

DOSSIER

PRESS AND SOCIAL NETWORKING SERVICES IN THE INTERNET:

Approaches to the relations of two Argentine online newspapers with Facebook and Twitter

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NATALIA RAIMONDO ANSELMINO
Universidad Nacional de Rosario
Universidad Abierta Interamericana
MAURO BERTONE
Universidad Nacional de Rosario

ABSTRACT - This article describes the incorporation of the social networks resources on Internet into digital interfaces of the two main Argentine newspapers, Clarín and La Nación, as well as the ways in which these online newspapers manage and use their official accounts on Facebook (FB) and Twitter (TW). Such reflections are part of the first stage of a research project which aims to understand the relationship established, at present, between digital media and social networking, to account for the impact of the latter both the link to the press with his readership as in the press-public sphere relationship. As we have seen until now, these observed online newspapers use their official accounts on FB and TW for several purposes: to get viral spread of content; to establish a direct contact with the public; to get the audience involved and encourage their participation; to consolidate their own positions into the social networks; and to get users to control the quality of his speeches on the Internet. Besides, the incorporation of the social networks resources on these online newspapers would impact, specially, on news circulation process since a piece of news is no longer a stable unit and gets modified as the story travels through Internet social networks.

Keywords: Press. Social networking on Internet. Mediatization. Online newspapers.

IMPrensa E REDES SOCIAIS EM INTERNET:

Aproximação da relação de dois jornais argentinos online com Facebook y Twitter

RESUMO - O presente artigo é parte de uma pesquisa, de corte sociosemiótica, que pretende analisar a incorporação de recursos próprios das redes sociais em internet (RSI) nas interfaces digitais dos dois principais jornais argentinos, Clarín e La Nación, bem como as maneiras pelas quais os jornais online gestionam e utilizam as suas contas oficiais no Facebook (FB) e Twitter (TW). As reflexões aqui apresentadas fazem parte da primeira etapa, exploratória, de um estudo que visa explicar a incidência da RSI, tanto na ligação da imprensa com os seus leitores como na relação entre a imprensa e esfera pública. Como vimos até agora, os jornais on-line estudados usam suas contas oficiais de FB e TW para difusão viral de seus conteúdos, estabelecendo um contato mais direto com seu público, canalizando o interesse do público para a participação como uma estratégia de consolidação de posições nesses sites, e para procurar que os usuários controlem a qualidade das suas intervenções. Além disso, a incorporação de recursos próprios das RSI nesses jornais teria impacto especialmente no processo de circulação de notícias, que deixa de ser uma unidade estável e que altera à medida que circula pelas RSI.

Palavras-chave: Imprensa. Redes sociais em Internet. Mídia-tização. Jornais on-line.

**PRENSA Y REDES SOCIALES EN INTERNET:
Aproximaciones a la relación de dos diarios argentinos en línea con
Facebook y Twitter**

RESUMEN - El presente artículo se enmarca en una investigación, de corte sociosemiótica, que se propone analizar la incorporación de recursos propios de las redes sociales en Internet (RSI) en las interfaces digitales de los dos principales diarios argentinos, Clarín y La Nación, así como también las maneras en que dichos periódicos en línea gestionan y utilizan sus cuentas oficiales en Facebook (FB) y Twitter (TW). Las reflexiones aquí expuestas son parte de la primera etapa, exploratoria, de un estudio que tiene por finalidad dar cuenta de la incidencia de las RSI tanto en el vínculo de la prensa con su público lector, como en la relación prensa-esfera pública. Según hemos podido apreciar hasta el momento, los diarios en línea estudiados utilizan sus cuentas oficiales en FB y TW para: la difusión viral de sus contenidos; establecer un contacto más directo con su público; canalizar el interés de la audiencia por la participación; consolidar sus posiciones en estos sitios; y, por último, procurar que los usuarios controlen la calidad de sus intervenciones. Por otra parte, la incorporación de recursos propios de las RSI en estos diarios impactaría, sobre todo, en el proceso de circulación de noticias, que deja de ser una unidad estable y se modifica a medida que circula por las RSI.

Palabras clave: Prensa. Redes sociales en Internet. Mediatización. Periódicos en línea.

