspapers such as the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Financial Times*. The provision of paid-for general news by traditional newspaper organizations is a difficult proposition. Understandably therefore, *The Korea Herald* provides their apps news content for free. A ‘digital first’ policy (like the *Sydney Morning Herald’s* policy) proscribes a particular workflow, but survival is difficult. Ultimately in their fully digital business model traffic-based ads underpin the revenue stream. While *The Korea Herald* attracts approximately 1 million visitors per day to their website, this generates insufficient revenue to compensate for the circulation losses (Yang, 2013). But as their competition are the portals who provide a much more diversely sourced range of news also at no charge, and who attract the lion’s share of advertising in a zero-sum ad market, this is a difficult path. In this mediascape, the role of news brands has become even more competitive than it has previously: news consumers are searching by brand to some extent; but swathes of people are using the portals who offer a ‘one stop’ news shop, and a more diversely sourced range of news stories. The most popular Korean language dailies also have their paid online news content that are available with the print subscription, but these are dwarfed by the popularity of the portals.

For news organizations, perhaps a slight glimmer of hope to this general trend to declining print media circulation is the emerging and dynamic role that social media are now playing. Social media are not the saviour (at this stage anyway), but media organizations like *The Korea Herald* (and *Apple Daily* and *China Daily*) are very actively using a range of strategies to boost their online traffic through social media. *The Korea Herald* provides links or share buttons to Facebook and Twitter, has an official Facebook page and Twitter account with approximately 12,000 followers (which looks very small in comparison with the *China Daily’s* 300,000 Sina Weibo followers). At *The Korea Herald* there is a sense that links to social media, including popular Korean platforms, is simply a necessary part of the news/traffic mix – just another way of promoting the brand.

An emerging development in the sharing space is the rise of the Asian mega-messaging groups like Tencent’s QQ service in China. The two most popular mobile messaging services in Korea are Kakaotalk (approximately 80 million subscribers) and Line (owned by Naver, Japan, with approximately 100 million subscribers). The impact of these hugely popular free of charge messaging services on traditional media organizations like *The Korea Herald* is worth tracking for two main reasons. Firstly, from the point of view of sharing content and referrals, these organizations have the potential to boost traffic in relation to particular news stories and events. People can chat/message individually or to groups, and share links to news stories. Secondly, in the case of Kakaotalk, it’s proposing to offer a premium news service to its users on a subscription basis, and may soon carry media content as do the portals Naver and Daum. Kakaotalk and Line also offer free phone calls -

adding to their attractiveness to communications consumers who are looking for value and versatility.

In Korea about a third of Smartphone users have an iPhone, and the remaining two-thirds are Samsung or LG users. In terms of operating systems, Android-based devices are dominating the handset market. The news content provided by *The Korea Herald* is the same irrespective of the access device used, although the apps are customized for the main mobile platforms. Gossipy, 'Gangnam-style' celebrity, or more quirky content is highlighted on the online (and therefore) mobile apps/sites, in contrast to the typically more serious news content in the print version. As with online content around the world, for example in the UK's *Daily Mail* or the US's *Huffington Post*, traffic-based 'headlines with a hook' are the main fare. The influence of the portals Naver and Daum on the style of news in other news media organisations is noteworthy in this context. SEO and traffic analytics play an important editorial role in shaping news content. Stories are required to be put together in this lighter more chatty, celebrity-focused format because that's the dominant mode of access and audiences are not really concerned about the original source or news brand. From a news diversity perspective this is a very significant news trope in a transforming digital media culture, and a key trend for policymakers to take into account.

The China Daily

As the leading English language media organization in China, *The China Daily* has extensive traditional print media and new digital media operations. Founded in 1981 it is an example of a media organization that has developed many different ways of growing existing content across digital media platforms and access devices. Together with its European, US, Asian, Hong Kong editions it has a total hardcopy circulation per issue of around 800,000. The China Daily Group includes their 21st Century publishing division, which produces a range of English language education newspapers and digital media platforms and applications for a primarily ESL orientation (Shen, 2013).

