REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI

UNIVERSITAS

Number 38 / March-August 2023

print ISSN: 1390-3837 / electronic ISSN: 1390-8634

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Universitas-UPS, Journal of Social and Human Sciences, biannual publication, No. 38, March-August 2023. Editor in charge: Ángel Torres-Toukoumidis. ISSN printed: 1390-3837 / ISSN electronic: 1390-8634. Design and correction: Editorial University Abya-Yala. Domicile of the publication: Salesian Polytechnic University of Ecuador. Post box 2074, Cuenca- Ecuador. Salesian Graphic Center: Vega Muñoz 10-68 and General Torres, Telephone (+593 7) 2831745, Box 01-01-0275, Cuenca-Ecuador.

Printed in Ecuador

Translator (Traductora)
Adriana Curiel

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Editorial Abya-Yala (Quito-Ecuador)
Avenida 12 de octubre N4 22 y Wilson, Bloque A, UPS Quito, Ecuador. Casilla 17-12-719. Teléfonos: (593-2) 3962800 ext. 2638. Correo electrónico: editorial@abyayala.org

Cover figure (Figura de portada)
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REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
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Number 38 / March-August 2023 Print ISSN: 1390-3837 / electronic ISSN: 1390-8634

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REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

Número 38 / marzo-agosto 2023 ISSN impreso: 1390-3837 / ISSN electrónico: 1390-8634

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NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.01

Innovate in sports journalism. Contributions from an interdisciplinary perspective

Innovar en periodismo deportivo. Aportes desde una perspectiva interdisciplinar

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Received on: 16/01/2023 **Revised on:** 11/02/2023 **Approved on:** 21/02/2023 **Published on:** 01/03/2023

Abstract
The purpose of this research is to review the literature review on innovation, in the fields of business management, creative innovation and media innovation to identify the elements that support innovation studies in the journalistic field in aspects such as methodologies, conceptualizations and theories. The aim of the article is to expand the potential of interdisciplinary work, which would make it possible to enrich research on innovation, specifically in sports journalism, a field characterized by precariousness and cyclical crises, where journalists and organizations need to take advantage of the opportunities offered by both technological tools such as knowledge in innovation. The documentary research technique is used as a methodology to identify the studies related to the aforementioned topics. A sample of 75 publications in innovation journals, located in quartiles 1 and 2, was analyzed. As a result, it was found that the most researched areas include innovation and creativity, leadership, the role of members of an organization to develop innovative ideas, the relationships between innovating and undertaking and the development of entrepreneurial ecosystems. Finally, some proposals are made about future research.

Keywords
Innovation, digital journalism, social innovation, creative innovation, sports, innovation research, starups, sustainability.

Suggested citation: De La Paz, J. C. (2023). Innovate in sports journalism. Contributions from an interdisciplinary perspective. *Universitas-XXI, 38* pp. 17-39. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.01

Resumen

El propósito de esta investigación es revisar la bibliografía académica sobre innovación, en los ámbitos de gestión empresarial, innovación creativa e innovación mediática. El objetivo es identificar los elementos que contribuyen a los estudios sobre innovación en el campo periodístico en aspectos como metodologías, conceptualizaciones y teorías. La consideración central del artículo es expandir el potencial del trabajo interdisciplinario, lo cual posibilitaría enriquecer las investigaciones sobre innovación, específicamente en el periodismo deportivo, un campo caracterizado por la precarización y las crisis cíclicas, donde periodistas y organizaciones necesitan aprovechar las oportunidades que brindan tanto las herramientas tecnológicas como los conocimientos en innovación. Se utiliza la técnica de investigación documental como metodología para identificar los estudios relacionados con los temas mencionados. Se analizó una muestra de 75 publicaciones en revistas sobre innovación, ubicadas en cuartiles 1 y 2. Como resultados, se encontró que las áreas más investigadas comprenden la innovación y creatividad, el liderazgo, el papel de los miembros de una organización para desarrollar ideas innovadoras, las relaciones entre innovar y emprender y el desarrollo de ecosistemas de emprendedores. Por último, se plantean algunas propuestas para futuras investigaciones.

Palabras clave

Innovación, periodismo digital, innovación social, innovación creativa, deportes, investigación de innovación, emprendimientos, sostenibilidad.

Introduction

What is innovation in journalism? For decades, this question has been debatable in the media industry and sports media. Even though the latter have spearheaded major transformations in the sector, it still predominates throughout journalism, as well as in academic studies, with concerns in technology (Barnhurst, 2012), which dismisses complex and dynamic social processes that exceed the control of individuals (Bleyen *et al*., 2014).

Year after year, journalists and sports media have faced unemployment, precariousness and the impossibility of feeling fully professional. Also, the feeling of depending on external factors. The crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic showed the structural deficiencies of sports journalism, which was unable to cover news due to lack of competitions.

In this context, research and studies on innovation in journalism have an important role and although these studies have experienced a remarkable growth in recent years, theoretical, methodological and systematic contributions have received little and fragmented attention (García-Avilés, 2021). Likewise, underlying this thematic range is an approach focused on the diffusion, adoption and acceptance of the final technological result implemented in a media (Domingo, 2008; Plesner, 2009; Schmitz-Weiss and Domingo, 2010; Spyridou *et al*., 2013).

Research on innovation in journalism -a concept that does not have a precise definition- also reflects an optimistic vision perceived as a hopeful response to the reduction of traditional journalism and its economic models. The huge spectrum also includes the lack of resources in the newsroom, limited deadlines and the need to get both print and multimedia content as well as the impulses to capture digital audiences and increase digital advertising revenue (García-Avilés, 2021).

This optimistic and technocentric vision is also transferred to the professional field of journalism, where journalists understand innovation mainly from the technical point of view using digital platforms, immersion in the metaverse or the use of artificial intelligence.

More specifically in sports journalism, most of the research in the Ibero-American context on innovation has been conducted by the Spanish researcher José Luis Rojas Torrijos (Manfredi-Sánchez *et al*., 2015; Rojas-Torrijos and Marín Sanchiz, 2016; Rojas Torrijos, 2016; Rojas-Torrijos *et al.,* 2020), who is a famous author in this category.

Rojas-Torrijos focuses on strategies for generating added value in sports media (Rojas-Torrijos and Marín-Sanchiz, 2016), analyzing the lack of innovation in sports news projects (Manfredi-Sánchez *et al.,* 2015) and the possibilities of podcasting for the full exploitation of the narrative and innovative possibilities of this audio format (Rojas-Torrijos *et al*., 2020), almost all studies are conducted in Spain.

In the Anglo-Saxon literature, Buzzelli *et al*. (2020) stand out with their article Poaching the News Producers: The Athletic's Effect on Sports in Hometown Newspapers, which analyzes the business model of The Athletic, which was catalogued in its beginnings as a radical change in the journalism industry. Another case study, in which a sports media is analyzed, is Revistas nativas digitales in the area of sports in Spain: the case of Marca Plus by Ignacio Labarga, Laura González and Pedro Pérez-Cuadrado (2018).

In this sense, there is a need for a broader methodological and conceptual theoretical framework oriented to interdisciplinarity, where new lines of research on innovation in the external and internal environments of sports media can be identified. The field of business studies offers some new clues as to where further efforts can be directed to increase the knowledge and practice of innovation development in sports journalism. Certainly, this may contribute to increase the thematic dispersion of studies on innovation in journalism, as well as to increase the uncertainty regarding what topics to address; however, the intention is to be informative, stimulating and intellectually challenging to open other doors that contribute to the knowledge and practice of innovation development in sports journalism.

Therefore, the aim of this research is to describe the academic production on innovation in the business environment and the specific objective is to identify methodologies, conceptualizations and theories that contribute to adopt an interdisciplinary perspective in research on innovation in sports journalism.

Materials and methods

Documentary research is a qualitative technique that consists of selecting and collecting information by reading and analyzing documents and bibliographic materials that contain interesting data to the researcher and that were obtained in libraries, newspaper libraries, documentation and information centers, databases, internet, etc. (Hernández-Sampieri *et al.,* 2014). According to these authors, what distinguishes this technique is that "...it is characterized by the use of graphic and sound records as sources of information..., records in manuscript and printed form". This research method is ideal for analyzing the academic production on innovation in the sample of 75 articles, selected mainly from the following journals: *Creative and Innovation Management, Journal of Business Venturing, Journal of computer-mediated communication, Journal of Product Innovation Management, Journal of Innovation & Knowledge, Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business, Journal of Cleaner Production, The journal of media innovations, Innovation Policy and the Economy, Journal of Business Research, Journal of Business Venturing, Research Policy,* known by their high impact on issues related to innovation in industries close to sports media such as creative industries and those social innovations that occur in organizations with a high normative value.

Steps in the methodological process

1) Selection of the field of study and the temporal space to be analyzed: Selection of articles on innovation, entrepreneurship, social innovation, business management and creativity, as well as innovation in sports journalism. The period selected was 2015 and 2023.

2) Selection of sources: publications on innovation in business and sports journalism belonging to quartile 1 and 2 journals indexed in EBSCO, DOAJ, REDALYC and SCOPUS databases focused on innovation, business management, industry and innovation, leadership and entrepreneurship.

3) Search in Web of Science, EBSCO, DOAJ, REDALYC and SCOPUS and Google Scholar to obtain a first list of publication titles, abstracts of research on innovation.

4) Review of abstracts for a first filter in which articles that did not fit the purposes of this research were excluded. Articles on innovation in large companies, innovation focused on the manufacture of industrial products, and innovation linked to the use of technologies were discarded.

5) Design, structure and elaboration of the content of the article, following the contributions and conceptual frameworks established from the analysis of the publications.

Results

According to the sample of articles analyzed on the literature review, the most recent articles on innovation in the business field are grouped into various thematic areas that can contribute theoretically and methodologically to research on innovation in sports journalism. Some of these lines of study address the changes caused by innovation in organizations, the links between innovation and the development of creativity, leadership and empowerment, among others, which are expanded in the following points referring to creativity and innovation; leadership and empowerment to encourage innovation; the role of team members in driving innovation; innovation and entrepreneurship; entrepreneurship ecosystems and theories and conceptualizations on innovation.

Creativity and innovation

Innovation is considered a cornerstone of a firm's success and competitiveness and as such, creativity, a core component of innovation, is a fundamental asset for innovation (Amabile and Pratt, 2016). Studies on creativity tend to remain within their discipline and focus, for example, organizational characteristics that are relevant to creativity or the cognitive dimensions of creativity (Pinkow, 2022).

Research has shown that individuals apply different strategies when working on similar creative tasks (Dorst and Cross, 2001 in Pinkow, 2022) but these strategies are still not well understood in an organizational context. This is an element that should be considered in research on innovation in new ventures in sports journalism. Creativity to develop ideas that answer the questions of what is my unique value proposition, what do I offer, why do I offer it, what problem do I solve, how am I going to achieve it? issues such as format, technology, distribution, equipment are often not understood in an organization, as well as these ideas may respond to "emotional impulses" or predetermined ideas rather than reasoned decisions.

Some clues on this last point are provided by Díaz-Portugal *et al*. (2023), who hypothesize that "positive affect" influences entrepreneurs' evaluation of opportunities, mainly in cultural and creative entrepreneurs, where media can be incorporated. Contrary to their hypothesis, their results revealed that positive affect has a low influence on entrepreneurial selection in the subgroup of cultural and creative entrepreneurs, suggesting that entrepreneurs belonging to cultural and creative industries do not consider subjective perceptions as objective truths and thus avoid biased perceptions of their entrepreneurial opportunities promoted by their positive affect (Navis and Ozbek, 2016; Zhang and Cueto, 2017).

Investigating whether these results would be similar in sports media entrepreneurs could provide further clues in this regard.

Leadership and empowerment to foster innovation

Business leadership has a significant impact on employees' innovative behavior through the innovation climate and intellectual agility (Malibaria and Bajab, 2022). According to these researchers, leaders must identify their critical roles in fostering innovation in their businesses and establishing the ideal culture and climate for innovation. Leaders must create innovative environments to encourage employees to share ideas and concepts with confidence to make strategic decisions at a time when sectors such as technology and telecommunications companies are driving innovation (Küng, 2013).

For research on sports journalism ventures, it is useful to know the relationships established between the leadership of a project with the innovative ideas that are developed in them. Is there a centralized structure where only the leader(s) decide the strategic actions of the project? Are there spaces that encourage the development of ideas by all members of the group which are encouraged by the leader? Which of these variants is more effective? The latter if understanding "effectiveness" as the economic sustainability of the environment.

On this regard, Amoroso *et al*. (2021) investigated how "empowering" leadership correlates with team creativity, innovative orientation, and with business model innovation. According to their results, surprisingly, neither "empowering" leadership nor team creativity was related to business model innovation. Empowering leadership and team creativity may be necessary but insufficient factors to explain business model innovation. For this, other elements are needed, including greater employee involvement in decisions.

The role of team members in driving innovation

The success of innovations depends on the support received by certain individuals, team members who promote and defend innovations within their organizations. This is the conclusion reached by researchers Stieler and Henike (2022) after analyzing for three years how innovative ideas from employees of a German manufacturing plant were promoted. For them, engaging employees to contribute to corporate innovation is vital to the future success of companies, yet long-term jobs, highly specific organizational units, and hierarchical management structures are designed to preserve the *status quo* rather than promote transformative change.

The empirical results of Stieler and Henike (2022) support the proposition of Floco *et al*. (2022) that states, on the one hand, autonomy and inclusion foster employee participation and community building, while, on the other hand, says that control seems necessary to ensure innovative outcomes. In addition to autonomy and inclusion, Van Essen *et al*. (2022) added other variables that contribute to the development of innovative behavior at work:

creativity, psychological empowerment, optimism and contextual work factors as space for autonomy, leadership and teamwork.

Van Essen *et al*. (2022) and Stieler and Henike (2022) agree that external stimuli are necessary for team members to develop innovative proposals. Van Essen *et al*. (2022) present the concept of "innovation energy", which transforms the innovative properties of employees into innovative work behavior. Stieler and Henike (2022) talk about "Innovation nudging" as a series of strategies to drive innovative behavior within organizations.

Although these two concepts were developed for companies with a large number of employees and highly hierarchical structures for research on innovation in sports journalism, it is not an idle exercise to identify whether "innovation energy" or "innovation nudging" actions are developed in journalism and sports projects or ventures as a way to create innovative solutions that impact the sustainability of the organization.

Innovation and entrepreneurship

In colloquial language, the terms innovation and entrepreneurship seem intrinsically linked. Startups, generally associated with technology companies, are implicitly considered innovative, a logic of thought that is transferred to new journalistic ventures, even sports ones. This leads to journalistic projects being considered "innovative" just for being created on some digital platform.

Kenneth Kahn (2022) takes an institutional perspective on innovation and entrepreneurship, arguing that the lack of differentiation between these two terms results in a lack of entrepreneurship and innovation centers in universities. This leads to research and teaching activities in the areas that are not clearly differentiated and thus generate suboptimal results (Hölzle, 2022).

Considering this difference, Grilli (2022) established a correlation between the age of 4000 Italian entrepreneurs and their "business acumen" with the development of innovative new products. The research found that "youth advantage" and "business acumen" do not necessarily lead to success in developing innovative products, but at the same time, it found that both categories significantly characterize the best among entrepreneurs involved in new product development. For starting a new journalism project, the "youth advantage" is also considered a relevant element mainly due to the belief that young people adopt technology better, a view linked to the technological determinism that exists about entrepreneurship. Mapping demographic elements among journalistic entrepreneurs (gender, age, region, city, etc.) and correlating them with the innovative capacity of these media could offer new clues as to which characteristics make the creation of a journalistic initiative more likely.

Another example of research that clearly delineates technology platforms, entrepreneurship and innovation, in this case business model, is the study by Hyunkyu *et al*. (2021), who examine how users use digital platforms to become entrepreneurs who conduct business activities on the platforms; and how platform providers can turn this user entrepreneurship into a source of revenue. Korsgaard Andersen *et al*. (2022) are in a similar perspective by analyzing how small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) apply innovative business models from data-driven decisions.

After reviewing research on the role of creativity in innovation, leadership, the role of constituents and the differences between innovation and entrepreneurship, it is necessary to add factors related to the environment and context, since organizations do not operate alone but in correlation with others.

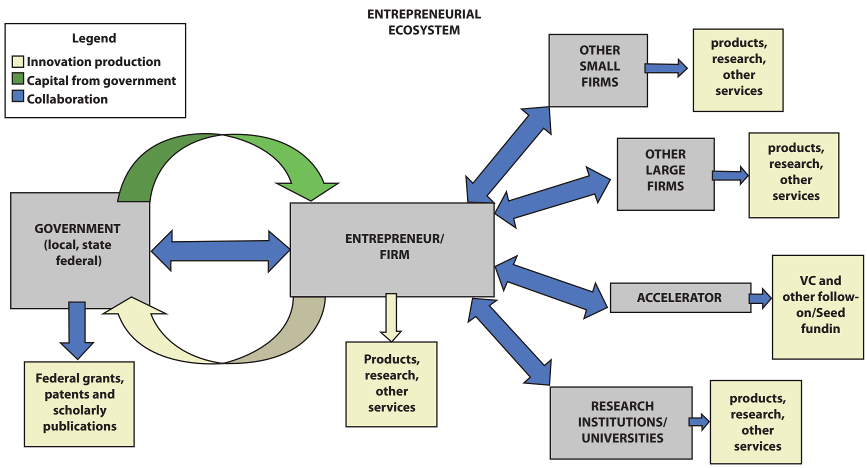
Entrepreneurial ecosystems

The idea that economic solutions to innovation and entrepreneurship problems should be “place-based” has its roots in Adam Smith’s (1776) observation that states that productivity and wages were higher in areas with larger, denser populations (Johnson *et al.,* 2022). Following this idea, these authors offered a measurement framework that places collaborative relationships between entrepreneurs, government agencies, and research institutions at the center of the ecosystem concept and conceptualizes four roles of governments as catalysts, coordinators, certifiers, and customers in shaping these relationships. Entrepreneurs interact with government in different ways that influence the condition of the surrounding entrepreneurial ecosystem (Figure 1).

This raises new questions for research on innovation in independent sports media. Is the social context a determining element? In the case of Latin America, for example, is it different to undertake a sports journalism project in Chile, Argentina or Mexico, even in more regional geographic spaces such as Monterrey or Guadalajara?

Figure 1

Simple conceptual model of the entrepreneurial ecosystem



Note. Johnson *et al*. (2022)

In addition to the relationships of entrepreneurs with research institutions and governments, studies on innovation focus on the links created among entrepreneurs to reduce the uncertainty caused by innovation. Cuntz and Peuckert (2022) analyzed several hacker communities (hackerspaces) in Germany and found a strong correlation between the establishment of hackerspaces with the level of digital entrepreneurship in regions, particularly in agglomerations and urban contexts.

According to these authors, hackerspaces are excellent examples of innovation and provide an institutional solution to overcome collective action problems related to innovation. The "fierce culture of sharing" and the implicit understanding that "to participate you had to contribute" makes access to these places valuable for their members. This collaborative environment helps the community accumulate "information about innovation," which "enables people to overcome uncertainty about the nature of the market opportunity and thus become entrepreneurs" (Cuntz and Peuckert, 2022). This type of research could help identify second-order innovators, "early adopters" (Rogers, 2003) who fulfill the role of opinion leaders (Lazarsfeld *et al*., 1944) in a yet unresearched step of innovation adoption.

Teorías y conceptualizaciones de la innovación

Innovación de modelos de negocio sostenible e Innovación social

La innovación de modelos de negocios sostenibles (SBMI, por sus siglas en inglés) ha atraído recientemente un gran interés entre la academia y la práctica. (Bashir *et al.,* 2022). Las ideas innovadoras que se enfocan en problemas sociales insatisfechos o emergentes representan una oportunidad para crear nuevos modelos de negocios, iniciar nuevas empresas y mejorar la transferencia de conocimiento (Nicolopoulou *et al.,* 2017). Los emprendimientos sociales pueden constituirse como posibles agentes de cambio, ya que ofrecen soluciones innovadoras a problemas sociales complejos que las organizaciones existentes pasan por alto o abordan sin éxito (Maiolini *et al.,* 2016 en Battistella *et al*. (2021) sustentando el crecimiento empresarial con recursos oportunos, por ejemplo, las finanzas.

Sin embargo, las empresas emergentes, que poseen un alto valor normativo, se enfrentan a mayores riesgos y posibles tasas de fracaso debido a una complejidad peculiar y las dimensiones contextuales de los desafíos sociales (Martínez *et al.,* 2017). Las dificultades para acceder al financiamiento externo, o para unirse a redes y alianzas estratégicas, se deben principalmente al escepticismo de los inversionistas y la falta de conocimiento compartido para alinear los valores de las startups con varios stakeholders (Cacciolatti *et al.,* 2020).

Theories and conceptualizations of innovation

Innovation of sustainable business models and social innovation

Sustainable business model innovation (SBMI) has recently attracted great interest among academia and practice (Bashir *et al.,* 2022). Innovative ideas that focus on unmet or emerging social problems represent an opportunity to create new business models, start new ventures, and enhance knowledge transfer (Nicolopoulou *et al*., 2017). Social ventures can constitute potential change agents, as they offer innovative solutions to complex social problems that existing organizations overlook or unsuccessfully address (Maiolini *et al.,* 2016 in Battistella *et al.,* (2021) by sustaining business growth with timely resources, e.g., finance.

However, start-ups, which possess a high normative value, face higher risks and possible failure rates due to complex and contextual dimensions of social challenges (Martinez *et al*., 2017). Difficulties in accessing external funding or joining networks and strategic alliances are mainly due to investors' skepticism and lack of shared knowledge to align startups' values with various stakeholders (Cacciolatti *et al*., 2020).

Sports media ventures are in this context, most of which are strongly committed to the development of high standards of the profession. According to Negredo *et al*. (2020), one of the main motivations for journalists to start up is to experiment with new forms of organization, work routines and content in the face of the failure of old methods, linked to dependence on advertising, government funding, loss of credibility among audiences, etc.

On the other hand, the theory of social innovation can be defined as the development of innovative products, services or processes aimed at satisfying a social need, with the opportunity to create new social relationships between actors who collectively engage in purposeful actions to achieve positive and systemic social change. In the ever-changing socioeconomic environment, an analysis of the contextual dynamics of social innovation must include the unique nature and structure of the participants, processes, and complexities involved (Nicolopoulou *et al*., 2017).

Open innovation

Open innovation has attracted significant attention as firms respond to increasing complexities by opening their organizational boundaries to interact with stakeholders along the innovation funnel (Chesbrough, 2003). In a comprehensive review of the open innovation literature, Randhawa *et al*. (2016) noted that studies of open innovation had been primarily concerned with the roles of knowledge, technology, and R&D from a firm-centric perspective. At the same time, the complexity of managing collaborative efforts across organizational boundaries are more apparent (Pedersen *et al*., 2022).

According to Dogruel (2014), even though there is a wide range of perspectives to address media innovation, it remains being an underdeveloped academic field due to weak theoretical frameworks (Klaß, 2020). According to this author, approaches tend to focus on communication, journalism and other humanistic disciplines lacking organizational, managerial and technological perspectives. For Klaß (2020), the Open Innovation (OI) approach allows integrating different visions that embrace their complex communication organizations, which are understood as "hybrid companies providing content, but at the same time with a remarkable social impact" (Hess, 2014 in Klaß, 2020).

Open innovation research is subdivided into "outside-in", "inside-out" and coupled open innovation processes.

Innovation in times of crisis? Theory of Creative Destruction

The concept of "Creative Destruction" created by Schumpeter (1942, in Negredo *et al*., 2020) has been one of the most widely used to describe the change processes in industries. The term describes innovation processes that bring new products to the market, displacing or "destroying" those already established. The media industry has been an example of this process (Negredo *et al*., 2020). For example, with the advent of television in the radio era, or the Internet in the television era.

Under this theoretical approach, Negredo *et al*. (2020) attempt to elucidate whether the greatest explosion of digital native media in Spain, which occurred paradoxically in the Great Recession (2008-2014), constituted a process of Creative Destruction. At this stage, journalists created their own independent projects, after traditional media cut staff in response to the economic crisis, and unemployment rates in the media sector increased.

However, while the crisis was a boost for the creation of new ventures, it was not so for the development of innovations, especially in the sustainability model. In their results, Negredo *et al*. (2020) show that only in 2015, one fifth of the new media founded by journalists had closed or were inactive.

> The biggest problem of these media was that the founders did not have a business plan or a commercial approach. One third of their publications billed less than 25,000 euros per year; almost 60 % generated between 25,000 and 50,000 euros. (Negredo *et al*., 2020)

Makridis and McGuire (2022) also indicate that crises are periods of reallocation and disruption that generate new innovations that transform industries. According to these authors, the empirical evidence that research and development (R&D) and patent expenditures are procyclical, not countercyclical, contradicts the theory of creative destruction in which firms invest more resources in research during periods of lower demand.

Radical innovation

Traditional Schumpeterian literature categorizes innovations as either "radical" or "incremental" according to the change they generate in the value creation of products or services (Krumsvik *et al.,* 2019). Järventie-Thesleff *et al*. (2014, in García-Avilés, 2021) observe that management practices in print media tend to be oriented to support incremental innovations, while practices in digital media tend to pursue more radical innovations.

In their conceptualization, Freeman and Pérez (Badillo, 2013) argue that radical innovations are quite distinct: they are large-scale, discontinuously occurring events, such as the emergence of nylon, technological changes, and such as the petrochemical boom, have an even greater impact. Finally, changes in technological paradigms affect economic and social life as a whole.

For Cuntz and Peuckert (2022), radical innovations transform existing goods and services significantly. This type of innovation represents a risky departure from existing practice and can be disruptive or discontinuous within firms. For these authors, radical innovation is more likely to occur in firms that are able to integrate a wide variety of new and pre-existing, heterogeneous but complementary knowledge.

Innovation Commons Theory

Contrary to the traditional producer- or company-centered innovation model, users are an important source of innovation ('user' innovation or 'free' innovation). Users frequently modify existing products or create entirely new solutions in response to their heterogeneous and non-standard needs (Von Hippel, 2017).

Notably, users exchanging knowledge in communities of practice may also develop entrepreneurial aspirations and start to commercially exploit community-based innovations (Ferdinand, 2017). Thus, user experimentation is not limited to product development and innovation, but sometimes extends to the formation of new businesses.

Innovation methodologies

Methodological approaches to study innovation are very varied and include quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods. The selection of methodologies is very fragmented, and no patterns or traditions of study are identified, responding to the wide range of research objects in the field of innovation.

The survey (Chirico *et al*., 2022; Miyao *et al.,* 2022; Chi and Nan Lin, 2022; Bashir *et al*., 2022; Amoroso *et al.,* 2021) constitute some of the most widely used techniques by researchers seeking to analyze a broad population, either within a company or in a geographical location. In addition, the use of factor analysis, exploratory and confirmatory to assess the construct validity of all items belonging the surveys.

On the other hand, Grilli (2022), applied a questionnaire to 4000 entrepreneurs with the purpose of collecting information on Italian innovative start-ups along a number of dimensions including the demographic characteristics of the entrepreneurs, their human capital endowment and the innovation strategies pursued.

Jønsson and Kähler (2022) conducted analyses of longitudinal questionnaire data, while Johnson *et al*. (2022) relied on relational database management systems suitable for establishing metrics for entrepreneurial ecosystems due to their ability to capture relationships between ecosystem actors that emerge across many disparate data sources. Cuntz and Peuckert (2022), developed a large panel of observations that merges annual counts of digital startups with a set of conventional determinants of entrepreneurship as well as local indicators of hackerspaces to determine the correlation between hackerspaces and digital entrepreneurship.

Hyunkyu *et al*. (2021) and Korsgaard Andersen *et al*. (2022) relied on case study and multiple case study, respectively, as did Battistella *et al*. (2022). Stieler and Henike (2022) opted for participant observation over a three-year period in a German company, while Van Essen *et al*. (2022), Floco *et al*. (2022), (Alam, 2022) and (Mesabia, 2022) used semi-structured interviews.

Conclusions and discussion

An interdisciplinary perspective in research on innovation in sports journalism is the starting point for entering new paths away from the precariousness, click dependency, lack of funding, and loss of credibility among audiences of traditional sports media. The field of business studies offers some new clues to increase the knowledge and practice of innovation development in sports journalism.

Studies on innovation in sports journalism can build some of the thematic lines most developed by articles focused on business. Understanding how creativity processes work to develop innovative ideas would help to understand why the founders of sports journalism ventures decide to launch a media outlet with a certain value proposition and not another, why it addresses certain topics and not others, etc. Likewise, studies on innovation offer clues to analyze whether sports media entrepreneurs make these decisions based on affective or reasonable criteria, which is a determining factor in the future of the project.

For research on sports journalism ventures, it is useful to know the relationships established between the leadership of a project and the innovative ideas developed in them, which have a direct effect on the sustainability of the media, if the creation of spaces that encourage the development of ideas by all members of the group could contribute in this sense, and if actions such as "innovation energy" or "innovation impulse" could contribute to the generation of innovative proposals among the members of a venture.

Drawing lines between business and journalism studies will also make it possible to outline a more holistic and tangible concept of innovation in the media, away from the technocentric vision. In this way, it is avoided that sports journalism projects are considered "innovative" just because they are created on some digital platform or that only the youngest journalists can undertake new projects. Regarding the latter, it would be interesting to propose studies that map demographic elements among journalistic entrepreneurs (gender, age, region, city, etc.) and correlate them with the innovative capacity of sports media.

Another line of research could focus on determining whether sports journalism entrepreneurship ecosystems exist, or whether their creation would help to reduce uncertainty in the decisions to be made by their members.

It is also necessary to renew the theoretical-methodological proposals in future research and go beyond traditional methods such as case studies and interviews to adopt mixed or quantitative methodologies.

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REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.02

The value proposition as a key element to innovate in the sports journalism business model: case study comparison in Spain

La propuesta de valor como elemento clave para innovar en el modelo de negocio del periodismo deportivo: comparativa de estudios de caso en España

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Received on: 18/01/2023 **Revised on:** 12/02/2023 **Approved on:** 24/02/2023 **Published on:** 01/03/2023

Suggested citation: Marín-Sanchiz, C. R., González-Esteban, J. L., Carvajal, M. and Valero-Pastor, J. M. (2023). The value proposition as a key element to innovate in the sports journalism business model: case study comparison in Spain. *Universitas-XXI, 38,* pp. 41-61. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.02

Abstract
Sports journalism has become one of the most innovative market niches, and the dynamic capabilities theoretical corpus allows us to describe the innovation processes in the business model of news companies. Methodology. Through a comparative case study, this article analyses the current situation and evolution of three media (ElDesmarque, Panenka, and 2Playbook) in six areas: value proposition, capabilities, positioning, market, revenue model, and mission. Results and discussion. The three cases have a well-defined value proposition that differentiates them from their competitors. This proposal is based on a series of operational capabilities and competitive resources that generate competitive advantages that are difficult to imitate. Conclusion. Business model innovation (BMI) through dynamic capabilities (exploration, exploitation, and reconfiguration) is a key strategy to guarantee a company's sustainability in the sports journalism sector.

Keywords
Niche sports journalism, digital-native journalism, digital content production, journalistic digital content production, journalistic innovation, business models for digital journalism, dynamic capabilities.

Resumen
El periodismo deportivo se ha configurado en uno de los nichos de mercado más innovadores y la teoría de las capacidades dinámicas permite describir los procesos para innovar en el modelo de negocio de las empresas informativas. A través de una comparativa de estudios de caso, este artículo analiza la situación actual y la evolución de tres medios de comunicación (ElDesmarque, Panenka y 2Playbook) en seis áreas: propuesta de valor, capacidades, posicionamiento, mercado, modelo de ingresos y misión. Se observa que los tres casos disponen de una propuesta de valor bien definida y diferenciada de los competidores. Esta propuesta se sustenta sobre la existencia de una serie de capacidades y recursos competitivos que le otorgan ventajas competitivas difícilmente imitables, como el talento humano. La innovación en modelos de negocio a través de las capacidades dinámicas (exploración, explotación y reconfiguración) es un factor clave para garantizar la sostenibilidad de una empresa que opera en el sector del periodismo deportivo.

Palabras clave
Periodismo deportivo de nicho, periodismo nativo digital, producción de contenidos digitales, innovación periodística, modelos de negocio para el periodismo digital, capacidades dinámicas.

Introduction

Today's journalism operates in a turbulent environment. Large social platforms compete with newspaper companies for getting the users 'attention in a context of constant changes in consumer habits. In just 15 years, journalistic organizations faced a triple crisis - advertising, debt of large news corporations and the recession of 2008 (Ferrís Forés, 2012)- adapted with greater or lesser success to the emergence of social networks and permanent and iterative alterations of the ecosystem (Anderson *et al*., 2015).

In this sense, one of the phenomena that has marked the evolution of sports journalism has been entrepreneurial journalism, which was an alternative way to practice the profession without relying on traditional routes (Valero-Pastor and González Alba, 2018). The decade between 2007 and 2017 was the most fertile in terms of the creation of new media, thanks to the creation of more than four hundred new initiatives in Spain and more than a thousand in Latin America (Manfredi Sánchez and López Cepeda, 2017, p. 59). It originated a way to a regulation period in the market, in which many of the initiatives were forced to close, having been unable to develop and validate their business model, and others consolidated to the point that, in 2018, there were 3065 active digital media, out of which 141 (14.6 %) specialized in sports journalism, the second most abundant branch after cultural journalism (Salaverría *et al*., 2018).

However, this discipline is more highly regarded in economic terms than in professional terms, due to its relevant impact on the profit and loss account of companies. Farrington *et al*. (2012, p. 1) claim that sports journalism has ceased to be a "toy department" (Rowe, 2007) to become a financial area of the newspaper industry, in general, and even of journalistic companies, in particular.

Boyle (2017) says that sports journalism was often "one of the most important parts of the industry in commercial terms". Therefore, entrepreneurial journalism does not turn its back on this specialization; rather, there are initiatives that take advantage of its influence while overcoming its vices. Hence, SportYou and Revista Panenka, sports media created in 2008 and 2011 respectively, were included among the 25 most innovative journalistic initiatives in Spain (De Lara *et al.,* 2015).

Besides the interest in journalistic entrepreneurship, sports journalism and the economic situation of the media in Spain, innovation in the business model is a scarcely explored field, both in journalism academia (Evens *et al.,* 2017) and in the field of strategic management. The following objectives are proposed to cover this deficit in the academic literature.

O1. Examine the business model of companies specialized in sports journalism.
O2. Study the innovation process in the business model through dynamic capabilities.

O3. Determine the role of the value proposition in the business model innovation process.

This research poses the following research questions to meet these objectives:

Q1. What are the characteristics of the components of the business models analyzed?
Q2. Through what processes are dynamic capabilities developed?
Q3. What is the role of the value proposition in the development of dynamic capabilities and, by extension, in business model innovation?

State of the art

The business model of the newspaper company

The business model is a structured representation of how a company creates, distributes and captures value (Osterwalder and Pigneur, 2010). Although there is some lack of consensus on its definition and scope (Wirtz *et al.,* 2016), leading experts agree that it is an essential construct for the strategic direction of companies because it contributes to the generation of competitive advantages and, consequently, to the creation and sustainability of companies (Afuah and Tucci, 2001; Broccardo *et al.,* 2023; Ancillai *et al.,* 2023).

Any business model is a system of activities (Zott and Amit, 2010) formed by components whose interdependencies have been explained in different ontologies developed in the field of strategic business management (Gordijn *et al.,* 2011). In this field, one of the most consolidated theoretical references is the research conducted by Morris *et al*. (2005), who conducted a literature review to integrate a vast field of scientific production in a framework that considers the existence of six elements of the business model: the value proposition, the market, competitive capabilities and resources, positioning, the revenue model and the mission.

From the very definition of the business model, it is clear that value creation is an essential activity for the operation of any company (Chesbrough and Rosenbloom, 2002; Silva and Meirelles, 2019). When designing and analyzing a business model, this process is articulated as a value proposition that defines the transactions with customers, as well as the deployment of resources managed by each organization for its offerings (Zott and Amit, 2001; Demil and Lecocq, 2010). In the case of journalism, this value proposition is often related to various content differentiation strategies, with a focus on quality and exclusivity (Olsen and Solvoll, 2018, p. 181).

Ultimately, the value proposition "lays out the measurable value or tangible benefits that a product or service provides to consumers" (Camlek, 2010). Payne *et al*. (2017) define sustainable value propositions as those that generate value for different interest groups, or stakeholders, in addition to aiming for sustainability and resulting in a continuous process of product or service improvement. According to Perkiö (2020), there is "a clear deficit" of analysis on sustainable value propositions in digital native media in the literature on journalistic business models.

