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Special issue

“New media, audience and emotional connectivity”

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Special issue

New media, audience and emotional connectivity

Edited by Hada M. Sánchez Gonzales

This special issue is resulting from the work of the Working Group on “Audience interactivity and participation” of the COST Action IS0906 “Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies”.

COST is an intergovernmental framework for European Cooperation in Science and Technology, allowing the coordination of nationally-funded research at the European level.

The Action “Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies” (2010-2014) is coordinating research efforts into the key transformations of European audiences within a changing media and communication environment, identifying their complex interrelationships with the social, cultural and political areas of European societies. A range of interconnected but distinct topics concerning audiences are being developed by four Working Groups: (1) New media genres, media literacy and trust in the media; (2) Audience interactivity and participation; (3) The role of media and ICT use for evolving social relationships; and (4) Audience transformations and social integration.

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New media, audience and emotional connectivity

(Introduction)

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The special issue seeks to highlight the existence of an audience turned into "media watchdogs" that exercises control over the quality of traditional media. It has gone from being an ignored mass to become an intelligent crowd and the fifth power. They have a more proactive role in the construction of information in social and public agenda. They want the true information and they decide on what they want to be informed and what they want to report.

Journalism is not exempt from the innovations offered by the Web 2.0 ecosystem. Traditional media are readjusting to the demands of the audience, new media journalistic narratives, multiplatform and transmedia requirements taking place in cyberspace; journalists do the same, they are facing new challenges for professionals arised from new media on the Internet.

New media have some special features that tighten the relationship between the journalist, the source of information and the audience. "It's a tactic characterized by the absence of physical proximity", which allows direct contact with people and provides a different picture to the information published regularly in the media" (Sánchez y Méndez, 2013:136). Similarly, it enables multidirectional communication and closeness with the prosumer (public). It is arguably the clearest demonstration of emotional democratization of information. These are new ways of narrating the information without "compromising quality, which is the best guarantee of survival of our profession" (San Martín, 2012: 7).

The audience participation is essential in journalism, hence the need to study the emotional connection developed between the audience and the journalist wich enables joint work, commitment and mutual identification rooted in valuable content, generation of feelings associated with certain values, empathy, service orientation,

establishing links with others, organizational awareness, collaboration, etc., especially when the progress of the Social Web has only just begun. Social media channels have become mediators of sharing those emotional meanings that establish an effective relationship with the audience and with it, new consumer environments.

Within this context of changes in the information ecosystem, we leave in the reader's hand, the number 44 of the magazine, special issue: "New media, audience and emotional connectivity", whose content is vital in the context of communication and education. However, it is not about simplistic testings, but scientific researches which, in most cases, come from research projects which have been funded by national and international agencies. It also took into account the quality criteria stipulated by the competent bodies for the publication of articles in scientific journals. Therefore, it has rejected a number of items with various shortcomings, such as a surface analysis about the presented study and a lack of consistency in the findings, among other issues.

This special issue gathers 10 items with different approaches that together, provide a very interesting approach on the subject in question. Edition that has been supported by COST Action IS0906 "*Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies*", the Université Saint-Louis (Brussels) and the University of Seville (Spain) to achieve quality indexes in editing texts in English, 90% of the publication. COST is an intergovernmental framework for European Cooperation in Science and Technology, allowing the coordination of nationally-funded research at European level.

This is an unprecedented, original and international publication which brings together articles by scholars from five different countries: University of Vaasa (Finland); University of Lodz (Poland); FH-Krems University of Applied Sciences (Austria); National Research University «Higher school of economics» Moscow (Russia); University of Buenos Aires (Argentina) and University of Valladolid, University of Huelva, University Abat Oliba CEU, University of Malaga, University of Zaragoza, University of Santiago of Compostela and University of Seville (Spain).

I would also like to thank the members of the Board of Assessors of the monograph, renowned scholars from various countries that have peer-reviewed the articles published in this issue: Dr. José Ignacio Aguaded Gómez, University of Huelva (Spain); Dr. Andreu Casero Ripollés, University Jaume I of Castellón (Spain); Dr. Lluís

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Similarly, I would also like to thank Jesus Felipe Ruiz, Editor of the journal "Society of Information" for working selflessly in this publication project, giving me the opportunity to be the Guest Editor of the magazine and Joseph E. Córcoles for his willingness, today commissioned. And of course, Dr. Geoffroy Patriarche, Université Saint-Louis (Belgium) and Chair of the COST Action IS0906 "*Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies*" and Dr. Nico Carpentier, Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgium) and WG2¹ Chair of "Audience interactivity and participation" the COST Action IS0906, because they are the people who have made possible for this monograph to come to light, for without their help it would have been possible.

The special issue is divided into ten items: The first deals with "Emotional connectivity and Political infotainment on YouTube". The authors focus on the study of "infotainment" in politics. For this purpose, they analyzed the most popular videos (according to the number of times they have been seen) of representatives of the European policy in 2011 on YouTube: Nicolas Sarkozy (France), Silvio Berlusconi (Italy), Gordon Brown (United Kingdom), José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (Spain) and Barack Obama (U.S.A.). The purpose of this research was to determine whether the phenomenon of infotainment television has transferred to the network in the international arena. The data confirm this theory, with the difference that these videos emerge on the Internet as a hybrid genre that combines some of the videos that have been produced and broadcast on television with the modifications suffered when they

¹ Working Group 2.

are posted by users on YouTube.

The second article, "Digital enthymeme: moral irresponsibility, emotions, and materialism in new media discourse" recognizes what kind of moral discourse is involved in digital enthymemes about celebrities. The author of the article has evaluated the positive and negative comments from people through tests that the users are able to find in a multimedia environment. The research material is comprised of 1,800 reviews online (900 in English and 900 Finns comments) of which 808 comments were classified as digital enthymemes (464 in English, 344 Finns reviews). This study combine a rhetorical argumentation analysis of enthymemes with the analysis of evaluative language (based on the linguistic appraisal). Finally, we found two types of digital enthymemes, moralists and amoralistic, and both types focuses emotional involvement.

In the third article, "The radio university as a public service: programming models in Spain", the authors have aimed to describe seventeen radio stations in the Spanish universities, in order to determine the media literacy of the audience through the online message. Also, they have analyzed the social intervention of the hearing on the radio charts with the criterion to assess the development of a more critical and touching audience. It is clear that college radio, according to the authors, provides an ideal setting to demonstrate that social and alternative means other than commercial promote education.

The following article "Online Interconnectivity and Emotion Patterning", aims to show patterns of negative emotions that arise in the hearing on the referendum scheduled for 2015 in relation to British membership in the European Union. The author analyzes the online discussion of the linguistic context considering how the interactive exchange affects the emotions of the users. This has considered the dynamics of development and maintenance of the common view of the community with respect to the subject matter. This implies that, from the common view, it is a consequence of the emerging common group identity that puts pressure on the real context.

In the fifth article, "New connectivity between audience and mass media: Spanish empirical analysis about interactivity in the digital press", the authors discuss the use of interactive digital journalism in four newspapers: "El País", "EL Mundo", "La Vanguardia" and "El Periódico de Catalunya". In this empirical study some concepts

have been taken into account: the news interactivity (number and percentage), forums (number and percent) and the percentage of online interviews. Also, a comparison of these data with the hypertext and multimedia inserts. Similarly, a qualitative analysis is performed on technological interactions in digital magazines, in addition to the new relationship between the journalist and the reader who can carry out an emotional dimension through service orientation, connecting with others, and so on. Therefore, the authors have investigated whether the steps towards greater interaction (online commentary and interviews) could be extended to other social platforms in order to ensure the survival and profitability of digital newspapers.

"From Audience to Community: The Role of The Affective Factors and the Relationship Between the audience and Newspaper Staff in the process of its Version Successful Transformation from Paper to Digital Only Presence" is the title of the sixth article of this edition. The study is intended to indicate the level of emotional ties between public relations and the journalist in the digital realm. The author demonstrates the importance of audience and the role of social media and Social Media research tools in measuring audiences affective elements (participation, interactivity, loyalty and trust).

The authors of the seventh article, "Phenomenological features of digital communication: interactivity, immersion and ubiquity", consider the ubiquity seventh from three perspectives within the digital communication: as a subject of study, as an educational and sociocultural tool and from knowledge. After the investigation they say that due to the proliferation of social networks produced by mobile devices and applications, new ways to engage have been created and in turn, they are dominated by large media companies that propose and impose a narrative that seduce the user. Educators also have the challenge of harnessing the potential of technology to use new teaching horizontal and multidirectional models.

In the eighth article, "Redefinition of the relationship between media and audience(s) in the digital context: The Guardian's open journalism model", the author refers to the new media ecosystem created by the technological and digital convergence, which has led to a revolution in society and to create new power relations in communication processes. The correlation between users and journalists has become egalitarian, emotional and bidirectional, after the presence of social networks. To do this, it focuses on the British newspaper "The Guardian" because it has been one

of the traditional media best adapted to the digital environment and which has acquired a proactive role in the construction of information 2.0. We could cite some examples, such as the implementation of the strategy "First Digital" in 2011 and the opening up of the Open Weekend in March 2012, and so on.

In the following article, "The segmentation of the media space in accordance with axiological paradigm", the author states the dialogue strategy proves to be the determinant of online communication. The traditional components of an effective dialogue (temporal, spatial and linguistic components) equilibrated in virtual space, like paradigms of values appearing as a regulatory factor in network communities. This means that the common axiological base of callers determines the choice of interlocutor and conditions the contact time, the willingness to share information and the communication success.

The last article "Towards the construction of new audiences "Fictions" in contemporary media", questions the naturalization of the different and varied relationships between the audience and the media with the view to present potential new approaches that could lead to new questions and inquiries. The author has focused on the concept of "hegemonic fictions" as how the media construct representations within a particular space and time. She also identified four different fictions: The fiction of choice, the fiction of audience participation, objectivity and the fiction of reception.

Seing the situation, everything is changing, the audience, media, journalism, the journalist to other modes of interaction, coexistence and organization within the networked society. I hope the monograph will please the reader, because it was made with enthusiasm and great effort.

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Political infotainment and emotional connectivity on YouTube

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Abstract

This research work focuses on the study of political “infotainment”, a genre related to television (Schudson, 1999; Blumler, Kavanagh, 1999; Brants, 1998; Delli Carpini, Williams, 2001; Holtz-Bacha, Norris, 2001; Baum, 2002), but which in recent years has achieved a presence in other mass media, including the Internet. This work shows the presence of a large number of political videos, which meet the features of infotainment on the YouTube platform. Specifically, an analysis is presented of the most popular videos according to the number of times they have been viewed, when information on the following political representatives of European politics in 2011 is searched on YouTube: Nicolas Sarkozy (France), Silvio Berlusconi (Italy), Gordon Brown (United Kingdom) or José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (Spain), as well as the USA President Barack Obama (EEUU).

The aim of this study is to determine whether the television infotainment phenomenon has been transferred to the Net on the international scene. For this purpose, 100 videos were studied from the perspective of Spanish researchers, which corresponded to the twenty most watched videos of each of the following political leaders or ex-leaders: Gordon Brown, Sarkozy, Berlusconi, Obama and Rodríguez Zapatero. The study carried out is a quantitative and descriptive analysis of the content. The analysis template has been designed using independent and dependent variables, with multiple choice or dichotomous answers. The data confirm that Political infotainment is a genre related to television which has been transferred to Internet. However, on Internet these videos emerge as a hybrid genre because they combine some of the videos produced and broadcast by television, and custom modifications of the people posting these videos on YouTube.

Keywords

Infotainment, Political Communication, Internet, *YouTube*, Online Video

1. Political infotainment on the internet

The Internet is considered as a source of news where users search and share information constantly. For this reason, politicians themselves, in an attempt to reach an increasingly wider group of people who meet on the net, have incorporated communication strategies, which address this new media. This task undertaken by a political source to approach citizens who access the Net is accompanied by the reaction of users, who search their “own” political information.

On the Net, along with the large search engines, co-exist information websites or networks, which are able to speed up the transmission of news of special interest for the virtual community. One of the most outstanding Webpages is *YouTube* (May, 2010), which defines itself as “the world's most popular online video community, allowing millions of people to discover watch and share originally-created videos” (*YouTube*, 2010). It is the video platform with most users who reproduce its contents (ComScore, 2008, 2009, 2010). This page, created in 2005, provides a forum where its users can connect, update themselves and inspire other people from all around the world. For Castells, the national and international TV channels maintain their own *YouTube* channel to capture new audiences and connect with people interested in their content, which makes this video platform the most important mass media in the world (2009). Every minute 24 hours of content is uploaded and every day two billion videos are viewed throughout the world. The number of viewers of these online videos increases every year and, for some authors, their consumption is totally integrated within the daily life of Internet users and has displaced slots usually reserved for traditional television (Madden, 2009).

According to the information provided by YouTube on its webpage, everyone can communicate in the *YouTube* community by watching, sharing and commenting on the videos. Users can watch current events first-hand, relive moments of their favourite television programmes, search for videos related to their hobbies and interests and discover eccentric and unusual things.

This freedom of choice, this “customized” decision (Sustein, 2002, 2007) of what a citizen decides to watch on YouTube in the political ambit is the starting point of this research. The field of study of Political Communication, which by necessity must attempt to study the new digital tools in the transmission and acquisition of political information, presents an increasing number of studies related to the consumption of this type of information on the Internet and this research is the first to analyse the most watched videos of some of the main representatives in international politics on

YouTube: Barack Obama (USA), Nicolas Sarkozy (France), Silvio Berlusconi (Italy), Gordon Brown (UK) and José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (Spain).

A previous reference is a rapprochement carried out by these researchers in Spain in 2010, and also a pioneer on the subject, that analysed which type of videos on José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero –leader of The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*, PSOE) and president of the Government– and Mariano Rajoy –leader of The Popular Party (*Partido Popular*, PP) and leader of the Opposition– were most watched by users. The conclusions of the research indicated that the most viewed political videos on *YouTube* were those which mostly corresponded to the genre of infotainment.

The origin of political infotainment is found in the 1990s in those countries with significant competition in the audio-visual sector. “The commencement of the phenomenon involves the presence of frivolous and superficial news on traditional television news programmes, which eliminate from the news serious matters concerning national and international politics. Added to this, is the appearance of programmes parodying politics and broadcasts in which political information is mixed with news related to events, crime or gossip” (Berrocal & Campos, 2012).

The importance of infotainment in the functioning of democracy, its repercussion for political parties and their leaders, as well as its influence on public opinion has lead, since the phenomenon was identified, to an increase in the publication of studies which attempt to analyse political infotainment in its various aspects (Kurz, 1993; Esser, 1999; Crisell, 2006; Thussu, 2007; Peterson, 2008; Gray, et al., 2009; Strangelove, 2010; Jones, 2010). All this studies agree in identifying television as the media where the phenomenon was born, and which continues to be its best showcase up to the present.

The political information televised has incorporated in recent years an approach, which is very much related to show business or sensationalism, with the presence of conflict and the increasing prominence of the trivial, anecdotal or risqué. A situation to which political personalization is added, a phenomenon that is reflected in an audio-visual bid focused on “informing” or “entertaining” by using a political leader and also which is reproduced in the “personalized” thematic selection carried out by the audience.

This research considers a parallel situation is presented for YouTube, where most of the videos selected by users have a political leader as the protagonist and only on rare occasions the political party. In these videos, the objective may be the political leader and his political acts, or the leader personal acts.

Therefore, it is possible to say that the success of the political infotainment genre has gone beyond television to find its way onto the Net. On YouTube, serious videos about politics, purely informative, are fused with clips from television programmes of infotainment that users upload, with slots of political parody newly created for the virtual showcase, or even, with the visual selection of certain programmes in which politicians have been involved showing non-conventional aspects.

The transfer of infotainment Internet has inspired yet few scientific studies that emphasize mainly on their advantages or disadvantages for political communication, but based on the television phenomenon.

Therefore, without knowing yet whether the infotainment on YouTube can lead to a better informed public policy, or conversely, citizens who remain in the non-political story in the true investigate backdrop, this research aims to be a starting point in these studies and to verify whether or not there is actually infotainment on YouTube, and allows to launch new questions to a new field of study.

2. Method

The aim of this study is to determine whether the television infotainment phenomenon has been transferred to the Net, on the international scene. For this purpose, 100 videos were studied from the perspective of Spanish researchers, which corresponded to the twenty most watched videos of each of the following political leaders: Gordon Brown, Sarkozy, Berlusconi, Obama and Rodríguez Zapatero.¹

The research begins with the following research hypotheses:

H1. The most reproduced political videos on YouTube belong mostly to the infotainment genre.

H2. The political infotainment YouTube in a national approach: Despite the possibilities of internationalization, analysed videos are centred aspects of the internal politics of each country. This is reflecting in:

- a) Political personalization is reflected in the selection of users when it comes to the consumption of infotainment on the Net: the most popular videos have the leader of the party as protagonist² and no other leaders discussed.
- b) There are not international connections on the infotainment videos, so that the same topics do not inspire humour videos about different prime ministers.

¹ This research is complementary to other published in Berrocal, Campos y Redondo (2012).

² This research bases on the search term is precisely the name of the politician. Considering this nuance, this work is to confirm that the videos searched by the name of the politician are led by him and not the party or third persons.

H3. - Users assume an active role in political infotainment YouTube; it is manifested beyond the view or comments on these videos. This predicts that most of the videos will be created³ by users not recognized as political institutions or media.

To carry out the selection of the videos on YouTube, the following search criteria were applied: in addition to the name of the political leader as a keyword, the search was restricted to videos ranked by volume of reproductions, uploaded to the platform at any time and, finally, for the features, duration and category criteria, “all” was selected in the filter selection option. The analysis was limited to the twenty most watched videos for each political leader, which resulted from a search with the criteria mentioned above. From the total number of videos, four were disregarded because although they appeared in the ranking of the most watched videos of some of the candidates, they were not related to the politicians –specifically two for both Barack Obama and Nicolas Sarkozy. Therefore, the analysis is comprised of 96 of the 100 videos selected.¹ The ranking of the videos was carried out on the 6th and 8th of April 2010.

The study carried out is a quantitative and descriptive analysis of the content. To collect the information, analysis templates or check lists were employed which were structured in 16 variables organized according to the following research questions:

- What is the nature of the videos analysed? This is specified in the following questions of the template: When were they recorded? How many reproductions have they accumulated? Is the video humorous, informative, institutional or critical?
- What do those videos say? With the following questions in the template: What is the video about? Who is the protagonist? What is the behaviour of the politician presented? Who is the target of the video? In addition, what bias does it have?
- Who is the author? With the following questions: Is the author an anonymous, a mass media or an institutional user? Who has published the video on YouTube, the author him/herself or another user? Has the author created the video for the Internet? Has he/she made any kind of apparent modification –video and/or audio– to the original video for its publication on the platform?
- Finally, who consumes these videos and how? With the following questions: How many comments has the video obtained? When did the video receive the last comments? Moreover, among what type of users is the video popular?

³ In this research, user creativity means changing videos issued by another agent (medium or users) or self-created videos, without considering in this section or comments that users can make videos or its reproduction.

3. Results

The most watched video on *YouTube* among those analysed accumulated 74,756,154 visits, now of the analysis, and is a humorous musical which fantasises a hypothetical affair between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.² On the other hand, the video that accumulated the lowest number of visits –128,569– corresponds to an informative video about the arrival of the British ex-prime minister at his official residence, Downing Street, on the 27th of June 2007 immediately after taking office.³ The number of visits to the 96 videos selected ranges between the two figures mentioned above.

To present the results, this text follows the order described in three main sections: description of the content of the video (3.1), analysis of the video authorship and participation of the users (3.2).

3.1. Content of the videos

This study allows us to discuss three types of videos:

Humorous videos: In this study, humorous videos are considered those, which, without having an explicit criticism, focus on a specific aspect of the politician, which causes laughter from the viewer. Some examples of these videos are the musical parodies, which Barack Obama impersonators interpret the president of the United States.⁴ **Critical videos:** In the category of critical videos, are included those which contain a reproving judgment of the political protagonist, and this feature prevail over the humorous element, if any. As an example, those videos are which attempt to ridicule the Spanish president for his supposed lack of knowledge of English.⁵

Informative videos: They are both those broadcasted by television information programs⁶ or those which having been created by other types of users, show the facts objectively; for example, images recorded by unknown users when the Italian president, Silvio Berlusconi, was struck by a person from the public with a heavy object after a political meeting in the Duomo square in Milan in December 2009.

Institutional videos: They present content prepared by the party itself or by a government institution.⁷

From the total number of videos analysed, 37 are considered humorous, 32 have an evident critical content –humour not being their defining characteristic–, 21 are informative and 6 institutional.

According to these characteristics, the politicians accumulating a greater number of humorous videos are the ex-prime minister of the United Kingdom, Gordon Brown, and the president of the United States, Barack Obama. As for the president of

the French Republic, Nicolas Sarkozy, he is the politician who has the highest number of informative videos. The American president also records the highest number, as well as humorous videos, of an informative type. Finally, the Italian president is, among those analysed, the politician who has the highest number of critical videos.

Table 1. Type of video detailed by politician

Politician	Humorous	Informative	Institutional	Critical	Total
Zapatero	8	3	0	9	20
Berlusconi	3	4	1	12	20
Sarkozy	8	6	0	4	18
Gordon Brown	9	4	2	5	20
Obama	9	4	3	2	18
Total	37	21	6	32	96

Source: Own elaboration from YouTube videos reproduced in April 2010

With regard to the subjects who inspire these videos, a great variety of topics can be observed among those analysed. Most videos are focused on issues of national importance, and therefore affecting only the country's political leader. The only issued that appears to be common in video of many leaders is the election campaign. Specifically -seven videos about Obama, and each one for Sarkozy and Berlusconi. The incident between the King of Spain, Juan Carlos I, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero and the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, during the Ibero-American Summit in 2007 is the subject, which inspired the greatest number of videos on Zapatero,⁸ followed by "Zapatero's daughters", referring to the gothic style of the daughters of the Spanish president.⁹ Regarding the Italian politician, the assault he received in December 2009 from an assailant with a miniature of the Milan Cathedral, the reputation of the Italian president as a supposed fun-loving partygoer, and arguments with journalists of some television channels are the focus for the largest part of the videos about this politician.¹⁰ With reference to the ex-Prime Minister Gordon Brown, the moment in which the politician is found in the House of Commons picking his nose and his plan based on multilateralism in order to create a new World order and confront the global crisis (November 2008) are the most repeated subjects in the videos about him.¹¹ The press conference in which Nicolas Sarkozy appeared inebriated, in 2007, after having a meeting with Putin at the G8 Summit, inspires various videos on the French president.¹² Lastly, Obama's campaign, principally the speeches given by the

then democrat candidate for the White House, inspires most of the videos about this politician.¹³

Finally, it is possible to refer to other questions related to the content analysis, such as, who the protagonist of the videos is in what manner is he shown and who is the target of the videos –the political party, the leader in political acts or the leader in personal acts– and what bias the video has.

In this sense, concerning the total results, most of the videos have the political leader as protagonist. This is logical if one considers that the name of the politician was the keyword search on YouTube, but this research shows that no leader appears as a protagonist starring in the videos.

The politician is generally presented showing amusing behaviour, the objective is the representative in political acts and the bias of these videos is, generally, negative.

In detail, in 84 of the 96 videos analysed, the protagonist is the politician [Table 2], none are the political party and in 12 of the 96 videos the protagonists are third persons –for instance the King of Spain and the ex-president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez; the Spanish president’s daughters, and also Tony Blair in some of the videos of Gordon Brown and Carla Bruni in those of Sarkozy.

Table 2. Details related to the content of the videos analysed

Number of videos in which the protagonist is:				
The political leader = 84	The party = 0	Third persons = 12		Total = 96
Number of videos in which the political leader is presented in a certain type of manner:				
Humorous = 35	Neutral = 25	Favourable = 17	Unfavourable = 19	Total = 96
Number of videos in which the objective is:				
Party = 6	Political acts of the leader = 54	Personal acts of the leader = 47		Total = 107*
Number of videos in which the bias of the video is:				
Positive = 20	Neutral = 26	Negative = 50		Total = 96

Source: Own elaboration from YouTube videos reproduced in April 2010 [] In 11 of the 96 videos analysed, the objective is equally the leader in his political acts and the party, or else the political and personal acts of the leader.*

On the other hand, the politician is presented most times showing humorous (35) or neutral behaviour (25) and the videos in which the politician appears in a favourable demeanour constitute the minority (17). Apart from who is the protagonist in the videos, it has to be also considered who the target of the video is: those focused on the leader and his political acts (54) or on his personal side (47) are more numerous than those in which the target is the political party (6). As we said, none of these videos appears one of the leaders analysed. Finally, looking at the bias of the videos, most of

them have a negative bias, 50 of the 96, against 26 being neutral and 20 being positive.

If data are broken down by political leaders, it can be observed [Table 3] that Berlusconi is the politician who appears the most times as protagonist in his videos –in all of them–, followed by Obama –who is protagonist in all his videos except for one in which the protagonist is a republican soldier who writes a letter to him showing his distrust towards the democrat leader–,¹⁴ Sarkozy –who is also protagonist in all his videos, except for one in which his wife Carla Bruni is the protagonist– and Gordon Brown –who is also the protagonist in all his videos except for three in which the protagonists are Tony Blair and the passengers in two plane crashes, the Air France accident in June 2009 and the crash at Heathrow in January 2008.¹⁵ On the contrary, the Spanish president is the representative appearing fewest times as protagonist –he is the leader who accumulates the highest number of videos in which third persons are the protagonists: the King of Spain, the president of Venezuela or his daughters–.

Table 3. Details by politician related to the content of the videos analysed

Number of videos in which the protagonist is (Total=84 of 96):

Zapatero=13 Berlusconi=20 Sarkozy=17 Gordon Brown=17 Obama=17

Number of videos in which the political leader is presented in certain type of manner:

Humorous (Total=35 of 96):

Zapatero=5 Berlusconi=10 Sarkozy=7 Gordon Brown=11 Obama=2

Favourable (Total=17 de 96):

Zapatero=3 Berlusconi=2 Sarkozy=1 Gordon Brown=3 Obama=8

Unfavourable (Total=19 of 96):

Zapatero=3 Berlusconi=4 Sarkozy=8 Gordon Brown=2 Obama=2

Neutral (Total=25 of 96):

Zapatero=9 Berlusconi=4 Sarkozy=2 Gordon Brown=4 Obama=6

Number of videos in which the objective is:

The party (Total=6 of 107*)

Zapatero=2 Berlusconi=0 Sarkozy=0 Gordon Brown=0 Obama=4

Political acts of the leader (Total= 54 of 107*)

Zapatero=13 Berlusconi=12 Sarkozy=4 Gordon Brown=14 Obama=11

Personal acts of the leader (Total= 47 of 107*)

Zapatero=6 Berlusconi=10 Sarkozy=13 Gordon Brown=11 Obama=7

Number of videos in which the bias is:

Positive (Total= 20 of 96)

Zapatero=5 Berlusconi=2 Sarkozy=1 Gordon Brown=2 Obama=10

Neutral (Total=26 of 96)

Zapatero=4 Berlusconi=7 Sarkozy=4 Gordon Brown=6 Obama=5

Negative (Total=50 of 96)

Zapatero=11 Berlusconi=11 Sarkozy=13 Gordon Brown=12 Obama=3

Total videos analysed (Total=96)

Zapatero=20 Berlusconi=20 Sarkozy=18 Gordon Brown=20 Obama=18

Source: Own elaboration from YouTube videos reproduced in April 2010 [] In 11 of the 96 videos analysed, the objective is equally the leader in his political acts and the party, or else the political and personal acts of the leader.*

About the behaviour, which the leaders show in the videos, Gordon Brown and Berlusconi, appeared in the highest number of videos showing humorous behaviour. Obama is the politician that is presented more times in a favourable demeanour and Sarkozy leads the number of videos showing unfavourable behaviour. The Spanish president is the one that appears on the most occasions in a neutral demeanour.

Regarding the target of the videos, only the Democratic Party (USA) and the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) are the target in some of the videos analysed. Neither Sarkozy's party (UMP, *Union pour un mouvement populaire*), Gordon Brown's party (Labour Party) or Berlusconi's party (*Il Popolo della Libertà*) are the target of any of the videos analysed.

Finally, with regards to the bias of the videos, Barack Obama is the politician who appears in the greatest number of videos with a positive bias; Sarkozy, on the other hand, is the politician who accumulates the most videos with a negative bias and Berlusconi is the representative with the most videos showing behaviour with a neutral bias.

3.2. User participation

Who creates the message and who uploads it onto *YouTube* are two necessary aspects to assess the video as a whole. Thus, it has to be considered on the one hand who is the real and original author of the video and, on the other hand, who the user is, modifying or not the original video, that makes it public on the platform.

With regards to the original author of the video, in most of the 96 videos analysed the authorship corresponds to unknown authors registered on *YouTube* who create the videos themselves,¹⁶ followed by those coming from mass media, mainly news programmes or talk shows.

In accordance with the data itemized by political leaders [Table 4], the French president is the politician who has more videos with anonymous authors, whereas Zapatero and Berlusconi accumulate more coming from mass media. Institutional

videos belong mostly to Obama and Gordon Brown. Finally, the British ex-prime minister has more videos in the category “others”, mainly political lobbies and freelance journalists.¹⁷

Table 4. Authorship of the videos detailed by politician and user who makes them public on YouTube

		Unknown	Mass Media	Institutional	Other	Total
Zapatero	Author of the video	8	3	2	0	13
	Other user	0	6	1	0	7
	Total of videos	8	9	3	0	20
Berlusconi	Author of the video	7	1	0	1	9
	Other user	1	8	2	0	11
	Total of videos	8	9	2	1	20
Sarkozy	Author of the video	1	1	0	1	3
	Other user	15	0	0	0	15
	Total of videos	16	1	0	1	18
Gordon Brown	Author of the video	2	0	2	4	8
	Other user	4	4	3	1	12
	Total of videos	6	4	5	5	20
Obama	Author of the video	2	4	4	3	13
	Other user	2	1	2	0	5
	Total of videos	4	5	6	3	18
Total		42	28	16	10	96

Source: Own elaboration from YouTube videos reproduced in April 2010.

Regarding the user who just publishes the video on *YouTube*, data shows that on most occasions a user different from the author of the video uploads them, although the number of these is also significant: 46 of the 96 videos were uploaded to the platform by the author and the remaining 50 by other users.

Taking into account who publishes the videos, broken down by political leaders, it is observed (Table 4) that most of the Zapatero and Obama videos were published by the same author of the video, whereas those of Berlusconi, Sarkozy and Gordon Brown were published by a user different from the author.

Furthermore, most of the videos analysed were not specifically created for the Internet (55 of 96), and come from television programs or other audio-visual sources.

In addition, most of the 96 videos analysed (54) were published without any type of alteration, whereas the remaining 42 were modified. From these 42, the majority incorporate modifications to both the audio and video (27).

Table 5. Participation of the user: modification of the videos

	Audio	Video	Both	None	Total
Zapatero	3	1	3	13	20
Berlusconi	0	4	4	12	20
Sarkozy	1	2	6	9	18
Gordon Brown	2	2	5	11	20
Obama	0	0	9	9	18
Total	6	9	27	54	96

Source: Own elaboration from YouTube videos reproduced in April 2010.

Therefore, despite the existence of a tendency of a group of creative users to not just create videos ad hoc, but also to modify those videos, which were recorded or created by other authors, the reality is that most users publish the original videos without any kind of modification or editing.

User participation has to be understood not only with regard to the number of times viewers reproduce the video –a question already dealt with above– or the capacity to create and modify these videos –a subject dealt with in the previous section–, but also with regard to the capacity of the user to comment on these videos. In this respect, in this section, data related to the comments made by users about videos that have this option available are presented.

An aspect that is interesting to mention is the date of publication of the videos [Table 6]: most of them were published on *YouTube* during 2007 and 2008, followed by those in 2009, 2006 and 2005. None of those, which were published in the year 2010, is still among the most reproduced videos on the platform analysed. The oldest of the analysed videos corresponds to the Italian president.¹⁸

Table 6. Date of publication of the videos, detailed by politician

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Zapatero	0	5	7	5	3	0	20
Berlusconi	1	2	9	5	3	0	20
Sarkozy	0	1	12	5	0	0	18
Gordon Brown	0	1	8	7	4	0	20
Obama	0	0	1	10	7	0	18
Total	1	9	37	32	17	0	96

Source: Own elaboration from YouTube videos reproduced in April 2010.

This data could be considered not relevant if it is understood that the longer the time a video is published on the Internet, the more possibilities it has of being reproduced. Nevertheless, the characteristic which makes these videos topical is the date of the comments made about them [Table 7]: the majority of these videos received their latest comments the same week this analysis was carried out, some even a few hours before. These data recall the “echo chambers” to which Sunstein (2002) refers, in the sense that the most viewed videos are those, which appeared on the first page of the platform, and thus, in a circle effect, they will be once again the most reproduced and commented on.

Table 7. Date of publication of the video and date of the last comments received

Date of publication	Last comments received at the moment of the analysis			Total
	Last week	Last month	Last year or more	
2005	1	0	0	1
2006	7	0	1	8
2007	23	8	0	31
2008	19	5	0	24
2009	9	1	3	13
2010	0	0	0	0
Total	59	14	4	77

Source: Own elaboration from YouTube videos reproduced in April 2010.

With regard to those videos which permitted, all of them recorded some comments. This option was restricted by the author or by the YouTube platform itself in 27 of the 96 videos analysed. In the remaining 69 videos which admitted comments, the users’ participation was relatively high:

Table 8. Number of comments from registered users in *n* videos

Number of comments registered	Number of videos with <i>n</i> comments
Less than 100	2
Between 101 and 500	14
Between 501 and 1,000	9
Between 1,001 and 2,000	10
Between 2,001 and 3,000	11
Between 3,001 and 4,000	4
Between 4,001 and 5,000	4
Between 5,001 and 6,000	0
Between 6,001 and 7,000	1
Between 7,001 and 8,000	2

More than 8,001	12
Total number of videos with comments	69

Source: Own elaboration from YouTube videos reproduced in April 2010.

In total 14 of the 69 videos with comments recorded between 101 and 500 opinions, and 12 of the 69 videos recorded more than 8,000 comments per video. One of the videos about Obama reached 130,273 comments –specifically a video which tries to dismantle the image of the president of the United States.¹⁹ The mean is 3.9 comments for every 1,000 reproductions of the video.

Furthermore, and considering the profile of users, it is interesting to rescue the data provided by the platform YouTube about the sex and age range of the registered users who reproduce and comment on videos the most [Table 9]. Taking this information as a basis and applying it to the videos subject of this study, most of them are popular, as a first option, among men –60 of the 69 videos which have this information available–, meanwhile among women only 9 of the 69 are popular.

Table 9. User profile by popularity of the most visited videos on YouTube

Groups by age		Sex	45 a 54	35 a 44	25 a 34	18 a 24	13 a 17	Total
Zapatero	Male		5	7	1	0	0	13
	Female		0	0	0	0	1	1
	Total		5	7	1	0	1	14
Berlusconi	Male		15	0	0	0	0	15
	Female		0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total		15	0	0	0	0	15
Sarkozy	Male		10	0	0	0	0	10
	Female		0	0	0	0	2	2
	Total		10	0	0	2	2	12
Gordon Brown	Male		15	1	0	0	0	16
	Female		0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total		15	1	0	0	0	16
Obama	Male		6	0	0	0	0	6
	Female		2	0	0	0	4	6
	Total		8	0	0	0	4	12
Total			53	8	1	0	7	69

Source: Own elaboration from YouTube videos reproduced in April 2010.

In detail, the age of males who reproduce videos ranges from 25 to 54 years of age, whereas, in the case of women there is more disparity: only two videos among those analysed are popular among women between 45 and 54, and among young

people between 13 and 17, in contrast to their male counterparts where none of these videos were popular in this age range.

Regarding the politicians, males consumed most of the videos of the politicians studied, except in the case of Obama, which are consumed equally by women and men. With respect to age groups, males between 45 and 54 are the main users who reproduce and comment on the videos of Berlusconi, Sarkozy and Gordon Brown. In the case of Obama, the same age range of males also dominates, although he is the only politician whose videos are consumed by women between 45 and 54. It is interesting that the group of users between 18 and 24 do not dominate in any video as main consumer, while women between 13 and 17 do so in four of the Obama videos and in one of Zapatero.

In brief, indeed men consume these videos more than women, young people are not the main consumers, but instead males with an age range of between 45 and 54 years. These are the most users in the case of Berlusconi, Sarkozy and Gordon Brown. With regards to the Zapatero and Obama videos, the viewers are younger, mainly in the case of the American president, with also a strong impact among women between 13 and 17.

4. - Discussion

The data confirm the first of the hypotheses formulated and the most reproduced political videos on *YouTube* correspond mainly to the political infotainment genre in the international sphere: humorous videos predominate on the Net, mainly those related to the British ex-Prime Minister, Gordon Brown and the United States president Barack Obama.

In this research, there is also evidence that the political infotainment is a national issue:

On the one hand, political personalization is reflected in the selection made by users when consuming infotainment on the Net and the most popular videos have the leader of the party as protagonist, and not the political party or other international leaders discussed. Of the 96 videos analysed, 84 had the political leader as protagonist, mainly in the Berlusconi, Sarkozy and Obama videos. None of the early leaders appears in a video of another leader.

On the other hand, in most videos, the content applies only to national politics. The election campaigns are the subject of several videos of different politicians, but only referred to the national context. The videos that focus on themes of international politics are those five on the incident between the King of Spain, Juan Carlos I, José

Luis Rodríguez Zapatero and the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, during the Ibero-American Summit in 2007 and the four which focus on the new world order predicted by Gordon Brown. The remaining 93 videos focus on purely domestic issues –reviews on different aspects of the leader or party, internal problems of national policy, and so on.

A question, which also deserves consideration, is the subject of the most reproduced videos on *YouTube*. Corresponding to one of the characteristics of infotainment, the majority of the most watched videos deal with not very significant subjects in Spanish and international politics. Besides the importance that electoral campaigns achieve, other subjects such as “Zapatero’s daughters”, the British ex-prime minister picking his nose, the personal relationship of the French president and Carla Bruni, as well as the videos devoted to the fame of president Berlusconi as a party-goer should deserve, the opposite of what occurs, isolated attention from the public and not constitute the main subject of the majority of the most watched videos by Internet users.

In the most watched YouTube videos related to infotainment a negative bias towards the political leader is shown. Barack Obama is the politician who appears in most videos with a positive bias, Sarkozy, on the other hand, has the highest number of videos with a negative bias, and Berlusconi is the representative with the most videos, which have a neutral approach. Thus, in the videos analysed, the American president presents the best image among the politicians studied.

Finally, as regards the participation in, and contrary to the provisions of the hypotheses of this research, users assume an active role in political infotainment, but only in certain cases: Most of these videos are published on the platform by users who utilize a television programme as base material, and are not the original creators of the videos. While, users are still commenting on the most played videos, whether these have been posted on YouTube several years ago. While users cannot create a whole number of videos, but merely modifications can consider the involvement of users on YouTube is high, in this study: both the number of comments recorded in the videos that allowed it and the number of reproductions.

As boundaries of research, this study analyses the political infotainment on YouTube from the point of view of the producer of the videos and content, and addresses the audience preferences in choosing videos. It is a first diagnosis of the type of videos that users prefer and consume, but would make future work to investigate the relationship between the most watched videos and effects and emotions of the users. On the other hand, it would be necessary to replicate the study,

expanded, in other years, as communication phenomena changed dramatically in recent years.

In summary, Political infotainment is a genre related to television that it has been transferred to Internet. However, on Internet these videos emerge as a hybrid genre because they combine some of the videos produced and broadcast by television, and custom modifications of the people posting these videos on YouTube. In addition, here is shown one form of user citizen participation: the video selection of television programs by users, editing and publishing is a type not previously provided for participation in Mass self-communication (Castells, 2009; Cardoso and Lamy, 2011).

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Notes

¹ See, for example, [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YlyOIGiLgio>] (last date of access: 24th September 2010) or [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fyFrGbAvfHc>] (last date of access: 25th September de 2010), which were include in the ranking of the most watched videos of Sarkozy and Obama respectively.

² The video was uploaded in February 2008 by an unknown user. Available at [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DMs-p5y6cvo>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010)

³ This video available at [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TezCBzIB3d8>], is an institutional video uploaded by the author on June the 27th (last date of access: 23rd September 2010)

⁴ See *T.I.- Whatever You Like SPOOF! (OBAMA- Whatever I Like)*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b-yJBsjaTW0>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010) or also *Beyoncé - Single Ladies SPOOF (Barack Obama)*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8PqI12R8YNU>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010).

⁵ See *Zapatero hablando inglés*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZBuKZLyqJ8g>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010).

⁶ For example: *Brown vs. Cameron during Queen's Speech debate*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TsAa9VmwOal>] [last date of access: 23rd September 2010] or also *AIRBUS A330 200 Air France plane crash Accident Flight 447 Rio Paris June 1 2009 Absturz Flugzeug*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TsAa9VmwOal>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010).

⁷ See *Meno male che Silvio c'è video ufficiale inno campagna PDL*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WXf-YbsSh0Y>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010), and also *President-Elect Barack Obama in Chicago*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JlI5baCAaQU>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010).

⁸ For example, *El rey manda llamar a Hugo Chavez - Why don't you shut up?* Available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=utSKLe05p1s>] [last date of access: 23rd September 2010].

⁹ See *HIJAS DE ZAPATERO*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LnVZdOtBDaU>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010).

¹⁰ See *Silvio Berlusconi Colpito e ferito al Volto a Milano*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V4Rkelm1yh8>] [last date of access: 23rd September 2010]; *Berlusconi incula l'autista*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0pzljN-R57g>] [last date of access: 23rd September 2010]; *Berlusconi vs. Santoro*, at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PgUFclMkPhk>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010).

¹¹ As a reference: *Gordon Brown New World Order Speech*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uv5cqH26CC0>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010); *Prime Minister Gordon Brown Picks His Nose Bogeyman Finale*, en: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V29aDnQIPWk>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010).

¹² See *Sarkozy au G8*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l4u3449L5VI>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010).

¹³ As an example: *Yes We Can - Barack Obama Music Video*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jjXyqcX-mYY>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010).

¹⁴ See the video *Défi: piquer Carla Bruni à Sarkozy* available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N9v9ssC8IWc>], (last date of access: 24th September 2010) and *Dear Mr. Obama* available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TG4fe9GIWS8>] (last date of access: 24th September 2010).

¹⁵ See, for example, *Should I stay or should I go Rx2008* available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a1vwKZiDsY4>] [last date of access: 24th September 2010] and

Heathrow Plane Crash - Plane lands short of runway available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3PrLW5Drb28>] (last date of access: 24th September 2010).

¹⁶ See *Toni A. Martínez - Piso de 30 metros*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ry37onyuMZ0>] (last date of access: 4th June 2010) or *STRONZO A BERLUSCONI NAPOLI*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j7t3bGAb5yE>] (last date of access: 4th June 2010)

¹⁷ For example: in the case of Britain *Guidofawkes* publishes various videos on Gordon Brown – see *Gordon Brown Shaking in Fear* available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ba7glghZ4w> [last date of access: 23rd September 2010]– and in the Italian case, the journalist Beppe Grillo is the author of videos on Berlusconi –see *Beppe Grillo (Berlusconi)*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kduyl4rcXl8>] (last date of access: 23rd September 2010).

¹⁸ More specifically about some statements that Silvio Berlusconi made together with the previous president of the United States, George Bush. It was published on the 9th November 2005. Available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mVse7ezWACg>] (last date of access: 25th September 2010).

¹⁹ See: *The Obama Deception HQ Full length version*, available at: [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eAaQNACwaLw>] (last date of access: 24th September 2010)

Digital enthymeme: morality, emotions, and materialism in new media participation

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Abstract

In this article, I discuss moral and rhetorical challenges in new media discourse concerning celebrities. I focus on the concept of digital enthymeme, that is, an online comment evaluating people negatively or positively without articulated reasoning, but, instead, letting online participants find proofs by themselves in a digital environment surrounded by pictures, texts, links, and videos. The aim of this paper is to explore what kind of moral rhetoric is involved in digital enthymemes concerning celebrities. The research questions are 1) what kinds of digital enthymemes are used by English- and Finnish-speaking online participants commenting on gossip about violent celebrities and 2) how these enthymemes operate as moral arguments on the level of style (discourse itself as a persuasive material) and in relation to moral norms as a communally shared purpose. The research material consists of 1800 online comments (900 English-language, 900 Finnish comments) of which 808 comments were categorized as digital enthymemes (464 English-language, 344 Finnish comments). Methodically, this study combines rhetorical argumentation analysis of enthymemes with the analysis of evaluative language based on the linguistic appraisal framework. Two types of digital enthymemes, namely, moralistic and amoralistic, were identified in the material. The moral rhetoric in both types of digital enthymemes is solely based on the emotional involvement of online selves as a sign of consumerism and materialism becoming more important than moral negotiation. While moralistic digital enthymemes invoke personalized moral norms by judging celebrities as moral beings, amoralistic digital enthymemes block moral imagination by dehumanizing celebrities and evaluating them as objects, such as aesthetic or sexual “things”. In general, amoralistic digital enthymemes were more typical than those evaluating celebrities in moralistic terms.

Keywords:

Digital enthymeme, emotions, enthymeme, internet, morality, digital rhetoric

1. Introduction: popular culture, morality, and digital communication

We are living the era of constant connectedness, networking, and mobility of individuals in which new media make our everyday social connections more visual and more widely observable than before. One of the most prominent signs of the digital age is participation in contemporary public arenas by ‘ordinary people’, that is, those who do not have a societal status as public actors but are able to adopt such a role by blogging, commenting, or tweeting. According to the media scholar Graeme Turner (2010), we are witnessing a so-called demotic turn by which he means the increasing cultural and societal visibility of the ‘ordinary’ and the ‘popular’ through new participatory media (such as reality TV or Web 2.0). New media participation, therefore, can be seen as a fruitful target for the analysis of contemporary cultures, values, and moralities.

On the one hand, discussion within the fields of cultural and celebrity studies points out the possibility that contemporary popular culture as “free” or “open” site for public dialogues could increase culturally diverse public negotiation of morality and values and create an alternative democratic public sphere to that of often strictly bureaucratic governmental discourse (see e.g. McGuigan 2005; Jenkins 2006; Graham & Harju 2011). Moreover, new media genres of celebrity gossip, particularly blogs, highlight the gossip readers’ role in making meanings, which may challenge the hegemony of media-made celebrity culture (Meyers 2012). These optimistic approaches to the demotic turn stress the pedagogic and emancipating potential of lay people’s participation in contemporary public arenas. As Henry Jenkins (2006: 84–85) describes, “there is a real value in gossip that extends into virtual rather than face-to-face communities” because thereby different social groups can learn how they each see the world.

On the other hand, however, there are a lot of sceptical or at least critical notions of what happens to everyday moral reasoning when practiced online and what kinds of rhetorical and moral challenges relate to community building in digital networks (see e.g. Robins 1999; Miller 2001; 2004; Mitra & Watts 2002; Silverstone 2003; 2007; Barney 2004; Orgad 2007; Chouliaraki 2010; Chouliaraki 2011; Chouliaraki & Orgad 2011; Chouliaraki 2012). One of the most notable critics of technological proximity was the media scholar Roger Silverstone who dedicated his life work to ethical criticism of

our everyday mediated experiences and technology-based communication shaping the moral life (see Orgad 2007; Chouliaraki & Orgad 2011). According to Silverstone (2003: 480–483; 2007: 133–135, 173), participation in technologically impregnated environments may involve a distorted relation between the self and the other, which denies real (moral) responsibility as a duty of care for the ‘other’ beyond reciprocity online (see also Robins 1999). Similarly, Carolyn R. Miller argues that participation in digital environments involves a rhetorical problem of optimizing the trustworthiness of the self and the other (Miller 2001: 267). Communication in computer-mediated settings may highlight pathos, emotion, at the expense of reasoning, logos (Miller 2004: 205–212). Moreover, Lilie Chouliaraki (2010: 212) who has analyzed humanitarian participation in the new media argues that one of the characteristics of new media discourse is its relation to post-humanitarianism that makes people mirror their own world views in a “consumerist” fashion instead of moral negotiation. Typical of new media participation is also mediated self-presentation that abandons the normativity of the public sphere as linguistic rationalism and highlights playful, ironic textualities contributing to particularized meanings and values (Chouliaraki 2011: 368; 2012: 2). Similar moral criticism has been presented by Darien Barney who sees online participation as empty of moral obligations to community, which, according to him, presents “a perfect technological solution to the problem of community in a liberal, market society” (Barney 2004: 32). From these critical perspectives, informal online discourses, because of their “freedom”, may lack reasoned moral criticism needed to develop communities through the solving of social inequalities.

The lack of moral reasoning in online discourse may be a consequence of the nature of new media participation that highlights style (the material and playful side of communication) in addition to, but also at the expense of, purpose (ideas, rationality, and morality shared and negotiated in communication) (see Lanham 2006). As Richard Lanham (2006: 1–22) describes, we are living in an attention economy in which style as the way of packing values and information in words or pictures becomes a materialistic and therefore an economical issue (ibid. 3). It is the free use of technology that enables the endless reproduction in which “we can eat our cake, still have it, and give it away too.” In the attention economy, repetition and sharing, however, do not mean egalitarianism because the production of “things”, namely texts, pictures, and videos to appear on a screen involves competition of attention. (ibid.12.) In the comment sections of celebrity gossip blogs, for instance, “one can attract attention by making the most inflammatory comment” (Meyers 2010: 266).

This study deals with non-reasoned morality in “ordinary people’s” new media participation. Particularly, this study focuses on the digital enthymeme as a morally simplistic way of participating in celebrity gossip online. In this study, the definition of the digital enthymeme is seen in relation to the concept of enthymeme as a kind of syllogism in which an idea is combined with reasons for believing it (see Walker 1994). The digital enthymeme is here defined as a non-reasoned value-judgment that appears as a comment evaluating people on a website where proofs can be effortlessly found in pictures, texts, links, and videos available in the shared digital context. When the process of finding proofs is invisible to the audience, online commenting itself follows a binary logic in which people and things are evaluated either positively or negatively, in terms of liking or disliking. This definition of the digital enthymeme closely relates to Barbara Warnick’s (2007) remarks on rhetoric online. According to her, persuasion made possible by the hypertextual and intertextual structure of the internet is dependent on a user’s ability to find the missing cues and supply the missing links so that online arguments work like enthymemes (Warnick 2007: 121). Examples of what I mean by digital enthymemes could be evaluative utterances, such as “S/he is ugly” or “I hate her/him” as online comments sent to discussion lists on celebrity gossip sites where supporting proofs preceding and following the comments can be found by clicking, scrolling, and making associations individually. The aim of this paper is to explore what kind of moral rhetoric is involved in digital enthymemes concerning celebrities. By moral rhetoric I mean the ways of positioning the self in relation to others by persuading them to share positive or negative evaluation of people and construct a common attitude toward the role of moral norms in a community. The aim is approached through two research questions 1) what kinds of digital enthymemes are used by English- and Finnish-speaking online participants commenting on gossip about violent celebrities and 2) how these enthymemes operate as moral arguments on the level of style (discourse itself as a persuasive material) and in relation to moral norms as a communally shared purpose.