INTRODUCTION

In this article, we present some preliminary results of a group research project¹ whose general aim is to study the relationships that enable and promote social networking services in the Internet² – from now on referred to as SNS – in the framework of the relationship between the mass media system and the public sphere. As part of the said project –in which different approach levels are articulated, but only one is discussed here– we propose to investigate, on the one hand, the ways in which Argentinean digital newspapers incorporate SNS resources into their interfaces and, on the other, the ways in which those on-line newspapers manage and use their official Facebook (FB) and Twitter (TW) accounts.

The area of interest of the investigation is the mass media semiotic field. Our project proposes the study of two on-line, general information Argentinean newspapers with national circulation: Clarín (Bugle) and La Nación (The Nation), during the period 2009-2013. For that purpose, we use a recognized semiotic perspective in order to address complex meaning production phenomena, like those in the context of the mass media, commonly called social semiotics. Specifically, we have drawn on the theoretical and methodological framework of the social discourses theory proposed by Verón4 (1998), focusing on the study of meaning production grammars, that is to say, on the “creation conditions” (VERÓN, 2004:41) of the discourses. From this point of view, which states that discourse is an organized system of

coordinated and coordinating significations of social meaning (VERÓN, 1998), a discourse analysis is proposed that looks into the enunciation forms and the discursive strategies of meaning production. As regards the latter, it is worth mentioning that Verón (2004) defines discursive strategies as “the proved variations within the same kind of discourse” (p. 197) or the same kind of product. As already thoroughly analyzed in another paper (RAIMONDO ANSELMINO, 2011), the strategy conducted by each newspaper contributes to building up its personality (which is completely different to the personalities of its rivals) and, consequently, to model the way in which the newspaper relates to its readers. It remains to explain that we applied a specific socio-semiotic focus to both the analysis of the digital newspapers’ interfaces as well as to the study of the accounts that they have in the SNS we are investigating. In this context, our project intends to analyze the on-line newspapers’ redesigning⁵ which took place during the study period, tracking the use of FB and TW resources in every redesign. Some preliminary results of this work can be found in the section “The social networks in the newspapers”

On the other hand, under the title “The newspapers in the social media”, we present some considerations originating from an exploratory observation of Clarín and La Nación’s official FB and TW accounts. The goal of the said investigation was to begin unraveling the ways in which the newspapers we studied manage and use their official accounts in the said SNS.

The aim of everything we have stated here is to understand the (current) relationship between the Argentinean digital press and the SNS, accounting for the influence of the latter on both the relationship of the press with its readership, as well as on the press-public sphere relationship. Since we consider newspapers as relevant agents in the development of the public sphere (HABERMAS, 1999), we believe that studying the changes in the press not only allows us to update our knowledge about the development of one of the contemporary cultural industries, but it also breaks new ground in order to unravel the possible repercussions that these mutations could entail for the development of the political and social roles that the press has performed historically.

1 BACKGROUND

In our research, we start by stating the environmental and constructive nature of the mass media. We live in highly mediated societies in which the media have become “unavoidable mediators of

the management of the social” (VERÓN, 2004, p. 224). According to this, mediatization is considered a nuclear construction form of the public sphere, the latter known as the “control of our social life where something like public opinion can be shaped” (HABERMAS, 1989, p. 1). On the other hand, it is assumed that our societies are increasingly permeated by technology-media convergence processes. Picking up on Jenkins’s thoughts (2008), we understand that, above all, the convergence represents a cultural change, that is to say, a change in the logic with which culture operates, “where the old and the new media clash [...] where the power of the producer and the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways” (JENKINS, 2008, p. 14). Thus, we are immersed in a transition stage in which a new ecology of media arises, more hybrid than the former (JENKINS and DEUZE, 2008). Its nature becomes visible when we notice the variety of new media which are related, to different extents, to the ones traditionally considered mass media. Among the so called new media we can name the SNS like FB and TW, which are challenging the logic behind the functioning of the media system. Additionally, it is necessary to acknowledge that, for over a decade, a series of modifications in the classic press forms have been observed inside the mass media system – reiterating “the hypothesis that the transformations of the different media supports are not independent, but derived from the dominant changes in the system understood as a whole” (VALDETTARO, 2008, p. 40). These modifications mainly have to do with the way in which the newspaper-reader relationship is built up (VALDETTARO, 2005). In this context, our research team has become interested in studying those modifications, alterations that were initially motivated by the direct television device (BISELLI and VALDETTARO, 2004; VALDETTARO, 2005). Now, time has passed, and to those transformations others have been added based on the new logic of the Internet (RAIMONDO ANSELMINO, 2012), understanding the Internet to be what Verón (2012) calls “a gigantic device that transforms the conditions of access to the discourses” (w/o number), “entails a mutation in the conditions of access to the individual actors [...], produces unprecedented transformations in the circulation conditions” (VERÓN, 2012b, p. 14) and therefore, among other things, has changed the way we relate to pieces of news.