It is essential that the company has the necessary capabilities in order to develop its value proposition: from the production of innovative content to the use of agile methodologies for organizing teams, to the economic capacity to develop research that requires large resources, for example. In this sense, those resources that generate competitive advantages over the competition are very important (Wernerfelt, 1989; Morris *et al*., 2005; Sylvie, 2008).

Competitive skills and resources also determine the positioning of the company in each of the markets in which it operates (Morris *et al*., 2005), thanks to the ability to differentiate its offer from those of its competitors. Internet has fragmented content consumption, favoring the emergence of new market in which newspaper companies can position themselves through different editorial strategies, such as thematic specialization or attention to market segments neglected by other companies (Machin and Niblock, 2010).

The revenue model, on the other hand, reflects the ways in which a company obtains economic value in the form of money, and generates profits if revenues exceed costs (Morris *et al.,* 2005). The main source of monetization in communications is advertising. However, the fall in advertising investment in the media, boosted by the emergence of platforms, has led to the media currently tending towards models based on user payment (Barland, 2013).

Finally, the mission refers to the objective of the company. Most companies look for subsistence, profit generation and growth, although there are also firms with a markedly social, non-profit character. The latter alternative is more common in the news field than in other sectors, and the mission has a special role in journalistic business models because it can affect the quality of information (Marín Sanchiz and Carvajal, 2019).

From a more pragmatic point of view, Massa *et al*. (2017) state that this system of activities refers to three realities related to the company. First, to the characteristics of the organization, i.e., the form of the six components. Second, the business model is an implicit image that the members of a company have about it. It is each person's specific interpretation of the firm's reality. Finally, it is possible to represent the business model explicitly, generating tools that help to show how the company works.

Operational and dynamic capabilities

The Resource-Based View (RBV) of the firm interprets organizations as a set of resources and capabilities that are valuable, difficult to imitate and non-substitutable (Wernerfelt, 1989; Barney *et al*., 2001). Their existence is necessary for creating value and, consequently, generating competitive advantages, which is essential to guarantee the competitiveness of an informative company.

This theory evolved into the theory of dynamic capabilities, developed by Teece *et al*. (1997) and further developed by Teece (2007, 2010, 2018). From this approach, every organization is shaped by two types of capabilities: operational, which enables a company to carry out its current activities successfully and efficiently (Teece, 2012); and dynamic, defined by Wang and Ahmed (2007) as "a company's orientation towards integrating, reconfiguring, renewing and recreating its resources and capabilities". According to these authors, the objective of the latter is to "enhance and rebuild its key capabilities in response to a changing environment, so as to retain and sustain competitive advantages".

According to Wirtz (2020), a newspaper company operating in the digital environment has five operational capabilities: (1) content creation (e.g. writing, infographics...); (2) information sourcing (relationship with sources, documentation...); (3) content distribution (management of social networks, distribution of physical copies through kiosks, etc.); (4) product management (definition of an appropriate user experience, marketing, etc.); and (5) technological capabilities (maintenance of Content Management Systems, programming, etc.).

Teece (2007, 2010, 2018) reveals the existence of three main dynamic capabilities. First, a company must constantly explore its competitive environment - changes in consumer habits, benchmark companies- with the aim of detecting new business opportunities. The ability to exploit these business opportunities effectively and efficiently is the second dynamic capability, while the last is the constant reconfiguration of resources (changes in human capital, modification of organizational culture, etc.).

Thus, these are high-level, highly complex competencies that are enabled through microfoundations. This concept refers to skills, processes, procedures, organizational structures, decision rules and disciplines, such as the strategic management of human resources or the ability to detect opportunities in a research process (Teece, 2007).

Applying this theory to the field of media, Murschetz *et al.* (2020) confirm that knowledge about dynamic capabilities "could help companies and managers respond to turbulent environments" and, consequently, "have implications for both researchers and those working in the industry". In addition, their study demonstrates that managers have a key role in developing dynamic capabilities within organizations. For their part, Maijanen and Virta (2017) assert that a greater focus on firm capabilities can be a useful way of addressing the tensions in business model ambidexterity, i.e., the challenges of exploiting current business opportunities and exploring new ways to ensure firm sustainability.

Innovation in the business model

Business model innovation consists of introducing designed, premeditated and novel changes in the key elements of a company's business model or in these elements (Foss and Saebi, 2017). To understand this process, it is necessary to bear in mind that it starts from a dynamic view of the business model, i.e., it does not interpret it as a snapshot at a specific moment in the company's existence, but as changes in which a firm alters its processes to continue creating, distributing and capturing value. For Lang (2020), changes in at least two components are necessary to consider that a business model innovation has occurred.

In this context, dynamic capabilities are seen as an enormously useful tool for understanding business model innovation processes from a dynamic point of view (Teece, 2018), since it is necessary to find new business opportunities, take advantage of them and undergo a permanent reconfiguration process. Even though many initiatives fail, business model innovation is key to the performance and sustainability of companies (Geissdoerfer *et al.,* 2018).

Methodology

This study is based on the case study methodology, a research strategy that provides in-depth knowledge of the reality of the companies analyzed. Specifically, three organizations operating in the Spanish market (ElDesmarque, Panenka and 2Playbook) are studied in a comparative case study, since this approach allows to obtain more solid internal and external evidence (Yin, 1994).

The cases were selected through a panel of 17 experts in sports journalism -both from academia and the professional field- who were asked to provide a list of initiatives for analyzing the object of study. The list was filtered to avoid generalist projects, such as El País, and also specific journalistic products (e.g. Carrusel Deportivo), corporate media and platforms (e.g. DAZN).

To analyze the organizations, 13 semi-structured interviews (Table 1) were conducted with managers of the three firms, in addition to reviewing corporate documents (presentations to clients, releases), studying the products offered by the companies and drawing on academic contributions (e.g., Manfredi Sánchez *et al.,* 2015), in order to provide context on the case studies. The economic performance of the companies was also analyzed through the Iberian Balance Sheet Analysis System (SABI).

The questionnaire consisted of 37 questions covering three blocks: business model, dynamic capabilities and innovation in the business model. They delved into specific processes, such as market exploration, as well as the importance of specific resources, such as human capital. The conversations took place between the last quarter of 2021 and the first quarter of 2022.

The analysis of the interviews was carried out through a manual coding process proposed by Hull (2013) in which the saturation of concepts and the elements of consensus and dissent among the different participants in the study were sought through successive readings of the transcripts.

Table 1
Semi-structured interviews conducted

Responsible	Media	Charge
Federico Quintero	El Desmarque	Managing Director
Javier Padilla	El Desmarque	Product Manager
Álvaro Ramírez	El Desmarque	Director of content and audience
Jorge Liaño	El Desmarque	Multimedia Director
Carlos Tur	ElDesmarque	Social Media Manager
Roger Xuriach	Panenka	Coordinator
Marcel Beltran	Panenka	Director of social networks
Anna Blanco	Panenka	Art Director
Carlos Martín Río	Panenka	Chief editor
Marc Menchén	2Playbook	Director
Patricia López	2Playbook	Chief editor

Presentation of cases

ElDesmarque is a digital native media created in 2006 with the aim of providing Real Betis Balompié and Sevilla F.C. fans coverage similar to that available for Real Madrid and F.C. Barcelona fans in the most popular newspapers in Spain (Marca, As, Mundo Deportivo and Sport). The success of the formula enabled growth throughout the national territory -Valencia, Vigo- and thematic sites in a growth process that got the interest of Mediaset, which acquired 100 % of the company for a figure exceeding ten million euros (El Confidencial, 2018).

Panenka magazine originated in 2011, as heir of Don Balón, on the initiative of journalist Aitor Lagunas. This masthead operates in the field of soccer journalism from a cultural and socio-political perspective, with a paper edition as the cornerstone of its journalistic project. The publication has surpassed 100 issues published and has established as a benchmark in the sector thanks to leading a trend of "super-specialized publications that have opted for long formats, original design and quality content" (Rojas Torrijos, 2014)".

2Playbook is a journalistic project specialized in information about the sports business. This idea was created in July 2020, when Marc Menchén, alma mater of the project, decided to close his stage in Palco 23, another media that operates in the same sector and that stands as the main competitor of 2Playbook in the Spanish-speaking world. Menchén's ambition was to create a community of industry professionals that would tend towards platformization, i.e., to offer services that go beyond the product and that take advantage of external resources (e.g., the existence of an active community) to create value (Matzner *et al.,* 2021).

Results

Business Model

ElDesmarque's business model

The value proposition of ElDesmarque is to offer in-depth coverage of the teams in which the media outlet has a delegation, while the value proposition for advertisers is to offer great advertising optimization (thanks to the division by cities, among other factors) complemented, in turn, by offering alternative formats, such as branded content. These value propositions are aimed at a highly segmented market of readers (but mainly composed of men between 25 and 44 years old) and at a group of large companies, such as Iberdrola, which are the main type of companies they work with.

Among the capabilities are the creation of content (taking advantage of Mediaset's audiovisual to provide it with multimedia), distribution through social networks and product management to create a close experience with users through tools such as Twitter or Telegram. Thanks to these capabilities they are positioned, from the point of view of the Product Manager, Javier Padilla, as the "leading digital media in sports information in Spain" as far as agencies and advertisers are concerned, while they are considered "the best or the second best" to inform on the main teams of 80 % of the Spanish provinces.

Regarding the revenue model, although they have explored alternatives such as subsidies, at present they have focused on advertising (branded content and display), a formula that has allowed them to be profitable. Precisely, the mission of this masthead is growth.

This business model gives rise to the existence of four competitive advantages, according to the management team: local capillarity -the set of small markets-, the ability to monetize content, a complementary management team and the availability of competitive audiovisual resources (summaries, broadcasting rights, etc.) to which they have access through Mediaset.

Panenka's business model

Panenka's value proposition consists of offering a high quality and differentiated journalism in the Spanish market, both in terms of thematic agenda (defined by managers as soccer culture) and formats, as well as in its commitment to the paper edition as a collector's item. In the case of advertisers, Panenka offers advertising in a very well-defined and activist community, as well as experiences that take advantage of the benefits of paper to enhance the effectiveness of messages (for example, producing a cover with an iPhone as part of a campaign for Apple).

The operational capabilities that currently stand out the most are the creation of content -premium journalism with a design far from the standard- and the supply of information, since the brand, one of the great competitive resources they have because they have positioned themselves as a reference in the sector, gives them access to important protagonists of current and historical soccer. Another competitive resource is their wide network of collaborators, something that allows them to tell these stories.

Their main market is made up of between 2,000 and 4,000 subscribers, and their revenue model is highly diversified: in addition to advertising and subscriptions, they sell copies directly (in newsstands and bookstores) and have an online store. The objective is to achieve revenues that guarantee their business mission: sustainability.

In summary, it is possible to determine that Panenka has four competitive advantages: the recognizable brand, the ability to offer journalism different from that of its competitors, its network of collaborators and alliances with international media (So Foot, 11Freunde...) that also talk about a soccer culture.

2Playbook's business model

2Playbook offers a value to its readers that focuses on creating content about the sports business with rigorous criteria, specialization and support from relevant sources in the sector. In the business-to-business (B2B) segment, 2Playbook offers business intelligence services as well as hyper-specialized advertising. The revenue model goes along with this philosophy: in addition to the subscription service, they sell business intelligence and advertising services and organize events.

Content creation, information sourcing (through contact with industry sources) and product management, always with the platformization of their offering in mind, are the main operational capabilities, enabling them to distribute value to a hyper-specialized market, mainly made up of managers of companies in the sports sector.

After more than two years, 2Playbook has established itself as the reference platform for the sports industry, mainly due to its collaborations with key players such as the newspaper As, LaLiga or Kosmos, the production company driven by the former F.C. Barcelona player Gerard Piqué.

2Playbook has three competitive advantages. Firstly, the specialized knowledge of its human team, with special relevance of the founder's strategic vision. Secondly, the existence of a specialized investment team, which not only contributed capital but also other intangible elements, such as contacts or strategic vision. Finally, the platformization of its offer because imitating the products/services of 2Playbook is a difficult task.

Business model innovation processes

Exploration

The three cases studied show different market exploration initiatives. This dynamic capacity is especially relevant in ElDesmarque, an organization that was one of the pioneers in the Spanish market in covering currently important information, such as Fantasy sports or eSports. They have also acted as testers (betatesters) of technological solutions devised by Israeli and U.S. companies and maintain a permanent scan of other sectors adjacent to journalism, such as technology, thanks to its Product Manager, Javier Padilla. In addition, Jorge Liaño, the Director of Multimedia, keeps an eye on emerging trends in communication, such as streamers.

As a basis for all this exploratory work, the interviews reveal a strong interest in web analytics. Their ambition to optimize advertising processes - allowing a greater capture of value through campaigns - in addition to a clear mission of growth, has turned them into a data-based company, i.e., an organization that makes decisions based on data, although these are not always the determining factor, since the intuition of the managers is important. A sample of this exploratory exercise can be found in Google optimization (SEO) work. As Álvaro Ramírez, Director of Content and Audiences says, it is sometimes necessary to make a firm commitment to an idea, even if the results are not immediate.

> Three or four years ago, in autumn, we tried [publishing motor information]. We started to generate content from nothing [...] Five months were nothing. Very residual content, very residual audience, practically nothing... But, from the fourth or fifth month, the section began to grow, Google liked us, it found us as a reference for this information and we have reached 2 or 2.5 million users in a good month just for motoring. (Álvaro Ramírez, interview)

In any case, the newsroom is "very connected" to web analytics (Google Analytics and Adobe's Omniture) as a "form of self-monitoring", allowing them to optimize results, in addition to detecting emerging patterns.

At Panenka, the idea of finding new business ways "is very present", according to Anna Blanco, head of design. Despite this, they do not have a well-defined process as ElDesmarque, nor do they have the economic power to carry out market studies or hire the services of experts and consultants. Due to the nature of the product, in which the paper is more important than the web version, the use of web analytics is much more limited:

> We consult [the data], at least me personally, once a week or so. In addition to the numbers of unique users and page views, we track basic socio-demographic characteristics and social media interactions, but we don't look at more complex metrics. (Marcel Beltrán, interview)

Some external triggers in this company are very important for new opportunities to be observed. An example of this is the advertising on TikTok during Euro 2021, something that allowed them to be trained on this platform. In addition, the fact of having clear international references, which are collaboration agreements, also helps them to detect new opportunities for developing their business model.

It is also essential to bear in mind that Panenka is a project that is sometimes far removed from purely commercial dynamics. For this reason, the editor-in-chief, Carlos Martín, emphasizes that decisions must have "a more intellectual or cerebral motivation, and not so numerical".

At 2Playbook, the attention to international references is one of the most relevant tasks to develop the dynamic exploration capacity. There are well-established information platforms in the Anglo-Saxon market, such as Sports Business, and observing them helps to transfer value to the Spanish market. There is also an important task of active listening through user surveys or conversations with the clients of the business intelligence service: "Many times we have asked them [clients and managers]: "What do you need, a report on low-cost gyms because you want to be in this segment and you don't know how? Well, I'll do it for you" (Patricia López, interview).

According to the editor-in-chief, the small size of her market allows her to keep abreast of new developments and growth strategies being deployed by other projects. This is the case of the U.S. platform Sportico, which also offers them clues about growth and talent.

Exploitation

Once the opportunities have been detected, ElDesmarque's efforts to eliminate barriers and the agility to test new solutions that can respond to users' needs come into play. According to the testimonies obtained, the specialization of the different members of the management team (general management, product, audiences, multimedia...) and the absence of bureaucratic filters contribute to carry out experiments in days and even hours, if it is not necessary to develop any type of solution -even a minimum viable product. Also, there is a clear objective: low-cost innovation. "We were trying to find a way to do something without money. So, since that has been in the DNA from day one, when you have some money, you make the most of it," says Javier Padilla. The culture of profitability and the data-based philosophy appear as corrective elements.

The main example of Panenka taking advantage of business opportunities is the launch of its magazine, whose success over the last decade is due to an appropriate selection of its focus and architecture. In other words: the company has been able to satisfy the information needs of its audience, although it is true that there are projects that have had a much shorter run, such as Revista H -a specialized rugby publication that stopped publishing due to the reduced commercial interest they saw in it-. In this sense, it is also important to point out that the project has its limitations due to the size of the market, and it is necessary to establish the boundaries of the company in order to take advantage of the available resources. Marcel Beltrán says "We do not do more than we can do". In many cases, projects depend on the availability of advertising agreements that guarantee an economic return. Other factors that clearly play a role in the ability to execute opportunities are the independence of the company, which does not depend on a parent company for decision-making, and the mission, focused on achieving long-term sustainability of the environment.

The youth of 2Playbook and the availability of fewer resources as in ElDesmarque also cause dynamics similar to those of Panenka: "although there are opportunities, if we are diverted from the focus of projects that we have already advanced or that we know will give economic return, we note them, but we do not undertake them until [...] we have sufficient resources to undertake them," says Marc Menchén. They are therefore trying to strike a balance between medium- and long-term strategy and flexibility, according to Patricia López: "I think we will be flexible. If there is something that doesn't add value and takes time, we may stop offering it.

A clear example of the ability to execute is the improvement made to the content offer following a reader survey:

> Starting this Monday, we will increase our content offer based on 2Playbook Intelligence, our market intelligence tool, and there will be more in-depth analysis. Indeed, illustrations that characterize us so much! And more exclusives if possible. (Marc Menchén's statement to readers, January 21, 2022)

Reconfiguration

The growth in the number of delegations is the main sign of reconfiguration by ElDesmarque. In addition, there has been a gradual increase in the number of sections (Fantasy, eSports, motor sports, women's sports...), the adaptation to the communication demands of the emerging social networks -the media originated when Twitter was just starting up, for example- and even the integration in Mediaset, whose teams have helped to improve the monetization of the company.

Throughout its history, Panenka has undergone changes. From the point of view of the value proposition, there have been transformations such as the launch of the website or the creation of Revista H and the Boleyn Sound podcast, in collaboration with the Primavera Sound music festival, projects that were subsequently put on hold. They have also opened important business lines, such as book publishing, and the successive redesigns of the paper edition and the alliance established with Sport so that every Saturday, together with the Catalan newspaper, 'Sport Dossier by Panenka' is published, which is a supplement with content that keeps the magazine's value proposition.

2Playbook has also undergone an accelerated reconfiguration in its first two years of existence. In this period, they have launched different projects, such as 2Playbook TV and a supplier directory, as well as reaching agreements with relevant market players, such as the newspaper As or LaLiga, to organize the PRO Foro Industria y Deporte, an event aimed at sports industry professionals that contributes to their brand image. A similar initiative is Cotizalia Sports, a section on sports business published by El Confidencial in which 2Playbook's editorial staff collaborates. When it comes to consolidating this dynamic capacity, Patricia López says that Marc Menchén's leadership has a clear leading role.

Discussion

This research has described the business models of three sports journalism companies: ElDesmarque, Panenka and 2Playbook (P1). In all three cases, their consolidation can be correlated with the provision of very clear value propositions. In addition, all three cases have very well-defined missions and resource bases and capabilities with talents. The main difference between the three lies in the size and characteristics of their markets, as Panenka has more limitations in capturing value, it does not have a large audience that is attractive to advertisers, nor can it offer business intelligence services, as 2Playbook does.

In the context of dynamic capabilities (P2), the results show that the exploration of new opportunities is common in all three companies, mainly through an analysis of competitors and international benchmarks. Tools such as web analytics and user research are used in very different ways. In the case of exploitation, the relevance of agility and the elimination of barriers that allow changes and innovation at low cost is observed. Enabling these ways for change is what allows constant reconfiguration in a context of permanent changes such as the consolidation of technological platforms (Twitch, TikTok...) in which sports journalism is beginning to consolidate (Marín Sanchiz *et al*., 2022).

Regarding the third research question, it is observed that value creation is the backbone of the business model, as pointed out by researchers in the field of business (Morris *et al*., 2005; Wirtz *et al*., 2016). Furthermore, the value propositions have a clear sustainability orientation, as they generate value for various stakeholders, address issues important for the sustainability of the company, such as revenue diversification, and the process of product or service growth (Payne and Frow, 2017).

Therefore, it is confirmed that the value proposition is the backbone not only of the business model, but also of the innovation process in the business model. Most exploration, exploitation and reconfiguration processes alter this component. There is also a clear influence of the market, since its size determines the capacity to capture value and, therefore, influences the number of resources available in the organization, having consequences on the capacity to innovate in the business model.

Future lines of research should delve into this influence of the market as a limiting element for the sustainability of a newspaper company, with special emphasis on projects that do not have a large user base or companies through which to capture value.

This study has several limitations. The first is that it does not consider the point of view of the audiences and companies served by the journalistic projects analyzed. Secondly, it does not take into account quantitative data that, in the long term, would help to have a more accurate picture of the financial health of the organizations. Finally, the results should be further contextualized using other methodological tools to determine the degree of novelty implied by the innovations in the business model observed.

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REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.03

Communication management in professional cycling. The case of the Vuelta a Asturias

La gestión de la Comunicación en el ciclismo profesional. El caso de la Vuelta a Asturias

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Received on: 27/01/2023 **Revised on:** 12/02/2023 **Approved on:** 25/02/2023 **Published on:** 1/03/2023

Abstract
This research analyzes the communication management of the Vuelta a Asturias, one of the oldest cycling competitions on the Spanish calendar, included in the UCI Europe Tour 2.1 category. The study describes the information management of both the specialized press and cycling teams and organization. A triangulation of methods was carried out, based on a literature review, to carry out a content analysis of the information published in El Comercio, La Nueva España, Marca and Ciclismo a Fondo during the days before and during the 2021 edition. The results of these first two phases were used to conduct interviews with communication professionals in charge of organizing and disseminating the Asturian test. In this way, it has been possible to describe, on the one hand, how the communication management is from the cycling teams themselves and the organization of the event, and on the other, how the coverage of this event is carried out by the journalists in charge of these specialized event. A rapid and progressive application of new technologies by journalists and communication departments, a creative process of information disintermediation by cycling teams, the importance of generating identification processes and sports sponsorship as a key piece of information were detected.

Keywords
Journalism, sport, communication, cycling, identity, disintermediation, information, media.

Suggested citation: Alonso-García, R. and Ballesteros-Herencia, C. A. (2023). Communication management in professional cycling. The case of the Vuelta a Asturias. *Universitas-XXI, 38* pp. 63-81. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.03

Resumen

Esta investigación analiza la gestión comunicativa de la Vuelta a Asturias, una de las competiciones ciclistas más antiguas del calendario español, incluida en la categoría UCI Europe Tour 2.1. El estudio describe la gestión informativa tanto de la prensa especializada como de equipos ciclistas y organización. Se realizó una triangulación de métodos, partiendo de una revisión bibliográfica, para efectuar a continuación un análisis de contenido de las informaciones publicadas en El Comercio, La Nueva España, Marca y Ciclismo a Fondo durante los días previos y el transcurso de la edición de 2021. Los resultados de estas dos primeras fases sirvieron para realizar una serie de entrevistas a profesionales de la comunicación encargados de la organización y difusión de la prueba asturiana. De este modo, se ha podido describir, por un lado, cómo es la gestión de la comunicación desde los propios equipos ciclistas y la organización de la prueba, y por otro, cómo se realiza la cobertura de este evento por parte de los periodistas encargados de estas labores especializadas. Se detectó una aplicación rápida y progresiva de las nuevas tecnologías por parte de periodistas y departamentos de comunicación, un creativo proceso de desintermediación informativa por parte de los equipos ciclistas, la importancia de generar procesos de identificación y el patrocinio deportivo como pieza informativa clave.

Palabras clave

Periodismo, comunicación, ciclismo, identidad, desintermediación, deporte, información, medios.

Introduction

The Vuelta a Asturias is a cycling race of UCI Europe Tour 2.1 category, which occurs in several phases, mainly mountainous. It is one of the oldest cycling events in the Spanish calendar, since its first edition was held in 1925 (Rodríguez, 2015). Despite its antiquity, publications and research on this sporting event are scarce.

The role of communication in the Asturian race was analyzed using different techniques. Not surprisingly, two media have played a key role in the organization of the race in two key stages. It was interesting to investigate how communication strategies and professional routines have evolved thanks to technological innovations, both by the organization of the race, as well as by journalists and the communication departments of the cycling teams. The aim was to find out whether the professionalization and rapid adaptation to the digital environment, which has been described in the case of the communication departments of soccer clubs (Olabe, 2015; Cano-Tenorio, 2019; Ginesta, 2020; Herrero *et al*., 2021; Sidorenko *et al*., 2022), have occurred in this cycling event.

Objectives and research questions

This study analyzes and describes the integral communication process in a high-level cycling tour, integrating both the informative work carried out by the press offices of the sports teams and the organization of the race, as well as the coverage of the race from the media. The following specific research questions were set out to achieve this objective:

- How do the cycling teams manage their communication processes in Vuelta a Asturias?
- What is the media coverage of Vuelta a Asturias?
- What are the differences and similarities of the informative work with a first-class cycling event such as Vuelta a España?

State of the art

First, a literature review was carried out to describe the importance and components of the communication management of sport, the results of research on the media representation of cycling and a historical evolution of Vuelta a Asturias. Given the lack of published studies on this competition, we consulted the original copies of three local newspapers from the period described (El Noroeste, Región and El Comercio).

Communication management in sport

Communication as a tool to achieve the objectives of sports organizations has been defended by various authors (e.g. Mestre 2004; Gambau, 2006; Zapata, 2007; Mayorga, 2019; Pinheiro and Marín, 2019). Thus, Ballesteros (2021) asserts that communication has become "a key factor for the efficient management of sports organizations, leading to the implementation of increasingly professionalized communication processes" (p.171). The communication offices of sports formations have become more professionalized, evolving towards greater independence from the print media (Lobillo, 2018), and creating their own media, allowing them to interact with their target audiences without needing traditional media (Domínguez *et al*., 2012). Therefore, they have been one of the fastest growing departments, given their work in social networks, internet and institutional event management (Gómez *et al*., 2008). Corporate communication allows sport entities to create and disseminate their own identity (Brotons, 2005). This communication transmits its values through the conceptual and its identity through the visual, with logos, typography or the association of specific colors with the organization.

In turn, the sports entity serves as a dissemination channel for sponsoring companies, which provide funding in exchange for linking their image to sports values (Breva *et al*., 2019; Torres and García, 2020). It is estimated that these agreements involve around 360 million euros per year (Infoadex, 2021).

Therefore, external communication should start to create a sports organization's own identity in order to tell a story about that entity to encompass its values, origin, objectives, etc. (BIC, 2011). In this way, there is a subject with proximity and impact, which brings together a wide audience, both individuals and legal entities.

Cycling and sports journalism

Sports journalism has played an important role in the origin and evolution of cycling events, as described by Antonio Alcoba, when stating that L'Equipe and La Gazzetta dello Sport "invented the cycling tours of France and Italy, sponsored by them and converted them into a national and continental event" (1993, p. 64), which in turn multiplied their circulation. From then, the media have organized and sponsored different cycling events, such as the organization of the Tour of Portugal by the newspaper Jornal de Noticias, the creation of the Flèche Wallonne by the Brussels newspaper Sports, the Tour of Flanders by the newspaper Sporwereld, the Tour of Colombia by two journalists of the newspaper El Tiempo or the Tour of Chile by the newspaper Mercurio (De la Cruz, 2002).

The newspaper Informaciones participated in the organization of Vuelta a España from its first edition in 1935 to 1950 when it ceased to be held, until 1955 when the newspaper El Correo Español-El Pueblo Vasco took over the organization for the following 24 years (De la Cruz, 2002).

The economic consequences and tourist promotion of a cycling event on the territory it covers is described in events such as Vuelta a España (Piñeiro, 2011), Vuelta a Burgos, Vuelta a Andalucía or Vuelta a Extremadura (Blanco and Porro, 2022).

Regarding the informative representation of cycling competitions, Marín (2012) describes how the narrative of Vuelta a España on TVE follows the structure and contents of fictional stories (race, chapters, passion, heroes, etc.) together with a format enriched by online communications. For their part, Jimeno and Rojas (2017) highlight the strategic importance of sports content in the Spanish regional press to create an identity, strengthen ties with consumers and build community. In this sense, Verschelden (2016) says that the external communication of the UCI World Tour international peloton teams seeks to mark and disseminate their own identity.

Historical approach to the Tour of Asturias

Tour of Asturias dates back to 1925, being one of the oldest cycling events in the Spanish calendar (El Noroeste, 1925). From 1926 to 1967, the race was limited to amateur cyclists, so it was not considered an official edition. This consolidation started in 1968, when the newspaper Región, with the help of journalist Ricardo Vázquez de Prada, decided to relaunch the race (Región, 1968). One of the great promoters of the Tour of Asturias was Julio Álvarez "Mendo", director of this newspaper, until his death in 2008. Currently, the official name of the race is "Vuelta a Asturias Julio Álvarez "Mendo". This journalist began narrating the cycling race on the radio and writing articles in the newspaper, at the time that he organized the race since 1957. His definitive professionalization would come in 1971.

Since 2008, his daughter Cristina Álvarez who had participated in the organization of the race since she was very young, directed the race. Since 1967 the race has been held every year except for 2014 due to the economic crisis (El Comercio, 2014), as well as in 2020 by the coronavirus pandemic.

In the 90s, Vuelta a Asturias had its momento, when the main cyclists came to the Asturian territory to prepare for the first great stage race of the annual calendar, the Giro d'Italia. During that decade, figures such as Miguel Induráin, Abraham Olano, Tony Rominger, Alex Zülle or Pedro Delgado participated. Since the formation of the UCI Circuits in 2005, the race was part of the Europe Tour, the second category of the international calendar.

The race shortened its duration to three days, and between 2010 and 2021 important teams with some of their best riders competed in the race, some to prepare for the *Corsa Rosa* and others as an important race in their own calendar.

Materials and methods

The state of the art presented was the first phase of the methods carried out. This literature review included the analysis of the Asturian newspapers, Región, El Noroeste and El Comercio between 1925 and 2020 to describe the origin of the race. As a second step, a content analysis was conducted of general and specialized newspapers that cover Vuelta a Asturias at present. The results of these two techniques, carried out as a preliminary to the main study, made it possible to draw up a questionnaire of questions and to choose the interviewees suitable for the objectives set.

Two Asturian newspapers were selected for analyzing the content, El Comercio (94,000 readers, EGM 2021) and La Nueva España (144,000 readers), the most read Spanish sports newspaper, Marca (824,000), and the leading cycling magazine, Ciclismo a Fondo (196,000). All the information (n=222) in these publications between 2010 and 2021 was analyzed using an analysis sheet with identification data, formal aspects (appearance on the front page, publication on even or odd pages, graphic and length), elaborating an index of importance of each article (adapted from Igartua, 2006), journalistic genre (Martínez Albertos, 1974), teams mentioned, type and number of mentions, and presence and characteristics of advertising.

Thus, 41 % of the information was published in La Nueva España, sponsor newspaper of Vuelta a Asturias, while El Comercio published 60, Marca 45 and Ciclismo a Fondo 24. The main genre used was the chronicle, 53 % of the articles, compared to 29 % of interviews, 16 % of previews and just over 2 % of opinion columns. Ciclismo a Fondo provided more coverage, with an importance index of 2.38 (SD=1.056), followed by LNE (M=2.30, SD=1.087), El Comercio (M=2.18, SD=1.127) and, finally, Marca (M=1.41, SD=0.858).

These articles were accompanied by 95 advertising pieces, mostly publicity (74 %). Asturias Paraíso Natural, Kike Bike -sponsor of the race- and the City Council of Oviedo stood out among the advertisers. Up to 63 teams were mentioned, Movistar Team (n=137), Caja Rural-Seguros RGA (n=116) and Euskaltel-Euskadi (n=116) standing out, accounting for 36 % of the total mentions. Later, Burgos BH (n=63) and Andalucía Caja Sur (n=37).

Design and procedure

An in-depth interview was carried out. A questionnaire was designed based on the literature review and content analysis, and then a series of relevant interviewees were selected. Thus, the selection of the professionals interviewed (see Table 1) was based on two criteria: on the one hand, to be journalists specialized in cycling from the main Asturian and national media with experience in the Tour of Asturias; and on the other hand, to be part of communication members of cycling teams participating in the Asturian race. In addition, members of the organization were interviewed. The main topics addressed were information preparation of the competition and evaluation of the results; adaptation to digital technologies; importance of sports sponsorship; influence of the media in the founding, organization and impact of the Tour; and generation of an identity of its own.

Table 1
Repertoire of interviewees

Professional	Position	Newspaper /Team
Andrés Maese	Writer	El Comercio
José Palacio	Writer	La Nueva España
Nacho Labarga Adán	Writer	Marca
Ainara Hernando Nieva	Writer	Ciclismo a Fondo
Laura Álvarez	Sport Journalist	Eurosport
María Gil Iborra	Responsible of communication	Kern Pharma Team
Jacobo Díaz-Jares Amorós	Director of communication and sponsorship	Movistar Team
Álvaro Lana Arbeo	Responsible of communication	Caja Rural-Seguros RGA Team
Álvaro García Herrero	Responsible of communication	Burgos BH Pro Team
Unai Iraragorri	Responsible of communication and marketing	Euskaltel-Euskadi (men) and Laboral Kutxa Euskadi (women)
Juan Mari Guajardo	*Speaker*	Vuelta a Asturias
Cristina Álvarez “Mendo”	Executive director	Vuelta a Asturias

Results

The Tour of Asturias and its organization

The organization of the race requires continuous work throughout the year, starting with the recruitment of sponsors, both public and private. "On the one hand, in the public sphere is the government of Asturias and the different councils through which the race takes place, such as L.lena, Oviedo/Uviéu, Cangas del Narcea, etc.," according to Cristina Álvarez, executive director of the race. This economic injection from the city councils also determines the route each year.

Private funding "is obtained by being very insistent and passing on different proposals". The organizer highlights the work of one of the most recent sponsors, Total Energies, which "is making a commitment to the world of sport and cycling and has given us its support".

After securing the necessary funding, the organization is working to ensure the participation of the best international teams. Direct contact with the teams requires patience and perseverance, "going to sporting events where they can be present and trying to convince them.

To do this, the first thing is to choose "attractive dates since they serve as preparation for a grand tour, such as the Giro d'Italia", reason for which it is always held weeks before the Italian tour. The director remarks that "the route has a great influence, as it is attractive and tough. They also know that it is one of the safest races according to the UCI.

The communicative promotion of the Tour of Asturias

A small communications department works throughout the year, but "the most difficult occurs two or three months before the race, especially with social networks". The organization has opted for making important communications through these media, since "now it does not matter if it does not appear in a newspaper, because everything is on the networks," says Álvarez. The Vuelta a Asturias uses Instagram (3381 followers), Facebook (7500 followers) and Twitter (6046 followers), in addition to its own website to disseminate its communications.

Its executive director stresses that the big communications take the longest, as they wait for official confirmation and reserve the announcement of the stars who will participate in the race for the day when each year's edition is presented in Oviedo/Uviéu. This is an event that serves as a connection between different people with business and commercial interests in the world of cycling.

With the arrival of Vuelta a España to Asturias, the communication department tries again to be noticed, getting a great diffusion in the press, especially in its official newspaper, La Nueva España, but also in national and international media.

The resources, however, are limited and the actions carried out by this department must be "prudent". Its executive director considers that this "is a weakness that must be improved. For the moment, the race has a small coverage on the public sports channel, Teledeporte, and with the streaming broadcast of the stages thanks to an agreement with Radio Televisión del Principado de Asturias".

Álvarez describes that they have "invested a lot in the image, for example, we have changed the logo, which is now very significant". In addition, the Vuelta a Asturias has gone beyond the strictly sporting aspect to open up to society with different events in the center of Oviedo/Uviéu. Among these new events is the Vuelta a Asturias gold badge gala, which aims to recognize cycling figures who transmit positive values. The solidarity races are another example of this openness to society. First, in collaboration with the Spanish Association against Cancer and later with the Galbán Association of families of children with cancer in Asturias, solidarity races have been launched through the streets of the center of the capital.

Media Coverage

The media serve as a channel for disseminating and promoting the race. In this sense, the interviewees highlight the differences between a shorter and more modest competition such as the Vuelta a Asturias and a major sporting event such as the Vuelta a España. Andrés Maese, editor of El Comercio, describes how the infrastructure is less than in the big tours, making the work of journalists more difficult.

> There are not so many people working to provide information or a service to the journalist. You have to do your best, there is not the immediacy of other races. It is a much smaller race and it is much more difficult to report, especially instantly, because no one is telling you what is happening in the race.

In this sense, Laura Álvarez, cycling narrator at Eurosport, says that there are many communication possibilities that could be developed in Vuelta a Asturias, especially a more careful digital strategy, taking advantage of the full potential of social networks. An example of information that could be provided to the media in advance is the announcement of the participating riders, because "days before the race we still do not know the confirmed teams or the star riders". The national media, such as the newspaper Marca, elaborate the report of the Asturian race from the editorial office in Madrid, instead of covering it in person as they do in Vuelta a España, in the Volta a Catalunya, the Vuelta a Andalucía or the Gran Premio Miguel Induráin. In this way, when the competition is not too important, information from news agencies, mainly EFE, is used and transcribed, and it is the editor himself who writes the news when there are important events for the development of the race. Then, as complementary information, we resort to the press releases sent by teams such as Movistar Team, in their attempt to obtain greater coverage of their brand in the media.