The comments on celebrity violence were chosen for this analysis because violence as a theme of popular culture tends to provoke judgments relating to larger societal issues (such as class or gender) (see Fiske 1989: 127–130). Moreover, although a lot of celebrity gossiping is potentially multinational and made possible by global celebrity industries and entertainment media, there are online gossip discussions taking place within more limited national and cultural groups, such as Finnish, in which shared moral norms can be assumed to play a central role. The comparison of English-language and potentially more global online discussions with

Finnish ones may give some ideas relating to possible moral challenges of multinational and multicultural online discourse. Since the possibility of moral uncertainty in shared standards of evaluating people is the higher the further we go from our home communities (e.g. Luckmann 2002: 27–78), it is interesting to see whether English-language online participants, compared with Finnish ones, are more likely to judge celebrities by completely avoiding moral terms.

2. The focus of research

This study utilizes a rhetorical approach to digital communication. In this section, I will take a closer look at the concept of enthymeme and discuss its moral function and after that describe the material and methods of the study.

2.1 Enthymeme and moral rhetoric

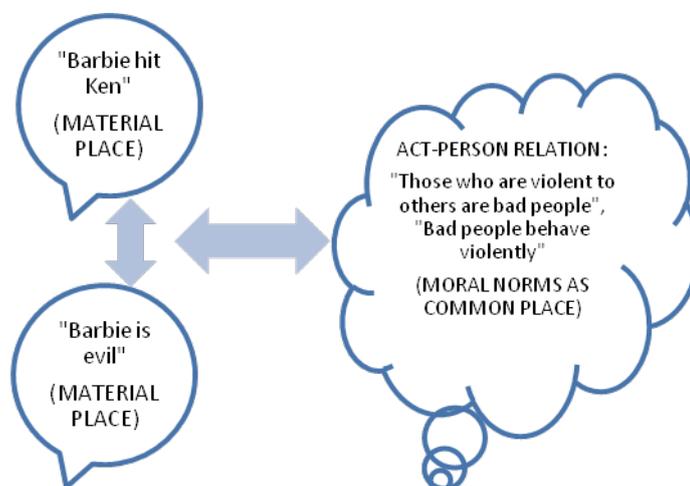
In a moral sense, there is something fundamental in the concept of enthymeme as the body of persuasive argument, that is, a rhetorical syllogism combining any idea with reasons for believing it in joint interaction between the rhetor and the audience (Bitzer 1959; Conley 1984; Jonsen & Toulmin 1988: 73–74; Walker 1994). Jeffrey Walker (1994: 54–55) argues that this “new-rhetorical” definition of enthymeme combines Aristotle’s perception of the rational enthymeme with the notion of the emotional enthymeme. Namely, in contemporary complex societies, where moral contracts are needed to avoid conflicts between different cultures and identities, morality needs to be negotiated through interaction (Bergmann 1998), producing publicly “crafted virtue” in which both reason and emotion matter (see Condit 1987). This study utilizes this new-rhetorical approach to the enthymeme as public interaction in which voices “from the grassroots” are to be taken as seriously as an authorial discourse. This approach does not hold that all enthymemes necessarily are harmonious combinations of reason and emotion, but in such new-rhetorical analysis it is possible to deal with the enthymeme’s role in value-based reasoning in which an argument gets its meaning in a dialogue between the rhetor and the audience (see Walker 1994: 63). Indeed, from a rhetorical point of view, ‘community’ includes the rhetor (the speaker or writer) and the audience as the people whom the rhetor wants to persuade (Miller 1993: 212). The community of the rhetor and the audience is made possible by values, that is, objects of agreement as shared preferences and interests (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1951; 2000 [1969]: 74). Since the enthymeme involves the rhetor, the audience, and values as the starting point of a community, it can be

seen as a basic way of positioning the self in relation to the other in a rhetorical practice.

In addition, the enthymeme can be seen to consist of different components: the claim (the idea that the rhetor wants the audience to believe), the reason (minor premises, explanation or proofs why to believe the idea) and major premises of argumentation as the enthymeme's omitted part meant for the audience to complete. When looking at enthymemes from a moral or ethical perspective, the judgment of people and evaluation of their acts can be seen as the basic pair of claim and reason as the rhetoricians Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca (1951; 2000 [1969]: 293–316) argue. In rhetorical stylistics focusing on the enthymeme, the interest lies in such claim plus minor premise pairs (Fahnestock 2012: 376) that can be seen as the material side of rhetoric called specific topoi (indicating the time, the place, the circumstances, and the emotional involvement in argumentation) (Grimaldi 1972: 124–133). That is to say, specific topoi are the material patterns of an argument and serve as “places” for different types of genre, institution, or discipline (Miller & Selzer 1985: 311–316; Miller 1987: 62, 67). In this study, the specific topoi are seen as the styles of enthymemes in which the persuasiveness of written or spoken words and utterances is dependent on the particularities of an audience (see Burke 1969: 62). These notions of specific topoi closely relate to Perelman's and Olbrechts-Tyteca's (2000 [1969]: 77–79) remarks on concrete values that are attached to a specific person, group, or object. From the viewpoint of specific topoi, different moral genres, such as celebrity gossip online, newspaper discourse on a politician's reputation, or criminal justice in courtrooms, utilize specific styles of act-person argumentation which are persuasive to specific audiences in a particular historical and cultural context. A specific style of act-person argumentation is involved for instance in communally shared togetherness based on a shared pleasure of mocking particular celebrities (see Meyers 2010: 266). Such a style would be called a separation technique in which people are evaluated as “thinglike” objects, not as moral subjects acting in a justifiable or condemnable manner (see Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1951).

Moreover, however, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1951; 2000 [1969]: 293–316) also argue that act-person relation is one of the connections of coexistence or commonplaces. In classical rhetoric, commonplaces are called common topoi (literally “common places”) that are also known as warrants (Toulmin 2003 [1958]) or maxims proven by experience (Jonsen & Toulmin 1988: 74). In this study, common topoi are seen as the major premises of enthymemes that exist beyond the material and concrete discourse, that is, beyond style (see Fahnestock 2012: 376). Within the

common topoi, we can distinguish moral norms as the general expectations of accepted behavior in a community (the definition of norm, see Luhmann 2008: 28–55). Act-person interaction is essential to morality because it contributes to the moral development of a community by enabling the negotiation of values. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1951: 261) argue, “[s]uccessive evocation of the act and the person, then of the person and the act, does not leave the mind at the point at which it started.” Elsewhere, they also point out that abstract values “seem to provide criteria for one wishing to change the established order” (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 2000 [1969]: 79). According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (*ibid.* 77–79), these abstract values, such as truth, justice, love, and equality, are irreconcilable values that as higher (moral) considerations are used for the criticism of concrete values. Since act-person interaction is not only a style (a concrete and material claim-reason unit in discourse) but can also be seen as a common topos, it operates as an abstract moral conception whether we were dealing with celebrity gossip online, a politician’s reputation in a newspaper discourse, or criminal justice in courtrooms. Picture 1 illustrates how the enthymeme, as understood in this paper, consists of specific topoi (concrete material “places”) and common topos (moral norms as the abstract “common place” guiding behavior and discourse in a community).



Picture 1. Enthymeme as a moral concept.

In Picture 1, an example argument (either written or spoken) “Barbie hit Ken because she is evil” or “Barbie is evil because she hit Ken”, forms the immediately observable part of the enthymeme in which “Barbie hit Ken” brings out an occurred act and “Barbie is evil” is an emotional expression judging a person. Such explicitly judgmental tones can be found in celebrity gossip discourse, but they would be rare in

more formal genres such as in newspaper articles or courtroom speeches. In other words, this enthymeme is stylistically specific to popular culture. However, this example also has a relation to moral norms (visualized inside the thought bubble) as the part of enthymeme “existing” beyond the material form. In this silent and invisible place of ideas, the rhetor and the audience can “meet” and form a community beyond what is immediately observable. However, in order to find such a common moral place, the rhetor and the audience need to follow the empirically observable coordinates of “act” and “person”. That is to say, the style of evaluating people and/ or their behavior always has moral importance in reinforcing, challenging, or just silently accepting moral norms of a community. The audience could argue, for instance, that “Barbie hit Ken because she had to defend herself”, which may revise the morality of a community. Such act-person interaction characterizes moral negotiation and constant moral development of a community that is not stuck in the form.

2.2. Material and methods

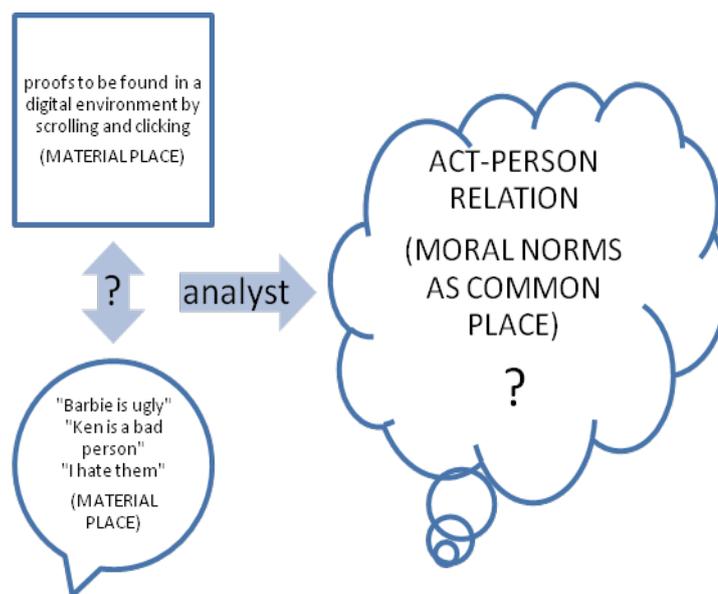
The research material consists of 1800 asynchronous¹ comments on four cases dealing with either domestic violence or female celebrities’ fights discussed in comment sections of English-language and Finnish websites of celebrity gossip. The domestic violence as a serious moral and societal topic of popular culture (see Ahva et al. 2013: 10–11) and “female fights” discussions focusing on the physical appearance of celebrities, rather than their moral character, were chosen for the study to give a picture of the possible diversity of digital enthymemes. 900 English-language comments concern two cases of American or global celebrities, and 900 Finnish-language comments relate to two cases of Finnish celebrities. The comments were collected between January and October 2010. In general, if the most commented discussion thread included 150 comments or more, only one thread was chosen for the study. Moreover, I collected 75 comments at the beginning and 75 comments in the middle or at the end of a thread in order to see the diversity of digital enthymemes. The choosing of arguments was based on the notion that as the number of posts in a thread gets higher, the style of online argumentation is easily affected by the rising need to get one’s voice heard by commenting on celebrities in more aggressive ways (see Meyers 2010: 266). A more elaborate description of the research material can be seen in Table 1.

¹ In asynchronous discussions, interaction is structured into turns but a reply may be posted months or even years after the prior turn (see Kollock & Smith 1999: 5).

THE CASES OF CELEBRITY GOSSIP	ASYNCHRONOUS DISCUSSION COMMENTS (total 1800)
Pop singers Rihanna & Chris Brown (domestic violence)	<i>Just Jared</i> , an English-language website dedicated to celebrity gossip (150) <i>USATODAY.com</i> , a U.S. online newspaper (150) <i>YouTube</i> , a global, user-generated website for video sharing and commenting (150)
A Finnish ex-ski jumper Matti Nykänen & his (ex-)wife Mervi Tapola (domestic violence)	<i>HS.fi</i> , a Finnish online newspaper (150) <i>Kaksplus.fi</i> , a website of a Finnish 'baby magazine' including a lot of gossip (150) <i>Suomi24</i> , a general Finnish discussion forum with a heavy interest in celebrity and gossip (150)
Entertainment celebrities Sharon Osbourne & Megan Hauserman (fight in a TV show)	<i>The Huffington Post</i> , a U.S. online newspaper (150) <i>LiveJournal (Oh No They Didn't)</i> , an English-language online community dedicated to celebrity gossip (150) <i>YouTube</i> (150)
Finnish entertainment celebrities Martina Aitolehti & Anne-Mari Berg (fight in a bar)	<i>Mtv3.fi</i> , a website of a Finnish television channel (150) <i>Seiska.fi</i> , a website of a Finnish gossip magazine (150) <i>Suomi24</i> (150)

Table 1. Research material

Methodically, this study utilizes both rhetorical argumentation analysis of enthymemes (see Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1951; Miller & Selzer 1985: 315; Jonsen & Toulmin 1988) and the analysis of evaluative language based on the linguistic appraisal framework (see Martin & White 2005). First, by utilizing the rhetorical argumentation analysis, digital enthymemes could be seen as realizations of the separation technique (see Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1951) in which people are evaluated without reasoning because proofs can be found in the shared digital environment by scrolling and clicking. Second, the analysis of evaluative language (Martin & White 2005) was utilized as a method to explore different ways of evaluating people. According to Jim Martin and Peter R. R. White (2005), there are three categories of evaluation, namely, affect (ways of feeling, such as "I hate them"), judgment (evaluation based on social esteem or sanction, such as "Ken is a bad person"), and appreciation (aesthetic evaluation, such as "Barbie is ugly"). Affect is at the heart of evaluation and it is transformed either into moral or aesthetic meanings, depending on the particular context and community (see Martin & White 2005: 45). In the analysis of evaluative language, "emotion" was seen as evaluative uses of language involving affect, judgment, or appreciation. Consequently, "emotion" was analysed as evaluation, not as a certain psychological reaction or a state of mind. Third, digital enthymemes as separation techniques were analyzed in relation to a digital environment and moral norms and compared with the idea of act-person relation as presented in Picture 2.



Picture 2. Analyzing digital enthymemes.

As Picture 2 illustrates, in the digital enthymeme, material “places” stand for both the comments involving evaluation of people and the digital environment where proofs and support for the comments can be found (see also Warnick 2007: 121). In order to answer to the first research question (what kinds of digital enthymemes are used), digital enthymemes were categorized as moralistic or amoralistic, depending on the notion of whether people are judged as moral beings (in terms of affect or judgment) or as mere “things” to be liked or disliked (in terms of affect or appreciation) (see Martin & White 2005). Because digital enthymemes do not involve moral reasoning, the way of judging people is necessarily narrow-minded. In this study, moralistic is seen as an adjective meaning a simplistic moral attitude, while amoralistic refers to morally unconcerned judgments, such as oppressive jokes or comments on ugliness, which try to avoid moral criticism by reducing the ways of evaluating people to taste. Such “unintended” moral judgments, however, are to be included in the analysis when trying to understand the nature of morality in everyday interaction and evaluation. (See Young 2011 [1990]: 148–152).

In accordance with the method of this study, a comment such as “Barbie is ugly” would be a realization of an amoralistic digital enthymeme, whereas “Ken is a bad person” would be categorized as a moralistic one. The comment “I hate them” would be either moralistic or amoralistic depending on the digital environment as the context for interpretation. The question marks in Picture 2 stand for the second research question of this study: how do these enthymemes operate as moral arguments on the level of style (discourse itself as a persuasive material) and in relation to moral norms as a

communally shared purpose? In order to answer to this question, the study utilizes “retrospective invention” as a rhetorical argumentation analysis in which the analyst seeks within empirically observable topoi (such as the comment “Barbie is ugly” and the particular digital environment where the comment appears) a way to conceptual places where sources for the persuasiveness of style can be found (about the method, see e.g. Miller & Selzer 1985: 315). Consequently, I explored how moralistic and amoralistic digital enthymemes as comments sent to a particular digital environment are related (or not related) to moral norms. In this study, one online comment evaluating people without reasoning (such as “Barbie is ugly”), but appearing in a digital context of proofs, was seen as one unit of analysis – as one digital enthymeme. The next section is for the results.

3. Results: digital enthymemes in celebrity gossip discourse online

In this study, 808 digital enthymemes were found, which means that almost the half (44,9 %) of 1800 comments analyzed were digital enthymemes. The comments left out of this analysis were those that somehow evaluated acts or negotiated moral norms and were thereby different from digital enthymemes that concern the ‘person’ only. In general, digital enthymemes were more common to English-language gossip discussions (in 464 comments) than to Finnish ones (in 344 comments). Further, digital enthymemes were categorized as moralistic or amoralistic comments depending on whether human beings are evaluated as moral beings or as corporeal, aesthetic, or cultural “things”. Of the 808 digital enthymemes found in the study, only 222 comments were moralistic, while 586 were amoralistic, which can be seen in Figure 1.

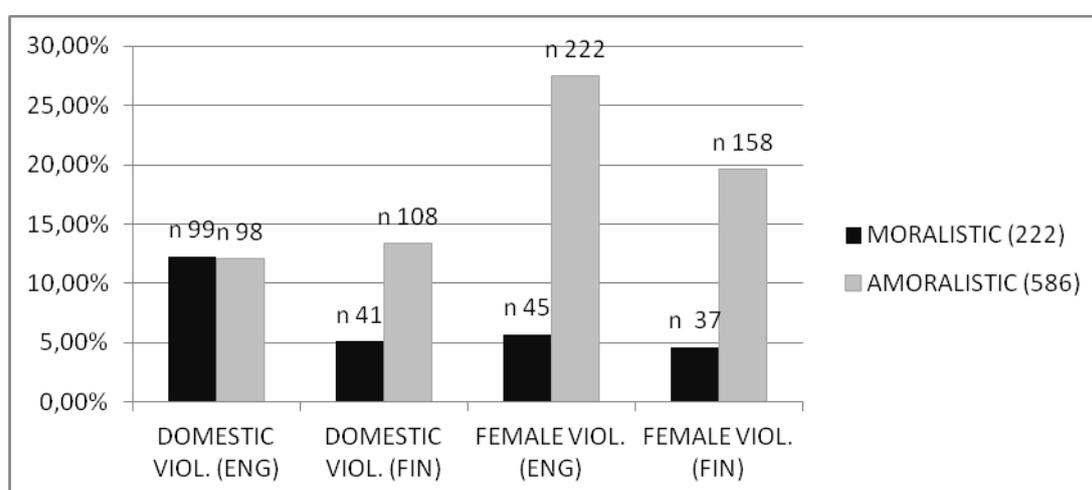
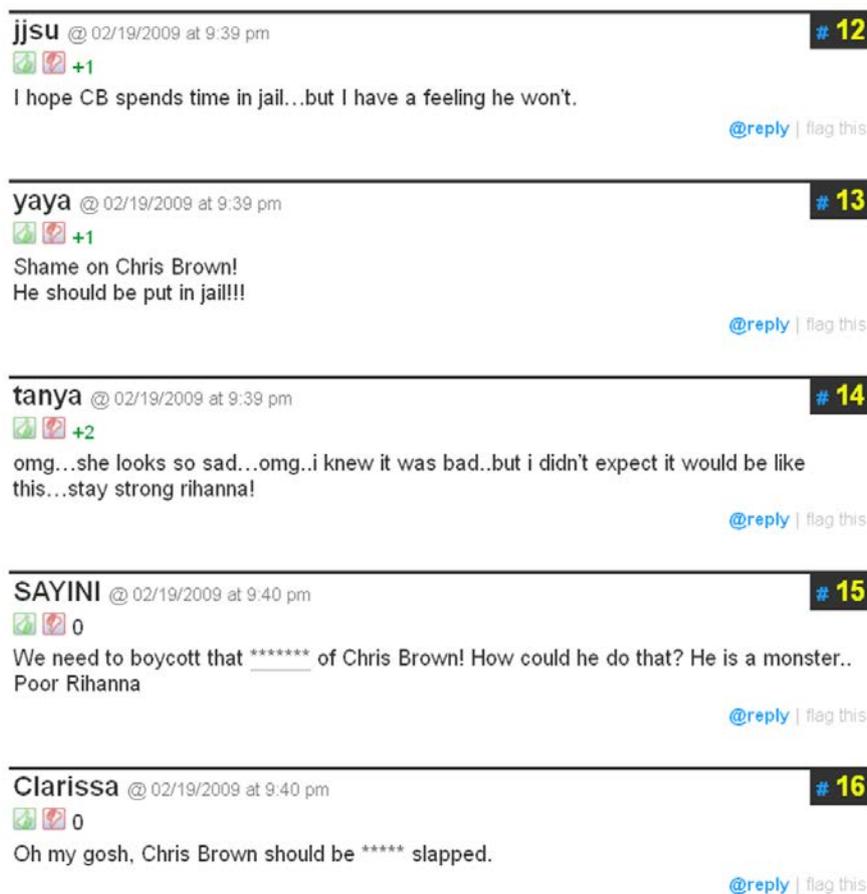


Figure 1. Types of digital enthymemes on celebrity gossip sites.

As Figure 1 shows, the comments evaluating human beings as amoral objects were more common to the discussions about fights involving female celebrities than those dealing with domestic violence involving celebrities. Consequently, the gossip about fighting female celebrities, especially, provoked online participants to use digital enthymemes without a moral concern. Moreover, digital enthymemes as moralistic comments characterize particularly English-language discussions of domestic violence because the gossip news about the beaten Rihanna provoked a lot of sympathetic reactions from her fans and strong negative judgments calling for the penalty of her boyfriend Chris Brown. In what follows, I will give some examples of digital enthymemes as both moralistic and amoralistic comments and discuss their relation to moral norms. Typical of digital enthymemes was to emerge in groups of a few consecutive comments, as the examples show. The Finnish example comments have been translated into English.

3.1 Digital enthymemes as moralistic comments

In this section, I will deal with comments in which celebrities are evaluated in moralistic terms, as ‘good’ people to be sympathized or ‘bad’ to be condemned. Characteristic of the digital enthymemes in which celebrities were evaluated as good or bad moral beings, was a more serious tone of discourse compared with amoralistic comments. Most of these morally serious, albeit simplistic, comments were posted to websites dealing with domestic violence gossip, which resonates with the notion that domestic violence, especially, is seen as a morally serious topic of popular culture (see Ahva et al. 2013: 10–11). On the Just Jared gossip site involving the gossip news story “Rihanna’s bruised face revealed”, moralistic comments were uses of evaluation sympathizing Rihanna as the alleged victim and condemning Chris Brown with voices aggressively insisting that he should be punished, which can be seen in Picture 3.



Picture 3. Examples of digital enthymemes as moralistic comments on Just Jared.

As the comments in Picture 3 show, the gossip news about Rihanna's alleged beating provoked commenting involving an explicit tone of voice, such as "I hope CB spends time in jail" (in comment #12), "He should be put in jail!!!" (in comment #13), and "We need to boycott that...He is a monster..."(in comment #15). These judgments calling for social sanction rely on the moral institution of the state or its capitalistic system (see Martin & White 2005: 52). At the same time, emotional comments indicating a fellow-feeling for Rihanna can be distinguished when the participants evaluate a picture of Rihanna's bruised face in comments #14 and #15 (e.g. "omg...she looks so sad...omg" or "Poor Rihanna"). Such discourse involves language of affect, which, according to Martin and White (2005: 46), is based on the relation of an emoter (the participant experiencing the emotion) and trigger (the phenomenon causing the emotion). In these comments, we can clearly see the strong like-mindedness of Rihanna's fans getting together online to feel and judge on a seemingly same basis. However, none of these comments explicitly shows willingness to negotiate the role of moral norms in relation to domestic violence: the reasons for the emotional claims are not articulated in the public discourse. In other words, these posts can be seen as

signs of emoter-trigger relationship in which online participants are eager to express their own feelings, expecting others to feel the same.

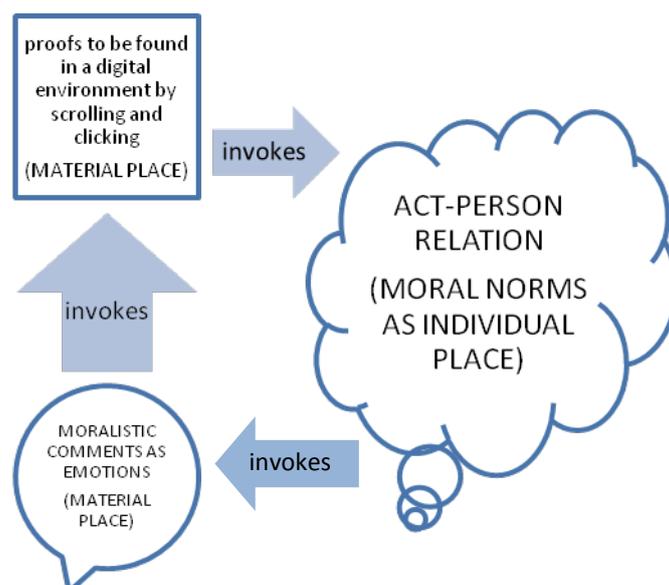
In Finnish online comment sections dealing with celebrity gossip about domestic violence, the posts showing fellow-feeling for the female celebrity were less explicit than on English-language websites. However, the condemnation of Matti Nykänen, the Finnish male celebrity accused of a violent attack against his (ex)wife, was evident, which can be seen in Picture 4. The sender of the comment #2 asks a question “Why is he always set free?” to which the participant of the comment #3 replies “Well, because he is Matti. But if you had done this, you were already in jail”, which is followed by the comment #4: “I wonder about that too :O.” All these comments can be seen as digital enthymemes insisting that Nykänen should be put in jail.



Picture 4. Examples of digital enthymemes as moralistic comments on Kaksplus.fi.

In addition to the judgment calling for social sanction (see Martin & White 2005: 52–54), interesting in Picture 4 is the use emoticons: the headwall (⓪) in comments #2 and #3 and surprise (:O) in comment #4. These emoticons can be seen to embody some kind of frustration related to the news that the male celebrity is not arrested even though he had committed domestic violence. Like the English-language examples, also the Finnish examples indicate a way of sharing personal moral judgments in celebrity gossip discussions. These notions of digital enthymemes resonate with Chouliaraki's (2012: 3) remarks on self-mediation as mediated participation in which an inner moral self is the most authentic expression of publicness. Similarities can also be found with

post-humanitarian discourse in which personal moral considerations and individual action take place through effortless intimacy with technology (Chouliaraki 2010: 117). Such technological proximity on gossip sites may promote a belief that the ‘self’ is an autonomous moral judge who can easily support his or her inner moral imagination with quickly typed comments. Moreover, previous moralistic digital enthymemes posted to the site may persuade new participants to post comments that share the judgment, which creates a circle of digital enthymeming as visualized in Picture 5.



Picture 5. Digital enthymemes as moralistic comments.

As Picture 5 shows, digital enthymemes as moralistic comments entail searching for proofs in a digital environment, making individual moral considerations based on the proofs, and expressing emotions as moralistic comments. Although such participation can be seen to involve moral considerations, these considerations are merely psychological, not socially negotiated and do not, therefore, occur in common topoi. In other words, the community of the rhetor and the audience is built in material places – in conclusions that are visible on the screen. Earlier in this paper, the material level of discourse was linked with the concept of style in which persuasion derives from the particularities of an audience (see Burke 1969: 62). In these comments, the particularities of the audience can be seen in the style of pathos that invites other like-minded participants to express their emotions as results of inner moral considerations. Despite the internal, non-argumentative moral logic, the users of moralistic digital enthymemes share a common interest in the world of social affairs and provoke new

like-minded participants who think that Chris Brown is “a monster” or who wonder why Matti Nykänen is always set free.

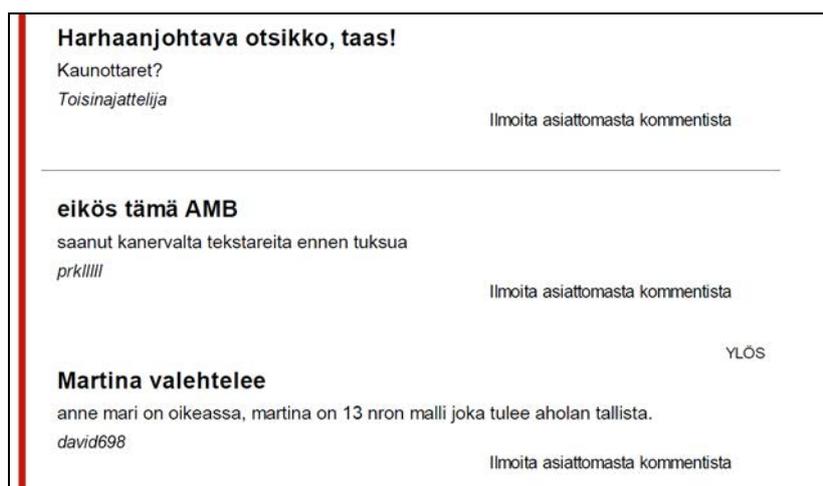
3.2. Digital enthymemes as amoralistic comments

Compared with digital enthymemes as moralistic comments, digital enthymemes as amoralistic comments utilized a less serious but still an aggressively judging tone of discourse. Characteristic of the amoralistic comments was non-reasoned and often ironic evaluation of celebrities as cultural products, or aesthetic and sexual “things”. In Martin’s and White’s (2005) categories of evaluative language, amoralistic digital enthymemes would be mainly based on appreciation which is concerned of evaluation of things and phenomena (see *ibid.* 56). Moreover, the notion of amoralistic digital enthymemes resonates with Chouliaraki’s (2011; 2012: 2) remarks that the artful quality of new media contents may become more important than social and moral criticism of technological participation. Since digital enthymemes as amoralistic comments were more typical of female fights discussions than those of domestic violence, I will bring out examples from online comment sections dealing with fighting female celebrities. I have categorized the amoralistic digital enthymemes into three main groups: 1) ranking and comparison (Pictures 6 and 7), 2) sexual mockery (Pictures 8 and 9), and 3) aesthetic mockery (Pictures 10 and 11). In addition to these mocking comments, both English-language and Finnish celebrity gossip discussions also involved amoralistic digital enthymemes that aggressively invented creative ways of killing a celebrity (such as using a celebrity as a human piñata but being disappointed when seeing that the celebrity’s broken head were empty). Because of research ethics, however, such mockery concerning the killing of celebrities is not cited in this study. Pictures 6 and 7 show how online gossip participants ranked female celebrities as “things” and compared them with other public figures or things.



Picture 6. Examples of digital enthymemes as ranking and comparison in ONTD Live Journal community

Comments ranking celebrities in Picture 6 can be seen to involve an ironic message: “[p]oor Megan” is ranked as “fav. VH1 reality star EVER” and as third in the ranking list “1. new york 2. pumkin 3. megan 4. buckwild.” After posting the list, however, the discussion participant corrects it by saying in capital letters: “HOW COULD I FORGET LACEY, SHES SECOND.” This enthymeming, I argue, has an ironic meaning. As a rhetorical style, irony is a figure of speech or writing utilized as a means of making a claim but meaning the opposite (Fahnestock 2012: 111). The ironic elements in the comments of Picture 6 can be distinguished in the homogeneous responses expressing like-mindedness (“she ranks up here for me too”) and in the uses of capital letters highlighting the ridiculous nature of entertainment celebrities (see Fahnestock 2012: 113). Moreover, irony as a form of community building resonates with the ONTD forum’s slogan, “The celebrities are disposable. The gossip is priceless.” Through this motto, celebrity gossip discourse is evaluated as worthier than individual celebrities who only have a materialistic value to gossipers. Ranking and comparison was also utilized on Finnish comment sections, as can be seen in Picture 7 including comments on the gossip news “Scandalous beauties in the court right now.”



Picture 7. Examples of digital enthymemes as ranking and comparison on Seiska.fi.

In Picture 7, the first commenter expresses his/her mocking attitude “A misleading headline, again! Beauties?” as a response to the headline in which the female celebrities were called “Scandalous beauties.” In this online discourse, the female celebrities are seen as cultural products having some kind of aesthetic essence that is not seen to match the way of evaluating them in the gossip headline. By comparing the pictures and the physical appearance of celebrities with the headline, the gossip participant reduces the celebrities to objects of his or her own “picture analysis”; they are not “beauties” (because they are not seen to look like such). The second commenter, on the other hand, starts a new topic by asking “Didn’t this AMB [Anne-Mari Berg] get some text messages from Kanerva before tuksu”, which refers back to one of the most well-known political scandals in Finland, in which a minister of foreign affairs (Ilkka Kanerva) had to leave his job after an erotic dancer (Johanna Tukiainen, mockingly called “tuksu”) publicly revealed the text messages the minister had sent to her. By pointing out the possibility that Anne-Mari Berg got text messages from the minister before Tukiainen, the gossip participant puts Anne-Mari Berg in comparison with the other, widely mocked female celebrity. The last comment in Picture 7 claims that “Martina is lying – anne mari is right, martina is number 13 model who comes from the ahola’s stall².” The celebrity’s label “number 13 model” is utilized as a means of ranking.

While Pictures 6 and 7 involve comments in which celebrities are seen as cultural products to be compared with other celebrities and cultural artifacts, celebrities in Pictures 8 and 9 are mocked as sexual objects.

² Ahola’s stall refers to a Finnish model agency.



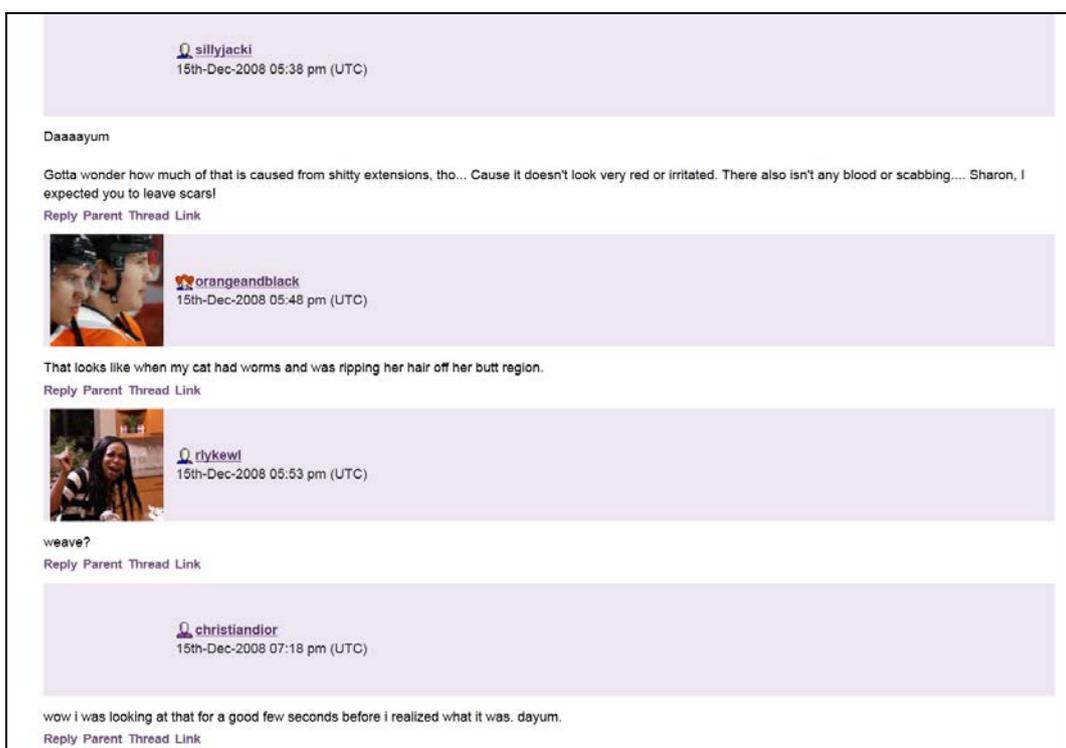
Picture 8. Examples of digital enthymemes as sexual mockery on Huffingtonpost.com.

At least two commenters (Horus and BillMelater) in Picture 8 have male identities, which reinforces the notion that the mockery is a sexist discourse oppressing women. In the picture, the first commenter implies that having sex is the only thing that the celebrity is good for (“She is good for one thing and one thing only”) and provokes other participants on the site to respond (“Anyone care to guess what that might be?”). As a response to the first commenter, the second participant types “Yea, well, I’ll bet she’s not even good at that. I wouldn’t do her with yours... LOL” to reinforce the sexist mockery. The last comment in Picture 8 (“It would be like doing it with a syphillitic cricket”) makes the style of the sexual ridicule even more intense. Part of the playfulness is that the actual topic (having sex with the celebrity) stays in between lines. Sexual mockery was also part of Finnish forums, as the comments in Picture 9 show.



Picture 9. Examples of digital enthymemes as sexual mockery on Suomi24.fi.

In Picture 9, the first participant types “Good flesh ;) Pretty comic :) The fat of the miss candidates gets darker when they are boxing :)” to which the other participant replies “I wouldn’t be afraid at all if such a little bitch attacked me in a bar..on the contrary, it would be nice to have a match.” As in Picture 8, also in Picture 9 celebrities are seen as corporeal objects playing a role in relation to the gossip participants’ bodily desires expressed with ironic tones. Comments involving sexual mockery as the justification of oppression of the female body have a lot of similarities with aesthetic mockery included in Pictures 10 and 11.



Picture 10. Examples of digital enthymemes as aesthetic mockery in ONTD Live Journal community

The comments in Picture 10 are responses to a picture in which Megan Hauserman shows her hair after having the alleged fight in which Sharon Osbourne was reported to have pulled her hair. Again, the playful and non-serious tone of commenting is plain to see. For instance, the expression dayum (in the last comment in Picture 10) or exaggerated as Daaaayum (in the first comment in Picture 10) indicates a happy surprise related to voyeuristic pleasures of seeing the picture and reading the gossip news story. As Martin and White (2005: 62) would argue, such linguistic choices invoke an emotional reaction, rather than directly tell how the “emoter” feels. In other

words, these participants of online gossip perform rather than articulate their reactions. The first commenter also expresses disappointment when seeing the picture (“...it doesn’t look very red or irritated. There also isn’t any blood or scabbing.... Sharon, I expected you to leave scars!”), which, in this context, makes sense as a ridicule. Moreover, in the second comment, the participant compares the physical appearance of Megan’s head with the butt region of a cat having worms, which not only shares with the first participant the right to mockery, but also makes the mocking tone even coarser. The third (“weave?”) and the last commenter (“wow i was looking at that for a good few seconds before i realized what it was. dayum”) continue the aesthetic mockery by indicating that they were not even sure what is in the picture. In Finnish comments in Picture 11, the aesthetic mockery was linked with ranking, comparison, and sexual mockery, indicating how the main types of amoralistic digital enthymemes may overlap with one another.

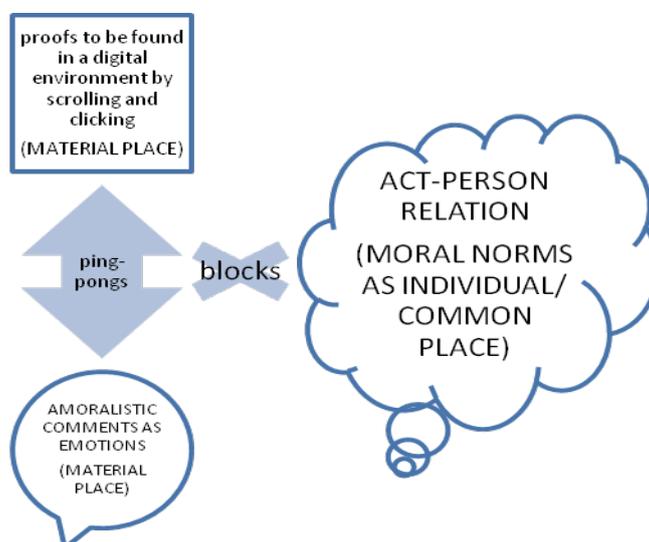


Picture 11. Examples of digital enthymemes as aesthetic mockery on Seiska.fi.

The first commenter in Picture 11 asks “Which one is sexier or more beautiful? Pretty impossible to say because they both are so perfect. perhaps Martina is a little bit cuter and Anne-Mari sinfully sexier. They both are desirable!” which is followed by the comment “I haven’t read their blogs but anne-mari has bigger tits!”. This aesthetic mockery makes these celebrities voyeuristic objects of sexual desires and sexist oppression. Moreover, evident in the comments of Picture 11 is also a comparison between these two celebrities (which of them is sexier or more beautiful or has bigger tits), which aims at contributing to the ranking of celebrities as cultural products having certain empirically observable qualities.

Digital enthymemes as amoralistic comments highlight materialism in the evaluation of people more than digital enthymemes as moralistic comments because

the amoralistic digital enthymemes completely block the way to moral thinking. The only thing that matters in amoralistic digital enthymemes is the style of discourse, as Picture 12 illustrates.



Picture 12. Digital enthymemes as amoralistic comments.

Amoralistic digital enthymemes make celebrities dehumanized objects of stylistic evaluation, which is justified by proofs that are to be found in the digital environment. Such a shared way of creating an argument in the digital space can be seen to hinder moral thinking (be it individual or common), as Picture 12 shows. While the moralistic digital enthymeme involves interest in social issues of celebrities, the amoralistic digital enthymeme can be seen as new media participation that is entirely dependent on the way of evaluating people as “things” and treating their bodies and body parts as objects of concrete values, be they sexual, aesthetic, voyeuristic or other. Moreover, Susan Barnes (2001: 42) argues that because interruptions and other social cues keeping discussion participants aware of group dynamics are missing in an internet discussion, online conversation favors “a ping pong kind of arguing” in which frequent disagreement keeps discussion going on (see also Shirky 1995: 44). However, the digital enthymeme, particularly in its amoralistic form, is characterized by like-mindedness with the surrounding environment. This like-mindedness is realized as a ping-pong kind of relation between consecutive amoralistic posts in a comment section. Consequently, in celebrity gossip online, “ping-ponging” is not related to disagreement as much as it is related to accelerated repetition as if the speed of the ping-pong ball would get faster when the competition of who makes the most inflammatory comment on celebrities gets tougher (cf. Meyers 2010: 266). Such ping-ponging, therefore, is a

good example of reproduction in a digital environment (see Lanham 2006: 12). A style is shared when it becomes multiple.

4. Conclusion: Digital enthymemes and moral irresponsibility

In this article, I have examined moral and rhetorical challenges of a popular new media discourse by focusing on the digital enthymeme as an argument that involves a claim but abandons reason because proofs for the claim can be found in the surrounding digital environment of links, texts, pictures, and videos. Because the evaluation of person and his/her acts can be seen as the basic pair of moral claim and reason (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1951), this paper started from the notion of act-person argumentation. The digital enthymeme was approached as a separation technique in which the evaluation of acts as an explanation for the evaluation of people is missing. Moreover, the comment sections dealing with domestic violence and female celebrities' fights were chosen for the study because violence involving celebrities is a popular topic that tends to bring important social meanings to the surface (see Fiske 1989: 127–130).

The aim of this paper was to explore what kind of moral rhetoric is involved in digital enthymemes concerning celebrities. This aim was approached through two research questions: 1) what kinds of digital enthymemes are used by English- and Finnish-speaking online participants commenting on gossip about violent celebrities and 2) how these enthymemes operate as moral arguments on the level of style (discourse itself as a persuasive material) and in relation to moral norms as a communally shared purpose. In general, digital enthymemes were more typical of English-language than Finnish discussions of celebrities. This indicates that perhaps the digital enthymeme as an argument avoiding the evaluation of acts is a way of making social judgments and community building as easy as possible for participants who may come from various national or cultural backgrounds.

To answer to the first question, this study utilized an analysis of evaluative language (Martin & White 2005) through which two types of digital enthymemes were found, namely, moralistic and amoralistic. While moralistic digital enthymemes evaluate celebrities as 'good' or 'bad' human beings who deserve sympathy or antipathy, amoralistic digital enthymemes dehumanize celebrities and rank them as cultural products or evaluate them as corporeal objects having certain sexual or aesthetic qualities. To answer to the second research question, this study utilized a rhetorical argumentation analysis in which the material discourse (specific *topoi*) was seen as

linguistic cues whose relation to conceptual major premises (common topoi) as communally negotiated moral norms was examined (about the method see e.g. Miller & Selzer 1985: 315). According to the results, neither moralistic nor amoralistic digital enthymemes aim at negotiation of moral norms in a community. While moralistic digital enthymemes invoke personalized considerations of moral norms, amoralistic digital enthymemes block any relation to moral norms and manifest, therefore, an anarchistic freedom from rules. Paradoxically, the shared interest in reducing the evaluation of people to aesthetic, sexual, or cultural taste may be a way of avoiding moral uncertainty by creating easy and entertaining togetherness beyond national borders. This may explain why English-language online environments, especially, favor amoralistic digital enthymemes.

The moralistic digital enthymemes were typical of discourses surrounding gossip about celebrities involved in domestic violence. In such digital enthymemes, online gossip participants were eager to condemn male celebrities often in harsh words and show fellow-feeling for female celebrities by typing short but emotionally intensive comments. The notion of digital enthymemes as moralistic comments resonates with Chouliaraki's (2010: 117) remarks on post-humanitarian style that is characterized by "no-time engagement with technology" in which the "expectations of effortless immediacy, the most prominent element of contemporary consumer culture, are increasingly populating the moral imagination of humanitarianism." Moreover, as Chouliaraki (2010: 117) continues, such new media participation is also characterized by the absence of reasons and morality explaining why technological action is needed. The moral persuasiveness of these digital enthymemes is based on a silent claim that individuals have the right to express their emotions in public and build moral norms inside their own minds, without taking a communal responsibility.

Digital enthymemes as amoralistic comments, on the other hand, try to challenge moral seriousness by dehumanizing celebrities, often with mocking tones, and reducing their characters to corporeal and aesthetic figures. These enthymemes were typical of female fights discussions in which moral condemnation of "violent celebrities" was not the main point. These notions of amoralistic digital enthymemes have similarities with Chouliaraki's (2011: 364) remarks on playful and self-oriented textualities which are concerned of morality of irony turning solidarity into self-centred consumerism and reproducing already existing power-structures. It is evident that the amoralistic digital enthymemes are born in the context of situated meanings and values (see Chouliaraki 2011: 368). A lot of these comments can be seen as a discourse mocking celebrities only when analyzed in relation to the surrounding textual, visual,

and cultural environment. In celebrity gossip discourse, the power relations particularly concern sexist dominance over the woman's body and character by promoting participation in which women are dehumanized and mocked.

Sexist participation in celebrity gossip online is not, however, necessarily a masculine discourse oppressing women. As Kirsty Fairclough's (2008) study suggests, the discourse evaluating the female physical appearance in celebrity gossip online may come under the guise of feminist empowerment in which women make evaluative meanings of female bodies in the name of freedom. In addition to gender, the mediated circulation of emotions in celebrity culture is related to questions of class: the comments of mockery typically target relatively young, lower middle class women (see Tyler 2008; Paasonen & Pajala 2010). The persuasion in such discourse is based on the right to express temptations, desires and likings and dislikings, which, in the name of the freedom of expression, deny the role of moral thinking in new media participation. Instead of civic morality, the amoralistic digital enthymemes can be seen to construct a morality of style in which the shared taste becomes the norm that rules the community's judgment and thus ties community members together, which is typical of contemporary popular culture (see Brummett 2008: 102–103).

Why is digital enthymeming, then, so common to celebrity gossip online? I argue that there are at least two main reasons explaining the popularity of non-reasoned new media discourse. First, participants using digital enthymemes let one another pass the test of trustworthiness perhaps too easily. These remarks closely relate to Miller's notions of ethos online. According to her, we have a natural need to see our interlocutors as trustworthy, which may explain why online participants assume things that are not articulated in the interaction itself (see Miller 2001). In computer-mediated environments, where cues of the other mind are minimal, we often need to optimize both the 'other' and ourselves in order to communicate (Miller 2001: 270–271). Such optimizing abandoning criticism also relates to visuality in online environments. What can be seen has an authentic truth value, which, of course, is often a mere illusion (see Finnegan 2001). In celebrity gossip online, the visual effectiveness is evident when pictures of celebrities and their body parts are taken for granted and judged as metonymic evidence justifying the mockery attacking their character. When celebrity gossip commenters type their comments online, they expect others to see the same textual cues, pictures, and videos which they treat as the reference points of their own comments. Consequently, reasoning online becomes unnecessary, something that may even threaten affective intensity as an experience of togetherness. But the material context is dynamically changing through the constant

updating of links and contents and cannot, therefore, serve as the solid common ground for online participants. Second, digital enthymemes are based on emotional connectivity as the shared self-interest. Lev Manovich (2001: 269) deals with such emotional connectivity by bringing out that a digital environment is a subjective space because users utilize its architecture to reflect their own movements and emotions. In celebrity culture, this individual emotional connectivity has a tendency to become affectively and socially “sticky” as clusters of emotions (typically negative ones) are constantly linked to particular celebrity phenomena in the popular media and on their online forums (see Paasonen & Pajala 2010; about emotional stickiness, see Ahmed 2004). Popular culture seems to provide a context of evaluation in which women, especially, are dehumanized, that is, “amoralized”. This may explain the higher percent of amoralistic than moralistic digital enthymemes in discussions of female celebrities’ fights. The results of moralistic and amoralistic enthymemes might have been different if the discussion concerned for instance male politicians who are taken seriously and judged as morally responsible societal authorities.

Digital enthymemes lack routes to common topoi – to abstract places natural of human reasoning – and benefits of these enthymemes can, therefore, be measured in specific topoi only, that is, according to Grimaldi (1972: 134), material propositions of rhetoric. Since the digital enthymeme does not support our common humanity, it can support mere institutions or ideologies, such as capitalistic systems of celebrity media that are ruled by concrete values measured in instant benefits. Common to both moralistic and amoralistic digital enthymemes is materialism highlighted in the clicking and typing behavior when following gossip news and sending comments to gossip forums. Such online behavior can be seen to match the commercial interests of many celebrity gossip sites and gossip media whose profits are dependent on the number of users or readers and their clicks and comments. Carefully reasoned critical argumentation as the negotiation based on abstract values (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 2000 [1969]: 79) takes more time and effort and would not do such an instant materialistic favor. Moreover, particularly the idea of amoralistic digital enthymemes also resonates with what Robert Hariman (1992) calls courtly style. According to Hariman (1992: 162), the courtly style is a public discourse that reduces the ethics and morality of a community to (mediated) spectacles around public persons’ body parts, which is a sign of social immobility that only reinforces the already-existing hierarchies of a community through power-spectacular displays. In other words, the courtly style tries to direct public focus to issues that hinder moral negotiation of social inequalities. Since the amoralistic digital enthymeme reduced young (lower middle-class) women,

especially, to their corporeal figures, we can see it as an ideological way of paralyzing moral criticism. Amoralistic digital enthymemes, just like the courtly style, try to make such serious counter-arguments irrelevant in which ideological power structures are challenged. In amoralistic digital enthymemes, it is a discourse-external authority, rather than communal moral negotiation or individual moral imagination, which has the power to rule and set norms for the discourse. Consequently, the online commenters using amoralistic digital enthymemes reproduce the meanings and values (such as physical appearance, voyeurism, and sexism) typical of celebrity media institutions, which can be seen to reinforce rather than challenge the hegemony of media-made celebrity culture (cf. Meyers 2012). In other words, the amoralistic digital enthymeme, especially, not only hinders criticism but can be seen to support patriarchal domination through the seemingly power-free modes of celebrity gossip discourse.

The digital enthymeme does not exist by accident. On the contrary, its persuasiveness is based on technologically promoted self-interest in which moral responsibility as the care for the other is abandoned when embracing the individual freedom of choice and expression (see Silverstone 2003, pp. 480–483; 2007, p. 173). This self-interest is, perhaps, intertwined with (neo)liberal consumerism at the center of which lies the emotional self without true responsibilities (see Barney 2004: 36–37; Chouliaraki 2013: 179–180, 185–186). By introducing the digital enthymeme as a new concept for communication and media studies, this study has suggested a critical tool to approach emotional involvement in new media participation from a rhetorical and moral perspective.