With the advent of the press in the web, newspapers felt the need to follow the steps of an audience that is becoming increasingly elusive and, therefore, “at the same time acquiring new abilities or ‘practicing’ in new spaces or media –the blogosphere, Facebook, Twitter, to name the most popular–, so the big newspapers [...] have been incorporating those

modifications in one way or another” (RAIMONDO ANSELMINO, 2012, p. 127). Nevertheless, this is a complex process. For example, as stated by Darío D’Atri (2011), editor in chief of Clarín.com:

the burst of social networks has created a dual reality for the big on-line media: at the same time, they have become more powerful due to the virality social networks offer in order to increase the news coverage in every site, although that access to information through the social networks takes place within a hyper-fragmentation framework (users access the pieces of news generated by the big media directly or by recommendation, but they are out of context and without the criteria of editorial construction of meaning that those websites have as mass media governed by news hierarchy rules, balance and variety of sources and approaches, etc.)w/o number).

The previous statement necessarily reminds us of the particular conformation of the on-line newspapers’ readership, an audience that, as stated in Raimondo Anselmino (2012, p. 296- 297): is no longer limited to those readers at the end of the media editorial line, but also embraces

[...] an increasingly heterogeneous group which includes users that choose the publication because of opinions not necessarily related to their ideological profile; hybrid audiences (Mancini, 2011) also made up by people who arrive at the website sent by the random algorithms of a search engine or due to a suggestion made by their affinity group⁶.

In this process digital newspapers began, four years ago, to venture into the SNS world in two ways: on the one hand, incorporating a series of resources offered by the said social networks (such as the publication of accounts and different plug-ins or apps) into their own interfaces; on the other hand, creating and managing a large series of official accounts in the said social networks.

Even though it has been fifteen years since a field of study called Digital Journalism or Ciberjournalism began to emerge, we could say that the SNS boom, like FB or TW, is relatively recent. Therefore, in 2010 an urgent need for research work began to arise to investigate the repercussions of the earthquake caused by SNS in the discursive production of the press. In this context, and to close up this summary, it is necessary to bear in mind the direct background of our research project. Several earlier papers have anticipated the significance that SNS have gained and position them as a phenomenon that increasingly affects the foundations of the press (CAMPOS FREIRE, 2008; FLORES VIVAR, 2009; PICARD, 2009, among others). Additionally, other valuable precedents are the first case studies carried out at international level which are mainly just beginning. Within this latter group we can name, among others, the works of Noguera (2010) in Spain, Stassen (2010)

in South Africa, Canavilhas and Jerónimo y Duarte (2010) in Portugal, Messner, Linke and Eford (2011) and Baresch, Knight, Harp and Yaschur (2011) in the United States, or those carried out by Dias Souza and Mielniczuk (2012), Barbosa (2013) —members of the famous Research Team in On-line Journalism (Grupo de Pesquisa em Jornalismo On-Line) currently coordinated by Marcos Palacios—, Longhi, Moreira Flores and Teixeira Weber (2011 and 2012) and Zago (2012) in Brazil. In this sense, the research directed by the Spaniard García de Torres et al. (2011) stands out. The aim of her investigation is to study

the use of FB and TW in 27 regional on-line newspapers distributed throughout Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Portugal, Spain and Venezuela.