The local media do inform the race *in situ*, for example, as Maese says, "to see how it goes and who makes up the possible breakaway", which is complemented by the information provided by the organization. José Palacio, editor of La Nueva España, has also followed the race, first from the bike for Radio Cadena and Radio Nacional de España, with "live connections, telling on live what was happening, stopping in many places to watch the race".

But there are also national media that cover the race in person, such as Ciclismo a Fondo, whose editor, Ainara Hernando, assures that one-week or three-day races, such as the Vuelta a Asturias, sometimes offer more possibility for communicating than the big tours. Hernando attends both the start and finish of the Asturian event, and has even followed the race from a referee's car. "I asked the organization for it, and we wrote an article."

As a product of this type of monitoring and sources used, the media elaborate different informative contents. Thus, Palacio points out that:

> It is necessary to tell what is happening and what has happened in the stage, with a summary to make the chronicle, emphasizing the classifications. Occasionally, an important incident or event that had an influence on the development of the stage is also reported.

The coverage is not so exhaustive in a national newspaper, but Labarga, from Marca newspaper, agrees in reporting in detail when "something striking, curious or attractive happens", besides trying, at least, to "do some preview, and maybe some related interview; sometimes we talk to the winner (...) it is about telling the course of the race, percentages of the passes, cyclists who participate, days in which it develops, etc.". A special case is that of the race host, who looks for the complicity of the public, winking at the places through which the race passes, highlighting the role of the organizers and transmitting information about previous winners.

On the other hand, Ainara Hernando strives to transmit "things that do not appear in the newspapers or social networks" as well as to offer "a little more technical information that goes beyond", given the more specialized audience of her magazine. In addition, she also uses digital platforms, making videos of short interviews with breakaway riders or stage winners. "You use your cellphone to record them and then post the video on Twitter or Instagram." Social networks are cited by Eurosport's narrator, Laura Álvarez, as a source of information to get to know better the cyclists in advance. For that reason, all the teams use Twitter, Facebook and Instagram accounts, with a much lower use of YouTube, and almost no use of other platforms such as Twitch or TikTok. In addition, this journalist tries to focus her narration on the routes, knowing their details and dangerous areas. Álvarez points out that the fans want to see the big ones, the winners, but also the competitors from the area.

Similarly, Palacio, of La Nueva España, relates the greater interest in telling the stories of the Asturian cyclists, in the case of Vuelta a Asturias, and of the Spaniards in La Vuelta a España. "If there are three Asturians riding Vuelta a Asturias we always have to mention them, because our readers are interested in them," along with the description of the cyclists, regardless of their region or nationality. In this sense, Maese, from El Comercio, affirms that they look for the "most popular cyclist and the Asturian", while Hernando says that he thinks on his public, mainly Spanish and Latin American, so when writing "you look especially at Movistar, Kern Pharma, Burgos or Euskaltel", elevating a bit more Spanish and Asturian sportsmen, since "the race must be a little more local".

Also Labarga, from Marca newspaper, says that they try to talk about the cyclists of each place, as happened with Vuelta a Asturias when Samuel Sánchez rode for Euskaltel Euskadi, or now, at present, with cyclists such as Daniel Navarro or Pelayo Sánchez Mayo, both from Burgos BH, or Iván García Cortina, from Movistar Team. Labarga believes that "Asturian cyclists are always a good hook to talk about the race", with the intention of getting the attention of the amateur reader and making him feel identified with the cyclists of his autonomous community. He also highlights the Asturian scenery as an element that stands out in the information. "Asturias has many great sceneries in Vuelta a España". Maese, from El Comercio, agrees, believing that the race, in addition to the strictly sporting information, serves to publicize Asturias, transmitting its cultural benefits and the towns through which it passes. Labarga and Cristina Álvarez also mention the scenery as the basis of the identity of the Asturian race. Asturias has known summits, such as L'Altu del Acebu, the Naranco or Covandoga. In addition, the interviewees agree that the Asturian race has tried to create its own identity with symbols such as the blue jersey or the jersey of La Nueva España for the leader of the flying goals, and events such as the aforementioned gold badge gala or the traditional music at the inauguration day and the final.

The sponsorship of the race by La Nueva España was also mentioned in the interviews. Thus, Maese considers "as a mistake that the Vuelta a Asturias is sponsored by one of the two newspapers, because the other will not cover it too much, since the main sponsor is its rival". From La Nueva España, Palacio describes how "La Nueva España would dedicate no less than seven or eight pages in the newspaper in each stage, while others dedicate a page or half a page to it " which entails "an intense collaboration with the organization of Vuelta a Asturias". Laura Álvarez emphasizes the need to "have more specialized media". The speaker Guajardo describes the coverage of the regional media as unbeatable, highlighting the work of La Nueva España as the official newspaper. Finally, Ainara Hernando highlights the press as a dynamizing factor of Vuelta a Asturias, defining the local media as a "very important" source of information in turn for the national media. "It is very important that the national media broadcast the race, because the sponsors enter the races so that their brand is seen in Spain and in the world".

Communication strategies of cycling teams

The interviewees agree that the main job of the communication offices of the cycling teams is to publicize their brand, which is achieved as a result of planning and carrying out information campaigns, synchronized with the planning and sporting results.

Álvaro Lana, press officer of Caja Rural-Seguros RGA, says that he gets very good coverage from the media. According to the data obtained from Kantar Media, the team obtained 1.7 million impressions in the written press in Asturias, and 2.6 million impacts in the total press. In addition, the Navarre team received with its participation in the Vuelta a Asturias, at least 22 million impacts in the digital press, from media such as MSN, Sport, AS, Marca and Yahoo News Spain. The participation of this team in the Vuelta a España is the moment with more impact of the year. After the official announcement of its participation, the communication office prepares a press release including the manager's evaluations, which is distributed to the main media and a campaign of interviews, social networks, etc., is launched.

A similar planning is followed in minor races such as the Clásica de San Sebastián or the Volta a Catalunya, but the Asturian race is especially interesting due to the territorial delegation of its main sponsor, Caja Rural de Asturias, deeply rooted in the autonomous community. In addition, the sponsor of its bicycles, MMR, is an Asturian company based in the city of Avilés. Specific actions are carried out, such as the visit of the cyclists to the headquarters of this bicycle brand or to the wind tunnel in Mieres, which is one of the competitions with the greatest media coverage. Its communications manager, Lana, highlights the 2016 edition when its leader, Hugh Carty, won a stage and the general classification, giving the team the moment with more diffusion of the brand throughout the year. Like other teams, it uploads the chronicles and evaluations of coaches and cyclists to its website and social networks, but only uses YouTube for the annual presentation of the team and some specific actions with sponsors.

The Kern Pharma communication team, led by María Gil and Mikel Arilla, believes that the coverage they receive is correct. They believe that it depends on the interests of the media, but that "if you are seen more in races then the attention you receive is greater than if you go unnoticed". The pharmaceutical squad plans all its communications on a bimonthly basis with important dates for the team, such as races or riders' birthdays. Once all the work has been done, a weekly review is carried out, and the next actions to be developed are specified.

The planning is different depending on the conditions of the communication team. Being present at the race allows creating more content, with short videos for social networks or update tweets that generate interaction with followers. In the days before the race, a script is prepared with the contents that are expected to be published during the race, but with pending events that may influence the information.

Álvaro García, head of communications of the Burgos BH ProTeam, assumes that his team is not as mediatic as others, so he considers the results obtained so far as "the base. If we are satisfied, we have little room for improvement". Thus, he tries to seek media attention by "accompanying the rider to the finish line, seeking somehow the focus of the television, the interview... Trying to have that exposure and be the voice that explains how the day has been, moving to make your team stand out with a minute of glory".

The team from Burgos plans its calendar at the beginning of the season, aiming to race the Vuelta a España, given its impact. The communicative preparation is simpler in the spring classics or in the Vuelta a Asturias. Although the basis of the process is the same, with previews, chronicles, testimonials or results, the workload and the concreteness of the content is different, having also in these races a greater chance of winning. Participation in a race like the Vuelta a Asturias is relatively important for the Burgos team. Thus, the communication office faces the competition as "a communicative objective, because we know that we can have certain impact", García says.

Burgos BH seeks to link the communication strategy with the sporting one. For example, in Asturias, they are fighting for a jersey that is secondary in principle, such as that of the flying goals, but which provides the fact that the sponsor of this garment is the newspaper La Nueva España. In addition, the presence of Asturian riders in their ranks gives them a communicative boost, since the fans want to know what the local cyclists are doing, so they try to give them greater exposure.

Jacobo Díaz, communication director of Movistar Team, believes that his team has been very well represented in traditional media, while developing new strategies in digital media. Movistar Team holds a press conference with its leaders on the day of the presentation of the three grand tours, along with "some very studied requests from some media to do individual interviews." In addition, they have stopped narrating the races on Twitter and reduced the sending of press releases, while they have boosted audiovisual formats, generating what they call "more friendly content". As a result, they have 65 thousand followers and almost 13 million views on YouTube. They have created two main series, "#SinCadena" and "Inside", in which members of the team detail technical and sporting issues, such as nutrition or mechanics, or show the race from the inside, narrating from the vehicles or finish line.

Although this scheme is the same in the classics and smaller tours, the audiovisual narration has not yet been extended to the Asturian race. For the moment, the Vuelta a Asturias continues to work with traditional media and networks to take care of the presence of local riders because of the great attraction for the public and the media. This is one of the most important competitions in the calendar of the Telefónica team, since, on the one hand, the fact of having won it in recent years thanks to riders such as Richard Carapaz, Iván Ramiro Sosa, Nairo Quintana or Igor Antón has a communicative impact. On the other hand, as its communications director says "it is at the point of the season when the important things for us are coming, with the Giro d'Italia right after. It is a good pre-show for us to start warming up the atmosphere at a communicative level". In sporting terms, it serves to prepare for the Giro, which will be attended by some of the Movistar riders who have competed in the Asturian race.

Finally, the communication strategy of Euskaltel Euskadi, the men's team of the Euskadi Foundation, begin the year, when the competitive calendar is known. In the case of the Asturian race, once the sports director informs who will be the riders who will compete in it, they begin to prepare information about the race, analyzing "routes, the race regulations and I'm preparing the preview and thinking about possible actions in social networks that we can develop depending on the resources we have," says Iragorri, head of communication of the team. A visibility plan is prepared for sponsors, as well as communication and marketing actions. The presence of the cyclists on their social networks is taken care of, providing training at the first training camp in January, and subsequently reviewing the information they publish, warning, for example, of the appearance of products that do not belong to the team and its sponsors.

On the Foundation's website, the orange squad's press releases are uploaded, with detailed chronicles and evaluations of the cyclists and sports directors and shared on their social networks.

Conclusions

As in Vuelta a Asturias, relaunched in the 1960s by two journalists from the newspaper Región, sports journalism has been involved in the creation, professionalization and sponsorship of national and international cycling events since their beginnings (Alcoba, 1993; De la Cruz, 2002). Later, another local newspaper, La Nueva España, would become its official sponsor. This situation provides security to the competition in terms of its informative impact, but there were those who said that it at the same time limited the impact of this event in competing media. Thus, most of the information (41 %) was published by the official newspaper, which also gave it greater formal importance than the more directly competing media. Beyond this fact, there is a consensus that the information repercussion allowed by the media is, nowadays, essential for a sporting competition such as the Tour of Asturias.

The results obtained confirm what was described in the state of the art, about the importance of communication in cycling in particular, and in sport in general. The analysis carried out corroborates the change in the management of communication in sports organizations. Firstly, towards greater professionalization, and secondly, applying and exploiting technological innovations, resulting in an informative autonomy of cycling teams, which use their own media to reach their target audiences directly, with traditional media playing an instrumental role, ratifying the disintermediation process described in Olabe (2015) and Domínguez *et al*. (2012).

The interviewees believe that Vuelta a Asturias is an important and well-established race in the Spanish calendar, but that it needs growth and innovation. The communication managers of the groups consider that the Asturian race is strategic in their calendar because of the preparation and the diffusion of their brand. They plan their information and marketing in collaboration with the sports staff, adapting their narrative to the opportunities they have with the participating team, thus developing many of the functions of sports communication described in previous research (Mediavilla, 2001; Gómez *et al*., 2008; Ballesteros, 2021).

On the one hand, all the communication teams interviewed use a combination of digital platforms (website, various social networks, YouTube), and Movistar Team or Kern Pharma Team can be cited as examples in the development of their own content in audiovisual format. On the other hand, they use these social media both as a source of information and to disseminate their own information, sometimes in current formats, such as short videos with interviews or pieces from the course.

Unlike what happens in top level races, such as Vuelta a España, journalists in Vuelta a Asturias miss having updated information in real time, and understand that they should move towards a greater development of the digital information strategy, for example, with a greater use of social networks.

The importance of sports sponsorship (Infoadex, 2021; Breva *et al*., 2019; Torres and Garcia, 2020) is in the DNA of cycling teams, with commercial firms naming them and providing funding. The interviews have highlighted the objective of the communication teams to promote their brands through information campaigns, coordinated with the sports planning and seeking to optimize the visibility of the sponsors.

Both journalists and communication managers of the teams describe how the identity of the Asturian race has been created, symbolized visually through jerseys or a new logo, but also through the reference to the culture of the towns it passes by, the link with the cyclists of the land, the organization of social events and, above all, the mountainous scenery of the region, famous in the world of cycling for its use in the queen stages Vuelta a España. All this allows fans to relate and identify with the cyclists, their teams and the race itself, which can be deepened and consolidated in future editions.

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REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.04

Study of the Instagram communications strategy of sports startups in Spain

Estudio de la estrategia comunicativa en Instagram de las startups *deportivas en España*

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Received on: 30/01/2023 **Revised on:** 12/02/2023 **Approved on:** 28/02/2023 **Published on:** 01/03/2023

Abstract
This paper focuses on the analysis of the communication role of sports startups in the main social networks —Instagram— especially based on the narratives used. Due to the great importance of digital communication for business development, the main objective of this research is to find out how digital communication works in these emerging companies. The content analysis technique is applied to the 200 most relevant publications of each startup —selected from the ranking of the last two years in the ecosystem of El Referente— using the Fanpagekarma tool to obtain the sample. The study of the publications of these sports startups is complemented with a qualitative examination of the strategies followed, most frequent formats and the topics that dominate the agenda of these entities through the social network. Among the most noteworthy results, it is observed that sports startups opt for the promotion strategy —mainly of services, activities and the brand—. In terms of journalistic genres on social networks, the most used by these companies is news (69 %), while the most used formats are images, image carousels, reels and videos. The predominant agenda on Instagram in the sector focuses on #fitness, #personaltrainer, brands, #sport, #health and #nutrition.

Keywords
Corporate communication, startups, financing, strategies, social networks, sport, digital communication, Instagram.

Suggested citation: Lobillo-Mora, G. and Paniagua-Rojano, F. J. (2023). Study of the Instagram communications strategy of sports startups in Spain. *Universitas-XXI, 38,* pp. 83-106. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.04

Resumen

Este trabajo se centra en el análisis del papel de la comunicación de las *startups* deportivas en las principales redes sociales —Instagram— especialmente basado en las narrativas utilizadas. Debido a la gran importancia que tiene la comunicación digital para el desarrollo del negocio, el objetivo principal de esta investigación es conocer cómo la trabajan en estas empresas emergentes. En esta investigación se aplica la técnica del análisis de contenido en las 200 publicaciones más relevantes de cada *startup* —seleccionadas del ranking de los últimos dos años en el ecosistema de *El Referente*— utilizando para la obtención de la muestra la herramienta *Fanpagekarma*. El estudio de las publicaciones de estas empresas emergentes del ámbito deportivo se complementa con un examen cualitativo de las estrategias seguidas, formatos más frecuentes y los temas que dominan en la agenda de estas entidades a través de la red social. Entre los resultados más destacados, se observa que las *startups* deportivas optan por la estrategia de promoción —fundamentalmente de servicios, actividades y de la marca—. En cuanto a los géneros periodísticos en redes sociales, el más utilizado por estas empresas es el informativo (69 %), mientras que los formatos más empleados son las imágenes, los carruseles de imágenes, los *reels* y los vídeos. La agenda predominante en Instagram en el sector se centra en #fitness, #entrenadorpersonal, marcas, #deporte, #salud y #nutricion.

Palabras clave

Comunicación corporativa, *startups*, financiación, estrategias, redes sociales, deporte, comunicación digital, Instagram.

Introduction

The interest by entrepreneurship has been analyzed mainly by universities, business schools or public or private institutions that have promoted it from their classrooms, due to the great economic and social importance they have, both at the national level (Barba-Sánchez *et al*., 2022; Alemán *et al.,* 2021; Romero Martínez and Milone, 2016) and international (Weinberger-Villarán, 2019; Bengesi and Roux, 2014; Stam *et al.,* 2014.; Sivachandran Narayanan and Murali Sambasivan, 2020).

The most current data in the Spanish territory, according to the Observatorio del Emprendimiento de España 2021-22, on recent entrepreneurial activity (TEA) state that it has recovered in 5.5 % of the population. This figure is similar to the one before the health crisis produced by COVID-19. According to this source, the increase in the percentage of people intending to become entrepreneurs in the next three years is close to 10 % of the population, which along with an increase in perceived opportunities in a post-pandemic environment, allows us to foresee a greater growth in entrepreneurial activity in the coming years, if the circumstances of the environment allow it.

Startups, defined as emerging companies that are usually related to new technologies, must have innovative business ideas with great growth possibilities as their objective. For the results to be positive, it is necessary in any business project to have a strategic planning in communication, which will be decisive for its future success. Business development will be greatly hindered without a communication strategy appropriate to each company, its scope and idiosyncrasy. For this, it is essential not only to have a specific communication plan, but also to have qualified personnel to develop it, working within the company through a communication agency or a freelance professional specialized in the field.

In short, any startup must pay close attention to the product or service, in addition to adequately planning the company's internal and external communication. No matter how good the product or service is, the expected results will not be achieved if it is not communicated properly. In this sense, it is necessary to consider important issues such as the generation of the brand and if the brand is in line with the business strategies of the organization. This brand generation is mainly built through the reputation of the organization, and it is difficult to achieve and easy to lose. This brand reputation serves companies to generate business and, of course, to obtain financing thanks to proper communication management, among other factors.

There is no doubt that the time factor is key to proper communication management in relation to stakeholders, which is essential for the generation and maintenance of the image and reputation of the startup, especially with new technologies and technological advances that enable an adaptation of the message to the audience and a speed in the transmission of content.

The study of these audiences in communication, whether real or potential, is decisive to make the project known, enriched by differentiating characteristics, to adapt the messages and the strategy. In general, the appropriate messages, formats and channels for communicating the project must be established. Research allows us to segment these audiences to find out which strategy to use for the intended purpose.

In Spain, in 2022, there were some 23,000 startups that generated an average of seven jobs per company, according to the study on Startups in Spain.

These companies, mainly in Cataluña, Madrid and Andalucía, had a higher sales figure per number of companies and recorded a turnover of 1 078 459 euros per company (Informa D&B S.A.U, 2022). Spain has a recent ecosystem of start-ups, which began more than fifteen years ago, the last five years having an exponential increase with a clear international projection.

Therefore, investment is essential for startups to be solvent and achieve their economic goals. According to El Referente, more than one billion euros were invested in startups in 2020 in 338 public operations, representing a growth of 20 %, if comparing it with the previous two years.

Knowing the type of investors is another information that should not be missing in the business strategy (Gómez Zuluaga and Botero Morales, 2016). The types of investors are classified according to the development of the different stages. In the initial stage, startups usually resort to the option of Family, Friends and Fulls, together with incubators such as Demium Startups and Antai, or accelerators such as Connector and Lanzadera. Another type is the figure of Business Angels, representing startups from different sectors in Spain, such as Yago Arbeloa, Françoix Derbaix, Eneko Knorr, Carlos Blanco, Bernardo Hernández or Luis Martín Cabiedes (El Referente, 2022). In addition to these, there are other formulas for investing in startups, such as equity crowdfunding platforms. Clear examples are Startupxplore, Sociosinversores, La Bolsa Social, Crowdcube, Fellow Funders, The Crowd Angel and Capital Cell. There are multiple interests and the complexity of deciding on a project to invest in. This problem reduces when designing a communication strategy for these startups, especially in terms of digital communication, with the aim of giving visibility to the startups. The key lies in aligning the communication strategy with the business strategy. The business objectives will be achieved by achieving the communication objectives, if they are well defined.

Theoretical foundation

Narrative, a fundamental part of the business communication plan

Communication from a business point of view has been addressed by many authors (Morán, 2017; Rubio and Micó, 2019; Escartín *et al*., 2020), and specifically if we refer to the digital communication of startups (Ala-Kortesmaa *et al*., 2022; Chaudhri *et al*., 2022; Coll-Rubio and Carbonell, 2022; Elikan and Pigneur, 2019; Godulla and Me, 2022; Gossel, 2022; Ji *et al*., 2022; Kraus *et al*., 2016; Wolf *et al*., 2022), each with different perspectives, but with digital communication as the main focus.

These theoretical and practical approaches range from highlighting the narratives and identity of startups (Ala-Kortesmaa *et al*., 2022), to those that study it from the perspective of relationships with audiences for constructing communicative capital (Chaudhri *et al.,* 2022). Coll-Rubio and Carbonell (2022) state that "growth strategies in the digital economy focus on data-driven decision making combined with creative actions such as digital content, influencer marketing, media, events, and newsjacking" (p.1). This context is mediated by competition and connectivity (Elikan & Pigneur, 2019) generating content, being "prosumers" (content producers) of current affairs.

For Román Morán (2017), the digital communication of startups should include ideas about challenges and uncertainty, connecting with audiences, but also including the personal struggles of the project partners and their leadership, calling for mobilization, as well as showing knowledge in the field and solutions, always with hope. This author highlights social networks as an essential tool for analyzing the market, surrounding with a good team, listening to the competition, talking to customers and even being with good advisors.

In short, it is essential to coordinate communication with business strategies, controlling organizational information through new digital tools that are at the service of the startup to achieve a good reputation through the management of a brand identity. As Ji *et al*. (2022) propose, managers must exercise their leadership through personalization, motivation and feedback needed by real and potential audiences (Men *et al.,* 2021).

Financial communication in startups

If defining financial communication as the one addressed to the recipients who can guarantee the progress and/or replenishment of a company's economy at any time (Schoonraad, 2000); communication managers must be clear about the economic objective, which is sought above the strictly communicative one. However, communication must continue to maintain relations with its stakeholders, but in this case, in a more intense way since this reciprocity will facilitate the rapprochement and understanding of the company and investors.

Although social networks have been part of our daily lives for almost twenty years, the use of social media in the financial sector is very recent. Social media, defined as online communication platforms where the creators are the users, allow emerging companies to relate to other audiences in different spaces, both physical and virtual; always responding to a strategic communication planning. The adaptation to financial audiences is what still needs to be improved, through continuous feedback and powerful engagement.

Business Angels (people who make investment decisions, investing their own money in startups that are managed by outsiders) identify startups through social media to propose strategies that are profitable through these social media. Clear examples can be found in the United States, United Kingdom, Japan, France and Germany, according to research conducted by Koehler (2014) on dialogue-oriented financial communications on the Internet and the social web.

For Sengupta (2011), family financing, angel investment, venture capital and bank loans are very important for attracting financing through social media. Visibility and subsequent contact with future investors are enabled through these media, managing brand identity and corporate reputation. In this sense, Shi and Weber (2021) state that the key to success is related to other requirements, such as formats, contents, approaches, the tone used, and the previous experience of managers, which plays a determining role in social media and participation in knowledge networks.

Crowdfunding as a financial alternative for startups can be an option to be analyzed by startups (Palmieri *et al.,* 2022). This form of collaborative financial investment (Grebelsky-Lichtman and Avnimelech, 2018) on the Internet is very important, but more professionalization is needed in organizational strategic communication, as these collaborators become the main audiences to target (Kim and Petrick, 2021). Some research such as Kim and Petrick, 2021; Behl *et al.,* 2020; Park and Loo, 2022; Liang *et al.*, 2020 emphasize the quality of content to achieve more performance through engagement and dialogue with audiences. Also important for some authors (Behl *et al.*, 2020; Block *et al.*, 2018; de Crescenzo *et al.*, 2022; Dorfleitner *et al.,* 2018; Liang *et al.,* 2020) is the constant generation of content for achieving purely economic objectives.

Instagram as a digital communication tool for startups.

Social networks are a necessary tool for any organization in terms of organizational communication. If talking about an emerging company in which its products or services have to be known by its consumers, their value is multiplied. In today's market, those startups that do not properly manage their digital communication will not manage to develop their business. In this sense, there are many authors who have studied the management of communication through the social networks of startups such as Corona-León (2021) or Vega and Ramírez (2018), where proper management of these social networks is decisive for business success, as mentioned before. Other authors have analyzed Instagram in the sports field (Ballesteros-Herencia, 2021; Lobillo and Aja, 2020; Anagnostopoulos *et al*., 2018), but its strategic use in sports startups has not been studied.

Sport as a differentiating factor in startups

Sports is one of the most innovative within the typology of startups in different fields. On the one hand, one could differentiate between those startups whose product is the result of innovation, such as software, applications,...) and those whose product is traditional, but is distributed or channeled in an innovative and / or technological way and has great potential for growth. In the first case, some are based on the development of applications for health care and wellness and are undoubtedly the most numerous, and in the second case, one could consider examples such as entrepreneurship in sports journalism (Manfredi et al., 2015, p. 76) less frequent, more interesting qualitatively than quantitatively.

In general, these startups have consolidated in a short time into a benchmark in terms of innovation and creativity. For Ratten and Tajeddini (2019, p. 6), sports startups are increasingly common in the sports industry as a way to facilitate the innovation process. The advantage of these startups lies in the fact that they bring new ideas to the market, thus building business models that can facilitate economically sustainable enterprises; but at the same time, they need entrepreneurial measures to grow quickly and improve their smart marketing potentials (Ziyae, and Toutifar Tehranpour, 2019). Startups in the sports field are a reality, which for Sanchez Oliver (2017), is a stable trend within Spanish startups. As for the results of the research by Ratten and

Thompson (2020) who studied through in-depth interviews the sports entrepreneurship ecosystem in terms of understanding the emergence of new digital sports startups, being a member of the sports industry contributed to the strong level of social cohesion, reflected in high network density, which need better conceptualization and contextualization due to their relatively nascent stage of development. Furthermore, they suggest that the use of social networks and international contacts is crucial for new digital-based sports ventures.

For this reason, this study focuses on the study of startups in the sports field to know the topics of interest they have, the interaction and response by their followers.

Materials and methods

The aim of this paper is to study the digital communication strategy of the main sports startups included in the "Ranking of the most innovative startups in Spain", conducted by El Referente in 2021 and 2022 (https://elreferente.es/). According to Sloan and Quan-Haase (2017), this study uses discrete observation of communities or events on social media sites. The 200 most relevant posts on Instagram of the sports startups collected in the census -Aitaca, Harbiz, Mio Bio, NEWEX and Proteus Innovation- were downloaded. The date chosen for selecting this sample of posts is from January 1, 2021 to December 31, 2022.

Content analysis is chosen, understood as the appropriate technique for formulating reproducible and valid inferences from data that can be applied to their context (Krippendorf, 1990, p. 28; Piñuel, 2002), since it allows to establish reliable deductions about the context of the news -in this case messages in social networks- and about their production and reception conditions, as a set of interpretative procedures of communicative products (messages, texts or speeches) that come from previously recorded communication processes, which aim to elaborate and process relevant data about the conditions in which those texts have been produced, or about the conditions that may occur for their subsequent use", being very useful to collect, process and evaluate large amounts of information (Sánchez, 2005, p. 214) and its frequent use in the field of social media (Sánchez, 2005, p. 214). The component description of media messages (Igartua, 2006, p. 194), make this method of inquiry the most appropriate for our work.

The quantitative analysis is based on the assessment of metrics based on activity (frequency of tweets, rate of mentions and retweets, number of conversations), community (number of followers and their evolution), visibility (number of mentions, number of lists referring to the institution, number of impressions), interaction (number of mentions, number of retweets, number of favorites, number of clicks on links) and dissemination (number of people receiving the message) on Twitter (Augure, 2012; Sang *et al*., 2012).

This part is completed with the qualitative analysis, and for this, the work is based on the adaptation by Herrera Damas and Requejo Alemán (2015), who propose a classification of use strategies on Twitter (dissemination of information, promotion, loyalty, participation, contests and active listening) and by García-Avilés and Arias Robles (2016) on visual formats and journalistic genres on Twitter, which in this case are applied to sports startups, but on Instagram.

Regarding formats, the reaction of users regarding images, carousels, and reels is assessed, based on the download of the 5000 publications, focusing on the 200 most relevant.

Results

El Referente is a magazine created in 2009 to provide information about startups and innovation in Spain. It currently covers information in Spain and Latin America about this sector, and has an English edition that covers the Spanish entrepreneurial ecosystem for the English-speaking public under the brand StartupsReal.

Since 2014, it has positioned itself as a reference media in the startup area, and publishes a ranking of the 100 most innovative seed-stage startups in Spain, which has a high average number of annual downloads and facilitates the attainment of funding for the startups included -more than 40 million euros since its creation-.

In the two years selected for the study, only five start-ups in the sports sector -Aitaca, Harbiz, Mio Bio, NEWEX and Proteus Innovation- have been identified in the world of the 200 start-ups included in the ranking.

Harbiz (formerly Dudyfit) is a startup that created a productivity software that connects the online and offline of professionals in the Fitness sector with their customers, with the aim of improving management and digital advice. The access can be done from any device -web, IOS, Android.

NEWEX is an emerging company created in 2021 with the aim of having a specialized sustainable suit for canyoning, using raw materials of natural origin and eliminating pollutants, such as the classic neoprene and saving on CO_2 emissions.

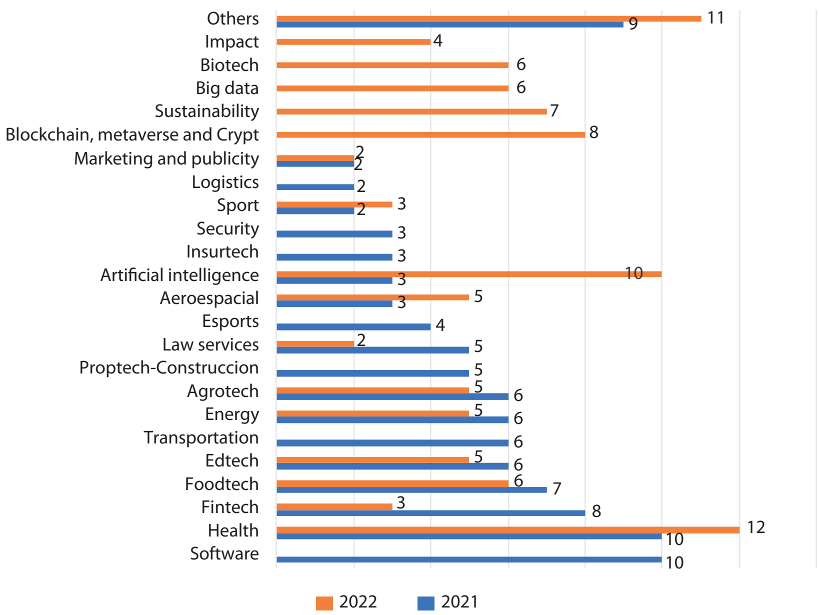
Mio Bio, created in 2021, works on the health of the athlete in the kitchen. Specifically, it relies on the use of data to identify the nutritional needs of athletes and also cooks and makes deliveries at home or in training sites.

Proteus Innovation, created in 2020 -120 000 euros- is a startup that develops unmanned boats to digitize the aquatic sector in order to reduce the time of action in rescue situations of people

Aitaca was created in 2021 with the aim of democratizing 3D body measurement, through an Artificial Intelligence model, replacing the tape measure by the smartphone. This company does not have its official accounts on social networks, so the analysis does not apply in this case.

Graph 1

Distribution of startups by sector in 2021 and 2022



Note. *El Referente*.

The strategy of sports startups on Instagram

As noted, 5,000 messages shared by the three startups on Instagram were requested in the download on Fanpagekarma, although only 213, which had interaction, are analyzed. According to the classification of strategies defined by Herrera Damas and Requejo Alemán (2015) in the case of the sports startups under study, content promotion predominates. More than half of the content (121 messages) published in 2022 referred to this aspect, mainly with references to the services and activities offered to customers and, in the case of Harbiz, also due to the announcement of the rebranding of Dudyfit. But the companies know how to combine well contests and sweepstakes (24), as can be seen in Table 1 and in the following examples, not to mention the dissemination of information of interest (26) and actions to encourage the participation of followers (21). It is striking, because it is not usual, but necessary, the strategy focused on customer loyalty and community building, which adds up to contests that also attract new fans and consolidate. It is noteworthy, because it is understood that it generates confidence in the audience, that only on one occasion does an emerging company -Harbiz- refer to the financing achieved.

Table 1

Strategies and interaction

Strategy	N messages	N I like it	N comments	Interactions
Awareness	5	189	12	201
Contest	24	323	27	350
Dissemination	26	1373	93	1466
Loyalty	16	1053	136	1189
Participation	21	1162	139	1301
Promotion	121	6623	515	7138
Totals	213	10 723	922	11 645

Note. Fanpagkarma.

Image 1

Example of a contest post

Note. Instagram.

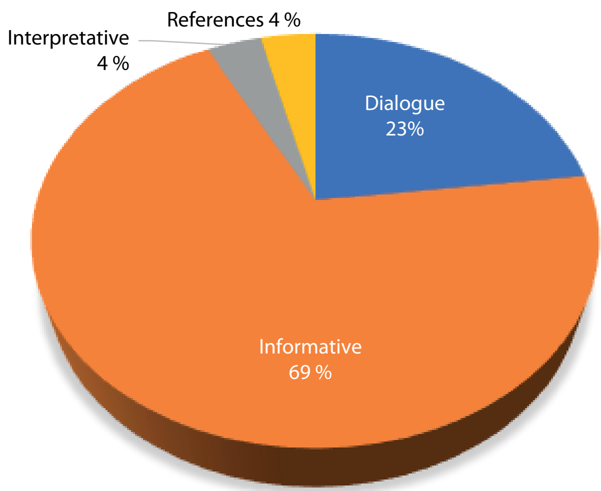
Image 2

Example of a promotional post

Note. Instagram.

As can be observed, the promotion strategy is the one that generates the most interaction, achieving up to 7138 reactions among users - 6,623 likes and 515 comments - with only 121 posts. Now, when the intention of the messages was to achieve participation, they also achieve a high interaction, 1301 for 21 publications, which implies 55 likes per message on average, and almost two comments for each call. This is mainly due to the approach with questions and the structure of the posts shared. The most used tone is the questions, applied on 161 occasions, as described below. Elements of a more informative nature, such as, for example, those related to studies, reports or news and tips, are also an attraction for the Instagram account of sports startups.

Graph 2
Most used genres



Note. Fanpagkarma.

As for journalistic genres in social networks, according to the adaptation of the work by García Avilés and Arias Robles (2016), described in the methodology, the most used is the informative (69 %), followed by the dialogue genre (23 %) and references and interpretative genres are in second place with 4 % each. By formats, the most used are images, image carousels, reels and videos, typical of this social network, although, in the case of promotion in companies, it is true that the trend of reels is growing in recent times.

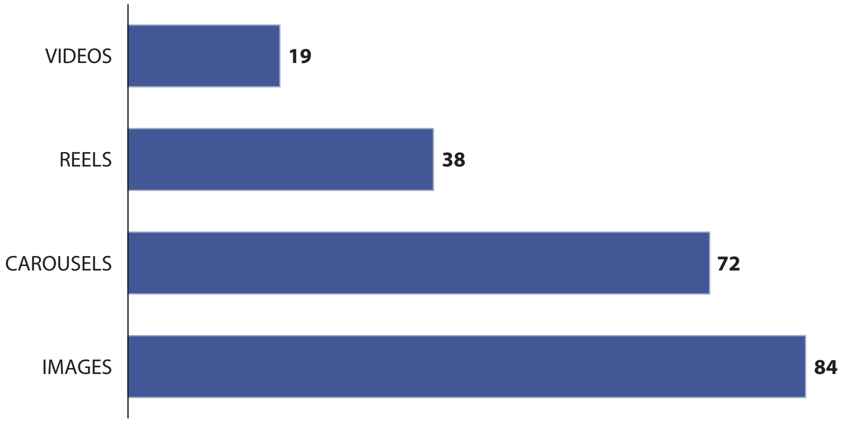
Image 3

Loyalty publication example with question

Note. Instagram.