The Chinadaily.com.cn website, launched in 1995, has seven main news websites and approximately 30 subsidiary websites. Mobile news apps are made available on Android, iOS, Blackberry, Amazon Kindle, Symbian platforms, and the Sony digital book reader and their respective app stores. A so-called Ipaper is available for iPhone and iPad in conjunction with Apple's Newsstand. The China Daily Mobile News offers a bilingual MMS service to China Mobile and China Telecom subscribers. Mobile App downloads for iPhone alone exceed 600,000 (China Daily.com.cn, 2013).

Editorially, the content produced by the China Daily Group is generally regarded as adopting officially sanctioned policy positions, if not to be a conduit for the leadership in Beijing. As with most English language media organizations in Asia the readership is predominantly constituted by stakeholders outside China, although there is the dual purpose of providing English language education to various internal elites. The main competition to the *China Daily* is offered by the *Global Times*, which commenced operations in 2009, so it is only a fraction of the size of the *China Daily*.

While China's telecommunications market is characterized by rapid growth, with the number of mobile phone users spiking up to 1.1 billion by the end of 2012, up from 976 million at the start of 2012, these figures need to be placed in other usage contexts. The number of people who access the Internet by mobile devices at the end of 2012 was 420 million, 64 million more than in 2011 (CUC, NMI, 2013, p.1). However, mobile broadband

is constrained in China by relatively slow broadband connection speeds. Currently the average access speed is on 3.14 Mbps, according to recent survey results. Speeds in Shanghai were the fastest at 4.7 Mbs (*China Daily*, 2013). This means that larger video news files for example do not always run that well on mobile devices (see Napoli and Obar, 2013).

The narrative of the rise of news accessed using mobile phones in China is one closely linked to the evolution of the telecommunications system through deregulatory policies, and to the introduction of specific formats of news delivered over mobile phone handsets. News in a text messaging form became widely available from 2002 (Zhang, 2013). 2G handsets were all that were required, and even so-called 'Little Smart' (Xiaolingtong) the low-end wireless handsets available in most cities from 2004 could receive SMS news (Qiu, 2007: 906). *China Daily* was one of several content providers for Little Smart (Zhang, 2013). Commencing in 2002 with the then sole mobile carrier, China Mobile, the *China Daily's* SMS service was bilingual costing 30 RMB per month, and it built up off a very low base of subscribers, although it was generally considered too expensive. These prices came down in 2007 to 5 RMB per month, and other premium news content added. By 2008 *China Daily* had around 300,000 paid mobile news subscribers, boosted by a keen interest in English language at the time Beijing Olympics. The number of subscribers grew to 500,000 in 2009. The main mobile carrier China Mobile has continued to push the SMS news product, and to the present time it remains very popular on China Mobile and China Unicom networks. From these modest beginnings, it has built up to a paid news app that had reached a million subscribers by 2010. Around 70% of subscribers accessing the paid news app are located outside of China (Zhang, 2013). It was only from 2008, when the Chinese state reorganised the telecommunications market and created three specific mobile carriers: China Mobile, China Unicom and China Telecom, that the deregulated conditions shaped the market for industrial expansion, initially licensing 3G and more recently 4G services. There has been considerable scholarly attention focused on China's 'unique socio-historical circumstances' and the dynamic institutional arrangements between state regulators, telecom operators, handset manufacturers and other stakeholders in China's 3G-enabled mobile Internet development (Hong et al, 2012). The *China Daily Group* provide news content to all three of the major mobile carriers: news can be accessed on a range of branded handsets, with the most popular being Samsung and iPhone, but also HTC, Huawei, Sony (formerly Sony-Ericsson), ZTE, Nokia (in decline for several years) and others.

However, pay-for news is generally not popular though because of a view (held internationally of course) that everyday news (as opposed to special English or bilingual valued added news) should be freely available. Advertising supports popular mobile news and entertainment content, for example, as provided by China Unicom. In China there is no successful Chinese language mass market or business market paid news product of *The Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times* ilk. There are many competing sources of free news in Mainland Chinese mediascape, particularly via the popular online content portals such as Tencent, Sohu, Sina and NetEase.