The impact of SNS on the press has also been discussed in the latest international academic conferences on Digital Journalism. This can be seen in the edited publications of the latest events of recognized importance on the subject. For example: the International Symposium on On-line Journalism in Austin, United States (AAVV, 2011); the Digital Journalism Congress in Huesca, Spain (VERÓN LASSA and SABÉS TURMO, 2011 and 2012); the International Forum on Digital Journalism in Rosario, Argentina (IRIGARAY, CEBALLOS and MANNA, 2011 and 2013); and the National Conference of Journalism Researchers carried out in different Brazilian cities (SBPJOR, 2012).

2 THE SOCIAL NETWORKS IN THE NEWSPAPERS

On-line newspapers have opened their interfaces to the proliferation of intervention and participation spaces for the reader⁷. This took place within a stage of the mediatization process in which a whole set of transformations in media consumption habits are observed. Those changes largely took place due to what Jenkins (2008) called participative culture. The on-line press view itself against the need to face not only the convergence —of media, organizations and professions— at the level of production, but also the divergence, fragmentation and individualization of consumption. After 2008, a new challenge that turned everything upside down again appeared: audiences began to share their consumption experiences through the SNS⁸.

In light of that situation, in 2009 both newspapers we are studying began their relationship with the SNS, a relationship that is limited to the participation strategy that each newspaper proposes to its audience. As Raimondo Anselmino (2012) stated, in the Sunday April 19th issue of that

year, La Nación incorporated TW into its journalistic coverage with a “real time” transmission of the “super-classic match River-Boca” which took place that day. For that purpose, the newspaper created a sui generis space where it not only published the tweets that journalists who were at Boca Juniors’ stadium wrote, but also the audience’s messages.

On its own behalf, in September 2009 Clarín incorporated a section called “Twitter” which you could access as if it were a traditional “blog”. This new space has included, since the beginning of 2010, the opportunity to comment, via TW, on the “subject(s) of the day” proposed by the newspapers; generally on a sports topic. The latter is a reader participation space that Clarín rapidly suspended because, according to them, it did not provide the participation results (D’ATRI in RAIMONDO ANSELMINO, 2012, p. 175) the newspaper was looking for. On the other hand, in order to hold the audience’s interest and, at the same time, position themselves as community links⁹, in the period 2009 to 2013, both digital newspapers have been testing different ways of incorporating SNS¹⁰ resources and apps into their interfaces.

In the current website versions, both Clarín and La Nación have made available the SNS resources present in most newspapers today: in the internal page of each article, they incorporated the plug-ins that allow you to differentiate it with a “like” on FB or to tweet its headline; the first newspaper also allows you to “share” its content through FB. In their covers, both newspapers highlight the link to their official accounts in several SNS¹¹. They also have a social FB plug-in that allows you – as long as you are connected to that network– to know which “friends” “like” the newspaper. Lastly, as regards the place SNS resources have in the interfaces of these on-line newspapers, it is worth mentioning the peculiar use media have given to FB, aimed at placating, at least partially, the conflict evidenced in the article comment spaces between the logic proposed by the newspaper and the logic(s) of the audience’s participation¹². It seems that the said use aims to get the readers out of anonymity and in control of the quality of their participation in the newspaper. For example, La Nación has presented the opportunity to link the site account of each

user to their FB profile for quite a while now. In this way, the comments of those readers that choose that alternative are also published in their personal wall in the social network. On its behalf, Clarín, who until the end of 2011 had a participation policy that clearly left aside the readers’ comments space (RAIMONDO ANSELMINO, 2010), incorporated to its redesign in December of that year, a group of plug-ins (FB, Yahoo,

AOL and Hotmail) that allow you to comment on absolutely every article directly through the profile that users have in another website or SNS.

3 THE NEWSPAPERS IN THE SOCIAL NETWORKS

Both Clarín and La Nación have a series of FB fanpages and TW accounts. La Nación, according to the newspaper itself¹³, has 25 themed spaces and 170 profiles of journalists in TW, and it also has one official FB fanpage¹⁴. As regards Clarín, its arrival in TW has been less natural, to such an extent that, during our last observation of this social network on August 29, 2012, we found a series of recently created accounts corresponding to the sections of the newspaper's digital version. Its presence in TW adds up to 18 themed accounts, which include one official account and there are no journalists' accounts, unlike its competitor. Clarín also has an official FB page¹⁵.