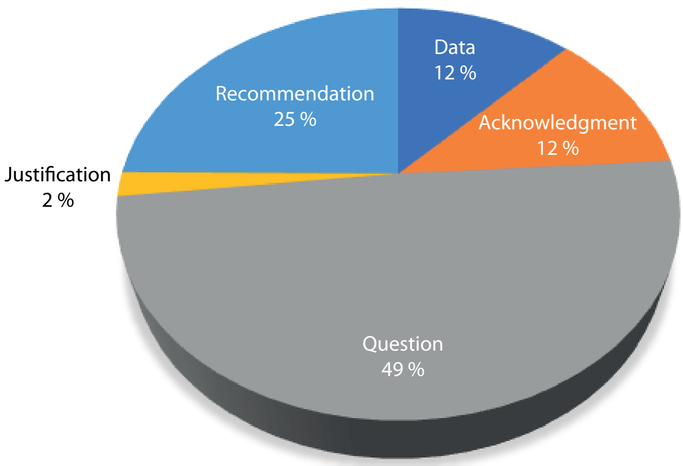
As for the day, the best day of the week to post on Instagram profiles of sports startups to achieve more interaction is Tuesday, obtaining more than 125 % of user reactions. As for the time, between 12 and 15 hours, although prime time television also works for them, between 21 and 24 hours, in this case on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Sundays. Finally, publications with questions (49 %) and recommendations (25 %) stand out. These are the most frequently used tones, ahead of data and acknowledgements with 12 % in each case.

Graph 3
Most used formats



Nota. Fanpagkarma.

Graph 4
Most used tone



Note. Fanpagkarma.

Image 4

Example of a post with a question looking for participation

Note. Instagram.

The thematic agenda on Instagram

According to the data provided by Fanpagekarma, as for the predominant topics the ones that most promote the conversation of sports startups are related to #fitness (103) #personaltrainer (87), brands such as DudyFit (76) #Harbiz (25) or MioBio (31), #sports (96), #health (108), #nutrition (45) #healthy, #physiotherapy, #Food, #Athlete (40 each), #yoga (38), #gym (32), #Nutritionist (31), #SmartTable, #SportsNutrition, soccer, Health and healthy living (31 each), among others.

Image 5
Predominant topics on Instagram posts.

Note. Fanpagkarma.

Román Morán (2017) says that the topics that startups should communicate the most should also focus on the search for and raising of funding, the presentation of the people who are part of the team and their skills, and some of these topics that would undoubtedly complete the range of topics with more visibility and more interaction are missing.

Conclusions and discussion

The main objective of this study was to analyze the strategy of sports startups on Instagram, and at the same time to identify which of these work best, i.e., involve greater interaction - likes, comments and shares - as well as which formats and which topics predominate in the social agenda. Thus, as for the conclusions obtained in this research it is worth highlighting some aspects.

Firstly, the data verify that social networks, specifically Instagram, are a useful tool as their own channel of communication with different stakeholders, but profitability would increase if they were established within the communication strategy of startups. However, a clearer message is missing, based on one of the great communication challenges of startups, which is none other than attracting funding, considering the financial audiences in this case -investors, micro-investors, business Angels or institutions, organizations and companies with capital and business incubators and accelerators-.

Sports startups know how to combine well the strategy between participation, contest, diffusion and promotion. In fact, promotion is the most frequent strategy to the detriment of the others, so it is advisable a better balance between all, especially attending to the loyalty and participation of customers and stakeholders to work more on active listening (Macnamara, 2016) that can provide very valuable information, in addition, to strengthen the strategy and improve the results of any organization. Likewise, the emerging companies analyzed combine tones in their messages on Instagram, and use questions and recommendations quite a lot, although, as in the case of strategies, it is observed that a greater balance is lacking.

For these reasons, it is necessary to demand more professionalization of communication management in sports startups, since, in many cases many resort to self-management of communication and social networks or outsource the service to agencies, not always specialized in the sector (Román Morán, 2017). It is the communication professionals who best know the channels, formats and strategies.

Support and financial support for research

Organization: Ministry of Science and Innovation
Country: Spain
City: Madrid
Subsidized project: Communication management in startups led by women. Competitive strategies for differentiation and innovation.
Project code: PID2021-125127OB-I00

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REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.05

The performance of professional roles in sports journalism. Analysis of news content in four media platform in Spain

La performance de los roles profesionales en el periodismo deportivo. Análisis de noticias en cuatro plataformas mediáticas en España

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Received on: 15/01/2023 **Revised on:** 13/02/2023 **Approved on:** 26/02/2023 **Published on:** 01/03/2023

Abstract
Based on the conceptualization of Mellado (2015, 2021) on the performance of professional roles, manifested in six different dimensions: the interventionist, vigilant, loyal-facilitator, service, infotainment and civic roles, a content analysis has been carried out in a sample of 554 sports news published in the year 2020 in twelve Spanish media from four platforms (print press, radio, television and digital native newspapers). The following objectives are addressed: to know which journalistic roles materialize to a greater extent in the coverage of sporting events, to analyze if there are differences in the presence of these roles considering the media platform (press, radio, television and digital native media), as well as to know which intermediate roles are generated by the co-occurrence of pure roles. The results show that the most present roles are the interventionist (M= .26; SD= .20) and the infotainment role (M= .16; SD= .20), especially in digital native media ($M_{interventionist}$= .31; SD= .20; M_{info}-entertainment= .18; SD= .21). In addition, the generation of two intermediate roles has been revealed from the combination of the interventionist and infotainment roles (r=,266) and the loyal-facilitator and infotainment roles (r=,179). It is concluded that the sports journalism model bases on two fundamental functions, that of creating opinion and that of entertaining, while only digital native newspapers move away slightly by being more critical.

Keywords
Professional roles, sport journalism, content analysis, radio, print media, television, digital native newspapers, Spain.

Suggested citation: Humanes, M. L. (2023). The performance of professional roles in sports journalism. Analysis of news content in four media platform in Spain. *Universitas-XXI*, *38*, pp. 107-129. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.05

Resumen

A partir de la conceptualización de Mellado (2015, 2021) sobre la *performance* de los roles profesionales, manifestados en seis diferentes dimensiones: los roles intervencionista, vigilante, leal-facilitador, servicio, info-entretenimiento y cívico, se ha realizado un análisis de contenido de una muestra de 554 noticias sobre deportes publicadas en doce medios españoles de prensa, radio, televisión y diarios nativos digitales en 2020. Se abordan los siguientes objetivos: conocer qué roles periodísticos se materializan en mayor medida en la cobertura de acontecimientos deportivos, analizar si existen diferencias en la presencia de estos roles considerando la plataforma mediática (prensa, radio, televisión y medios nativos digitales), así como conocer qué roles intermedios se generan por la co-ocurrencia de los roles puros. Los resultados muestran que los roles más presentes son el intervencionista (M= ,26; DT= ,20) y el rol de info-entretenimiento (M= ,16; DT= ,20), especialmente en los medios nativos digitales ($M_{intervencionista}$= ,31; DT= ,20; $M_{info\text{-}entretenimiento}$= ,18; DT= ,21). Además, se ha revelado la generación de dos roles intermedios de la combinación de los roles intervencionista e info-entretenimiento (r=,266) y de los roles leal-facilitador e info-entretenimiento (r=,179). Se concluye que el modelo de periodismo deportivo descansa sobre dos funciones fundamentales, la de crear opinión y la de entretener, mientras que solo los diarios nativos digitales se alejan ligeramente al mostrarse más críticos.

Palabras clave

Roles profesionales, periodismo deportivo, análisis de contenido, radio, prensa, televisión, diarios nativos digitales, España.

Introduction

As pointed out by Rojas Torrijos (2015), sports information in Spain, whether conveyed through specialized publications or in the general media, has growth in recent decades, becoming one of the main elements in the business model of most media. As the General Media Study (2022) points out, among the ten newspapers with the highest influenced, three are sports newspapers (Marca, As and Mundo Deportivo).

This importance as an element of audience acquisition and loyalty has not been related by a positive idea of the professional practice of sports journalism. Since the very creation of the modern press in the 19th century, sports information has been framed in a negative way in relation to other more serious contents or with more public interest, such as politics or economics.

Thus, sports content has been called "toy department" or "conceived out of journalistic wedlock" (Garrison and Salwen, 1989) to indicate its low quality. Thus, sports journalism was seen as a resource to capture audiences (Lowes, 1999) and increase newspaper profits through sensationalism, trivialization and the construction of heroes (Reed, 2018). Functions or roles such as propagandist -also called cheerleaders- belong to this practice of sports journalism far from objective journalism (English, 2017). However, in recent decades, and due to different doping scandals (Armstrong case), corruption (FIFAgate) or recently the celebration of the World Cup in Qatar, sports journalism professionals have had the opportunity to assume new functions closer to the surveillance of power or civic journalism (Cassidy, 2017).

On the other hand, the literature on journalistic sections (Reich, 2012) has pointed out that they embody "microcultures" (Ericson *et al*., 1989), which could lead to differentiated journalistic practices. Thus, Becker and Vlad (2009) state that thematic sections structure news gathering, and authors such as Doyle (2006) associate some thematic sections with the performance of an adversarial role. Also, the literature on professional role performance has shown the important relationship between news topics and the performance of these roles (Tandoc *et al*., 2020; Márquez-Ramírez *et al*., 2020; Humanes and Roses, 2018; Mellado *et al*., 2017; Hellmüller *et al*., 2016; Wang *et al.,* 2018). Mellado *et al*. (2021) concluded in their study on press in 18 countries that news topics affect the performance of service, civic and infotainment roles, even with differences according to media and countries.

However, the study of the implementation of professional roles when covering sporting events is a little explored topic, and this is the first study in the Spanish context that based on a content analysis of sports news (N= 554) addresses three objectives: to know which journalistic roles are more materialized when covering sport events, to analyze whether there are differences in the presence of these roles considering the media platform (press, radio, television and digital native media), as well as to know which intermediate roles occur by the co-occurrence of pure roles. This work is part of the research project Models of journalism in the multiplatform context (CSO2017-82816-P), which is included in the international project Journalistic Role Performance (www.journalisticperformance.org).

The performance of professional roles and sports journalism

This paper starts from Mellado's (2015, 2021) conceptualization of the performance of professional roles manifested in six different dimensions that are generated from three axes: the presence of the journalist's voice in the news, the relationship of journalism with power and the way in which the audience is approached (Donsbach, 2012; Hanitzsch, 2007).

The first axis analyzes the more active (interventionist role) or passive (disseminator role) stance of journalists as actors in the news. A passive attitude is based on neutrality and distance between the journalist and the facts, while in the interventionist role professionals express their own opinion in the news, even supporting certain ideologies and/or certain social groups. This dimension has a different nature from the other roles, since it refers to the narrative of the news and therefore is usually more present, in addition to performing the function of meta-role, which we will discuss later (Mellado, 2021).

The literature on sports journalism has pointed out that one of the main characteristics is the move away from objectivity and neutrality (English, 2017; Márquez-Ramírez and Rojas, 2017; Salwen and Garrison, 1987). Scherman and Mellado (2019) in their study on Chilean sports coverage found that the interventionist role dominated such coverage. Based on this evidence, the first research hypothesis is proposed:

H1: Sports coverage in the Spanish media will be characterized by a high presence of the interventionist role.

The second domain of journalistic performance refers to two professional roles through which journalists and the media establish their relationship with the elites of a society. The vigilant role seeks to monitor those in power, calling attention to possible abuses and irregularities. This journalistic dimension is evident when the news includes questioning, criticism or accusations against those in power, including investigative reporting or extensive coverage of external investigations, or also showing the conflict between the media and power. On the other hand, the loyal-facilitator role is materialized in two aspects, either by cooperating with those in power to protect the *status quo*, or by fostering a sense of belonging to one's own country and strengthening national prestige and patriotism.

Traditionally, the scarce presence of criticism in sports coverage has been pointed out (Rowe, 2007; Walsh, 2013), even when addressing issues related to corruption or scandals (Márquez-Ramírez and Rojas, 2017), although other authors also affirm a shift towards a coverage more related to vigilant journalism (Cassidy, 2017; English, 2017; Garrison and Salwen, 1989). There is more unanimity in considering the propagandist, even fan, orientation of sports journalists versus sports actors (Boyle, 2017; English, 2017; Hardin, 2005; Márquez-Ramírez and Rojas, 2017; Rowe, 2007). Boyle *et al*. (2012) questioned whether sports journalists have confused the roles of reporter and fan. Scherman and Mellado (2019) found an important presence of the loyalist role in Chilean sports news. Based on this evidence, the second research hypothesis is proposed:

H2: The vigilant role will have a scarce presence in sports news, while the loyal-facilitator role will guide sports coverage to a greater extent in the media in Spain.

Finally, three roles are differentiated based on different conceptualizations of the audience as citizens, viewers or customers. Service journalism addresses the audience as a customer, providing information, knowledge and advice on goods and services that the audience can apply in their daily lives. Infotainment journalism addresses the public as a viewer, who is primarily looking for relaxation and entertainment. Finally, the civic role is based on offering the audience information and training on demands, rights and duties and other issues related to the exercise of citizenship and their participation in social, political and cultural life (Mellado and van Dalen, 2017).

The main function of sports journalism since its origin was to entertain audiences with the objective of guaranteeing income to the media (Reed, 2018; Lowes, 1999). In this sense, Scherman and Mellado (2019) also confirmed that the infotainment role far exceeds the other two roles in this domain of approaching audiences (service and civic). A third hypothesis arises from these arguments:

H3: The infotainment role will dominate sports information in the Spanish media versus the service and civic roles.

Journalistic practice has been transformed to adjust to the logics introduced by the different types of media. Thus, the influence of media platforms is undoubtedly also in the materialization of professional roles in the news (Mellado and Vos, 2017). Hallin and Mellado (2018) found that television newscasts not only implemented infotainment role to a greater extent, which was expected, but also showed a greater presence of surveillance and civic roles. A change in the roles perceived by journalists is also observed as digital media have consolidated and developed new work routines, especially in relation to a closer approach to audiences. Mellado *et al*. (2021) found in their analysis of Chilean media differences in the manifestation of roles between print and digital newspapers. In the field of sports journalism, some studies show that journalists have continuously adapted to digitization (Daum and Scherer, 2018; Perreault and Bell, 2020). However, Scherman and Mellado (2019) found no relevant differences when comparing the presence of roles on four platforms.

In this paper, a formal research question is formulated to address possible differences in role embodiment according to media platform:

RQ1: Are there significant differences in the presence of interventionist, vigilant, loyal-facilitator, civic, service, and infotainment journalistic roles between digital native media and other platforms (print, radio, and television)?

Finally, journalistic roles are not mutually exclusive and can be combined generating intermediate roles (Mellado, 2021). For example, given the transversal character of the interventionist role in journalistic practice, one could expect its correlation with the other journalistic roles, generating changes in the other roles, generating a vigilant role more adversarial to the powerful, or turning the loyal role into a propagandist one, giving the civic role the character of a defender of citizenship or more expressive nuances to the infotainment role (Mellado, 2021, pp. 38-39). Humanes *et al*. (2021a) found in their comparative study of six countries two combinations of the interventionist role with the vigilant role and the infotainment role. And in the Spanish context, Humanes *et al*. (2021b) found in their study of the television networks La sexta and Antena 3 the combination of the interventionist role with the vigilant, civic and infotainment roles.

Role co-occurrence can also exist between professional roles from different domains (Mellado, 2021). Regarding the domain of power relations, the roles of vigilant and loyal-facilitator can co-occur. For example, in media systems characterized by political parallelism, the vigilant role could be positively correlated with the support orientation of elites if a news item criticizes or denounces the wrongdoings of some actors while supporting other political elites.

Different role co-occurrences may also emerge within the audience relationship domain. The first is the co-occurrence of civic and infotainment roles, mixing elements of public life and features of citizenship and entertainment. The second involves civic and service roles. A third overlap between service and infotainment roles can occur.

Finally, it is also possible to address specific combinations of roles between the domains of power relations and audience focus. The former involves civic and vigilant roles, producing a journalistic practice that evokes an audience that criticizes those in power. This combination of roles was shown to be especially strong in American and Greek media in the cited study by Humanes *et al*. (2021a). A second combination could occur between the infotainment and vigilant roles, with news that includes the presence of surveillance and scandal, emotionalization or private life of those in power. In the study on television news in Spain, these combinations were found in the news programs of La sexta (Humanes *et al.,* 2021).

Based on this empirical evidence on the presence of intermediate roles in different journalistic contexts and media platforms, the second formal research question:

PI2: What intermediate roles are activated in sports news?

Methodology

A quantitative content analysis of news stories (n= 554), published in twelve media during 2020, including four media platforms (press, radio, television and digital natives), which were selected both because of their audience influence and because they represent different editorial lines, was conducted. When the sample was designed in 2019, the selected media occupied the top positions according to their platform. In the case of Television, the three networks occupied the top three positions in consumption of minutes per viewer according to the General Media Study (EGM) (2019, third wave), in addition, different types of public-private ownership were combined. In the case of radio, the two stations are among the three with more listeners also according to the EGM, and also represent two different ideological lines (more progressive Ser and more conservative Ondacero). The selected generalist newspapers are the most read according to the EGM and also represent different editorial lines (El Mundo, right; La Vanguardia, center and El País, center-left). Finally, digital native media were included in the sample because of their influence according to the Digital News Report Spain 2020 (Negredo-Bruna *et al*., 2020) and because of their different editorial lines (El confidencial, center-right; Okdiario, right; eldiario.es, left and Huffpost Spain, center-left).

To compare news on other topics, a sample of 5535 news items on different topics was used, which were analyzed following the same protocol and methodology as the one used to analyze the news on sports. The global sample corresponds to the JRP Spain section carried out within the JRP global project, in which journalistic performance was analyzed.

Table 1
Characteristics of the analyzed media

Media	Year of creation	Ownership	Type of media
El confidencial	2001	Titania Compañía Editorial, S.L.	Digital
Okdiario	2015	Dos mil palabras, S.L.	Digital
eldiario.es	2012	Diario de Prensa Digital S.L.	Digital
Huffpost Spain	2012	PRISA Noticias	Digital
El País	1976	Grupo PRISA	Press
El Mundo	1989	Unidad Editorial	Press
La Vanguardia	1881	Grupo Godo	Press
Ser	1924	Grupo PRISA	Radio
Ondacero	1990	Atresmedia	Radio
Antena 3	1990	Atresmedia	Television
La 1	1956	Estatal	Television
La Sexta	2005	Atresmedia	Television

Sample

To avoid biases derived from daily and monthly variations, the sample was selected by dividing the year into two six-month periods: January-June and July-December. For each period, a constructed week was created by randomly selecting starting dates on a Monday in January and a Monday in July. Using intervals of three to four weeks, each of the following six days were extracted: a Tuesday, a Wednesday, a Thursday, a Friday, a Saturday and a Sunday. This procedure made it possible to include seven days in each semester for a total sample of 14 days during the year. This ensured that each of the seven days of the week were analyzed for each semester, and that each month of the year was represented by at least one day, avoiding overrepresentation of any period.

Each national team determined the specific sampling unit to be considered for each selected media according to the following criteria: the sampling unit was the most watched newscast within each selected television channel, the most listened news program within each selected radio channel, the complete number of selected newspapers for print media, and the complete home page of the selected news websites (including the respective links) for online news media.

While our selected newspapers, radio and television news programs are "static" in the sense that they are unique and appear at fixed times, the website news is dynamic and constantly changing. In a second step, the home pages of the websites were "captured" at two fixed points during the sampled days: one at 11:00 a.m. and one at 11:00 p.m., so that the greatest amount of content variability was collected. The home pages and their respective links were opened in real time and recorded.

Finally, the unit of analysis was each news item, defined as the set of verbal elements and, where appropriate, sound and/or visual elements referring to the same fact/subject/person. News items were selected on the following topics: government, politics and electoral campaigns, economy and business, police and crime, courts, defense/national security, education, health, environment, energy, transportation, housing, accidents and natural disasters, religion and churches, labor and employment, demonstrations and protests, social problems, media, sports, science and technology, lifestyle, culture and entertainment, and celebrities. Editorials and opinion pieces, as well as weather news, horoscope, supplements, sponsored content, billboard and hobbies were not included in the content analysis.

Measurements and coding

To carry out the coding, we followed the operationalization proposed by Mellado (2015) to measure the presence of professional roles in the news, which has been validated in previous studies (Mellado *et al.,* 2017; Mellado *et al.,* 2021; Humanes and Roses, 2018, Humanes *et al*., 2021b).

The coding manual included the operational definitions of interventionist, vigilant, loyal-facilitator, service, infotainment, and civic role performance. Five indicators were used to measure the presence of the interventionist role, nine indicators measured the vigilant role, eight indicators measured the loyal-facilitator role, five indicators measured the service role, five indicators measured the infotainment role, and nine indicators measured the civic role (see Table 2). Each indicator was measured on the basis of presence (1) or absence (0). For some indicators, we also coded the actor or action toward which the journalist's or source's comment was directed. We transformed these indicators into dichotomous variables to calculate the main roles and place all our measures in the same scale. Additionally, and based on the theoretical foundation of the role performance literature (Mellado *et al*., 2017), we assumed that journalistic roles could coexist. Therefore, the measures were treated as not mutually exclusive.

Coding was performed by four coders who were previously trained. Pretest reliability analyses were performed and the coding process was monitored to improve inter-coder agreement. Finally, a post-test was performed to determine the reliability of the coders in the actual coding process. Using Krippendorff's alpha (Ka), the final overall inter-coder reliability was 0.80 (Table 2 includes the Ka value for each role).

Table 2

Indicators for each role and level of inter-coder reliability

Professional roles	Indicator
Interventionist role (Ka=.78)	Journalist's point of view/opinion
	Interpretation
	Call to action
	Use of qualifying adjectives
	Use of the first person

Vigilant (Ka=.79)	Information on lawsuits or administrative proceedings
	Questioning by the journalist
	Questioning by third parties
	Criticism by the journalist
	Criticism by third parties
	Discovery by the journalist
	Third-party discovery
	Reporting based on external research
	Investigative reporting
Loyal-facilitator role (Ka=.87)	Advocacy/support of activities
	Policy advocacy/support
	Positive image of elites
	National progress/successes
	Comparison with other countries
	National triumphs
	Promotion of the country
	Patriotism
Service role (Ka=.85)	Impact on daily life
	Suggestions and advice (complaints)
	Suggestions and advice (individual risks)
	Information for consumers
	Tips for consumers
Infotainment role (Ka=.78)	Personalization
	Private life
	Sensationalism
	Emotions
	Morbid
Civic role (Ka=.75)	Citizens' reactions
	Citizens' demands
	Citizens' credibility
	Education on rights and obligations
	Local impact
	Impact on social communities
	Citizens' issues
	Information on citizens' activities
	Support to social movements

After performing CFA analysis, the individual indicators comprising each dimension were combined to generate a final role score. For descriptive purposes, raw scores (total points divided by total items for each role) were calculated. The individual indicators comprising each role were thus combined on a continuous scale from 0 to 1. A higher score expresses more presence of each journalistic role in the news, and vice versa. Factor scores were used to test differences in the performance of the analyzed roles.

Results

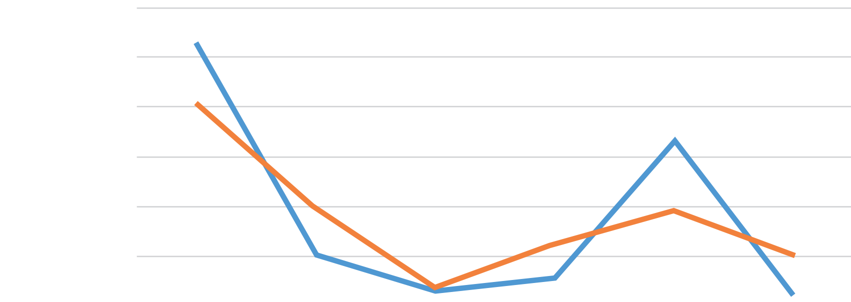
The presence of professional roles in sports information

The two professional roles most present in sports information are the interventionist (Mean=,27; Standard deviation= ,21) and the infotainment role (Mean = ,17; Standard deviation = ,21), followed by the vigilant role (Mean = ,05; Standard deviation = ,11) and the service role (Mean = ,03; SD= ,10), with the loyal (Mean = ,02; Standard deviation = ,07) and civic (Mean = ,01; Standard deviation = ,05) roles being almost non-existent. When comparing the mean presence of the roles in the sports news with their presence in the news on the rest of the topics, statistically significant differences were observed in all the roles $t_{interventionist}$= 6.504, p= ,000; $t_{vigilant}$= -6.956, p= ,000; $t_{service}$= -5.489, p= ,000; $t_{infotainment}$= 8.654, p= ,000; t_{civic}= -8.277, p= ,000) except in loyalist (t= 1.029, p= ,303). Sports information is more interventionist and includes more infotainment, while it is less vigilant and less citizen-oriented than the rest of the topics (see Figure 1).

The multidimensional scaling analyses for each of the three domains in which the professional roles analyzed are grouped allow to visualize the proximity of sports content to the rest of the topics in a disaggregated way. Thus, in the interventionist-disseminator dimension (see Figure 2), sports information presents interventionism levels close to news about culture, housing or entertainment.

Figure 1

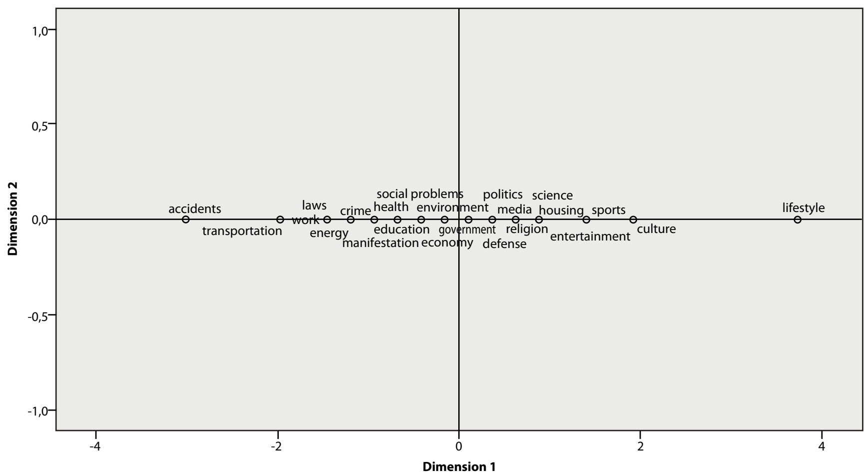
Comparative presence of professional roles in sports news and in the rest of the topics (means)



	Interventionist	Vigilant	Loyal	Service	Infotainment	Civic
Sports	0,26	0,05	0,02	0,03	0,17	0,01
Other topics	0,20	0,10	0,02	0,06	0,10	0,05

Figure 2

Position of the topics with respect to the interventionist-disseminator dimension

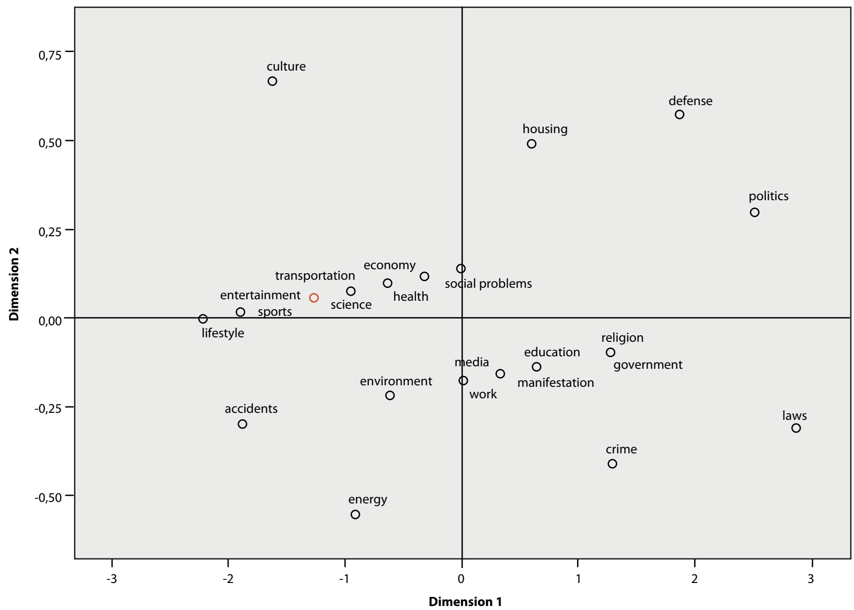


Stress = ,00000 RSQ = 1,00000

In the power relations domain (see Figure 3, where dimension 1 represents the vigilant role and dimension 2 the loyal-facilitator role) sports content is located in the upper left quadrant characterized by low levels in both the vigilant and loyal-facilitator roles, along with entertainment, science, lifestyle or health news.

Figure 3

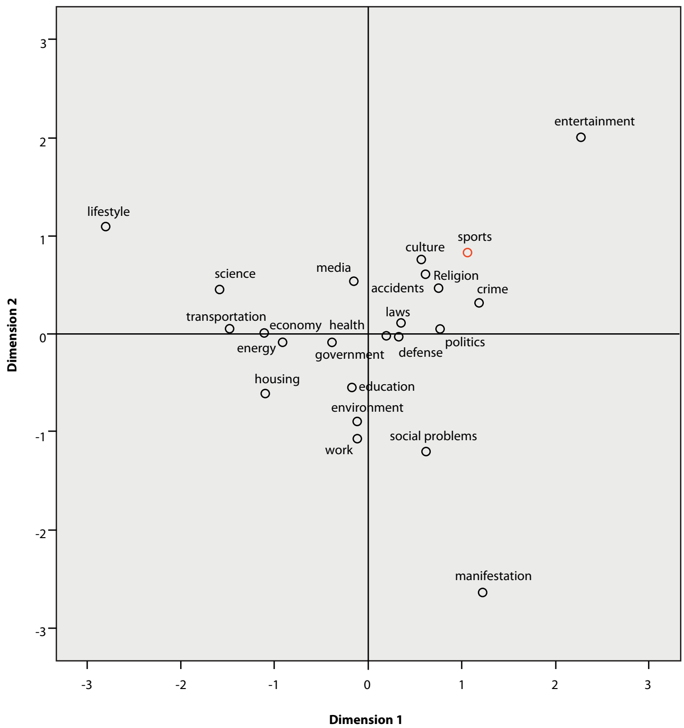
Position of the thematic areas with respect to the power relations dimension



Stress = ,00000 RSQ = 1,00000

Finally, in the audience approach domain (see Figure 4, where the upper left quadrant represents greater presence of the service role, the upper right quadrant represents greater presence of the infotainment role and the lower right quadrant represents greater presence of the civic role), sports contents are close to the culture, religion, crime or courts themes, located in the upper right quadrant, characterized by high levels of the infotainment role, low levels of the civic role and the service role.

Figure 4
Position of the thematic areas with respect to the dimension of audience approach

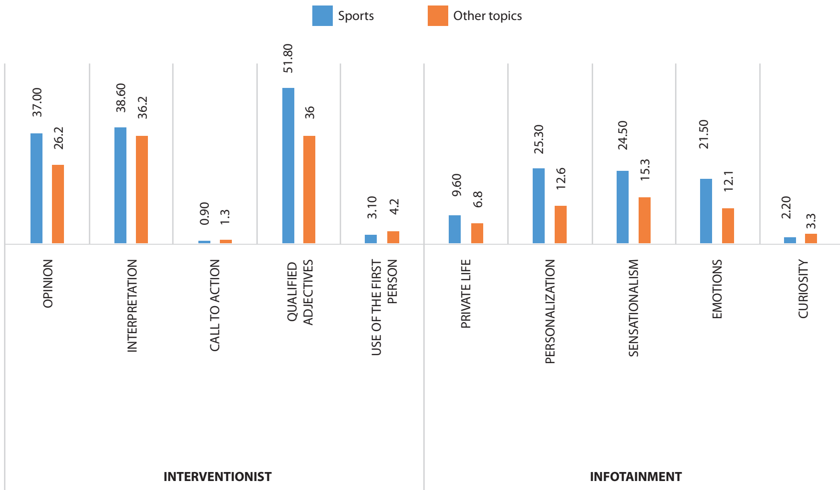


Stress = ,07450 RSQ = ,97961

As indicated, each role is characterized by the presence of individual indicators. We will focus on the two roles with more presence in sports news, and which distinguish it from other news content. The interventionist role is mainly observed in the use of qualifying adjectives, the journalist's interpretation and opinion, following the same trend as in the rest of the news content (Figure 2), although statistically significant differences were found in the presence of opinion (X2= 36.956; p= ,000) and in the use of qualifying adjectives (X2= 65.782; p= ,000), which are always higher in the case of sports news.

Figure 5

Indicators for interventionist and infotainment roles (%)



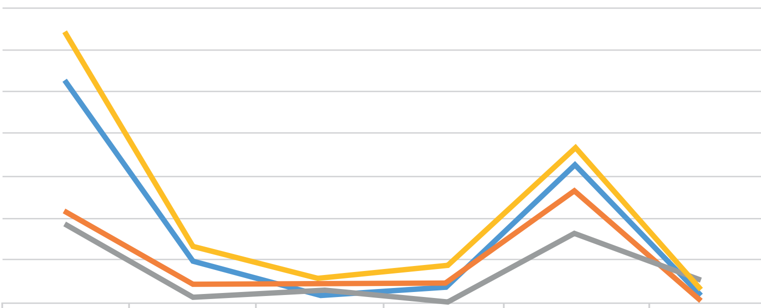
In the case of the infotainment, personalization, sensationalism and the presence of emotions stand out as the most frequent resources. When comparing sports news with the rest of the topics, statistically significant associations were found regarding private life (X2= 7.060; p= ,008), personalization (X2= 67.746; p= ,000), sensationalism (X2= 39.805; p= ,000) and the use of emotions (X2= 50.363; p= ,000), always with greater frequency in the case of sports information (see Figure 5).

Professional roles, sports information and media platforms

Our first research question posed possible differences in the implementation of professional roles considering the media platform. All roles, except the civic role, are more present in digital media, as shown in Figure 6. Furthermore, statistically significant differences between media platforms were found in the interventionist (F= 23.308; p= ,000; η2= 113), vigilant (F= 4.265; p= ,005; η2= ,023), loyal (F= 5.105; p= ,002; η2= ,027) and service (F= 3.447; p= ,017; η2= ,018) roles. Thus, although in most platforms the journalistic role predominates over the other roles, digital native media are the most interventionist, while radio and television are characterized by a lower presence of journalists and media with their own voice. Also, in digital media the presence of vigilant, loyal and service roles is higher. No differences were found between media types for the infotainment (F= 2.090; p= ,101) and civic (F= 1.482; p= ,218) roles.

Figure 6

Presence of professional roles in sports news in four media platforms (media)



	Interventionist	Vigilant	Loyal	Service	Infotainment	Civic
Press	0,26	0,05	0,01	0,02	0,16	0,01
Television	0,11	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,13	0,00
Radio	0,09	0,01	0,01	0,02	0,08	0,03
Digital	0,32	0,07	0,03	0,05	0,18	0,02

The emergence of intermediate roles in the sports news

Several intermediate roles emerge from the data as a result of role co-occurrence. The strongest correlation is between the interventionist and infotainment roles (r= ,266), followed by the hybridization of the loyal role with the infotainment role (r= ,179) and the interventionist role with the loyal role (r= ,161). Similarities and differences with the rest of the themes were also found in this case. The co-occurrence of interventionism with infotainment is similar in almost all the analyzed themes, except in entertainment and celebrities, lifestyle, media, work and employment, energy, housing and accidents. Combinations of the loyal role with the infotainment role and with the interventionist role are also found in transportation and health news, while the hybridization of the loyal role with the interventionist role in education news, and the correlation of the loyal role with the infotainment role in defense and culture.

Discussion and conclusions

In this study on the implementation of six journalistic roles in sports news in the Spanish media, the aim was to address first which of these professional roles materialize to a greater extent in the coverage of these events. The results have shown that two roles, the interventionist and the infotainment role, characterize sports news in Spain, together with a scarce presence of the other roles, confirming hypotheses 1 and 3. These data are consistent with those found by Scherman and Mellado (2019) in Chile, and corroborate the widespread conception in the literature on sports journalism still related with the metaphor "toy department" (Rowe, 2007): a frivolous information and far from objectivity, which seeks to capture the maximum possible audience. Furthermore, when comparing the presence of the roles in sports news with their implementation in other thematic areas, this distinctive character has also become evident, since in none of the other topics analyzed is the dominance of these two roles reproduced over the rest, except in information on entertainment and celebrities. In this sense, when analyzing each of the indicators that make up these two predominant roles in sports information, it has been found that opinion and the use of qualifying adjectives are the most used journalistic resources, and the presence of sensationalism, personalization and emotions is higher than in the rest of the information topics.