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The radio university as a public service: programming models in Spain

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Abstract

As media education emerges as a worldwide field of knowledge, more training and research is needed in media literacy in the fight for a more democratic, plural and participative media that is mindful of social and civic issues. The aim of media literacy is to educate the audience into becoming more critical and adept at deciphering the media message. In the current media context, university radios are now a consolidated reality. Internet and the new technologies have contributed to their expansion, transforming traditional radio into a new interactive concept. Although university radios have existed for years, it is only now, thanks to Internet and the commitment of universities, that they are endowed with new communicative, transformative capabilities without succumbing to commercial demands. This paperwork discusses the programming of seventeen Spanish college radio stations. For this, websites and blogs have been revised, highlighting programs and advertising that are dedicated to developing content with a social turns and civic participation. Today's university radio provides a perfect framework for media education to show that an alternative medium that differs substantially from commercial radio is possible, with public service, citizenship training and focus on social development as its main goals, avoiding the tyranny of listener share and the business pressures imposed on commercial broadcasters. It also analyzes the social intervention in college radio charts, as an opportunity to present an alternative dialogue, in terms of the development of a bigger critical audience, all as a practical example of what media education can achieve.

Keywords

Radio university, public service, podcasting, Internet, education, communication.

1. Introduction and context

For more than a decade there has been a strong, progressive, intellectual, academic and institutional drive towards media education due to, among other reasons, the emergence of the «digital world» and Internet in society. This environment has also seen important changes. Until recently, media education basically centred on education of the mass media – press, radio and television – but for a while now and above all thanks to the impact of new technologies and the Internet, a more universal rethink has been taking place.

Even so, the didactic model that currently prevails in classrooms across most of the developed and developing world is still highly traditional, with a form of teaching that informs and transmits conceptual content far removed from the needs and expectations that society demands for its 21st century citizens who deal with global media and highly advanced technologies – interactive and audiovisual – in every space of their lives. In this way, the absolute dominance of content transmission by the teacher, the passivity and uncritical attitude of the students, the system of continuous assessment, the rigid curricular structure and timetabling – the lack of flexibility even extends to physical spaces – is a paradox at all levels of education, especially at university, when compared to the real world outside the classroom (Aguaded, 2005). International organizations have warned on many occasions that the education system is falling behind, and its adoption of new social thinking is slow and even traumatic. Pérez Tornero (2000) pointed out that society's consideration of the school as transmitter of the precise knowledge needed for an appropriate socialization has changed in that the school is now seen as just one of many knowledge sources, some of which are deemed more influential and effective. Likewise, the literacy needed in an audiovisual society is acquired through non-formal and independent channels away from school, which represents a system that does not provide the free environment required in order to join an audiovisual society in which knowledge sources are much more diffuse.

Education in the audiovisual society must adopt media literacy as essential at all levels of the educational system worldwide, because this reality is now universal: from China to Chile and from Spain to Australia. So now more than ever, the media must take on a fundamental role in the teaching-learning processes. Education must aspire to be «reflective experienced-based learning», rather than the more technical-termed and pragmatic styles that have dominated as educational models. It must overcome the idea of education as a bank (Freire) for depositing knowledge inside the heads of students, and must develop a student mind that is more critical and creative

within their environment, aware of their reality and capable of acting freely, independently and judiciously. The role of the media in this form of critical and value-based teaching is crucial (Aguaded, 2005). Today's students must be the protagonists in the construction of their own knowledge, and the instructor, teacher or lecturer must become the guide or facilitator of this process.

This work focuses specifically on the possibilities of radio as a medium, especially in light of the enormous surge of new technologies, and Internet in particular, in the effective development of radio within the educational context. This type of media, which not only uses the spectrum of traditional radio broadcasting for its diffusion, also sees Internet as its main ally for its transmission worldwide. It is an example of good practice in the service of media education, and also has a second role to play as an alternative voice that occasionally rebels against the prevailing alienating discourse of conventional commercial radio. This new radio is an indisputable example of the public service traditionally expected of these established media; however, it increasingly seems that we can only count on the former to continue performing this role.

2. Media Education experiences today

Although the educational system is moving towards adoption of the media's tools and discourses for a better understanding of their dynamics, it is still incapable of making effective use of the huge didactic potential and, above all, of the autonomous learning and participation that these technologies offer, which enable, for example, the creation of media within the educational context. This is undoubtedly a formula that benefits the ultimate aim of the teaching-learning process and which departs from the traditional view of the teacher as the sole provider of knowledge and the student as nothing more than a recipient. In addition, other values and competencies are transversally promoted that are hard to acquire in the traditional environment: communicative skills, personal development, integration within the group, the ability to search out resources, a critical attitude towards the media, team work and knowledge transfer.

So, thanks in particular to this impetus from the digital world, experiences are now taking root that allow the educational community and citizens in general to participate, create and develop vocationally. Whereas it was once difficult to be part of traditional media, citizens now see the fulfilment of their need to contribute to current discourses and tendencies transmitted by the mass media. Proof of this lies in UNESCO's long-running promotion of the educational and cultural dimension of communication technologies, as well as fomenting the creation of media among

disadvantaged communities as (a-) means of self-expression and self-definition, to avoid becoming mere consumers of content and images that reflect remote values (Zaragoza, 1997).

In Latin America, the media in general and radio in particular have contributed to the development of democracy, and their ability to instruct and educate is evident across the continent. Unsurprisingly, this type of communication models set up in educational institutions such as universities has proliferated in recent times in Europe, and especially in Spain.

Our study focuses on the experiences of university radio in Spain, where stations are now broadcasting in growing numbers.

3. University radio in Spain: a commitment to public service

Spanish university radio stations have been broadcasting since 1987¹, but have only started to appear in greater number(s) this decade. There are currently 25 stations linked to universities in Spain. They vary considerably in terms of programme structure and content, and survive in spite of their ambiguous legal status. They are not legally recognized in Spain and so have to coexist with conventional radio stations, which undermines their ability to expand and draw closer to society due to the lack of a designated space for them within the national radio panorama. Therefore, it is only logical that, by adopting the new communicative tendencies linked to technological advances and the Internet, these new radio stations should use the latter as a means of reaching out to a public that uses the Internet more and more to get information. In this way, the horizon is not so dark, and the potential for creating forums within universities is huge which in turn serves to draw closer and connect with society.

Should university radio stations and any media based at an educational institution follow conventional communication models? They undoubtedly work and their influence on the collective is increasing. However, these models are configured around one single premise – which has to a certain extent infiltrated the public media – profit. Communication is a business like any other, as Debord (1999) stated, in which consumer society stands for the programming of everyday life; it manipulates and determines individual and social life in all its interstices; everything is transformed into artifice and illusion in the service of the capitalist imagination and in the interests of the ruling classes. So it is that the media, the big business conglomerates and their wide range of commercial activities, must increase audience share to satisfy demand in a productive system that is more and more voracious and in which advertising marks time, space and even content. That is why today's radio is highly commercial and very

narrow in scope, subscribing to, according to Gutiérrez and Huertas (2003: 134), «the dominance of programming policy based on direct competition».

University radio must distance itself from this premise. Firstly, because what little legislation there is on the configuration of cultural media, and this type of radio station³ would undoubtedly fall within such legal norms, states that it must be so; and also that commercial advertising is prohibited. Also, because as part of a public service institution that generates knowledge and is responsible for transferring that knowledge to society, university radios must be an extension of those principles. They must be the protagonists in social communication, particularly in communication that is free from the influence of commercial objectives or political interests. Its aims must be directed towards solidarity and true public service. This requires total commitment, as this type of radio broadcaster represents agencies whose aim is to promote the fundamental causes of science, culture, critical analysis and responsibility in society. For this reason, the humanistic role of university media is now so important (Fernández, 2009).

4. Content

Although universities have traditionally used the radio as a medium of communication with society, a new formula is now needed to extend its reach and find a niche to counter the impact of commercial stations. The problem lies in the generation of products that are unprofitable, and this reality demands new ideas and content. As Da Cunha-Limaⁱⁱ has stated, «what sells in commercial television and radio is audience. What sells in the public stations is the programming».

The university radio stations have a fundamental role to play. Experimentation with new formats and the inclusion of more specialised content – albeit for minority tastes – would lend their programming a certain complementarity, which perhaps is the ultimate aim in their attempt to become an alternative medium for their listeners. Currently, the main national radio stations dedicate about 70% of their broadcasting time to news and entertainment, with sport taking up around 10%. The remaining 20% is for music and audience-participation and, to a lesser extent, culture, education, religion and other minority macrogenres such as fiction, whose appearance is sporadic and testimonial among public broadcast networks (Perona, 2009).

With this outlook, and with few resources available to make a greater impact on the public, university radio stations have no alternative but to find a niche within the generalized radio content in order to achieve that complementarity.

The search for alternative or specialized content must not mean that the medium created at the heart of a higher education institute becomes «intermuros». One of the fundamental characteristics and objectives of university radio stations must surely be to bring the institution – viewed historically as a select space for the intellectual elite – closer to society, making itself known, explaining and, if you will, «humanizing» its activities. But it should not be an obstacle for this content to alternate with other programmes covering many other varied topics.

Finally, if we understand that university radio programming should not just satisfy the demands of the institution to which it belongs but must also be open to broader content, then a symbiosis must be found to unite both aspects so that the greater part of society feels represented.

5. Providing a public service

It is vital that the programming is underpinned by the idea of public service, understood as that which must be provided to cover the necessities of the general, not private, interest, and whose motive is not to turn a profit.

To achieve this, as well as satisfying the demands of the university community itself which, in the end, is the one whose voice will broadcast on the university radio station, programming must be structured to foment study and scientific investigation in addition to covering topics and providing an outlet for collectives who would, were it not for this type of media, be almost invisible to society. In the end, taste is aroused not by demand but by supply (Pérez Tornero, 2010).

Undoubtedly all university radio stations subscribe to these premises, firstly because the «prime movers» behind their content are mainly young people, one such collective that demands more attention for being fairly invisible.

Likewise, many radio programmes complement subjects studied at university, and they can even act as a form of student qualification.

And besides this, the specificity of much of the content enables many listeners to find a place where they can learn in a non-formal way via the radio. It is also a good formula for developing a greater social sensibility towards people and collectives who are generally ignored by the mainstream media; and if they are portrayed, it is only to describe them in a biased and pejorative way as generators of negative news stories.

But if we review the programming of the university radio stations that currently operate in Spain, we see that their content is centred mainly on topics related to some public service or to a degree subject taught at the institution. Music of the alternative variety is also present, along with programmes that deal directly with the lives of those

groups we referred to earlier, who can only find a voiceⁱⁱⁱ on university radio. For example, «Ahora tú cuentas» (Now you speak) on Radio Universidad de Salamanca, a programme for people with physical and mental disabilities; «Un mundo mejor» (A better world) on 98.3 Radio Universidad de Navarra, «Mosaicos de Paz» (Mosaics of peace) on Vox UJI Radio, and «Horizontes» (Horizons) on Radio URJC are just a few examples of programmes that analyse social exclusion, the roots of poverty and injustice in the world (iv).

On Uniradio, the radio station of the University of Huelva, the experience with various collectives who face social marginalization merely confirms that radio is the only outlet these people have to express themselves and connect with society. For the last four years, Uniradio's «Campus en la Prisión» (Campus in the prison) has broadcast live once a week during its morning magazine section, in which inmates and teachers set the agenda. The inmates are not called on to relate their personal experiences but are treated as equal members of the panel that discusses politics or current social issues, but from the perspective of people behind bars. In this way, the radio station presents a reality that is different from the one we are accustomed to. This reality is humanized – without judging the conduct of those who take part – and typical prisoner stereotypes are broken. It is true that these experiences also feature on mainstream radio but with a more biographical slant on the inmates who take part.

Another programme on Uniradio, «Mentalízate» (Move your mind!), also fits into this category. Its gestation was long and hard, since it required convincing the entire Mental Health hospital area in Huelva, but the outcome is a monthly programme now in its third season that is run by a group of people with mental disabilities, mainly schizophrenics.

They themselves decide on content and music; and the programme is not about relating personal experiences but a space in which they can participate and give an opinion on events in daily life, and discuss issues with health professionals and even family members. The programme was recently awarded a prize by the Andalusian Federation of Associations of Family Members with Mental Disabilities.

Another example of programmes with a social perspective, and hence as a public service, are those produced with groups of children or young adults, students in primary and secondary education who have special learning needs. Uniradio has several long-running programmes that are prepared and put together with a team of teachers and instructors from various schools in the province, and this process has now become part of the regular curriculum in some subjects.

One of the most effective means at this radio station's disposal has been to invite those social institutions that work with the University of Huelva on projects to use the radio as a way of making a closer connection to society. For example, Uniradio broadcasts a weekly programme with Valdocco, a socially-concerned entity that operates in one of the most marginalized neighbourhoods of Huelva. The broadcast does not focus on what Valdocco is or does but rather acts as an extension of the objectives of that social institution. The coordinator is a Gypsy woman who works as an intercultural mediator, and on the programme she interacts with foreigners in the province. The process is a way of breaking down the stereotypes and prejudice surrounding Gypsies in general and Gypsy women in particular, and about the possibilities of them becoming a social reference point. These programmes clearly underline the difference between university and conventional radio, in performing a public service and bringing society closer together.

6. Is non-profit making advertising a utopia?

One experience that has generated a lot of interest, and which set in motion a flurry of creative group activity with experts and institutions specializing in public service work at local and national level, is the production of socially-minded but non-profit making advertising slots on Uniradio, whose quality has been publically acknowledged by several social and educational institutions.

Radio stations of a cultural nature cannot broadcast commercial advertising, as set down in the laws on the subject in Andalusia(v). Nevertheless, advertising slots have their place in the structure of any daily radio programming.

Another formula would be to use these slots to promote the radio station itself or the university. But why not use them to broadcast messages that stir the conscience? For example, during Uniradio's first season^{vi} (2007-08), the station tried to encourage healthy lifestyles through sport, reading, cinema, friendship, respect for animals and nature, for young children, etc. In the seasons that followed, it ran campaigns such as «¿Realidad o ficción: de qué lado estás?» (Reality or fiction: which side are you on?), in order to foment among listeners respect for life, individual freedoms, democracy, social coexistence and other fundamental values underwritten by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The protagonists of these slots are those people with something to say, who tell their own stories: the homeless, students and teachers, children, immigrants....

During the previous season (September 2009-June 2010), the central theme of these social advertising slots was the Millenium Development Goals. The aim was not

only to make these goals widely known but also to promote a new form of cooperative work and continuous contact with those social groups involved. Far from treading common ground, the radio station wanted to present the real protagonists in the struggle to achieve these goals rather than the institutionalized view that characterizes traditional campaigns. In this regard, the station used material gathered the previous season (interviews, debates and special programmes) in which the guests openly and spontaneously expressed their views on the reality of each of the eight goals.

7. Conclusions

We can declare that today's Spanish university radio stations are fast becoming a reference point inside and outside the country for communicating an authentic philosophy of public service that is in line with the concerns and interests of their listeners. What is more, this type of radio offers people small «islands» from which to enjoy broadcasting that is more reflective, with a different outlook and objectives. Likewise these media, whose very nature is an educational mission, enable the population to exercise its right to participate in public media and to be heard. As the World Bank's study on broadcasting for education and development at the start of the 1970s indicated, the goals that radio must set if it wants to promote progress through communication would be:

- Motivation. To get individuals to reflect and even act on the object of their reflection.
- Information. This includes programmes that provide local, national and international news, as well as activities and spaces to promote public services.
- Teaching. Referring to the use of radio to acquire those more generalized cognitive skills. The most important aim is to impart non-formal education, according to the World Bank.
- Public participation means those programmes that are produced by the community and are distinctly participative in nature.

What the World Bank proposed in the 1970s is what this type of university radio broadcasts today.

In today's media landscape, the words of Noam Chomsky ring louder than ever in Uniradio's programme «Señales de Humo» (Smoke Signals), in which he declared that the alternative media could become a force to be reckoned with, and that it all depended on people's concerns and commitment.

So, by way of a conclusion, university radio must enable human and cultural development. Its duty is to contribute to the moderation of certain undesired

consequences of the influence of other communication systems on the community, and to become a more powerfully persuasive option (Fernández, 2009). Perhaps we cannot expect to create new infallible formulae for producing perfect programming that fulfils the requirements demanded of a public medium. But university radio does represent a valuable opportunity to restore the social function to the media that has been lost in the wake of dominant commercial criteria. Maybe it is only a question of creativity; of thinking that things can always be done differently.

8. References

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Notes

ⁱ Spain’s first university radio station was launched at la Universidad de La Laguna. Radio Campus (www.rcampus.net).

ⁱⁱ Jorge Da Cunha Lima, is President of the Board of Cultural Television of Brazil, and participated in the Congress of Media Literacy held in Seville in 2010

iii We arrived at this conclusion after reviewing the programme schedules of the following Spanish university radio stations:

- UPF (www.upf.edu/upfradio).
- Radio Universidad Salamanca (<http://campus.usal.es/~radiouni>).
- Radio Universidad Almería (www.radiouniversidad.es:81).
- Uniradio Jaén (<http://uniradio.ujaen.es>).
- 98.3 UNAV (www.unav.es/98.3).
- Vox UJI Radio (www.radio.uji.es).
- Uniradio Huelva (www.uhu.es/uniradio).
- iRadio de Universidad Católica de Murcia (<http://iradio.ucam.edu/programacion.html>).
- Radio Campus ULL (www.rcampus.net).
- Radio UNED (www.canaluned.com).
- Onda Campus (www.ondacampus.es).
- Radio URJC (<http://radiourjc.com>).
- Radio Universidad Miguel Hernández (<http://radio.umh.es>).
- Onda Villanueva de la Universidad Camilo José Cela (www.ucjc.edu/index.php?section=estudiante-2_0/campus-radio).
- UPV Radio (www.upv.es/rtv).
- Radio Complutense (www.ucm.es/info/radiocom/index/INICIO.html).

iv Ahora tú cuentas (<http://campus.usal.es/~radiouni/cuentas.html>).

- Un mundo mejor (www.unav.es/98.3/auto/unmundomejor.php).
 - Mosaicos de Paz (www.radio.uji.es/programa.php?id=54).
- «Horizontes» (www.urjc.es/labexradio/asociacion/sinopsis/horizontes.htm),
«Campus en la prisión» y «Mentalízate» (www.uhu.es/uniradio).

v By order of the Boletín Oficial de la Junta de Andalucía, 190. September 24, 2003.

vi www.uhu.es/uniradio/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=16&Itemid=5.

Online Interconnectivity and Negative Emotion Patterning

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Abstract:

The main goal of this work is to present corpus-based quantitative and qualitative properties of *negative emotion patterning* in terms of online discussion concerning a referendum planned for the year 2015 on the British membership in the European Union. The issue is observed to instigate strong emotional reactions of CMC users, primarily in terms of emotion *valence* and *arousal*, expressed in their comments to two political events, described in online newspaper articles. The present analysis illuminates the linguistic contexts in which the negative emotions which arise in connection with these events spread in the audiences and the extent to which the type of interactional exchange identified in the study affects the users' emotionality dynamics (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk submitted 2013). The dynamics axis concerns the development and maintenance of the community's common standpoint with regard to the issue (cf. also Atkinson et al. 2012). The common standpoint is a consequence of common group identity emerging to exert social pressure with reference to real life context.

Keywords: Emotion Event, emotional language, group identity, interactional exchange typology, Interconnectivity Value (IV), language corpus, negativity, negative discourse patterning, online discourse analysis

1. Rationale

Emotions are a driving force of human activity. Understood in their broad biological terms of an automated homeostatic regulation (Damasio 2003:35) at different levels of biological behaviour, they accompany us from the very first moments of life and develop into more and more complex responses to the contextual clues with a strong impact of the community, language and culture we live in (Wierzbicka 1995). The interplay between emotion and reason has been the subject of research since

Plato's first theory of a tripartite soul, which put emotion aside, while the last few decades have witnessed a particularly strong interest in their cognitive and linguistic properties (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Turner and Fauconnier 1985, Kövecses 1990, 2000, Gibbs 2006), undermining supposedly altogether rational judgments in human behaviour for the sake of emotions.

Psychologically oriented emotion studies rely in the majority of cases on experimental findings and questionnaire-based data (e.g. Scherer 2005). Focusing particularly on the analysis of emotion concepts into discrete features or feature dimensions, psychologists have been trying to determine a repertory of prototypical emotion concepts, their interrelationship and, more recently, cross-linguistic dependencies. A special development of linguistically oriented emotion studies has been observed for over two decades now, with reference to uncovering the range of prototypical and peripheral emotion concepts and their linguistic expression particularly with regard to the rapidly developing study of metaphor, metonymy and other figurative verbal uses (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2000). Feature analyses, attacked by cognitive linguists (Lakoff 1987), have been modified into a lower-level methodology with conceptual dimensions and frame semantics as their top-down instigating structures. In modified versions, features, or properties, make it possible to determine concept prototypes and their extended, more peripheral, variants, not infrequently appearing as radial clusters with a number of prototypical peaks within a conceptual space.

Another new branch of linguistics, correlated with a rapid development of computers and computer capacity, computational and corpus linguistics, gave a new impetus to emotion studies in the eighties. Large amounts of authentic language data, spoken and written, formal, colloquial or intimate, from different times and regions, as well as their fast processing, make it possible to trace regularities and idiosyncrasies in emotion expression, also in comparative terms among groups of users and individual language speakers.

Computer-mediated communication is an area particularly suitable to examine with the use of cognitive corpus-based linguistic methods (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk and Dziwirek 2009). Access to large amounts of data and their fast analysis by means of dedicated corpus tools make it possible to uncover new patterns in emotion expression in different CMC types.

This paper is a follow-up of two more extensive research projects, one referring to cross-linguistic studies of emotions and their verbal manifestations (Dziwirek and

Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2010, Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk and Wilson 2011) and the other, first presented in terms of a cognitive-interactional model of negativity (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 1996), extended later to deal with negation and discourse negativity in the context of emotion studies. Negative utterances are of particular interest in CMC research. Negativity is both a cognitively more conspicuous, more salient as well as a more powerful rhetorical device in discourse than less marked corresponding positive forms (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 1996). Negative emotions are also less controllable and potentially more revealing with regard to the mental state and stance expression than positive emotions. Therefore the tracing of negative emotions can contribute to the research aiming at the development of more salient CMC groups and uncovering their identity characteristics.

Below the CMC materials used in the present study will be described, followed by a discussion of negation, negativity and negativity as expressed verbally, a short introduction to emotion studies focusing on verbal expressions of online emotions, and basic components in identity research.

The online materials and examples are drawn from two online publications - an article and the users' comments on UK - EU relationship in *The Guardian* on 4th December, 2012. The article *Boris Johnson: UK should renegotiate relationship with EU*, Johnson proposes 'minimalist strategy' with EU that should be put to British people in a referendum was written by a political reporter, H el ene Mulholland. The second one, used here for contrastive purposes is an online *Huffington Post* publication (Reuters) *UK EU Referendum: David Cameron Promises In-Out Vote In 2015* by Andrew Osborn and Peter Griffiths, published on 23 January 2013. In this article the authors present and discuss Prime Minister David Cameron's promises to give Britons a referendum choice on whether to stay in the European Union or leave if he wins the election in 2015. Both discussions show a degree of the users' involvement and emotionality with respect to this issue, which places a question mark over Britain's EU membership. The former displays the users' more negative and more emotional involvement patterning with regard to the issue discussed. The users' perspective and their opinions towards the issue of UK membership in EU are shaped to a large extent by their political preferences, pro- or anti-conservative in this case, and primarily, or as a consequence, by their opinions about its conservative leaders, Boris Johnson, Mayor of London in the first text and David Cameron, UK Prime Minister in the second one.

The research methodology employed combines discourse and lexical analyses in terms of the Cognitive Corpus Linguistics approach Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk

2012) , which involves the conversion of the original format of the materials into the text format to apply WordSmith corpus tools (concordances, collocations, frequency lists and keywords) and carry out a linguistic and discourse analysis. To investigate the material used here is a Model of Overall Online CMC Activities (OCA), originally proposed in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (2012). The quantitative parameters comprise an Interconnectivity Value (IV), which identifies the number of interacting participants and the number of jointly constructed discourse turns. The qualitative parameters of the analysis explore types of lexical patterns, lexical choices, syntactic structures and discourse behaviour preferences of groups of participants. The IVs and their visualization are generated from the corpus data by the application of the Gephi software, publicly available online.

CMC users get emotional about diverse social and political events which involve both their life experiences as well as their convictions and beliefs. Past and projected experiences, also of a social and political character, affect the scale of the emotional personal and group responses. Real-life events which are likely to arouse large-scale emotions in the internet communities are precisely those that involve the areas of direct personal involvement. In other words, the event must be sufficiently salient, either to an individual or to the group they identify with, to instigate an emotion. The real life events are sources for online publications - press articles, journalistic news, blogs, scholarly papers of a certain social significance, and last but not least, the opinions of other CMC participants frequently grouped in ad-hoc internet communities. Properties of background knowledge concerning salient real life events as well as information on the users' linguistic and discourse preferences are extracted from the collected internet texts by means of dedicated corpus tools.

An interesting property of both sets of comments in the collected samples (1) and (2) is their highly personalizing character, focusing on two UK conservative party leaders, Boris Johnson, Mayor of London, and David Cameron, UK Prime Minister, epitomizing current political order in Britain.

The first part of the paper (sections 2 - 3) investigates and develops the concept of negativity in language and the section to follow in (10) present the use of these models for the analysis of the function of negative emotions in online discourse. In sections 4 - 8 the concept of emotions is illuminated, followed by a description of how emotions are verbally signaled in posts and comments.

The paper aims uncover the negative emotion patterns as emerging in the interactions, particularly in two types of online communication (section 9), dubbed in

Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (submitted 2013) snow-ball communication and exemplified in sample (1) and ping-pong communication (elements of sample (1) and sample (2)). The final outcome of negative emotion patterning studies leads to a more explicit manifestation of the conditions conducive to rising social pressure, likely to surface in real life contexts and exemplifies the mechanisms of a *new democratic order* emerging in modern society with regard to the researched web content.

2. The concept of *negativity* in language¹

There are a few categories of words and phrases introducing negativity in natural language (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 1996). Lexical items such as the explicitly prefixed words *insufficient*, *unacceptable* or the counterfactuality marking adjectives *fake* (diamonds), *false* (documents) are clearly negative in their meanings. Other forms introduce more hidden negative structures which include a class of lexical items with a negative element present in their conceptual structures, although not in morphological marking e.g. *putative* (marriage), or more implicit such as e.g., *wig*, *bald*, *denture*, *pretense*, *manipulate*. The negative character of a number of *verbs of change* may not be immediately evident or not present in fact if we consider it from the axiological appraisal perspective, and yet their presupposition has to incorporate an element of negativity defined as a counterfactual element, opposite to the state of affairs co-temporal with that at the time of speaking (the presupposition of *He opened the door* is its opposition *The door was closed*). This is true of actions, processes and states. The element of negativity is also evident in classes of so-called *force-dynamic* expressions (Talmy 1985), such as *persuade*, *insist*, which convey the semantic elements of exerting and confronting force between an agonist and an antagonist. In force-dynamic expressions negation is found in the form of a parameter signifying a real or potential resistance of the agonist against the antagonist, present at the conceptual level. Mark Johnson proposes (1987:41-42) that the dimension of what he calls "forceful interaction" is one of the most prominent "ever-present dimension of our experience" and further, that "the [...] schemata of CONTAINMENT gave prominence to the limitation, restriction, and channeling of forces. By paying more attention to our experience of force as such, we uncover new considerations that did not arise in the analysis of boundedness. These considerations include motion, directedness of action, degree of intensity and structure of causal interaction (including motions of both agency

¹ The present discussion of *negation* and *negativity* is based on Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (1996).

and patienthood, for animate and inanimate things alike). These new factors constitute further kinds of internal structure that an image schema (as gestalt) might manifest".

Another manifestation of negativity is observed in so-called *aura of meaning* referred to as *semantic harmony* or *semantic prosody* (cf. Sinclair, 1994), which is understood as a fairly systematic spread of a feature from one to another linguistic unit in an utterance, typically not marked as negative in context-free setting (e.g. the word *utterly* as in *utterly disgusting/stupid*) or foregrounding its explicit negative sense to other lexical items (cf. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 1996). Such negatively-charged individual lexical items spread over the senses of their neighbours and create negatively coloured semantic expectations. The items in the same utterance or in a larger unit of speech (say, speech event or a paragraph) tend to harmonise with the negative nature of their triggers.

Explicit negation marked with the negative operator *not* or embodied in negative adverbs or pronouns in English (*nobody, never*) as an expression of negativity, plays a major role as a component of counterfactuality. The prototypical negation as in *I am not tired* is conceptualized in terms of the *categorial exclusion* (OUT in Fig. 1), as a unit outside of the category named in the utterance.

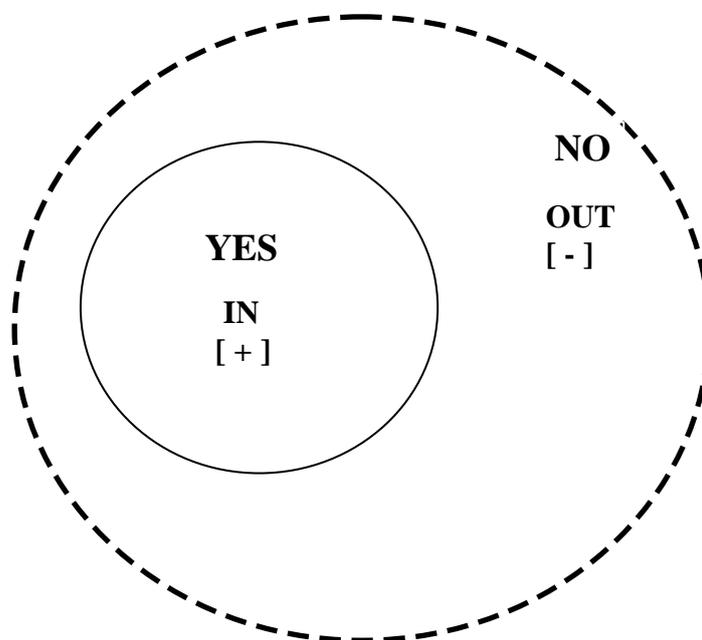


Fig. 1: Schema of prototypical sentential negation

An observation which can be of interest here is that even though negation tends to express conceptually the notion of less rather than more, morphologically it is realised as MORE rather than LESS both at the lexical and the sentential level e.g. *interesting* versus *uninteresting*, *I am not tired* as opposed to *I am tired*. This is connected with the fact that from the cognitive processing perspective, the negative is more complex than the positive. Negation also opens up a larger range of options, which is one of the reasons why it is so frequently used as a powerful rhetorical device in political discourse. It is less explicit as it leaves more space for individual, more subjective interpretation and creates more favourable conditions for the speaker's avoidance of full political accountability. On the other hand, when contrasted with positive statements, which are, in total, more frequent in discourse than negative ones, the negative utterances are more marked, therefore more linguistically salient and more foregrounded in discourse.

3. Negativity as an interactional concept

In the course of communicative interaction, each participant builds up a system of conceptual domains (*discourse domains* cf. Seuren 1985, *alternative realities* (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 1985)), based on their knowledge of reality in the form of *knowledge frames* (Minsky 1975) or *Idealized Cognitive Models* (Fillmore 1982) and enriched during the interaction. The linguistic material as used by the speaker has a potential to evoke relevant parts of the hearer's knowledge, rearrange it, and set up new domains with old or new referential addresses in them. The domains do not necessarily reflect the state of affairs perceived by an interactant. Mental representations are gradually built up and modified by the incoming verbal material. Each lexical item is associated with a value which designates its meaning and its function in the discourse (these two may coincide in the case of some predicates, such as e.g. *not*). The value called the *increment value* by Seuren (1985) covers the lexical (including the presuppositional) as well as technical information, concerning the conceptual/semantic material of an item and the way which this material is to be included in the process of building a discourse domain. The item *not* and negative evaluative markers potentially *exclude* the referent from the current discourse domain on the one hand but on the other they make it possible to introduce into the current discourse a number of other linguistic *world-creating* devices such as contrastive and conditional structures as e.g. *He is really a poor politician. Otherwise, he would...*, which set up a desired *alternative reality*, so much needed in confrontational discourse of the type analysed here.

3.1. The notion of *negatibility*

Any linguistic item (word, phrase or sentence), by the very fact of its having been selected to form a communicative unit, implies a potential existence of all other possible forms ('parallel' or 'alternative' items) which *could have been* but were *not* selected for informative purposes. These 'unselected' items then, counterfactual by implication, are 'dormant' in unmarked contexts and can be activated by an interactant as in *Speaker 1: look at this green car over there!, Speaker 2: d'ye mean green green or just green?* The *negatibility* of an utterance, to use the term introduced by Huebler (1983:12), is based exactly on the existence of such alternative, unselected options. It becomes evident in what Huebler calls "the hearer's right to *refute* a sentence". Any sentence, irrespective of its polarity, requires ratification to a greater or lesser extent by the audience and thus reveals its *negatibility*. Negatively loaded emotional utterances create particularly favourable discourse conditions for their consequential ratification or, equally frequently, non-ratification by the interacting users.

4. Emotion studies

Emotions are experienced by human beings as a mixture of bodily and mental experiences and when talking about emotions or expressing them, people resort to various devices offered by their language. They refer to human bodily reactions, facial and body gestures, behavioural and situational properties. They use structure and categorizing relationships filled with meanings to convey their conceptualizations of emotion words, i.e. *mental models* of emotions they construct and use in verbal interaction. Meaning has elements of *convention* as well as *culture-related* properties involving the conceptualizer. The conceptualizer presents his *construal of the world*, i.e. to quote Langacker "the relation between the speaker (or hearer) and the situation that he conceptualizes or portrays" (Langacker 1987: 487–488). Linguistic units differ in meaning not only due to their conventional designation but also with respect to a variety of *different construals of the world*, expressed in morphological and syntactic patterns of individual languages, which are also employed by language users to *structure* their perception and conceived contents.

The semantics of *emotion* can be structured in terms of a *radial category* (Lakoff 1987), with a number of prototypical peaks, related by *family resemblance* (Wittgenstein 1953). Emotion concepts have both a physical-physiological stratum and a psychological one: mental and cognitive. Unlike other nominal concepts, categorized into two categories: concrete and abstract objects, emotion concepts refer both to

physical, concrete objects and properties on the one hand and mental constructs on the other (Altarriba & Bauer 2004). An important source of conceptual knowledge that is brought to bear in the formation of an emotion is *culture* (Wilson and Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2012).

A prototypical *Emotion Event Scenario* EES (1) involves an *Experiencer* with their bodily and mental predispositions and a *Stimulus*, immersed in social and cultural conditioning and immediate context. Emotions are manifested as the Experiencer's bodily and mental reactions and can be expressed in terms of linguistic utterances which include a number of meaningful markers, phonetic, lexical, syntactic and pragmatic in nature.

(1)

Prototypical Emotion Event Scenario EES (cf. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk and Wilson in press):

Context (*Biological* predispositions of Experiencer, *Social* and *Cultural* conditioning, *On-line* contextual properties of Event) [Stimulus → Experiencer {(internally experienced) Emotion [**EMBODIED mind** - -- a road to **METAPHOR**] + (internally and externally manifested) physiological and physical symptoms} → possible external reaction(s) of Experiencer (language: emotion and emotional talk including **METAPHOR**)] i.e . **EXBODIED mind**.

Extended Emotion Event Scenarios (ExES) involve cases of experiencing more than one emotion of *the same valence* at the same time, i.e., *emotion clusters* on the one hand, and so-called *mixed feelings*, experienced as two *contradictory emotions* at the same time on the other (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2012a). It is worth to observe that, with reference to the online material analysed in the present paper, the emotion patterning expressed in sample (2) is of the latter, while in sample (1), more frequently than not, of the former type of blending.

5. Expression of emotions online

Emotions expressed online or so-called *cyberemotions* are a relatively new research topic (Chmiel et al. 2011). Cyberemotions are emotional processes related to CMC of any type, involving text, sound and/or image transmission. The area of such investigation refers to the way emotions arise and spread in e-communities and the extent to which such patterns can be considered similar or divergent from those experienced in direct face-to-face interaction in real life contexts. The crucial question

is whether CMC conditioning, its technological infrastructure and properties which diverge from real-world communication can be associated with newly emerging patterns of emotion (or sentiment) development and their spread in CMC contexts. CMC contexts are the contexts of blurring numerous traditional boundaries, those between the Sender (message production) and the Addressee (message reception), between the private and the public, production and consumption, and linguistically between the spoken and written modes, and between genres and styles (Herring 2004). Some properties arise in the course of interaction both in real and virtual worlds, i.e. they can be considered *discourse emergent properties* (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2010), however the proliferation of specific internet communication properties, such as its mass-scale nature, transcending space and time boundaries and the fact that such interactions give rise to virtual encounters, of a different character than in real world, may contribute to different patterning of emotion rise and sustainability in internet communication. Some research focuses on collective emotional phenomena in cyberspace, using mainly engineering methodology of data collection and analysis (*Cyberemotions FP7*)².

Political and social topics motivate a large section of users to start or join online discussions and it is precisely their interest, related most often with the user's personal opinion on the topic that activates emotions. Online discussion forums elicit subjective emotional responses. Mathias Theunis et al. (2010) from the CYBEREMOTIONS project (poster CERE 2010) propose that interest is followed by *excitement* in the discussion. The authors also predict *more variance in arousal for negative stimuli* which, more readily than language of positive valence, contributes to the formation, development and cessation of an emotional discussion in a thread (forum). The present paper further investigates this issue and presents new materials in connection with the claim. It shows that the preferred dynamics of an emotional CMC discussion in terms of the users' Overall Online Discourse Activity (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2011) are so-called *snow-ball* and *ping-pong* communication patterns (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk submitted 2013) and uncovers the traces of classical 'banal nationality' sentiment (cf. Postill 2011).

² Some scholars introduce a terminological distinction between *emotions* and *sentiments*. *Sentiment* in this sense is taken to mean *emotion-related aspects of messages* (*Cyberemotions FP7*) investigated in terms of the development of automatic sentiment analysis as a large-scale emotion detection and analysis using text messages collected from the web. However, the research cannot make it clear at present how such emotions arise in e-community and to what extent they influence group activities.

5.1. Language markers of online emotions

Language can facilitate, construct and regulate the occurrence of an emotion. Out of a number of communicative functions language has an important emotive function which covers two areas. Firstly, language is used to talk *about* emotions, descriptively or in narration. This kind of *emotion talk* is either complemented by or juxtaposed to *emotional talk*, in which a speaker uses diverse prosodic clues (stress, pitch, intonation) and paralinguistic markers (facial expression, body movements) together with a specific verbal repertoire (expletives, interjections, swear-words, marked expressions such as intensifiers, evaluative expressions, etc.) to *express* feelings and emotions. Contrary to emotion language, which tends to use explicit emotion terms (*hate, love, fear*) not all patterns of emotional discourse can be identified by means of fully automatic corpus tools, which makes the quantitative corpus study more laborious. In online (written) communication the emotional language is also expressed by symbols and writing conventions, such as emoticons (Dresner & Herring 2012), spelling, particularly capitalization, punctuation and sets of individual diacritic markers on the one hand apart from negatively marked lexis, semantic prosodies, selected syntactic structures and hybrid (written/spoken) discourse strategies on the other. The most characteristic language properties of emotion expression in sample 1 are face-to-face interaction extension strategies which cover frequent personal pronoun reference, rhetorical questions and rhetorical exclamatives, overt negative lexis and phraseology, shorter turns, much more frequent than in the reference sample (2), in which what is used are more items and discourse strategies with more or less *implicit* negative meanings, written language-based syntax and longer turns on a whole, as e.g. in (2) below,³

(2) Rhetorical Questions

(2i) A few of the younger zealots might find openings but why do Labour need these non-entities, especially the ones they have already ditched in the past? 20 507
888 63% 0 99%

(2ii) Hold on, didn't Boris say out in India last week that there was no need for a referendum? 19 413 854 84% 0 94%

In rhetorical questions (2) from sample 1, certain patterns of meanings such as the negative syntax, explicitly negative words phrases or metaphors point to a particular emotion or emotion clusters. In example (2i) they are disapproval, anger,

³ The numbers following the examples in the paper refer to the analysed corpus data identification, generated by WordSmith Tools.

combined with sarcasm, and in example (2ii) – disappointment clustered with disbelief and irony.

Irony and sarcasm as well as aggressive and marked vocabulary (offensive or vulgar posts can be deleted by the moderator) are other signs of emotion. Furthermore, some distancing elements like *so-called* or *as is referred to* and particular forms of address will function as emotion-laden discourse identity markers.

6. Figurative meanings and ANEW measures

Parts of the meanings of emotion concepts, i.e., their behavioural and experiential properties⁴, are not directly accessible in the CMC conditions but their conceptualizations in terms of networks of different kinds of meaning such as figurative, frequently, metaphoric form, can be investigated in the verbal material to help uncover their axiological marking. Metaphors and metonymies, similes and other figures of thought (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), are a useful methodological tool to uncover speakers' attitudes both towards the events portrayed in the utterances and towards the characters responsible for them. Both simile and metaphor refer to the understanding of one idea from one domain, or the whole domain (target domain) in terms of another (a source domain). A source domain is usually more basic and physically grounded, which functions as a mapping site for a given target domain. The figurative uses clearly point either to a positive or negative valence of the event described in the example, as both conventional associations and evaluation connected with them are unambiguous. A few examples from sample (1) will be analysed in this context.

(3) It is the Titanic, holed below the waterline. The band are playing and everyone is chatting and drinking but the water is overflowing the watertight bulkheads.

The figurative uses clearly point to the negative valence of the event described in the example, as both conventional associations and evaluation connected with them are unambiguous. *The Titanic* is a conventional metaphor foregrounding threat, danger and failure.

Negatively charged metaphors in (4), (5) and (6) and metonymy (*the City* in example (4) used for London major business and financial CEOs), foreground the speakers' unambiguously critical attitude towards the future prospects:

⁴ Users' experiential references in their online activities are frequently observed in some, so called *string balloons*, types of online interaction (e.g. sample 3 in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk submitted 2013), although this is regulated to a large extent by a discussion topic.

(4) Don't pin your hopes on the City either - if we leave the EU, a lot of that business will be lost as well.

(5) it's plain that he's lost his marbles and has no rational argument to put forward 4 637 205 86% 0 22%

(6) have I just made that up? Anyway: Boris is the vulture circling in the noonday heat, Cameron the bad guy chained to his past sins. 10 469 486 50% 0 51%

To find additional support for the negative evaluative charge of the words *Affective Norms for English Words* by Bradley, M.M., & Lang, P.J. (1999) have been consulted. The authors refer to the ratings which were collected with subjects who performed the procedure for three scales: HAPPY-UNHAPPY, EXCITED/CALM, CONTROLLED/IN CONTROL. Means and standard deviations for them (pleasure (*valence*), *arousal*, and *dominance* ratings for each word) were calculated. The word frequencies in the affective norms were taken by the authors from Kučera and Francis's (1967) norms. A higher number indicates a more frequent word. For instance, the item *hope* in (4) above and (4a) below is associated with high or very high valence, fairly high emotional arousal and fairly high control, while *lost* in the same example is associated with more negative valence, equal (or somewhat higher, depending on the subjects' gender) arousal and a significant fall of control. The descriptions listed represent Word Description, Word Valence, Arousal, Dominance in terms of No. Mean(SD) Mean(SD) Mean (SD) Frequency No. Mean(SD) Mean(SD) Mean (SD) Frequency.

(4a)

Word No Valence Mean Arousal Mean Dominance Mean Frequency

hope 794 7.05 (1.96) 5.44 (2.47) 5.52 (2.20) 178

lost 852 3.22 (1.70) 5.89 (2.35) 2.83 (1.69) 173

Although the reference materials in Bradley et al.(1999) contain only one thousand items, the following values are identified for some of the items used in the metaphors above ⁵

(3a)

⁵ Differences between the ratings of male and females subjects identified in Bradley et al. are also notable, although they are easily applicable to online discourse studies:
water ALL: water 486 6.61 (1.78) 4.97 (2.49) 5.08 (1.99) 442; MALE: water 486 6.93 (1.75) 5.13 (2.75) 5.00 (2.20) 442; FEMALE: water 486 6.39 (1.80) 4.87 (2.36) 5.13 (1.89) 442; surprised ALL: surprised 422 7.47 (1.56) 7.47 (2.09) 6.11 (2.19) 58; MALE: surprised 422 7.07 (1.94) 7.80 (2.27) 5.87 (1.96) 58, FEMALE: surprised 422 7.66 (1.33) 7.31 (2.02) 6.22 (2.31) 58

water 486 6.61 (1.78) 4.97 (2.49) 5.08 (1.99) 442

(6a)

sin 392 2.80 (1.67) 5.78 (2.21) 3.62 (2.29) 53⁶

Of interest to us are the ratings for clearly negative items as in:

(7)

nonsense 905 5.11 (1.73) 4.89 (1.94) 5.47 (1.47) 13

Emotion-charged words are also used in non-figurative contexts e.g. *rational arguments* in example (5). *Reason* and *rationality* are often used synonymously with *mind*, in opposition to *body*.

(5a)

mind 877 6.68 (1.84) 5.00 (2.68) 6.37 (2.19) 325

It is revealing to contrast the valence value attributed to *mind* with that of *body*:

(8)

body 665 5.55 (2.37) 5.52 (2.63) 5.34 (2.12) 276

The item *body* as compared with *mind*, is associated with less positive evaluation (valence), higher arousal and less control than *mind*.

Metaphors make it possible to perceive one object or event from different angles and perspectives through a meaning structure typical of other, usually physically grounded, networks of more basic meanings. When asked to give descriptions of intense feeling states, participants generate more metaphors than when describing actions (Fainsilber & Ortony 1987; Williams-Whitney, Mio, and Whitney 1992). Edwards & Clevenger (1990) found that participants chose to construct more metaphorical statements for political candidates for whom they had relatively more intense feelings.

Emotions can also be represented metonymically. Metonymy, identified above with reference to elements of example (4), foregrounds areas of contiguity or inclusion between the whole object and its parts. One illustrative example of metonymy is a *pars pro toto* or part-for-a whole relation, in which one word or phrase is substituted for another with which it is closely associated such as the one quoted in (4), in which the concept of the London City epitomizes the major City business and financial officials.

Another important source of information relevant to the present study are external corpus data (the consulted corpora are the British National Corpus and the

⁶ Male subjects: sin 392 3.36 (1.60) 5.07 (2.06) 4.21 (2.12) 53; Female subjects: sin 392 2.50 (1.66) 6.15 (2.24) 3.31 (2.36) 53

combined Longman-Microconcord corpora). The corpus materials additionally illuminate the negativity of the lexical and syntactic uses, in (9) below, literal and metaphoric uses in reference to the sample (1) use of *chained to* metaphor present in

(6)

(9)

N Concordance	Set Tag	Word #	t. #	os. a. #	os. d. #	os. t. #	os.	File	%
145		It was dark in there. She rode up and chained her bicycle to tall railings. She	373	073 485	8% 0 9%	0 9%	longman2.crp	40%	
146		days in a row. Locked up and chained down, his hands shook so bad	430	278 530	8% 0 2%	0 2%	longman1.crp	66%	
147		all time.' 'I think I will muzzle him and chain him all right if you will give me your	405	225 506	7% 0 5%	0 5%	longman1.crp	46%	
148		with the usual chinar leaves, loops, and chains . "Her nephew," he says. The	485	049 913	0% 0 4%	0 4%	longman2.crp	71%	
149		with a dripping cat's cradle of ropes and chains . With its masts gone elsewhere,	614	587 084	0% 0 8%	0 8%	longman1.crp	50%	
150		and counting tools, in guarding and chaining and releasing the workmen, that	894	905 585	8% 0 2%	0 2%	longman1.crp	76%	
151		with colourful stripes on their pants and chain-mail on their shoulders and the	664	298 149	8% 0 2%	0 2%	longman1.crp	71%	

The extended context in (9a) below reveals additional properties of the metaphorical *chained to*:

(9a) Feminine women chained to men in our society are in this situation. They are formed to be artificially different and fascinating to men and end by being merely different, isolated in the house of a bored and antagonistic being.

7. Rule of Nazi analogies

A particularly interesting type of marking is one instance of conventional metaphor and simile which was defined by Godwin (1995) and gained the name of *Godwin's law* (also known as *Godwin's Rule of Nazi Analogies* or *Godwin's Law of Nazi Analogies*), which states that when a discussion is progressing the probability of a comparison involving Nazi Germany increases. In online discourse studied here the point of reference is invariably extended from Nazi and Hitler to other outside world events and individuals such as Bin-Laden, USA or other tokens of imperialism, etc., which are also part of Godwin's discourse effect, provided they refer to (subjectively negatively evaluated) threat- and fear-inducing stereotypical entities such as *imperialism* and *capitalism* below:

(10) I'm also sure that he is also a fascist imperialist capitalist although i have no information i cant be bothered researching in detail it is only my intuition

19 769 867 54% 0 96%

Emotion Events are variously constructed. The *threat/fear* emotion clusters represented in (4) as the conventional metaphorical *Titanic* (3) or *vulture* (4), which are manifested in the lexical and syntactic EES patterning referred to, are more elaborated on in the quoted utterance, hence subject to more complex implications than the relatively simple and less sophisticated *he is a ---* construction presented in (10) above. The latter is less compact, has a sequential structure, and can be considered a less powerful rhetorical instrument in the interaction. Yet, in both cases the linguistic use uncovers a facet of the user's *self* by exposing their emotionality expressed by well-defined verbal means.

8. Emotions and Identity

Emotions and emotion disclosure are intrinsically connected with the manifestation of an individual's personal identity as well as other (fragmented) identities, relating to their social, political, corporate, as well as gender stance. The message tone and stylistic variants are characteristics involving emotions, emotional arousal and valence. Herring (1993, 2003) found the majority of apologetic, appreciative and thanking speech acts in academic female communication online, accompanied by more frequent expression of upset and worry. Joy and happiness (laughter and smiling) are also more frequently expressed by females than males in Internet Relay Chat rooms as opposed to more authoritarian tone, aggression, negativity and vulgarisms as used by males. In this sense it is such turns, not only those of the conciliating tone as proposed by Herring, but also the negatively charged ones which make emotional contribution to the discussion. In the samples examined in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (submitted 2013) it is both direct statements identifying any of these attributes by the user and also indirectly conveyed meanings and allusions, sometimes the user's profile, his/her commenting history or internet friends who support his/her ideas and verbalize their own, that are diagnostic in attributing the identity type to the user.