NetEase (164.com) currently have the largest number of news app subscribers in China (Zhang, 2013). There are interesting news innovations from these portal apps: the Sina app for example suggests trending keywords (or 'hot words') to search on. Of course, Chinese search engines are themselves a major player in the news market and also provide

news search engines: popular providers being Baidu, SoSo, and QQ. Search is the most popular way of consuming everyday news, so it is not surprising that search engines/portals play a major role in shaping access to news. In combination with social media talk about news events, search engines and suggestive news apps (e.g. Sina's) work to distribute everyday news stories. The writing may be on the wall: the main mobile provider, China Mobile anticipates that their Chinese language news apps will not survive in the medium to longer term. However, *China Daily* see a steady increase in their niche, English language-based apps as they, for example, target Android platform users with their partner provider, China Mobile (Zhang, 2013).

News content distribution in China is a dynamic mix of traditional and new media stakeholders. Mobile Internet distribution is a key element of this distribution/access process. New alliances have been formed between these actors. It has seen state broadcasters CCTV and the Shanghai TV Group and China Mobile cooperate to provide news packages distributed online by the carriers' over mobile television, by streaming and with apps (Hong et al, 2012). Traditional news providers, then, are increasingly offering their content online and over mobile platforms, but this provision is in a state of flux, depending on the wider competitive environment for news, handsets and their affordances, and the role of telecommunications groups.

Conclusion

Clearly then, mobile Internets offer a complex layering of media and communications ecologies: an ensemble of media industry dynamics. It involves convergence across mobile phones, Internet, and broadcasting, as well as the array of new technologies and social practices that constitute locative media. This is consistent with Ibrus' view that "The crossplatform web evolved not only via the convergence of technologies but also via converging institutions, discourses, and other meta-codes, as well as via the parallel divergence of media's textual forms...the evolution of the mobile web exemplifies the complexities inherent in the evolutionary dynamics of new media" (Ibrus, 2013: 288). In responding to these entwined socio-technical transformations of mobile Internet, legislators, policymakers, and regulators around the world have sought to find new frameworks and concepts to deal with emerging problems – not in the least the shaping of convergent media policy and the diversification of actors and relationships that now constitute digital media markets.

My view is that older media policy objectives should not be lightly discarded in this process and that many, such as news media diversity, still have an important place once they are rethought for the present circumstances (ACMA, 2011; EC, 2009; 2012). However, important challenges have emerged for which new concepts – such as for access, participation and news diversity – will require further development, critical consideration, and integration with older approaches. These case studies of mobile Internet show that new media evolution occurs at the intersection of industrial and socio-cultural change in specific locales. The speed, scope and range of change is confronting. Even insiders are yet to fully grasp and respond to the new actors, challenges, and modes of engagement that mobile Internets represent.