The low presence of the rest of the roles should also be highlighted, since it reveals the scarce concern of the media in Spain for taking sports journalism towards new practices closer to vigilant or civic journalism, following what has been stated by the specialized literature (Rowe, 2007; Boyle and Haynes, 2009; Henningham, 1995; Rowe, 2004). Thus, as can be seen in Figures 3 and 4, sports news is far from the topics where both critical journalism (courts, politics or government) and civic journalism (demonstrations and protests, social problems or labor and employment) are most often put into practice. Contrary to one of the most prominent features of sports journalism such as fanaticism (English, 2017; Hardin *et al*., 2009) or "scarf journalism" (Márquez-Ramírez, 2021), the presence of the loyalist-facilitator role in this study is not higher in sports content than in the rest. These results allow to partially confirm the third hypothesis of this work, which predicted a low presence of the vigilant role, but no more predominance of the loyal-facilitator role.

By domains, multidimensional scaling analyses have also shown the proximity of sports news with those related to entertainment and celebrities, and with topics more related to soft news. Thus, in the two roles that have to do with power relations, sports news is close to those about lifestyle, entertainment, transportation or science.

The second objective of this work (PI1) raised possible differences in the performance of journalistic roles according to the media platform (press, radio, television or digital native newspapers), based on previous studies (Hallin and Mellado, 2018; Mellado and Scherman, 2019; Mellado *et al.,* 2021) that have found influences between the type of media and the implementation level of professional roles. In our case, the media platform has marked significant differences especially in the interventionist role ($\eta 2$= 113), the vigilant role ($\eta 2$= ,023) and loyal-facilitator ($\eta 2$= ,027), always with more presence in digital native newspapers, which could be heading towards a journalistic practice that is unique and differentiated from the rest of the platforms, specifically with more presence of vigilant journalism, as can be seen in Figure 6. This finding would coincide with those found by Perreault and Bell (2020) in their study on perceptions of sports journalists in digital media, related with vigilant journalism.

The second research question referred to the emergence of possible intermediate roles resulting from the co-occurrence of pure roles. In this case, the infotainment role is present in two of the three strongest combinations, which could be explained as a resource to get more audience. The combination of the interventionist role and the infotainment role will result in a more narrative and expressive sports journalism, while the combination of the infotainment role with the loyal-facilitator role derives in news, which would be close to what Reed (2018) said: "Sports writers' use of colorful, entertaining styles of writing are still part of modern sports jargon and 'hero creation'"]. The third emerging role combines the presence of the interventionist role with the loyalist role, and although its implementation is not very frequent, it would be an example of "scarf journalism".

Finally, the results of the study allow to conclude that sports journalism in Spain focuses on fulfilling two fundamental functions: creating opinion and entertaining. Only the digital native newspapers differ slightly by being more critical.

However, there are some limitations in the study. Firstly, only general media have been analyzed, so in the future the analysis should be extended to specialized media to compare differences and similarities with the current results. On the other hand, the results in Spain should be compared with similar studies in contexts with different media systems.

Support

This research was conducted in the framework of the Research Project "Journalism Models in the multiplatform context" of the Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness (CSO2017-82816-P).

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MISCELLANEOUS

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REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.06

Pandemic narratives: news and seminality on Twitter and Facebook

Narrativas de pandemia en Chile: noticias y seminalidad en Twitter y Facebook

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Received on: 26/07/2022 **Revised on:** 01/09/2022 **Approved on:** 24/09/2022 **Published on:** 01/03/2023

Abstract

The beginnings of pandemic motivated a growing interest in the Chilean users in media, especially in digital social networks, searching for useful information in order to face fear and anguish. Considering the relevance of digital social media in this country as the main source of news, it is important to know the narratives that the journalists displayed in their stories about the social environment during the first period of the COVID-19 sanitary emergency. Thus, this study aimed to analyze and compare the discursive strategies that 17 Chilean media used to report the pandemic, and its association with seminality, namely, the ability to incite discursive interactions on users. Using a quantitative methodology, a discursive analysis was applied to characterize the narratives of all posts published on March and April 2020, with a sample of 6.525 news. In addition, a frequency analysis was performed to calculate the news or topics and the non-textual digital resources used in the news discourses. The results suggest a narrative uniformity on the two platforms that ignores the disparity of audiences and uses between them. This becomes evident when reviewing the association with seminality, where the more frequent linguistic marks, topics and digital resources of the news were precisely the less seminal ones.

Keywords

Social media, pandemics, news, discourse, journalism, users, Twitter, Facebook.

Suggested citation: Miranda, M. de los Á. (2023). Pandemic narratives: news and seminality on Twitter and Facebook. *Universitas-XXI, 38*, pp. 133-159. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.06

Resumen
El inicio de la pandemia volcó a los usuarios chilenos hacia los medios de comunicación y sobre todo a las redes sociales digitales, en busca de información para enfrentar al miedo y a la angustia. Considerando que los medios digitales son la principal fuente de noticias en ese país, resulta relevante conocer las narrativas que los periodistas desplegaron para relatar las novedades del entorno social durante la primera etapa de la emergencia sanitaria. Por eso, este estudio se propuso analizar y comparar las estrategias discursivas utilizadas en Facebook y Twitter por 17 medios de comunicación chilenos para narrar la pandemia, y su asociación con la seminalidad, es decir, con la capacidad de estas publicaciones para provocar las interacciones discursivas de los usuarios. Utilizando una metodología cuantitativa, se aplicó un análisis de discurso para caracterizar las narrativas de todas las publicaciones sobre la pandemia durante marzo y abril de 2020, con una muestra total de 6525 noticias. Además, se realizó un análisis de frecuencia para calcular los frentes noticiosos y los recursos no textuales empleados. Los resultados sugieren una uniformidad narrativa en las estrategias discursivas implementadas en ambas plataformas, que ignoran la disparidad de audiencias y usos entre ellas. Esto se evidencia al revisar la asociación con la seminalidad, donde las marcas lingüísticas, las áreas temáticas y los recursos no textuales implementados tienden a ser precisamente los que atrajeron menos interacciones.

Palabras clave
Medios sociales, pandemia, noticias, discurso, periodismo, usuarios, Twitter, Facebook.

Introduction

Chile: the crisis after the crisis

Psychological and social distress are some of the symptoms experienced during the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic in Chile. The diagnosis says that "the severity of symptoms was related to the duration of isolation, fear of contracting the disease, financial instability and exposure to the media" (Leiva *et al*., 2020, n.p.). Considering social precariousness and exclusion as aggravating factors, it is interesting to note that the media appear as catalysts of fear and distress in times of crisis, especially if considering that they have a powerful influence on public attitudes in alarming situations. In fact, it has been seen in previous health crises that publishing dramatic head-lines and instilling fear contribute to stigmatizing those who become infected (Brooks *et al.,* 2020). On the other hand, the benefits of having reliable, consistent and non-alarmist information to increase the sense of control are confirmed (Leiva *et al*., 2020).

Additionally, when the pandemic appeared in Chile, the country was still in the midst of the crisis that began with the so-called "October Revolt" of 2019, when protests and riots were registered, rejecting social inequalities in issues such as social welfare, education and health (Aguilera and Espinoza, 2022). In this framework, the arrival of the quarantine in March 2020 interrupted the demonstrations and protests against the neoliberal system:

> If the explosion sent millions into the streets with the slogan "Chile woke up", the demand for "dignity" and the rejection of the abuses of the political-economic system, COVID-19 suddenly returned them to their homes to prevent contagion. (Heiss, 2020, n.p.)

In this context, the media recorded in 2020 a 15 % drop in trust in news with respect to 2019, being identified as part of the dominant elite, in a scenario of ownership concentration (Newman *et al*., 2020).

This situation changed the year after, with a slight increase (6 %) in trust in the news, due to the attempts to respond to citizen demands with more informative content in the midst of the pandemic crisis (Newman *et al.,* 2021). Despite this, there are critical views that think that it was a strategy, because the credibility of the journalistic media in Chile has been falling for at least a decade, thus it was used as an instrument of the government's communication strategy to cover all genres and time in all media to connect with audiences (Lagos, 2020) (and electorates) in an emergency situation.

From this scenario, it can be dramatically interpreted that digital social media in 2020 for the first time overtook television as news sources, a trend that continued in 2021. Thus, the main sources of information in Chile were online media and, in second place, social networking platforms, followed by television and, far behind, the written press (Newman *et al*., 2020; Newman *et al.,* 2021). This trend contrasts with other countries such as Spain, where television was the main news medium during the pandemic, leaving digital media behind (Montaña Blasco *et al.,* 2020). The same happened in the United States, where there was a repositioning of analog media (Casero-Ripollés, 2020).

Therefore, it is important to ask how the news was told at the beginning of the pandemic through social networks, considering the notorious shift from social outbreak to confinement. The narratives, i.e., the discursive strategies used by the main media in their accounts on the platforms, played an important role in building this scenario of crisis after a crisis, where citizen followed restrictive measures for protecting their health and life, especially considering the privileged role of journalistic narratives in the construction of social reality (Rodrigo Alsina, 1989), since narratives distinguish us as a species, allowing us to make sense of the world (Scolari, 2019).

The pandemic fostered the growth of the digital environment, which increased the natural and urban environments at an accelerated rate (Boczkowski and Mitchelstein, 2021). Considering that people naturalize the environment without distinguishing what is real, forgetting the social nature of their notions about the world and taking them for granted (Berger and Luckmann, 2001), it is important to make this process visible and problematize it. In the case of the construction of digital news, the duality of digital language, mentioned by Boczkowski and Mitchelstein (2021), indicates that old and new narratives are mixed, with past and emerging social categories, but users perceive them as a set of pre-established and fixed routines.

In a more specific sense, narratives, as forms of story construction, are instrumental in prompting discursive interactivity. A basic way to provoke action is to motivate the reading of the news fragment or -better- clicking on the link. This is a "content interactivity", where the user only selects what he/she wants to consume. However, sharing the note with one's followers or commenting publicly can be classified as "human interactivity" (Boczkowski and Mitchelstein, 2015, p. 117), i.e., the use of digital tools for communicating with other people, which transforms an individual act into a social fact, which, to a large extent, is not only motivated by the content or the topic, but also by the form of the discourse.

Because of the latter, this study aims to analyze the narratives of the most used media in Chile in digital social networks, leaving behind the vertical model of consumption and reading of analog media to establish the participation of users through their own content, called User Generated Content (UGC) (Thao and Shurong, 2020), which involve different levels of creative effort (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010). Therefore, it is important not only to value the journalistic discourses of the medium, but also its ability to incite interactive responses from users, to take advantage of and create open spaces to listen to the voices of audiences and their contributions, and to inspire empathy through news, especially during crises.

To this end, seminality allows to value the discursive interactions of users when dealing with news, weighting them quantitatively according to their engagement and exposure (Miranda Bustamante, 2018).

As for the most used platforms in Chile, Facebook has appeared in the last three years as the most required for news, and although it is oriented more to interpersonal communication with known people, it is not alien to public and political debate, especially fostering greater confidence at the time of giving opinions because it is supposedly private. It is mainly used to disseminate media news and redirect to the native website (Tagle Montt *et al*., 2021). As for Twitter, although it is listed in fifth place (Newman *et al*., 2020; Newman *et al*., 2021; Newman *et al*., 2022), it is a privileged public space to learn and comment on news. It is very used by journalists, because it allows reporting and monitoring information in a bidirectional way (Puertas-Hidalgo *et al.,* 2021).

Thus, this research aims to comparatively analyze the digital narratives of news on Twitter and Facebook in the context of the COVID-19 quarantine in Chile and its association with seminality.

State of the art

The studies that have addressed the news of the pandemic in Chile and the world have mostly referred to fake news, which do not come mainly from the media but from the audiences. On the other hand, they have outlined a criticism of the journalistic approach, as observed in the study by López *et al*. (2021), where an epic war and narrative were observed in the news at the beginning of the pandemic to discursively construct the health professionals, who in turn are criticized by being considered heroes.

Likewise, the work of Mellado *et al*. (2021) addresses the social networks of the media and focuses specifically on the use of sources, concluding that political sources were favored, followed by health, and then, by citizen, academic-scientific and economic sources. It is interesting to note that Twitter, unlike Facebook and Instagram, turned out to be less pluralistic with respect to the voices consulted and tended much more to interview political sources.

Outside Chile, audiences perceived that there was exaggeration and generation of fear caused by the information transmitted mainly on television and also on social networks, as in Peru (Mejía *et al.,* 2020). In Spain, an analysis was made of the language, content and reactions on Facebook of the news of two media about COVID-19, to conclude that one obeys a polarized pluralist model, while the other is framed in a corporate democratic style, by a more impartial and independent language (Lázaro-Rodríguez, 2020).

Regarding user engagement with content, the contribution of Gruszynski Sanseverino and De Lima Santos (2021), in their study of 80 news websites from 80 Latin American countries examines how UGC was embraced during the pandemic by a small handful of media outlets, with interesting experiments incorporating audience insights into news content. However, the overall trend had minimal engagement with audience participation.

Finally, on the use of language, the study by Krawczyk *et al*. (2021) states that 16 % of news stories associated with the pandemic were negatively polarized, addressing death, fear or crisis.

Therefore, it was not possible to detect previous research focused on the specific analysis of the narrative in relation to the discursive interactivity of users.

Materials and methods

Type of study and units of analysis

This descriptive and explanatory study applies a quantitative methodology that takes as units of analysis all publications on Twitter and Facebook made by a list of 17 Chilean journalistic media during March and April 2020. The time span was set to include the days prior to the official declaration of the pandemic by the World Health Organization (OPS, 2020), on March 11, when the effects of COVID-19 began to be seen in other countries of the world, in addition to the implementation of the first restrictive measures dictated by the government of the center-right President Sebastián Piñera. These began with the declaration of a catastrophic state on March 18, followed by a nationwide curfew on March 22, followed by the first quarantines. The strategy, called the Step-by-Step Plan, consisted of setting different levels of travel restrictions, activities and capacity per city, which varied over time depending on the localized infection rates (MINSAL, 2022).

The selected media correspond to the most consulted by Chilean audiences to search for news during 2020, according to the Digital News Report

(Newman, 2020), together with the media that obtained the highest seminality rate in a study on Twitter and news in Chile with data collected in 2014 (Miranda Bustamante, 2016). The list considers Twitter and Facebook accounts of digital media, television, radio and press (Table 1).

Table 1
Chilean media included in the sample

	Number of news about COVID-19 on Twitter	Number of news about COVID-19 on Facebook
CDF (cable TV)	31	52
CNN Chile (cable TV)	482	184
Copano (digital)	2	N/A
El Dínamo * (digital)	179	54
The Clinic * (print)	222	417
24 Horas * (broadcast TV)	575	556
Bío-Bío * (radio)	139	382
Emol (digital)	6	10
LUN (print)	10	5
Meganoticias (open TV)	450	277
El Mostrador (digital)	172	108
La Tercera (print)	349	103
T13 (broadcast TV)	396	183
Cooperativa (radio)	434	91
El Ciudadano (digital)	107	201
CHVNoticias (open TV)	211	18
La Cuarta (print)	41	78
Total	3806	2719

The collection of all the news published yielded a total of 74 925 on Facebook and 107 433 on Twitter. The inclusion criteria were those containing the words coronavirus, COVID or COVID-19. In both cases, they corresponded to only 4 % of the total, which constituted a sample of 3806 on Twitter and 2719 on Facebook.

Data analysis tools

Linguistic markers analysis

A quantitative discourse analysis was applied on the 6525 news items in the sample, which was useful for transforming the characteristics of a text into quantifiable and discrete data (Sayago, 2014). It facilitates the subsequent triangulation of these textual indicators with seminality.

The matrix of linguistic markers was applied to the discursive analysis to characterize the discursive strategies, which allowed coding the narrative of each news item as a sequence of linguistic markers, understood as textual resources that indicate the presence of the narrator subject in the story and that do not correspond to specific syntactic types (Martín Zorraquino, 2008), but rather point to a wide diversity of connotations. In this research we will look for the markers of the narrator-journalist, understanding that the pretension of objectivity transforms into an ethical imperative to hide in appearance the imprint of the narrator-subject in a discourse, which in reality is an impossible task.

The matrix (Table 2) divides the linguistic markers into four types. Traditional journalistic markers include the 6 classic W's of Anglo-Saxon-style informative journalism, equivalent to what, who, how, when, where and why, which predominate in the narrative of the inverted pyramid, widely disseminated in Chile through journalism schools (Hernández Osuna, 2016). The why is added and also the technique of giving voice to the sources that participate in the discourse quoted directly, indirectly or with a paraphrase that identifies the issuer of the discourse.

There are also the brands that use rhetoric, inspired by Aristotle and refloated by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1989, p. 39), who define it as the study of "the discursive means that serve to obtain the adhesion of the audience", which is materialized in "the technique that uses language to persuade and convince". Although opinion was the first genre to dominate journalism, modernity and industrialization consolidated the Anglo-Saxon idea of explicitly separating it from data and facts (Peñaranda, 2000) and thus differentiating it from the informative and interpretative genres (Santibáñez Martínez, 1985). This category includes indicators related to argumentation, which may belong to the opinion genre or could be used openly in an informative text:

- Expositio: provides the thematic or temporal context that allows understanding the semantic environment that develops the central idea or news.

- Inventio: the judgment expressed, the opinion itself, which, according to journalistic tradition and ethics, must be expressly distinguished from information.
- Elocutio: stylistic aspects of the discourse that give it argumentative power or emotional persuasion through two resources: expression, which adds emotionality with interjections, highly connotative words or simple exclamation marks; and witty or poetic phrases.
- Question: this includes the rhetorical question, which states an obvious statement in a questioning tone, without waiting for an answer.

In addition, connotative resources will be reviewed, with a wide variety of linguistic forms that affect the prescriptive meaning of words to relate them with new meanings through language, which camouflage the language, deviating its original meaning (López Panach, 1999; Gutiérrez, 2008). They include expressions of consequence, adversative and conditional forms.

Finally, digital markers are categorized, which correspond to discursive forms that point to the nature of digital language. There are metadiscursive markers, which highlight the characteristics of the medium that emits the message, for example "live", "now", "more information". Secondly, the inciting ones, which assume that it is inherent to the digital media to allow and procure the discursive interactions of the audiences and, therefore, invite and promote this participation and contribution with UGC. This is the case of expressions such as "comment and share", "follow us" or "check this listing".

Table 2

Linguistic markers matrix for analyzing journalistic narratives

Journalistic markers			
What	Q	Who	W
When	C	How	H
Where	D	Why	Y
What for	M	Direct quotation	T
Indirect quotation	I	Source	F
Connotative markers			
Adversatives	A	Conditionality or probability	N
Consequence	S		

Rhetorical markers			
Inventio	O	Ask	P
Expositio	B	Witty phrase	R
Expression	X		
Digital markers			
Metadiscursive	V	Inciters	E

Image 1

Note. Facebook.

For example, the post shown in image 1 has the QWYVDV narrative, since the sequence identifies the what ("first death"); the who ("health official"), which in this case constitutes the distinctive value of the news; and the why ("by COVID-19"). Then it introduces a metadiscursive resource on the coverage ("@HectorBurgosO with more details"), the where ("La Araucanía") and a new metadiscursive marker at the end ("En vivo por #T13AM").

Frequency analysis

A frequency analysis type content analysis was also considered to quantify the use in the narratives of digital resources specific to the platforms, such as emojis, photographs, videos, links to the native websites of the medium and hashtags.

In addition, news were quantified, grouping the publications on the pandemic around the following topics: sports, related to the suspension or holding of tournaments and matches and the opinions and contagions of figures; economy, with the consequences of the crisis on companies and financial indicators; education, referring to the interruption of classes; entertainment, linked to the holding or not of events, or the contagion and charity events of celebrities; religion, with comments from leaders of different religions and politics on ceremonies; international, about the pandemic in the world; police, with the control measures of restrictions and the investigation of those who contravened them; health, which focused on outbreaks, daily government reports on the progress of contagion and status of hospitals); society (expert opinions on the social environment or surveys); transportation (flights and shipments); politics (statements by party leaders, announcement of measures and restrictions by the government); science (new data on the disease, advances in the discovery of cures and vaccines); cities (regional or community information); and metadiscursives, which only contained self-promotion, without journalistic content.

Calculation of seminality

Seminality was measured for each unit, calculating the capacity of a digital journalistic discourse to incite discursive contributions from audiences, weighting each possible response according to its degree of exposure and creative effort, from Twitter likes or Facebook reactions, the lowest level, to comments, which are considered the most exposed and dedicated way of discursive participation in the news flow of digital social networks (Table 3):

Table 3
Seminality formula

Twitter:	Facebook
$\frac{((MG*0.1)+(RT*0.2)+(CM*0.3))}{0,6}$	$\frac{((RC*0.1)+(CP*0.2)+(CM*0.3))}{0,6}$
MG: I like it RT: Retweet CM: Comment	MG: Reaction RT: Share CM: Comment

Note. Miranda Bustamante and Fernández Medina (2020). Adapted to be applied on Facebook.

Hypothesis

Regarding the objective of this research, the following hypotheses were formulated:

> H1: There are different narratives for news communicated on Facebook compared to Twitter, considering the differences between both platforms.
> H2: Traditional journalism narratives, despite their importance, are insufficient on their own to increase levels of seminality.

Results

Linguistic marker

Although Twitter increased its character limit for tweets from 140 to 280 (El País, 2017), it is still restricted, while Facebook offers a wide and continuously increasing capacity for the length of its posts. According to this, it is understandable that Twitter has had an average of 127 characters in its news and Facebook, a 55 % greater length, with an average of 197. However, it is striking that the density of linguistic tags, i.e., the average number of resources used per unit of analysis was 3.9 on Facebook, and 3.3 on Twitter, with only a 18 % difference. Therefore, it is possible to affirm that the greater space available was not necessarily used on Facebook to achieve a more forceful discourse from a narrative point of view.

As for the most frequent markers, there was a coincidence between both platforms in the five most used ones, where the what, who, where, *expositio* and metadiscursive digital resource were preferred (Table 4). Therefore, it can be affirmed that there is a preference for traditional journalism markers and the need to contextualize information through *expositio* and metadiscourse. The use of background on a topic and the reiteration of the characteristics of the coverage and the channel make a lot of sense in social network platforms where news appears in an individual timeline, in a fragmented and decontextualized way, in conjunction with publications from other contacts and other media, which address different topics and semantic contexts.

This trend is also replicated when analyzing the least frequent tags on both platforms, where the five with the lowest incidence also coincide: witty phrase, opinion, expression, adversative tag and conditional.

Table 4

Frequency of linguistic markers

Markers	Twitter	Facebook	Difference
A	0.5 %	1.2 %	0.7
B	10.2 %	8.8 %	1.4
C	4.0 %	5.0 %	1
D	10.8 %	9.2 %	1.6
E	3.5 %	1.9 %	1.6
F	0.9 %	1.6 %	0.7
H	1.2 %	1.3 %	0.1
I	2.0 %	1.9 %	0.1
M	2.5 %	3.4 %	0.9
N	0.7 %	1.1 %	0.4
O	0.3 %	0.7 %	0.4
P	0.9 %	1.2 %	0.3
Q	23.8 %	24.0 %	0.2
R	0.2 %	0.5 %	0.3
S	1.6 %	2.1 %	0.5
T	4.0 %	3.6 %	0.4
V	8.7 %	6.6 %	2.1
W	19.5 %	19. %	0
X	0.3 %	1.2 %	0.9
Y	4.4 %	5.7 %	1.3

The above allows establishing that there is a narrative uniformity among the 17 accounts, regardless of whether Facebook or Twitter is used. This is probably related to the fact that journalistic routines are deeply rooted in Chilean journalism also in terms of discursive practices, even when dealing with digital narratives and two social networks that target different uses and audiences. This is also translated into a clear predominance of the informative genre, which is confirmed by observing that the expression of judgments constituting opinion was very marginal, with 0.7 % on Facebook and 0.3 % on Twitter.

When classifying the use of markers by type, journalistic markers are the most used on Facebook and Twitter, with 76 % and 73 % respectively. In second place are digital markers with 12 % on both, followed by rhetorical markers with 8 % on Facebook and 12 % on Twitter. Finally, connotative markers have 4 % on Facebook and 3 % on Twitter. Thus, it can be observed again that there is a coincidence in the type of narratives. It is interesting, however, that Twitter has a slightly lower incidence of journalistic markers than Facebook in favor of rhetorical resources. Considering the limitation of the tweets, it is noteworthy that this platform gives space to argumentation, slightly taking away the prominence of data.

Narratives and seminality

It is important to relate narratives to seminality, i.e., to evaluate the capacity of these discursive strategies to incite audience participation.

On average, Facebook registered a seminality of 257.4, much higher than that of Twitter, which reached 11.4. This is clearly due to the massive use of Facebook for news consumption, which occupies the highest preference in Chile, while Twitter is in fifth place. In any case, Twitter has increased its seminality in recent years, compared to that recorded in 2014, when news tweets on that network in Chile only reached an average of 1.48 (Miranda Bustamante, 2016).

Table 5

Incidence of linguistic markers on seminality. Facebook

Predictor	Estimate	SE	t	P
Intercept	71.46	41.8	1.7095	0.087
A	30.18	90.8	0.3323	0.740
B	-62.94	39.6	-1.5877	0.112
C	-36.13	46.4	-0.7779	0.437
D	104.99	35.7	2.9438	0.003
E	220.05	76.6	2.8732	0.004
F	45.12	79.2	0.5698	0.569
H	-28.85	83.6	-0.3450	0.730
I	147.14	73.4	2.0050	0.045
M	189.50	56.0	3.3832	< .001
N	172.92	92.7	1.8659	0.062
O	374.80	122.4	3.0612	0.002
P	71.48	92.5	0.7731	0.440
Q	1.21	33.3	0.0363	0.971
R	-158.64	133.9	-1.1845	0.236
S	95.10	68.9	1.3811	0.167
T	226.89	52.9	4.2919	< .001
V	117.86	40.7	2.8940	0.004
W	3.31	33.0	0.1003	0.920
X	274.18	91.8	2.9870	0.003
Y	80.28	47.1	1.7050	0.088

Table 6
Incidence of linguistic markers on Twitter seminality

Predictor	Estimate	SE	t	p
Intercept	8.2454	1.96	4.1996	< .001
A	-0.1138	4.76	-0.0239	0.981
B	-0.8788	1.35	-0.6492	0.516
C	-0.8618	1.76	-0.4885	0.625
D	0.0158	1.29	0.0122	0.990
E	-3.7085	1.92	-1.9271	0.054
F	5.0012	3.54	1.4109	0.158
H	0.8665	3.17	0.2734	0.785
I	6.2970	2.70	2.3317	0.020
M	-2.5132	2.34	-1.0739	0.283
N	15.4785	4.14	3.7397	< .001
O	3.8743	5.83	0.6645	0.506
P	1.0181	3.70	0.2751	0.783
Q	1.3797	1.36	1.0118	0.312
R	-4.9592	7.85	-0.6320	0.527
S	-1.8261	2.75	-0.6634	0.507
T	11.2833	2.04	5.5393	< .001
V	-3.5977	1.22	-2.9468	0.003
W	2.9091	1.21	2.3957	0.017
X	-4.9919	6.22	-0.8022	0.422
Y	-1.3170	1.79	-0.7352	0.462

Tables 5 and 6, which show the linguistic markers that turn out to be predictive variables of significant incidence for seminality in both platforms, indicate that while Facebook has eight incident markers (D, E, I, M, O, T, V and X), Twitter only registers five (I, N, T, V, W) and they have three in common (I, T and V). It is noteworthy that different narratives tend to be associated with a greater seminality in both platforms, remembering that they were quite uniform among themselves in the selection of their discursive strategies. Thus, it can be observed that Twitter is dominated by seminality related to probability (N), which is understood in the context of the pandemic, with news that are linked to possible treatments or vaccines to combat the disease. Apart from this, the traditional resources associated with sources (W, I and T) turn out to be more seminal, which could suggest the importance of the competence of those who deliver the information to the press and also the centrality of sources in the midst of a health crisis. In addition, one can suggest the idea that Twitter, due to its character´s limitation and focus on public issues, should concentrate more on journalistic markers in order to trigger more discursive interactions with respect to its audiences. Despite this, the metadiscursive resource (V), which suggests the need to emphasize the identity of the medium in a context of fragmentary reading, also encourages audience participation.

On the contrary, on Facebook, in addition to the journalistic markers, which include textual (T) and indirect (I) quotations, the what (M) and where (D), the opinion (O), which was almost always an explicitly marker as such in accordance with traditional deontological norms, tended to have a significant impact on the seminality. The expression of emotions in the story (X), the metadiscursive resources (V) and the invitation to participate and interact on the part of the audience (E) were also seminal. Therefore, it could be inferred that Facebook tends to be more inciting when there is more freedom of expression on the narrator, as long as he/she does not neglect the identification of his/her sources and the classical separation between facts and judgments.

Tabla 7

Incidence of the type of linguistic markers on seminality on Facebook

Predictor	Estimate	SE	t	p
Journalistic	36.87	9.29	3.968	**<.001**
Rhetorical	5.53	30.53	0.181	0.856
Connotative	83.02	46.61	1.781	0.075
Digital	138.61	32.36	4.284	**<.001**

Tabla 8

Incidence of the type of linguistic markers on seminality on Twitter

Predictor	Estimate	SE	t	p
Journalistic	0.918	0.558	1.645	0.100
Rhetorical	-0.872	1.201	-0.726	0.468
Connotative	1.151	2.092	0.550	0.582
Digital	-3.572	1.039	-3.438	**<.001**

According to Tables 7 and 8, the use of digital markers has a significant impact on seminality in both platforms, confirming the idea that journalistic data are extremely important and turn out to be central, but are insufficient on their own to enhance discursive participation.

Image 3 exemplifies the XYSDO narrative, which obtained the highest seminality in the sample for Facebook. First, it has an expression ("Even the fish are seen"); then, the why ("After a week without humans due to the coronavirus quarantine"); the consequence ("the canals (...) have been cleaned and have returned to clarity"); and the where ("of Venice"). It ends with a value judgment that, in this case, is not made explicit as an opinion: "One more sign of who is the planet's problem". This post only has two journalistic facts, but it adds rhetorical (expression and opinion) and connotative (consequence) markers.[1]

1 It is important to say that the use of different markers to journalistic ones must be rigorous to treat the data. In the case of the example referred to a post by Cooperativa (2020), Facebook adds a fact check with a news item from USA Today, where it is explained that the COVID-19 crisis in the long term did not contribute to diminish the impact of the human being in the environment.

Image 3

Note. Facebook.

Seminality and digital resources

In the digital context, linguistic markers coexist and are complemented by the digital resources of both platforms, which add non-textual elements to the narratives and can also have an impact on seminality. Thus, tweets contained an average of two digital resources and Facebook posts only 1.5, even though they have a greater capacity for writing. On both platforms, the most frequent were links, mainly to the native site of the medium, which were present in 87 % of the tweets and 83 % of the posts. On Twitter, the second place went to the photograph (47 %) and then to the hashtag (30 %), which, in this network, due to its characteristics of public space, is used to start conversations on common topics. On Facebook, in second place comes the emoji, which only 3 % were used to express emotions (pleasure, sorrow and astonishment, in decreasing order) and the remaining ones were only used for decorative or signaling purposes. In third place, the hashtag was used (21 %).

Table 8

Incidence of digital resources on seminality on Facebook

Predictor	Estimate	SE	t	p
Hashtag	-165.634	49.55	-3.3426	**<.001**
Link	-148.348	70.97	-2.0904	**0.037**
Emoji or similar	125.507	51.19	2.4518	**0.014**
Photography or graphics	393.886	73.22	5.3797	**<.001**
Video	601.049	71.75	8.3765	**<.001**
Another	-13.924	322.63	-0.0432	0.966

Tabla 9

Incidence of digital resources on seminality on Twitter

Predictor	Estimate	SE	t	p
Hashtag	-1.63	1.39	-1.17	0.243
Link	2.24	1.75	1.28	0.200
Emoji or similar	-4.15	3.92	-1.06	0.290
Photography or graphics	-6.24	1.44	-4.32	**<.001**
Video	1.64	1.37	1.20	0.229
Another	10.51	2.14	4.92	**<.001**

Tables 8 and 9 show that all the resources on Facebook, except the "other", have a significant incidence with respect to seminality, confirming the idea that participation increases in responses with content that involves a greater creative effort (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010). Whereas, on Twitter, probably because of its brevity and immediacy, only seminality is associated with narratives containing photographs and the "other" type of resources.

Seminality and news

The news from which the pandemic was addressed agree in frequency on Facebook and Twitter. The most recurrent was health (22.6 % and 28.3 %, respectively), followed by the international area (20.6 % and 20.3 %) and politics (14 % and 11.2 %). Likewise, the least frequent news items were those that combined the health emergency with transportation (1.9 % and 0.2 %) and religion (0.6 % and 0.3 %) and then the entirely metadiscursive contents, which only stated the COVID-19 topic to highlight the media coverage (0.6 % and 0.1 %).

As for the relationship between the news addressed and seminality, religion on Twitter obtained the highest level (17.8), followed by science (17.5), society (16.2), police (16.1) and politics (16). In the case of Facebook, religion (836.3) is in first place, followed by police (790.1), cities (591), politics (383.4) and education (340). It is noteworthy that the topic that obtained the highest seminality was among those that were less covered by the media in the context of the crisis.

Regarding Facebook, the possible reactions are varied, and a specific emotion can be chosen from seven options. Thus, the most reiterative was "I like it" (50 %), probably because it is the oldest and best known and does not require the user to make a selection movement to the right but appears by default when hovering over the menu. It is followed by "I am amused" (22 %) and "I love it" (11 %).

It is relevant to say that the "I care" was introduced by Facebook on April 17, 2020, during the pandemic. However, it was only registered in 0.001 % of the posts, probably because people did not know it. It is interesting to note that the "I am amused" appears mostly related to news about religion and politics. This coincides with "makes me angry" (5 %), which is also associated with these topics plus police. This trend coincides with the discrediting of the churches in Chile due to the cases of sexual abuse and abuse of power that have been reported since 2010 (Claro, 2021). In addition, since the social outburst, political parties and the police have experienced a social discredit (Garcés, 2020) that may explain these measurements.

Conclusions and discussion

It can be stated that the 4 % of news on both platforms that were recorded in relation to COVID-19 is below the 25 % of digital news about the pandemic that was found in 11 countries according to the study by Krawczyk *et al*.

(2021). This shows that, at least in social networks, the saturation of news in Chile on this topic was lower than elsewhere in the world.

In addition, it is important to note that Facebook, despite being the main source of news for Chileans several years ago, had 43 % less news about COVID-19 than Twitter, considering the same media at the beginning of the crisis. This is the first sign that consumption habits are being ignored in relation to the news offer.

In fact, the news on Facebook, although longer in length, only register a small positive variation in the number of linguistic markers and use fewer digital resources to complement the story.

This is also translated into the narrative nomenclature of the news. Although they are different platforms in their uses and audiences, almost the same discursive strategies are applied in both.

There is an almost exclusive predominance in both on the informative genre, and the same traditional markers of journalism are used above all, together with expositio and metadiscourse. Likewise, the same rhetorical and connotative resources were avoided, including opinion. This leads us to refute H1, inasmuch as the narratives employed in the news published on Facebook and Twitter tend to resemble each other. This reflects a scarce knowledge or interest on the part of the media regarding the differences of both platforms, which refer, as explained above, in technical terms, to the extension and, in terms of uses, to a greater habit of sharing among acquaintances, in the former, and a tendency to share public topics, in the latter.

For this reason, the differences in the results between these networks were found precisely in the relationship of the narratives with the seminality, i.e., in their effectiveness in the discursive relationship with the audiences.

In addition to the expected great advantage of Facebook in terms of seminality, in line with its popularity as a source of information, interactions on one and the other seem to vary with narratives that are partly the same and partly different. On Twitter, users' discursive interactions are more frequent with tweets containing journalistic resources associated with sources, probability and metadiscourse. On Facebook, on the other hand, the rise is linked to opinion, expression, textual and indirect quotations, where, what for, the inciting digital resource, where the participation or action of users is explicitly requested and the metadiscourse is typical of the digital environment. Thus, it is possible to observe that some journalistic resources individually are still important to incite the discourse of users on both platforms and especially on Facebook, where a greater extension is allowed for data. In both, digital resources have a significant incidence with seminality, even though their frequency reaches only 12 %. Thus, it would be advisable, in order to increase it, a greater use of digital brands in the two social media, and greater expressive freedom, within ethical limits, for news stories on Facebook, considering that a diversity of markers is associated with seminality in this network.

In this way, H2 can be confirmed, since journalistic narratives turn out to be frequent and also seminal, but, together with certain additional journalistic markers, they tend to increase the discursive interactions of the public.