Mixed feelings (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2012a), alluded to before, are ambivalent attitudes in situations when people entertain simultaneous, even conflicting, beliefs and convictions or see some matters from two opposite points of view. In such cases the valence is both positive - usually towards certain aspects of the issue - and negative towards some others. No persuasive strategies however are explicit in our present data and no amplification effects which would prioritize one sets of beliefs over the other was observed. Interestingly, the same type of observation refers to the majority of comments analysed in other data by the present author, in which users

remain stable in their political and social convictions (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2012; submitted 2013). Additionally, conforming to what Chingching Chang (2012:333) proposes, persuasion effects in the samples analysed in the present paper emerge only in the cases when the quality of the message is considered to be high by the interactants (in other words, reasonable and rational or intellectually stimulating). On the other hand what is observed in the present discussion is a strong critical attitude towards the present political scene, although a more extensive analysis of a number of particular contributions can reveal deeper sources of external negativity, rooted in the non-satisfying personal life, job- or position-related failure, in other words, internalized causes of really experienced or perceived injustice. An aspect of such attitude can be identified in (11) below.

(11)

I criticise manchester united and real madrid all the time...i have incredible insight into exactly how shit each and every player is...and especially the managers. but i don't play for the clubs, cos at the end of the day, im just not good enough.

Well, britain is the cobblers. Although they have a lot of faults and foreign players causing problems, the EU is manchester united.

Right now, they may have been caught out to 1-1 in the fa 3rd round, but you know who's gonna win in the end, cos the cobblers are shit.

And the UK in europe? a bunch of whinging plumbers would be politicians who instead of getting in there and playing a decent game, will just drag the game down into a historical who invented football and beat up the ref game. So no britain no cry.

Italy will have to shape up its act though.

The idea of *disclosing oneself* in the context of online communication is certainly worth further researching. It is interesting to note that a large proportion of the commentators use the forum to disclose intimate details from their lives and life experiences⁷. Our data from some internet encounters (also sample 3 in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk submitted 2013) confirm this observation. However, in the case of sample (1) analysed in the present paper, which started as a response to a

⁷ Susan Waters & James Ackerman (2011) point that e.g. Facebook users use it more for disclosing to distant friends rather than to close friends, which is divergent from most disclosure research that equates disclosure with intimacy. The phenomenon of a relative disclosure is also observed with reference to some topics rather than others (viz. comments on sex-change as opposed to comments on Noam Chomsky's political opinions in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk submitted 2013).

political programme, individual experiences are invoked and emotions manifested primarily with respect to the unambiguously outer facet of the personal self.

9. Types of online communication encounters

Different CMC communication *types* are not structured in the same way. For instance, a number of social networking sites will have a question-answer(s) discourse structure (e.g. sites focussing on medical queries), in which both emotion patterning, politeness rules, and other discourse properties, are distinct from those in other types of CMC interactions. There are three main online communication types identified in the comments parts of CMC *proposed* in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (submitted 2013). They are

1. *Ping-pong* communication, which underlies an interaction confrontational profile, targeted towards two polar judgments and positions.
2. *Snowball* communication, which has a fully determined and uniform communicative profile, mainly of uniform polarity (unambiguously pro or, more frequently, against, supporting or opposing a given issue) with a clearly defined ultimate objective and an external opponent, not infrequently leading to spectacular success in real life (e.g. 38 degree movement in UK).
3. *String balloons* communication, which presents a looser interactional structure often around issues of social and moral values, weakly polarized and representing sets of interactional, often digressive, moves around a controversial theme.

The data analysed in the present paper are structured mainly according to the ping-pong type, with strongly prevailing negativity components, although elements of the snowball effect can also be identified, particularly with regard to sample 1, with a higher number of emotional expressions, higher on the negativity arousal measure than that in sample 2. It may be premature today to pass judgement about a possible effect of a referendum planned for the year 2015, but what can be conjectured at present is precisely the emotion patterning type that is likely to develop dynamically in the future.

10. Quantitative analysis of the data

What will be presented in the present section are the results of the quantitative measures with reference to linguistic emotion-related signals in the analysed contributions. The data collected from the respective websites, was converted to text format and quantitatively analysed by means of the relevant concordancing and other WordSmith instruments.

10.1. Visualisation

Parts of the quantitative representation of the Interconnectivity Value (IV), proposed and discussed in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (2012), is presented below for sample (1) and confronted with some quantitative properties of sample (2). IV is understood as a number and type of individual users' and user groups' interconnections with other participants of a given discussion. Partial visualization of the results for sample (1) is presented (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2) in terms of undirected graphs (*Gephi* software freely available online), understood as a collection of *vertices/nodes*, which signify individual users, and a collection of *edges* that connect pairs of vertices, which represent the interconnectivity relations among them. The number of edges and the length of the lines represent the number of (inter)connective comments of a given user.

Fig. 1 below represents the interconnections identified and generated for sample (1). The centre of the Interconnectivity is H el ene Mulholland, a political reporter at the Guardian and the author of Text 1. Fig. (2). Fig. (2) presents a magnified picture of a smaller subthread in the same sample.

10.2. Statistics

Sample 1: BORIS JOHNSON 3123 type-words, 45 081 token-words, 328 comments, 180 Facebook shares, 85 tweets, 10 g+, 0 email; average length of one comment 137 tokens (see Appendix 1)

(1) Sample 2: DAVID CAMERON: 1226 type-words, 5235 token-words, 85 comments, 47 Facebook shares, 20 tweets, 10 g+, 6 email, average length of one comment 62 tokens

The keywords tables below present the keyword items (2.) of the basic text in sample (1) and in the relevant comments (3.). While in the text no negative keywords are identified, in the comments, the first evaluative terms which surface are negative evaluation emotional vocabulary (in bold).

N	Key word	Freq.	%	RC.	Freq.	RC. %	Keyness P ⁹
1	EU	14	1,55	7		244,94	0,0000000000
3	JOHNSON	11	1,22	396		112,33	0,0000000000
4	EUROZONE	5	0,55	0		96,98	0,0000000000
5	RELATIONSHIP	13	1,44	1 921	0,01	96,51	0,0000000000
6	REFERENDUM	5	0,55	66		60,81	0,0000000000
7	RENEGOTIATED	3	0,33	2		51,45	0,0000000000
8	BRITAIN	8	0,88	1 960	0,01	51,37	0,0000000000
9	UK	7	0,77	1 097		51,11	0,0000000000
10	MARKET	8	0,88	2 306	0,02	48,82	0,0000000000
11	SINGLE	8	0,88	2 457	0,02	47,83	0,0000000000
12	CAMERON	3	0,33	23		39,58	0,0000000000
13	BORIS	3	0,33	24		39,34	0,0000000000
14	UNION	6	0,66	1 891	0,01	35,55	0,0000000002
15	STAYING	4	0,44	345		33,91	0,0000000028
16	NARROWLY	3	0,33	102		30,95	0,0000000236
17	EUROPE	5	0,55	1 488	0,01	30,18	0,0000000364
18	FISCAL	3	0,33	186		27,39	0,0000001633
19	MAYOR	3	0,33	265		25,29	0,0000004902

⁸ The tables of keywords below are generated taking as a reference a 25million-unit Longman/Microconcord corpus of modern English. The items of structural relevance only are not included in the lists. Presented in bold font are the words with unambiguously negative evaluative charge.

⁹ p value, Default=0.000001)

The **p** value is that used in standard chi-square and other statistical tests. This value ranges from 0 to 1. A value of .01 suggests a 1% danger of being wrong in claiming a relationship, .05 would give a 5% danger of error. In the social sciences a 5% risk is usually considered acceptable.

Table 3. Keywords for Text and Comments (sample 1)						
N°	Key word	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness P
9	EU	294	0,65	7	3 339,04	0,0000000000
11	RECOMMEND	298	0,66	127	2 934,24	0,0000000000
13	BORIS	139	0,31	24	1 473,52	0,0000000000
14	UK	194	0,43	1 097	1 160,79	0,0000000000
15	REFERENDUM	79	0,18	66	715,26	0,0000000000
16	EURO	54	0,12	26	524,48	0,0000000000
17	UKIP	45	0,10	0	521,00	0,0000000000
18	EUROPE	98	0,22	1 488	0,01 408,37	0,0000000000
19	BRITS	35	0,08	6	371,11	0,0000000000
20	VOTE	72	0,16	785	344,02	0,0000000000
22	TORY	48	0,11	328	270,55	0,0000000000
23	NORWAY	30	0,07	54	238,16	0,0000000000
25	CAMERON	24	0,05	23	212,86	0,0000000000
26	JOHNSON	40	0,09	396	198,22	0,0000000000
27	TORIES	30	0,07	127	194,94	0,0000000000
29	EUROPEAN	52	0,12	1 269	171,47	0,0000000000
34	RE-NEGOTIATE	14	0,03	0	162,08	0,0000000000
35	BJ	14	0,03	1	154,74	0,0000000000
36	MEMBERSHIP	29	0,06	296	142,07	0,0000000000
37	COUNTRIES	52	0,12	1 767	0,01 140,68	0,0000000000
41	CURRENCY	25	0,06	199	133,92	0,0000000000
45	BRITAIN	49	0,11	1 960	0,01 118,60	0,0000000000
46	GREECE	23	0,05	207	118,01	0,0000000000
53	RENEGOTIATING	9	0,02	0	104,19	0,0000000000
55	SCOTLAND	25	0,06	448	96,52	0,0000000000
58	BRUSSELS	16	0,04	99	93,06	0,0000000000
71	EC	15	0,03	128	78,43	0,0000000000
72	SPAIN	22	0,05	464	78,37	0,0000000000
73	POPULIST	11	0,02	34	77,50	0,0000000000
100	DEMOCRACY	25	0,06	836	68,33	0,0000000000
101	VOTING	15	0,03	196	66,64	0,0000000000
103	INTEGRATION	17	0,04	300	66,11	0,0000000000
104	GERMANS	21	0,05	565	65,54	0,0000000000
107	HABA	6	0,01	2	60,48	0,0000000000
109	INCOMPETENCE	9	0,02	34	60,28	0,0000000000
111	EUROPEANS	12	0,03	119	59,42	0,0000000000
112	MAYOR	15	0,03	265	58,30	0,0000000000
114	EUROZONE	5	0,01	0	57,88	0,0000000000
117	TRADE	32	0,07	1 845	0,01 57,75	0,0000000000
120	MISINFORMATION	7	0,02	11	57,05	0,0000000000
122	DICTATORSHIPS	6	0,01	4	56,03	0,0000000000
124	MURDOCH	9	0,02	48	54,76	0,0000000000
125	FUNDING	13	0,03	193	54,69	0,0000000000
128	FUCK	12	0,03	156	53,42	0,0000000000

The absolute incidence of explicit *no* (also other neg- utterances not displayed here) is much higher in Sample (1) - 115 (Table 4, Table 5) than in Sample (2) - 18. Even considering the differences in the number of tokens in both texts, characteristic is the functional role of *no* as absolute negation targeted towards desired commodities in sample (1) Table 4., and its much more mediating discursive function in sample (2), Table 5. :

Table 4. *no* utterances (Sample 1)

N Concordance	Set Tag	Word #	t. #	os. a. #	os. d. #	os. t. #	os.
1 the UK with 8 million on the dole, no future for the average working person		32 649	179	7%	0 2%	0 2%	
2 under them. Limited dole payments, no public housing. And funnily enough,		32 676	180	1%	0 2%	0 2%	
3 families losing everything and with no options, it is really taking its toll, both		32 818	184	0%	0 2%	0 2%	
4 chained to the rotting PIGS doe sus no good. The future is in the Far East		32 422	170	1%	0 1%	0 1%	

Table 5. *no* utterances in Sample (2)

N Concordance	Set Tag	Word #	t. #	os. a. #	os. d. #	os. t. #	os.
1 let Britain exit in no time if it would be no vote. Germany would think "That's a		3 847	217	4%	0 6%	0 6%	
2 "That's a bummer. But hey, they were no good for solving the Euro issue		3 859	219	6%	0 6%	0 6%	
3 Fans 01:07 PM on 01/23/2013 There is no doubt Britain would survive outside		2 591	158	0%	0 1%	0 1%	
4 In Europe they would let Britain exit in no time if it would be a no vote. Germany		3 840	217	6%	0 6%	0 6%	

As mentioned in the introductory section above, both the samples display in fact personalized attacks against the conservative Tory Mayor of London (example 12, sample 1, example 12) and UK Prime Minister, representing the same party (sample 2, example 13). The growing *snow-ball emotionality* pattern is represented by the qualitative and quantitative linguistic properties of the utterances particularly in the discourse of comments in sample (1). The utterances reveal both pro- and anti- UK UE membership, nevertheless the strong negativity element is present in both.

(12) Boris Johnson, the new ass-clown mayor of Mumbai. Why don't you shut that ugly girning hole in your face that passes for a mouth and stop spouting shit, chappati boy?

(13) It's the same with Cameron - he'd rather talk about the Eurozone than his own crazy policies - see also Blair acting as the world's police-poodle. Why can't they just do the job for which they receive a salary

10.3. Direct and indirect negativity markers (sample 1)

The negativity component is much more strongly represented in sample (1). Comments representing negative categories in both samples are given below.

10.3.1. Negative lexis and phraseology (italicized)

(14) Sample (1)

- (i) I'm *sick of* hearing or seeing him - always *pontificating*.
- (ii) He's the Mayor of London *not the Lord Mayor of the City* of London.
- (iii) He was (*stupidly*) voted in by the people of London *not the square mile*.
- (iv) His priorities should be improving the tube and transport network. Its a *scandal* that we pay the most for the worst service. Each year it gets *more expensive* but the service *never improves*.
- (v) He has *no vision*. Visionaries are in Paris and Berlin.
- (vi) A sentence that encapsulates the *infantilism* and *stone cold ignorance* of many British politicians, particularly those *Oxbridge un-educated*.

The negative emotions are often used in (blended) clusters of identical prosody, both in order to emphasize the negativity of the opinion and equally frequently for the lack of one, more focused linguistic concept or form in which to epitomize the frustration and disappointment, a list of related emotionally charged words and phrases is used instead:

14 (vii) a bit of humble pie...but the day to day, year to year, (generation to..) with normal families losing everything and with no options

The discourse extracts above exemplify frequent generalizations, often unaccounted for, and radically negative opinions, targeted towards UK politicians and large sectors of British political elite (14(vi) and 15).

(15) Sample (1)

Of course *i am just a laymen [corporal] with no great education like all you guardian readers ha ha!!!*

10.3.2. Capitalization

Capitalization in the samples represents a typical emphasizing function:

(16) Sample (1)

Then, the idea that the rest of the EU, even under BLACKMAIL, which is now the policy of last resort of these toffs, will agree to give the UK any and all remaining opt-outs from every EU policy except membership of the single market while still nominally remaining INSIDE the EU, i.e. with a say in EU legislation, is a total fantasy that only these mentally under aged ignoramuses can entertain.

10.3.3. Sample (2) negativity markers

Sample (2) displays less emotional language and less negativity. The reasons may be clearer when confronted with two observations. Firstly, networks of commentators in different online discussions are rarely identical. Secondly, the fact is that the information on the planned referendum on UK UE membership *lost its novelty character* may cause less interest and consequently arouses less *emotion* for the time being.

The characteristic use of positive politeness strategies in sample (2) comments, interrogative rather than exclamatory syntax, negative vocabulary of a much weaker calibre, are the essential linguistic properties of what can be considered a much less emotional discourse than in sample (1). Moreover, the ping-pong exhibits a much less confrontational character with respect to the interlocutor than any of the similar ones in sample (1), as exemplified in the example below:

(17) Sample (2)

- Every single country in the EU needs a referendum; the people had no say, their governments joined in whether the people wanted it or not. Cameron's motive may be political but a good one anyway.

- Sorry, but clearly no. Where does this unflinching believe into the wisdom of referendums come from? I really feel the idea of "referendum" is almost exclusively brought up by those who realize their position on a single question has no representative majority. WIYO [viz. What's In Your Opinion] wrong with parliamentarism?

- Yes, referendums CAN, when rightly and honestly applied, be a valid procedure to decide questions. BUT - as even Switzerland, who are the most seasoned European people when it comes to referendum and the decision about Mosques shows - people can be manipulated to choose emotionally, not rationally. Even with a historical perspective, referendums are to be seen with skepticism. The historical

experience of Germany is exactly the reason why the constitution does not allow a referendum on all but one things.

- Besides, there are (fringe) parties almost everywhere promising similar things as PM Cameron. There are such parties in Germany. They just stay below 1% of votes. When the Euro was about to be introduced, a group of conservatives defected from the CDU (with lots of tv coverage) and formed a party which had one single goal: Not to join the Euro. They failed to get even a single seat in parliament.

- The same applies to parliamentarism. Politicians sometimes promise a lot and do a u-turn right after elections, saying they had to compromise.

-While that CAN be a valid reason, it can also simply be cheating on your electorate.

The users' less engaged interactional activity patterns in sample (2) involve a lower frequency of negative evaluating lexis than in sample (1), where what is observed are numerous evaluative *metalinguistic comments* on the current interactants' linguistic, writing, spelling skills (18). Some of the remarks instigate a series of hectic mutual attacks and grow into a more and more personalized ping-pong type of negation and accusations.

(18) sample (1)

(i) You accuse him of weak arguments yet your arguments are fallacious non-sequiturs. What has this to do with xenophobes? You don't get it.

(ii) sample (1)

A: - I would take this more seriously if the writer knew the difference between it's and its.

B: - Excellent comment it really shows you up. You don't care about the policies so long as they

A: -It's hard to believe a comment like this has 76 recommends. A sad reflection of the pedantry of CIF these days.

C: A person's spelling ability is positively correlated with their intelligence and level of education. The exceptions are when people are non-native users of a language or have specific learning disabilities (such as low level autism/dyslexia). How many professors of economics can't apply basic spelling rules such as using apostrophes correctly?

B: of course, the chief risk of pedantry is that you will be hoist on your own petard, such as when I wrote 'the are exceptions are' above, but in such circumstances it's useful to point out that I am dyslexic and do not claim to be either well educated or intelligent.

A: - I bet you're the life and soul of the party.

For anyone who thinks I don't also have a view on the wit and wisdom of BJ, here it is from another blog: BJ says what Murdoch wants him to say. Anyone fed up with Murdoch running British politics - whether or not they are enthusiastic about the EU, the Euro, etc - should vote with their feet.

To those who think wishing people could at least try to write correct English is boring undemocratic pedantry, let me say this: if you can't do it, you risk not getting a fair hearing. Of course, as peterthomson49 and others stress, the real agenda of people like BJ is to drop out of the social chapter, spend less and less on education and culture, and fall further and further behind countries like Germany in giving people the kind of solid education that might make 'it's' for 'its' less prevalent.

D: - I balme the new nested comments.

C: - Since when was the correct use of apostrophes considered to be a spelling rule? Idiot.

Infrequently observed in the exchanges are instances of genuinely creative metaphoric and other figurative language, although a number of users, with high metalinguistic awareness, applies the strategy of verbal games, word play (e.g., 'The *Clown Prince* in waiting'), and inter-variety linguistic borrowing, marked by the distancing phraseology, quotation marks, etc., (e.g., 'with all Farage, Cameron and Johnson "nombriestic" postures').

11. Conclusions: Emotion, language and communication dynamics

The negative emotionality patterns as identified in the two corpora of the internet international commenting discourses are found to play a crucial role in building and strengthening internet group identities in the cases investigated in the present paper. They lead to the following observation. The first text stimulates more interest than the second one in terms of the number of comments and their dissemination in the social networks, which also correlates with a longer and higher degree of the commentators' emotional arousal, calculated in terms of the Overall Interconnectivity Values (see Appendix for the frequency sample) with reference to the qualitative and

quantitative analyses of the respective negativity uses. The ping-pong communication pattern, clearly visible in both samples, is strongly intertwined with the snow-ball cascade type of communication, more likely to bring about desired social effects, particularly visible in sample 1.

The negative emotions are created and experienced in individuals, transmitted, and spread in relatively clearly identified two groups of users, more salient in sample 1, and the respective linguistic and discourse markers evident there, i.e. a higher number of negatively charged lexical items, more frequent metaphoric uses, a higher numerical Interconnectivity Value, i.e. more interactionally salient, and simultaneously lower on the politeness strategic axis, are the characteristic properties of such emotionally-charged discourse patterns.

The new methodological approach to emotion studies presented here, which combines a qualitative cognitive linguistic analysis of online discourse with the quantitative linguistic corpus data generated by the computational tools, shows certain advantages when contrasted with more constrained homogenous methodology of either questionnaire-based or else clearly narrow linguistic analytic approaches.

The discussion in the present materials revolves around essential national issues, although at face value, it is basically targeted towards the Tory government and its chief representatives. Its clearly British nation-centred character is visible in the incessant highly emotional references to the current political and social divisions - divisions between the EU/non-EU, the Euro/non-Euro countries, 'the Europhile Guardian and its readers' and the others - having 'rational arguments', the negotiate/re-negotiate/non-negotiate dilemmas, failing and blaming others (like say the 'banking hordes') for one's own failure in the spirit of the 'whingeing Pom' sentiment, or calling for the debate 'to rise above the DailyMail/Tory level of nonsense' and for the politicians - to stop acting in the Blair-like 'the world's police-poodle' fashion, all of which are used with regard to the interactants' worry about the role of their country in the contemporary Europe. Scarce jokes, numerous sarcastic comments, few instances of word play, infrequent creative metaphors, seven 'yes' statements, which do not mark confirmation but an alternative rather, evidence a fairly serious tone of the debate within the divided communities of the internet users, who care about their country.

More, or 'new' internet-based democracy is clearly observed in the debate but so is a certain reproduction of 'banal nationalism' (Billig 1995, Postill 2011, Soffer 2013), which, although on a mass-scale emotion-laden ping-pong exchange, seemingly

embedded in the local, narrow, problems, aims in fact at the (inter-)national, cascade or snow-ball effect-bringing targets.

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Appendix 1:

Comment frequency Interconnectivity Value parameter for most active commentators - a subthread in Sample 1. Fig. 2 (see section 10.2. for detailed statistics)

		Freq.
1	TOTALLYMAD	24
2	GREENREVOLUTION	19
3	DUMPLINGS	16
4	CAVEBEAR	15
5	MAYTHEFARCEBEWITHTYOU	14
6	COPERNICUSPHOENIX	14
7	OPIUMEATER	14
8	FERLINGHETTI	14
9	ROBI	14
10	BLEEPER	11
11	MADMONTY	9
12	NIKOSTHENES	9
13	NERVOUSEENERGY	8
14	GOVE	8
15	CURIOUSALTRUISTIC	8
16	POCCLONDON	8
17	ITSFRED	8
18	UNDYINGCINCINNATUS	8
19	JOEWATERS	7
20	DONBAK	7
21	MASTERBOUFFON	6
22	LARRYJRAY	6
23	JOEBSTAR	6
24	OPENSEAS	6
25	TROLLINGSTONE	6
26	BUDANEVEY	6
27	SCHADENFRAUDE	6
28	PUZZLEDMONKEY	6
29	SHITHOLE	6
30	BURNLEYFC	6
31	RABBLE-ROUSING	6
32	CRILIE	5
33	BULLINGDON	5

New connectivity between audience and mass media: An empirical analysis of interactivity in the Spanish digital press.

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Abstract

Digital journalism is acquiring a certain degree of maturity in the use of interactivity, multimedia and hypertext, although their use is relatively new. In this article we present the results of an empirical study in which the use of various aspects of interactivity is analysed. The study, which attempts to compare the leading Spanish and Catalan digital journals (which have paper versions), analyses four digital newspapers: *El País*, *El Mundo*, *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico de Catalunya*. We analyse the number and percentage of news items with interactivity and with interactivity in forums; the number and percentage of total comments in forums per day and per news piece; the number and percentage of online interviews per day; and we carry out a comparison of this data with hypertext and multimedia insertions. After the quantitative part of the research, we analyse the technological interactive needs in the digital journals, in addition to the new relationships between the journalist (and newspaper) and the reader, from qualitative point of view. This new alignment of the relation between the journalist and reader may bring about an emotional dimension—through greater empathy, service orientation, connecting with others, organizational awareness, collaboration—to this synergy. We examine whether these steps towards greater interaction (through comments and online interviews) could be extended to social media or social commerce environment, with the aim of guaranteeing the survival and the profitability of digital newspapers.

Keywords: Digital journalism, interactivity, comments, online interview, forum.

1. Interactivity: the central concept of digital journalism

Interactivity is an essential characteristic of digital press, since it allows for closer engagement with the reader. In fact, the functional role played by interactivity can be equated with that of social networks, since the aim is to personalize the users' experience through a new form of QoE (Quality of Experience), which is more genuine and garners greater reader loyalty than the classic QoS (Quality of Service), which has its origins in technology and has been transferred to other business sectors.

Interactivity is seen as central to establishing such close contact with the user. It has been promoted by the European Union¹ and has been defined by a recently developed theoretical framework (Díaz Noci, 2004) that classifies it according to type (inclusive or authorial)², structure (random, fixed, relational, contributory)³, the level of dialogue (symmetric or asymmetric)⁴, temporality (synchronous or asynchronous)⁵, procedure (in the form of dialogue or personalized) and intervention on the part of the news organization (with or without moderation).

The analysis of interactivity in digital journalism is growing due to its importance in the approach taken to produce content. In an empirical study in Catalonia and Spain, comments were seen as the main promoters of participation in digital format newspapers (Fondevila Gascón, 2009a). A comparison of the contents of digital and paper versions in Slovenia revealed gaps in the use of interactivity between the two formats (Oblak, 2005). In Colombia, the public's participation is increasing due to the relationship that is developing between the user and the news outlets through social networks (Castellanos, 2011). Participation has an even more critical role in mobile journalism, where dynamic mobility and connectivity are greater, and the rapid feedback and interaction appear more natural (Díaz and Marrero, 2011). In the case of Mexico, the interactive elements most used between the journalists and readers—as well as those between the news outlet and readers—have been analysed in order to

¹ Content, especially interactive content, forms the core of the *Council Resolution of 19 December 2002, on the contents of interactive media in Europe*. Official Journal C 13, 18-1-2003. In fact, the European Union has always shown constant sensitivity in this respect.

² In inclusive interaction, the reader participates in gathering news content, whereas in authorial interaction, readers are able to participate but take no part in content production.

³ In random structure, the reader does not know the destination of links, since they contain components that take the reader by surprise; in the fixed structure, only the author can modify content via substitutions; in the relational structure, the author edits the content, which reflects the information provided by the reader; in the contributory structure, the author allows the reader to contribute to the content though, for example, forums.

⁴ Symmetrical interactivity is the interactive communication between the author and the reader, or multiple authors with multiple readers; asymmetric interactivity involves just one author and many readers, or vice versa.

⁵ In synchronous temporality, interactivity takes place simultaneously (in the form of online chats or interviews); in asynchronous temporality, interactivity has a more longitudinal character to it, taking place at different times (for example, questions in forums are answered later).

determine the deficiencies in this added-value service and explore options for expanding the use of these new journalistic formats (Lerma, 2009).

However, in an analysis of newspapers in Latin American (Bachmann and Harlow, 2012), the inclusion of interactive webpage elements offers readers limited access to articles and few newspapers there allow readers to report errors, send their own content, or contact the reporters or editors.

The use of interactive tools, for example in online magazines, is conservative in nature. The staid, one-way tradition of the paper versions, and the need for broadband Internet still pose a challenge for interactivity (Goldenberg, 2005). The use of interactivity generates innovative content (Garrand, 2006) in which sound analysis (Cancellaro, 2006) and interactive music media (Ng and Nesi, 2008) play a part.

Intervention by the news outlet is fundamental in the comments on forums and usually takes the form of moderation, with the aim of maintaining the journalistic rigour of the media outlet and avoiding any conflict with regard to the limits of freedom of expression. Some readers prefer posts to be edited, thereby becoming more informative (Light and Rogers, 1999). The moderator is seen as the guarantor for the reader. Even voting, whereby readers vote on other readers comment, is allowed.

Forum comments are one phenomenon generating the greatest changes and newest practices seen in new digital media. For example, a group of online newspapers in the United States started charging readers to make comments on news content in 2010. Readers of the digital version of the *Sun Chronicle* group of newspapers (*TheSunChronicle.com*, *TheFoxboroReporter.com* and *TheSilverCityBulletin.com*) had to make a one-off, lifetime credit card payment of 99 cents. These papers temporarily suspended comments on news stories to ensure that readers used real names and not monikers. In Spain, *Libertad Digital* was the first online paper to make users pay to comment on news items; readers had to send an SMS costing 30 centimes plus tax to sign up⁶.

The producer and distributor of information generates both interactive (in the form of teletext, audiotext, VOD) and consultative (in the form of www, CD-ROM, FTP) traffic (Bordewijk and Van Kaam, 1986). Four dimensions or levels of interaction have been proposed:

- Transmission: unidirectional. Interactivity is basic and allows the viewer simply to switch on and off a broadcast (as is the case in TV).
- Consultation: bidirectional. The user chooses from various options (e.g. teletext).

⁶ The reason for this was not some much to authenticate the readers as to prevent those who, when it was free, would persistently register and try to maliciously exhaust our resources (<http://www.libertaddigital.com/soporte/hdesk.php?action=view&id=127>).

- Conversational: bidirectional and multidirectional. The user is both the sender and receiver of messages (as in emails, forums or chat rooms).
- Moderation: the media outlet monitors the users' information, which may be modified—in both format and content—as a consequence. The format is personalised (commercial web pages, pay-per-view digital newspapers).

Aspects that effect interactivity include lack of time, busy connections, spam or the extremism of certain readers⁷. An analysis of one hundred online newspapers in the United States revealed that there was room for improvement (Schultz, 1999), although the level of interactivity becomes increasingly satisfactory if we go by the results of four Spanish pure player news organizations (*Libertad Digital* and *El Plural*, in Spanish, and *Vilaweb* and *e-Notícies*, in Catalan) (Fondevila, 2009b).

Interaction via mobile devices (mobile journalism) may boost interactivity: The combination of mobility, multiservice platforms and better quality communications and interactivity may lead to a scenario with enormous potential for social commerce.

One feature that could foster interactivity is hypertext (Díaz Noci and Salaverría, 2003; Salaverría, 2005). The disruption of the unidirectional and unilinear nature of the traditional formats gives digital media options to enhance the semantics of content, something that would have previously been unthinkable.

The ability to infinitely connect and supply contents that delve deeper into a particular subject matter opens up new avenues in business analysis (Fondevila, 2010a). One approach to generating income is through the number of visitors to a particular online news website and the numbers of clicks made once there. Strategies for social media and social commerce, such as search engine marketing, search engine optimization and social media marketing, can be devised from the data generated. These long-term strategies tend to monetize content via visits, clicks and conversions and, ultimately, hope to create a community of readers who make some form of purchase. The aim of these e-commerce strategies is monetization, in other words, that the reader clicks through to an advertisement (Google Adwords, Google Adsense) and that the end result is a purchase.

In this scenario—where monetization is essential in order to establish sustainable business models—media companies strive to keep readers. Hypertext that is too exogenous, that is, one that takes traffic to other webpages, runs the risk of

⁷ Other variables studied included the possibility of choosing, the effort required to access information, the level of feedback from the media outlet, the monitoring the use of system, the ease of adding information, the potential for communication between readers, participation by the journalist in the forum, the sophistication of surveys and the possibility of sending emails.

losing readers (clients), and even more so if these webpages belong to competitors. Indeed, various empirical studies carried out on internal links (links that direct the reader to the same media company or publishing group) and external links (ones which lead to webpages not associated with the media company) by the Research Group on Digital Journalism and Broadband demonstrated a clear tendency toward endogamy and a somewhat semantically superficial use of hypertext (Fondevila, 2010b, 2011; Fondevila and Segura, 2012a, 2012b). Furthermore, links are usually found in news reports and analyses rather than opinion sections (Fondevila, 2009a).

Traditionally, there are three types of link—contextual, relational and recommended (Fondevila, 2011). However, in this study, we can add a further: the scientific. These could be considered the most in-depth, since they direct readers to content that covers the subject matter more extensively or promote a greater level of participation by virtue of the contents' high quality.

- Contextual links are those associated with the more traditional six Ws (what, who, when, where, how and why) approach of news reporting. Such content appears either in the lead or the teaser of the online version, imitating, thus, the traditional press.

It is usual to find links to further pages relating to the news item's protagonist, or other related articles written by the same news outlet. A similar process occurs with organizations, political parties or businesses that attract some of the standard 6W questions previously mentioned. The insertion of links to unknown parties is also common practise: If an article contains statistical data or analyses of a large number of entities, businesses or media companies, links to these entities are usually included, allowing the reader easy access to relevant information. Of course, the reader can do the search for him/herself using Google. However, the inclusion of a contextual link saves time. Such an easily incorporated link is attractive in digital journalism, and is seen as a boon in an industry which is frequently short of time. Hence the popularity of these types of links rather than those which are more difficult to incorporate.

- Relational links refer to those questions that arise indirectly from the news content, rather than the more basic 6W questions mentioned above. Thus, such links take the reader though to content covering the build up to the story (irrespective of how far back in time this goes), possible causes or motives and other relevant information. The semantic depth of these links is greater than that of contextual links. Even so, they often fail to satisfy the readers' thirst for information.

- Recommended links are those that direct the reader to documents of greater intellectual interest and which confer a greater semantic value to the content. The inclusion of such a link requires investigation on the part of the content producer. The resources provided by a polysemantic Web help in this respect. A degree of imagination and a capacity for association of ideas are required in order to come up with such links. The specialization in a specific area by the content creator, and methodological tools to create in-depth content (for example, access to market analyses, statistical sources, reports, legislative texts and value-added content) help in this task. Future graduates and media professionals need to be indoctrinated in this respect, and encouraged not to accept the superficial or settle with the first phase of the hypertextual process but to go one step further, since the nature of recommended links can help to encourage participation.
- Continuing with the argument that this tendency toward a more in-depth hypertext will increase, we can add scientific links, which improve on recommended links. Thus, whereas the use of laws and quantitative data is standard practice for recommended links, scientific links take us to preeminent scientific methodology: indexed scientific journals (which are peer-reviewed and have earned credibility from the scientific community) and science blogs (created by research scientists and are scientifically credible). Quantitative and qualitative triangulation is a standard procedure in these types of studies. The inclusion of these types of links represents a challenge for digital journalism: The advanced semantics of scientific links can be viewed as a possible springboard for participation, which, ultimately, is the aim of digital media.

Despite the fact that it is easier to include basic links, building in recommended—and even scientific—links is not as onerous as it would seem. A good strategy on the part of the content creator—including a few minutes spent searching the Internet—would facilitate the inclusion of such links and encourage the reader to participate.

Regarding the trend towards monetization by the digital press, there are various options relating to these more in-depth links. Thus, cross media advertising is feasible if links to the leading companies of the sectors concerned are included in the news items. Used correctly, Google AdSense—which has a privileged ally in the form of the media—can also contribute related advertisements.

Other studies on links incorporated into news items, including those by Deuze (2003), a comparison of Europe and the United States by Quandt (2008), and studies

of Slovenia (Oblak, 2005), Scandinavia (Engebretsen, 2006) and Colombia (Castellanos, 2011), did not discuss the semantic nature of hypertext, which we consider as fundamental to the improvement of content quality (seen as the catalyst to incentivizing the reader to pay) as for encouraging procedures that include e-commerce, for which hypertext and social networks are primary (Ivars, 2012). The impact of hypertext on the various journalistic genres is most noticeable in blogs and newsletters (Fondevila, 2009a) and hypertext reporting (Larrondo, 2009).

A study of Catalan and Spanish online media revealed an endogamous use of links (Fondevila, 2010b); internal links predominated over external as much in online pure players as those outlets with a paper and digital version, with one exception (*Vilaweb*). A greater use of internal links is seen in media outlets with both paper and digital versions (92.08%) compared to the pure players (58.40%). The most likely cause of this is that the former belong to highly diversified multimedia companies with a larger number of associated news outlets. *Vilaweb* is the only pure player in which external links prevail. However, on average, the number of internal links in pure players is lower than that of, say, *elpais.com* and *avui.cat*. Pure players also use external links more than dual version papers. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that internal links predominate over external ones still stands. The amount of embedded hypertext varied and at times reached surprising levels. However, internal links always outnumbered external ones.

In the case of Slovenia, the analysis of hypertext—itsself undergoing maturation—is complex. Links to information in printed editions, other media formats (online radio or television), other public institutions and community websites can be found. Links to other media outlets predominate, ahead of printed editions and public institutions. There are no links that take the reader to community web pages, which may affect the basis of citizen journalism (Gillmor, 2004). Digital media is more often linked to sites with similar content, and again, internal links prevail. In digital versions, only one in five front pages has a link to another web page, and internal links prevail. In Colombia, online newspapers have limited options for micro and macro navigation.

Multimedia also encourages reader participation in digital journalism. Digital newspapers have a range of expressive mediums: text, photos, video, audio and computer graphics. Video, audio and graphics are the factors that differentiate paper and digital press. Exploring the use of audiovisual resources is one of the challenges facing digital media companies. Nevertheless, the use of such resources by digital newspapers is modest, to such an extent that the most used media resource is photography, following the practice of traditional newspapers (Fondevila, 2009a).

Although there is little scientific literature available, one such study by Bachmann and Harlow (2012) on incorporation of multimedia elements in Latin American newspapers observed that online newspapers continue to emulate their printed versions. Nevertheless, all sites analysed offered multimedia of some variety and most have accounts on social networks (Facebook and Twitter). In Colombia, it was noted that writing and photographs still represent the main form of communication of new media (Castellanos, 2011). However, this perpetuation of out-dated modes does not promote interactivity.

Multimedia is transforming journalistic genres, with the appearance of multimedia reporting (Marrero Santana, 2008) or multimedia news (McAdams, 2005). As multimedia practices are refined and new media professionals master these new tools, new genres (like in the movies and other contents) are likely to appear that revolve around a combination of expressive media. Such new genres will further encourage participation and news content gathering by the reader.

The definition of convergence and multimedia is analysed from a management perspective by Fisher (2005) and Frick (2008). Ethier and Ethier (2007) consider multimedia as a necessary feature while Killebrew (2002) views it as a predecessor of convergence. Heller and Womack (2008) discuss these issues from the perspective of the digital designer. A study of the presence of multimedia elements in large audience Spanish digital newspapers over a six-month period (from October 2009 to March 2010), including systems of search and retrieval of their contents, demonstrate an unequal presence of photography, video and graphics. This remained unchanged throughout the period of study, with no increase in multimedia elements seen during the period of study, or any significant change in the quality of multimedia search tools (Guallar, Rovira and Ruiz, 2010).

2. Methodology

The study followed a comparative quantitative and qualitative methodology. The digital newspapers <http://www.lavanguardia.es>, <http://www.elperiodico.com>, <http://www.elpais.com/> and <http://www.elmundo.es> were selected for study according the following three criteria:

1. Territorial, according to the audience reach (comparisons between Spain and Catalonia can be made, by comparing the two Catalan papers—<http://www.lavanguardia.es>, <http://www.elperiodico.com>—and the two Spanish ones—<http://www.elpais.com/> and <http://www.elmundo.es>).

2. Distribution and audience (of the four most-read papers at the time of study, November 2012).
3. Record as a media company (the four expanded into the digital version from the paper version, and are not, therefore, pure players).

Various parameters were evaluated using relational and descriptive statistical analysis, using data collated over consecutive days (n=28 per paper; total, n= 112).

The method involved observing front-page news (no blogs, opinion articles, etc., only news items), every day (Monday to Sunday) and at the same period (13:00 to 15:00) in order to avoid a substitution effect and to standardize the sample.

The data was gathered from various sources, since we are conceptualizing interactivity per se and with regard to hypertext and multimedia, and attempting to establish correlations in the use of these resources and even of the adverts inserted. Thus, the total number of links in a given unit of content was counted. Links were divided into internal (those that link through to the same media outlet or media group) and external (those that connect to other media outlets or media groups). Depending on the semantic level of the link, we counted the contextual links (directly related to the news and covering the 6Ws), the relational links (indirectly related to the news: previous items, similar items), recommended links (which take the reader through to additional articles about the incident covered in the news item; these links are more laborious, but semantically deeper, and relate to statistical information, legislation, amateur blogs) and scientific links (semantically the most in-depth, these link to scientific documentation related to the news item, such as scientific articles, scientific blogs). Regarding interactivity, we counted the number of online comments and interviews, in addition to embedded multimedia (text, photographs, video, audio and graphics). Advertisements—excluding those from the news outlet itself—appearing on the front page were also tallied.

The research hypotheses are:

- H1. The forum comments represent the interactive resource most used by the digital media in Spain.
- H2. Online interviews are rarely used as an interactive resource by the digital press in Spain.
- H3. Advertising in the digital press in Spain is moderate.
- H4. The number of links per unit of content in Spanish digital media is >1.

- H5. There are a greater number of internal links versus external ones in Spanish digital media.
- H6. Contextual and relational links form the largest group of links in Spanish digital media, ahead of recommended or scientific links.
- H7. Text and photographs prevail over video, audio and graphics as multimedia resources in Spanish digital media.
- H8. There is a correlation between the use of semantically deep hypertext and interactivity in Spanish digital media.

3. Results

The results obtained were evaluated using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) in order to identify statistically significant results with a 95% confidence level. As shown in Table 1, *La Vanguardia*, *El Mundo* and *El País* had similar averages of the number of news items on the front page, with 29.04, 31.00 and 30.68, respectively. These, however, were significantly lower than that of *El Periódico*, with an average of 39.32 (Table 1).

Analysis of forum comments revealed that *El País* had the highest average, with an average of 5,537 comments per day—significantly higher than the others. The paper with the lowest number of comments was *El Periódico*, with an average of 458 comments per day, despite being the paper with the largest volume of news. There are several possible interpretations regarding the number of comments, from a holistic use of hypertext, interactivity and multimedia, to the reader's predisposition, which is more or less loyal depending on the news outlet analysed. The use of interactivity is an essential feature of the digital press, allowing it to establish a close and immediate relation with the readers.

Regarding the number of online interviews, the figures are encouraging, and this is seen across the board. *El Periódico* stands out with a daily online interview; *El País* and *El Mundo* both have 0.36, and *La Vanguardia* 0.29. These high numbers reflect the clear commitment to interactivity and to bringing the reader closer to the journalist and the paper. It is a remarkable result, since it is much higher than previous results. The average of 0.50 interviews per day is an indication of the acceptance of the principles of virtual journalism in the newsrooms of the main Spanish digital newspapers.

Therefore, H1 is confirmed (forum comments represent the interactive resource most used by the digital media in Spain). However, H2 (online interviews are rarely

used as an interactive resource by the digital press in Spain) is not validated as a null hypothesis; indeed, the alternative hypothesis is indicated.

On the other hand, differences are seen between the papers regarding the number of advertisements per day: *El Mundo* has the most advertising on its front page, with an average of 13.14 ads, followed by *El Periódico* with 10.96, *El País* with 10.86 and *La Vanguardia* with 7.96. In relative terms (insertions based on the daily units of content), *El Mundo* maintains the lead with 0.42, followed by *El País* with 0.35, and *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia* with similar levels of 0.28 and 0.27, respectively. The average number of advertisements (10.73) and insertions per news item (0.33) is moderate. However, it should be borne in mind that the data was gathered within specific period of time, meaning that, if we considered the same steady amount of news over a 24 hour period on the homepage (although with a change of content), the figures for advertising would rise steeply. Therefore, H3 (advertising in the digital press in Spain is moderate) is confirmed, but with this caveat.

Table 1. Number of interactive elements and online interviews in Spanish digital press

	Total	<i>El Periódico</i>	<i>La Vanguardia</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	<i>El País</i>
Total	112	28 a	28 b	28 c	28 d
Number of front-page news items					
Average	32.51	39.32 bcd	29.04	31.00	30.68
N° comments					
Average	2,052.3	458	1,343.3 a	870.3	5,537.6 abc
Ratio	63.06	11.64	46.25	28.07	180.49
N° online interviews					
Average	0.50	1.00 bcd	0.29	0.36	0.36
Ratio	0.01	0.025	0.0	0.011	0.011
N° front-page advertisements					
Average	10.73	10.96 b	7.96	13.14 abc	10.86 b
Ratio	0.33	0.28	0.27	0.42	0.35

Letters indicate statistically significant differences at 95% confidence.

Ratio: average of each parameter/average of number of front-page news items

Source: the authors

The sample collected shows that the four leading newspapers in Spain have different ratios in the number of links (Table 2). *El País* clearly stands out as the newspaper with the most hypertext, with 110.61 links per day, which is significantly more than in *La Vanguardia* (70.43), and with *El Mundo* (26.18) and *El Periódico* (18.57) a long way behind.

The inclusion of hypertext can be seen as an indicator of press quality, since, in general, it implies more investigative input during content production. In the interests of this quality, newspapers of Grupo Vocento and Grupo Z should make improvements in this area. Nevertheless, with an average of 1.73 links per unit of content, H4 holds (the number of links per unit of content in Spanish digital media is >1).

If we classify links according to their destination, we can see that internal links clearly dominate over external (39.63 internal links per day versus 16.82 external ones). Thus, in descending order, are *El País*—significantly ahead of the others—, *La Vanguardia*, *El Mundo* and *El Periódico*. The same pattern can be seen for external links, although the numbers are lower. There is a notable presence of external links in *El País* and *La Vanguardia*, ahead of the others. Taking this into consideration, we would advocate a greater use of external links, or, at the very least, a minimal use of internal links. Thus, H5 holds (there are a greater number of internal links versus external ones in Spanish digital media).

Table 2. Number of links in Spanish digital press

	Total	<i>El Periódico</i>	<i>La Vanguardia</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	<i>El País</i>
Total	112	28 a	28 b	28 c	28 d
Number of front-page news items					
Average	32.51	39.32 bcd	29.04	31.00	30.68
Total number of links (total news)					
Average	56.45	18.57	70.43 ac	26.18	110.61 abc
Ratio	1.73	0.47	2.42	0.84	3.60
Internal links					
Average	39.63	12.86	42.00 ac	22.11a	81.54 abc
Ratio	1.21	0.32	1.44	0.71	2.66
External links					
Average	16.82	5.71	28.43 ac	4.07	29.07 ac
Ratio	0.52	0.15	0.98	0.13	0.95

Letters indicate statistically significant differences at 95% confidence

Ratio: average of each parameter/average of number of front-page news items

Source: the authors

With regard to the analysis of the semantic depth of links, we can see that the hypotheses are confirmed: links to less in-depth material—the relational (31.18) and contextual (17.87) links—clearly outnumber those that lead to articles that go into the subject matter into more depth—the recommended (5.41) and scientific (2.04) links (Table 3).

The number of contextual, relational and recommended links seen per day in El País significantly outnumbers those seen in La Vanguardia, El Periódico and *El Mundo*, with *La Vanguardia* above *El Periódico* and *El Mundo*, which have similar levels. Nevertheless, with regard to the scientific links, *La Vanguardia* stands out. Based on these results, we strongly recommend a greater inclusion of hypertext that links to articles that give more in-depth coverage, since this would improve content quality. In summary, H6 is confirmed (contextual and relational links form the largest group of links in Spanish digital media, ahead of recommended or scientific links).

Table 3. Number of links in terms of semantic depth, in Spanish digital press

	Total	<i>El Periódico</i>	<i>La Vanguardia</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	<i>El País</i>
Total	112	28 a	28 b	28 c	28 d
Number of front-page news items					
Average	32.51	39.32 bcd	29.04	31.00	30.68
Total links (total news)					
Average	56.45	18.57	70.43 ac	26.18	110.61 abc
Ratio	1.73	0.47	2.42	0.84	3.60
Contextual links					
Average	31.18	13.43	29.39 ac	18.36	63.54 abc
Ratio	0.96	0.34	1.01	0.59	2.07
Relational links					
Average	17.87	4.71	26.36 ac	7.64	32.75 abc
Ratio	0.54	0.12	0.90	0.25	1.07
Recommended links					
Average	5.42	0.43	9.61 ac	0.00	11.64 abc
Ratio	0.17	0.01	0.33	0.0	0.38
Scientific links					
Average	2.04	0.00	4.96 acd	0.14	3.07 ac
Ratio	0.06	0.0	0.17	0.0	0.10

Letters indicate statistically significant differences at 95% confidence

Ratio: average of each parameter/average of number of front-page news items

Source: the authors

The inclusion of multimedia elements (Table 4) follows a logical order. Although all news items include text (average = 32.51), the appearance of photography is higher than that of text, with an average of 35.31. Both, however, are higher than that of the average for video (5.74), graphics (1.14) (a somewhat surprising result given that this resource was absent in previous studies) and audio (0.18).

Observing the papers themselves, El País and La Vanguardia, especially El País, make a greater use of photography, with figures significantly higher than El

Periódico or El Mundo. However, in the four newspapers analysed, El *Periódico* stands out for its greater amount of text, with a greater number of news items than the others. The use of video is similar entre El País and El Periódico, which make a significantly greater use of this tool than La Vanguardia and El Mundo. However, graphics and audio are used significantly more by La Vanguardia. As can be seen, El Mundo is poorest performer in terms of its use of multimedia elements. In conclusion, H7 is confirmed (text and photographs prevail over video, audio and graphics as multimedia resources in Spanish digital media).

Table 4. Number of multimedia elements in Spanish digital press

	Total	<i>El Periódico</i>	<i>La Vanguardia</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	<i>El País</i>
Total	112	28 a	28 b	28 c	28 d
Number of front-page news items					
Average	32.51	39.32 bcd	29.04	31.00	30.68
Multimedia element: text					
Average	32.51	39.32 bcd	29.04	31.00	30.68
Ratio	1	1	1	1	1
Multimedia element: photography					
Average	35.31	31.82c	34.64 ac	16.29	58.50 abc
Ratio	1.09	0.81	1.19	0.52	1.90
Multimedia element: video					
Average	5.74	6.96 bc	5.75 c	3.57	6.68 bc
Ratio	0.18	0.18	0.19	0.11	0.21
Multimedia element: audio					
Average	0.18	0.04	0.50 acd	0.00	0.18
Ratio	0.0	0.0	0.01	0.0	0.0
Multimedia element: graphics					
Average	1.14	0.61 c	3.64 acd	0.07	0.25
Ratio	0.04	0.02	0.13	0.0	0.0

Letters indicate statistically significant differences at 95% confidence

Ratio: average of each parameter/average of number of front-page news items

Source: the authors

Analysis by Pearson's correlation coefficient (a coefficient that measures the linear relationship between two random quantitative variables) shows the relationships between hypertext, multimedia and interactivity (Table 5). Drawing on the whole sample we find various significant correlations at the bilateral level. The following variables show a strong positive correlation:

- The number of links with the number of comments.

- Number of contextual links with the number of relational and recommended links, and the number of comments.
- The number of relational links with the number of recommended links.
- The number of recommended links with the number of scientific links.

The correlation between the number of links and the number of comments is striking. This correlation may be explained in terms of the reader's intellectual discernment: A reader of greater intellectual discernment is more prone to submit comments. If there are more links, the reader will have access to more material to build their case, give more comparative arguments, and have a better holistic view of the subject matter. H8 is, therefore, confirmed (there is a correlation between the use of semantically deep hypertext and interactivity in Spanish digital media).

Qualitatively, these correlations are important in various aspects, starting with placement strategies and engagement by the papers. A considerable increase in the use hypertext would be seen if newsroom and advertising staff recognised that a greater the number of links equates with greater quality, and, by extension, a greater number of readers' comments. All parties would benefit from this: the journalist, who would gain personal satisfaction from producing reports of higher quality; the advertising department, for the increase in visits, greater potential for traditional advertising, as well as advertising through Adwords and Adsense; and the reader, who would benefit from better quality content.