References

- Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA) (2009). *About the ACMA's role*. Retrieved July 7, 2009 from http://www.acma.gov.au/WEB/STANDARD/pc=ACMA_ROLE_OVIEW
- ACMA (2010). *"Citizens" and the ACMA: Exploring the Concepts within Australian Media and Communications Regulation*. Sydney: ACMA. Retrieved June 30, 2012 from http://www.acma.gov.au/WEB/STANDARD/pc=PC_312186
- ACMA (2011). *Enduring Concepts: Communications and Media in Australia*. Sydney: ACMA. Retrieved June 30, 2012, from <http://engage.acma.gov.au/enduring-concepts/>
- Burgess, J., Green, J. (2013). *The Uses of YouTube*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Polity.
- Cheng, B.K.L. and Lo, W. H. 'Can News Be Imaginative? An Experiment Testing the Perceived Credibility of Melodramatic Animated News, News Organisations, Media Use and Media Dependency', *Electronic News* 6(3) 131-150.
- Cisco (2012). *Cisco Visual Networking Index: Global Mobile Data Traffic Forecast Update, 2011–2016*. Retrieved February 14, 2012 from http://www.cisco.com/en/US/solutions/collateral/ns341/ns525/ns537/ns705/ns827/white_paper_c11-520862.html
- China Daily (2013) 'Internet speed averages 3.14 mps' from 'Around China', http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-04/19/content_16422369.htm. 19 April. China Daily
- Cohen, M. (2009). 'In Animated Videos, News and Guesswork Mix'. *The New York Times*, December 5.
- Ducheneaut, N., Moore, R.J., Oehlberg, L., Thornton, J.D., and Nickell, E. (2008). Social TV: Designing for distributed, social television viewing. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction*, vol. 24, no. 2, 136-154.
- Dwyer, T. (2010). *Media Convergence*. Maidenhead, Berkshire: McGraw Hill and Open University Press.
- Dwyer, T., Martin, F. (2010). Updating diversity of voice arguments for online news media. *Global Media Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Retrieved June 30, 2012, from http://www.commart.uws.edu.au/gmjau/v4_2010_1/dwyer_martin_RA.html
- Dwyer, T., Martin, F., Goggin, G. (2011). News diversity and broadband applications: Challenges for content and distribution. *Telecommunications Journal of Australia*, Vol. 61, no. 4, pp. 65.1-65.11.
- European Commission (EC). (2009). *Independent Study on Indicators for Media Pluralism in the Member States — Towards a Risk-Based Approach*. Final Report. Prepared for the European Commission Directorate-General Information Society and Media by Katholieke Universiteit Leuven et al. Brussels: EC. Retrieved June 30, 2012, from http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/media_taskforce/pluralism/study/index_en.htm
- EC (2012) EU Media Futures Forum: Final report. September 2012. Retrieved November 13 2012, from http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/media_taskforce/doc/pluralism/forum/report.pdf
- Feijóo, C., Maghiros, I., Abadie, F., Gomez-Barroso, J. (2009). Exploring a heterogeneous and fragmented digital ecosystem: Mobile content. *Telematics & Informatics*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 282-292.
- Feijóo, C., Pascu, G., Misuraca, G., Lusoli, W. (2009). The next paradigm shift in the mobile ecosystem: Mobile social computing and the increasing relevance of users. *Communications & Strategies*, No. 75, pp. 57-78.