It is worth mentioning that on April 30 2013 there were 714,707 people who "liked" La Nación's page in FB, an amount that is not even the third part of the amount of likes in Clarín's fanpage which on the same date had 2.5 million "likes". This difference is also present in TW, although inversely (and by a smaller difference), since, as we will see in the next section, La Nación's official account in this SNS has 25% more followers than its competitor.

3.1 The newspaper in 140 characters

As regards the official TW accounts of both newspapers, we compared the same spaces at two different times –the first observation took place on May 16, 2012 and the second one on August 29 of the same year– aiming to analyze every message published in that social network during those specific days. Regarding the number of followers, a growth in both accounts was observed, during this period: La Nación went from 313,223 to 410,050 followers (a 30.91% increase) and, in the case of Clarín, from 209.085 to 298.550 (a 42.78% increase).As regards @Lanacioncom, in the newspaper's official account in TW, we can find thematizations related to:the temporary nature of the news (using adverbs such as "now", or phrases like "last minute");

- the referential anchoring ("Sarmiento train", "Mitre train");
- the type of content ("survey", "video", "humor", "opinion").

On the other hand, no interaction with the followers is observed and that lack of interaction with other accounts is verified through the retweet tool. What do appear, unlike in the Clarín which does not publish the TW accounts of its journalists, are mentions of the accounts of the people responsible for the articles as a way of signature and contact. As regards the type of content, since it is the newspaper's official account, we found a space that combines information, opinion and even humor. The information can be published by the newspaper or by other people, especially news agencies (on international matters, for example). Regarding Clarín, in its official account, @Clarincom, it gathers the main news of the on-line newspaper with last minute information through thematizations related to temporariness ("now") or through hashtags. Unlike La Nación, the interaction with other accounts-sections of the newspaper, through retweets, is more frequent, although as with @Lanacioncom, no interaction with its followers is observed. At a formal level, we can say that both in Clarín and La Nación, the modality called information agent predominates, which consists of a modality of journalistic enunciation whose categorization was initially proposed by Argentinean semiologist Oscar Steimberg¹⁶. Nevertheless, that modality is combined with the presence of phrases whose illocutionary force is clearly interpellative, and that encourages followers to comment information, by creating an expectation of response (Picture 1).

Picture1 - TW Clarín



Another element to take into account is that, both in Clarín and La Nación's official accounts, we find similarities between the pieces of news published in that space and the ones on the home site. Thus, what is observed in these spaces is a predominance of the information that is on the agenda of the day. We could say that, as a provisional conclusion regarding the use of TW, both digital newspapers –at least when it comes to their official accounts– repeat in this social network their strategy already present in the web¹⁷, combining it, at the same time, with some specific contents produced especially for the said social network. These contents would be part of the community establishment strategy of both newspapers or, at least, of the creation of identification spaces, something that seems less developed in TW than in FB.

3.2 Clarín and La Nación: making friends in Facebook

As regards the management of La Nación's official FB account, we can observe that the pieces of news shared in this social network are also related to topics already published on the newspaper's home site. Nevertheless, of course not all articles published in the newspaper's cover can be found in its FB fanpage. We can see here a selection and hierarchization of news, apparently without any pre-established criteria, but it could answer to an order of importance according to the immediacy of the news (Pictures 2 and 3), or to certain production criteria of the newspaper (Picture 4). That is to say, we can observe two different strategies adopted by the two newspapers¹⁸.

Picture 2 - FB La Nación



Pictures 3 and 4 - FB Clarín Picture - FB La Nación



Thus, we can observe the way La Nación attempts to escape its schedule in FB through a selection and hierarchization of news different from those presented by the newspaper in its

digital version and a lot closer to a community establishment criteria or readers' identification spaces, experiences that –as we propose as the hypothesis in our work– alter traditional news consumption. For example, from the point of view of the semantic board (VERÓN, 1983),

a piece of news that is on the second level of importance on the cover, meeting taxonomic and topographic criteria, can be placed as a highlight in La Nación's FB profile (Pictures 4 and 5).