The relationship between the journalist (and the online newspaper) and the readers may experience a quantitative and qualitative increase. It may also take a decisive step towards the creation of a community, seen as a natural step in the evolutionary process currently taking place in the Internet. Indeed, if a greater effort expended in producing content (including multimedia and good quality hypertext) results in a greater following by the reader, it is to be expected that participation, in the form of comments, will increase. Indeed, our results presented here confirm this. The implication of all of this is a closer relationship between the journalist and the reader and, by extension, greater loyalty on the part of the reader, who may be specifically targeted by the newspaper through specialization, or by having a specialized subsection. Such a defined reader profile invariably leads to the creation of a community of readers, à la Internet 3.0, which is currently revolutionizing *e-commerce*, and is seen as essential in ensuring an online newspaper's business strategies.

This engagement between the journalist and the reader has an emotional dimension to it. Empathy, service journalism—with subsequent connections to sources

of financing stemming from e-commerce—and closer contacts are seen to increase through interactivity, which can only take place through hypertext.

As the nature of this relationship—which takes the form of an almost horizontal exchange of contents—intensifies, the journalist assimilates this vital role and becomes more organizationally aware: better content (through a greater amount of semantically deep hypertext and multimedia) implies greater participation, and, therefore, generates a greater potential for revenue through associated *e-commerce*, i.e. a greater access to capital and better outlook for the media organization. The synergy is absolute, and the journalist as an individual becomes part of a collective concept that benefits the journalist as well as the media group.

This integration is reflected in the media outlet's social networks, further reinforcing the holistic nature of what could be termed *heightened participation*: news conveyed through the social networks and e-commerce. However, revenue from *e-commerce* should not set the agenda or the contents' focus. Journalistic independence must be guaranteed. This increased alliance ensures the survival and profitability of the online newspaper.

**Table 5. Correlations between hypertext, multimedia and interactivity
in Spanish digital press.**

		Front- page news items	Total Links	Contex. links	Rel. links	Recom. links	Scientif. links	Multim. video	Nº comments	Front- page ads
Front- page news items	Pear. Corr.	1	-0.096	-0.096	-0.032	-0.127	-.302(**)	0.251(*)	-0.212(*)	0.016
	Sig. (bilateral)		0.316	0.313	0.741	0.182	0.001	0.008	0.025	0.867
	N	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112
Links, total news	Pear. Corr.	-0.096	1	.929(**)	.907(**)	.884(**)	.706(**)	0.172	.710(**)	-.242(*)
	Sig. (bilateral)	0.316		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.070	0.000	0.010
	N	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112
Contextual links	Pear. Corr.	-0.096	.929(**)	1	.703(**)	.713(**)	.535(**)	0.174	.747(**)	-0.086
	Sig. (bilateral)	0.313	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.066	0.000	0.365
	N	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112
Relational links	Pear. Corr.	-0.032	.907(**)	.703(**)	1	.855(**)	.693(**)	0.125	.547(**)	-.344(**)
	Sig. (bilateral)	0.741	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.188	0.000	0.000
	N	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112
Recom. links	Pear. Corr.	-0.127	.884(**)	.713(**)	.855(**)	1	.748(**)	.186(*)	.634(**)	-.324(**)
	Sig. (bilateral)	0.182	0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.049	0.000	0.000
	N	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112
Scientific links	Pear. Corr.	-.302(**)	.706(**)	.535(**)	.693(**)	.748(**)	1	0.127	.337(**)	-.451(**)
	Sig. (bilateral)	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000		0.183	0.000	0.000
	N	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112
Multimed. video	Pear. Corr.	.251(**)	0.172	0.174	0.125	.186(*)	0.127	1	0.156	-0.133
	Sig. (bilateral)	0.008	0.070	0.066	0.188	0.049	0.183		0.101	0.162
	N	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112
No. comments	Pear. Corr.	-.212(*)	.710(**)	.747(**)	.547(**)	.634(**)	.337(**)	0.156	1	-0.081
	Sig. (bilateral)	0.025	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.101		0.394
	N	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112
No. Front- page ads.	Pear. Corr.	0.016	-.242(*)	-0.086	-.344(**)	-.324(**)	-.451(**)	-0.133	-0.081	1
	Sig. (bilateral)	0.867	0.010	0.365	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.162	0.394	
	N	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112	112

** The correlation is significant at a level of 0.01 (bilateral)

* The correlation is significant at a level of 0.05 (bilateral)

Source: the authors

4. Conclusion

The results presented in this paper demonstrate a correlation between hypertext and interactivity, between quality of contents and audience feed-back. It means a new way for the journalistic industry to improve its engagement with readers and with advertisers, because the stronger relationship with readers generates more incomes possibilities. And the three analysed variables (hypertext, multimedia and

interactivity) are necessary to find interesting results. The lack of one of them is dangerous for the right achievement of conclusions.

This paper shows an elevated use of hypertext, multimedia and interactivity in the online media in Spain. However, there is room for improvement on several fronts. Despite the fact that the insertion of links (1.73 per unit content) is not insignificant, the majority are internal links, reflecting a level of endogamy within the media—although much of this is due to traffic associated with e-commerce—and, semantically, superficial, with a predominance of contextual and relational links. Further progress towards a widening of the destination of hypertext and a semantic deepening of the links, with more emphasis on the use of recommended and scientific links, is needed.

With regards to the use of multimedia, it is notable that all types (beyond that of text) were widely used, although this varied depending on the particular newspaper (there were some gaps in the use of certain multimedia elements by one of the papers under study). Photography, video, graphics—which showed encouraging data—and audio are routinely used, which invites optimism. Participation was also high: 63 comments per article represent a very high score, as does the data for online interviews (0.50 per day).

Unsurprisingly, correlations are high between links, and between links of differing semantic level. However, the correlation between number of links and the number of comments and, also, between the number of contextual links and number of comments, opens up new avenues. If, over time, this direct correlation between more hypertext and greater participation continues to be seen, the newspaper industry will have found a way to increase reader engagement, and to increase it through commercial channels, including social commerce. The content and commercial strategies used by the digital press can benefit from *heightened participation*, which would result in a greater prospect for survival, adaption and profitability for online newspapers in the 21st century.

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From Audience to Community: The Role of the Affective Factors and the Relationship between Audience and Newspaper Staff in the Process of its Successful Transformation towards Digital Presence

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Abstract

The main purpose of this work is to examine the role of engaged and loyal audience who maintain strong and close relationships with journalists in saving the medium and transforming its model. The work will demonstrate the role of Social Media and Social Media Research tools in cultivating and measuring affective elements of the audiences such as: engagement, interactivity, loyalty and trust. The conclusions will serve as the recommendation points for those media that undergone crisis currently and for those who are looking to modify and foment its audience model. The methodology applied in the study is based on the case study method and will apply Social Media Research in order to indicate the level of affective elements of the relationships between audience and journalists and the roles of both parties in structuring the bonds in the digital sphere.

Key words: Public Relations 2.0, Facebook, case study, journalism 2.0, Social Media Audiences.

1. Introduction

The digitalization of communication and the emergence of Social Media commonly described as “2.0” phenomena have changed the way in which all types of organizations communicate and act towards its audiences nowadays. This Social Media revolution effect has been the result of the gradual transformation of communication techniques towards the “Social Media Galaxy” that embraces the contemporary human communication in all its dimensions: social, economic, interpersonal, political, etc. The rise and development of the networks and other “2.0” sites and their logic of functioning have caused the necessity for business of all kinds

(from retail, through services up to media) to transform into the more social models in general (Solis, 2013). Therefore, in the evoke of Social Age, more than ever before, the media business and especially the magazine publishing sector must be treated not only as a business but as an activity that assumes a significant social role in the modern society. Adding to this picture the worldwide economical crisis and media crisis caused by the advances of the multimedia online technology that has brought along the development of journalism 2.0 and civil movements 2.0, the newspaper sector must face the challenge of the new ways of communication with their audiences and public sphere in order to actively shape the public debate of which the major core is now situated in Social Media and in which the active role is played by determined groups within the broader public.

The new communication strategies of newspapers adapted to Social Media philosophy demand new tools, techniques and approaches, as well as theoretical basis. When talking about communication with audiences in Social Media we must focus on the following elements that shall be reflected in the correspondent theories: responsibility, reputation management, audience definition, relation with the audience, perspective of action on the communication process and two-way communicational model. Moreover, Social Media background requires the research to define and investigate the concepts of interactivity in communication and engagement as the factors that allow to evaluate the effectiveness of communication strategies. Within the engagement, there are contemplated affective components of developing relations with the target audience that will be demonstrated in the form of communicational behaviors-messages and interactions as the expressions of the attitudes towards the communicator in the particular channel.

In the book of Public Relations Management, Grunig, Hunt and Xifra (2003: 117) stressed out the fact of the growing social responsibility of the companies towards their audiences. The emergence of Social Media only foment the importance of companies' social responsibility in the area of their global activity and communication strategies, based on strong and demonstrable moral values and acting according to them while taking global environmental responsibility. This means that in the age of services, it shall be added to it the concept of Costa (1999) which says that any communication is the action including in consequence the concepts of coherence and transparency in the communication and between the communication and action of the organization. This drives the construction of the framework of Social Media audiences to the issue of reputation management in Social Age (Bell, 360° Interactive, Ogilvy PR) that focus on the new phenomena of Web 2.0 and Social Media such as: consumer-

citizen, consumer generated content, brand relevant conversations on the products and shared control over the message in the networks. In such a way, the reputation management 2.0 needs to take into consideration this new power of audience since it is the audience messages, attitudes and behaviors which affect it. For its “empowered” role in communication nowadays, the public in Social Media cannot be treated anymore as “the general public”, in accordance to Grunig’s observations (1992).

The object of the present study is to examine the communication strategy of the recently launched and re-branded weekly newspaper that has achieved high effectiveness in Social Media environment, on Facebook in particular, in a relatively short time period (2 months). The strategy has contemplated relations with audience, from emotional perspective, focusing on trust and loyalty as the main components that allow to interact with the readers/fans and therefore to build engaging relationships. The high levels of engagement and interactivity, both adequately defined in the forms of measurable KPIs, will indicate the effectiveness of communication activity that was designed particularly for Facebook, as the biggest, most popular and universal channel of communication with an audience aiming on creating mutually beneficial relationships. The successful implementation of this strategy, of which the principal core was public, and its positive attitudes towards the medium, in our opinion, may serve as the benchmark for the whole industry. It is the example of effective and cost-effective strategies in modifying business models of weekly magazines that help to face and overcome the media crisis. The analyzed example illustrates how to build the presence in wide online and Social Media by means of new social media models and by creating the real community which reflects the importance of emotional, moral and social responsible factors in contemporary communication 2.0.

2. Theoretical Background

In order to comprehensively research the above distinguished elements, the Public Relations theories will serve as the theoretical background, basing mostly on the definition of PR as the mutually benefit relationships between the organization and its stakeholders of which the main aim is the mutual understanding (Castillo Esparcia, 2009). In order to apply Public Relation into Social Media Galaxy it is necessary to define it in terms of PR 2.0 (Solis and Breakenridge, 2010: nd.) as “the result of the change that forced the specialists of this field to connect directly with the public by means of Web 2.0 enabling the creation of the collaborative environment which is rich in experiences in the process of online communication”. Authors have seen this change as full of the positive potential in creating and fomenting the communities with major

respect and broadly more active by means of dialogical communication and equal participation in conversations that allows sharing their reactions and interpretations. PR 2.0 based on possibilities of Web 2.0 has granted a shared control over the messages to both parties of communication (brands and public alike) in terms of reception and perception due to the possibility of creating and sharing the content actively and free participation in online conversations.

The present study applies Grunig and Hunt's bi-directional models (symmetric and asymmetric), Grunig's situational theory of public and reputation management in Social Media (Bell, Ogilvy) that contemplates the transformation towards corporate social responsibility (Grunig, Hunt and Xifra, 2003). As far as the effectiveness is concerned it will be reflected within Public Relation management theory (Grunig, Hunt and Xifra, 2003) and perspective of corporate communication management online (Costa, 1995) that stress the significance of moral values in communication. The relationships will be approached from the perspectives of the contextual theories of interpersonal communication (Relational Theory and Social Exchange Theory) that address the issue from a more individual perspective, it allows to define the form of relationships in its affective and behavioral dimensions as well as to examine it as the sequence of interactions and exchange of significant messages that express the attitude. The approach to study affective components of relationships between organization and stakeholders needs some contributions from Social Media studies on effectiveness models including engagement and interactivity as the main indicators (KPI)¹ and universally applied market standards.

The study of emotional relationships between stakeholders and organizations is based on the following general statements on Social Media communication to which the corresponding theories are referred:

1. Rise of Corporate Social Responsibility and Significance of Moral Values.
2. Reputation as the main vehicle for relationships in Social Media.
3. Communication is action.
4. The bi-directional interactive and symmetrical communication with audience.
5. New, active, powerful and dispersed and well defined target audiences.
6. PR communication management as the purposeful, goal-driven, effective activity susceptible to evaluation.
7. New dimensions of the relationships: interactive and engaging.
8. The above statements drive to conclusion that Public Relation perspective would be the most appropriate to define and apply two basic concepts of public and relations.

¹ Consult: Peterson, 2006.

2.1. The Concept of Public

In order to be applicable in PR practice it is necessary to address it from directive (managing) perspective such as relational approach (Míguez González, 2010: 53). It means that public in general will be defined in terms of bond and relation established or/and maintained (or desired to be established) between organization and public (Hallahan, 2000: 501-502 in: Míguez González, 2010: 52). In this sense it seems dominated by an organizational point of view that ignores the perspective of public. The latter one is contemplated within the situational theory of Grunig and Hunt (2000) which stresses the role of public (so crucial in Social Era) and their contextualized communicative behaviors which can result or not in the relations with the organization (related systems).

In this way, according to a summary by Míguez González of the nature of public in Public Relations (2010: 54-55), the publics are diverse, heterogeneous, overlapping, interconnected and have dynamic nature. Public is the strategic concept that reflects its strategic meaning for the communicative practice of organization. It is defined in some general terms as the multidimensional collective being in permanent development that share to some extent the similar or common characteristics and remain in long term and complex relation with the organization that directs its communication to this general collective (Míguez González, 2010: 59-61). In this way, strategically the public is treated as a more or less permanent collective based on some common characteristics, however conditions by situational factors created by specific circumstances around certain issues (Míguez González, 2010: 56). These two visions of public will cause that we can approach communication activity of PR in two main manners: creating the long term programs directed to more permanent public and/or concrete actions and campaigns targeted on specific groups determined by specific conditions. According to The Situational Theory of the public of Grunig and Hunt (1992, in: Míguez González, 2006:134-137) the public of this study is defined as the people who are confronted with a similar problem, recognize the existence of it and organize themselves to cope with it: the public conscious of the problem and the public actively looking for a solution.

Since these theoretical contributions described above help to identify the active and engaged public² that is interested in particular topics, has a positive attitude and behaves favorably towards the communication of organization, it shares a symbolic

² In terms of "Stakeholders": a concept with business origins that has been introduced to PR from a strategic and corporate perspective (Xifra, 2003:175, in: Míguez Gonzalez, 2010: 57).

reality with it and has the potential to be transformed into a community. Among different groups of stakeholders that can be distinguished for the organization the present study is focused on the readers.

2.2. The Concept of Relations

For relationships and relations are the key element of the Public Relations, they must be approached adequately. Within a wide area of communication sciences, the interpersonal communication theories interpret communication in terms of relation as the central concept interconnected with the meaning and context and the view of the collective the any communication activity as the process. Relational Theory and Social Exchange Theory (Casmir, ed., 1994), as the theoretical products of interpersonal communication perspective, if joined together, give a comprehensive view of relation, particularly in Social Media environment: as the dynamic and contextualized process inseparable from conversation and messages, based on mutual exchange of sequences of social interactions and communicative behaviors (messages) between individuals participating in this process. The mixed approach of both theories allows to examine the cognitive and affective components in the process of constituting relationships alike determining the forms, grades and dimensions of it. Furthermore, due to the fusion of both visions, the relation may be examined in terms of costs and benefits for both parties implicated in it which means treating communication as well in business terms. Most importantly, these two theories together assume the active role of individuals (treating organization as any individual participant in Social Media egalitarian space) that interact and thus shape their relations. Finally, the conceptual work of this perspective admits the mutual interdependence between environment/context and relations as well as the influence of relations on the participants' behaviors and orientations. Only such exhaustive vision of relationships and its dynamics and nature convert this social and communicational phenomenon into the object of the research in Social Media Galaxy by focusing on organizational communicative behaviors and interactions in social networks, its content, context, and process of conversations as well as the role of individual participants in shaping the relationships oriented towards mutual benefits and reduced costs.

According to Hon and Grunig (1999: 2), in order to build effective relationships, we need a long-term perspective that includes the following dimensions:

- control mutuality (“rightful power to influence”).

- trust (3 dimensions: a. integrity in terms of fairness; b. dependability: trusting that organization will act coherently in relation to its message c. competence: believing in the ability of the company to implement this action).
- satisfaction (“the extent to which each party feels favorably toward the other because positive expectations about the relationship are reinforced”, p.3).
- commitment (“the extent to which each party believes and feels that the relationship is worth spending energy to maintain and promote. Two dimensions of commitment are continuance commitment, which refers to a certain line of action, and affective commitment, which is an emotional orientation”)³.
- exchange relationship (based on exchanging continuously the mutual benefits).
- communal relationship (“in a communal relationship, both parties provide benefits to the other because they are concerned for the welfare of the other - even when they get nothing in return. For most public relations activities, developing communal relationships with key constituencies is much more important to achieve than developing exchange relationships would”)⁴.

Therefore, communal relationships will constitute the highest and most valuable relationship between the organization and public – community basing on the preceding components (trust, mutual control, exchange and commitment) and their crucial role in constituting long-term mutual relationships aimed at understanding (in social media). In such a way, according to views of Hon and Grunig (1999), the establishing of well functioning community indicates the real value of PR communication efforts. Although these six components are claimed to be observed as the indicators of the value of long terms relationships between organization and public (and society), they can be distinguished indirectly by means of variables designed for short-term perspective evaluation of PR activity, as those proposed by Hon and Grunig (1999:2):

- Outcomes: the immediate result of the PR activity such as exposure.
- Outputs: “measure whether target audience groups actually received the messages directed at them ... paid attention to them ... understood the messages ... and retained those messages in any shape or form. They also measure whether the communications materials and messages that were disseminated have resulted in any opinion, attitude and/or behavior changes on the part of those targeted publics to whom the messages were directed” (Hon and Grunig, 1999:2).

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

Thus, the present study applies the short-term perspective evaluation of effects of launch campaign of the new weekly newspaper at the market and introducing it to the particular targets of digital audience in Social Media (duration of 2 months) and will examine the following outputs and outcomes: Reach, Interactivity, Engagement, Influence and Efficiency in general. Variable of Reach is considered an indicator of exposure (visibility in Social Media) as the outcome of the campaign in Facebook whereas the other four will measure the effectiveness of the campaign in short-term, hence being the indirect indicators of such dimensions of valuable long-term relationships as: the commitment and satisfaction (in case of Engagement), exchange and mutual control (Interactivity), communal relationship (segment of the most active public). Trust (towards the new medium) will be considered as the affective type of conditions of establishing such kind of relationship with the organization (medium), similarly to previously existing loyalty towards the journalist working for the previous title. Therefore, we can examine the relationships established in Social Media environment in terms of direct and short-term indirectly indicating possible long-term perspective value of implemented strategy based on relationships.

2.3. Reputation Management

Considering the impact of relationships on corporate reputation, it is useful to summarize Public Relations principles and their impact on Corporate Reputation Online (focusing on Social Media). As it has been demonstrated by Prestigia Online in its document on Corporate Reputation Online (2008: 26), dialogue principle contributes to implement the communication in those channels where the public may speak for itself meanwhile the transparency means for organization being transparent for all its publics which is the condition for the third rule of generating trust resulting in creating the relationships within the various segments of the public and share recommendations. This will transform into engaged and interactive behaviors, positive attitudes towards the organization within the community and will help to foment the desired reputation beyond the community and acquire global visibility in positive terms. All the activities of PR 2.0 and relations established throughout these communication processes have impact on organizational reputation in Social Media in general, in 2.0 environments and beyond digital (impacting offline side), as far as 2.0 reputation management is concerned, there must be taken into consideration the following meta-trends distinguished by Bell from Ogilvy in his publication on 2.0 reputation: hypertransparency, demand for dialogue and empowered public. The quality of relations with public can determine and impact the organization's reputation in Social

Era based on Social Web, thus the principal tasks of Public Relations is to approach the issues related to relational communication area from the global perspective (Xifra, 1993). Hereby, Public Relations are included in Corporate Communication Management since they cover all the communication functions - the communication of one organization with all its publics. (Gruning and Hunt, 1994: 7; Grunig, Hunt and Xifra, 2003).

2.4. Public Relations Management

Strategic Management of Corporate Communication that is related to directing of Public Relations (Grunig, Hunt, Xifra, 2003) and Reputation Management in Social Media (centered in social networks), if based on 4 stages of RACE model (Mastrom, 1962) , will follow the steps distinguished by Prestigia Online (2008: 32):

- constant monitoring , adequate quantity of relatively profound information on the research stage (R).
- identification of audiences for purposes of global reach of the strategy, segmentation and individualization of tactics and reducing budget on the planning stage (A).
- creativity in implementation (C).
- facility for immediate measurement of effectiveness on the evaluation stage (E).

When building and implementing the strategy (for Social Media and digital environment) and tactics (for each social network) for the weekly magazine, these elements were considered as crucial and were reflected, as it was stressed by responsible for communication at NewRebel Interactive Agency. Furthermore, there were included 3 pillars of effective digital communication into the strategy that are described in Prestigia Online (2008: 28) and that are claimed as the key factors to effective communication based on listening to the audiences:

- understanding of the client by allowing him to talk and listening to him.
- segmentation of public due to psychographical and demographical information on the client available in social media sites which help to constitute more effective mutual relations.
- personalization of the offer that satisfy the personal need of the consumer/user due to the knowledge on his profile.

On the whole, in terms of strategic and tactic management of Public Relations, it may be considered the structural, functional and relational discipline of which the success is centered in the public and interaction with it. Due to this interaction, as the

result, the meanings are produced with the aim to create a favorable representation of organization that would be simultaneously accepted and achieve mutual understanding. Thus, it is important to include Strategic Management Paradigm into PR based in praxis, with dominating view that the communication is the principal action of any organization, in the sense proposed by Costa (1999). Such orientation towards Public Relations and Communication Management shall drive towards communication excellence based on the features that although distinguished by Dozier and Grunig (1992) in the era before even Internet boom, are still valid in Social Media dominated culture. These features are the following: strategic approach towards communication, openness to the public, focus on personal and community relationships, participative culture of organization with proactive attitude towards conversations and what it would be called as social listening in the contemporary Social Era (Dozier, Grunig and Grunig, 1995: 1-3). Moreover, the use of bidirectional model of communication in PR and incorporate it as such into the organizational culture will allow the proactive attitude of the organization towards its publics and society in general, as it is stated by Xifra (in: Matilla, 2008: 76).

2.5. Effectiveness

The strategic approach towards PR management shall result effective. In order to assure such effectiveness is necessary to apply symmetrical bidirectional communication model (bidirectional and common PR activity is aimed at mutual understanding and mutual change of behaviors and attitudes by means of dialogue, collaboration and getting knowledge of each other; research is applied in terms of evaluation of the understanding) that was developed by Grunig and Hunt (1984:22). This model facilitates the mutual influence by means of co-orientation and remains in accordance to the PR 2.0 principles: dialogue, understanding, cooperation, responsibility, positive reputation. The symmetrical bidirectional has dominated the communication of the new medium with its public in this analyzed case (distribution of content created by public, conversations, mutual response for information published and towards the messages, actions and campaign undertaken together, taking the initiative of public, etc.). This model guarantees new way of functioning of Public Relations in terms of achieving the effects: co-orientation that means that PR activity is aimed at attempts to change the way in which the organization and its public orient themselves mutually, basing on their common and shared elements of their contexts. It is not only the way to impact on the individuals or groups or/and the relationships between them (Grunig, Hunt and Xifra, 2003: 209-213).

On the course of the studies on possible effects of communication there have been distinguished various dimensions and types of effects in the works of the Public Relation scientists (Grunig, Hunt and Xifra, 2003: 213). In this study of the audiences and the emotional factors that help to create the engaging relationships with them in the sphere of Social Media, the implemented communication strategy for Facebook resulted in the following multiple effects:

- Macro effect on public debate and micro effect on the particular relationships
- Effects were fomented by the fact of use of Facebook and time the users spent there.
- Effects of the content published that resulted interesting, relevant and engaging for the targeted public.
- An effect was a direct result of the previously established loyal and trustable connections and simultaneously conditioned by the event that preceded the re-launch of new medium.
- Specific content addressed to the specific groups and general diffusion of information related to the new medium in other media both impacted the final effect
- Effects were caused on relationships with the individuals (journalists and particular more active “prosumers”) and loyal groups of readers within the target audience.
- An effect was to move the loyal audience from one medium to the new title and foment the engaging, mutually benefit and loyal relationships based on trust towards the medium.

The present study is focused on the mutual influence of communication between both organization and public on their relationships (with groups and individuals alike within the target audience) and thus the objectives have been defined accordingly. As it was stated above, the strength of the attitude being the emotional character of the bi-directional and interactive relationship was based on loyalty and trust towards the particular journalists and the values presented by the medium. They have turned out to be the key factors in the strategy of re-introducing the medium via Social Media and re-attract its fans to there-branded weekly newspaper. When talking about the communication effects on those relationships that transform the group of fans towards affectively engaged and relatively integrated virtual community, we have to distinguish the dimensions of effective communication in 2.0 environment, that are:

pull-type communication resulting in the interactive and engaging bi-directional relations that foster the loyalty and drive to integrated community⁵.

3. Methodology

Therefore, it is necessary to put the research in terms of measuring and evaluation of effectiveness of the communication strategy which means applying statistics in order to compare the elements and to be able to value the overall results (Nobell, 2011: 78). Such defined investigation activity becomes the integral part of directing Public Relations that assure its excellence (Grunig, Hunt, Xifra, 2003; Grunig, Grunig and Dozier, 1995) and integrated into Corporate Communication Strategic Management (Matilla, 2008). The most popular model that reflects the position of evaluation in communication management is the RACE model of Marston (1963): Research, Planning, Communication and Evaluation. The approach focused on the importance of the evaluation in communication strategy (Wilcox, 2001; Fernandez Escobar, 2009; Nobell, 2011) will allow to apply the correspondent techniques (adapted to Social Media characteristics) in order to determine the two complementary dimensions of the results that constitute effectiveness as the concept in communication management: outcome achieved (effect of the actions) and output obtained (the action performed) as it was noticed by Nobell (2011: 77), being both examined throughout this study. Accordingly, the outcome is defined in terms of Key Performance Indicators (KPI)⁶ following the Social Media performance model constituted by 4 types of action included in communication strategy: Exposition-Engagement-Influence-Action (EEIA). Exposition is illustrated by the concept of Visibility (Aced, Arqués, Benítez, Llordá and Sanagustin, 2009) and can foment the publicity (Grunig, Hunt and Xifra, 2003). Indicators of Engagement and Influence were best recently defined by Solis and Webber via Altimeter Group (2012) and Action is related to terms applied in Inbound Marketing (Halligan and Shah, 2010; Smolak-Lozano, 2012). At that point, Interactivity is placed in the engagement dimension of relationships and must be stressed beyond online environment.

The methodology includes the triangulated (Berganza Conde and San Román, 2005) case study (Babbie, 2001): triangulation of methods and techniques (qualitative and quantitative) along with the triangulation of data resources (Facebook traffic and

⁵ Dimensions of effective 2.0 communication distinguished basing on the book by Victoria Más, 2001.

⁶Peterson (2005).

offline sales). The following techniques were applied: trends analysis, content analysis, and quantitative research together with segmentation techniques.

Case study will allow to effectively examine the outputs of the communication strategy such as the performance (Content, Publications, Profile and Relations) that indicates the efficiency of fanpage and community management. Moreover, it will be focused on the outcomes in each level of EEIA model, indicated by such KPIs as: Reach (for Exposition), Interactivity and Engagement (for Relations) and finally the Influence (segments of audiences defined as the activists being the potential ambassadors of the brand). They altogether demonstrate the reaction of the audience towards the communication performed by the medium. The last stage of Social Media performance that is Action is demonstrated by means of KPI, in the case of this study being defined in terms of Sales of the medium in the offline environment. Such design of the study, focused on one particular case of launch campaign of re-branded medium, it will allow us to examine exhaustively the role of affective factors such as the attitude demonstrated by concrete behaviors of determined targets in shaping the integrated community with offline impact while re-introducing medium that on the beginning was available only in social networks and in online version. Hereby, the study will determine the impact of effective communication strategy on fomenting relations of the medium with its community and the environment in the perspective of the public debate that resulted in successfully introducing the re-branded weekly newspaper.

Objective:

The objective of this research of the case study is to evaluate the campaign of introducing the presence of the medium after its launch on Facebook in terms of effectiveness in community management (by means of fanpage) and strength of affective relations between the title and its stakeholders: in terms of public, content and activity. The secondary objective was to evaluate the overall efficiency in fanpage management and the market/competence situation. The research question that guided the investigation was the following:

Have the tactical management of Public Relations focused on communication with readers on Facebook fanpage effectively used the affective factors of relationships which previously existed in order to build a strong and engaged community on the Fanpage?

Hypothesis:

Fanpage “Do Rzeczy” on Facebook was an effective tool to build the mutually beneficial and interactive relationships with the community basing on the affective factors and thus was the effective tool of promotion of the new brand in Social Media on the dimensions of engagement and interactivity.

Object of research:

Fanpage “Do Rzeczy” on Facebook:

<https://www.facebook.com/media.tygodnik.Do.Rzeczy?ref=ts&fref=ts>

Tool:

In order to conduct the study in accordance to the newest standards of communication via Social Media, elaborated among others by Altimeter Group (2012), the Sotrender.com tool was selected being a software designed specifically for the evaluation of communication campaigns and programs on Facebook. It is internationally used for effectiveness investigations for its well grounded statistical bases and because it offers interactivity and engagement indexes in accordance to market standards. So far, it is one of the most efficient tools in performance research on Facebook, for its credibility and maximum adaptation to the characteristics and dynamics of the most popular social network. The analysis was performed on demo version (free of charge trial period). In this research, was applied a demo version of Sotrender.com, hence including all the features.

The research was performed by NewRebel Group in the following period: from 28.01.2013 to 06.02.2013. The research was based on the data period of the last 30 days and covers all the events that took place on the fanpage in question during the period of analysis.

The types of the analysis applied:

- General analysis of the fanpage functioning and its management.
- Fanpage analysis in comparison to the competition.
- Detailed analysis of fanpage on the following dimensions:
 1. Community activity.
 2. Fanpage Admin activity.
 3. Content.
 4. Public and audiences.

Definitions of the indicators applied, as explained by Sotrender.com tool:

Reach:

Number of fans: actual, up to date number of fans of the fanpage.

Growth in number of fans is the relative change in the overall number of fans in the analyzed period.

Engagement:

The Number of Engaged Users: the number of users who has performed at least 1 activity in the analyzed period of time: comment, vote, post, photo publication, status update.

Percentage of Engaged Users: the percentage share of the engaged users in overall number of users.

Newly Engaged Users: the number of newly engaged users who were not engaged for the last 90 days.

Percentage of admin's activity: share of admin's activity in all activities on the fanpage.

People talking about this: average number of users who have created a story related to the fanpage.

Interactivity:

Interactivity Index: collective, weighted indicator of all activity performed on the fanpage in the analyzed period of time (it is divided into Fan Ini and Admin Ini, regarding fans' and admin's activity respectively).

Relative Interactivity: collective indicator of all the activity of the fanpage divided by numbers of fans what allows for comparisons between different fanpages

Publication's popularity:

According to Number of Likes, Number of comments, Engagement under the publication, Interactivity of the publication and Share.

Publics' segmentation:

The segmentation of public in the following categories of this particular group of stakeholders (readers) in the analyzed period, expressed by percentage of share of each segment in overall number of fans:

Likers: users who have clicked mainly the "I like it" button in the analyzed period

Occasional: the users who have clicked “I like it” only once in the determined period and in general have been poorly engaged in the fanpage activity.

Debaters: the users who published only posts and comments in the analyzed period of time; trolls might be found in this category.

Writers: the users who have published the most posts and comments in this period of time.

Activists: users with the highest level of engagement on Facebook being possible ambassadors of the brand. It is possible to identify the influencers among them –the ones with the big number of their own fans in the personal network, bloggers, and specialists of the sector who have a lot of followers, publish a lot and have a significant response.

Types of Activity

Button “I like it”, Comment (under posts and multimedia publications), Post (updates on the Wall including links, multimedia, and button share).

Types of publications in terms of format:

Photo, Video, Text, Link and Questions.

4. Case study

4.1. Background:

The weekly magazine titled “Do Rzeczy” (called provisionally at the beginning: Tygodnik Lisickiego) is the initiative of a group of independent journalists who established a new medium as the protest against the low and morally questionable standards of the publishers on their previous successful title for which they have worked so far (formerly called “Uważam Rze”). This took place at the point in which the Principal Redactor (Paweł Lisicki) was fired as being accused of accepting a controversy text from one of the journalists. As a consequence, almost the whole team left the redaction together with their boss in the end of November of 2012 as not accepting any kind of intervention in the journalism independence. So did the loyal segments of the readers. In response to the needs of a large segment of the loyal public awaiting the similar medium, it has been created a new weekly magazine under the supervision of the same Redaction Board, employing the same team of journalists who remained faithful to their ideals and beliefs, defending that strength is based on independence.

The development of a digital online presence was perceived as the opportunity to continue on a visible position in public debate, fomenting it as well as the possibility to continue the journalist mission and service in order to not lose the public. The immediate start in Social Media seemed as the low cost solution to meet the audience and maintain it with the new title. As the rapidly growing online and Social Media presence, the paper version was being developed from the point in which the financial support had been established alike by a legal framework.

4.2. Strategy and tactic:

The responsibility for Social Media strategy, online strategy and graphic design has been assigned to a young Interactive Agency called NewRebelGroup.

The whole strategy was principally based on the idea of continuing the idea of independent journalism defined in terms of mission and service to the community by means of the webpage on which the team of journalists could continue their work and the channels by means of which they could communicate directly with their public. The Social Media was the first and most important pillar of communication to assure the flow of symmetrical and bidirectional communication on a much reduced cost based on the affective elements of the relations that were maintained between the readers as the principal segment and the journalists. The positive attitudes and emotional components such as: loyalty, trust and sympathy to the redaction team and board as well as the solidarity with them were properly defined as the key factors in establishing and developing these relations by means of social networks. This was the idea of meeting readers in the places in which they simply are and expect to be met. The online presence in general was developed as follows:

- 1) Webpage for publications and to express the firm and continued voice in public debate.
- 2) Social media presence to promote and foment the existence and visibility and to develop permanent solid relations with loyal and trusting readers, those from previous title and future ones:
 - Twitter: promotion of publications and debate with Readers.
 - Youtube: audiovisual presence.
 - Facebook as the meeting place, in which to converse with others, promote the content, communicate with readers and source of updated information related to the new medium and to the actual events of the national and international scope

The criteria of selection was based on popularity of these social networking sites among the Internet users confirmed by many recent researches (Mashable.com, Socialbakers.com, 2012/2013) and extended use in Poland. The major importance was put on Facebook as the biggest social network globally and with the highest results as far as the daily use is concerned. The other factors of selection were related to possibilities of interesting journalist forms (Youtube), utility in information distribution (Twitter) and the relational-conversational orientation to the public (Facebook). The strategy was based on the following factors of affective nature:

- loyalty of the particular segment of the readers,
- solidarity of the readers towards the team,
- trust of the public towards the team and new title,
- engagement of the public and journalists in developing the project,
- the active participation of the team and the Principal Redactor in the communication with stakeholders via Social Media.

The main rules of this communication were:

- interactivity
- dialogue
- engagement
- building the strong and conscious presence in the public
- trust

The aim was to build a strong and positive presence of the new title in new media in order to determine offline actions:

- creation of a reference at the market in order to create a positive potential of public,
- maintaining the visible position in public debate by continuing the journalist labor,
- developing affective, strong and permanent relationships with stakeholders.

The communication costs were reduced at maximum by the creation of simple and user-friendly graphic solutions and social media accounts. Therefore, the major cost was graphic design and web page maintenance as well as Community Manager's work which was performed by an agency and the Principal Redactor who was principally managing the communication in Social Media. The paid social media advertising was discarded and other forms of sponsored content of paid promotion via Social Media channels. The presence was based on the tools available free of charge

and exiting journalists materials allowed to be distributed on Creative Commons License or by sharing the content produced by other media.

The tactic in Facebook network was the main one in the strategy developed since Facebook is the principal “hub” that unifies many communication functions relevant from the PR perspective and because it is the most popular source of interaction and relations. Its main objective was to join together, develop and foment the strong community of the loyal and active fans of the new medium with the possible effects on the offline side. It was planned to be achieved by establishing and developing the mutual interactive relationships between the team of new magazine and fans as well as by means of the high quality and relevant content that remains in accordance to the principles of the team. The content was covering all the actual information of global and national level of public life and the updates strictly related to the new magazine. The fanpage was designed to become the place to meet and debate freely about the published content and thus promoting the new project.

The idea was to create a mutually engaged community, ready to collaborate in the spirit of solidarity, mutual strong relationships based on the interactive participation. The fanpage was build and co-managed by the Principal Redactor and NewRebel’s team as well as the engaging journalists team (participative culture of the organization), as a first-person activity of the Principal Redactor, publishing his own and other media’s content with high frequency and conversations with and within the created fans community.

The realization of such planned interactions was aimed to obtain the main goal which was image related: to get the positive perception of a promoted, new and strong brand of freshly introduced new weekly magazine created from scratch.

4.3. Implementation of the strategy:

December, 12th, 2012: implementation on Facebook of the fanpage named temporarily “Tygodnik Lisickiego” with the following motto: “The independent ones are moving forward!”.

December, 18th, 2012: the launch of the corporate web service in the form of information service that is integrated with Social Media and the personal blogs of the journalists.

December, 21st to 28th of 2012: announcement of the new title planned to be edited and revealing the name of strategic investor

January, 21st, 2013: revealing of the new building for redaction and of editorial team.

January, 23rd, 2013: revealing of the cover of the first paper edition and the title

January, 25th, 2013: premiere of the first paper edition of the new weekly magazine and soft re-branding related to the change of name from the temporal one to the final one (“Do Rzeczy”) which resulted in a minor graphical change including URL and logo. All these changes were performed fluently and did not affect the results of the search engines and did not cause any issues in visibility of the link, searches and address of webpage and fanpage.

Since January, 23rd the strategy of launch and implementation is interrelated, what means that while the fanpage is being developed, the paper edition is being promoted, as well as the orientation of brand moves from personal branding of the redactor and journalists towards the new weekly magazine brand. Therefore, the loyalty and trust of the audience is moved from preferences towards favorite journalists to the loyalty and trust towards the new medium. Since then onwards, the communication will be promoting the subsequent paper editions, their covers and content, as well as the logo. Nonetheless, the first-person activity of the main redactor is continued.

Since February, 4th, 2013 the weekly magazine in its paper version is issued every Monday.

4.4. The results of the implementation of the strategy:

1) Loyalty and trust of public have determined high level of Visibility in terms of reach as well as they fomented its growth.

The data prove the significance of the loyalty and trust of the public towards new medium and its team since the very beginning of the launching campaign based only on the viral potential. Since the first day of the campaign the strategy was based on the personal brand of the Redactor and journalists participating in the new project and the value of the independence that was promoted by means of the fanpage.

The loyalty and trust of the strategic public targeted by the viral campaign determined its initial success just at the moment of introducing the new medium into social networks: 1,000 fans in 3 hours, 2,100 in 6 hours (as it was stressed without any paid content and media cover) and 4,000 fans of the fanpage after 4 days since launch. The first week after launching the campaign based only on the viral potential of social networks it was noted a growth in fans’ number of 1,000 people per day. After the first month of existence in Facebook, the fanpage of the medium (the offline paper edition of the new weekly magazine was not introduced neither published at this time) achieved 7,324 fans and 6,620 people talking about the fanpage and medium. During

the second month of campaign -January of 2013- the growth was 273 new fans per day, having doubled the number of fans of the fanpage (7,928 new fans in January 2013 and 15,643 fans in total in the second month of the campaign and functioning of the fanpage; the peak in fans growth occurred on January the 31st with 619 new fans joining the fanpage this day). The loyalty of the public towards the redaction and journalists' team and the trust expressed to their labor fomented the dynamic growth of reach and visibility of the newly launched medium.

2) The affective elements of the relations between public and the weekly magazine determined its top position within the weekly magazine sector in Poland just after two months after being introduced.

The high level of loyalty and trust of the public and the dedication of the public towards new title, its positive attitude towards the new project, affective support expressed throughout the fanpage have caused altogether that the newly introduced magazine have reached the top positions in all indicators' dimensions comparing to the competition. The significant development of the fanpage has accelerated in January and thus dominated the weekly magazines 'market in Poland.

After two months since being launched as a fanpage on Facebook, "Do Rzeczy" has achieved 2nd position in the ranking as far as Interactivity is concerned and 37th position in the reach ranking (although it is still moving upwards) within the category of 165 weekly magazines present on Facebook.

Moreover, within the Polish weekly magazines market, in terms of virality and conversational potential, "Do Rzeczy" has reached also the 2nd position in the ranking, thus accumulating 70% of the conversations in comparison to the largest title in "the talking about ranking". Similarly, it placed itself at the 2nd position regarding the fans' reaction towards content, meaning that its content attracts attention and produce visibility effects among the public.

Fig.1. People talking about variable:

Industry: Magazine	People talking about this	% of the largest
1  Fakt.pl	15 339	100%
2  Tygodnik Lisickiego	10 742	70.03%
3  Przegląd Sportowy	7 418	48.36%

Source: Sotrender.com

Relative Ini is the most significant indicator of the success on the market of the launch campaign that effectively managed the affective components of the relation with public. This indicator eliminates the influence of the number of fans thus allow comparisons of activity of the public on each fanpage. In the case of “Do Rzeczy” it was worth 2,532, giving it the second position within the whole market. The competition of the right wing, left wing and more neutral magazines have been left behind (only two titles occupied top 10 on 5th and 8th positions whereas the other 3 titles were included in the next decimal). Even the flagship magazines longer present on Facebook, with a more stable communication strategy and loyal public within this highly competitive sector have not been able to enter the first 50 top positions in dimension of Relative Interactivity. The emotional factors have turned out to be crucial in the interactive communication as the result of high ratio of activity.

Likewise, the loyalty and trust together with the positive attitude fomented the engagement of the public into the action performed by the fanpage’s admin. In the ranking of the mostly engaging titles, “Do Rzeczy” once again reached the 2nd position on the top of the ranking in the second month of the campaign. In terms of daily average, the number of fans engaged within the category of weekly magazines, the analyzed title got 6th position. The competition could not demonstrate a similar high level of engagement of their public and audiences in spite of their longer presence on Facebook.

In summary, the approach in directing Public Relations basing the communication strategy on loyalty and trust turned out to be more effective within the sector and in comparison to the competition resulting in the highest positions in the rankings.

3) Affective elements and dimensions of the relations with public determine high level of activity, interactivity, engagement and influence of the public on the fanpage.

The adequate communication strategy in general in which the main advantage was taken of the pre-existed affective components allowed to effectively manage the relations and thus gaining a highly interactive and engaged public.

As far as the activity on the fanpage analyzed is concerned, there were 36,893 activities performed both by the admin and the audience in January 2013. This number covers all types of activities possible on the fanpage: comments, post, multimedia, etc.

Fig.2. Types of activities performed in analyzed period.



Source: Sotrender.com

The more passive activities with less significance in interactive communication were dominative: clicks on the “I like it” button. Hence, this result expresses the average within the digital population that is rather consuming the content more passively than actively. In particular, the most significant statistics is related to the relatively large segment of more engaging activities that is constantly growing. These kinds of activities such as: posts, comments and multimedia are the key factors in interactive communication.

When analyzing the activities on the fanpage in division into admin’s and publics’ activity, it must be stated that Community Manager is very active and engaged in the interactions in analyzed period of January 2013, mainly performing the most interactive types of activities such as comments and posts as well as multimedia, although to lesser extent. In such a way, the administrator’s daily communication activity is focused on engaging into interactions. The peak of his activity was the day of the release of the first paper edition of the new title and was centered on the reaction of Community Manager towards the content published by readers.

Fig.3. Admin’s activity in January 2013.



Source: Sotrender.com

The fans activity has been more passive during this period of time, mostly “liking” the published content (28,500 “Likes”), however with a high level of commenting activity (7,000 comments) followed by status updates (365) and multimedia publications (102).

Fig. 4. Fans' activity in January 2013.

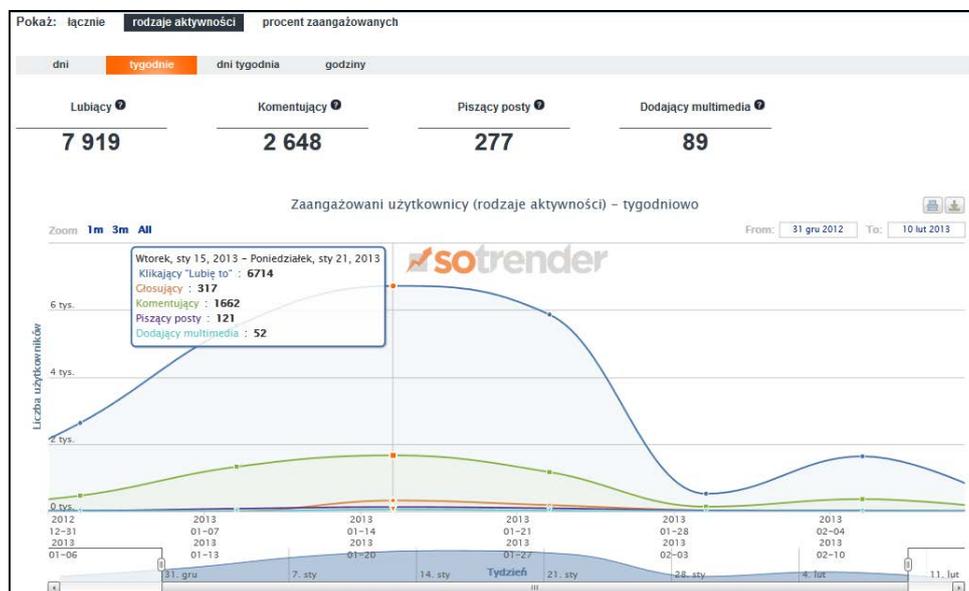


Source: Sotrender.com

Although, the typical Facebook activity significantly dominates the other forms of fans' communication activity, a more proactive attitude that results in more engaging communication behaviors can be observed, especially in the case of participation in the conversations and their own publications that initiate the interactions.

Over 57% of the fanpage community is engaged in the activity performed on the fanpage, which means almost 9,000 engaged users in January 2013 and a daily average of 6,669 newly engaged fans in the analyzed period. As it can be observed, the attitude of sympathy, support and loyalty affects positively the engagement of the community in the communication. Although, the dominating category among those engaged were the people giving “likes” to the content, the commentators, publishers of posts and multimedia were also numerous and in growing trend.

Fig.5. Categories of engaged fans.



Source: Sotrender.com

The high activity and engagement resulted in very high levels of Interactivity in general (222,026, with the growth of 179,727), of fans and the Community Manager alike in the second month of launch campaign, as it is demonstrated by the graphic below:

Fig.6. Interactivity on the fanpage in January 2013:



Source: Sotrender.com

The data above show that most of the Interactivity is demonstrated by the public. Meanwhile, the community manager also has applied a highly interactive communication in the analyzed period.

As demonstrated, appropriately managed affective relations of public and organization cause that the mutual reactions towards each other (of public and admin) are intensive and are based on the most active and proactive forms of communications with a major significance for general effectiveness, such as: posts, comments and multimedia.

The peaks of interactivity is observed around weekends and in the evening hours (8pm and 10pm) what means that the free time is fomenting the interactivity within the community of the medium and positively affects the proactive attitude towards participation in multiple conversations as well as sharing the information and opinion with others. Both the profile of the medium and its communication strategy and activity is becoming an attractive form of intellectual entertainment in the free time and the source of establishing relations with groups and individuals that share similar interests.

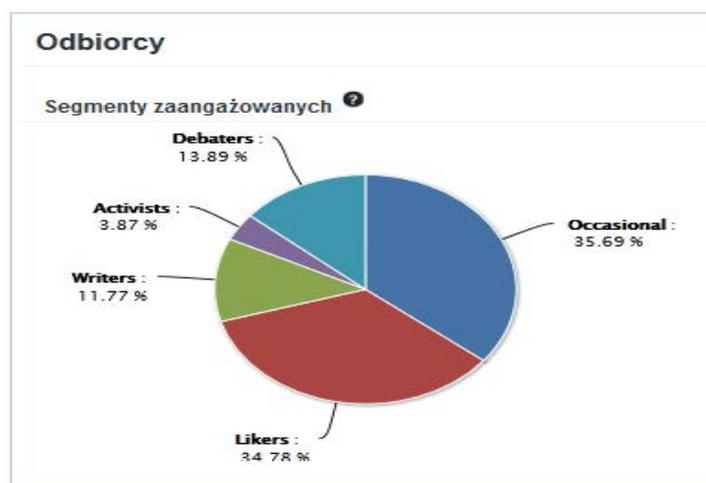
Similarly, the high values are observed in the case of Relative Ini: 13,594. It means the community on the fanpage analyzed in January 2013 was highly interactive independently of the real number of fans (this variable eliminates the relation according to which the major is the numbers of fans, the major is the interactivity). Additionally, this indicator helps to state that the “Do Rzeczy” fanpage has been more interactive even in comparison to more numerous fanpages of other opinion magazines.

If analyzing the trends and peaks in January 2013, it can be concluded that the highest activity, interactivity and engagement was achieved in the 3rd week of January (15-21.01) which was the period of breaking news related to the development of the new weekly magazine and its paper firsts edition and on 23rd of January (Wednesday) when the title of the new weekly magazine and its cover was revealed publicly by means of its fanpage. This information has provoked the most intensive positive and emotional reactions in the target public. According to a well-planned strategy, activity and interactivity of the admin were the highest on the premiere day.

4) The effect of affective components of the relations on the formation of brand's ambassadors.

For the importance of the segmentation of the situational public that was mentioned in the theoretical framework at the beginning, in this study, the behavioral segmentation was applied in order to identify and define the most active segments and potential influencers. As the effect of highly positive and emotional attitude towards the work of the journalist team of the newly introduced medium and to the project, the most active segment covers 30% of the overall public of the fanpage (fans of the medium) in January 2013. Among them, it was possible to identify 352 people of the major values of interactivity and activity that are 4% of the most engaged fans. Those are potential brand ambassadors and can act in favor of the brand influencing the wide public and their personal networks.

Fig.7. Behavioral segmentation of the situational public of "Do Rzeczy" - shares of the categories within the public.



Source: Sotrender.com

5) The role of content in fomenting the positive and affective reactions towards the medium.