Regarding non-textual narrative resources, Facebook confirms the idea that dedication and time to prepare a good video or other material that requires “creative effort” pays off in terms of participation (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010). However, once again there is a tendency to be unaware of the consumption habits of the audiences, due to the low use of resources that turned out to be seminal, such as video, which is among the least used resources, but on Facebook it tends to have a significant impact on seminality.

The same phenomenon occurs in relation to the topics, with an evident recurrence of the health topic in a context of health emergency, followed by world and political news. However, religion, which is among the least recurrent topics on Twitter and Facebook, was the most seminal of all the thematic areas.

In summary, the analysis of the narratives allows highlighting the importance of respecting and taking advantage of the characteristics of both platforms, knowing the habits and preferences of those who participate in them looking for news or encountering them.

It can be concluded that if we want to communicate effectively in a digital context, it is important to remember the participatory nature of the medium and aim to encourage discursive interactions. The bifurcation between the journalistic narrative practices described in this study and the behaviors and choices of audiences to interact with these contents indicate the pending task of recognizing these audiences and the expressive potential of each of these digital social networks. In this way, the digital construction of the news as a social narrative that is intersubjective can be evidenced, especially in the midst of a health crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic, which required news to reduce distress.

Support and financial support of the research

Entity: National Research Agency-Universidad de Playa Ancha
Country: Chile
City: Santiago-Valparaíso
Subsidized project: FONDECYT de Iniciación
Project code: Folio Project 11200720 "Digital narratives and seminality of journalistic discourse on the coronavirus in Chile on Facebook and Twitter. Dialogue and intersubjective construction of everyday life during the blackout".

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REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.07

Information, comunication and COVID-19: a literature review of seeking models from academic libraries

Información, comunicación y COVID-19: una exploración de la literatura desde los modelos de búsqueda de las bibliotecas académicas

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Received on: 04/06/2022 **Revised on:** 15/08/2022 **Approved on:** 25/10/2022 **Published on:** 01/03/2023

Abstract
This paper offers an approach from various theoretical and empirical references close to academic libraries; around the challenges they face from their object of research: the users of information. A relationship is proposed that can be aimed at a dialogue with digital culture, seeking to establish a framework of encounter based on the adaptation that academic libraries have had to incrementally complex information environments. The circulation of information from various sources and approaches in everyday life represents a multiple challenge to produce knowledge. The pandemic by COVID-19 puts the subjectivity of the information process back at the center of the discussion, which increases in contexts where uncertainty and the multiplicity of meanings prevail to interpret it. From a literature review and the selection of informational behavior models and user studies, clues were detected to study digital culture from a research perspective of academic libraries. The argumentation allowed to detect clues to find an entry framework for the study of users from an interdisciplinary construction between communication, health and information sciences.

Keywords
Information, libraries, users, subjectivity, searches.

Suggested citation: Cruz-Vázquez, A. and Ramos-Rojas. D. N. (2023). Information, comunication and COVID-19: a literature review of seeking models from academic libraries. *Universitas-XXI, 38*, pp. 161-181. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.07

Resumen
Este texto ofrece una aproximación desde diversos referentes teóricos y empíricos cercanos a las bibliotecas académicas, en torno de los retos que enfrentan a partir de su objeto de investigación: los usuarios de la información. A partir de la revisión de la literatura se plantea una relación que puede ser encaminada a un diálogo dentro de la cultura digital, buscando establecer un marco de encuentro fundamentado en la adaptación que han tenido las bibliotecas académicas a los entornos informativos incrementalmente complejos. La circulación de información desde diversas fuentes y aproximaciones en la vida cotidiana representa un reto múltiple para la producción de conocimiento de las bibliotecas académicas. La pandemia del COVID-19 pone nuevamente en el centro de la discusión la subjetividad del proceso informativo, que se acentúa en contextos en los que la incertidumbre y la multiplicidad de sentidos para interpretarla prevalecen de manera pronunciada. La selección de modelos del comportamiento informacional y los estudios de usuarios abordan rutas a las prácticas informativas en la cultura digital desde una mirada de investigación de las bibliotecas académicas. Se presenta un marco de entrada para el estudio de los usuarios desde una construcción interdisciplinaria entre la comunicación, la salud y las ciencias de la información.

Palabras clave
Información, bibliotecas, usuarios, subjetividad, búsquedas.

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic produced global changes, forcing people to reformulate ways of working and living together in different areas of life caused by confinement, biosecurity methods and social distancing, creating complex scenarios regarding the search for information. These changes highlighted the effects of information overproduction and its possible effects in the health fields, characterized as "infodemic" (conjunction of the terms "epidemic" and "information") by the World Health Organization (WHO), to refer to the spread of information - in some cases correct, in others not - on a particular subject (WHO, 2020). The excess and characteristics of the information made it difficult to find reliable sources in the pandemic scenario, where misinformation and rumors increased the use of mobile devices, and sociodigital networks and virtual communities gained popularity (PAHO, 2020).

Additionally, it worsened by the blackout in 2020 and the first half of 2021 of educational, heritage and cultural institutions, such as libraries, archives, museums (Quitral, 2020), which allow sharing information. Likewise, there was an increase in health information searches on the Internet, starting from the various epidemic situations and the interest in these topics (Aquino Canchari *et al*., 2020); however, these were mediated by information retrieval interfaces and sorting algorithms, which underwent difficulties to organize the information in terms of reliability and relevance for the public (Petrocchi and Viviani, 2022). The search for information during confinement was framed in a context of informational uncertainty, subtracting exclusivity from conventional media and giving more importance to sociodigital networks and instant messaging platforms (Rogers, 2020; Magallón Rosa, 2020). Finally, there was a phenomenon of information fatigue derived from its proliferation and reproduction at a global level, causing disconnection and saturation about the multiple consequences of the pandemic in everyday life (Kalogeropoulos *et al*., 2020).

In this context, the infodemic implied a pressing change for academic libraries to focus on roles, organizational changes and services to support educational activities in diverse environments related to information uncertainty and confinement, as shown by a national study in the USA during the pandemic (Willenborg and Withorn, 2021). Based on this situation, several information centers adapted pre-pandemic frameworks to approach their users, organize information gathering, and modify library instruction in these contexts as, for example, in the case of adapting the Association of College and Research Libraries ACRL framework to promote infoliteracy (Gross *et al*., 2022).

The aim of this paper is to explore the literature, both pre- and post-pandemic, on how to approach users in this context of informational uncertainty in a daily basis, seeking to expand the research value of academic libraries (Oakleaf, 2010). The increasingly complex environments in which users operate place the subjectivity of the information process at the center of the discussion, bringing together other approaches from, for example, communication and digital culture in contexts of uncertainty, subjectivity and construction of meaning.

Methodology for the literature review

We sought a literature review that disseminates the findings of previous research synthesized in a rigorous and systematic way (Cooper, 2017). Likewise, this work adopted a qualitative approach and a critical look, beyond a mere narrative review. A pointed search strategy was sought that looked for critical thinking, heuristic explanations, and the integration of specific findings into broader theoretical contexts (Botella and Gambara, 2002). Although the narrative review offers clues for including different types and sources of information which helps to discuss and understand the main topic in a broad way, a method of its own was implemented, far from being a quantitative synthesis method or an arbitrary narrative review, focused on the theoretical and contextual foundation (Hart, 2018) to review previous studies considering their historical processes, advances in the area and new perspectives (Vestena and Díaz-Medina, 2018; Byrne, 2016; Ferrari, 2015).

There has been an increment of search models that has hindered the formulation of both theories that allow an orderly systematization of knowledge about information search (Savolainen and Thomson, 2022) and empirical research that addresses these aspects (Turcios *et al*., 2014). Speaking of a qualitative literature review under a critical approach within librarianship and from the analysis of texts on information systems is to open the way out of the orthodox method of "narrative synthesis" or meta-analysis in which past studies are described in an "objective and quantitative" way but restricts the voice of the researcher or the narrative review, which is highly subjective (Tate *et al.,* 2015).

We did not opt for an intermediate point between the two, but a methodological approach based on the daily searches of the authors of this text, who implement logical operators and search commands to enhance the algorithmic ordering of information systems on the Internet. These methods were carried out in search engines, but also in different databases such as Ebsco, Google Scholar, SciELO, Scopus, Web of Science and Redalyc, including the academic social networks Academia.edu and ResearchGate. Some of the journals were Journal of the American Society for Information Science, Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraries and *Revista Cubana de Información y Comunicación*.

Considering that literature review is defined as a selection of available documents containing information, ideas, data, and written evidence on a particular topic (Hart, 2018), the selection of information sources for the research used terms and keywords whose combinations were entered into the internal engines of the databases. Keywords such as "information", "users", "practices", "searches", "internet" and "health", mainly, were used. Hence, two types of papers were identified: a) those essayistic with an argumentative deployment to defend an idea or present a model; b) empirical papers that account for the informational processes of users on the Internet. The main questions that motivated their analysis were: What has been investigated or written on the subject in the last ten years? How has it been thought of? What have been the conceptual and/or methodological tools used?

This literature review focused on studies that have initiated or maintain the debate on the user's information processes in everyday life. This methodological decision implied considering some inclusion and exclusion criteria (thematic relevance, contribution and timeliness), giving more attention to information processes, digital culture and academic libraries, as suggested by Fink's (2014) systematic literature review method: literature search, selection by means of criteria, by extracting main contributions and establishing relationships between them. This entire process was guided by an inductive gaze that emphasizes the role of libraries (Cruz-Vásquez *et al.,* 2022).

The research was classified for its analysis and presentation along three axes: 1) user studies and information practices, 2) health information searches on the Internet, and 3) information, communication and digital culture. This literature review collects the academic postulates that build interdisciplinary dialogue to account for the discussion on informational behavior and user studies, and to identify possible contributions to approach informational processes in digital culture and infodemics from a research perspective of academic libraries.

Results: subjectivity, research, and libraries to study users

User studies and information practices

The Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) has highlighted the dual role of academic libraries in research and advisory work, since they are entities that provide a scholarly service and can obtain the data they need to make decisions about what purposes they can serve and how they can do so; they also require rigorous research in the contexts in which they operate, documenting their experiences with their own methods, with a view to developing research that will deepen the value of academic libraries and their contributions to the value of academic libraries and their contributions to the research and advisory work of the academic community (Oakleaf, 2010).

Reliable methods that support decision making based on practices that start from the services, constitute a way of operating libraries and information centers that has been described in the Anglo-Saxon literature as Evidence Based Library Information Practice (EBLIP), and guidelines are established to gather evidence, constituting a tradition to approach the problems of library practice, both service and research, with mixed methods (Eldredge, 2012).

Beyond the introspective look, research elements are established on the informative and complex academic contexts because they allow generating models to know their value to the educational institutions. These aspects are based on the relationship between the service and the connection with the academic context, providing innovative approaches to the way in which the various activities of the educational communities are approached and questions about the value and impact of libraries in academic and university life (Connaway *et al*., 2017).

The field of User Studies is within library research, which is composed of activities involving research on information users, understood as all those individuals who require information to carry out their daily activities, including potential users who need it but are not aware of it, and real users, who can express their needs in these aspects, and who actively use information to carry out their daily activities (Pagaza García, 1996). There is consensus on what motivates the knowledge of information users, inasmuch as these studies arise from the need libraries and information centers have for planning, which is a main aspect of their operation and which obliges them to know the needs of the communities they serve; however, there is discrepancy as to their first applications and the meaning of these investigations. Some authors place its origins during the 1920s, with the organized quantitative exploration that originated in libraries in the United States to model the use and exploitation of modern libraries; however, without considering the need to incorporate the user as part of the search process, hence modeling the latter as a mere receiver of a process that starts with the administration of information resources (Pagaza García, 1996).

It was not until the 1980s that a shift towards the user was proposed because of a cumulative change of focus and direction, in which the lesser centrality of information was proposed to favor the behavior of the subjects and their documentary choices. Hence, research concentrated first in libraries and later in other centers, promoting research that considers the user (his expectations, decisions and behaviors), encompassing a diverse amount of research that gradually configured differentiated methods coming from other disciplines (Julien *et al*., 2018).

From this point on, user studies can be understood, from its historical development, as an effort that starts from libraries to know the ways in which information users interact with resources, no matter their origin or administration:

> (…) We can consider user studies as a multidisciplinary method of knowledge that allows to analyze different aspects and characteristics of the relationship established between the information and the user, using different research techniques. In practice, they can be a tool that allows access to a behavioral model of both actual and potential users of information centers by applying different data collection and processing methodologies. (Pagaza García, 1996, p. 133)

Consequently, studies have focused on two research traditions that involve different aspects of users, starting from pre-established theoretical models with two main branches: those based on needs (Kuhlthau, 1991) and those based on behaviors (Wilson, 2006). Studies on information needs emphasize the personal and affective dimensions that relate subjects to these products and their motivations for seeking them, which configure contexts in which users search, focus on the way they make decisions but without delving into the specificities of technological systems. In the case of informational behaviors, these explain the subjection of users to a procedural modeling through operation schemes within a delimited technological system, which arises between the subject and the information they seek.

From the researcher's point of view, these processes can be described as behaviors interacting with systems. These investigations delve deeper into information design; however, they do not emphasize the specificities of technological systems in relation to users. Although both lines have multiplied with models and theories on needs and behaviors due to the growing interest in information sciences and studies, the integration of multiple empirical research on both needs and behaviors has given rise to a sort of methodology with imprecise characteristics that encompass a large number of approaches, which have hindered scientific discussion and the construction of comparative knowledge (Savolainen, 2007). In addition, there are few works that address the behaviors and needs of users with particular interests (Hirsh *et al*., 2012).

Since the 1990s, the emergence of new tools to retrieve information within the different daily scenarios led user studies to move beyond the spatial or digital delimitation of a library and attempted to address other aspects related to the search for information, framed by social and technological structures. This alternative in user research was configured from the approach more attached to the study of practices mediated by technological systems, especially since the popularization of Information Retrieval Interfaces (IRI) on the Internet, delving into the senses with which information is searched and selected through these tools.

Technological changes forced libraries and information centers to model increasingly complex contexts to use these systems and gradually focused on the meaning processes in different search contexts (for example, in a library search engine or in a search engine such as Google), favoring the search for more inductive models on information behaviors. An important component of the informative search is modeled through the meaning subjects give to their informative practices, considering that there is a technological structure in which information searches are carried out, in connection with other different languages. On this point, methodologies have focused on the construction of meaning from an inductive point of view (Dervin, 1998). The modeling of information search is understood from the scenarios of information practices, as part of the daily life of users who do not limit their searches only to formal contexts, but group strategies that operate in different sources as a practice of information search within daily life (McKenzie, 2003; Savolainen, 2008b), recently expanded to a more robust model with theoretical potential (Savolainen and Thomson, 2021). Search has been an important component of information practices, understood as the totality of ways in which people search for, use, and share information in different contexts (Savolainen, 2010). One aspect of information seeking studied in the United States since the 1970s has been nonwork information seeking, formally known as everyday life information seeking (ELIS). It is expressed in a variety of domains, including leisure time activities, for example, such as those related to consumption, health care and hobbies (Savolainen, 2010).

There is a variety of topics in ELIS studies, mainly focused on diverse groups, such as urban young adults, adolescents making career decisions, elderly people, parents with children under five, battered women, overweight women, hospital patients, blind and visually impaired citizens, homeless parents, immigrants, people interested in paranormal topics, amateur cooks, environmental activists, among others (Savolainen, 2010). The main ELIS models include the Sense-making approach (Dervin, 1983), the small or impoverished world theory (Chatman, 1991), ELIS ecological model (Williamson, 1998), ELIS in the context of the way of living (Savolainen, 2008b), the information practices model (McKenzie, 2003), and the concept of information fields (Fisher and Naumer, 2006).

Studies on judgments to search, evaluate and retrieve information stand out in ELIS, highlighting that they are dynamic, complex (non-binary) and changing in users over time, among them there is the relevance and pertinence criteria (Borlund, 2013; Roitero *et al*., 2020; Savolainen and Kari, 2006) and the preference criterion (Savolainen, 2008a); these criteria are popular in research focused on web search. Regarding the study of the preference criterion, there is no defined basis for its approach because its studies are still exploratory. As for the relevance criterion, there are two ways: testing with predefined judgments and relevance identification, in which the user defines criteria arising from self-assigned search tasks, depending on variables and subjectivities that affect their idea of relevance (Savolainen and Kari, 2006; Savolainen, 2015).

Health information searches on the Internet

Since the late 1990s, the internet burst in as an everyday source (Rieh, 2004), reconfiguring ELIS practices by providing easily accessible sources, complementing (without replacing) traditional or analog sources (Savolainen, 2008b, 2010). For giving an approximation of the volume of information produced decades later, 361 million videos were uploaded on YouTube in March 2020 in the categories of “COVID-19” and “COVID 19” and there were 550 million messages on Twitter with the terms: coronavirus, corona virus, covid19, covid-19, covid_19 or pandemic.

The antecedents to infodemics can be traced in the academic literature from the 1970s, related to the reception of too much information, characterized as a break from the amount of information elements that can be understood by a subject in a given context, a situation that led to various constructs related to overload and fatigue (i.e. information overload, information fatigue, communication overload), grouped along three axes of interest: retrieval, ordering and analysis, decision and communication (Eppler and Mengis, 2003).

In 1996, the neologism infoxication (conjunction of the terms information and intoxication) emerged, an adaptation of the English term information overload used by Alfons Cornella to encompass the growing production of information at the end of the 20th century, mainly in companies (Cornella, 1998). Many studies have used this term since the early twentieth century to account for cognitive aspects and increasingly in the social effects but adding the health-information relationship along to the consumption habits of subjects and the quality of information (Dias, 2014). The term infoxication is also associated with aspects related to the quality of information rather than quantity, for example, in the work of verifying information from journalism (Franco and Gértrudix, 2015).

Infodemiology, on the other hand, is a term coined since 2002 by Eysenbach (2002) to propose an interdisciplinary research methodology that studies the determinants and distribution of health information and misinformation. The author defines it as the distribution and determination of information in an electronic medium, especially on the internet or in a population, with the objective of informing public health and public policy (Eysenbach, 2011). Similarly, infodemic has focused on the broader context of information production, insisting on thinking of health and information issues as a joint phenomenon that has also focused on the context of disinformation. A clear example of this phenomenon was Google searches using terms to account for the symptoms of a cold or flu in 2018, when the Google Flu Trend app was launched to use information about online searches (Eyesenbach, 2011). The infodemiology proposal uses the concept of infovigilance, a type of online health information monitoring and cyberbehavior for public health. Likewise, Eyesenbach (2011) has developed this emerging area of research using infometrics and web analytics tools to measure attitudes, behavior, knowledge and consumption of health-related information.

Given that the number of users resorting to the Internet for basic health-related information has been increasing, Mayo-Yáñez *et al*. (2021), influenced by infodemiology and using Google Trends data as a source of information, statistically analyzed the use of Internet-based information, focusing on the search for behaviors related to Covid-19 in the autonomous community of Galicia, Spain. For this purpose, the authors systematized, interpreted and compared the data downloaded from the search entry with the keywords (individually and in combination): Coronavirus, Covid-19, SARS-CoV-2. They conclude, among other things, that Big Data analysis of the internet in health research has potential, i.e., studying internet search patterns makes it possible to assess public interest regarding a number of health-related topics. One of their main findings was that the term coronavirus, being the most generically used by users, has a linear correlation with the number of confirmed cases of Covid-19 in a statistically significant way.

The pandemic led to a novel production of health information in record time in a viral form, consistent with the metaphor of the virus and its possibilities to propagate and its social effects in sociodigital networks (Zarocostas, 2020). This virality was taken to a global scale by means of different technological devices, with a significant production coming from sources without medical, governmental or scientific authority (López Veneroni, 2021), placing the emphasis on the excessive abundance and not on the premeditation that allows separating misinformation -without intentionality- from disinformation -which disseminates information with the purpose of misleading (Floridi and Morán Reyes, 2012; Sequoiah-Grayson and Floridi, 2019; Simon Ríos, 2021).

The volume of information, along with its intentionality and veracity about COVID-19, caused risky social behaviors that are still under analysis, such as the rejection of vaccines, doubting the existence of the virus and not abiding by elementary protective measures such as healthy distance and the use of masks (López Veneroni, 2021, p. 299), creating confusion about the data coming from health sciences (Alfonso Sánchez and Fernández Valdés, 2020).

Pellegrini (2021) says that there are different ways of seeing the pandemic due to the excess of information (both truthful and erroneous), mediated from different interpretative frameworks, in which the absence of dialectical reasoning prevailed and in which it was possible to characterize, according to the meaning given by means of specific argumentative elements coming from different information, homogeneous or contrasting, full of contradictions, focused on the progression of events, either dynamic or static, when it was necessary to approach a particular aspect and informative relations that were established between different situational contexts.

From the framework of Evidence-Based Library and Information Practice (EBLIP), it is possible to imagine an approach to the informational practices of users in digital culture and infodemic, considering that libraries have a relevant role in digital transformations (Pérez Salmerón, 2018). An evidence-based study that points to the centrality of information in the health crisis by COVID-19 is that of Montesi (2021), who starts from the idea that informational practices allow people to adapt to the changes derived from crises.

Montesi (2021) asserts that the contribution of library and information science (LIS) and human information behavior (HIB) research provide evidence, to some extent, on the implications of information on people. The author also insists that HIB and health information practices can be addressed more deeply in local or specific contexts and go beyond methodologies based solely on massive data, i.e., it is urgent to contemplate a framework to investigate, from library knowledge and communication research, users, their experiences and their contexts under situations of health crisis, disinformation and infodemic, since the research done has been on information practices in *normal* circumstances.

Discussion: digital culture, towards information and communication

Campillo Vélez (2021, p. 57) points out that the pandemic was "a good excuse to use the digital". However, digital culture has been an everyday life dimension for several decades, and as a concept it has undergone a dizzying evolution since its first mention in the mid-1970s, generating its own subconcepts since then, while it has been related to various topics, including information management, literacies, and information sciences (Hidalgo Toledo, 2021a). Hidalgo Toledo's (2021a) argument is taken up again to specify digital culture as a conceptual category capable of conversing with information studies pointing out that although it has a direct relationship with information "the symbolic and material processes that arise from the interaction with digital transformation and the reality that it produces and sustains" (p. 317) should be central.

Searches for information on the web are an inherent part of the digital environment, hence of everyday life as a whole; what we search, consume and produce on the internet is digital culture, now accentuated by the pandemic (Trejo Delarbre, 2021), but always based on digital technologies and their mediations, therefore, it is a culture in constant transformation that challenges researchers to take advantage of consolidated instruments of the social sciences and at the same time employ methods to approach the digital (Flores-Márquez and González, 2021) and hypermediatized lives (Hidalgo Toledo, 2021b). Given the digitization and virtualization of everyday practices through devices and screens, life itself has become digital; it is a digital culture that is being redefined and transformed, at the same time that academic interest increases over the years (Hidalgo Toledo, Rodrigues da Cunha and Barredo Ibáñez, 2020).

From some positions in the health sciences, García-Saisó *et al*. (2021) consider "infodemics" as the scenario that opens the need to promote media and information literacy (skills that allow verifying digital content). This literacy, as has been widely discussed, speaks of the role of information professionals and of a critical competence in information, also called information literacy (Alfonso Sánchez and Fernández Valdés, 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic further accentuated this digital culture in an increasingly convulsive, complex and contradictory information society. In this sense, a connection between information studies and librarianship with communication sciences has been info-communication, conceived as a complex action that seeks to "articulate information with the communicative processes that mobilize it, mediated by educational processes" (Pirela Morillo, 2021, p. 82); info-communication urges to discuss theoretically and in an interdisciplinary way the articulation between information, communication and technological mediation, both in the production-circulation and in the consumption of content on digital platforms (Pasarelli *et al*., 2014; Saladrigas and Linares, 2017).

There is research that focus on the use of the media by citizens to inform themselves about the COVID-19 pandemic. These studies, mostly quantitative, show interest in the equivalent competencies between media literacy and information literacy, having a bridge between the two the technologies that mediate the consumption and access to information sources (Muñiz, 2021). For their part, Grajales *et al*. (2014) qualitatively studied the health information that interacts with users from digital social networks and media applications, reviewed narratives in several cases to understand the different ways in which people use the internet for health care and the reasons for doing so, with the objective to show how informed decisions are made from the daily use of social networks and similar tools.

Info-communication explores universal literacy (information, cognitive and media literacy) to strategically address problems, including the overabundance of information (Pirela Morillo, 2021). However, it is necessary to point out that, beyond digital competencies and information consumption habits, people, in their daily lives, conduct their own information practices. Users develop criteria for selecting one source or another when searching for information on a given topic. It is essential to consider three aspects to address information practices on the Internet: 1) the user's point of view in the context of everyday life; 2) the theoretical background and empirical contributions to discuss the ways in which people access and use diverse (although sometimes limited) sources of information to satisfy information needs in areas such as health, consumption, education, transportation, and leisure (Savolainen, 2008b); and 3) that users create their own digital ecosystems, i.e., they reconfigure their environments, making them more complex (Figuereo Benítez, 2019).

Information and communication have a natural bond, information-seeking behavior and human informational practices in general are within a larger area, which is the very study of human communication practices in an everyday sense (Savolainen, 2007). However, in the absence of an interdisciplinary conceptual framework focused on the study of health information practices on the Internet in times of pandemics and infodemics, it is urgent to consider these practices as a changing phenomenon within digital culture, connecting the knowledge of libraries and information studies with the communicational perspective.

Given the abundant presence of global information flows and communications, it is necessary to consider the critical view of the global information order, which in turn alludes to the challenges of approaching a technological and digital culture, in which identities and practices are ordered, disordered and reordered by means of information (Lash, 2002). Studying the uses and social practices within the uninformed society of information, due to irrational information overload, misinformation, disinformation and uncontrolled information (Lash, 2002), represents opening the way to new objects from solid approaches to the study of communication and information.

Conclusions

From academic libraries, it has been essential to decode infodemic by incorporating elements from different fields of action, including the study of digital culture and communication. Addressing the phenomena related to the search for information in the context of the pandemic from research implies an open look at the world of the subjects, in which the search for meaning and the daily ways of approaching the multiplicity of sources, beyond their criteria of quality or extension, are emerging as constitutive elements to investigate the informative practices that face high uncertainty processes, from the possible constitution of identities and ways of thinking from aspects derived from the logics of the same information.

The main element emerges from this subjectivity to study these informative practices of the user in the digital culture, representing a challenge for future research since they have to focus on the motivations, interpretations and experiences of the subjects, but without losing sight of the environment that they configure from the overabundance of information sources and processes in which performance is the axis of the practice, where speed and compression are key to approach these issues, as Lash says:

> The creation of meaning or knowledge is the gloss, the commentary of everyday activities, and is inseparable from them. In technological culture, reflexivity is not an independent reflection process. There is a lack of time and space for such reflection. There is a fusion of words and things, thought and practice. Thinking is not only doing; it is also communicating. In technological culture, reflexivity becomes practice: it becomes communication. (2002, p. 46)

In this aspect, we cannot ignore the scenario of uncertainty and the complex context through which information processes go through, as in the case of the pandemic, since the excess of information not only prevents finding reliable sources, but also invites to discuss with different disciplines to approach the search for meaning in everyday life and the digital transformations in times of crisis.

The role of academic libraries, given their nature of service to users and their legitimate interest in research on the phenomena surrounding infodemics and digital culture, is becoming increasingly relevant in the field, especially because they are open to interdisciplinary dialogue and have been able to generate their own models to understand the context in which they operate, still lacking a relation between communication and information sciences in a deep and reflective sense.

It is up to librarianship and information studies to develop a critical, less naive view, so that they can provide information in relation to subjectivities, behaviors and needs by analyzing the information practices of users in digital culture and infodemics. In this sense, the bridge between communication sciences and information is not only possible but urgent, based on the contributions and methodological hinges proposed by Fuentes-Navarro (2002), in his shift to everyday life, useful for research from academic libraries.

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REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.08

Political discourse analysis. Methodological proposal for its use as a tool

Análisis político del discurso. Propuesta metodológica para su uso como herramienta

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Received on: 08/01/2023 **Revised on:** 20/01/2023 **Approved on:** 27/01/2023 **Published on:** 01/03/2023

Abstract
This article offers the results of a bibliographical research conducted with the intention of offering a methodological proposal based on the epistemological perspective underlying the Political Discourse Analysis, whose origin is found in the work of Laclau and other authors. For this purpose, an exhaustive review of the conceptualisations surrounding Discourse, Hegemony and Politics is made in order to, subsequently, present in detail the possibilities offered by Political Discourse Analysis as a tool for social analysis. Finally, based on the authors reviewed, a proposal of methodological steps to develop Political Discourse Analysis applied to focused social phenomena is presented. It is concluded that Political Discourse Analysis as a perspective of analysis is fully valid for both large and small phenomena, and that the proposed methodology can be dynamically adapted to each of the requirements presented.

Keywords
Discourse analysis, political discourse analysis, hegemony, politics, Laclau.

Suggested citation: Vega-Ramírez, J. (2023). Political discourse analysis. Methodological proposal for its use as a tool. *Universitas-XXI, 38*, *Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanas,* pp. 182-200. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.08

Resumen

Este artículo ofrece los resultados de una investigación bibliográfica generada con la intención de ofrecer una propuesta metodológica basada en la perspectiva epistemológica subyacente al Análisis Político del Discurso (APD), cuyo origen se encuentra en la obra de Laclau y otros autores. Para esto se realiza una revisión exhaustiva de las conceptualizaciones sobre discurso, hegemonía y política con el fin de presentar en detalle las posibilidades que ofrece el análisis político del discurso como herramienta de análisis social. Finalmente, con base en los autores revisados, se presenta una propuesta de pasos metodológicos para desarrollar el análisis político del discurso aplicado a fenómenos sociales focalizados. Se concluye que el análisis político del discurso como perspectiva de análisis es plenamente válido tanto para fenómenos extensos como pequeños, y que la metodología propuesta puede adaptarse dinámicamente a cada uno de los requerimientos presentados.

Palabras clave

Análisis del discurso, análisis político del discurso, hegemonía, política, Laclau.

Introduction

The notion of discourse, understood as an elaboration rooted in reality that does not generate a parallel construction abstracted from the concrete, but rather denotes another form of materiality, belongs to the very understanding of the social aspect. This elaboration tells us that discourse exists in itself, seeking to install its understanding of reality on other understandings, in a development whose materiality is not necessarily a set of declared words, but a series of intentional actions or decisions (Halliday, 1978; Wodak and Meyer, 2003). Each discourse seeks to rise up and install itself with the intention of validating, through its representation, a form of society that ultimately finds in itself a form of preservation. Discourse thus becomes a way of power,[1] without being power itself. The nature of power is expressed in

1 Given the divergence of understanding in the concept of "power", we will use its spelling with lower case when alluding to the word as a verb (power as an action) and with initial capital letter when alluding to the word as a noun (power as an object).

the imposition of a discourse with the pretension of being superior, overcoming other forms of understanding, establishing its primacy and confirming its scope thanks to its hegemonic character (Butler *et al.,* 2003; Foucault, 1979, 2002; Wink, 1986).

Therefore, developing discourse analysis processes allows to deepen our understanding of reality, although it should be noted that not all analytical perspectives allow us to understand in the same way the reality denoted in discursive bodies organized around certain phenomena. In this article we offer a proposal for methodological development based on the political analysis of discourse promoted by Laclau and other authors (Barrett, 1994; Buenfil Burgos, 2019; Critchley and Marchart, 2008; Laclau, 1987, 2005; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), based on the revision of conceptualizations around discourse, hegemony, society and politics.

Discourse and reality

The idea of discourse is not that of an orderly presentation of narratives of meaning, but rather a statement assumed in diverse manifestations expressed in different contexts, always denoting the need to impose itself on other elaborations. Discourse denotes the understanding of reality, without it necessarily being the discourse that artificially composes or creates reality. Reality can be influenced, modified and altered by discourse (Jäger, 2001), but it does not construct it by itself. The accent of discourse, as a construction, is that it seeks collectivity, demanding a double hermeneutic for its understanding (Giddens, 1982; Infante, 2019) where the subject does not exist but in the understanding of society, which in turn is constituted by the understanding of the subject. This recursivity makes us understand that discourse will never be naive, but will always be constituted as an effective materiality denoting a relation of Power. This double hermeneutic, as a double articulation of Power, assumes that the person constitutes (and not only composes) society, which in turn constitutes (and is not only composed of) people.

This way of understanding discourse makes it understand itself as a contingent and necessary form of analysis, since discourse functions as a manifestation and support of an ideological framework, which is also a message, a statement, a materialization (Vega and Contreras, 2022). There is an ideological construct, understood as a notion of sustaining a way of being society, a constituted collective, where relations of collaboration and subjection (Butler *et al*., 2003; Gee, 2005), of relation and antagonism-agonism (Mouffe, 2007; Mouffe, 1999), of obscuring and manipulation (Sloterdijk, 2003; Žižek, 1989).

Therefore, we can approach this materiality called discourse from a submissive, optimistic or critical position. We can consider it as a vehicle of valid ideas, in a naive vision, or we can consider it as a propagandistic medium. In any case, we can raise a suspicion about the layers in which it is constructed, understanding that what is said will never be only what is said, but the whole. As Angenot (2010) states, we can not only enter the discourse from its manifestation, but also from the social "decipherable" possibility, making it possible to analyze the discourse permanently from its greater depth.

Therefore, a valid tool for understanding reality is discourse analysis (Alonso, 1993; Wodak, 2001b; Garrido, 2002; Wodak and Meyer, 2003; Butler *et al*., 2003; van-Dijk, 2003; Gee, 2005; Berg Dyrberg, 2008), understood as the visualization of ideas and conceptions expressed in different ways that constitute a unitary whole and allow us to understand a particular worldview. As Jägger says:

> Discourse analysis is not (only) concerned with the interpretations of something that already exists, and therefore it is not (only) concerned with an analysis aimed at the *post festum* assignment of meaning, but with the production analysis of the discourse (2001, p. 67).[2]

Forms of discourse analysis

There are three possible currents in the literature review that allow us to approach the phenomenon of discourse(s) from the density of the ideological background of the same: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA) and Political Discourse Analysis (PDA).

When this deepening takes on the character of a linguistic discourse analysis that denotes the relationship of power, injustice and inequality expressed, we speak of critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1999a). Thus, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the study that is concerned with the relations-

2 From this perspective, it is understood that discourse denotes a reality, both from psychology and from sociology and linguistics, enabling its analysis from a background in permanent dialogue with the context.

hip between the discourse presented (from its different materiality) and the context in which it arises to analyze not only what it means in its context, but also how much it influences the construction of reality. We can say then that critical discourse analysis is a field concerned with the interrelationship built between discourse and the context in which it occurs (Franquesa, 2002).

As a field of study, its history can be traced in full use to 1970; however, its first mention dates back to 1952, in the articles by Z. S. Harris "Discourse analysis" and "Discourse analysis: a sample text" (Harris, 1952a, 1952b), which develop an analysis of utterances in overcoming the limits of their expressions (Sayago, 2014). One of the difficulties alluded to by the author in his articles is the difficulty in establishing the relationship between social behavior and language, which opens the door to the analysis of discourse in its context (Garrido, 2002). The consideration of language as an object of interest in its broad relationship is an interesting challenge previously addressed by the studies of the Vienna circle, especially Wittgenstein (2003) and complemented by the sociological studies of Halliday (1978) and the linguistic studies of van Dijk (1999b). This indicates that there is not a single development of critical discourse analysis, nor a single methodology of development (Wodak, 2001a; Berardi, 2003; Wodak and Meyer, 2003), since its installation occurred both from Linguistics and Semiotics, with its application and appropriation by the Social Sciences as a particularly positive tool (Santander, 2011).

Critical discourse analysis proposes that this analysis can always be developed in phases: linguistic and semantic relationships, linkages of families of meanings, speech styles, ways of saying, turns of phrase and regionalisms that denote types of relationship. In all of them, the dynamics of Power as a constituent of society is seen as the main vector, as observed in the work of Foucault and others (van Dijk, 1999b; Jäger, 2001; Franquesa, 2002; Berardi, 2003; Wodak and Meyer, 2003).

On the other hand, there is what some researchers, headed by Ron Scollon (Scollon, 1998b), have called mediated discourse analysis (MDA), a perspective that states that the discourse-individual relationship belongs to a circularity closer to what is observed, since discourse accounts for a vision of society and the relationships generated in it, which in turn modify the vision of the individual who generates these discourses, a circularity that is understood when we realize that discourse always arises from collectivized individualities. This type of analysis emphasizes the action generated by discourse and its relationship with society, so that its main points of analysis are action, context, history and community (Scollon, 1998a, 1999, 2001; Wodak, 2001a; Wodak and Meyer, 2003).