Picture 5 - Home La Nación



On the other hand, when it comes to turning some of their articles into a FB post, La Nación usually modifies, at least partially, the frame operation (VERÓN, 2004, p. 82) of the headline –especially its metalinguistic function–, usually by introducing some inflections (for example, by adding exclamation or question marks) that highlight its appellative force¹⁹. We find here, we would venture to say, the presence of a discursive strategy that, for over a decade, has been increasingly clear in the press. We are talking about the discursive strategies of contact (BISELLI and VALDETTARO, 2004), which consist of a peculiar way of configuring the enunciative relationship strongly anchored in the image-sound live transmission technology imposed by television, “a type of affective and singularizing appeal, whose communicative efficacy is measured in terms not of manipulation, nor influence or persuasion but in terms of seduction (BISELLI y VALDETTARO, 2004). The following examples illustrate the foregoing statements:

Headline in the newspaper ²⁰	Headline in FB post
Save Buenos Aires heritage Videogames could stop mental deterioration that comes with aging After almost reaching \$10, the blue dollar closed the week at \$9.88	Save Buenos Aires heritage! What is going to happen to the city's artistic and architectural jewels? Find out more about this situation. Who would have thought? Videogames could stop mental deterioration that comes with aging At the end of the week, the blue dollar reaches \$9.98: How does this affect you? Are you worried or do you consider it irrelevant?

As regards the management of Clarín’s official FB account, we can observe a phenomenon similar to La Nación, although on several occasions the said strategy is visibly more marked²¹ and independent from the information published at the newspaper’s home site. In order to keep its FB readership active, and with a modality related to the service logic²², which has always been a characteristic of Clarín, every morning it publishes a post with climate information for the whole country and, at night, says goodbye to its reader-friends with a video, as a kind of good night greeting. Additionally, it is interesting to highlight the peculiar use the said newspaper gave to its FB official account at the time a natural disaster had altered its productive routine: the flooding that took place at the beginning of April 2013 in Buenos Aires province. On April 3 the newspaper published on its home site an article titled “Clarín has opened its Facebook page in order to help those affected by the storm”²³, in which it explained:

Due to the tragic storm where at least 48 people died in Buenos Aires city and province [...], this newspaper making use of this social network to publish useful information for those who want to help with donations, as well as telephone numbers for medical emergencies, advice on how to prevent diseases and accidents, instructions to claim insurance payment and more.

Lastly, we would like to highlight another striking characteristic of both newspapers’ FB profiles which we intend to analyze more thoroughly with the progress of our investigation and which is observed in the intervention and participation spaces for the users of the platform: in both newspapers we can confirm that in those articles related to political topics or figure (Pictures 1 and 6), the presence of comments is more significant than the “likes”, although it gives the inverse result when it comes to topics or people of another area (Pictures 3 and 7).

Picture 6 - FB Clarín



Picture 7 - FB Clarín



BRIEF EPILOGUE

As proposed in Raimondo Anselmino (2012) and, as we have observed in this paper, for a few years now digital newspapers have been trying different ways of optimizing what is usually called user's experience, maybe because, as stated by Kirzner (2013), "experience cannot be hacked" (w/o number) and it has become, therefore, a value

that acquires an increasingly more relevant place in the relationship media offer to their audiences.

Completely focused on overcoming the discouraging predictions on their future, newspapers are currently trying to find the way to adapt themselves to the new cultural consumption patterns in the Internet, in which, today, social networks have a privileged position. For example, not so long ago the main uses of Internet in Argentina were information searching and communication (D'ALESSIO IROL, 2010). Nevertheless, according to one of the latest reports of Comscore agency (2013), the use of SNS has become the main factor of time spent in the Internet in the said country (where users spend an average of 9.15 hours per month in some social networks, preferably FB); likewise the rest of Latin America, a region in which SNS consumption is 5 hours higher than the world average". (COMSCORE, 2013b: p. 20).

In this context, we can suppose that the first developments in the framework of our research allow us to formulate a group of inferences, as a kind of working hypothesis, that will be re-considered in the subsequent steps of our study. At least in what we were able to observe so far, the on-line newspapers studied use their official FB and TW accounts for the viral spread of their contents, to establish a closer relationship with their audience –through strategies based on community establishment and creation of identification spaces–, to channel the audience's growing interest in participation and, as a positioning strategy in these sites.