The content has played a major role in fomenting the positive-liking reactions towards the publishing activity of the medium, its employees and the medium itself. Therefore, the interesting, high quality, relevant and updated content was important in developing stronger and more effective relations with the community. The most liked and commented posts were related to the development of the new weekly magazine and the actual political situation and the public debate. The multimedia and audiovisual posts and publications were those that provoked the major interest and response among the public as well as its participation in the initiated conversations and sharing of the content.

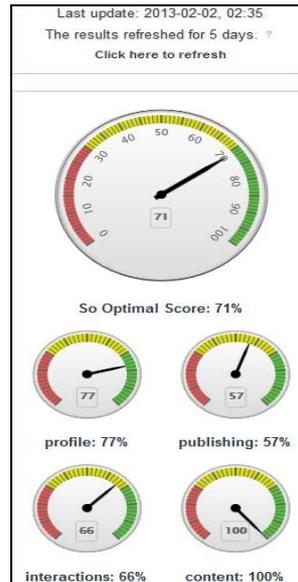
6) Effectiveness of public relations and community management (fanpage management).

As it was mentioned above the strategy was focused on including the pre-existed emotional factors of attitudes and previously developed relations (regarding the old title) into the relations management while developing new title. Furthermore, the strategy and Facebook tactic was based on values and responsibility towards its loyal community in attempt to address properly the trust in the journalists' team.

In general terms, such approach turned out to be very efficient in Facebook fanpage management as the principal channel of interactive and engaging communication with the public and source of trustable information. The overall result of the optimal efficiency of fanpage communication management in January 2013 has the value of 71%.

This evaluation of effectiveness is based on 4 dimensions: profile management, publishing, interactions and content. According to the estimations of Sotrender.com tool, the performance of the fanpage in all these four categories was very high or maximum, being especially important in the case of interactions and content, as demonstrated by the graphic below:

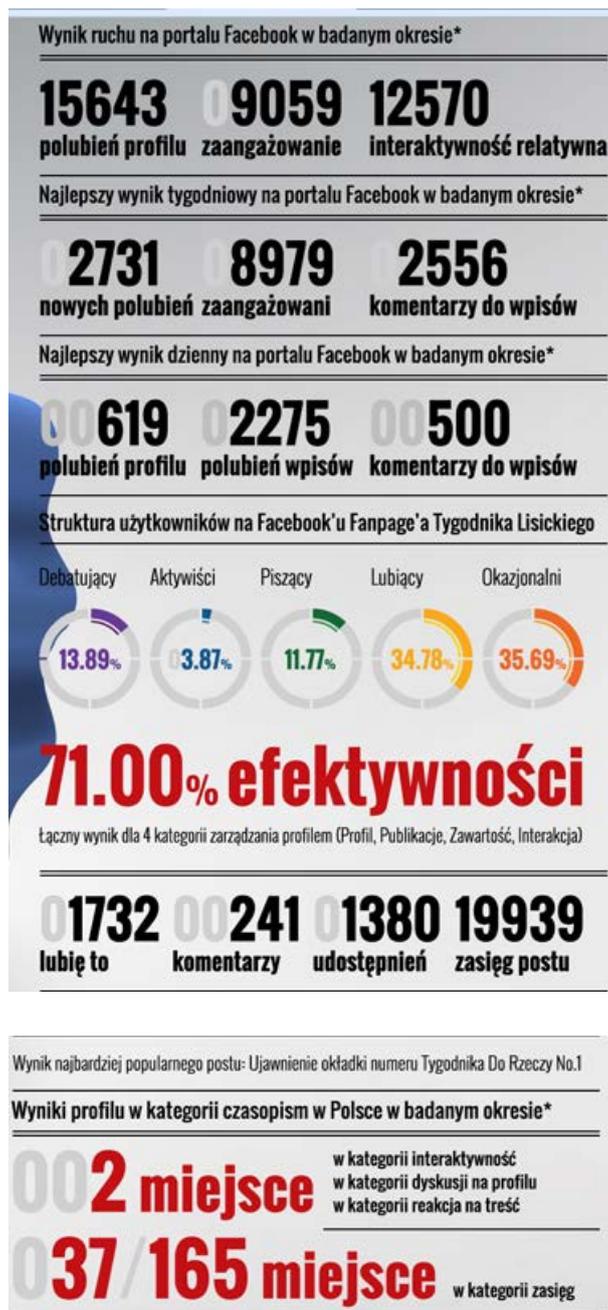
Fig. 8. Efficiency estimation of "Do Rzeczy" fanpage in January 2013



Source: *Sotrender.com*

This success is worth a closer look since the advertising and communication budget was very limited from the beginning and the printing was carefully estimated. Moreover, the potential investor was finally contracted few weeks after the official digital launch. In this way, the present title of weekly magazine has become a benchmark for the industry of introducing the totally new title with limited budget and no financing in digital social networks with great success confirmed by objective sales and online traffic data. Moreover, it serves as the greatest example of solving the crisis of trust towards printed media and the crisis caused by irresponsible management. The analyzed case shows that the Public Relations strategy, adequately defined and implemented, can respond to the crisis in the most efficient way. The following graphic summarizes the effectiveness of the communication and public relations management of the analyzed fanpage:

Fig.9. Overall results indicating effectiveness.



Source: NewRebel Group and www.dorzeczy.pl

In brief, all types of indicators such as: response, conversation potential, activity and shares of diverse actions, engagement and interactivity have reached maximum values in January 2013, even within the sector, in all dimensions: on the fanpage in general, regarding the admin, the public as well as its segments, the content and an effective fanpage management. Particularly, high values of the most interactive and engaging activities of both public and admin must be emphasized here. The top positions achieved in effectiveness in public relations management on Facebook, with

the limited advertising budget and in a short-time perspective, can serve as the benchmark for the rest of the sectors showing how to use loyalty and trust to the high quality journalism based on values in the responsible way and with the benefits both for the community and organization.

The success of online and Social Media presence has determined the success of the premiere number of offline version published on January the 25th, 2013, only two months after the implementation of a new title on the weekly magazine's market:

- Traffic on the web page between December the 12nd, 2012 and January the 25th, 2013: 126,325 of Unique Users.
- 321,278 of visits.
- 889,258 of page views.
- 3:59 time of visit in average.
- 128,108 sales of paper copies of the premiere launch and keeping this sale level on each subsequent number every week placing the newly introduced title in the top of the ranking of the best sold weekly magazines at the Polish market.⁷

5. Conclusion

In general, the study confirmed the hypothesis of effective use of emotional factors of relationships in general public relations oriented at the management of the fanpage. The fanpage, firstly named "Tygodnik Lisickiego" and later rebranded as "Do Rzeczy", has effectively connected the public of the previous title that undergone the redaction crisis with the newly created weekly magazine. In this way, it has become the main channel of the information regarding development of the new project and the main channel of communication with its strong and positive community.

The communication style applied in the fanpage has been based on the symmetrical bidirectional model of Grunig and Hunt (1984) that emphasizes two-way communications, diversity, openness and transparency, coherence and dialogue. It is focused on the interaction and engagement as well as promoting the proactive attitude towards communication that implies a high rate of activity and interactivity in the whole process of communication and in particular interactions.

As a result, the dominating attitudes and opinions of strategic stakeholders of the medium are positive even though they include constructive critics whose main aim is the success of the new medium.

⁷ Data according to corporate information of "Do Rzeczy" retrieved from the corporate webpage: www.dorzeczy.pl and from the Institution of Press Distribution and Control of Poland (22.03.2013).

Therefore, by implicating in the adequate way the positive emotions and feelings of the public towards a new information service and magazine, the fanpage has been used effectively for new brand's viral promotion purposes among the loyal audience and has become the meeting point for contacts with the community and among the community. The 3 pillars: high quality content, dedication to values and journalistic professionalism were key factors that determine the success in a short-term perspective.

Bearing in mind that Facebook is the Social Media channel characterized by a high level of informational noise in which the flow of communication is very intensive and chaotic, the ability to create, by means of the fanpage, the meeting point focused on dialogue between the medium and its readers seems to emphasize even more the success in such a short time.

This dialogue regards the content published by both sides of interaction in which they participate with equal rights sharing commonly the control over the process of communication. The dialogue process has been based on values such as the social listening, free exchange of opinions and information, mutual respectful interactions, acceptance and tolerance. A two-way symmetrical communication process has been developed on active and mutual interactive participation in the conversations and successfully managed the positive potential of the stakeholders.

These two factors have contributed to create a strong and still growing community of strategic significance for the future of the new medium, both in the online and offline reality. Therefore, this case has established new patterns and quality of medium's communication with the reader that address properly the new standards of digital communication in social networks (Social Media in general), being an example of how to take advantage of this kind of modern digital communication for its own organization's purposes.

Due to the engaging of the loyal public into the communication from the start of the launch campaign, a proper and effective management of interactions based on openness and mutual respect, it was possible to create relatively strong relations in only two months. In the same way, this approach helped to foment the initial engagement and enthusiasm of public as they were expressed in the form of positive reactions towards the content published at each stage of the development of the new title. The proper and advantageous use of the initial loyalty, trust and enthusiastic attitude of public has determined the posterior effect on the successful sale of the paper edition of the magazine.

The effectively managed meeting point as the space for discussions for people (fans) sharing their interests and engaged in the content has facilitated the exchange of opinions and sharing the important information within the community and between the community and the journalists' team. The flow of communication was based on feedback and engaging into the interaction of the particular journalists that has enabled the development towards more relevant and better adapted publications that satisfy the needs and expectations of the stakeholders. The direct feedback gained via interactions resulted to be a cost-effective monitoring that allows to know the public without the necessity of conducting special researches. Similarly, the medium's strategy aimed on establishing an engaged public that meet in the space of the fanpage, by fomenting the pre-existing positive potential and development of interactions within the community and with the community, has turned out to be more effective in terms of visibility. Furthermore, such designed communication strategy focused on relations has a positive impact on the reputation and image of the organization. As it can be observed throughout the data demonstrated above, the good relations with community positively affected the image and perception of the new medium, thus strengthening its position within the sector and fomenting its clear voice in the public debate. A dynamic approach to build a reach through interactive communication gives considerable results not only in a short-term period but also in a long-term perspective in comparison to the strategies oriented towards advertising and promotion measured by more passive indicators of number of likes and number of fans.

As it is demonstrated by the indicators used in this study (KPIs), the community of stakeholders created in the fanpage by means of Grunig and Hunt's model of communication (1984) has a value reflected in the interactions and engagement, thus prioritizing interaction is more effective than basing on the scale effects. Another factor of effectiveness here is the ability to create the considerably big and clearly active segment of influencers and brand's ambassadors. Moreover, such strategy has an integral dimension that assure the proper interaction between offline and online spheres and thus joins them together efficiently. Apart from that, it has a global effect among online and offline publics.

The first step of low-cost processes of communication that attract loyal audiences and engage them into conversations from the beginning, by means of relevant and high quality rich-media content has determined the offline high results of sales of the paper edition. As the next step, offline version of weekly magazine contributes in the mode of the feedback to the Social media conversations and fanpage's dynamics. This reciprocal relation has the double effect: Facebook

conversations inspire the publications and allow to gather information about the stakeholders whereas the Social Media content affects the offline edition, can be cited and included in the paper edition and finally foment back the conversations carried out on the fanpage. Altogether they widen the influence of the medium in the public debate.

It can be considered the new model of press in the 2.0 version based on a Social Web mechanism followed by future versions of communication (3.0, 4.0). The case of introducing the new medium in the phase of planning immediately to the Social Media environment and thus connecting with the public that expresses its necessity for such medium and supports its concept becomes a benchmark for the Polish press sector of weekly magazines not only for its proven success. It can result also in new business models of press and other type of medium, both in offline and online versions in which the key factor is the effective presence in Social Media throughout of strong and affective relationships developed in the interactive communication.

These new models are based on an added value of engagement into communication of public and organization as well as the interactions that are actively created by both organization and stakeholders based on common values. They use the situational factors of forming the public and stakeholders such as crisis of previous medium and affective factors of relations that homogenize certain groups of public and their attitudes as well as the content effect on the audience. By applying the effective models of communication as those of Grunig and Hunt and addressing properly the effectiveness with the help of the adequate theories, it is possible to develop the effective Social Media strategy and Facebook tactic that positively impact the relations as the result will bring business benefits. The case of "Do Rzeczy" shows the importance of connecting first to the social networks in order to attract, capture and maintain the public in general. It shows how effective is the strategy based on social factors in gaining the enthusiasm and positive attitude of public, taking advantage of their loyalty and trust and finally engaging it in the participative mode of communication. This effectiveness is demonstrated in terms of the success in comparison to the whole industry. In this way, the analyzed case is the realization of the ideas and predictions of Brian Solis from Altimeter Group, who claim that Social Media are the cause and the way in which the business (including media business) is transformed towards more social model that is more beneficial both for organization and public ("The End of Business As Usual", 2012, Amazon.com) if only based on "social potential of public".

However, such models are in the development stage and their future shape and functioning is still difficult to determine. Their Social Media fundamentals are

advantageous by effectively interconnecting online and offline dimensions of relations with public of readers, media activity and business activity. However, it might be predicted that these models will develop towards ads targeted individually, rich-media and cross media multimedia content distributed simultaneously by multiple social networks (paid and free channels, multi-screen and mobile) to the multiple diverse public, *gamification* and cooperation with social influencers in the areas of journalism and community management. Accordingly, the modern models of journalism will possibly transform the way that journalists work as they will become the proper ambassadors of the medium and will act as the Community Managers and so the new journalistic forms will appear and consolidate acquiring the status equal to more traditional forms of journalism (blogs, vlogs, Web TV, etc.).

These new social models of media and media business, particularly of press, including weekly magazine, can be the new response to media crisis and press crisis that is claimed to be caused by the extensive development of the digital communication galaxy. Independently of the way in which the model is being developed, the key factor remains the same. This key condition is the loyal public that trusts the media interlocutors (remaining loyal to the particular journalists and their work) because of their strong attachment to crucial values and social responsibility in establishing the relationships. Such public meet the first requirement of the effective public relations management since is willing to communicate and has the proactive attitude to it. Within the strategy for Social Media, this key factor is of growing significance. The communication politics that contemplate affective foundations of relationships with public contribute to create active, interactive and highly engaged public and community - the value that helps to achieve the competitive advantage over the industry.

In the perspective of these aspects, the “Do Rzeczy” fanpage has turned to be effective in the second month of its launch, with reduced communication budget and experiencing the results of the crisis of the previous title. Thanks to the intensive work of its journalists connecting with public directly on Facebook, profound knowledge of Social Media and dedication to new digital forms of journalisms, its Facebook activity was the effective step of the new title towards social transformation of its press and media business model. The implication of journalism, values of independence expressed by hard and coherent work, transparency throughout the development of the project and social responsibility towards stakeholders by engaging the team in the relationships with the medium have positively impacted a wider public. Although it was not a pioneer model of developing presence online via Social Media at the Polish market, it was the first so effective one and the first based totally and mainly on the

public relations elements, becoming the benchmark in the industry as far as the launch of new title is concerned with short time perspective and small budgets. Gaining and maintaining still growing one of the most interactive, visible and engaged strong communities is the best example how to manage the public relations effectively towards the excellence in media industry and in crisis within this sector.

In summary, the analyzed case demonstrates a high level of effectiveness in 5 significant dimensions of the fanpage functioning aimed on creating and cultivating strategic brand's public and open communication process:

- mutual engagement in relation and communication (fans and admin).
- high level of interactivity of both parties implicated.
- high level of activity in general.
- high quality, rich media, multimedia and relevant content shared and created by both community and Community Manager.
- PR and a fanpage management that is dynamic, fluent and adapted to the needs of community.

Due to satisfactory performance on these dimensions, the analyzed newly introduced title and the fanpage became the leader of the sector in just two months becoming the interactive Social Media space for virtual meetings with offline repercussion. On the base of dynamic conversations on actual topics there can be cultivated very engaged and emotionally rich relationships among all the participating stakeholders of this open and interactive communication process. Such communication model brings mutual benefits to the implicated parts and foments the influence of new press medium in public debate. Similarly, it helps to attract the attention of a wider and more passive public within the informational noise and thus strengthen its position within industry and in front of other public (not only readers and competence) such as: investors, journalists, advertisers, etc.

This particular case proves that Solis was right in his publications when claiming that a growth in engagement is the response to the adequate management of the relations with strategic stakeholders' communities in Social Media. The "Do Rzeczy" fanpage is an interesting example of how to join efficiently the most modern trends in communication and media: Public Relations 2.0, journalism 2.0 and Social Media management based on the humans factors of relationships. The data demonstrates that the strategy to develop Social Media and a wide online presence has transformed a wide audience into a strong community interacting first with online, and in the posterior development of the new medium, with offline content. The social

transformation of a recently launched press title transforms it into a “human and social brand” of reference in the sector.

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Phenomenological features of digital communication: interactivity, immersion and ubiquity

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Abstract:

Media convergence has changed the communication industry. Now communication, media and audiences are digital. The audiovisual industries have adapted their contents, formats, distribution and broadcasting systems to the digital platforms and mobile devices, whose modus operandi and nature have made digital communication increasingly ubiquitous.

Nowadays the digital cultural practices and digital recreational activities have a privileged space in the worlds of communication, business, culture and education. Accessibility, ease of use, convenience and immediacy are some of the features that characterise the different models of technology-mediated communication. The fields of communication and education need to adapt to the new social, technological and cultural contexts in which mobility, convergence and ubiquity have changed the way people consume media products and communicate and establish relations with other people.

As a phenomenon that occurs in the technological environment, ubiquity needs to be analysed from three perspectives. First, as an object of study: What does ubiquity add to the new communication, social and cultural scenarios? Second, as an educative and sociocultural instrument: How can ubiquity be used to change social and cultural relations and make people more humane, collaborative and pro-community? How can ubiquity be used to change the teaching and communication methods used in schools? Third, as an instrument of expression, knowledge generation and socio-cultural

participation: How does ubiquity improve the access to and management of information? How does ubiquity allow socio-cultural participation and awareness?

This article argues that the proliferation of social networks produced by mobile devices and apps have set new relational parameters that are dominated by large communication companies that propose and impose a marketing discourse that fascinates and seduces people. The young generations create their digital profile in these technological networks because they want to be acknowledged by others. In this sense, educators have the challenge of taking full advantage of the potential of technology to 1) replace the vertical, central and unidirectional communication and teaching models used in the classroom with a horizontal, decentralised and multi-directional transmission model; and 2) to transform the school into a space where interaction occurs in every way, level and programme of study.

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Keywords:

Media convergence, ubiquity, digital media, mobile learning, interaction, education.

1. Communication in the Digital Society

Media convergence is the technological, business and communicative framework that describes and defines the current industry of information, knowledge and entertainment. Media convergence allows the creation of multimedia products that have a hypermedia and interactive structure that determines the mode of presentation, exhibition, reception, processing, distribution and recreation of information. Media convergence, therefore, has radically changed the structure of the traditional analogue media and commerce and business models, the role of users and communication and education professionals, and the traditional teaching-learning processes.

This article describes the main features of communication in the digital society: interactivity and immersion and ubiquity (Gabelas Barroso, Marta Lazo & Hergueta Covacho, 2012).

1.1. The interactivity and immersion

The new digital narrative, which gives structure and consistency to the ubiquitous cultural practice, requires us to develop another discursive paradigm. The

hypertext, as an electronic system of writing and expression that organises, shapes and distributes information and fiction in a non-linear manner, with horizontal or tree-like structures, composed of nodes and links, offers itineraries that are more or less complex and labyrinthine, but also open to the interests and needs of the user. This narrative emerges and flows in the hypertext, which has multimedia support and uses different codes and languages, and in the interaction, which allows the intervention of the user as a producer and distributor of content.

Internet users are not traditional readers or viewers because former exercise and develop a set of expressive and technological skills, such as manipulation of data and management of multimedia applications, and collaborates in pro-community and collaborative activities in the different online spaces open to construction in the Internet.

“In the metaphor of the text as a world, the text is considered a window into something that exists outside of language and extends in time and space far beyond the frame of that window” (Marie-Laure Ryan 2004:118).

Games mediated by digital technology allow interaction in real time, with oneself, in the overcoming of levels, and with others or against others. The duration of the game is under the partial or total control of the player. To some extent, the player will also be able to determine the space, the plots, the arguments, the characters, and the setting of the game. The degree of gameplay provides players a greater or lesser protagonism. Narration here is decentralised. The player’s active participation and capacity to change the course of the action and the story, as well as physical and mental presence in the game, all make the it look like the he or she is visiting a theme park with different types of attractions.

Therefore, the degrees of interactivity involved in the different processes and levels of the game lead us to consider the player as a creator and as what Marta Lazo (2008: 36) has termed “participant receiver”, which indicates that the user is part of the process, in addition to being an actor and protagonist that creates new re-narratives. The immersion of the user, as it occurs with a song, a book or a film that catches and retains our attention and interest, is a relevant factor in the description of interactivity. Here it is important to note that the immersive and, therefore, interactive character of the digital environments has been present in many other cultural manifestations and consumptions throughout history.

“These forms are characteristic of the previous tradition of popular types of entertainment... While we marvel at the spectacle, we also marvel at the skills of the

producer of the effect, and at the device that offers this spectacle to us” (Darley, 2002: 98).

Interactivity is one of the most complex theoretical issues in the field of communication. Interactivity is not something that emerged for the first time in this new century but the technological convergence of the last decade has equipped the concept and its practice with new dimensions. Classic cinema, with its ellipsis and off-cameras, prompted the viewer to “fill” and “complete” these gaps in the frame. The celebrated avant-garde movements of the second decade of the 20th century, like the cubist body decomposition and the surrealist chaotic combination of reality and dreams, also encouraged the participation of readers and viewers. Theatre, with its staging, painting, and game of perspectives, also became an interactive bridge for the imagination and receptive cultural context of its audience. Thus, interactivity, participation, and art performances and productions have been closely linked by tight ties that the media convergence has transformed.

According to Manovich (2005), when defining the concept of computer-related interactive media we run the risk of interpreting “interaction” in a literal manner, equating it with the physical interaction that occurs between users and media objects, at the expense of the psychological interaction. However, interaction can also refer to a way of relating with multimedia representations or fictional situations. Darley points out that “it is difficult to disassociate space and time with regards to this aspect. The desire of experiencing events in computer games as if they were taking place now depends greatly on visual simulation” (Darley 2002: 248). From this approach we can see interactivity as a gateway to the fictional universe, in which interaction and simulation maintain close links. Therefore, we should not underestimate the cognitive processes that also occur in the interaction process, such as hypothesis formulation and psychological recognition, identification and projection.

Defining interactivity is not simple, and it is neither our intention, as we do not have space for a semantic digression. In summary, by interactivity we refer to the active participation of participants with a machine (program or interface), while by interaction we refer to a process that occurs between human beings, users, authors and co-authors in the technological mediation. When we use a machine we can only follow the route previously designed by the developer of the product. As Aparici (2010) points out, there is not necessarily a correspondence between the degree of interactivity of a technical device and the medium’s democratisation level.

“From the simulation of reality in the analogue media, especially television, we move to the simulation of participation in the digital environments” (Gabelas, 2010a: 253)

Advancing in the multiple connections between interactivity and immersion, Scolari (2010:234) quotes the following description by Schmucker, “a model is a set of variables that are presented as a reduced representation of a process or situation that summarises the abstraction mechanisms of the cognitive acts, places at the learning centre the dynamic set of relations and processes, and explains the mechanisms of action involved in this process”. As Scolari explains, the multitude of interactive video games, like Second Life, offer a universe that is autonomous in its economy, and social and game rules.

Immersion is a source of pleasure for the reader, viewer, player and Internet user. They get trapped in the “text” which becomes a rewarding experience, especially when access is easy and comfortable. When “texts are familiar and require little concentration effort” (Ryan, 2004:123) this access is immediate. Texts charged with stereotyped contents facilitate immersion as they connect with the expectations and reinforce the information held by the reader about others individuals, groups or situations. But does immersion involves an uncritical consumption, reception or interaction? This seems to be one of the factors why immersion is rejected among many scholars and intellectuals, as they deem it evasive and irrational escapism with not civic commitment. Beyond these positions, immersion is not a simple and easy for of gratification for uneducated escapists, but a necessary invigorating experience. It involves attraction, passion and pleasure. Writers, filmmakers and entrepreneurs get immersed in the development of their projects. They need passion and courage to get their projects started, emotional charge to carry on and improve them, and immersion capacity to guarantee their execution.

Neither interactivity nor immersion are recent phenomena. Some people “think that information technology has enabled interactivity, but this is actually a dimension of the face-to-face interaction that was excluded with the appearance of the manuscript and writing and [now] the electronic medium has [re]introduced in written messages” (Ryan, 2004: 247). SMS and instant messaging have managed to integrate the rich and expressive nonverbal communication that is produced in oral communication, through the use of emoticons, nudges and different graphic signs, which make this type of communication feel warmer, closer and more complete.

Immersion is a very important factor in early childhood, where games allow children to grow and learn. From the intrauterine immersion in which the foetus collects

and absorbs the mother's resonances, we move to the mimetic immersion that the child has with the mother. The so-called mirror neurons stimulate learning processes and mechanisms in which the child gets immersed in the gestures, words, tone, and the ways of looking of the mother. Then, and from early childhood children play with their feet, hands, objects, and with other children in a long immersive ludic journey of learning and enjoyment; growth and socialisation.

Digital communication recovers and integrates the concept of intertextuality, which comes from the field of communication and is closely linked to the communicative context, but even more to textual remix, recreation and parody. The digital and cultural practice allows co-authorship, in a broader and more significant spectrum, in environments that are powered by free software and facilitate literacy in its critical and creative dimensions. Recreation and parody allow analysis, empowerment, personal production and the possibility of changing the micro-space, the micro-environment.

Some authors have conceptualised the phenomenon of intertextuality as "the second screens" (1) or multiple viewing, which refers to the fact that now people can simultaneously watch a TV program and use an app to see the biographies of their favourite characters; or to the fact people can simultaneously play a videogame and watch in their mobile phones the graphic novel that inspired the multimedia game. Media representations are fluid and like palimpsests that retain traces of previous texts and combine their references and expressions to create the new representation.

Intertextuality describes the concept of active audience in its double dimension. The first dimension is the process of critical reception where the audience deconstructs and challenges the message, its consumption and interaction, and analyses its intentions, negotiates, resists or opposes the meaning of the text. In the process of reconstruction the audience recreates, rebuilds or parodies the text, through the use of textual remix or sampling strategies. For example, YouTube is a large active and recreational repository of this type of critical reception. This is how we reach the second dimension, the sociocultural context in which the reception process takes place, which involves not only the personal and collective context of the subject-audience, but also the collective and symbolic imaginary that conditions the interpretation.

After having addressed the concepts of interactivity and intertextuality, we will now address the concept of hypertextuality. In the last process, information is organised in another way and content has a different structure. The traditional journalistic piece of information becomes hypertextual, originates new structures in the

message and new exploration routes in the user. Hypertextuality has transformed the traditional linear text of the mass media into a network of nodes, in which information enables different accesses, with different navigation routes, according to the needs and interests of the citizen.

The hypertext allows other forms of creation and co-production, in which users-citizens may participate and intervene in the creation of information and comments in an instant manner; and of distribution, given that social networks have programs, applications and tools to disseminate contents. Media convergence offers through the variety of platforms the hypermediality necessary to disseminate information from and with the integration of media and languages. A product of this convergence is the emergence of cyber-genres which is the concept used by Marta Lazo (2012: 125) to describe the new trends of the cyber-reports and cyber-documentaries. One of the examples where the media convergence is manifested is television, understood as the epicentre of the convergence of screens (Marta and Gabelas, 2008).

In this regard, Salaverría (2008: 21-34) proposes very useful terms to define the features of digital journalism:

- **Multimediality:** the medium can integrate in the same platform the following formats: text, audio, video, graphics, photographs, animations, computer graphics, etc.
- **Hypertextuality:** allow us to access information in non-linear multidirectional ways and to navigate the content through textual links that provide more information.
- **Interactivity:** refers to the possibility of users to interact with the medium, the authors and the text, and the development of actions that directly communicate and propose ideas.

In addition to these basic features, we should consider other factors when creating content for the web:

- **Usability:** it is an attribute of quality that refers to the ease of use of a website's interface by the user.
- **Updating:** refers to the constant publication of content with the objective of informing and communicating events of public interest.
- **Distribution:** refers to the use of different channels to promote content, such as subscriptions, newsletters, social networks, mobile devices, etc.

- **Access:** the principle of web accessibility is flexibility with the objective of satisfying different needs, situations and preferences.

The following section describes how all of these factors are present in the digital environment and in particular in the ubiquitous digital universe, applied to the field of education.

2. Ubiquity

The technological transformation in synergy with society towards the media convergence and the changes that have occurred in the understanding of communication, information and education have altered the existing balance and put people at the disposal of the new paradigms and scenarios of production, interaction, social and cultural construction, where ubiquity is a very important factor that proposes a new vision of communication and education.

What do we mean by Ubiquity? A ubiquitous person is one that wants to witness everything and is in constant motion, i.e. a person who has a complete vision thanks to an attitude of movement and dynamism. The goal of ubiquitous people is to have unlimited access to as much information as possible from as many sources as possible. If we transfer this information to the concept of ubiquity, we can define it as the ability to be permanently present and limitlessly in motion. The use of technology to connect with sources of information and knowledge allows the creation of networks, not only with people, but also with those sources that mediate our communication and information needs and help us accessing to and expanding our cognitive skills and managing, in this way, our identity and our knowledge.

The metaphor of the liquid times used by Zygmunt Bauman to describe the changes that are taking place in our society helps us to define what has happened as a result of the globalisation and the uncertainty in which individuals are submerged.

“The exposure of individuals to the caprices of the job and property markets creates and promotes division not unity; it rewards the competitive attitudes, while simultaneously degrades collaboration and teamwork to the rank of temporary schemes that should be abandoned or disposed of once their benefits have been exhausted. ‘Society’ is seen and treated as a ‘network’, instead of being treated as ‘a structure’ (much less as a solid ‘totality’): it is perceived and treated as a matrix of random connections and disconnection and an essentially infinite number of possible permutations” (Bauman, 2007: 9).

This is how we arrive to the concepts of multinode communication and interconnectivity which Castells (2001) uses to describe a way of exchanging values, rules and knowledge. This is a network capable of expanding and integrating those nodes that are at the same time independent and dependent on the network.

Along this line, the ideas proposed by George Siemens on his book *Knowing* knowledge are very useful to describe the use of technology to improve people's cognition and construction of knowledge:

“Learning is the process of networking. The nodes are external entities which we can use to form a network. Or nodes can be people, organizations, libraries, web sites, books, journals, database, or any other source of information. The act of learning (things become a bit tricky here) is one of creating an external network of nodes -where we connect and form information and knowledge sources. The learning that happens in our heads is *an internal network (neural)*. Learning networks can then be perceived as structures that we create in order to stay current and continually acquire experience, create, and connect new knowledge (external). And learning networks can be perceived as structures that exist in our minds (internal) in connecting and creating patterns for understanding” (Siemens, 2006: 29).

This new landscape has also changed the systems of information creation, management, distribution, exhibition and dissemination and has led to the emergence of new scenarios of production, interaction, social and cultural construction, where ubiquity and hyperconnectivity are major factors that transform the communicative reality and, in consequence, the educational reality. In the words of Cope and Kalantzis (2009: 2), it is necessary to use the possibilities offered by the new technologies to allow anyone to “*produce and disseminate information, so that learning can take place at any time and place*”.

2.1. Ubiquity as an object of study

What does ubiquity contribute to the new communicative, social and cultural scenarios? We talk about a “liquid” concept that alters the central position of the narrator in its intradiegetic and extradiegetic roles; as it simultaneously tells and narrates its experience, and is both witness and notary of the experiences of; in its double dimension (receiver and producer). It is a reality that facilitates different learnings and questions the current parameters used in life education. It integrates the informal learning and proposes a new and curious perspective on the phenomenology of gaming.

Ubiquity guarantees micro narrative sequences which can also be didactic, influences the management of the most scarce good which is attention, proposes a route in which consumption is hybridisation, narrative is mediamorphosis, construction is open, there is meaning in chaos, there is connection and co-creation, audiences are segmented and micro formatted in the already blurred boundaries between fiction, reality, marketing and the appropriations of consumption.

The implications of ubiquity are many if we think of the education of young people and their relation with the media. As Gabelas (2011a) points out, the fascination of the audiovisual and the multimedia provides young users (internet users or gamers) a ubiquitous interface that allows them to “enter” in the program or the game, developing not only social and recreational skills but also cognitive and emotional competencies.

This fascination with ubiquity involves views at conflict. On the one hand, it is true that young people are vulnerable, undergo processes of adaptation and experience the pressure of the environment. We do not understand the conflict as something necessarily negative, but as something necessary, as an opportunity to grow. Teenagers live in conflict, moving from interior spaces, which ask them to get out, explore, and discover their identity, and to take risks, to exterior spaces, which establish boundaries, rules and obligations. In a troublesome and complicated identity crisis, teens live a daily struggle with themselves, with others and with the environment, seeking to discover and define their personality. Certainly, the life of teens at home or at school is often complicated, but we cannot forget that they are always growing with difficulties and contradictions.

Teens grow in the paradox of isolation and alienation from the family, and their attempts to become part of a group, moved by their need for integration, sense of belonging, and interaction with peers. This encounter with the “outside” world through digital ubiquity will teach them some social norms and standards.

The relation between young people and ubiquitous screens generates two suggestive icons: the mirror and the mobile phone. The first represents the narcissistic history that surrounds the daily life of adolescents, in which any excuse is valid to look at themselves in the mirror, to strengthen their confidence. Narcissism is a sign of today's youth. Television prolongs this ritual with its advertising messages, which offer young people the reflection of a perfect and, thus, impossible body. Teens feel the need to display their image in public, and become popular and admired.

YouTube, MySpace and Facebook are a global display cabinet where young people leave testimonials and display their bodies and their dreams. The new millennium

expands individualism; the new generations are sensitive to the erotica of the global screen, while relationships in the internet are instant, fast, intense and hedonistic. Juan Manuel Bulacio, President of the Foundation for Research in Applied Cognitive Sciences (ICCAP), argues that individualisation is people's love for themselves. Individualisation, which is characteristic of modernity, has become the hallmark of our times, when the end of adolescence has been extended to 30 years of age. The immediacy of the Internet and its conversational value provides sensorial pleasures to young people who permanently live the here-and-now, moved by their need for identification points, privacy and public spaces, and desires of projection and membership to a particular group, in which real and virtual contacts are complementary.

Mobile devices offer young people the gift of ubiquity, the power to be with everyone at any time and situation. "Heavy users" is the term used by marketing researchers to refer to 14-18 year-olds. For the National Director of the OCU (Organisation of Consumers and Users), José María Mújica, this term already constitutes a claim to attract these young people: "It is an attractive term and soon we will see how there will be mobile phones for heavy users and a whole marketing system around this group. Advertising campaigns primarily target young people. It is a very interesting market because they perform an act of consumption even though their economic potential is not very big. Most of the time, young people are not even responsible for the economic cost of the mobile devices. For this reason, we believe that we should devote special attention to all those campaigns that incite young people to buy stuff because an impulsive young consumer will be an impulsive adult consumer. And there is a legal void here" (Gabelas, 2011b).

The mobile phone gives young people a sense of freedom, independence and security. It can be used anytime, anywhere. The fixed-line telephone did not have these qualities because its use was limited to a specific place and the oral language. With mobile phones emerges another form of communication, which is not only verbal but also written and audiovisual.

Teenagers are spectators and players. They have a basic social experience, which is characterised by the multiplicity of connections with the information network. The so called "i-generation" (Marta Lazo, Martínez Rodrigo & Sánchez Martín, 2013), due to its interaction ability, can simultaneously use two or three forms of communication, each of which offers various stimuli, which can lead to a super-saturation that also produces collapses. They were born next to the colour television, cradled by the technological development, ignoring the grand narratives and changing

channels every five seconds. They experience and feel at blazing-fast speeds. The fragmentary stimulation impresses them and grabs their attention, but only for a moment. What are young people watching these days? And, above all, how are they watching? What meanings are produced in these gazes? Audiovisual screens become diversified and individualised: firstly it was the living room, then the TV room, and now it is the corners where people use their mobiles to access to any content. These corners are not only inside the house, but also outside and do not respect borders. These many and new possibilities of socialisation make it difficult for parents to know what their children are watching and creating.

Media literacy (Aguaded, 2009: 7-8) gives priority to the social dimension of the consumption of and coexistence with the screens, like a real scenario for socialisation (with face-to-face and virtual contacts that are complementary). What children and young people watch on TV, or play on consoles, or do on the Internet do not only correspond to an individual cognitive or intellectual process, but also to a recreational and social exercise (Marta Lazo & Gabelas Barroso, 2007). The social game involves the presence of the screens and contributes to the development of users. In this social game people talk about, laugh at, play with, imitate, disagree with, parody, and interact with what appears on the screens. A multitude of fan clubs and virtual communities emerge and grow around TV programmes and video games that make an impact in the identity of young people, because they describe their habits, styles, traditions, language and preferences. Education must be present in this epicentre and this “classroom without walls” must also be part of the educational programs of the formal and informal education.

2.2. Ubiquity as an educational resource

Based on the needs of young people we wonder whether it is possible to change social and cultural relations to make them more human, collaborative and pro-community, in order to apply them to communication in education. How can we change the educational methods and the degree of communication inside and outside the classrooms?

The mentality of young learners is changing. In this sense it is important to consider the social value that the ubiquity of mobile phones represents for them. Young people often use their mobile phone as a symbol of membership to a group, as a means of communication with their peers (2), and to imitate the aesthetic taste of others, which is related to the immediate generation of information. To these features offered by mobile phones we should add the ease of use, the accessibility, comfort,

and the pleasures they provide by giving the user the power to obtain information instantly, to be “always available”, and to be aware of what they find or may find interesting.

Young people consider their mobile phone to be an identity-defining feature, as they allow them people to reflect what they like and to appear to be unique, individual, to have certain status, and to be related to a certain brand. Mobile phone offers young people autonomy and connection, and allows them to evade parental and adult control. The permanent connection is tangible proof that with mobile phones young people may transgress rules, controls and social authority. Young people like to share, even their intimacy, to promote an open attitude. The mobile phone combines the public and the private worlds (e.g. manifestations, networking and image – privacy and prestige).

To these aspects we should add the fact that the internet provides young people, and all people in general, access to information and knowledge, and as a result we can change and build new educational opportunities, according to our needs. We have seen how ubiquity offers a digital future, a social culture that is open to new paradigms, which together with the social networks enables a new teaching and learning system that transforms the reality of young people and consequently the traditional educational-communicative process and offers the possibility to step out of the educational institutions and strengthen the teaching and learning process outside of the classroom to which education was previously circumscribed.

The new generations move in these ubiquitous territories, in which they acquire and develop skills that remain hidden to our educational system which, as Cristobal Cobo (2011) points out when talking about “invisible learning”, is still giving priority to “a formal, standardised, uniform and parametric education” and has not realised that what is essential in learning is still invisible to formal education. This does not mean that the use of new technologies is essential to communicate, educate and learn today, and that their use implies new learning and communication models. What it means is that the new digital media have enabled “a new educational paradigm” (Cope and Kalantzis, 2009: 2). As previously mentioned, learning has been (or is being) developed and the educational needs have changed (or are changing). Today, education remains limited by traditional teaching system which, in the words of Roberto Aparici (2010:10), works “as if it were the production chain of a factory”.

Here it is important to make a remark: when we talk about ubiquity, we do not refer to the mere use in the classroom of tools like computers, tablets or mobile devices that process, synthesise, present or facilitate the management information, because they do not generate new knowledge by themselves. Technology cannot generate

meaningful learning without the support of a pedagogical model. The use of technology implies a change of attitude and methodology that some oblomovist (3) teachers have not yet comprehended. That is why schools continue to superimpose and fit new technologies onto a traditional education model without previously undertaking a change of mentality in the classroom. It is necessary to undertake this change in attitude in order to move towards an active education that is based on the collaboration and autonomy of learners. In this new education system learners will find motivation in the maximisation and use of their creativity, participation, experiences, critical thinking, problem-solving abilities, emotive nature, and the inclusion of their digital leisure practices in their education. This is because the new form of education proposes diverse models of cultural practices that reflect the basic principles of educational innovation such as: the relevance of the student as educational subject and object; the prioritisation of the cultural and social contexts of learning; the development of critical thinking through the creative resolution of conflicts; the formation of collaborative groups and learning communities that seek the common good and the collective improvement; the conduction of research projects that benefit society; and the creation of nodes that connect schools with the networks that make up society.

However, we have no doubt that by using technology to connect to sources of information and knowledge we create networks, not only with people, but also with these sources that mediate our communication and help us access to and expand our cognitive skills and to manage, in this way, our identities and our knowledge. This is how we get into the universe of ubiquity, which means learning anytime, anywhere, anyway, and at any age according to the needs of learners, regardless of the degree of formality or informality. The presentation delivered by Nicholas Burbules, co-founder of the "Ubiquitous Learning Institute" of the College of Education of the University of Illinois, in Argentina in April 2009, about the impact of ICT in educational institutions (4), highlights the need for ubiquitous learning based on the merger of the technological and socio-cultural environments. Burbules also mentions the most important aspects of this model, which is based on opening the doors of the educational institutions to the use of ubiquitous learning based on new environments formed by the union of the socio-cultural and the technological spheres. This is how we reach the concept of education 2.0, which uses the following ideas, which had been previously proposed by different pedagogical reformers and the initiative titled *Habilidades para la Vida* ("Skills for life") (Gabelas, 2010b):

- To focus on students.
- To prioritise their social aspect and motivate them.

- To help them to develop their critical thinking to solve problems.
- To connect the school with other significant learning places.
- To use social networks to form participation communities where knowledge can be generated.
- To work to achieve a collective good.
- To consider learning as entertainment.
- To carry out projects through research.
- To undertake a change in attitude regardless of the technology.

The education 2.0, as an element that encompasses education and communication cannot work without technology. To the use of mobile technology and the educational openness that ubiquity provides we have to add the social implications of the “network society” and to find out how to transform it to commit teachers and learners to critically analyse the social reality and contribute to its transformation and improvement.

At this point we want to insist on the fact that ubiquity itself does not represent a new way of learning, but does transform society and thus education, into a ubiquitous and open scenario of innovation, or as Juan Domingo Farnós Miró points out in *Gestión de los conocimientos inclusivos y ubicuos en una sociedad digital* (“Management of inclusive and ubiquitous knowledge in a digital society”): “[education] needs to be open, flexible, inclusive (so that everybody can reach ‘their’ excellence, and therefore ICTs and artificial intelligence will play an essential role), and at the same time Ubiquity should be a benchmark, since there should not be time-space gaps in the acquisition of knowledge and its implementation in the labour market, which is so important nowadays, must have all the possible development facilities and should no longer be the prerogative of specific educational bodies, but should be carried out in any situation and location” (Farnós Miró, 2010:12).

Students learn by integrating the social, cultural and communicative practices that they use in their leisure time to the use of new technologies in the school. In this way, schools develop citizens who have constant digital competencies to manage learning, which occurs permanently, distributed in time and space, as well as socio-cultural competencies. In order to transform ourselves and contribute to the transformation of others we must take advantage of the resources, treating them in a ubiquitous manner. Computers, mobile devices and social networks are already an indissoluble part of our learning and social life: they extend our mental capabilities;

facilitate communication and, as a consequence, the construction of meanings at any time, in both synchronous and asynchronous modes; enable the generation of a culture of participation; and “*have the undeniable value of bringing formal and informal learning together. Since they allow students to express by themselves, to building relationships with others, and to meet the requirements of their education*” as stated by Juan José De Haro (5). Searching and storing information in our memory is no longer important. What is important is to know how to find and manage knowledge with the help of the available devices. It is essential to realise that the student of the 21st century has to know how to successfully move through these liquid territories (Bauman) of the new technologies.

2.3. Ubiquity as an instrument of expression, knowledge generation and socio-cultural participation

Once we have overcome the anachronistic and obsolete dichotomies between face-to-face and virtual in the real world, because reality has different dimensions that are complementary and necessary, we can start to talk about the different identities in the digital universe. The concept of identity is closely linked to the concept of environment. When we face the obsolete discourse of the ICTs, in an implicit way we keep using the terms “native and digital immigrants” and assume children have very good technical and communicative skills which is not completely true. This appreciation, very characteristic of the perception and discourse of adults (teachers and parents), as it has been demonstrated by the latest study carried out by the Conflict, Childhood and Communication research group (CONINCOM according to its initials in Spanish) (6), responds to the fact that us adults separate two dimensions of reality (the physical and virtual dimensions), while minors perceive and experience a single reality, which is in turn an environment.

In our opinion, we need to understand the cultural and digital practices (not necessarily the ICTs) as something that is exercised and performed in an environment that involves different reflections, all very close to the concept of ubiquity. First of all, the social and technological determinisms are overcome, understanding that technology has been created by humans, but that it has changed humans themselves, because it has created an environment that is different from the analogue and exclusively face-to-face environment. Secondly, because pretending that we master and control technology only because we are aware of its effects and consequences, it is too pretentious. When McLuhan talks about the “global village” and “the media as an extension of the human body and senses”, and when Castells explains cyberspace and

what occurs in it as a "Networked society", were are describing the same thing, a phenomenological experience that takes place in a changing, fluid and unstable environment. A ubiquitous environment that allows people to learn, to know, to coexist, communicate in many ways, anywhere, anytime, and during the whole life.

The aforementioned environment facilitates and maximises the existence and expansion of the digital identities in the liquid fluidity of knowledge and its shortcomings. Castells speaks of three types of citizens; the misinformed, who are those that believe that they are informed because they have seen the images and their many representations in the various media formats and platforms and in particularly in television news programmes; the over-informed, who are those that are saturated by news programmes and compulsively consume more and more data; and finally, the informed, who are those that use training, time and criteria to filter, select, process and pertinently apply the information they manage and access to.

The types of citizens described by Castells (2001) reflect the different levels of media literacy or digital trans-literacy that exist among citizens to develop their learning. The construction of the digital identity implies being in the media environment. This construction indicates that the digital media skills have been acquired. We prefer to refer to these competencies as RICTs (Relationship, Information and Communication Technologies). This term, which was coined by José Antonio Gabelas Barroso, Carmen Marta Lazo and Daniel Aranda (2011) and subsequently developed in the blog titled *Habitaciones de cristal* (7), helps us to better define what our students need.

By building a liquid digital identity, students become educated, critical and autonomous beings who develop strategies. And it is in this construction of competencies where the R Factor (inspired by the "R" in RICTs) works as a potential relational for the horizontal and dialogic dynamics, which are amplified and re-scaled in this way in the digital environment, if previously there is a liquid why and how that justify the action which is also change. The inclusion of relationships has implications that lead us to think of students as entities and to the possibility of helping them reach their potential in a holistic manner to cover the three dimensions of the individual (cognitive, emotional and social) and, on the other hand, it proposes changes in the nomenclature, by linking the other elements and at the same time diminishing their importance.

- The cognitive dimension: to know how to transform information into knowledge; to support students in their information processing so that they are capable of

analysing, questioning and understanding it and developing their critical thinking to visualise new approaches to solution of problems.

- The emotive dimension: to build an emotionally-balanced identity; to engage students' emotional intelligence and guide their feelings and emotions to create connections with their peers, so that they feel socio-emotional empathy; to motivate students to search results and make decisions in a creative way; to help them to adapt to new situations and environments; and to help them to control negative impacts abilities through the acquisition of "emotional competence" (Ferrés, 2003: 49-69).
- The social dimension: to learn how to express ideas and communicate with other users in the internet; to interact, socialise, share, interact and form nodes in the networks.

We can see how the relationships implied in the letter "R" constitute a "R-evolution" that reorders the centre of gravity of education and ensures the definitive entry into culture of the second type of "orality" (8). The R factor involves learners in all of their dimensions and "R-elates" them with communication to transform them into both senders and receivers, involving their emotional intelligence and empathy and maximising their social connections with other sender-receivers who will lead them to exchange ideas, think, create and remix ideas creatively, consolidating the "feed-feed" model proposed by Roberto Aparici and Marco Silva in *Pedagogía de la interactividad* ("Pedagogy of interactivity") (2012) to generate knowledge. The R factor also transforms people from senders-receivers to senders-producers in a horizontal line in which all the people are senders and figures that move in the Internet and communicate and generate through the mediation of mobile devices.

The R factor also "R-elates" learners with information and incites them to analyse and develop their critical thinking in the search for content in order to mature intellectually. Finally, The R factor "R-elates" learners with the technology so that they can express in the way they do it during their leisure time and, thanks to the new language of hypertext, links, tools and networks, they can continue creating, remixing, redesigning and sharing (with other users) contents that are significant to them.

In this way, we immerse ourselves in the universe of connected nodes proposed by Siemens (2006). Creation and expression do not exist inside the individual; they exist outside the individual, in these relationships that are built online and feed, not only on the information made available by organisations and institutions, but also,

and mainly on the exchange of information with peers. These connections allow apprentices to build their knowledge.

However we should not be naïve, or think that technology, in general, and ubiquity, in particular, are “white” or aseptic factors or potentialities of this environment. There is a powerful industry that proposes and imposes technology very arbitrarily as the supreme value, based on permanently obsolete consumption. Technological innovation demands communicative and pedagogical innovation, which includes the appropriation not only of the tool, but also of the socio-cultural environment and context in which ubiquity is produced, generated and regenerated.

As many authors have pointed out in the first decade of the 21st century (Postman, Eco, Castells, Wolton, Ramonet, etc.), technology is ideology. With the latest generation devices, technology, which is also ubiquitous, gives citizen the access that was previously fenced in by the large media groups. While it is true that behind the discourse of “techno-marketing” there are many commercial interests, it is also true that the apps and the intelligent terminals allow people to “be here and now at any time” as receiver and producer at the same time; as an author in the recreation; as a writer of the everyday narratives. Today, ubiquity allows people to have accessibility, comfort and ease to be a direct witness of the reality and be able to share it. So the ubiquitous technology moves in the tempestuous land of ambiguity: it is an opportunity for participation, it is a fantastic showcase that silences different gaps and emphasises the hegemonic discourse of the market.

3. Conclusions

Screens focus, project and reduce our sight, all at the same time. They focus our sight through use of frames and the editing of the action; project it through the virtuality of its components of simulation, interaction and hyper-mediation; and reduce it because they set agendas, scripts, trends and currents which in a peculiar way, particularly in the social networks, establish what is good, real and authentic, and exclude many other realities that produce the digital divide (technical, educational, cultural and productive disconnection).

Active audiences exercised their media competencies in the two directions mentioned throughout this article: deconstruction and reconstruction of the text, which is understood as any media production, regardless of format and platform. In the deconstruction audiences undertake an analytical reading that results in a more or less consensual negotiation or a more or less radical resistance to the proposed meaning.

In the reconstruction, audiences apply strategies of recreation, mixture, rearrangement, often with parodic purposes which produce discourse that is different or alternative to the one proposed by the media texts.

We believe that this double direction is articulated from and with a ludic dimension that affords a high degree of immersion, simulation, and recreation. Just like virtuality, in general, and in the ubiquity, in particular, gameplay also allows people to transgress the limits of space and time.