Finally, political discourse analysis (PDA) states that discourse is never innocuous, but is an effective materiality, which focuses on "the decisions of inclusion and exclusion of any system of meanings" (Buenfil Burgos, 2010, p. 1). Circularity is generated in the dynamics of the double circularity or double articulation that assumes that the person builds society, which in turn builds people; however, this construction process is the one that gives consistency to the political act, since all enunciated language is an act of Power and, in turn, of politics. The differentiated deepening in this aspect is the understanding of the ideology-power relationship that is seen in the constituted discourse, with the contribution of the new studies of politics and the political from poststructuralism (Pineda, 2022) and, given that all discourse thus entails an ideological/political component, its analysis allows understanding the constitution of society in a permanent struggle of ideology, hegemony and power (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Butler *et al*, 2003; Gómez Bocanegra and Morillo-Velarde Pérez, 2006; Critchley and Marchart, 2008; Correa and Dimaté, 2011; Burgos *et al.,* 2012; Southwell, 2020).

This allows to use it as a tool of analysis focused on determined and sufficiently dense phenomena, in Hegelian terms, which in turn serves as a manifestation of society at a certain point or at a particular moment in its history. Collectivized history usually finds these moments or phenomena in its adequate analysis. Thus from PDA we can identify this form of positioning on the discourse studies as varied as political structures, revolutionary movements, totalitarian regimes, indigenist movements, social movements, feminism, gender studies, racism, philosophical currents, state, nationalism and indigenism, homosexuality, discrimination, Kemalism, religion and others, in a long journey of multiple academics and intellectuals who continue to conduct research and crossings between the perspective of PDA positioning and reality, in terms of the social (Buenfil Burgos and Navarrete, 2012).

Political discourse analysis

How can we define political discourse analysis? We will take as a positioning the understanding offered by Rosa Nidia Buenfil Burgos, who speaks of political discourse analysis as a research perspective on social processes, which includes education among other areas. It highlights the political dimension of any discourse, i.e., it focuses on decisions about inclusion and exclusion in any system of meanings (2010, p. 1).

PDA is a work that "seeks to account for the ways in which structures of signification determine 'certain forms of behavior'" (Correa and Dimaté, 2011, p. 96). Its focus of interest is centered on understanding the way in which these discourses are generated and the influence it has on the construction of identity, in order to understand "how the discourses that structure the activities of social agents are generated, how they function and how they are changed" (Howarth, 1997, p. 125). The axes in which this relationship is defined are the understanding of hegemony and the hegemonic of the discursive exercise of power, ideology from a vision that goes beyond the merely symbolic of its understanding as mental representation proposed by Marxism (Howarth, 1997) and "the" political, as articulation between the particular and the universal and "the" political as structuring of hegemonic relations (Berg Dyrberg, 2008).

Its main analysis is observed in the work of Ernesto Laclau (1935-2014) and his study on the concepts of ideology, hegemony and politics (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Critchley *et al*., 1998; Butler *et al*., 2003; Critchley and Marchart, 2008). Laclau's work, deeply linked to his period of work at the Essex School (Townshend, 2003), has generated consensus, being developed by political theorists such as Mouffe (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Critchley *et al.,* 1998) and other first-generation researchers, trained directly with Laclau at Essex, such as Rosa Nidia Buenfil Burgos, Myriam Southwell and Ernesto Treviño Ronzón, among others.

One of the great contributions of Laclau's PDA has been the revitalization of the concept of politics and the political, beyond the partisan, which emerges from his analysis, focusing on a "post-Marxist" position, which should not be interpreted at all as a "non-Marxist" position (Berg Dyrberg, 2008) but rather assumes the need to review, unambiguously, the limits of Marxism as an explanatory account of reality in order to develop and overcome it without opposition. This element becomes the main reason of the Laclaudian effort, already outlined in "Hegemony and Socialist Strategy" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), and developed until the end of his days: the historical object of socialism, by its very nature, must be reviewed at each stage or moment of history, not as a modernist type of update, but as a requirement in the form of existence. Laclau shows explicitly the reasons that summon him, indicating as a necessity the:

> Structural transformations of capitalism that have reduced the classic working class in post-industrial countries; increasingly deep penetration of capitalist production relations in vast areas of social life, whose dislocatory effects - together with those derived from the bureaucratic forms that have characterized the welfare state - have generated new forms of social protest; the crisis and discredit of the model of society implemented in the countries of the so-called "actually existing socialism", which includes the denunciation of the new forms of domination established in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Laclau, 1987, p. 111)

Laclau and Mouffe's position refers to "new forms of domination established in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat", an analysis where Foucault's theory of Power joins the French theory of discourse to understand how what is said is a social construction that also requires a vision sufficiently updated in its contingent historical components to understand the way in which what is said is always a sign of the mode and the limit of what is said (Angenot, 2010). For the same reason, the PDA allows addressing, among other elements, the "cultural conditioning of what, in a given circumstance or historical-political process, can be said, thought and desired, and what is socially constituted as a taboo subject, being repressed, tendentially, from its public enunciation" (Fair, 2016, p. 202). The PDA analyzes what is said, what can be said and what is taboo, as a pivotal element to understand the social idea of what is said not only in context, but also in project, in a subjective positioning with the aim of perpetuating a certain vision of history, subject and meaning (Fair, 2021).

Hegemony and society

The vision of hegemony proposed by PDA makes sense in this complexity. Hegemony from Laclau's PDA inherits the vision of Gramsci, who in turn inherits it from Russian social democracy and Leninism (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), as the social discourse of the minority group that, in turn, holds power and represents it by imposing it on the majority, opening the door to the concepts of liberation (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), representation of power that in historical perspective opens the doors to the concepts of liberation (Gutiérrez, 1971), alienation (Wink, 1986) and oppression (Freire, 2005), typical of the Latin American tradition. While Gramsci visualizes that the power of the few can be exercised against the many, given the cultural conditioning of these many, the cultural conditioning of these many is transformed into a culture of oppression, so much so that whoever is oppressed is not visualized as someone in himself, and therefore is not understood as a constituent of a whole. The understanding of the community, the whole and the collective become essential to overcome the oppression that is installed in each one and that unfolds in the opposite direction from the each one (Freire), therefore the old explanatory structures of the social order need to be reversed, even disdaining the logic of hierarchy as a power structure, even when it tries to justify it, for example, from an arbitrary divine configuration (Boff, 1989). The category of liberation is a structure that explains the class struggle of classical socialism, revised by Laclau given the need for contingent adequacy. The unrevised power structure ends up being a structure of sin (Wink, 1986) and oppression (Gutiérrez, 1971) for those who are born in it, and by being born in it (or living with it) ends up justifying oppression without noticing its yoke (Casaldáliga and Vigil, 1992). Thus, the person disappears and the individual is installed, lacking a project, uprooted from his own power, unconscious of his transforming capacity and, therefore, alienated, justifying his oppression, which is not called as such, but rather as a "natural condition" (Jesuitas, 1997).

Laclau analyzes the concept of hegemony from the archeology of concepts, tracing its origins in Russian social democracy in which "hegemony" describes the execution of a political task by a group different from the one suggesting its emergence (working class carrying out the struggles for political freedom that the bourgeois class is incapable of executing). The historical contingency that justifies this assumption of roles is what gives its particular character to this form of understanding, allowing also to give a positive sign to the relationship between groups (already minority to majority), since the "hegemonized" majority group is allowed to enter history through this dynamic.

Thus, the concept of hegemony names a space rather than a relation, dominated by the tension between two relations "a) the relation between the hegemonized task and the class that is its "natural" agent, and b) the relation between the hegemonized task and the class that hegemonizes it" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 87). In their analysis, it is inevitable to notice that the relation is totally external and contingent, not causal or casual. The historicity of the conditions of the relationship means that it takes a different turn in the case of the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the working class when analyzed in the context of Europe and the surrounding history as a whole. It is then necessary to clarify the type of conditioning factors of the relationship and hegemonic space, among which the main one is the epistemological ideology that sustains the positioning of a collective: ideology. Ideology plays a unifying role in narratives and at the same time functions as supratext, sustenance, of the discursivity deployed.

This understanding also allows us to visualize the importance of the dissident voice. The hegemonic discourse is transformed into populist discourse that resolves the need for a unifying narrative by needy collectives, generated in the spaces by empty signifiers (Castro Orellana, 2019). Populism in Laclau's vision of hegemony responds to the need for a unifying narrative, transforming politics into "a dispute in the order of signifiers that crystallizes in a collective identity" (p. 124), a vision that contrasts with the development of the hegemonic vision in Dussel, heir to the Latin American liberationist tradition of Gutiérrez and Boff. In Dussell, the understanding of hegemony is more material (embodied) than in Laclau, attributing to politics the capacity to solve the body's deficiencies, material needs in planning the needs of a narrative of meaning (Dussel, 1977, 2009). Laclau's interpretation is the populist vision, revised numerous times throughout his work (Laclau, 2005) which, resolved by the hegemonic discourse, generates adhesion by representation or dissidence for feeling unrepresented and, on the contrary, deviated from the original feeling. The unrepresented is in a perspective that is not opposed but is in constant dialogue with respect to the original postulate.

The us/them, friend/enemy logic, typical of Schmitt's reading (Mouffe, 2007), does not make sense in a pluralist vision of social relations and above all of politics, given that the dichotomous relation of opposition closes the positions and, therefore, prevents the relationship. The understanding of hegemony in Laclau, and in general in the PDA, is that of relation and therefore the recognition of the other. It is the location of the other in the perspective of the antagonist, which makes the other, the one who escapes the logic of hegemonic discourse, *to be*, because insofar as the other *is* he/she establishes my own limit and possibility. Thus, the other is always in my relational sphere and defines me. Hence Mouffe prefers the term "agonism" to refer to:

> The conflicting parties, while assuming that there is no radical solution to their conflict, nevertheless recognize the legitimacy of their opponents (...) perceive themselves as belonging to the same political association, sharing a common symbolic space within which the conflict takes place. (Mouffe, 2007, p. 27)

A name that explains much better the relationship to be established in democratic contexts with a pluralist, radical and non-exclusive democracy (Mouffe, 1999).

Results: proposal for using political discourse analysis as a theoretical tool

Having established the main postulates of Laclau's PDA and their sources, we can try to formulate a proposal for organizing the PDA as a tool to analyze, assuming the limitation of moving from a perspective to a tool, proper to social research.

First, trying to define its limits, Fair (2016) analyzes the characteristics of the Laclaudian theory in comparison with the theory of social semiosis of Eliseo Verón (1987) and the theory of social discourse of Marc Angenot (2010), positing that the PDA has as a distinctive feature:

a. Emphasis on the constructive and social dimension of discourse, identities and community.
b. Emphasis on the material dimension of the signifying order.
c. The existence of a performative and transformative dimension of discourse.
d. Emphasis on the contingency, historicity and precariousness of the social.
e. The relational and intersubjective dimension of identities.
f. The polemic and antagonistic dimension of the social.

g. The interpretative character of all discourse analysis (Fair, 2016, p. 203).

As mentioned by Fair, the interpretative character of all discourse analysis helps us to focus on the type of interpretation. In the case of PDA, it is not a hermeneutics centered on grammar and rhetoric, but on semiotics and the capacity of discourse that make up hegemonic discourses valid in themselves. It should be mentioned that Laclau introduces the notion of empty signifier to refer to those signifiers devoid of meaning that leave an open field of exploitation for those who, in turn, emit it and make possible the development of a hegemonic discourse. This category of empty signifier fulfills a particular function, that of "renouncing its differential identity for the purpose of representing the purely equivalent identity of a communal space" (Laclau, 1996, p. 78), an essential issue to understand that the community cannot be represented absolutely by a form of understanding, but neither can it renounce being signified at all. Neither under-representation nor over-representation is a solution to the signifiers whose sign is a communitarian reality, the fact of being called an empty signifier is the recognition of its limit and self-definition without this meaning a closure.

Secondly, and following Jäger's discourse theory (2001), we must assume that discourse analysis cannot be limited only to the analysis of discursive practices, but also to non-discursive practices and their manifestations and materializations (pp. 93-99). This indicates that there are three types of strategies that can be analyzed in every discursive construction which must be related to the topic. Hence, the distinction between "discourse" and "text" must be assumed (Lemke, 1995), understanding discourse as a set of linguistic acts grouped around a "macro-theme", where the text is one of its possible manifestations (Wodak, 2001b). Thus, the following possible strategies can be used to analyze in a PDA process:

"Discursive practices" types*:* a) Intentional stories or narratives that arise from a personal reflection and that are publicly exposed in a context, and therefore are subject to revisions, omissions and intentions prior to their exposure. It is the perfectible discursive practice. b) Stories or narratives arising from a reflection of the exchange of ideas in a given context, and which is therefore reactive to a particular topic where the vision of the issuer is compelled to support or refute any of the positions. It is the emerging discursive practice.

"Non-discursive practices": c) Non-discursive practices with direct register, contextual actions that denote certain positions or understandings of reality and that generate the transmission of hegemonic positions from their symbolic force. The recording and the review can be reviewed, analyzed or discussed in the temporal distance established when these practices find their expression in physical supports. d) Non-discursive practices with indirect recording, contextual actions that denote certain positions or understandings of

reality and that generate transmission of hegemonic positions from their symbolic force but are not directly recorded, but are assumed or noticed through the recording of other actions.

"Manifestations and Materializations": e) They are the stable expressions of ways of expressing a discourse not in words or actions, but in non-communicative physical supports, typical of the stabilization of certain discourses over time. These are the social structures, the ways of operating of certain collectives, the naturalizations of certain actions or intentional practices with an ideological background.

A PDA proposal can be made with all these materials for the focalized phenomena, understanding them as the spaces of density in which the ideological idea manifests. Thus, four critical steps are proposed based on the various authors presented:

- Assumption of the notion of discourse not as a totalizing whole (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), therefore, filtering and eliminating elaborations that present univocal structures of truth from the general understanding. This step will allow a new revision of the previous discursive bodies, generating new levels of understanding regarding the discourses generated.
- Clarification of the ideological background underlying each set of discourses, understood from the double hermeneutic (Giddens, 1982) of recursive individual-society articulation: individual.
- Definition of the antagonist to the discourse, from its triple idea of enemy, limit and identity enabler (Butler *et al*., 2003).
- Manifestation/declaration of the consistency of the hegemony concept in the discourses from the logic of the diffusion of frontiers (Butler *et al*., 2003; Critchley *et al.,* 1998; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985).

The verification of each of these steps will allow to generate a conclusive proposal, which could be framed in a proposal for analyzing politics and the political from the selected phenomenon (Berg Dyrberg, 2008).

Conclusions and discussion

Political discourse analysis as a perspective of analysis is an option for an epistemological position on what discourses mean, no longer adopting the equivalence "discourse: word", but the understanding that a discourse is a statement of a way of understanding and living reality that is expressed through various strategies, the spoken word being one of these forms, and also the unspoken word, symbolisms, omissions and any action that reports a form of understanding of the world.

This places us in the perspective that the discourse is a statement assumed in diverse intentional manifestations expressed in different contexts, always denoting the need to impose itself over other less valid elaborations in the judgment of its holder.

Reality, as a consensus, can be influenced, modified and altered by discourse (Jäger, 2001), but it does not construct it by itself, hence discourse is validated as a hegemonic proposal for understanding the world. Discourse is placed as a construction since it seeks collectivity, demanding a double hermeneutic for its understanding (Giddens, 1982; Infante, 2019) where the subject only exists in the understanding of society, which in turn is constituted by the understanding of the subject.

The assumption of this way of understanding discourse gives more meaning to politics and the political (in Mouffe's classic statement) since we move on to the continuous political condition of the public act from the non-neutrality of the discursive act, affecting society and therefore each of the actions, expressions, omissions or silences in the context that supports the phenomenon studied.

The methodological proposal of organization and analysis that we offer from the perspective provided by the political analysis of discourse is a methodology that presents limitations of an exercise in permanent revision and development; however, it is presented as a coherent proposal, epistemically consistent and sufficiently attractive and necessary to approach the different phenomena that shape reality.

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https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.09

From strategy to veracity: the behaviour of Spanish political leaders at the beginning of the vaccination against COVID-19

De la estrategia a la veracidad: actitud de los líderes políticos españoles en el inicio de la campaña de vacunación contra la COVID-19

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Received on: 19/01/2023 **Revised on:** 15/02/2023 **Approved on:** 27/02/2023 **Published on:** 01/03/2023

Suggested citation: Méndez-Majuelos M. I., Melero-Petit I. M. and Domínguez-García, R. (2023). From strategy to veracity: the behaviour of Spanish political leaders at the beginning of the vaccination against COVID-19. *Universitas-XXI, 38*, pp. 201-219. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.09

Abstract

Twitter has become the most used social network for most political leaders and its use was significant during the hardest months of COVID-19. This paper analyzes the effects of speeches of the main political leaders in Spain on the management of the communication of COVID-19, in order to verify how their speech has influenced transparency and the increase in disinformation in this moment. Likewise, these data will allow us to observe which communication techniques have been used by the most representative figures linked to the management of the pandemic. Based on a triple approach methodological basis, a quantitative, qualitative and discursive content analysis will be carried out, analyzing the data with the SPSS tool, version 25. The results obtained show how institutional sources have propagated opinionated content on Twitter. more than informative. We also verify that the saturation of messages in the network has given rise to a greater use of fallacy mechanisms by the institutional subjects analyzed and, therefore, it has been possible to determine that the way in which communication has been managed about COVID-19 has contributed to the increase in misinformation. Hand in hand with the new emerging narratives, social technology and artificial intelligence to know the citizen opinion of the transparency portals.

Keywords

Twitter, COVID-19, political communication, disinformation, politicians, speeches, transparency, Spain.

Resumen

Twitter se ha convertido en la red social de Internet preferida por la mayoría de los líderes políticos y su utilización durante los meses más duros de la COVID-19 es significativa. Este trabajo analiza los efectos que los discursos de los principales líderes políticos en España han tenido en la gestión de la comunicación de la COVID-19, con el objetivo de comprobar cómo su discurso ha influido en la transparencia y en el aumento de la desinformación en este momento. Asimismo, estos datos permitirán observar cuáles son las técnicas comunicativas utilizadas por los representantes políticos más representativos y vinculados a la gestión de la pandemia en tres comunidades autónomas españolas. A partir de una base metodológica de triple enfoque, se realizará un análisis de contenido de carácter cuantitativo, cualitativo y discursivo, analizando los datos con la herramienta *SPSS*, versión 24. Los resultados obtenidos muestran cómo las fuentes institucionales han propagado en Twitter un contenido de carácter opinativo más que informativo. Además, se ha comprobado que la saturación de mensajes en la red ha dado lugar a una mayor utilización de mecanismos de falacias por parte de los sujetos institucionales analizados y, por tanto, se ha podido determinar que la forma en la que se ha gestionado la comunicación sobre la COVID-19 ha contribuido al incremento de la desinformación.

Palabras clave

Twitter, COVID-19, comunicación política, desinformación, políticos, discursos, transparencia, España.

Introduction

Disinformation in the context of pandemic has become the subject of political debate in several countries. Outside politics, the disinformation crisis is also important to ordinary citizens, who are increasingly exposed to fraudulent messages on social networks (Salaverría *et al*., 2020). Hence the need for a careful study on how political institutions have influenced transparency and the rise of disinformation.

Access to information and its truth is presented as a fundamental right related to the improvement of democracy (Cabra, 2012, pp. 69-75). The visibility and impact of requests for transparency addressed to public institutions have increased significantly in COVID-19 pandemic. The World Health Organization (2005) in unusual situations such as a health emergency points out that "[...] it is essential to provide information to raise awareness of the risks, to alert the population, but without generating panic and to increase confidence in the authorities managing the epidemic".

The absence of information and/or malpractice in its use in crisis situations leads to an impoverishment in the behavior of citizens, who are poorly informed and have no possibility of knowing the decisions made by their governments (Naciones Unidas, 2020). Disinformation has been one of the characteristics of the communications from governments during the COVID-19 crisis (Wagner, 2020). During the first months of confinement, and throughout 2020, the interest of society in knowing how the disease behaved, how to prevent its spread and what treatments or vaccines would be used to treat the virus increased (Anis, 2021).

Journalism during the pandemic characterized by the dissemination of a large amount of specialized information, but with the absence of a real specialization of journalists to address such information and by the exponential growth of information sources, many of them obtained from social networks, which was not possible to contrast (Román-San-Miguel *et al*. (2022) and was sensationalist, leading to social disinformation (Masip *et al*., 2020), and causing alarm, instead of serving as a tool to raise awareness and prevent the advance of the disease (Preso Linera, 2020; Pérez Conchillo, 2020).

Thus, faced with a global crisis scenario such as the one caused by COVID-19, this paper analyzes the discourse of political representatives on Twitter, at a crucial moment for citizens who need and demand easy, fast and truthful access to information. The following research objectives are set out based on the hypothesis that there was a growing disinformation of the Spanish society on Twitter profiles during COVID-19 of those responsible for the public health institutions, both at national and regional level:

OI1. To identify what types of content have been disseminated on social networks by the heads of the institutions responsible for the country's health policy.
OI2. To analyze the strategies used on Twitter by the representatives of the selected political institutions.
OI3. To identify the mechanisms of fake news used by the selected political leaders when elaborating their speeches.

To respond to these objectives we propose to study the characteristics and projection of the messages posted on Twitter by representatives of the government and the most populated autonomous communities in terms of health from December 26, 2020, when the first doses of vaccines arrived in Spain, to August 31, 2021, when there was 70 % of vaccinated people in the country (Güell *et al*., 2021).

State of the art

Truthfulness considered true here and now, may not be true in other latitudes or may -appearing true today- be demonstrated in a few years that it was never really true (Serra Cristóbal, 2021). The interpretation of truth as an entelechy reserved to the individual is widely shared; or as a consensus, based on the collective acceptance of minimum common parameters that make reciprocal understanding possible, based on shared norms and values (Galdámez Morales, 2021). However, the concept of truth is in the same proportion to the "real existence of things, it is nothing more than an ontologically reasonable idea" but, "without legal transcendence" (Urías Martínez, 2014, p. 110). Finally, it is also known as the process in which, by obtaining truthful information, citizens can consolidate "a plural and freely formed public opinion, contributing to the consolidation of the social and democratic rule of law" (López de Lerma Galán, 2018).

Based on this definition of truthfulness, when talking about information transparency in the public and political sphere, we understand that all those institutions or companies that are supported by public resources must be accountable to citizens, offering them clear evidence of all their actions, in this case, being transparent with their publications in the political and institutional sphere (Blanes Climent, 2013). Government transparency establishes two ways, one of them active, linked to public administrations and the duty to make public information available to citizens, and another, passive, in which the citizens request from the administrations the information they think is appropriate by their power (Pérez-Curiel *et al*., 2021).

Disinformation and information intertwine and intermingle, giving rise to post-truth (Méndez-Majuelos and Pérez-Castañeda, 2021). For this reason, citizens do not use rational tools to discriminate the information obtained but rather the subject bases his or her public opinions on emotions and beliefs. Thus, with the use of social networks during the pandemic, the representatives of communication have the power to select the news they will distribute to their group of followers.

Institutional communication must share quality information (Fraguas, 2019; Lechuga Mallo, 2020; Posetti and Bontcheva, 2020). For this reason, it is considered that a different, more informative, transparent and open approach to the disease would have raised public awareness of the danger of contracting Coronavirus in Spain much earlier (Presno Linera, 2020; Pérez Conchillo, 2020). The sum of errors and contradictory information generated and transmitted in the media and social networks amplified the feeling of misinformation and mistrust in a population that, at the same time, developed a mistaken and even denialist idea of the virus and its consequences (Pauner, 2021; Pérez Conchillo, 2020; Rojo Martínez *et al*., 2020; Samuel-Azran and Hayat, 2019).

In this regard, we must also consider the influence of political messages on social networks; in fact, political representatives have a great influence on the disinformation generated in the country, especially on social networks (Pérez Curiel and García Gordillo, 2020) and in crisis situations. The amplification capacity of social networks also represents another element to the impact that institutional and political communication can have on society. Thus, the platforms that have had more connectivity and where information has been disseminated more have favored new users to the network, with Twitter increasing by 23 % as a result of COVID-19 (Vives, 2020).

For their part, far-right and populist political parties aim, as previous research has shown, to destabilize democracy in times of global crisis (Levitsky and Ziblatt, 2018). An example of this are the conspiracy theories carried out by the former president of government Donald Trump where he accused China of the creation of the pandemic and the insertion of drug advertisements, without scientific base (Chadwick and Cereceda, 2020). On the other hand, the use of public communication channels makes them a perfect platform for source journalism and the dissemination of targeted information in times of social or institutional crisis (Gil-Ramírez *et al*., 2019; Wilcox *et al*., 2001).

Political leaders use social networks from a non-objective point of view. Thus, the capacity for influence and virality is key to the success of a given politician. In this way, the citizen has access to information that is consciously biased by the political leader of his country. However, the configuration and execution of populist discourses will vary according to the territorial policies of each community (Rivas-de Roca *et al*., 2022).

Materials and methods

Considering the theoretical approaches collected in this research that seek to determine the communication management of Spanish political leaders before the vaccination campaign against COVID-19, a triple approach methodology is applied, quantitative-qualitative (Silverman, 2016; Krippendorff, 2004; Neuendorf, 2002) and discursive (Nocetti, 1990; Van-Dijk, 2015; Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017). Thus, we opted to conduct a content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004; Colle, 2019), with the aim of reviewing the messages of Spanish political leaders on Twitter. This social network is chosen due to its relevance, its volume of users and the capacity for reproduction and viralization of its messages (Pérez-Curiel and García Gordillo, 2020).

The selection of political representatives has been made to compare the management of the pandemic from the Central Government, and from the autonomous communities with the largest population, i.e., Andalucía, Valencia and Madrid (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2022). Cataluña has been excluded to avoid contaminating the sample with discourses with ideological or identity-based nature. Thus, the institutional representatives for healthcare who have been chosen for the content analysis are Pedro Sánchez (President of the Spanish Government), Juan Manuel Moreno (President of Junta de Andalucía), Ximo Puig (President of the Generalitat Valenciana) and Isabel Díaz Ayuso (President of the Comunidad de Madrid). Carolina Darias (Minister of Health) and Jesús Aguirre (Minister of Health and Families of the

Regional Government of Andalucia) have been chosen as specific leaders in the field of health.

As for the time period analyzed, the sampling begins with the arrival of the first doses in Spain (26/12/2020) and extends until there was 70 % of vaccinated people in the country (31/08/2021). Although this time frame does not cover the entire vaccination process, the eight months analyzed allow us to obtain significant results, both in quantity and quality, supporting the conclusions.

The compilation of each of the tweets published by the representatives of the public institutions is done manually according to keywords (Cleary *et al*., 2014; Silverman, 2016) such as vaccine, vaccines and vaccination, which allows constituting a sample composed of 141 tweets published by these leaders. The statistical program used for processing the data related by categories is IBM SPSS Statistics, Version 24.

A coding manual is designed to conduct the study. It is composed of eight variables and responds to a triangulation of comparative content analysis that is segmented and coded as follows:

1. **Quantitative-qualitative analysis:** includes variables that allow to analyze the explicit content of the tweets published by political representatives. *"Informative content":* Informative, Interpretive and Opinion/valuative.
    - *"General topics":* Vaccine administration record, Vaccine sharing among countries/communities, Monetary fund invested in vaccines, Praising vaccine efficacy, and Demand for vaccines from the government.
    - *"Specific strategy":* Seeking national unity, Confrontation with other political parties, Self-defense, Relationship with the media, Polarization, and Raising awareness of vaccines.
2. **Discourse analysis:** The variables that facilitate the study of the discourse used by political sources in their publications are collected. These are:
    - *"Fake news Mechanisms":* Appeal to authority, Appeal to emotion. Appeal to force, Appeal to ignorance, False cause, Emphasis and None.
    - *"Discursive function":* Conative function, Referential function and Poetic and expressive functions.

A random sample of 30 tweets is analyzed for studying the thematic agenda and strategies in order to determine the main categories for each of them. In addition, these methodological tools respond to the research questions.

Table 1

Correspondence between research objectives and methods

Research Objectives (RO)	Indicators
(OI1) Identify the types of content disseminated on social networks by the people responsible for the country's health policy.	Informative content and general subject matter
(OI2) Analyze the strategies used on Twitter by the representatives of the selected political institutions.	Strategies
(OI3) Identify the mechanisms of fake news used by the selected political leaders when elaborating their speeches.	Fake news mechanisms

Resultados

Tras la exposición de los contenidos metodológicos que en este proyecto se ha realizado procedemos a la presentación e interpretación de los resultados. En este epígrafe se van a exponer los datos recabados del estudio de los tuits, producto del seguimiento de la actividad que los líderes institucionales españoles han tenido en Twitter durante el periodo de pandemia estudiado. De este modo, los resultados obtenidos del procesamiento de los datos nos muestran una serie de aspectos que, a partir del tipo de análisis realizado, mostramos en dos fases claramente diferenciadas.

Results

The results obtained from the data processing show aspects that, based on the type of analysis carried out, are shown in two clearly differentiated phases.

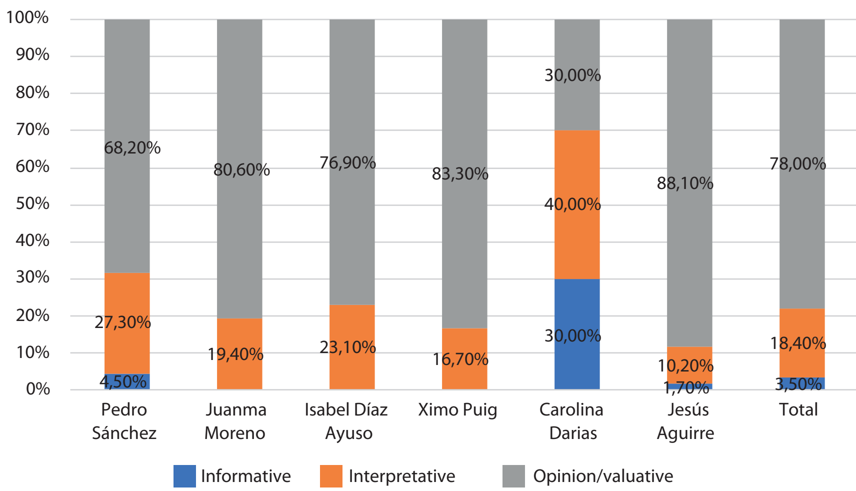
Phase 1: quantitative-qualitative analysis

Taking as a reference the total sample of the sample, we analyze, firstly, the type of informative content shown by politicians in the networks, the most frequently used topics, as well as the strategies they use when writing information. Within the informative content, a total of three elements will be differentiated: *informative, interpretative and opinion/valuative*.

Analyzing the *opinion/valuative* variable, the data confirm that it represents 78 % of the total. In this aspect, Jesús Aguirre stands out with a presence of 88.10 % in the analysis of his tweets, followed by Ximo Puig with 83.30 %, Juanma Moreno with 80.60 %, Isabel Díaz with 76.90 % and Pedro Sánchez with 68.20 %. However, in terms of interpretative content, which has been the next most used category by the protagonists, there is 18.40 % of use among the leaders. Minister Carolina Darias stands out with 40 % of the total analysis of her publications, being the only one that stands out in this category. On the other hand, with respect to informative content, which has been the least used option by the politicians studied, it has received 3.50 % of the total use of the sources of public institutions. Once again, the figure of Carolina Darias (30 %) continues to stand out, followed by Pedro Sánchez (4.50 %) and Jesús Aguirre (1.70 %).

Graph 1

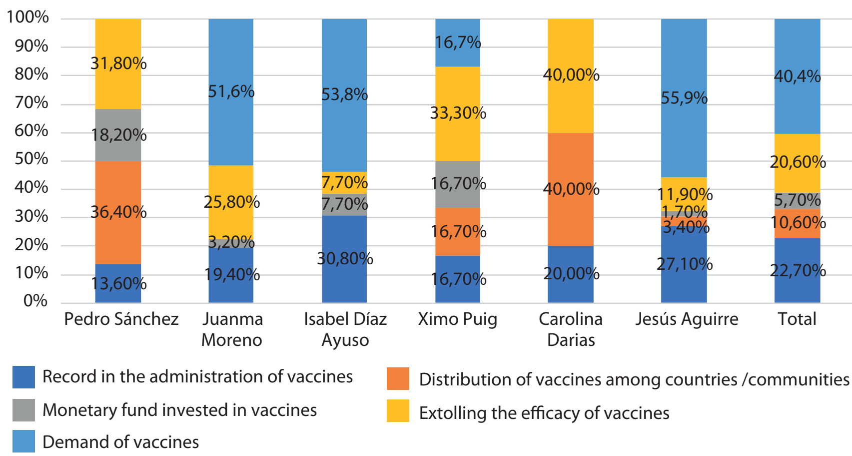
Type of information content provided by politicians



The data show that the topic with the highest use percentage with respect to the total most used by politicians (Figure 2) was *the demand for vaccines* *to the government* with 40.40 %. The protagonists who have used it the most have been political representatives in the Autonomous Communities, such as, for example, the Minister of Health of Junta de Andalucía (55.90 %), the President of the Community of Madrid (53.80 %) and the President of Junta de Andalucía (51.60 %). On the other hand, the category that has also received a high use percentage has been *record administration of vaccines* with 22.70 % and those using it the most have been Isabel Díaz Ayuso with 30.80 % and Jesús Aguirre with 27.10 %. As for the option *extolling the efficacy of vaccines*, it should be noted that it received 20.60 % of the total data analyzed. In this category, the role of Carolina Darias stands out as the political leader who has used it the most, followed by Pedro Sánchez with 31.80 %. However, the remaining variables *monetary fund invested in vaccines and distribution of vaccines among countries / communities* have been the least used by public institutions. The first mentioned has received only 5.70 % and the second 10.60 % of the total analyzed with the tool.

Graph 2

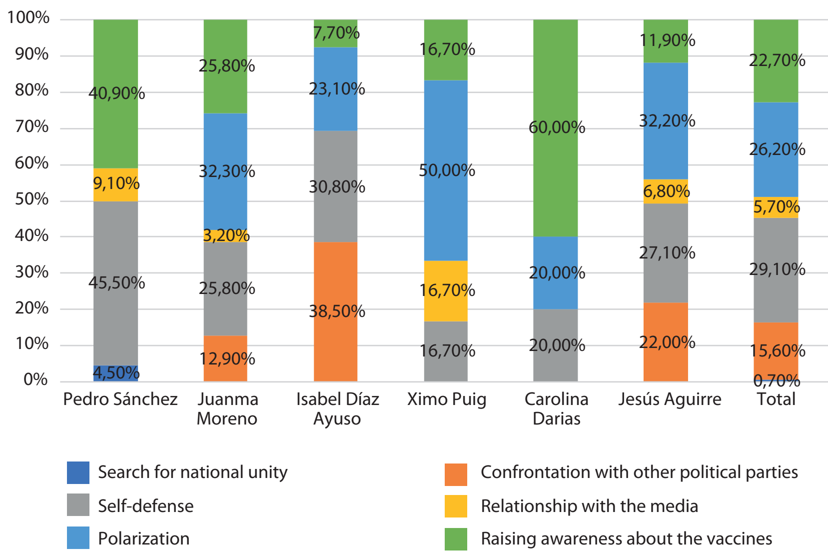
Themes used by public institutions



Regarding the disinformation strategies, one of the categories with more presence in the political speeches analyzed was *polarization* (26.20 %). It is striking that the only protagonist who did not use this strategy was the President of the Government, Pedro Sánchez, with 0 % of the data extracted from his tweets. It can also be observed that the most used strategy by all government leaders during the development of the Coronavirus has been *self-defense* with 29.10 % of the total number of tweets investigated (141). It is worth mentioning the presence of the item *raising awareness about the effectiveness of vaccines,* in which Carolina Darias stands out as the person who has used it the most (60 %) compared to Pedro Sánchez (40.90 %), showing that the prevention policy has been led by the managers of health policies. As for the variable *confrontation with other political parties*, the leader who has used it the most has been with 38.50 % along with the rest of the regional leaders of Partido Popular, while the discourse oriented towards the *search for national unity* is only used by the President of the Government Pedro Sánchez (4.50 %). Finally, regarding the *relationship with the media*, it should be noted that all of them use it to a greater or lesser extent, standing out the Valencian regional leader Ximo Puig.