Additionally, as we have pointed out before, the peculiar use both Argentinean newspapers have given to their FB accounts is aimed at getting their readers out of anonymity and getting them to control the quality of their interventions in the newspaper, especially in the article comments section. Finally, the incorporation of SNS resources in the newspapers' interfaces impacts on the news circulation process: the article stops being a stable product unit in the context of a certain section of the newspaper and is modified –that is to say, acquires new meaning–, as it circulates in the SNS.

NOTES

- 1 Research and Development Project “Social networks, media and public sphere”, established in the Secretary of Science and Technology of the National University of Rosario, Argentina (UNR, is its acronym in Spanish). This project was initiated in 2012 and directed by Sandra Valdetaro and co-directed by Natalia Raimondo Anselmino and María Cecilia Reviglio. Researchers: Ricardo Diviani and Mariángela Camusso. Research Assistants: Mauro Bertone and Daniela Sánchez At the same time, related to this research group there is an individual investigation being carried out by Raimondo Anselmino in the context of a Post-doctoral Fellowship of the National Scientific and Technical Research Council of Argentina (Conicet is its acronym in Spanish) entitled: “Press and Social Networking Services”
- 2 These networks consist of “services inside the websites which allow the user to 1) build up a public or semi-public profile inside a limited system, 2) coordinate a list of other users with whom he is connected and 3) visualize and track his contact list and the ones other users have inside the system. The nature and nomenclature of these connections usually varies from one social network to another” (Bold and Ellison, in ONTSI, 2011).
- 3 Nowadays, we are deepening our investigation and, in the next stage, we have planned to also incorporate the study of regional newspapers in order to contrast media with different scopes. namely the digital version of *La Voz del Interior* (The Voice of the Interior), a newspaper from Córdoba, and the digital edition of *La Capital* (The Capital), a newspaper from Rosario.
- 4 It should be borne in mind that this author proposes a discourse analysis focused on describing operations: “A textual surface is full of marks. These marks can be interpreted as traces of the underlying discursive operations that refer to the discourse production conditions and whose group economics has defined the possible reading contexts [...] Therefore, operations are visible in the textual surface: they have to be re-built (or postulated) from the surface marks” (VERÓN, 2004: p. 51).
- 5 We consider redesign as being every substantial alteration in the layout of the covers in which the topographic and taxonomic organization (VERÓN, 1983) of the newspaper as homesite is modified. According to Verón (1983), the layout of a newspaper is the result of the combination of two organizational methods: “The topographic one has to do with the presentation, the fragmentation and the coordination of spaces. The taxonomic one has to do with the signification systems used by every newspaper as a semantic board whose cases would be filled by the schedule of the day” (VERÓN, 1983, p. 94).
- 6 Thus, it is interesting that, according to Alexa (2013 and 2013b),

13.81% of users that access lanacion.com and 10.81% of the ones that access clarin.com, do it through an SNS: in the case of La Nación, the percentage is divided among three SNS —Facebook 9.41, Twitter 2.23 and Youtube 2.17—, meanwhile in the case of Clarín, all entries correspond to FB.

- 7 In Raimondo Anselmino (2012), all instances of an on-line newspaper where the reader's activity takes shape or is shown are described in this way. The intervention spaces are those sections of the newspaper which are somehow intervened in or pierced by a reader's action that has left a trace in the newspaper's interface (with exception of the enunciation production): the rankings (of most read/most commented/most voted/etc. articles), the surveys, the articles' vote, the abuse report in the commentaries and the list of related readings. The sections of the newspapers where the reader can express himself discursively by producing utterances are called participation spaces: reader's letters, discussion forums, blogs, commentaries on the articles, among others.
- 8 According to the latest research on the situation of the Internet in Argentina (D'ALESSIO, IROL, 2010; IAB, 2011), the activity that grew the most between 2008 and 2010 has been the connection with the SNS, which accounted for 30% of Internet consumption time.
- 9 That is to say, "targeting the audience to identify with it (beyond the editorial profile), attempting to create experiences that surpass the news and information consumption" (RAIMONDO ANSELMINO, 2012, p. 306).
- 10 For example, in its section (currently out of use) called "Participation"—that gathered all intervention and participation spaces available in the newspaper—, La Nación used to publish the "Facebook recommended articles", a sort of list of the newspaper's five most commented news items on FB.
- 11 La Nación also has a website where it publishes every account the newspaper has on TW: <http://twitter.lanacion.com.ar/> Accessed on: May 10, 2012.
- 12 "Once the newspapers give the reader a series of intervention and participation spaces in order to get his attention, they can no longer fully control its use and, in most cases, it greatly differs from the use expected by the newspaper" (RAIMONDO ANSELMINO, 2012, p. 295).
- 13 See article "Desde hoy, la completa red de canales de La Nación en Twitter" (Starting today, the complete accounts of La Nación in Twitter) published in lanacion.com on 06/05/2011. Accessed at: <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1379064-desde-hoy-la-completa-red-de-canales-de-la-nacion-en-twitter> Accessed on: August 29, 2012. In this article, the newspaper claims to have become "the first informative network of the country in Twitter"
- 14 <http://www.facebook.com/lanacion> Accessed on: May 10, 2012.
- 15 <http://www.facebook.com/clarincom> Accessed on: May 10, 2012.
- 16 In order to pick up on Steimberg's definition, Fraticelli (2008) reminds