The ludic ubiquity mixes the physical and material, local and global, emotional and rational, real and virtual spaces. The traditional game and game played in the different and varied technological environments, which are mediated by the social networks, the Internet and apps, converge in their interests, interactions, processes and constructions. The immediacy, the sensory gratification, the festive tone, and the little effort of the traditional game is amplified by the ubiquitous possibilities of technology, which is a shock wave with great social, emotional and cognitive potential.

In contrast to the small child who grows and learns with the game, the adult person resists its influence because he or she frequently and largely considers it to be a waste of time, frivolous and non-productive. However, big brands such as Google, Mango and Benetton have created specific recreational spaces where young and creative people can generate new projects and design news trends to make their products attractive to different targets and establish new trade routes.

The construction of the digital identity implies being in the media environment. The completion of this construction indicates that the digital media skills have been acquired, and this is what we have termed as RICTs (Relationship, Information and Communication Technologies). The R or relational Factor maximises the horizontal and dialogic dynamics, which are amplified in the digital environment, and develops the three dimensions of the individual: the cognitive, the emotional, and the social.

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Redefinition of the Relationship Between Media and Audience(s) in the Digital Context: The Guardian's Open Journalism Model

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Abstract

Technological and digital convergence has meant a real revolution in the 21st century society, and the media have been affected in their structures and contents. The convergence of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has led to the emergence of a new communicative context in which it is now possible to establish a positive relationship of equals between journalists and the audience, no longer conceived as a uniform and passive mass but as a critical mass formed by real *users* (rather than readers) of media.

This new digital ecosystem has led to the establishment of new power relations in communication processes. We are facing a real removal, bluntly a big revolution in the field of journalistic communication. The relationship between *users* (formerly known as the audience) and journalists (subject, more than ever, to public and constant scrutiny) has gone from being unidirectional to being bidirectional and egalitarian. Moreover, the term "audience" becomes outdated compared to more accurate concepts like *prosumer* or *producer* more in tune with the present moment in which the barriers between content producer and consumer have almost faded. The fact is that the ownership of the information seems to have returned to the hands of its rightful owners: the citizens. Hence the unstoppable rise of social networks as a primary instrument of transfer of the interests, concerns, emotions and feelings of the audience.

In this paper we conducted a case study of the British newspaper *The Guardian*, which has undoubtedly been one of the traditional media that best adapted to the digital environment. It is a medium that has always taken care of the relationship with their readers, encouraging their participation and the use of new technologies. Good examples of this attitude have been the implementation of the strategy known as "Digital First" in 2011 and the opening of the digital space *Open Weekend* in March 2012, among other activities. Undoubtedly, *The Guardian* is a perfect example of

adaptation to the social web and the potential it offers in terms of participation of the readers-users, who have acquired a more proactive role in the construction of information.

1. Introduction

At present, we live in an ecosystem characterized by the irrepressible digital convergence of information technology and communication. It is a process framed in the context of great social, economic and cultural transformations that we can fit in the general framework of what Henry Jenkins calls Convergence Culture (2006). The technological revolution led by social networks can promote democratic processes of participation and deliberative conversation on the Internet. At present, we are witnessing the visibility of issues, dialogues and minorities that until recently remained hidden in the shadows.

Jenkins says that media in the digital age are accomplishing a process of convergence arising from two mid-1980s phenomena: the growth of new media technologies and cross-media ownership. But, in his opinion this is not a process only technological or human-based. For Jenkins, that convergence culture is the logical result of the industry's economic desire to distribute contents across multiple platforms too: "convergence culture is a paradigm shift –a move from the medium-specific content toward content that flows across multiple media channels" and is "driven by the economic calculations" of the media industry (Jenkins, 2006: 254). Finally, he points out the main reasons why industry has embraced convergence, including the necessary creation of "multiple ways of selling content to consumers" and of a platform for shaping consumer behavior, as well as a desire to cement consumer loyalty at a time when market fragmentation and the rise of file sharing threaten old ways of doing business (Jenkins, 2006: 254). As Vujnovic *et al.* (2010: 287) have noted, "in this context, media industry efforts to distribute their products across multiple platforms end up empowering the users to appropriate, reshape and redistribute those products".

2. Theoretical Framework

In the field of digital journalism, it is possible to note in recent years a growing scientific literature about participation and interactivity. The pioneering studies of the early nineties resulted in the early years of this century to a bibliographic explosion around participatory journalism, citizen journalism or user-generated content (UGC).

In that way, Mark Deuze (2001) refers to the new growing phenomenon as open-source journalism, while in a flagship essay Bowman and Willis (2003) use the

term participatory journalism. There are scholars that connected it to public journalism (Paulussen et al., 2007) too.

In this sense, it is necessary to clarify that, while many authors use the above terms interchangeably, in our opinion the term *Participatory journalism* is more comprehensive and includes specific practices as citizen reporting or user-generated content.

In any case, participatory and interactivity research studies have been very fecund, especially in three areas: Citizen journalism (Gillmor, 2004; Carpenter, 2008; Allan y Thorsen, 2009; Papacharissi, 2009; Singer y Ashman, 2009; Barlow, 2010), Participatory journalism (Bowman and Willis, 2003; Bruns, 2005; Deuze, Bruns and Neuberger, 2007; Deuze, 2009) and Public journalism (Haas, 2010; Rosenberry y St. John, 2010; Schaffer, 2010).

At the same time, it has been developed a line of research into what has been called UGC (cfr. García de Torres, 2010). User-generated contents are identified as an object of scientific study in the late nineties (Light and Rogers, 1999; Schultz, 1999, among others) and in the last decade have become a fetish object for researchers (Hermida and Thurman, 2008; Paulussen and Ugille, 2008; Lewis, Kawfhold and Lasorsa, 2010, among others).

In a field of knowledge as digital journalism, recently created and with a growing literature (besides the constant revisionism because of a mutable and evanescent reality), undoubtedly one of the short-term objectives is to achieve the necessary conceptual clarification. This task must be undertaken in a separate study of this, due to the limited nature of this paper. However, it is possible to detect some prospective classifications intended to standardize and classify the activity of the people formerly known as the audience (Rosen, 2006). It is so interesting a proposal made by Joyce Nip (2010), who distinguishes seven ways of connecting citizens with news production, depending on the degree of control exercised by journalists on citizens. This typology ranges from the mere incorporation of the reader to the media discourse or agenda to citizen journalism practices outside the media. Between the two types, Nip locates what she calls public response or interactive journalism. In this case, the audience members take the initiative to react to the news published by journalists, by providing information or comments.

3. A case study: The Guardian's open journalism

The Guardian is a British newspaper owned by the non-profit Scott Trust Limited, that historically has adopted transparency as a core idea in its editorial policy

through the publication in Internet of both Editorial Code (2003) and its style book (The Guardian Style Guide), the latest version dates from. Its network of websites were launched in January 1999, and since then *The Guardian* has won a lot of web awards (in 2012 they won five prizes at Online Media Awards) for its pioneering and innovative activity in cyberspace.

Editor-in-chief Alan Rusbridger has played a key role in turning guardian.co.uk into the forefront of digital media in the world. When Rusbridger was designated as editor of The Guardian, this was then the 9th biggest newspaper in the UK (with only a print edition). Now, it is the third online newspaper in the world, surpassed only by New York Times and Mail Online in terms of average daily unique browsers. The interactive web edition of The Guardian is read by over 4 million people across the world every day and now attracts 78 million unique browsers a month. Besides, as much as 25 per cent of its revenues comes from its digital edition.

The Guardian has developed an editorial strategy called Digital first. In the actual context in which financially print is still more lucrative than digital, in their mindset The Guardian is completely digital first. From the point of view of the editor-in-chief Alan Rusbridger, they are “a giant website with a small team dedicated to the newspaper” (Goodman, 2012), and the paper reflects that, by offering analysis and explanations rather than news.

One consequence from this point of view is the openness and transparency through the pre-planned content for the print edition. *The Guardian* is aiming now for 30 percent of content in advance. This helps them even out production, saves costs and produces a more analytical paper.

3.1. The Guardian's open journalism

It is hard to explain in few words what Open Journalism is. In fact, we are talking about an attitude more than attributes or mandatory ground rules. This attitude is related to the *Digital first* strategy. In an interesting interview published by the Nieman Lab in 2012, Rusbridger explained what Open Journalism is by putting an anecdotal example:

“The simplest way I explain it is to think of the theater critic. *The Guardian's* got a wonderful theater critic who has been doing the job for 40 years, and no editor I can think of his right mind would get rid of Michael Billington or not have a theater critic. If you asked the question, “What about the other 900 people in the audience next door to Michael?” –it is conceivable no one else in the audience has an interesting opinion that

could add to your understanding? [...] it is generally better to try and harness multiple views" (Ellis, 2012).

Therefore, we are dealing with a completely new idea of journalism, brilliantly expressed in the well-known Three Little Pigs commercial, which is moving beyond a newspaper. In Alan Rusbridger's words: "The Three Little Pigs was an attempt at explaining the benefits of open journalism to the reader –that you get a more complete version of the truth- and to explain them this idea of a newspaper company is changing very, very fast" (Ellis, 2012).

That new idea of (open) journalism does require investment in staff, and The Guardian has now eight community managers and twelve moderators in order to deal with reader's participation. This philosophy based on Open Journalism has been developed by practicing successfully the following ten mantras or traits:

- a. It encourages participation. It invites and/or allows a response.
- b. It is not an inert, "us" or "them", form of publishing,
- c. It encourages others to initiate debate, publish material or make suggestions. We can follow, as well as lead. We can involve others in pre-publication processes.
- d. It helps form communities of joint interest around subjects, issues or individuals.
- e. It is open to the web and is part of it. It links to, and collaborates with, other material (including services) on the web.
- f. It aggregates and/or curates the work of others.
- g. It recognizes that journalists are not the only voices of authority, expertise and interest.
- h. It aspires to achieve, and reflect, diversity as well as promoting shared values.
- i. It recognizes that publishing can be the beginning of the journalistic process rather than the end.
- j. It is transparent and open to challenge –including correction, clarification and addition.

In short, Guardian's open journalism overcomes the constant negotiation between openness and control and open and closed paradigms in journalism. The openness of its web is "a critical factor in bringing a higher degree of transparency to world affairs, and makes individuals, companies, institutions and politicians accountable for their actions" (The Guardian, 2011).

The Guardian's open API

As explained by Aitamurto and Lewis (2013), Open Application Programming Interfaces (APIs) constitute a shift toward an open innovation paradigm and are an early manifestation of open innovation in the news industry. Following De Souza and Redmiles (2009), Open APIs serve as an interface between software programs, structuring the rules by which one program can access the information of another. Open APIs are software tools that enable seamless digital content-sharing between content providers and third-party developers (Bodle, 2011). In addition, Aitamurto and Lewis (2013: 315) point out that, with Open APIs, “companies such as Facebook and Google invite external developers to build services such as web applications around their content – for instance, by republishing the original content in a new environment”.

In short, APIs are “a set of rules by which one software program can communicate with another software program” (Aitamurto and Lewis, 2013: 316). In this way, Open APIs are a tool for internet companies to exchange their content efficiently with external collaborators (Bodle, 2011).

In relation to their characteristics, there are three core processes of open innovation (cfr. Chesbrough and Crowther, 2006; Enkel et al., 2009; Chesbrough, 2011a; Aitamurto and Lewis, 2013). Open innovation can be: *outside-in process* (when leverages the discoveries of others), *inside-out process* (when externalizes innovation processes by using partners while at the same time saving R&D resources) or *coupled-process* (in which companies combine the other two processes, commercializing innovations with partners and sharing complementary resources).

Although Open APIs is a relatively new phenomenon, the first news organization to launch one was NPR in 2008. The Guardian launched its Open API in March 2009, giving access to more than a million articles published since 1999. The existence of an Open API takes part of The Guardian's open platform strategy, in which the newspaper encourages developers (more than 3.000 developers at the moment) to build applications around their contents and data in order to generate revenue. This is a coupled-process strategy called “three-tiered model”: the first tier allows developers to present only the headlines of the article; the second tier allows developers to introduce their own ads and keep the advertising revenue; finally, in the third tier the revenue sharing must be negotiated between them. In this way, The Guardian, by applying an open innovation strategy, can move toward an open business model (also called a platform business model), in which the value (and revenue) is co-created with collaborators (Chesbrough, 2011b). According to Aitamurto and Lewis (2013), in open innovation around digital media, the core product would be information content rather

than hardware/software technology. That's the case of The Guardian's open innovation strategy.

With its open innovation model, The Guardian can reach new markets, create extended product portfolios and even meet the needs of increasingly fragmented audiences. The Guardian's open API has inspired some collaboration with Facebook and Google, among others, and has led to a notable increase in the number of newspaper readers.

One of the defining characteristics of the Open journalism practiced by The Guardian model is the use of crowdsourcing (which we will see several significant examples later on), especially in relation to user-generated content. In a sense, we can say that this newspaper is a pioneer in turning crowdsourcing into a key part of its business, and it was one of the first also to turn itself into a complete platform for data sharing.

A key benefit for using crowdsourcing "was that no other media entity was able or prepared to replicate the efforts of crowdsourcing, innovative online reportage and computational journalism. It secondly enhanced the reputation of *The Guardian* for investigative journalism, and enabled *Guardian* journalists to focus on investigation rather than low-level activities" (Daniel and Flew, 2010: 5).

3.2. The Guardian's open journalism examples

Over recent years there have been many proposals and examples of open journalism offered by the British newspaper. Below, we highlight some of the most significant (in addition to those already mentioned):

- a. **Open News Desk Live.** *The Guardian* has also developed an open news desk live as a visibility strategy for its contents. While this is a risky experiment, the fact is that it has been tested successfully by some other media, such as the Swedish regional newspaper *Norran*.

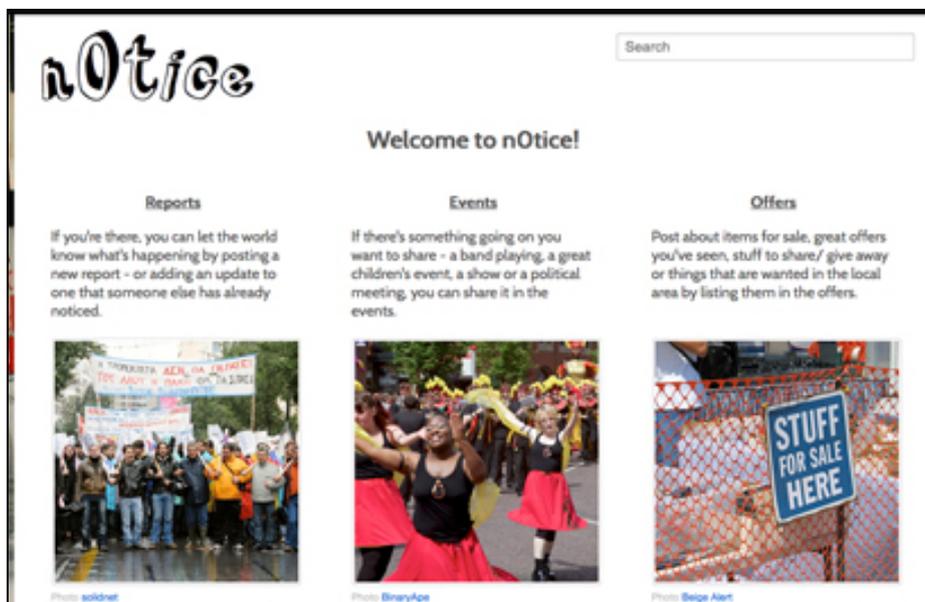
The experiment supported by The Guardian is publishing in the blog "Inside The Guardian" a part of the stories in which their reporters are working (restricted to National, International and Economy news), along with providing the Twitter account of the news writers. In addition, The Guardian proposes using the hashtag #opennews so readers can suggest news or research lines to the newspaper.

The aim of this open news strategy is explained at *The Guardian* website devoted to open journalism project [<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/open-journalism>]. This *News Desk Live* feature "goes over all the stories that the paper is trying to cover

in a specific day –complete with a version of the “story sked” that editor review –and allows readers to contribute ideas or suggestions about those topics” (Ingram, 2012).

b. Notice. There have been many tools and platforms implemented by *The Guardian*, following its open source strategy. In our opinion, one of the most interesting (since combines within itself the newspaper’s mutualised, open and collaborative nature) is *nOtice*. It’s a citizen-driven platform that allows people the ability to create their own noticeboards about local news, community events, etc.

It’s been a completely new kind of social platform in which users could customize the branding, the overall aesthetic, and even the subdomain of their particular noticeboards.



c. Guardian open weekend. On 24th and 25th March 2012, *The Guardian* developed an unprecedented activity: to open its doors to the public, hosting a festival of ideas, innovation and entertainment. Guest speakers from around, writers, editors, digital developers and photographers participated in over 200 programmed sessions on everything from the American presidential elections to the “Arab spring”.

- e. **Key investigations made by The Guardian.** There are a lot of examples, like *Wikileaks*, the phone-hacking at the *News of the World* or the *Arab Spring* coverage. All these initiatives have in common the openness of information, promoting collaboration and the establishment of a relationship of equals with the audience.



- f. **Comment is free.** In relation to the previously mentioned open and collaborative strategy, *The Guardian* has created a section called "Comment is free", which dates back to the famous words of CP Scott (former editor of *The Guardian*) in 1921: "comments are free, facts are sacred." It is a way to engage the reader in the creative process. The audience collaborates on elaborating book reviews, sharing photos or talking with the editor. In this sense, there have been a lot of paradigmatic examples of reader's fruitful participation (besides the MPs expenses) pieces like *Perspectives on unemployment* or *Mental health perspectives*. However, we should note that while the reader helps, collaborates,

and participates in the information, the responsibility of analyzing information and data remains with the journalist, who serves as curator *content*.

The screenshot shows the Guardian website's 'comment is free' section. At the top, there's a search bar and navigation links for various categories like News, Sport, and Comment. The main headline is 'comment is free' with a sub-headline '...but facts are sacred Guardian editor CP Scott, 1921'. Below this, there's a 'Today's picks' section with a large article titled 'On benefit? The government are making cuts' by John Harris, which has 1886 comments. Other smaller articles include 'Is telling your daughter to find a husband such a bad idea?' and 'How do churches get new burns on seats? Get rid of the boring old ones'. A 'On Comment is free' sidebar lists the most viewed comments, with the top one being 'The bedroom tax's authors were either careless or cruel – it must be fought' by Ellie Mae O'Hagan.

3.3. Promoting user participation

The Guardian aims to establish a solid, stable and valuable participation for readers in the media discourse. They have even developed a style guide to encourage reader participation. There are 10 guidelines to establish community standards and participation guidelines:

- a. **We welcome debate and dissent, but personal attacks (on authors, other users or any individual), persistent trolling and mindless abuse will not be tolerated.** The key to maintaining the Guardian website as an inviting space is to focus on intelligent discussion of topics.
- b. **We acknowledge criticism of the articles we publish, but will not allow persistent misrepresentation of the Guardian and our journalists to be published on our website.** For the sake of robust debate, we will distinguish between constructive, focused argument and smear tactics.

- c. **We understand that people often feel strongly about issues debated on the site, but we will consider removing any content that others might find extremely offensive or threatening. Please respect other people's views and beliefs and consider your impact on others when making your contribution.**
- d. **We reserve the right to redirect or curtail conversations which descend into flame-wars based on ingrained partisanship or generalisations. We don't want to stop people discussing topics they are enthusiastic about, but we do ask users to find ways of sharing their views that do not feel divisive, threatening or toxic to others.**
- e. **We will not tolerate racism, sexism, homophobia or other forms of hate-speech, or contributions that could be interpreted as such.** We recognise the difference between criticising a particular government, organisation, community or belief and attacking people on the basis of their race, religion, sex, gender, sexual orientation, disability or age.
- f. **We will remove any content that may put us in legal jeopardy, such as potentially libellous or defamatory postings, or material posted in potential breach of copyright.**
- g. **We will remove any posts that are obviously commercial or otherwise spam-like. Our aim is that this site should provide a space for people to interact with our content and each other, and we actively discourage commercial entities passing themselves off as individuals, in order to post advertising material or links.** This may also apply to people or organisations who frequently post propaganda or external links without adding substantively to the quality of the discussion on the Guardian website.
- h. **Keep it relevant. We know that some conversations can be wide-ranging, but if you post something which is unrelated to the original topic ("off-topic") then it may be removed, in order to keep the thread on track. This also applies to queries or comments about moderation, which should not be posted as comments.**
- i. **Be aware that you may be misunderstood, so try to be clear about what you are saying, and expect that people may understand your contribution differently than you intended. Remember that text isn't always a great medium for conversation: tone of voice (sarcasm, humour and so on) doesn't always come across when using words on a screen. You can help to keep the Guardian community areas open to all viewpoints by maintaining a reasonable tone, even in unreasonable circumstances.**

j. The platform is ours, but the conversation belongs to everybody. We want this to be a welcoming space for intelligent discussion, and we expect participants to help us achieve this by notifying us of potential problems and helping each other to keep conversations inviting and appropriate. If you spot something problematic in community interaction areas, please report it. **When we all take responsibility for maintaining an appropriate and constructive environment, the debate itself is improved and everyone benefits.**

Nevertheless, *The Guardian* is not limited to establishing standards of community behavior, but in the interests of transparency and to encourage participation has also published a journalist blogging and commenting guidelines:

1. Participate in conversations about our content, and take responsibility for the conversations you start.
2. Focus on the constructive by recognising and rewarding intelligent contributions.
3. Don't reward disruptive behaviour with attention, but report it when you find it.
4. Link to sources for facts or statements you reference, and encourage others to do likewise.
5. Declare personal interest when applicable. Be transparent about your affiliations, perspectives or previous coverage of a particular topic or individual.
6. Be careful about blurring fact and opinion and consider carefully how your words could be (mis)interpreted or (mis)represented.
7. Encourage readers to contribute perspective, additional knowledge and expertise. Acknowledge their additions.
8. Exemplify our community standards in your contributions above and below the line.

3.4. *The Guardian* and Social Media: Facebook “Social Reading” App

Alan Rusbridger has always been a hard evangelist for getting people onto Social Media. Thus, with *The Guardian's* open API, companies such Google or Facebook have been invited to collaborate and expand the newspaper contents. Besides, *The Guardian's* editorial strategy is based on using social media because they enables reader participation. In Rusbridger's opinion, after switching to the use of social media as a professional tool and putting digital media first, *The Guardian* website has become the third-largest news website in the world. In 2011, 400 journalists used Twitter professionally and had 50 official accounts. In Facebook there were 30 different pages, and this social net generated the 5 per cent of *The Guardian's* website traffic.

Nevertheless, Guardian's open journalism is essentially experimental. So, after a year-long experiment with a Facebook "social reading" app that gained more than six million users (April 2012 data), The Guardian decided to take back control of its content (cfr. Ingram, 2012). Product manager Anthony Sullivan explained that decision: "The Facebook app has given us access to a hard to reach audience and has helped us learn much more about our new and existing readership which, as a digital first organisation, is crucial [but] we have decided to switch our focus to creating more social participation for our users on our own core properties."

The Guardian adopted the decision of taking off Facebook social Lecture app since the platform that is hosting the content (in this case, Facebook) arguably gets the lion's share of the benefits, and the content provider becomes a secondary player. Following Ingram's opinion: "it seems clear that *The Guardian* has decided the benefits of controlling the way that readers come into contact with its content –and how they interact with it once they have done so- outweigh the benefits of the social reader app" (Ingram, 2012). From our point of view, this is not a failure but a new step in experimentation way that defines digital context in 21th century.

3.5. *The Guardian's Business Model*

In relation to the above, *The Guardian's* open journalism essentially articulates its view of future of journalism as free and open, in contrast to that media organizations in the UK and the US that are putting their content behind paywalls. For Rusbridger, doing that creates an impenetrable barrier to the free flow of information and ideas. In order to harmonize print and digital editions, *The Guardian* is altering the production of its print paper to adjust it to evening reading (and to be, consequently, a niche market) while online version would be open, free and collaborative.

However, there are also negative views about the viability of the business model of *The Guardian*, and it is fair to mention them. There have been many voices in the industry fiercely critical of the Scott Trust philosophy, because in a sense the group compensates The Guardian economic losses thanks to the substantial gains from *Autotrader* (a classified cars sales website and magazine). Even Heather Brooke, Professor of Journalism at City University's Department of Journalism in London and former collaborator of this medium has called Guardian's open journalism as "a failed business model."

While it is true that by the time the model used by the London newspaper has reported more losses than benefits to the Guardian Media Group, the newspaper industry as a whole is in a recession. Perhaps it is more appropriate to look to the

future and how to adapt to it. Nor should we neglect the fact that the digital platform of the paper now contributes to 25 per cent of revenue of *The Guardian* and this number is growing at a rate of 20 per cent every year.

4. Conclusion

Throughout the preceding pages, we have seen that we are immersed in a fully digital ecosystem characterized by the multiplicity of sources, information overload and the establishment of a new order of values. In addition, we have reviewed a case study, *The Guardian*, as an example of a new way of conceiving and practicing journalism for the nature, principles, values and potentials that define technological convergence.

By induction, after a detailed study on *The Guardian*, as a media than can be considered the standard of a new way of practicing and conceiving journalism activity in a fully digital and interactive scenario, we can establish a set of conclusions or inputs about the new relationship between media and their audiences in a fully digital, technological and convergent framework. Thus, we have identified a number of changes and removals of roles traditionally associated with journalism that, in large part, could be extrapolated to other media, areas and realities. All of them are related to achieving and promoting the participation of users in a media. They are the following:

a. Changes in journalists role

We've assisted to changes in the journalist's role. It exists a new *curatorial role* for journalists consisting in direct readers to the best contents, enhance the news experience and engage readers by constructing (niches) communities of interest. Journalists should encourage reader participation in media platforms and thus create an effective link between the two; for achieving it they can (and should) use all elements at their disposal, such as social networking. In a sense, the digital journalist becomes a professional content curator whose motto would be: "Encourage participation and invite a response". Finally, the journalist often aggregates and curates the works of others.

b. Changing roles of readers/users

In relation to the previous point, media users have definitely abandoned the traditional passive role that defined them until now. As we have seen in the analysis of

The Guardian, web users participate in a high level in the development of news production.

This shows the positive response to the encouragement of participation and success of *crowdsourcing* and collaborative strategies. *The Guardian* has not only increased its audience exponentially, but also built readers loyalty. Only this can explain that they get more than 70 comments per story. The achievement of a sense of belonging and identification has been demonstrated during the coverage of the Egyptian revolution, when individual Guardian articles were shared via social media (Facebook and Twitter) thousands of times as well as attracting thousands of commentaries in contrast with *The Times*, which were commented on or shared only a handful of times. In this sense, we should not forget that the online version of *The Guardian* receives over 500,000 comments.

c. News Making Huge Changes

As noted by Meg Pickard, Head of Digital Engagement in *The Guardian*: "Embrace, not replace". Meanwhile, Alan Rusbridger refers to this phenomenon as the "mutualisation" of news. Journalists must cooperate with readers and communities to better understand, explore and reflect situations, perspectives and experiences of mutual interest for the benefit of all.

In this sense, after analysing *The Guardian's* strategy, we can say that the reporting process does not end with the publication of news. Journalists must produce information, encourage user participation and collaboratively enhance news. The establishment of joint communities of interest (a potential mode of revenue) directly influences the radical shift in the news making, now conceived as active, collaborative and collective.

d. Transforming News Organisations

After studying *The Guardian's* open journalism model, we can say that journalism has definitely changed for traditional news organization. The future is here, and demands that in a 3.0 digital context media a platform for sources and readers to come together and interact must be provided. In some way, UGC or *crowdsourcing* make sense with this idea of a platform for data sharing, an idea promoted by *The Guardian*. As Alan Rusbridger said: "We are a platform for others people's content as well as our own". That is a distributive model of journalism defined by the journalist's curator role providing richness and diversity of content in the context of a collaborative open platform.

We are talking about open and collaborative projects and platforms, third-party developers and services, and open knowledge. Definitely, a newspaper successful in the the world of social media, collaborative knowledge and deliberative democracy must be a mutualised newspaper.

Open and participatory/collaborative journalism as the most logic way to succeed in the current digital environment

The Guardian's editorial strategy is based in a two-way relationship between journalist and the people formerly known as the audience. A 21th century news organization needs to be more open and more dual-approach oriented. So, this new idea of newspaper is based on the existence of *openness*, transparency, participation and crowdsourcing.

Following this roadmap, *The Guardian* has managed to place itself at the head of the world journalism and become a spear blade of a sort of journalism focused on audience and viral-content oriented. In some sense, the tide towards digitalization is irreversible and journalists and newspapers have to adapt to the new reality of Open Journalism in a transitional (and mutable) digital context. Instead of saving the press or getting a profitable business model right now, media have to adapt to the present: digital, social, collaborative, open, and participatory.

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The segmentation of the Web space in accordance with axiological paradigm¹

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Abstract

The article addresses some important issues of communication in the Web. It is focused on communication strategies and technics used in contemporary media space.

Methods used in this study include the following: building models of vocal and mental processes based on psycholinguistic approaches, systemic/communicative interpretation of discourse, joint coordination/action analysis of language phenomena in linguistic activity of communicants, introspection/interpretation of text, context/situation analysis of messages, some elements of structural and functional analysis.

Evaluation of empirical data (extracted from blogs, portals, online conferences, chats, forums and wiki-resources) involved in this study shows that the most efficient strategy and technics used in the contemporary media space are those based on dialogue principles. The decisive factor of successful online communication is common axiological basis of the participants of dialogue.

The communication environment has dramatically changed in the recent decades, which caused some processes of integration between different areas on different levels. There have been some important changes in the way the audience consumes information. Enormous expansion of the virtual space also brought some important changes in the concept of authorship. This concept (and the related copyright issues) takes completely new features in the Web. Increasingly important role of visual components in the media messages transforms the very nature of the mediatext: verbal components are supplemented with the elements of design and infographics.

Dialogue strategy is the main and most prospective communication form in contemporary media space. Since all traditional components of a dialogue (temporal, spatial and linguistic ones) are unimportant in the virtual space, axiological profile of users is the main communication factor. Closeness or coincidence of value paradigms

¹ Segmentación del espacio mediático del internet conforme al paradigma axiológico.

of the participants is the main regulator and determinant of dialogue (polylogue) in the Web communities.

Common axiological background of the participants of the dialogue segments communicative space. It also defines the choice and appreciation of the partner, duration of the contact with this partner, willingness to share information as well as success in solving communicative tasks.

Resumen

El presente artículo está dedicado al estudio de la eficacia de la comunicación y a la descripción de las estrategias comunicativas y tecnologías utilizadas en el espacio mediático moderno de internet.

La metodología de investigación consiste en la modelización de los procesos psicológicos de discurso y se basa en los métodos psicolingüísticos, en los de la interpretación sistemático-comunicativa del discurso donde se aplica el análisis de la coordinación de los actos de comunicación en el habla de los comunicantes y la introspección e interpretación de textos. Igualmente, se usa el método del análisis contextual y situacional posicional de las oraciones y elementos del análisis estructuro-funcional.

Los cambios drásticos surgidos en los medios de comunicación durante las últimas décadas llevaron a la integración de distintos espacios mediáticos a diferentes niveles. También se ha cambiado el proceso de consumo de información por sus usuarios. La expansión del espacio virtual igualmente ha influido en las cuestiones de autoría otorgándole al autor un estatus totalmente nuevo. Al mismo tiempo, la creciente importancia del componente visual del mensaje mediático cambia la naturaleza de los textos informativos.

El análisis de los datos empíricos (datos procedentes de diferentes blogs, portales, conferencias online, chats online, foros de internet y recursos wiki) permite afirmar que la estrategia del diálogo (polílogo) y las tecnologías vinculadas a ella en el espacio mediático moderno de internet resultan ser las más eficaces, determinantes y prometedoras. Ya que en el espacio virtual todos los componentes tradicionales de una comunicación eficaz (componentes temporales, espaciales y lingüísticos) se equilibran, a primer plano emergen las características axiológicas de los usuarios. La coincidencia de los paradigmas de valores aparece como un factor regulador y determinante para un diálogo (polílogo) en las comunidades de red. La base axiológica común de los comunicantes es la que divide el espacio comunicativo en segmentos, determina la elección del interlocutor y la postura hacia él, condiciona la duración del

contacto, la disposición para compartir la información y sirve de garantía de éxito para cumplir los objetivos del acto comunicativo.

Palabras claves: la eficacia de la comunicación, estrategia de diálogo, paradigma axiológico, recursos del Internet

Keywords: Effective communications, dialogue strategy, axiological paradigm, Internet resources.

1. Introducción

El objetivo del presente artículo es estudiar la eficacia de la comunicación y las estrategias comunicativas y tecnologías utilizadas en el espacio mediático moderno del internet.

El potencial comunicativo de los recursos del internet se caracteriza por la transformación del proceso comunicativo moderno. Igualmente se aprecia la influencia del cambio en los canales de difusión de la información, de las condiciones del funcionamiento del contenido, de los roles de los destinatarios y remitentes, etc. lo que, lógicamente, lleva al cambio de los parámetros del mensaje mediático. Las exigencias fundamentales para el mensaje son su alto grado de susceptibilidad a búsqueda, su calidad gráfica (*scanability*), el volumen y la calidad de las referencias y la accesibilidad para los usuarios, entre otros.

El cambio esencial del espacio comunicativo originó la integración de diferentes espacios a distintos niveles. Los procesos políticos, económicos, culturales y sociales se entrelazan y se unen en un dominio único. Las vertientes de información local y nacional fluyen y se disuelven en el espacio informativo global. Las fronteras entre las actividades publicitarias, periodísticas, las de propaganda y de marketing prácticamente se han borrado.

También ha cambiado el proceso del consumo informativo por el público. Hoy día existen distintos tipos de destinatarios que, percibiendo la información de varios canales al mismo tiempo (por ejemplo: del internet y la televisión), muestran diferentes grados de actividad en los espacios comunicativos. La expansión del espacio virtual igualmente ha influido en las cuestiones de autoría modificando la figura del autor. De allí viene la necesidad del estudio de su nuevo posicionamiento. Al mismo tiempo, la creciente importancia del componente visual del mensaje mediático cambia la naturaleza de los textos informativos.

Como tarea nuestra actual aparece el objetivo de determinar los tipos de conducta comunicativa de los usuarios en el espacio del internet. Igualmente, surge la necesidad de describir de forma más detallada este espacio y los principios según los cuales se efectúa la selección de los contactos, cómo condicionan su frecuencia y especificidad, entre otras cosas, ya que de todo ello depende el éxito en el cumplimiento de los objetivos del acto comunicativo.

2. Base y la metodología del estudio

La metodología del estudio del espacio del internet yace en la modelización de los procesos discursivo-psicológicos y se apoya en la base psicolingüística, interpretación sistema-comunicativa del discurso, aplicación del método del análisis de la coordinación de actos del habla en la actividad lingüística de los hablantes. Igualmente se usa el método de introspección e interpretación textual, el análisis situacional contextual de las oraciones y elementos del análisis estructuro-funcional. Asimismo, se recurre al análisis del contenido.

El estudio se basa en una encuesta donde participaron más de 500 sujetos, cuyas características se ofrecen en la tabla 1 (ver abajo). Los demás materiales del estudio son datos procedentes de diferentes blogs (135), portales de internet (54), conferencias online (13), chats online (10), foros de internet (7) y recursos wiki (5).

Características	% del número total de encuestados
Sexo	
Hombres	48,2
Mujeres	51,8
Edad (años)	
18 - 20	12,2
21 - 26	67,1
27 - 34	10,8
35 - 55	7,8
Mayores de 55	3,1
Formación profesional	
Bachillerato	13,8
FP	18,2
Estudios universitarios	26,3
Estudios universitarios no acabados	36,2
Postgrado	5,5
Ámbito laboral	
Industria (inclusive transporte, medios de comunicación, construcción)	5,2
Agricultura	1,6
Comercio, industria alimentaria, administración, servicios públicos	4,5
Sector sanitario, servicios sociales	4,5
Educación	11,7

Cultura	6,8
Instituciones de crédito, financiero y bancos	5,4
Órganos del poder directivo	3,8
Instituciones	4,3
Medios de comunicación	8,5
Jubilados	4,2
Estudiantes de universidades e institutos	31,1
Ámbito militar y de vigilancia del orden público	3,2
Parados temporales, amas de casa, personas de permiso por cuidado, etc.	3,1
Otros ámbitos	2,1
Estatus de puesto de trabajo	
Directivo de alto nivel (director general, su sustituto, director técnico, jefe de área, militares de rango superior, etc.)	9,7
Mandos intermedios (director de producción, jefe del departamento, maestro, etc.)	25,9
Subordinados (operario, auxiliar administrativo)	64,4

Tabla 1. Las características generales de encuestados.

Para la interpretación de los datos sociológicos obtenidos se utilizó el programa de estadística SPSS.

En el estudio fue utilizado Brand Analytics - el sistema de monitorización y análisis de frecuencias de palabras en los medios de comunicación a tiempo real (<http://br-analytics.ru>). Para la interpretación de los resultados se aplicó la clasificación numérica de la teoría estadística del coeficiente de correlación de Pearson.

3. Resultados

3.1. Estrategia dominante en el espacio mediático del internet moderno

Según los datos del Fondo de Opinión Pública de otoño de 2012, el 52% de la población de Rusia mayor de 18 años utiliza el internet (61,1 mio. de usuarios). Según los datos de yandex.ru los blog-servidores más prestigiosos son:

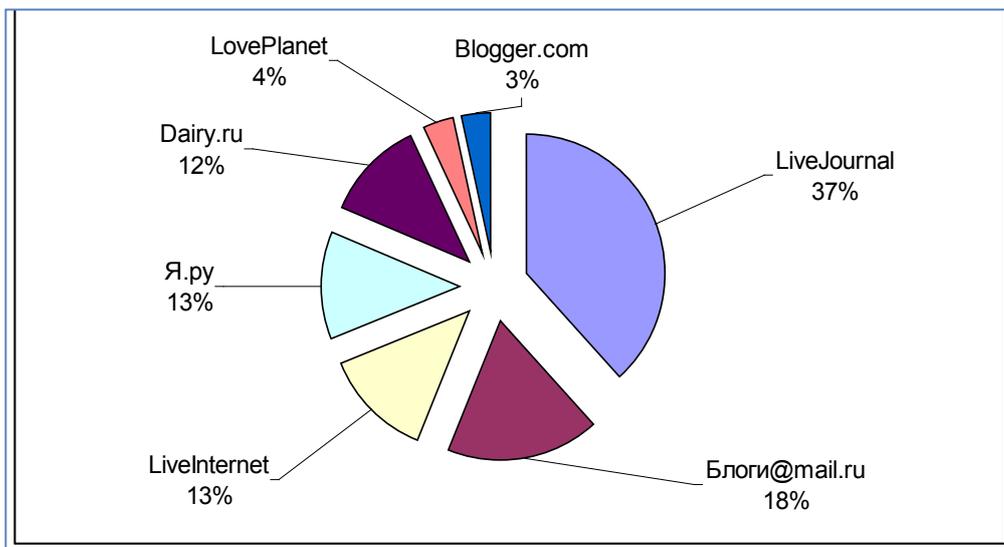


Figura 1. La estructura de la distribución de los blog-server.

Los resultados de encuestas han permitido reconocer las funciones de los blogs demandadas por sus usuarios de forma más activa. El análisis de 135 blogs aportó datos para poder identificar los modelos comunicativos típicos para los blogs de origen ruso.

Función/blogs	1	2	3	4	5
Publicación de textos propios	1,06	1,29	1,22	1,15	1,06
Lectura de textos ajenos	1,41	1,20	1,24	1,45	1,06
Creación de los comentarios	0,97	1,10	1,23	1,19	1,35
Traducción de interface a otras lenguas	0,46	0,42	0,24	0,46	0,50
Búsqueda según el tema de las publicaciones	1,64	0,61	0,99	0,43	1,03
Crossposting (envío cruzado)	0,81	0,78	0,96	0,71	0,77
Cambio del interface externo	1,01	0,61	0,53	0,70	0,67
Suscripción a blogs de otros usuarios	0,85	0,42	0,71	1,31	1,26
Posición de la publicidad	0,43	0,46	0,63	0,51	0,25
Creación de diferentes niveles de acceso	0,62	0,54	0,34	0,36	0,35
Participación del blog en sistemas de rating	0,31	0,39	0,57	0,38	0,39
Ajustes RSS	0,75	0,58	0,54	0,54	0,44
Video llamadas	0,29	0,08	0,46	2,74	0,37
Llamadas entre los comunicantes	1,88	1,46	0,64	1,44	0,87

Agendas	1,10	0,71	0,78	0,90	1,07
Reenvío de mensajes	1,52	1,37	1,29	1,49	1,53
Visualización de los perfiles de otros usuarios	2,19	1,53	0,43	1,57	,31
Creación de menú dinámico	1,64	0,49	0,76	0,64	1,14
Creación del perfil propio	1,02	1,20	1,28	1,17	1,11
Intercambio de ficheros audio	2,04	0,69	0,43	1,16	0,33
Intercambio de fotografías	1,48	2,25	0,42	1,37	0,68
Compartir ficheros audio	1,52	0,82	2,25	1,24	0,69
Compartir ficheros video	1,23	1,33	1,33	1,30	1,73
Actualización de fotografías	1,50	0,90	1,05	1,38	1,66
Colgar ficheros video	2,03	1,03	1,25	1,47	0,60
Posibilidad de conexión de módulos diferentes	0,84	0,65	1,13	0,92	0,81

Tabla 2. Tipos de modelos comunicativos en blogs de ruso hablantes.

Como resultado del estudio fueron identificados 5 modelos comunicativos típicos para blogs. Durante el análisis fue aplicada la clasificación numérica de Pearson (la teoría estadística del coeficiente de correlación), cuyos datos se encuentran en la tabla 2.

- El valor negativo caracteriza el tipo de actividad no propia del grupo (no presente en la tabla);
- El valor entre el 0 y 0,7 demuestra que el grupo no considera la actividad mencionada significativa y la efectúa pocas veces;
- Los valores de entre el 0,8 y 1,5 demuestran el uso periódico de las funciones mencionadas;
- Los valores superiores al 1,5 demuestran que el tipo de actividad mencionada es preferido y dominante para el grupo.

De allí se ha podido obtener la siguiente descripción de los modelos comunicativos identificados en los blogs de ruso hablantes:

Tipo 1: “Mente técnica” - usuarios especialmente hábiles que de forma activa utilizan las posibilidades ofrecidas y las funciones técnicas complejas (programación RSS, ajustes de interface, servicios de comunicación, reenvío, agendas, menú dinámico, etc.). Se interesan por las nuevas funciones y las usan de forma exitosa. Para dicho grupo es importante recibir la información actualizada útil. Y precisamente

para la obtención de esa información completa de forma más rápida requieren los recursos nuevos. Por esa razón, les es muy importante poder conocer los perfiles de otros usuarios, hacer búsquedas según el tema de publicación, tener la posibilidad de organizar el menú de forma dinámica. La estrategia dialogal se muestra aquí de formas diferentes y tiene el carácter mayoritariamente pragmático (la comunicación debe ser precisa y sería lo máximo posible, se debe poder transmitir la información y permitir solucionar los objetivos comunicativos establecidos). Para ello se reenvían y cuelgan ficheros audio y video, fotografías, efectúan llamadas entre los comunicantes. En menor medida utilizan la comunicación escrita o verbal (lectura de textos ajenos, creación y publicación de comentarios propios) que resulta lógico en el caso de las “mentes técnicas”. Dicho grupo recurre lo menos posible a la auto presentación y la transmisión de la información está condicionada por los requerimientos de la comunicación dialogal que se efectúa lo mínimo posible.

Tipo 2: “Los enrollados”- son usuarios con necesidad alta de comunicarse con otras personas. Para ellos el blog es una forma adicional para relacionarse con los viejos conocidos o para buscar nuevos amigos. Este grupo se caracteriza por un alto grado de actividad en cuanto al reenvío de fotos, lo que demuestra, por regla general, su vida social activa y destaca por el estudio de perfiles de otros usuarios. “Los enrollados” demuestran un grado de actividad medio en compartir videos y reenviar mensajes, llamadas a los comunicantes, creación del perfil propio, reenvío de videos, publicación de comentarios, lectura de comentarios de otros usuarios y publicación de textos propios.

Tipo 3: “Actores” – usuarios para los que lo más importantes es la auto presentación. Se caracterizan por la creación de perfil propio más activa que en los demás grupos. Lo consideran la función más importante del blog que les permite ocultar sus características que les parecen negativas y adoptar una imagen deseada. Son muy activos en el reenvío de ficheros audio. A menudo comparten y reenvían materiales propios (video, audio, foto, textos) que demuestran sus intereses y preferencias personales. La comunicación dialogal dentro de este grupo destaca por el dominio del autor del blog que busca alabanzas y aprobación en las respuestas de los lectores y comentaristas. Los usuarios de este tipo intentan crear una imagen determinada a los ojos de los demás.

Tipo 4: “Imitadores”- usuarios para los que es importante crear la sensación de la comunicación en tiempo real. Utilizan mucho video llamadas y estudian los perfiles de otros. A menudo crean textos y comentarios propios, se suscriben a los

blogs de los demás usuarios, reenvían mensajes, comparten materiales de audio, video y fotografías. Para los representantes de dicho grupo es importante visualizar la comunicación dialogal. Las razones que mueven a las personas seguir este modelo comunicativo son diferentes y requieren un estudio más detallado. Su inclinación por la comunicación virtual estilo S. Grinfeld [<http://theoryandpractice.ru/posts/3539-syuzan-grinfeld-rebenok-vospitannyy-na-sotsialnykh-setyakh-teryet-sposobnost-k-soperezhivaniyu>] se explica por su perfeccionismo, por su deseo de conseguir mucho y cuanto antes. La realidad virtual como espacio social le permite conseguir un apoyo emocional inmediato.

Tipo 5: Usuarios “pasivos” no demuestran una gran actividad en los blogs (tan sólo un grado medio de actividad en colgar fotografías), utilizan las funciones más sencillas en el sentido técnico, pocas veces publican textos (menos de una vez al mes) y materiales, leen mensajes de otros usuarios (un par de veces al mes), utilizan la agenda. Los representantes de dicho grupo no están muy involucrados en relacionarse de forma online.

3.2. Segmentación del espacio web

Esta segmentación se realiza conforme a los valores establecidos por los hablantes. En las tecnologías dialogales el factor esencial que regula la actividad de los comunicantes es la coincidencia de los paradigmas axiológicos de los participantes.

El análisis de las distintas formas de organización del espacio web ruso-hablante (datos de los blogs, portales, conferencias online, chat, foros, wiki-recursos, etc.) demuestra que el segmento de la mayor actividad de los internautas pertenece a las redes sociales. Este hecho también confirma el dominio de la estrategia comunicativa dialogal ya que precisamente las redes sociales son su realización plena.

Se ve que la influencia de medios de relaciones sociales crece cada vez más: según los datos del Centro ruso del Estudio de la Opinión Pública (<http://wciom.ru>) en el 2012 el 82% de los usuarios del internet tenían aunque sea una cuenta en una red social frente a los 53% en el 2010. Las redes sociales más demandadas en Rusia son:

- «Одноклассники» [literalmente: “compañeros de colegios”] — 73% usuarios del internet
- «ВКонтакте» [“estamos en contacto”] — 62%
- «Мой мир» [“mi mundo”] — 31%
- «Facebook» — 18%

- «Twitter» — 9%.

En las redes sociales hoy día ya se ofrecen servicios que antes eran propios a las blog-plataformas. Por ejemplo, desde el 2011 en «ВКонтакте» apareció la función de la creación del propio muro de comunicaciones lo que antes no estaba disponible.

Debido al gran número de usuarios como comunicantes potenciales del espacio virtual y a causa de la casi plena ausencia de los típicos para el mundo real obstáculos técnicos (lingüísticos, temporales y territoriales) para la comunicación se intenta limitar el círculo de personas según algunas características establecidas. Automáticamente se va estableciendo un determinado eje de coordenadas que permite filtrar los contactos. Por ejemplo, en el espacio de blogs el usuario será evaluado no sólo a base de textos o comentarios, sino también por un sistema especial de marcaje que tiene su análogo en la situación offline: el número de amigos (suscriptores), de visitantes en su página del blog, el posicionamiento del blog en el rating, la cantidad de etiquetas, comentarios, estrellas que las plataformas blog que serán atribuidos a los mejores.

Según la encuesta, el 87% de los internautas no seguirían en contacto con otro usuario si identifican su no coincidencia en las cuestiones ético-morales.

3.3. Papel del autor en el paradigma axiológico

Según los datos obtenidos mediante la aplicación del sistema Brand Analytics, cada día en las redes sociales ruso-hablantes se publican alrededor de siete millones de etiquetas, comentarios y mensajes. Esto hace aproximadamente 200 millones al mes. En las plataformas con la parte proporcional máxima en cuanto al contenido aportado por los usuarios el número de los comentarios públicos (sin considerar la comunicación privada) se alcanza un gran volumen de mensajes:

- “Twitter”: 4,5 mio.
- “ВКонтакте”: 2,2 mio.
- “LiveJournal”: 160.000.

La cantidad media de autores que publican diariamente en las redes sociales se indican abajo (considerando tanto los autores de etiquetas, como los autores de los comentarios):

- “ВКонтакте”: 1,2 mio.
- “Twitter”: 590.000

- “LiveJournal”: 27.000 de personas.

De esta forma, cada autor en “ВКонтакте” emite de media aproximadamente 2 mensajes, en “LiveJournal” llegan a ser unos 6 y en “Twitter” 7-8 mensajes al día. En el espacio web ruso-hablante la comunicación se concentra en los grupos que se forman según características determinadas. Hay que señalar que, por ejemplo, en las redes sociales dicha comunicación dentro del grupo se reparte de forma más equitativa, destaca por su carácter horizontal dialogal y polilocal. Sin embargo, en los blogs se ve la comunicación vertical jerárquica que se desarrolla alrededor de “centros de tracción” que son usuarios de blogs con el liderazgo en la opinión, con los que desean tratar los demás.

Los ratings de los blogs más frecuentados es un recurso muy importante que se utiliza en las comunicaciones de negocios y política. Así, según los datos de Puplic.ru, la mención más frecuente en los medios de comunicación en el 2011 pertenecía al polémico activista social ruso, abogado y autor del blog propio Alexei Navalni (ver tabla 3) que era muy conocido entre los bloggers e internautas.



Tabla 3. Los usuarios de blogs más citados en el 2011.

Hay que señalar que la comunicación en las redes sociales, por regla general, se efectúa entre las personas que se conocen no sólo de forma virtual. Sin embargo, en el caso de los blogs sucede lo contrario: los suscriptores, generalmente, son personas desconocidas. Por lo cual, es importante determinar los factores que favorecen a la atracción de la atención por parte de un gran número de los usuarios.

Según los resultados de las encuestas, el factor determinante a la hora de decidirse a usar un recurso o material determinado para el 73% de usuarios es la figura del autor.

4. Discusión de los resultados

4.1. Discurso dialógico en un texto mediático

El aumento de la relevancia del componente visual en internet causa un cambio en la esencia del texto mediático: los componentes verbales se complementan con elementos de diseño y de infografía que juegan un papel importante como integrantes del mensaje y llevan una gran carga semántica.