- Gartner Media Research (2013) <http://www.gartner.com/technology/research/content/media.jsp>
- Gibson, J. J. (1977). The theory of affordances, [in:] R.E. Shaw, J. Bransford (eds). *Perceiving, Acting, and Knowing*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 67-82.
- Given, J. (2010). Take your partners: Public private interplay in Australian and New Zealand plans for next generation broadband. *Telecommunications Policy*, Vol. 34, pp. 540-549.
- Goggin, G. (2011a). *Global Mobile Media*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Goggin, G. (2011b). Ubiquitous apps: Politics of openness in global mobile cultures. *Digital Creativity*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 147-157.
- Google (2012). *Our Mobile Planet: Global Smartphone Users*. Google and Ipsos OTX CT Media. Retrieved June 30, 2012, from <http://www.thinkwithgoogle.com/insights/emea/library/infographics/our-mobile-planet-us-infographic/>
- Hjorth, L. (2009). *Mobile Media in the Asia-Pacific*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hong Kong Audit Bureau of Circulations Limited (2012) <http://www.hkabc.com.hk/en/index.htm>
- Hong, Y., Bar, F., and An, Z. (2012) 'Chinese Telecommunications on the Threshold of Convergence: Contexts, Possibilities, and Limitations of Forging a Domestic Demand-Based Model', *Telecommunications Policy*, 36, pp. 914-928.
- Ibrus, I. (2013) 'Evolutionary Dynamics of the Mobile Web', *A Companion to New Media Dynamics*. First Edition. Edited by Hartley, J., Burgess, J. and Bruns, A. UK. Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp. 277-289
- International Telecommunications Union (ITU) (2011). Mobile broadband subscriptions per 100 inhabitants, 2007-2011. ICT Indicators database, ITU World Telecommunications. . Retrieved June 30, 2012, from <http://www.itu.int/ict/statistics>
- Jacob, R. (2011). 'From Migrant to Magnate', *Financial Times*. 8 September.
- Lee, Chin-Chuan (1997). 'Media Structure and Regime Change in Hong Kong'. In Chan, M. *The Challenge of Hong Kong's Reintegration with China*. Hong Kong University Press. p. 131.
- Lee, F. & Lin, A. (2006). 'Newspaper editorial discourse and the politics of self-censorship in Hong Kong'. *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 17 (3), pp. 331-358.
- Lobato, R. (2012). *Shadow Economies of Cinema: Mapping Informal Film Distribution*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lo, C. (2013). Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Apple Daily Limited. Personal Interview at Next Media Interactive in Hong Kong, 4 March.
- Marcus, A. Roibás, A. C., Sala, R.(eds). (2010). *Mobile TV: Customizing Content and Experience*. London: Springer.
- Meikle, G., Young, S. (eds) (2008). Beyond Broadcasting. Special issue of *Media International Australia*, No. 128.
- Middleton, C., Given, J. (2011). The next broadband challenge: Wireless. *Journal of Information Policy*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 36-56.
- Mishkin, S. (2013) 'Next Media Print Sale Collapses', *Financial Times*. 26 March.
- Napoli, P. and Obar, J. (2013) *Mobile Leapfrogging and Digital Divide Policy: Assessing the limitations of mobile Internet access*, April. Washington and New York: Open Technology Institute, New America Foundation.
- Nash, C. and Bacon, W. (2006) 'Reporting Sustainability in the English language press of Southeast Asia', *Pacific Journalism Review*. 12 (2) pp. 106-134.
- New Media Institute (2013) 'China's mobile telecoms market sees rapid growth', *New Media in China, Up-to-Date*, Communications University of China, NMI, Vol. 5, No. 5, 25 February.
- Next Media Animation (2013) Next Animation website <http://www.nma.com.tw/home.html>
- Nielsen Company (2010). *Asia Pacific Social Media Trends*. Retrieved July 9, 2010 from <http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/events-webinars/2010/webinar-asia-pacific-social-media-trends.html>

- Øie, Kjetil V. (2012) Sensing the News: User Experiences when Reading Locative News. *Future Internet*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp, 161-178.
- Qiu, J. (2007) 'The Accidental Accomplishment of Little Smart: Understanding the Emergence of a working class ICT', *New Media and Society*. November, Vol 9(6): 903-923.
- Raboy, M. (2002) *Global Media Policy in the New Millennium*. Luton (UK): University of Luton Press.
- Rao, M. (2011). Mobile Africa Report 2011: Regional Hubs of Excellence and Innovation. Mobile Monday. March 2011. Retrieved December 10, 2012, from <http://mobileactive.org/research/mobile-africa-report-2011-regional-hubs-excellence-and-innovation>
- Shen, G. (2013) Deputy Editor-in-Chief, 21st Century English Newspapers. Personal Interview at China Daily, Beijing, 7 March.
- Turner, G., Tay, J. (eds) (2009). *Television Studies After TV*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Westlund, O. (2011). 'Traditional Media Creating Mobile Media', Conference Paper at 517210 *Wireless Telecommunications Carriers (except Satellite) Conference*. Boston. Information Communication Association.
- Yang, S. (2013) Digital Media Editor, The Korea Herald. Personal Interview at The Korea Herald, in Seoul, Korea, 8 March.
- Yung, M. (2013) Group Chief Information Officer Next Interactive Media. Personal Interview at Next Media Interactive in Hong Kong, 4 March.
- Zhang, E. (2013) General Manager and Marketing Manager. Personal Interview at China Daily, Beijing, 7 March.

Dr. Tim Dwyer is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Media and Communications at the University of Sydney. His recent books are *Media Convergence* (2010, Open University/McGraw Hill) and *Legal and Ethical Issues in the Media* (2012, Palgrave Macmillan). Email: timothy.dwyer@sydney.edu.au
 Twitter: timothy_dwyer
 Global Media Journal, Australian Edition, Australian Media Monitor
<http://www.commart.uws.edu.au/gmjau/mm.html>