us that: “In Buenos Aires, the information agent appeared in La Razón (The Reason), the first newspaper that was not aiming to indoctrinate public opinion, unlike La Nación, nor to give the floor to the experts, as La Prensa (The Press) newspaper did. La Razón’s editorial is grounded on the Utopian idea of becoming an information agent, that is to say, to inform objectively and to show the truth. Its language is transparent; there are no idioms that could interfere between its readers and what is going on” (p. 119).

- 17 Thus, there is a predominant repetition of the material originally present at the newspaper’s website under the modality of information agent, a procedure, in our opinion, closely linked to the production rules operatively imposed by the platform (140 characters limit). In both newspapers, the headlines presented in TW are almost identical to those observed in the digital version, with subtle variations depending on the original length of every headline.
- 18 We are referring to the on-line newspaper on the one hand and to Facebook on the other.
- 19 The said appeal corresponds with the way in which the newspaper introduces itself in the FB section “Information”: “Innovation models in social networks. The most active community of all Argentinean newspapers. Join the hottest current debates”.
- 20 All cited articles were published on May 3, 2013.
- 21 Through operators like the cover picture, for example, which Clarín usually updates according to the different news items and does not respond to stable criteria.
- 22 As stated in Raimondo Anselmino (2012), one of the peculiarities that differentiates Clarín from other Argentinean newspapers is “the fact that it placed its bets on the ‘services’ for the reader from the beginning. For example, Noble’s company has always given classified advertisements a relevant place in the newspaper, a space that grew rapidly after the morning paper La Prensa (The Press) went out of circulation due to its expropriation during Juan Domingo Perón’s first presidency. Therefore, advertisers were forced to migrate with their agendas (...). In the same way, and especially since the 90s, the newspaper uses ‘extra-journalistic resources’ (ULANOVSKY, 2011, p. 247) as a commercial strategy in order to improve sales; this is the case of the sports contest El Gran Director Técnico (The Great Technical Director) that has recovered its importance in clarin.com under the name El Gran DT (The Great TD). The growing level of specification, updating and autonomy in some supplements also account for this strategy. These qualities have reached their highest level in products such as the sports newspaper Olé or the Revista Ñ (Ñ Magazine), that the holding began to publish in 1996 and 2003, respectively” (RAIMONDO ANSELMINO, 2012, p. 256-257).
- 23 See http://www.clarin.com/sociedad/Clarín-Facebook-colaborar-afectados-temporal_0_894510739.html Accessed on: April 03, 2013.

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Natalia Raimondo Anselmino is doctor on Communication from Universidad Nacional de Rosario (UNR), Argentina. She got a scholarship from Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (Conicet). She is professor and researcher at Universidad Nacional de Rosario and Universidad Abierta Interamericana. She is a member of Comité Académico del Centro de Investigaciones en Mediatizaciones (CIM) at UNR. E-mail:

Mauro Bertone has a bachelor degree on Social Communication from Universidad Nacional de Rosario. He is a research assistant at the Research and Development Project “Redes sociales, medios y esfera pública” at UNR.

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