Los procesos sinérgicos que se pueden observar en los nuevos medios desde el año 2000 originaron la aparición de los espacios multimedia (*newsroom*), centros de información que están destinados a elaborar un mensaje para los antes independientes canales de comunicación (la imprenta, la radio, online). El aumento de diferentes tipos de interacción del recurso multimedia (Jensen, 2007) depende directamente del grado de individualización y personificación que pueden conseguir sus creadores. En condiciones de competencia por el consumidor de la información ofrecida, teniendo en cuenta la sobrecarga informativa, se hace evidente que la ventaja competitiva la va a tener aquel editor que ofrece el texto como producto final en forma más adecuada.

Ya se han convertido en tradicionales los modos de comunicación interactiva con el usuario, tales como: la votación de selección múltiple (elegir varias opciones), la votación de selección simple (respuesta sí o no), conferencia online, la posibilidad de colgar fotos o mapas, un juego flash dentro de un tema determinado - todo esto todavía debe ir evolucionando y ampliándose de forma continua. Pero lo importante es que, sobre todo, la búsqueda de nuevas formas de interacción con el usuario debe guiarse por el principio de dialogicidad (polilogicidad). Éstos representan una estrategia comunicativa determinante del espacio mediático moderno en cuanto a las formas de relaciones existentes en la comunidad de red (correo electrónico, listas de

distribución, conferencias online, intercambio de archivos, espacio multiuso, chat y foros en internet, web-blogs, WikiWiki).

En cuanto al tiempo del diálogo o polílogo, existen dos modos de comunicación en internet: en tiempo real y en tiempo diferido. El intercambio de la información en tiempo real se produce entre los usuarios que se encuentran al mismo tiempo en la web (los programas muy populares ICQ, AOL Instant Messenger, Yahoo!, Messenger y también los programas de tele- y videoconferencia cuando los participantes se intercambian las imágenes de video o audio). Durante el intercambio informativo en tiempo diferido se utiliza la red de ordenadores correspondiente a la tecnología *client-server* – en este caso dentro del servicio de red existen bases de datos con mensajes guardados de forma constante o temporal que pueden ser intercambiados por los usuarios, al igual que se dispone de servidores de relaciones que permiten optimizar el intercambio de información entre los usuarios (correo electrónico, el servicio de envío de mensajes de noticias informativas a base del listado de direcciones, intercambio de archivos a través del servidor FTP, espacio multiuso, chat, foros, páginas y portales web, blogs, WikiWiki).

Hay que añadir que existen muchas obras y acontecimientos dedicados al diálogo como tipo discursivo, por ejemplo: Formanovskaja (2002), conferencia Dialog-21 (<http://dialog-21.ru/>), entre otros. La evidente creciente importancia del discurso dialogal hace necesario profundizar en el conocimiento sobre él.

El discurso dialogal del texto mediático se caracteriza por rasgos típicos, se trata del conocimiento del locutor sobre el mundo de valores, del estado emocional de su dialogante y formas de su manifestación verbal (relacionadas con la expresión de la actitud, situación, opinión, postura, intención, emoción y evaluación de sí mismo y del interlocutor), la consideración del conocimiento y de la opinión sobre sí mismo, etc. Por parte del destinatario: orientación hacia los roles sociales y estatus del destinatario y su correlación con los suyos. La efectividad del texto mediático puede conseguirse mediante el intercambio de los roles comunicativos de los dialogantes, creando el diálogo cooperativo orientado hacia el acuerdo, la adaptación mutua y la congruencia, y a veces apuntando a la cesión o a un diálogo orientado al desacuerdo, objeción, rechazo o confrontación (Formanovskaja 2002: 158). El éxito de la comunicación dialogal o polilogal dependerá de la exactitud en la orientación hacia el destinatario considerando su personalidad determinada socialmente: dotada de su estatus, roles propios y del sistema de coordenadas de valores establecidos.

No obstante, el espacio mediático moderno cambia en gran medida las características de la comunicación dialogal: las fronteras temporales, espaciales y lingüísticas se borran. Al mismo tiempo, el sistema común de valores de los comunicadores se convierte en determinante y es el que segmenta el espacio comunicativo designando la elección del interlocutor y la relación con él, la duración del contacto, la disponibilidad de compartir la información y condicionando el éxito de cumplir los objetivos de la comunicación.

Al margen de algunos géneros de comunicación donde se ha consolidado el diálogo (correo electrónico, ICQ), y de otros donde se ha adaptado el polílogo (red social, web-blog), hay que subrayar que la dialogicidad y la polilogicidad en la comunicación virtual se cruzan y destacan estrechamente unidas dentro del mismo género. Así, a la hora de comunicarse a tiempo real (chat) se puede elegir entre el diálogo con un solo usuario (designando un canal determinado para este tipo de relación) o un polílogo con varios usuarios a la vez, es decir, existe la posibilidad de utilizar una multitud de sistemas destinados a conferencias interactivas (sistemas IRC, ICQ, WebChat, Prodigy). Mediante el correo electrónico también se puede enviar mensajes en la red a una o varias personas a la vez. En el caso de la comunicación diferida en tiempo el diálogo se efectúa por correo electrónico y el polílogo en forma de teleconferencia (*newsgroup*).

El carácter dialogal o polilógico de un texto mediático se refleja de forma más acentuada en los blogs, se manifiesta en los comentarios de los lectores a las publicaciones y en las respuestas del autor. La respuesta del destinatario puede aparecer acto seguido a la publicación y continuar entrando de forma activa durante varios días [Gorny, 2004]. Los comentarios contienen: el nombre del usuario, su *userpic*, el momento del envío del comentario, un campo opcional (asunto/tema) y el cuerpo del mensaje. Dependiendo de la estructura de la blog-plataforma, los comentarios pueden situarse de forma consecutiva (recordando la estructura de foros) o tener forma de árbol con las “ramas” formadas por las discusiones, es decir, los comentarios pueden no relacionarse directamente con las publicaciones en el blog, sino ser respuestas a otros comentarios. En este caso, en el cuerpo del comentario aparece de forma continua la referencia del texto de partida. Según Nowson (2006), la presencia de la estructura en forma de árbol estimula un polílogo e incentiva a la discusión entre los usuarios. Es importante saber que existe la posibilidad de aislar los mensajes privados: algunas blog-plataformas ofrecen a sus usuarios la posibilidad de mandarse el uno al otro mensajes privados de forma añadida a las entradas y

comentarios. Por regla general, las entradas y los comentarios están a la vista de todos los usuarios pero casi en todas las blog-plataformas el usuario puede restringir el alcance de ellos a un círculo de personas determinado. Además, para Blood (2000) parece importante que el usuario pueda utilizar la opción que le permite ocultar los comentarios a las entradas que los hace asequibles sólo para él y el autor de la publicación. Herring (2007) insiste en prestar atención a la posibilidad ofrecida a los usuarios en la mayoría de las blog-plataformas de filtrar los comentarios: algunos pueden prohibir en su blog comentarios provenientes de usuarios determinados, e, incluso, cortar el acceso de todos los comentarios a una entrada concreta o a todas las entradas.

4.2. Segmentación del espacio mediático

La filtración y segmentación del espacio mediático por los comunicantes se realiza a base de considerar una multitud de factores, pero la mayor importancia la tiene el principio de la coincidencia o de la no coincidencia de los paradigmas de valores de los comunicantes. El parámetro axiológico es determinante para la segmentación de los destinatarios de un recurso mediático tanto en el caso de un diálogo natural como durante una imitación del diálogo cuando se necesita crear artificialmente un contexto dialogal para involucrar en la comunicación nuevos participantes a fin de perseguir determinados objetivos comerciales o políticos. Concretamente, esta moderación puede ser usada como un medio de control sobre las acciones de los participantes en una web-comunicación. La entrada no autorizada en un canal de comunicación cerrado para cualquier persona ajena, la escucha (*lurking*), permite diagnosticar el paradigma de valores del usuario y elaborar unos mecanismos exactos para manipularlos.

En cuanto al contenido de la respuesta dialogal, esta puede contener varias replicas lingüísticas que son actos lingüísticos mínimos. La carga semántica, las preferencias en los valores y los principios respetados a la hora de relacionarse marcan las replicas lanzadas en una conversación por los comunicantes que intervienen de modo interactivo o participan en una transacción como una forma compleja de un acto o episodio comunicativo. El lenguaje dialogal presupone un intercambio de oraciones durante el cual la elección de la composición del lenguaje, su contenido y medios lingüísticos son determinados por la percepción inmediata y la influencia activa del interlocutor. Ya que la estructura dialogal es un intercambio de replicas no acabadas semánticamente (Lvov 2002: 128), el diálogo o partes de él

deben ser contemplados como un acto lingüístico completo, como un texto en sí. Hay que considerar que el contexto dialogal se caracteriza por su naturalidad, dependencia de la situación determinada (situatividad) y espontaneidad. Precisamente por esta razón, en una comunicación dialogal el intercambio de paradigmas de valores entre los comunicantes se realiza de forma más plena y será efectuada de forma explícita o implícita. Es evidente que mientras más alto es el grado de coincidencia de componentes axiológicos en las réplicas dialogales de los comunicantes en un diálogo, más éxito tiene la comunicación. Son precisamente los paradigmas de valores los que determinan el significado intencional, el sentido modal o emocional que forman el contenido esencial y son el objetivo de la construcción de una interacción dialogal. La multidimensionalidad de un discurso dialogal es determinada por el contenido preposicional de las oraciones y se ve enriquecida gracias a los componentes implícitos, sobre todo, mediante la presuposición e implicación.

De esta forma, la polifonía de una comunicación dialogal se genera y se transforma dependiendo de la dimensión paradigmático-comunicativa del discurso. El significado proposicional de las oraciones en las réplicas se verá completado por el sentido comunicativo formado por la información intencional, modal, emocional y social que hayan sufrido el efecto de refracción traspasando el paradigma de valores de los participantes en una comunicación dialogal. Es evidente la heterogeneidad de dichos recursos informativos donde se utilizan medios lingüísticos distintos y a diferentes escalas, pero su sinergia forma un volumen de significado que será intercambiado por los comunicantes para hacer concordar su actitud lingüística con la no lingüística (Formanovskaja 2002: 166).

El fenómeno del diálogo se puede interpretar desde el punto de vista del enfoque activo hacia el análisis discursivo (ver por ejemplo: Sidorov 2008: 51) como una oración o texto que se forma por una acción comunicativa común del locutor y su destinatario. El papel del posible destinatario en una comunicación dialogal pasa de forma intermitente de un comunicante a otro. Ya que la orientación hacia los valores resulta ser un factor organizador en un diálogo, la comunicación será determinada por el intercambio intermitente de información basada en el componente axiológico que representa “la alternante verbalización del sistema de coordinadas de signos que incluye interacciones conjugadas por parte de uno u otro participante” (Sidorova 2010).

En la orientación pragmática de la descripción del discurso se subraya el carácter interactivo de la comunicación verbal. Se la considera una conjugación interpersonal que determina los procesos cognitivos y aparece como un sistema

dotado de múltiples dimensiones y niveles caracterizado por su polifuncionalidad y dinamismo relativo (Lomov 1984: 243-244; 1996: 242; Tarasov 1989: 38; Ivanov 2002: 138-139).

Cabe recordar la observación de Bahtin (1986: 367) que “las relaciones dialogales no se restringen a las relaciones lógicas y semántica-objetivas que de por sí carecen del momento dialogal. Éstas deben verbalizarse, convertirse en oraciones, representar la postura de varios sujetos expresada en forma de palabra para que entre ellos surjan relaciones dialogales”. Es evidente que una vez verbalizadas las “posturas de varios sujetos” (*ibid*) se denotan claramente las posiciones axiológicas de los participantes de un diálogo. Hay que recalcar que la eficacia de la interacción va a depender directamente del grado de coincidencia de los sistemas de valores de los comunicantes, mientras que en su no coincidencia no podrá surgir una relación dialogal.

La acentuada presencia de la estrategia dialogal como la determinada en el espacio virtual hace desarrollar las formas de la interacción en la red que permiten aprovechar a lo máximo el potencial de dicha estrategia. Es evidente que el futuro desarrollo de la interacción en la red está vinculado a las plataformas del *crowdsourcing* que son la siguiente etapa en el desarrollo de la comunicación dialogal. El *crowdsourcing* como un instrumento comunicativo permite formar un nuevo modelo de interacción en el que los intereses de diferente público encuentran su compromiso en el camino hacia la unidad de criterio a base del diálogo o polílogo. Los proyectos creados en base de la tecnología *crowdsourcing* pueden ser un instrumento eficaz para solucionar problemas comerciales, sociales y políticos.

4.3. La figura del autor en el entorno de red

Con la ampliación del horizonte en el espacio virtual la figura de autor se ha transformado. El transcurso de toda la historia de la escritura humana está marcado por el aumento del número de creadores de texto si éste tenía que gozar de un estatus social determinado y una divulgación masiva. Como es conocido, el momento de inflexión en la ampliación del número de autores ha sido la aparición de la imprenta representando, con el nacimiento de un espacio virtual global, una etapa nueva en la escritura.

Roland Barthes, en 1968, anunció la “muerte” del Autor diciendo que: “[...] el texto se compone de muchas escrituras originadas por diferentes culturas que entran en un diálogo, participan en una parodia, discusión. Pero toda esa multitud de formas

se está centrando en un punto determinado, que no es el autor, como se ha venido afirmando hasta ahora, sino el lector. Es el lector aquel espacio donde se quedan impresas todas hasta la última cita, del que se compone una escritura; el texto no recobra su integridad en su origen, sino en su destino, pero su destino no tiene nada de personal: el lector es un ser humano sin historia, sin la trayectoria vital, sin psicología, es tan solo alguien que une todas esas pinceladas que crean un texto escrito. Por eso, son ridículos los intentos de criticar la escritura moderna en aras del humanismo que de forma hipócrita se hace pasar por el defensor de derechos humanos. A la crítica en su sentido clásico nunca le ha importado el lector; para ella, en la literatura sólo existe la figura del que escribe. Ya no nos engaña la antífrasis de este tipo con la que la comunidad honorífica escandalizada en su nobleza defiende al que en realidad reprime, ignora y anula. Ahora sabemos que para garantizar el futuro de la escritura hay que hacer desvanecer su mito: el precio del nacimiento del lector será la muerte del autor” (Barthes1994: 391). En el espacio mediático moderno el Lector ha absorbido al Autor uniendo ambos en una nueva sustancia.

Cabe recordar que el escritor medieval compaginaba en sí el papel del autor y del difusor y quedaba anónimo, salvo casos aislados. El prosumidor también destaca por su anonimato, pero su característica principal es la autoría múltiple, es decir, la que representa cierto conocimiento colectivo. Pero es difícil estar de acuerdo con que la difusión de *user-generated content* (UGC) – contenido creado por los usuarios comunes de internet que al mismo tiempo aparecen también como los consumidores de la información (lectores, público, auditores de los medios de comunicación tradicionales) - elimine el sistema de autoría. No se puede imaginar a un investigador serio que utiliza a Wikipedia como una fuente de información única y fiable. La credibilidad social de las obras colectivas de los mismos usuarios coincide con la de los rumores en la opinión pública que antiguamente se extendían de boca en boca y tenían, lógicamente, sus importantes limitaciones en cuanto a la velocidad y amplitud de difusión. Y mientras tanto, en la actualidad la cuestión de la autoría en el internet en ningún momento ha perdido su importancia. La personalidad del autor de un blog y su autoridad en la comunidad virtual gozan indudablemente hoy día de un valor simbólico e, incluso, pueden llegar a representar a veces un capital financiero. Así, en 2004, el Instituto Tecnológico de Massachusetts llevó a cabo una encuesta entre los autores de blogs que demostró que “en la mayoría de los casos los encuestados se identificaban en sus blogs. El 81% de todos los participantes ha dicho que utilizaba alguna forma de auto-identificación, el 55 % utilizaba su nombre y apellido reales, el 22% recurría a una

variante de su nombre (sólo nombre, un mote conocido entre amigos, los iniciales, etc.)” (Viegas, 2005). Una parte de los usuarios indica su apellido propio ya en el nombre del usuario, otra parte lo incluye en la denominación del blog o en el apartado de la información personal. Además, muchas veces los usuarios utilizan para *userpic* que acompañan sus entradas y comentarios sus fotos personales. En otros casos, la identidad del autor de un blog puede ser conocida por los usuarios habituales de las entradas y comentarios, del contacto personal o ser deducida de las noticias de los medios de comunicación u otras fuentes (Herring, 2004).

Si el tipo de diálogo tradicional “Autor-Lector” concedía al último la libertad absoluta, en el espacio mediático moderno esta libertad puede verse restringida por el autor del mensaje. En diferentes blog-plataformas existen reglas oficiales propias. Dentro del marco de su blog cada autor puede establecer las normas de comunicación y de lenguaje propias y prohibir comentarios de los que infringen estas normas (Herring, 2007).

Las cuestiones de autoría en el espacio virtual adquieren también un estatus jurídico que no tiene análogos en la vida real. Utilizando el mecanismo de hipervínculos en las páginas web se puede redirigir al usuario a otras fuentes de información en la red. Pero a la hora de colocar un enlace a la fuente de información primaria es necesario considerar los intereses legales del autor original del recurso indicando la información completa y citándolo correctamente.

La especificidad de las relaciones jurídicas en internet se refleja también en que el uso de las tecnologías determinadas (ordenadores, medios de telecomunicación, software) debe asegurarle al participante de las relaciones jurídicas la expresa declaración de su voluntad y autorización. En algunos segmentos de la red se utiliza de forma eficaz la protección mediante las marcas de agua en las copias electrónicas de las fotografías y demás imágenes. Con la ayuda de software especializado se instala en los archivos un código oculto de un formato determinado. Durante su apreciación visual no se notan los símbolos codificados: el nombre, los datos del autor y el año de edición. Las marcas de agua son resistentes a todo tipo de operaciones sobre la imagen: a su compresión, cambio de tamaño, formato y colores. Mediante la aplicación de un software determinado se puede demostrar que los archivos contienen una información adicional que indica la persona que lo ha originado. De forma análoga se intenta proteger también la información textual.

Por lo cual, las cuestiones de autoría en internet no se asemejan a las normas de la escritura tradicionales, sino la figura del autor más bien adquiere un estatus que

se basa en nuevos principios importantes para la regulación del proceso comunicativo. Todo ello convierte la autoría en un criterio importante en la segmentación del espacio virtual por el usuario desde su posición axiológica.

5. Síntesis

De esta forma, a base de datos empíricos se ha podido ver que la estrategia dialogal representa la forma de comunicación determinante y más prometedora en el espacio mediático moderno del internet. La faceta polifónica de la comunicación dialogal se transforma en la dimensión comunicativo-pragmática del discurso. Es evidente que en la comunicación virtual diferida en tiempo a la hora de construir un discurso las orientaciones personales adquieren un significado decisivo. Ya que todos los componentes tradicionales de un diálogo eficaz (temporales, espaciales y lingüísticos) se equilibran en un espacio virtual, al primer plano salen las características axiológicas de los usuarios y la coincidencia de los paradigmas de valores aparecen como reguladores y determinadores de un diálogo (polílogo) en las comunidades de red. Asimismo, la figura del autor del mensaje aparece como el componente esencial del paradigma axiológico en el espacio virtual.

Por lo cual, es la base axiológica común de los comunicantes que segmenta el espacio comunicativo, determina la elección del interlocutor y la relación con él, condiciona la duración del contacto, la disponibilidad de ofrecer la información. De esta forma determina la estrategia comunicativa e influye en el éxito en el cumplimiento de los objetivos del propio acto comunicativo.

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Towards the construction of new audiences. 'Fictions' in contemporary media

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Abstract

In this paper I aim to work with a concept that I defined as “fictions” or better, “Hegemonic fictions”. The concept of fiction is based not on a “lie”, but on a hegemonic representation that media produce and reproduce in every show, game, interaction or presentation. That is why I chose to call them fictions: the ways through which media build hegemonic representations about everything that *should* matter in a specific moment of time and history.

I identified four different fictions and, through them, I propose to analyze different aspects of both the contemporary media and their audiences. The first one is the fiction of *choice*. The analysis that I made of this fiction is based on the diversity of available electronic devices and the *real* possibilities that audiences have to choose. The second one is the fiction of *participation*. The emphasis in the so called “decision of the audience” is built upon a new fiction: we do not get to choose who participates on a show, a survey or a contest but we are summoned to “vote” or answer questions in order to construct a feeling that we are *participating*. The third fiction is the one of the *objectivity*. The aim of this fiction is to analyze the operations through which media present their sayings, images, news and opinions as “objective”. In the same line, the fourth fiction is about the reception stage. I do not sustain that reception is a fiction but I will analyze the variables and the mediations that exist between media messages and the audiences who receive, read, write and listen to those messages.

New audiences and new media seem to be changing and developing at the same time in the same space. We aim to question the naturalization of the different and varied relationships between media and audiences in order to present possible new approaches that might lead to new questions and researches.

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Key words:

Media- Audiences-Fiction-Representation- Participation

1. Introduction

“Audiences do not see only what they want to see, since a message (or program) is not simply a window to the world, but a construction” (Morley, 1992: 21). Morley, in his extract of the introduction to *Television, audiences and cultural studies*, produced a perfect synthesis of the difficulties and complexities that both media and audiences entail for their analysts. Audiences do not see only what they want to see, on one side. That means that there is a group of variables that intervene between audiences and the so called “reality”. On the other side, a message (as a general way of defining any media product) is a construction of that “reality”. In sum, the fact that media *construct* a way of connecting with the world and its events, can never be more than a representation. Stuart Hall stated that to represent is to put something in the place of something else (1981) or better, representing is a political action that involves different economic, political, cultural and social variables that compose a representation in one way and not in another.

Audiences, construction, representations: three key concepts that will structure this paper. The objective of this paper is to present a conceptualization about audiences and media in the light of the new devices and strategies available nowadays. The objective is to articulate several researches in a structure that might clarify ways through which media and audiences establish different and dynamic relationships.

The hypothesis that will organize this paper claims that media demand different actions and behaviors from audiences and, as a consequence of these demands, new audiences are being built. These new audiences, in the media ecosystem in which they live (Martín-Barbero, 2003), are supposed to know, recognize and use many devices. From mobile phones to tablets or game consoles, the demands on audiences are rising. That is one of the keys of the hypothesis of this paper. Demanded audiences, constructed representations. Between them we find several mediating factors that configure representations and audiences in different ways.

Through both content and text analysis I aim to present what I defined as “Hegemonic Fictions”. The identification of what I called fiction appeared after different series of interviews in the last ten years of research on media and audiences (Duek, 2006, 2011 and 2012). Testimonies about reception, preferences, favorite television shows, computer games and newspapers, lead me to inquire further about the ways in which media represents the world to their audiences. New ways of participating and

interacting with media were identified in the testimonies as a “plus”; credibility was considered almost as a synonym of “objectivity” and was related to certain journalists, celebrities or politicians; reception appeared repeatedly as an independent stage in which subjects did “whatever they could or wanted” in front of that program or message.

In short, I found in the interviews I made to both children and adults that different strategies that media use to represent the world appeared to be naturalized by audiences who considered them nearly transparent¹. As the objective of those interviews was to characterize the relationship between media and audiences, all the testimonies gathered demanded a reorganization of what was being said about it. That was when I came up with the idea of “Hegemonic fictions”.

The interviews were made following different research questions. The use that I am going to make of them here will be panoramic: many statements of my informants will help me to produce a synthesis of the characteristics of the “hegemonic fictions”. That is why I propose this article as both a balance and a synthesis of many years of research; I will present many different and partial conclusions that will frame my own questions and interests.

I have been working with children and adults for a long time and the results of my many interviews and exchanges with them allow me to present here a conceptual organization and an analysis of everything that I have collected. I am not going to use the testimonies as the main input of the paper but as a frame from which I organized the presentation of the fictions.

The first part of the paper will be destined to characterize and define what I call “Hegemonic fictions” and the second one will be occupied by the four different “hegemonic fictions” I identified: 1) the fiction of participation, 2) the fiction of objectivity, 3) the fiction of choice and 4) the fiction on the reception stage.

Through these four “hegemonic fictions” I aim to present a reflection about media, audiences and new practices in a new ecosystem that will very likely arise new questions, discussions and approaches.

2. Hegemony, fiction and common sense: Towards the construction of hegemonic fictions

Hall (1981) identifies naturalization as one of the inherent strategies that media use in order to build their representations. Naturalization, as a major political and

¹ The interviews were made between 2005 and 2012 to both children and adults about their relationship with different devices and media in the context of a research financed by Conicet and the University of Buenos Aires. More than thirty adults and almost seventy children were interviewed in depth for the purpose of the research (see Duek, 2010 and 2012).

ideological operation, involves media producers and media audiences. Redundancy and the use of what Hall identifies as “common sense” (the least common of the senses, he claims ironically) are two of the tools that contribute to the reproduction of capitalism. Reading Gramsci (1992), Hall claims that common sense is the residue of a consensual wisdom, which tends to classify the world in simple but meaningful terms. Common sense does not require reasoning, logical argumentation nor thoughts: we can spontaneously use it. Through common sense we cannot learn how things *are*, we can only discover where things act and fit in the existent system. Finally, common sense is formed by remains and traces of previous ideological systems, that is, it has both a content and a history (see Williams, 1977).

The identification of the content and the history of common sense is related to a materialist perspective: it is not possible to produce an analysis without considering the material and symbolic conditions in which that analysis was produced. Nor can we discard the limitations and possibilities that each research and approach has in the imaginary boundaries of Social Sciences.

Naturalization and common sense are two major dimensions of the contemporary media ecosystem. Hall presented common sense quoting Gramsci and it is perhaps in the Italian philosopher where we might find a conceptual entrance to the “hegemonic fictions”.

Hegemony, claimed Gramsci overcoming some Marxist definitions, is a composition of both domination and consensus. The combination and articulation of domination and consensus unveiled a new approach to culture analysis and politics. Gramsci defined a dimension of consensus that guaranteed the reproduction of domination in favor of the powerful social and economic strata. Hegemony constitutes a whole body of practices and expectations in relation to the totality of life. It includes our senses and energies, the defined perceptions of the world and of ourselves. Hegemony is a vivid system of values and meanings that, as it is experienced as a group of practices, tends to be confirmed and reproduced (Williams, 1988). In the stronger sense, hegemony is a “culture”, Williams continues, but a culture that has to be considered as the vivid domination and subordination of particular classes.

Media play a major role in contemporary societies and that is why the conjunction between hegemony and fiction becomes relevant for the analysis. Even though “fiction” is a concept strongly related to literature with a vast history and connotation, the decision to use it was related to the results of previous inquiries. As stated before, the number of interviews made in ten years of research allowed me to identify naturalized representations and images of and about media. Those

naturalizations were not only crystallized in the images that the interviewed subjects had but in the collective mind through media. The power of media to impose meanings, representations, opinions and perspectives should not be underestimated. The idea of “fiction” is related to both the constructions and representations in a specific moment of time and space. Fiction is a way of naming the strategies and procedures that media use to present their representations avoiding to show the process through which they are constructed. Fiction is not something “false” or simply “not true”. Fiction is used here to name the combination of processes through which representations are not only constructed but also established as a way of perceiving the world, its conflicts and everything that happens on a daily basis.

The invisibilization of the processes that are involved in the messages and media programs is a key aspect to consider: the naturalization is a result of the ways in which power structures function. Power is everywhere and works as an interconnected network (Foucault, 1975). So hegemony and naturalization are combined processes: power struggles in order to reproduce the social structure. Media is, clearly, both part of the power structure and a tool used by powerful subjects and institutions. Media and hegemony are associates, they work together to establish meanings, representations and agendas that will organize social perception of time and space.

3. Hegemonic fictions: new audiences and new practices?

“Hegemonic fiction” is a concept that will allow us to articulate previous research with content and media analysis of contemporary media. The identification of the fictions is a way of organizing paths to build a reflection about audiences and new practices. Four entries compose this part of the paper. Each one will present a synthesis of the research made around specific matters of contemporary media and audiences.

3.1. The fiction of choice

More than three hundred networks of digital satellite television and the endless possibilities that the Internet gives its users to look for programs, series, movies, games (both legally and illegally), have changed the relationships that audiences can have with their favorite pieces of media. Audiences are part of a major system in which they choose, as consumers, what to watch, what not to watch, what to look for and what to follow. The possibility to maneuver or, in a current metaphor, “navigate²”,

² “To Navigate”: a naturalized and accurate metaphor (see Lakoff and Johnson, 1995). “To navigate” in a chaotic and disorganized ocean of information in which the meaningful knowledge is difficult to find without the needed skills (Simone, 2001 and Piscitelli, 2002). To navigate in

among these options arise a series of questions: which options do we have as audiences? How do we choose what we watch, read or search? Which competences or skills are necessary? Which characteristics does the repertoire from which we select have? And finally, who produces/pays/sells that repertoire?

Gruner (2002) sustains that, from a cultural point of view, there are three phenomena that must be considered: a) the massive displacement from verbal codes to a domination of the visual codes; b) the tension between dominant culture and the subordinates that has practically reduced to zero: we are in the domain of mercantile fetishization and the cultural industry; c) the conflictive relationship between “high” and “low” culture that tends to result in a “zero” sum.

The displacement of verbal codes to the visual ones is explained, in a first approach, because of the hegemony of television among the group of available media. Even the Internet, in its articulation of varied technologies, privileges without a doubt the visual aspect. Both newspapers and magazines have agreed to shorten journalistic articles in favor of photographs, graphics and several other possibilities of the visual field. For audiences, the explosion of visual possibilities is less demanding: to sit in front of a screen and pay attention (with different levels of interest) to what is being said, shown or explained can be part of a relaxing moment of the journey. Uses and gratifications as Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch (1974) have identified media uses by audiences. A subject can watch television or play a computer game with different levels of attention in order to gratify himself through that “use”. The recognition of audiences as active has led to the identification of the previous “overestimation” of the media power, as Lazarsfeld and Merton (1948) have called it. The recognition of audiences as actively confronting media messages was deeply analyzed by Cultural Studies (see Hoggart, 1957; Morley, 1992, Hall, 1979; Silverstone, 1998; Stevenson, 1998, among many others). The relationship between media and audiences was claimed to be related with the social and cultural background of audiences and also with the physical and imaginary spaces in which media were consumed.

Mercantile fetishization and cultural industry are related with this but from the perspective of the Frankfurt school of thought. Adorno and Horkheimer (1969) claimed that the displacement from the mass culture to what they call cultural industry entails a position about both massification of certain productions and the access to cultural

the World Wide Web and in the new available devices can be, at the same time, a way of entering a democratic space but also the key to the available knowledge remains only for those trained to find what they were looking for. That is why “to navigate” involves a reflection upon the possibilities and limitations of the availability of the information. Who gets to access the significant knowledge on line? It is clear that the fact of having the proper device does not guarantee the same possibilities for all owners.

goods. The word culture includes virtually the position and the classification that delivers culture to the reign of administration (Adorno and Horkheimer, *op. cit.*). Stereotypes, redundancy, previsibility, messages structured in multiple layers and presuntuosity, are some of the operations that cultural industry organizes to reproduce itself as an articulated system (Adorno, [1954] 2002). In short, through different resources a certain control is operated over the subjects that is not perceived as a result of alienation processes (Adorno and Horkheimer, *op. cit.*). Williams, reading Marx, sustains that alienation implies the ignorance of the subordinated classes of their mere conditions of existence as a collateral effect of the division of labor, private property and the capitalist production structure. The worker loses at the same time the product of his work and the sense of his own creative activity as a consequence of the expropriation of both by the capital (Williams, 1976).

Entel *et. al.* (1999) recognize as a consequence of the ignorance of the conditions of existence, the subjects belief that they can act freely when actually their behavior is an adaptation to a legality and rationality that aim to submit and control them. "The appearance of free choice of the subject in front of the producers of cultural industry reveals its falseness as it promotes a freedom in which all the decisions have already been made by the market who is the one who really gets to choose" (Entel, *et. al.*, 1999: 119).

Therefore, the dominance of visual codes, the industrialization of culture and the effects of that industrialization in the subjects can be explained in the same context: the production of media messages and the control of that production are in the hands of the dominant classes who are in charge of the ideological load and the guarantee of the perpetuation of the economic structure. The tendency of erasing the differences between "high" and "low" culture is explained through the mercantile attempt to produce homogeneous goods which could be also predictable and redundant in order to interest the greater amount of subjects at the same time. It's the "faceless culture" that Hoggart defined (1957) whose beginning and end are organized around the capture of more and more *clients* (readers, spectators, buyers, users, ...) presenting them homogeneous, predictable and stereotyped products (Eco, 1965).

The possibility of audiences *choosing*, in the context of the cultural industry, its limits and horizons, is limited and that is why choice was identified as one of the hegemonic fictions. The repertoire from which audiences get to choose what to watch, read, play, use or navigate, is decided by producers and directors of major media companies. The great amount of television networks, the possibility of downloading and customizing the moments in which we can watch or read what we select to consume should not be confused with freedom. The hegemonic fiction of choice is related to the

construction of a greater sense of freedom in the exact same moment in which control is stricter and tighter. Foucault (*op. cit.*) described this process as the passage from discipline to control societies.

The key of this hegemonic fiction lies in the identification of a powerful and articulated system that dominates both leisure and work dimensions of the everyday lives of social subjects. One of the main tasks of this system is to present redundant, predictable and stereotyped products creating the idea that we get to chose between the ones we like the most. The possibility of choosing between identically formatted products produces the sensation of freedom in the exact same moment in which control gets tighter and tighter. Ratings, workshops and panels organized in order to measure the reactions of audiences with products, are a clear attempt to control every single detail of what happens in the market and in the interchange between consumers and products.

Choice, a fiction that contributed to the reproduction of hegemonic structures; the clear attempt to erase the determinations and codifications of media products in the very same moment in which more control and surveillance are needed. The hegemonic fiction of choice, the first of the four fictions that I will present here in order to compose a picture of the contemporary media system and its audiences.

3.2. The fiction of participation

Social bonds, groups of interest, colleagues, family, leaders of opinion³, preferences, the need to relax and disconnect, all these are variables that operate between the emission and reception of media messages. That means that each message enables multiple and varied readings (I will return to this in the fourth fiction). So, we get to the consideration not only of the individuals in front of the screens and other media, but to an approach that classifies individual and group needs (the uses oriented towards the gratifications) in order to *use* media conveniently. Media, in this approach, competes with other sources of gratification (Katz, Blumler y Gurevitch, 1974). This means that someone could chose not only between two different programs but between watching television and playing soccer, for example.

In this context, media looked for mechanisms through which individuals could be a significant part of the emissions in order to create ties and fidelity between shows and audiences. Letters and phone calls to radio stations were the first way through which audiences took part in media. The construction of a moment of feedback between producers and audiences helps the consolidation of the relationship between

³ As defined by Lazarsfeld, Berelson y Gaudet (*op. cit.*), Lazarsfeld y Merton (*op. cit.*), among many others.

them. Hence, with the development of technologies of communication, in the last decade of the XXth century and in the hegemony of the market neopopulism (Mattelart and Neveu, 1997), “Big Brother”, appeared as a paradigm of participation but also as a major hegemonic fiction. This television show articulated Orwell’s dystopia in *1984* (1949) and Foucault’s considerations about control and imprisonment (the passage from the body-to-body control to a permanent and invisible control) (Foucault, 1975). The key of “Big Brother” is the reunion of a group of post-adolescents (they cannot be underage kids) to a “house” that is locked without any chances of getting out without authorization. The house is full of cameras that are installed in every single corner of the house so as to register everything that happens there. A “game” is established as the contestant who gets to stay the most, is the one who wins both popularity and a certain amount of money.

The interesting aspect of “Big Brother”⁴ for our analysis is not the transnationalization of the format nor the type of contestant who gets to be in the house (urban middle classes), nor the voyeurism that it encourages: the key of the programs is that the winner is “chosen” by audiences. Certain methods to “vote” are established (and they call it election or vote in an attempt to appeal to the legitimacy and democracy of the results) through which audiences can vote to decide who gets to leave the house or any option that might be enabled to be voted all along the show. The *votes* are not qualified but charged to the *voter* (sms, phone calls): audiences need to pay in order to vote.

Many programs have used the model that “Big Brother” proposed to include in its development the fragmented, heterogeneous and distant audience that follows the shows⁵. And here we find another key of analysis: the fragmentation of audiences in what marketing identifies as “targets” implied the displacement of the family as the imaginary social horizon of television (Bourdon, 2003 and Morley, 1992) in favor of the individualization of spectators. This individual spectator is invited by television, radio, web sites, to participate *actively* in the election of a winner of a reality show, to give his/her opinion about a matter, to answer questions they ask.

Finally, it is in this movement in which participation emerges as a meaningful instance to those who are in front of the television set following the alternatives of a program, answering an on-line survey or calling the radio to participate in any type of inquiry. The hegemonic fiction is based in the attempt to include the spectator and to

⁴ See Andacht (2003) who performed a semiotic analysis of the program in both Argentina and Brazil.

⁵ For example, “Dancing with the stars”, “America’s got talent”, “American Idol”, “Latin American Idol”, to mention a few of the existent.

constitute him/her as a sovereign (in "Big Brother" they even use the metaphor "The spectator is the sovereign here") in the choices and options available.

In the previous fiction it was clear that the offer was not decided by audiences. The participation methods proposed by media are not only standardized but closed (there is not much to do: either you answer/vote, or your message is discarded), the task of the audience is limited to follow the rules that media impose and to answer questions as an "A" student.

Regarding audience participation a fiction is built. This fiction consists in the affirmation of a certain interaction between audiences and shows, programs or on-line surveys that help media more than the subject who is participating. Media get the information they need, the votes that will legitimize something on the screens. Besides paying for the participation, audiences remain unchanged. Of course there might be a certain pleasure in talking to a host, or being part of a major vote as in "Big Brother". The truth is that audiences get to participate *only* in the ways in which media needs them to do so; there is no ambiguity in the task: either you stick to the rules or your vote or message is not counted in. In cultural industry, nothing is left for the free will of individuals. The hegemonic fiction of participation is based on that: the construction of a feedback that only works for the benefit and needs of media.

3.3. The fiction of objectivity

The passage from verbal codes to the domination of visual codes, implied a change in the codification and circulation of messages. One of the most impressive transformations regarding media history (and that today is naturalized) is the appearance of live and direct images from different places⁶. The first television audience, surprised and suspicious of the reach of the new media, was familiar with the fusion of both images and sound through cinema. The complete novelty was the live transmission from the place where things were happening in order to witness the scene in the exact same moment. This technical possibility encouraged a belief according to which television was "objective" as it showed things exactly as they were. Ferrés claims that the authenticity of the television image is given by its "live" quality: the simultaneity is what gives television the power of reality that, in the same moment can show a different space (Ferrés, 1994). This hegemonic fiction is based on mechanisms through which that objectivity is created: the belief that showing something broadcasted live is a synonym of "truth".

⁶ About the first years of Argentine television see Varela (2005).

One of the main procedures that media use is the selection. They select what they show or say, what appears first and what second, the ways in which a piece of news is presented, what is not shown or does not appear in their programs. The same functioning of media favors speed and the need of a permanent adjustment with what happens in the exact same time that the program is in the air. How is the information selected? Which are the elements that we need to consider when analyzing the selections?

Firstly, the ideological load of what is being transmitted. Bourdieu (2001) claims that ideologies are doubly determined: they owe their character not only to the interests of the class to which they belong but also to the specific interests of those who produce it and the specific logics of the field of production. In this sense, every message is ideological because, as Bajtin states, the forms of the signs that compose the messages are conditioned by the social organization of the participants and by the immediate condition of the interaction (Bajtin, 1979). In a program for kids, in a soap opera or in the news, there are certain topics and approaches that are privileged. This is clear in the time that media gives to topics or news.

Ferrés (*op. cit.*) sustains that the credibility of everything that is broadcasted "live" is reinforced by the image for "authenticity". In other words, when watching a documentary in which something is narrated and what happens is clearly seen by audiences, objectivity appears as an evidence: media are showing something and as we watch it, we should believe it. The power of the image should not be underestimated. Naturally, this does not mean that nobody suspects of the ways through which scenes are represented, even in documentaries and live television. But it is also true that facing certain types of images, the sense of realism that television provides is pretty efficient to get the effect wanted⁷.

Secondly, the concept of representation is a key aspect of Social Sciences and media studies. Representation is the other side of the so called and pretended "objectivity" of media. To represent is the theoretical answer to the so called "reflection" that media say they provide of reality: media do not reflect anything in the same direction as a mirror gives us an image of ourselves in front of them. Media represent because they select, divide, organize the information and they hide all the needed processes from their audiences. The mere position of a camera in an event is saying a lot of things about the point of view that is being constructed. Politicians, citizens, actors and whoever gets to be included on media are selected previously considering

⁷ A simple exercise in front of any news network would be to follow the transmissions for two or three hours in order to identify the times in which a presenter mentions something like this: "we are showing things exactly as they are happening", "This is what it is happening right now", "the only thing we are doing is to place a camera" or "we give voice to the people in the scene".

the effect wanted. In the same way, when interviewing someone “a common citizen” on the streets, the questions, the adjectives and the phrases used are not innocent nor casual; there is a certain type of information that is being searched and a certain effect that aims to be constructed. The elaboration of a personal point of view of the facts or the things represented are, as Eco says, a narration (Eco, *op cit*: 363).

In consequence, representation is the most important operation through which media produce its messages, which are not lineal nor “direct”; they are social constructions that, in the hands of producers and owners of media, are going to orient the presentation of topics, problems and events according to the interests they represent. Media propose always situations “that do not have any connections with the situations of the consumers, but they still continue to be, for them, model situations” (Eco, *op. cit*: 48).

If every message is ideological, the complexity of the media messages is its eagerness to hide the conditions of production (in terms of Verón, 1987), as it is them who can explain, on one side, the fallacy of objectivity (Ferrés, *op. cit.*) and, on the other, the functionality of the mere possibility of the existence of something as a *reflection* of something else. Television is a window to the world, both of the public and the private and daily dimensions. As every window, it is not completely transparent nor clear (Orozco Gómez, 1996).

Foucault (1983) said that every translation, even the most literal one, implied some violence over what was being translated; every mechanism that intervenes is going to take part in the codification of the messages, disarming the false pretension of media about their objectivity. The defense of objectivity by media is to widen the audience from all targets and social strata, the specification of a positioning might take some spectators away. As media aim to capture as many spectators as possible, hiding conditionings and approaches is a great benefit when codifying a message. Wouldn't it be more honest and transparent –and yet radically utopian- that media could dismount the false pretension of objectivity and, in consequence, could visualize the mere conditions in which messages are produced? This hegemonic fiction is constituted in all the mentioned dimensions coping with the institutions and the consolidation of objectivity as a capital owned by television and that provides an advantage when comparing with other media (YouTube has partially changed this matter but there are problems of copyright and of credibility to be resolved as editing in YouTube has lead to major debates and demands). The new communicational ecosystem in which mobile phones, cameras, Facebook and the possibility of uploading videos in different pages are more and more frequent, might change the frame from which we analyze objectivity. In any case, the emission stage and the

codification of the message is more powerful and clear when it comes from an institution and credibility and authenticity is still debated when facing home-made videos.

3.4. The fiction on the reception stage

From the moment in which printing was possible, the circulation of pamphlets, texts and books transformed reading into an individual, private and silent activity (Chartier, 1999), displacing for good the collective reading as a social activity. This implied directly a greater freedom when looking for meanings and interpretations that were not forced to be made public. Reading had turned out to be a major solitary and silent moment. The relationship between readers and texts assumed multiple forms, dynamics and is articulated with both the individual and collective history.

As with books, the possibility to access technology in the households multiplied the number of radios, television sets, recorders, mobile phones and computers. In some households, there are as many television sets as inhabitants. This multiplication (strictly related to the massivity of both the devices and the prices) demands the construction of a different approach to the analysis of audiences. Media messages are received and, at the same time, articulated with the material and symbolic conditions of the subjects. Audiences constantly articulate social and historical processes each time they face media. There is no such thing as an “abstract” or a-historical audience⁸.

The displacement of the family as both the horizon and the unit of reception that television searched to the individualization of reception (related to the so called *targeting* of audiences), transforms reception into a negotiation stage (a process identified by Morley in 1995 and 1996) in which the spectator is alone and silent. But, the fact that a spectator is alone does not mean that the reception, production and interpretation of what is being said, read, presented or heard is individual. Even when we are alone, we receive and analyze messages from social interpretation frames. If media messages allow audiences multiple readings, these will be among the limits of those social *legitimate* frames (or at least in tension with them) in a certain historical time and space.

The consideration, on one side, of the omnipotence of media messages and the absolute relativization of their power, on the other, demands the construction of an intermediate point of view in the analysis: it is not that spectators are *powerless* in front of media power; but they are not *powerful* so as to do whatever they want with a

⁸ Both audiences and reception are used as a subjective and active process through which a message is received. Some references about this are Brundson (1990); García Galera (2000); Lindlof and Traudt (1983); Lull (1982); Mata (1988); Montero Rivero (2006); Grimson and Varela (1999 and 2005), to name only a few.

codified message broadcasted in certain conditions. We find, in the middle, the so called “mediations” (Serrano, 1977, Martín- Barbero, *passim* and Orozco Gómez, 1994 and 2002 among others). These are the intermediate stages that operate in the reception stage (and, at the same time, in the codification of the messages) and orient in diverse directions the readings that audiences can make. Reference groups, the *habitus*, the structured and structuring structures that operate in our social praxis (Bourdieu, 1988), the institutions with which we connect, the dynamics of the groups that we belong to, the situations of reception the degrees of attention; finally, the material and symbolic conditions in which we are socially located, are going to condition our readings not only of media messages but of any type of message or interaction to which we get close to.

For Martín-Barbero (1987), culture is the major mediation of the social processes and it is objectified in three concrete practices: sociability, rituality and technicity. These three processes take for granted the relationship between audiences and media and its techniques. The possible readings of a media message are articulated with the mediation that are closely related to social groups and frames.

In this sense, in his famous article, Hall (1979) presents three hypothesis that work as reception “positions” from which a media message can be received: the dominant (in which the codification and the decodification tend to be articulated), the negotiated (that implies the mixture between both adaptive and oppositional elements) and the oppositional (in which the message is de-totalized from the referential code and re-totalized in alternative reference frames). Morley (1992), some years later, criticized these hypothesis claiming that each one of these positions should be divided in multiple possible readings according to the mentioned mediations.

Another group of researches is formed by Latin American scholars who analyzed the reception stage in two major displacements (Sunkel, 1999): the first one was the passage from considering the message as an ideological structure to the identification of the reception as a critical stage. Fuenzalida (1984) sustains that critical reception is a strategy of resistance to the influence of television. For Orozco Gómez (1996) it is necessary to know in order to intervene, so he proposes media literacy as a path to de-totalize media messages in order to see, in them, the mechanisms that are both invisible and naturalized. Many scholars have proposed media literacy as a path to construct a critical approach to media and to the new audiences that are being formed in the light of new technologies and devices: Masterman (1993); Giroux (1996); Ferrés (1994); Mc Laren (1995); Barbero (2003); Fuenzalida, (2005); Morduchowicz (2001) among many others.

The importance of media literacy is based in the future: today's children are tomorrow's adults who are going to be related to media almost inevitably. The identification of stereotypes, representations, selections and invisibilizations that occupy a great part of media are a key aspect for a critical citizenship as audiences. Media tend to demand more and more from audiences: participation, identification and fidelity; audiences should demand and be able to criticize media messages from a complex perspective.

The second displacement is, for Sunkel, the one that goes from critical reception to cultural consumption, that is, the construction of a specialized spectator in the analysis of his/her consumptions. In the end of 1980s and the 1990s (in the context, as I mentioned, of neoconservatist politics) "audience ethnographies" find their way in the field⁹. Audience ethnography is a qualitative methodology that, as such, aims to know in depth the informants in their everyday lives. To study audiences entailed, for scholars, the displacements to the households of the informants (the displacement towards the "politics of the living room", Silverstone and Morley, 1991) to analyze the media consumption, dynamics and the relationships that the members of the families could establish. The centrality of the differential appropriations of media messages lead to the consideration of the reception stage as a moment of production.

Audiences produce meanings, bonds and preferences when they engage with media. So, why this hegemonic fiction about the reception stage? There is an unresolved tension in media research between the openness of messages and their closure. It is important to keep in mind the necessary and inevitable production that any subject produces with messages not only from media but in different areas of his/her life. It is in the acknowledgement of the varied stages of subjective production where we will find the individual mark, that is, in the end, a social mark of cultural, social and political experience. It is, finally, in the reading and production that appears in the reception stage where we might have the possibility of constructing the heterogeneous in the homogeneous; the chance to identify the interesting from the irrelevant information. The questions that we must ask are, then, the ones that encourage complex interpretations: what do subjects do with media? What do media do with subjects? In other words, what do media do with all the information they obtain from their audiences (preferences, likes, dislikes, etc)? The production of the subjects in their relationship with media is used by media groups as ways to check, try and

⁹ Ang (1991); Bourdon (2003); Liebes and Katz (1991); Morley and Silverstone (1990), are a reference to this matter.

evaluate the offer they present to society. Audiences are being used and demanded more and more through multiple devices, votes, evaluations and opinions.

There is no way to analyze audiences and reception beyond the acknowledgements of their material and symbolic conditions of living. That is why the notion of hegemonic fiction becomes relevant and useful for the analysis. The problem lies not only in what subjects do with the objects but which objects are available for subjects. These objects establish the horizon of experiences that are the combination of the encounter of a culture with the objects of other cultures, of old and new knowledges (Sarlo, 2001). The key in this fiction is to understand the complexity of the relationship between audiences and messages: neither of them should be underestimated.

4. Conclusions: new audiences?

The hypothesis that organized this paper claimed that media demanded different actions and behaviors from audiences. The construction of new audiences is strictly related to social, technological and economic changes. The possibility of having a mobile phone which is connected to the internet but that can also work as a television set is a major change regarding emission. Audiences have also changed. The four hegemonic fictions that structure this paper pretended to present an approach to the major strategies that media use and that tend to be considered as “natural” by a great part of the audience.

The hegemonic fiction of choice, of participation, of objectivity and the hegemonic fiction on the reception stage were a gate of entry to analyze contemporary media and audiences as a both dynamic and dialectical couple. It is impossible to conceive media without audiences and the ways in which audiences are constructed by and through media are a major concern for media analysts. Every hegemonic fiction implies a series of strategies of codification and decodification and it is in the encounter between media messages and audiences in which social meaning is built and reproduced.

That is why, when facing media we are never alone, we are always in relationship with and in tension to other social discourses and behaviors that surround us. Media literacy is, clearly, one of the paths to overcome media constructions and strategies. And it is basically a tool to educate new audiences: young and “old” audiences, kids and grown-ups need to count with a tool that would help them dismount and disarm media messages so as to identify stereotypes, redundancies, models, representations. Media will never cease to represent events and society in the most convenient ways for them; their goal is to widen audiences and, in consequence,

profit. We, as audiences, need to build a critical approach to media messages, a critical point of view that will allow us the transformation of both the effects and the consequences in our everyday life. It is not by turning off every single device how we will learn how to be critical; we need to live *with* media, learning and educating societies how to identify and dismantle the hegemonic fictions that appear to be completely naturalized in and by media. That is, of course, a political action. Politics is a major tool of social transformation, isn't it?

5. References

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