Graph 3

Disinformation strategies of political leaders



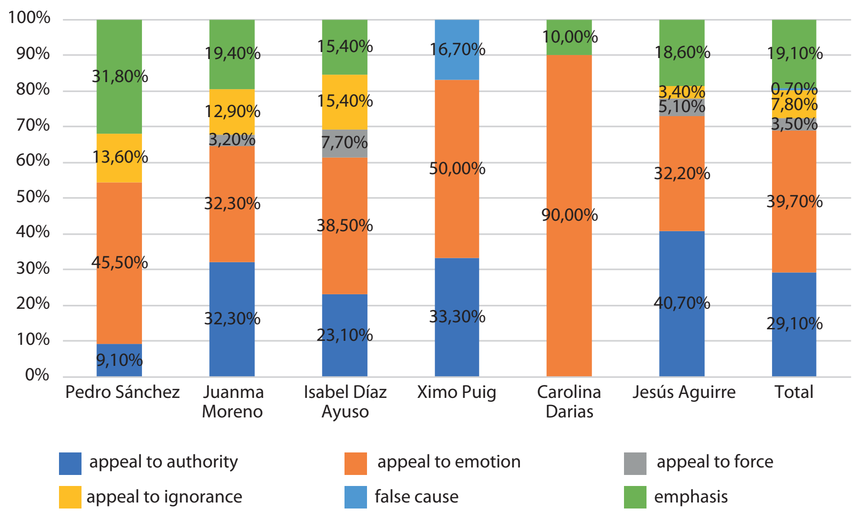
Phase 2: discourse analysis

Finally, the discourse analysis has been oriented to the mechanisms of *fake news and the discourse function* carried out. In this case, two complementary graphs h elaborated to visually represent the results of the analysis, showing the weighting from the highest to the lowest percentage of the total analyzed. They also evidence which mechanisms have been used consistently by each politician, indicating the percentage of each variable and its use.

In this sense, it is observed that the most used mechanism in the publication of tweets has been the *appeal to emotion* with 39.70 %, followed by the *appeal to authority* with 29.10 %; *emphasis* with 19.10 %; *appeal to ignorance* with 7.80 %; *appeal to force* with 3.50 %; and *false cause* with 0.70 % of the total sample of analyzed tweets (141).

Graph 4

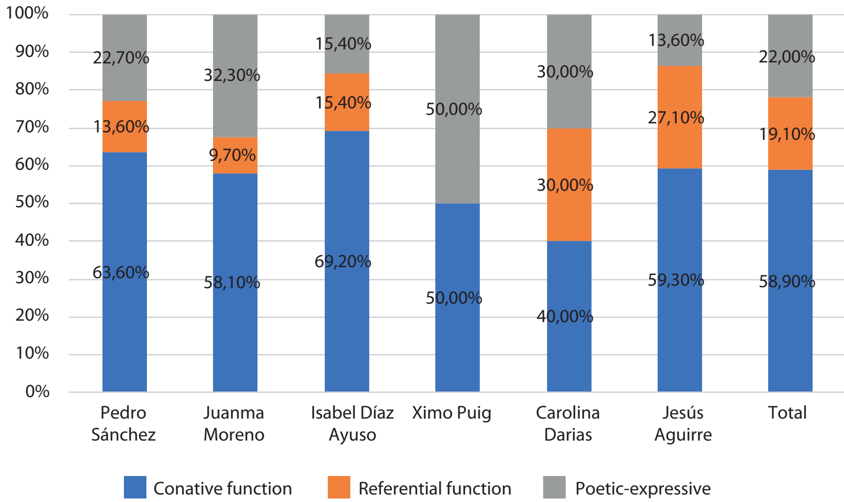
Mechanisms of fake news most used by politicians



Regarding the main category which is the *appeal to emotion*, the person who uses the most is Carolina Darias with 90 %, while regarding the variable *appeal to authority* the person who uses it the most is Jesús Aguirre with 40.70 %. It is also noteworthy that Pedro Sánchez relies on *emphasis* with 31.80 % to disseminate information. As for the protagonist who makes most use of the *appeal to ignorance*, the president of the community of Madrid, Isabel Díaz, stands out with 15.40 %. However, the last two variables used less frequently were the *appeal to force* and the *false cause*. In relation to the first one, Isabel Díaz is the one who has used it the most with 7.70 % and, in the second one, Ximo Puig stands out with 16.70 %, being the only one to use it.

To conclude this phase, the type of discursive function used by politicians when disseminating their information on Twitter has been measured from three variables: *conative function, referential function* and *poetic-expressive* functions. The *conative function* refers to those messages where there are constant recommendations on social, personal or economic behavior. In this case, one of the facts that has been most present in political leaders has been about the awareness of vaccines, since they have been considered essential to stop the spread of the virus. Therefore, the *referential function*, refers to those messages where a quantification is shown. These could be the number of people affected, the number of tests performed, or the total number of vaccines administered. On the other hand, the *poetic/expressive* function refers to those messages that have literary connotations, rhetorical figures or that use an unusual language with respect to the previous ones, for example, "a mortal enemy", "masks are our protection"...

Graph 5
Discursive functions of political leaders



Out of the three specified variables observed in graph 5, the conative function predominates in this analysis with 58.90 %. While the poetic-expressive function follows with 22 % and the referential with 19.10 %. Thus, the protagonists who have reached the highest percentages within each variable have been Isabel Díaz (69.20 %) in the conative function, Carolina Darias (30 %) in the referential function and Ximo Puig (50 %) in the poetic-expressive function.

Conclusions and discussion

According to the OI1, it has been possible to determine that the type of content published in their tweets by the most influential political leaders in the management of the pandemic has been basically *opinion/valuative*. This aspect shows that institutional leaders try to guide social opinion according to their political interests, prioritizing opinion over information, emotion over knowledge, aspects already mentioned by Darós (2001) as a manifestation of subjectivity, sacrificing objectivity and valuable knowledge for the citizen.

Another aspect that stand out in the analysis of the data collected on Twitter and that lead us to OI2 as a priority strategy used by political representatives has been *disinformation*, and among the most used topics in their tweets are the *demand for vaccines to the government*, used by all the representatives of the institutions responsible for health policy, but those who have most profusely reflected have been the regional governments, prioritizing this demand over other domestic problems, implying that their voters are more concerned about national politics than regional politics, which undoubtedly, and coinciding with Vara Miguel (2021), has meant one of the erroneous states of opinion and with more polarization of the population that have helped to promote the media and social networks during the pandemic.

Regarding the polarization resource, the results of this research lead us to OI3, since it has been observed that the most used mechanism has been polarization, from which the political leaders analyzed have tried to lead users to an ideological debate, as opposed to a health debate. Undoubtedly, this leads to the radicalization of the political discourse, confirming the conclusions obtained by Miller (2020), when stating that political representatives can sometimes generate social problems, instead of facilitate solutions to community problems.

On the other hand, we also identified that self-defense has been a strategic option, prioritized over information about the circumstances of the pandemic, showing how the level of emotions has prevailed over facts. Thus, as for the mechanisms of fake news, the use of the appeal to emotion from public institutions stands out, denoting the prioritization of pseudo reasoning to modify both the opinion and the state of mind of citizens, which would be identified with an irrational behavior of acceptance of a message that, supported by an apparent truth, originates more disinformation (Gordo Puertas, n. d.).

Finally, the discourse analysis also shows that the discursive function used by politicians has been the *conative function*, basing their arguments on continuous recommendations and advice to society about the social, personal or economic behavior that citizens should have during the development of COVID-19, a reflection of a paternalistic model through which many of them address the population, facilitating misinformation and distorting reality.

The limitations in carrying out this study have been those related to the territory and the period analyzed, marked by the call for elections in Cataluña, one of the most populated autonomous communities and with great consequences in the political life of the country, as well as the scarce reference to the object of study in the Twitter profiles of the health councilors of two of the autonomous communities analyzed, specifically Valencia and Madrid, but which have been compensated by the messages generated by their presidents.

In the face of a health emergency crisis such as COVID-19, this research points to the fact that political institutional sources have not disseminated information based on transparency and truthfulness, so it is advisable to design future research that, hand in hand with new emerging narratives, social technology and artificial intelligence, help to identify the citizen opinion of transparency sites, as well as the laws that support them, as a guarantee of quality information typical of a democratic state.

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REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.10

Individual, society and social field. Approaching Gabriel Tarde's infinitesimal sociology

Individuo, sociedad y campo social. Aproximaciones a la sociología infinitesimal de Gabriel Tarde

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Received on: 30/07/2022 **Revised on:** 30/08/2022 **Approved on:** 22/09/2022 **Published on:** 01/03/2023

Abstract
The work proposes to reconstruct the central features of Gabriel Tarde's sociology, with the aim of clarifying its concepts of individual, society and social field. We will seek to show that this sociological perspective, elaborated at the end of the 19th century, is still new today because it implies a way of conceiving the social and its historical processes. Its peculiarity lies in not adjusting itself to the epistemological distributions that have dominated the social sciences until nowadays: individualism-holism, micro-macro, agency-structure. Based on a philosophy and epistemology of infinitesimal difference, this sociology does not have individuals or social systems as the foundation of social life. Its starting point is a field of intermental beliefs and desires where individuals, groups and social systems are made and unmade.

Keywords
Tarde, society, individual, social field, sociology, beliefs, desires, propagation.

Resumen
Este trabajo propone reconstruir los rasgos centrales de la sociología de Gabriel Tarde, con el objetivo de esclarecer sus conceptos de individuo, sociedad y campo social. Buscaremos mostrar que esta perspectiva sociológica, elaborada a fines del siglo XIX, implica una forma de concebir lo social y sus procesos históricos que resulta novedosa en la actualidad. Su particularidad reside en no ajustarse a las distribuciones epistemológicas que dominaron las ciencias sociales hasta hoy: individualismo-holismo, micro-macro, agencia-estructura. Apoyada en una filosofía y una epistemología de la diferencia infinitesimal, esta sociología no tiene a los individuos ni a los sistemas sociales como fundamento de la vida social. Su punto de partida esel campo de creencias y deseos inter-mentales donde los individuos, los grupos y los sistemas sociales se hacen y se deshacen.

Palabras clave
Tarde, sociedad, individuo, campo social, sociología, creencias, deseos, propagación.

Suggested citation: Tonkonoff, S. (2023). Individual, society and social field. Approaching Gabriel Tarde's infinitesimal sociology. *Universitas-XXI, 38,* pp. 221-240. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n38.2023.10

Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century, Tarde set out the foundations of a science of the social that is still unique today, which seeks to formulate general principles, theoretical concepts and research methodologies that consider difference and change as starting points, but also as points of arrival. A science that, starting from the phenomenal variety of the social world, is able to account for its units, similarities and durations, without losing along its constitutive plurality, heterogeneity and dynamism. Thus, instead of postulating structures and systems that homogenize diversity, making it irrelevant (totalism), or affirming a plurality of individualities that render the whole nominal (atomism), it finds an alternative capable of thinking the conjunction of the multiple and different, but without uniformity, and without sticking to static frames, assuming that while there is permanence, there is no change.

According to Tarde, the intellectual framework that will allow this challenge is the thought of infinitesimal difference and its compositions. The development of this perspective is in Leibniz´s philosophical thought and an epistemology oriented by analogies taken from differential and integral calculus. Hence, a (neo) monadology and infinitesimal perspective, capable of producing a "quiet revolution" in the social sciences, because it leads to discover that variety, fluctuation and incompleteness are the primary characters of social reality. The same occurs in the realm called subjective or individual — as well as for the rest of nature. Thus, it is a question of producing concepts and methods that account for the "picturesque" of the social as a fundamental feature of its own, instead of considering it as a dissipating appearance, as a mist that covers its reality in the clear, stable, and defined background. This revolution begins when it identifies "the essence and the end of every being with its typical difference" (Tarde 1895a, p.416), and characterizes difference as infinitesimal, i.e., as diminutive, constantly variable or moving, and necessarily plotted in relation to a multitude of other differences of the same type. This is only the first part, since infinitesimal differences can be integrated into sets or, (relatively) durable, homogeneous and unitary systems. The revolution is completed when it is possible to conceptualize these sets or systems as incomplete units, partial homogeneities, and varying durations.

Neither the notion of society, with its totalizing burden, nor the notion of individual with its corpuscular bias, are entirely appropriate for such a sociology. Nor are notions of structure, system, mechanism, and aggregate, or their metaphors: the building, the organism, the machine, and the whole. To carry out his program, Tarde formulated a syntax supported by a relatively small number of concepts that sought to be alternatives to these classical perspectives. On the one hand, he proposed imitation, invention and opposition as keys to a differential approach to the social field (another key concept). They configure the domain of a differential sociology or of differences and variations, oriented to the study of repetition, interference and the conjugation of beliefs and desires as "elementary, innumerable and infinitesimal" social facts (Tarde, 1898, p. 35). On the other hand, he developed a social logic and teleology to understand the compositions (or systems) that originate and reproduce in that same field —an integral sociology or integrations.

In this regard, Tarde resorts to hydraulic, electromagnetic and epidemiological metaphors that are typical of his theoretical language. It elaborates the important concept of flow, current or social ray, and seeks to account for social life and its difficulties in terms of an enormous multiplicity (a field) of vibrations, contagion or imitative propagations, which unfold as much as they intertwine and combat each other. He also uses textile metaphors (threads and plots) and musical metaphors (assemblies and polyphony) for the same purposes, along with other figures related to the world of mimesis (mirrors and echoes) and dreams (sleepwalking). Most of these images belong to the Baroque tradition, and Tarde recreates them to become means of apprehension, description and (micro) analysis of the socio-historical and subjective world. Perhaps its most original and promising contribution in this respect: the metaphor of the brain as a general model of the social understood as the integral of a multitude of microscopic, and "different" intertwined agents.

The latter will not make the notions of the individual and society disappear — nor will the notion of system. These concepts, however, will be significantly reformulated as progress is made towards an infinitesimal understanding of social life, which requires other actions. First, a critique of the scientific models must be made to reevaluate the picturesque social phenomenon, the exuberance of its variety, its details and features, the profusion of its accidents and its variations. Once this sensitivity for the chaotic has been acquired, it is necessary to move to the individuals in their specific socio-historical relations and practices, since it will allow observing similarities, regularities and associations that can be addressed from the double sociological hypothesis of imitation and invention, without supposing macro-entities that explain them. The concordance between different individuals and the organization of their reciprocal relations do not depend on an objective spirit, way of production or collective consciousness that transcends and encompasses them. In fact, a certain way of doing, feeling or thinking arises in a given individual, at a precise time and place, and it spreads by repeating itself from one individual to another, associating and resembling them.

If stopping here, it would be individualistic sociology, and many have believed it, including Durkheim (1975), Blondel (1928), and Lukes (1968). But this micro-sociological record relationships between individuals, although indispensable, is still very insufficient. Tarde understands that there is something like a social reality, and that individuals are the results of its consequence rather than its cause. He will argue that this reality is strictly psychic, and that it is found within individuals because it "passes" through them as multiple (micro) currents of opinion, faith, passion, truth and need. The social is therefore not psychological but "inter-psychological" or "inter-mental". It is shaped by shared ideas, interests, needs, and creeds produced by individuals as complex, variable, and intertwined multilinear configurations. A sea of psychosocial flows in which all subjectivity is constituted, transformed and dismissed. The same occurs for different groups and for institutions or social systems.

For this reason, Tarde (1895, p. 34) says that sociology is the "solar microscope of the soul." Such a scientific device begins its research by these or those specific individuals, their specific beliefs, desires and practices, but without finding ultimate and private psychological elements. There is a beam of tiny rays or social waves when refining the gaze, each of which has started from a singular but socially configured focus of irradiation (an individual), coming to form relationship lines of local, regional and planetary scales. Micro-mega, such is the paradoxical dimension of the social, its measure and also its status.

From society to individuals

The notion of society is a major epistemological obstacle to an infinitesimal perspective of the social, at least when it is burdened with totalitarian connotations and macro-sociological assumptions. Tarde says that society as a single entity, centered, distinct from individuals, well defined in its limits, separated from the others almost as much as from nature, lacks existence.

The same happens for social history, understood as a process of unique tendency. What Tarde has in mind when rejecting these alternatives is, first and foremost, Hegel's social philosophy and theory of history, Marx's vision of society and economics, as well as the sociologies of Comte, Spencer, Worms, and Durkheim. But, if his premises are accepted, his criticisms will prove valid for any macro-sociological holism, including the functionalisms, structuralisms, and systems of the twentieth century.

These perspectives work away from the level of immediate interaction between individuals and look at social groupings from afar. At a great distance, after the multifaceted bustle of everyday social life, one sees a filigree drawing of (few) powerful structures or systems, which are also strongly coordinated with one another. Telescopic perspectives, for which the real object of study is society understood as a great association. A focused entity with clear boundaries, involving a large number of people, processes and resources, and whose implicit reference is the modern nation-state. Such social sciences only consider the market, the state, ideologies, religion or language as homogeneous structures or systems with great internal consistency.

Tarde understands that these points of view, which he calls panoramic, lead to dealing with associations, regularities and similarities (linguistic, religious, moral, economic or other), which effectively shape the social world. He also substantiates them by referring to them as entity (the totalizing system) that somehow preexists and conditions these relationships, when it does not determine them. The use of these global nouns — the state, the market, the nation, etc. — obscures what needs to be discovered. Namely, the multiplicity of processes from which each of these associations is made, as well as the difference by which it has taken place, and the mutations that constantly transform its configuration. A more detailed approach to the social field will show that there is nothing there like economics, religion or science in the abstract, neither in uniqueness nor in exclusivity. Thus, for example, in any social space, however homogeneous, there will always be certain types of religious dogmas and rites practiced by certain individuals, which exist side by side with (or in conflict with) other religious practices, possessing characteristics, and an evolution different from the former. This would not be a trivial observation if it were not for Tarde generalizing it as a key theoretical-methodological principle. Everything that is social is plural and specific, the social never exists as a unitary organization, neither exists in general or in abstract, and the same happens for all the other practices that populate that same space at the same time: government, production, law, science, art, family, etc. These terms can only designate collective and specific ways of doing, feeling and thinking, each of which always assumes a typical modality and however, always coexists with others of its same class.

These practices may be in the minority, but they are far from irrelevant, and not only for ethical reasons, but also for sociological reasons. Considering them insignificant practices carried out by a few individuals —let alone by one— is a prejudice close to ethnocentrism and intolerance. But it is also an epistemological (and political) error, because it is unaware that every social practice, however tiny, is always related to others that it affects, however little, and for which it is affected in turn. Such macro-sociological prejudice, moreover, ignores that socio-historical dynamics are not governed by the laws of mechanics according to which only great causes produce great effects. It leads, finally, to analyze societies, their institutions and their majorities as if they were born made. The key, at least for Tarde, is that the opposite is true: every minority can be the germ of future majorities, no matter how bizarre its social practices seem today, and everything important in history has begun not in a minority group but in a singular individual.

What we call social practice, also process or social interaction, has a definition in Tarde´s sociology. It is about the imitation of an invention —or, philosophically speaking, the repetition of a difference. All the social practices that we strive to establish (work, family, economy, art, science) are nothing more than an "accumulation of actions calculated one on the other" (Tarde, 1882, p.272), a multitude of specific copies, systematically repeated by a certain number, although variable, of people. Hence, everything that is social happens between individuals, but also has its origin in a particular individual. It is there that the beginning, always minimal and relative, of social things should be sought, regardless of the size they have reached when investigating them. Christian, Buddhist, or Mohammedan religion, Marxist ideology, Euclidean geometry, Newton's law of gravitation, Bentham's panopticon, the Fordist production line, are inventions that bear the names of their visible creators. These are innovations that emerged in a specific field, in specific places and dates, produced by individuals, which then spread imitatively, uniting their path to the individuals who incorporated and repeated them. The same happens with inventions, large or small, that do not have the author's signature, but not because they are the product of general entities such as a society, a culture or an era, but because their inventor was forgotten or ignored.

It results into the first definition of what a social group is —or society— whatever its scale: it is an "organization of imitation" (Afternoon, 1890, p.91), i.e., of an association woven by the imitation of certain ways of doing, feeling and thinking, which, repeated regularly by a number of individuals, and have specific similarities between them. It also turns out that what is repeated organizing social relations is nothing but an invention (moral, religious, legal, technical, scientific or culinary), produced once by a certain individual, which then branched into imitation series of the most diverse scope. To understand this, it is necessary to say that Tarde provides a very broad sense to the concept of invention, although not for that reason imprecise. He considers that:

> All the renovation initiatives that, while bringing to the world both new needs and new satisfaction, spread or tend to spread by imitation (...), more or less quickly but with a regular step, like a light wave or a family of termites. (Tarde, 1882, p. 271

All of this is at stake when Tarde claims that all social is individual, and, also, that all social is accidental, or what is equal, that the course of social dynamics is always random, and that human history is always and constitutively unpredictable. Contingency reigns over social life, because the configurations and the senses that it assumes depend on the chance of inventions and the chance of repetitions. Tarde understands that the discovery of an innovation, whatever it may be, can take place in any individual, even unintentionally. But this may or may not happen even in those who pursue it tenaciously and skillfully. Its contingent nature is therefore irreducible. On the other hand, even when repetitions become habits and customs, solidifying and thus acquiring enormous inertial force, they can also be interrupted at all times, and be replaced by others or by none. In the same way, this will depend on the chance of social encounters since each one is exposed to innumerable inventions that can modify their behaviors, their emotions and/or thoughts, becoming new habits and customs.

All of this makes each individual extraordinarily important for social life in its historical development. If what we call institutions or social systems are nothing but multiplied and regular repetitions, and if there is nothing (collective consciousness, absolute spirit or mode of production) that can sustain them beyond those individual repetitions, then these systems may or may not be reproduced in each individual. Each individual becomes, in this way, the possibility of a transformation in the historical course of the systems to which it reproduces, and may even be the moment of its dissolution. Social systems vary infinitesimally in each person, because no one repeats them identically. There can be an invention in each one that acts as the beginning of a different imitative series, modifying matrices of relationship with others and with oneself, valid, sometimes, for very long periods. Thus, Leibniz in philosophy and mathematics, Luther in religion, Picasso in art, but also the first peasant who denied greeting his feudal lord, or the first woman to enter university.

From dots to lines

The double value of the individual is observed in Tarde´s infinitesimal perspective. On the one hand, it has a major sociological role. Everything that is social happens in and between individuals, so they have a fundamental socio-historical role. It can no longer be said that things would have been the same in general terms without this or that individual. First of all, because things are never general: it must be said why they were in that way and not in another way, and each individual counts on it. And this is not only in cases where "great individuals" make great decisions. Any action, idea or passion can have consequences given the imitative nature of social relationships. On the other hand, in methodological terms, the individual is a privileged access route to socio-historical analysis, precisely because it fulfills in avoiding the use of general terms and obliges to account for the networks of specific relationships. It is then an antidote to macro-sociological reifications. If reification is the action of turning something into something, Tarde sees this operation in the understanding of the social as collective consciousness (Durkheim), as an organic system (Spencer) or as dialectical whole (whether Hegelian or Marxist). In their eyes, these macro perspectives are substantial since they postulate entities that command the relationships between individuals from above or deep. In contrast, it claims an eventful sociology in which the individual has a fundamental role. He knows, however, that the individual can also be a reification —this time, an atomist. The natural law of Hobbes, Locke or Rousseau and the political economy of Smith and Ricardo seem to be good examples in this regard. Rejecting any supra-individual entity, disaggregating the social into interactions between specific people, these classic micro-reductionisms, in principle, follow an appropriate direction. Yet their approach is not infinitesimal enough because they fail to account for the (social) relationships that constitute individuals. Methodological individualism is still a panoramic view of the social, since it offers a corpuscular perspective that takes individuals as separate, homogeneous and stable totality. It is also still substantial since it has them for the last elements, "building bricks" of the social.

Tarde understands that when getting closer we will see that instead of preceding and producing social relations, the individual is one of its greatest results. However, that does not return us to the premise of the priority of society and its macro-structures — first, because there would be no such thing. Tarde shares with Marx, Comte, Durkheim and many others Bonald's statement that it is "society that constitutes man, i.e., it forms him by social education" (cited by Lukes, 1968, p.119). But the problem lies in knowing what society is, as well as in determining the specific mechanisms of such training, its modalities and even its duration. According to Tarde, the key to both issues lies, first and foremost, in the concept of imitation. It argues that this is the greatest mechanism for the formation of subjectivities, as well as the mode of production of human groups. In both cases, it is also the reason for the structured but variable permanence in time of both, i.e., what, from afar, is usually seen as his identity.

The first thing to mention is that when Tarde speaks of imitation, he does not refer to the activity of an individual, only that, from the innermost of his faculties, he copies others, in the manner of a subject in front of an object. Rather, imitation is the social relationship in which subjectivity is constituted as a psychic configuration of relative coherence and determination. "One is not born, but becomes like it," Tarde says (1890, p. 92), and this can only occur by reflecting on others and resembling them. Such relationships occur, most of the time, not only unconsciously, but also inverted, as a good mirror: "to have nothing but suggested ideas and to believe them spontaneously: such is the illusion proper of a sleepwalker, and also of the social man" (Tarde, 1890, p.98). What happens with ideas, happens with feelings, likes and dislikes as well. According to Tarde, we are reflections or echoes of the most diverse acts, words, gestures and states that others transmit to us, wanting it or not, and that we reproduce, always varying them to a certain degree: living and imperfect mirrors.

This formative social influence of subjectivity does not stop in adulthood, nor does its mimetic character change. From birth until death, we copy the actions, thoughts and feelings of others, which we internalize as memory, transform into judgment and will, and put into practice as habits. These mimetic relationships are not limited to a psychogenetic period (childhood), nor to a specific institution (family, school). Everything is pedagogical for mirror individuals, or better, for kaleidoscope individuals. Permanent mimesis also is not limited to face-to-face interactions, nor is it limited to the present. It is a "remote action"—sometimes very long in time and space. It copies everything that has been produced by individuals near and far, known and unknown, in the most diverse eras and geographies, it reaches us through a series of individuals who have repeated it.

Hence, imitation constitutes a type of relationship that can be characterized as linear or, better, as micro-linear. It is an "inter-mental" or "inter-psychological" action that works by linking those who lead it, producing a certain continuity between them. Individuals are intertwined and interpenetrated in it, most often imperceptibly. It is also a contagious form of communication that spreads from one individual to another with variable speed, intensity and extent. Hence, one of the most typical and important concepts of this sociology is that of current, flow or imitative ray.

It turns out that this way of referring to the social has something of a cumbersome and something of a puzzling effect. On the one hand, it aims to identify each invention and each imitative series, and, if possible, each inventor and even each imitator[1]. On the other hand, and at the same time, it uses the continuist concepts of current, flow or social ray. The work will prove essential, and the confusion may be tempered by understanding that this (baroque) style depends on a (neo-monadological) syntax that requests it. This syntax states that relationships —lines— precede and constitute terms —points— so that any point is the result of an intersection of lines. He further argues that these terms are never simple, isolated, or neutral, precisely because they are made of specific linear relationships. But they are not passive either, since they produce alterations capable of interrupting and, above all, modifying the course of the lines

1 For this reason, Latour says the statistical and methodological tools Tarde dreamed of, and which are necessary to carry out his sociology, came with the Internet, since they allow us to track exactly "any rumour, any news, any data, any purchase and sale." The set of devices and techniques that, in a generic way, today we call big data, "is tracking, before our eyes, just the kind of data that Tarde would have hailed" (Latour, 2010, p. 160).

that cross them —which can have consequences which are unpredictable and sufficient given the universal connection of all things. Infinitesimal sociology must therefore necessarily be micro-historical, detailed and differential, as well as broadly cartographic, universalist and integral. Hence the lengthy enumerations to which Tarde sometimes gives himself, punctuous, but not punctualistic, and the extensive historical periods that he needs to travel, even if only in an allusive or brief way. Hence, the seemingly strange operation of valorizing continuous social flows and individuals at once.

The social as a skein, the individual as a ball of yarn

This leads us to introduce another concept, which is essential in the syntax of this infinitesimal sociology, although perhaps under-theorized: the social field. As seen, society could not form individuals since society exists neither in general nor in uniqueness. What is there is an undulatory and plural field. A field made up of a multitude of diverse mimetic rays, whose sources are the innumerable inventions from which they propagate, following specific directions and carrying subjectivation and association modes that are proper to them. Far from constituting a homogeneous totality (society) and from being composed of global subsystems (economy, culture, etc.), this field is woven by a detailed multitude of imitations which, repeating themselves from one individual to another, form specific flows: moral, religious, economic, juridical, scientific, culinary, familial, sexual, etc., and each of them is socio-historically singular. Hence, they have different geographical and temporal origins, and they carry different modes of relationship, understanding and sensibility (worlds). It also means that they run at unequal rhythms, possess dissimilar intensities and reach varied geographical and temporal scales.

Thus, what at a macroscopic distance appears as a block (society), requesting systemic and synchronic treatments, is at the same time historicized, but multiplying and particularizing itself in a multitude of heterogeneous historical wefts (the social field). Everything and every social thing - ideas, emotions, acts, relations, institutions and artifacts - is now transformed into a specific creation among thousands, which spreads carrying its differential genealogy and its characteristic dynamics. Each way of doing, feeling and thinking, as well as each socially circulating object, thus possesses its own internal force, its own distinctive purpose and logic. But this is not all. Each one, in its apparent uniformity and consistency, is made up of a myriad of imitative currents coming from the most diverse sources and directed in the most diverse directions. Each one is always intimately communicated with a multitude of human beings, living and dead, made in the same way. The individual on an infinitesimal scale, reveals itself rather as the integration, never too coherent, of social forces that configure and exceed it.

Consequently, the imitable and the imitated is never an individual as such, a whole individual, since there would be no such thing. Far from being structured as a fully defined totality, all subjectivity functions as the open and variable configuration —the integral— of innumerable dynamic imitations. And this is as true for the one who copies as for the one who is copied. But, in addition, one never imitates in a global way, but in detail. Models are copied and transmitted, i.e., forms of action, intellection and/or affectation that are always specific, and more or less precise, that are the imitated inventions seen closely and in their sociological functioning. For that reason, when Tarde refers to them in the context of their diffusion, he calls them molds, clichés or, more simply, examples (he could have called them algorithms, or even information). Thus, work in general is not copied or propagated, but, for example, "the art of carving flint, of taming the dog, of making a bow, (...) of fermenting bread, of working bronze, of extracting iron, etc." (Tarde, 1890, p.47). The same is true for the forms, always social, of love or friendship, food, clothing, art, science, etc. These detailed models which, by replicating and internalizing themselves produce self-similarities (individuals) and by propagating themselves give rise to associations (groups, societies), as well as to regularities in certain shared ways of doing, feeling and thinking (social systems or institutions).

Each individual participates at the same time in different types of relationship, but none participates (directly) in all the existing ones. And, more importantly, each one is simultaneously part of different groupings, which implies that he or she is a regular bearer of practices, thoughts and feelings that, when viewed closely, are never quite in agreement with each other. Hence, someone can be considered, and consider himself, Scottish and English at the same time, practice Catholicism and not reject abortion or drugs, hold sexist and feminist perspectives on different issues and to different degrees, support racist immigration policies and neo-Keynesian economic prescriptions. Those with a passion for systemic coherence will see inconsistencies and/or contradictions typical of agitated post-traditional (modern and postmodern) times. Tarde affirms that the principle of the excluded third party is not the main operator of social or subjective articulations, and that the adjusted coherence of collective values does not exist in modernity, but neither did it exist before nor will it come later. Given the multi-linear and polygenetic character of the social field, no system configured can be completely coherent, closed, stable or with uni-linear evolution. Thus, it is an invitation to reconsider the dominant narrative, within and outside the social sciences, according to which all past times were organic, well-cohesive and homogeneous.

Every social field is woven by countless infinitesimal repetitions of countless past and present inventions, which propagate at the same time in different directions and with diverse scopes. Therefore, it is necessary to conceive it as a thick interweaving of imitative radiations among which countless interferences, both conflicting and creative, are produced. This makes it necessary to describe social history, not as a single drama developed in progressive stages, but as "that tangled skein, or rather, that confused mixture of multicolored skeins" (Tarde, 1898a, p.61) that unfolds according to diverse temporalities. This "confusion" comes from the lack of a single direction and the superabundance of these radiations in the same social field, but it is important to point out that the radiations do not need to be confusing, and usually they are (they carry precise models). It is also important to emphasize that, in this socio-historical welter of dynamic differences, lasting social and subjective configurations take place. However, they are not the product of organismic or dialectical systems, but emerge as more or less coherent integrations of variable and heterogeneous relations, as (baroque) assemblages.

The remarkable plasticity of these integrations, as much as the associative and subjectivizing power of the flows that compose them, comes from the material from which they are woven: beliefs and desires. In fact, it is there that the most proper level of the social is located. They are the true components and the true agents of social life - they are its force and its substance, as Tarde says (1890). It is the inextinguishable dynamism of these microscopic forces that gives an impalpable materiality to the social; they are the source of its limitless generative capacity, as much as of its surprising capacity for contagion.

Beliefs and desires as infinitesimal social forces

There is here a final micro-analytical shift that does not disprove or relativize what has been said so far, but rather specifies it while at the same time broadens it immensely. The invented and imitated social models are composed of psychic elements —such are beliefs and desires, but it also requires not to go back atomism, a habit that at every step obstinately reinstates the imaginary of particles. The beliefs and desires in question are certainly psychic forces, but they should not therefore be understood as simply internal or subjective —much less as punctiform and separate. Rather, they are micro-linear, minute, but infinitely complex elements, interwoven in an intensive continuum, i.e., they are strictly infinitesimal.

Tarde (1894, p.240) holds a conception of the psyche according to which beliefs, desires and sensations are "the only elements of the soul". All subjective processes would then be made up of these three basic components and their combinations. He includes ideas, principles, precepts and judgments in the former; he finds passions, interests, purposes and projects in the latter. The latter are manifested as faith, conviction or reasoning; the former, as will, inclination or intention. As for sensations, Tarde will say that they are qualitative impressions, unique and irreproducible, which draw their proper psychological value from the beliefs and desires that give them meaning and value. Thus, sensations as such are mainly ephemeral, and change from one individual to another, while the capacity to desire and believe "is the same in everyone". This is because all human bodies would possess the same believing and desiring faculty, and their psychic life would function according to the same basic operations. Namely, affirmation and negation in the case of belief; attraction and repulsion in the case of desire. Each of these operations is subject to varying degrees of intensity, there being a continuum between the two extremes.

For the same reason, psychic life is made of chiaroscuro, and one can perfectly speak of semi-beliefs and semi-desires. As for Leibniz, Maine de Biran and Cournot, ideas, passions and perceptions are conceived as being distributed along a line that goes from clarity and distinction to confusion and darkness, passing through an infinite range of grays. In addition, it is affirmed that one possesses different degrees of consciousness, and that there are unconscious ones. But in all cases, at least for Tarde, these are reversible conditions: the ideas, the inclinations, the interests that inhabit us can pass, by degrees and without solution of continuity, from a conscious state to an unconscious one -and vice versa. The same is true for the clarity and distinction of its contents, as well as for the sign of its dynamics. For this reason, volitional attraction and repulsion with respect to the same object are reversible, as are its intellective acceptance and rejection. Beliefs and desires can finally combine with each other in countless possible ways, and in countless degrees, making the systems of ideas and feelings capable of far exceeding the principles of coherence required by classical logic, and they usually do. The fact that they behave like algorithms does not imply that they are consistent systems.

Hence their enormous compositional flexibility, as well as their propagation power. But there is, in addition, a negative condition for both things to happen. Neither beliefs nor desires are determined by the biological needs of the human body, nor by the schemas of an innate reason. Nor are they commanded by a law of culture that is universal in its contents - the prohibition of incest, for example. All of which implies that, by right, but also in fact, anything can be believed and willed. It also implies, as said before, that the interests, convictions and volitions that make up the (intra)psychic life are necessarily received from others, and that they have a formative and structuring value, but also a transforming influence, which never ceases.

At this point it is worth asking whether social life possesses needs and/or reasons that act as foundations of the socially circulating values, interests and tastes that the individual receives and makes his own. Tarde's answer to this question is negative, since he understands that social life is also psychic. Since it is fundamentally made up of beliefs and desires, the above considerations apply to it as well: like individuals, groups can believe and want anything. There is no biological or rational (or theological) basis for common beliefs and desires, nor for the social practices and institutions they mobilize, shape and sustain[2]. Monotheism or polytheism, democracy or monarchy, monogamy or polygamy, modern or postmodern sciences: there are no extra-social reasons for the transmission and institutionalization of certain shared convictions and passions, and their establishment as dominant values, truths and practices. It makes no sense to look for truer truths or fairer values, hidden behind those that prevail in a social field for more or less prolonged periods. It simply happens that many other truths and righteousnesses are less widespread in that same field, and that many (an infinite number) are possible

2 Almost a century after Tarde, Cornelius Castoriadis (2010) will talk about the imaginary self-institution of society. However, one of the main differences of Tarde's social theory with regard to Castoriadis is the "flattening" and radical decentralization of social "imaginary meanings".

and are ready to be updated, i.e., to be transformed into reality through their combination into inventions and their imitative propagation.

Thus, beliefs and desires turn out to be the true infinitesimal agents of social life. Social and subjective reality are made from their propagation, combination and opposition. They are also the cause of the constant mutations that are registered in individuals and groups. For the same reason, it is necessary to conceive that both are configured, transformed and, eventually, fall apart in the most primary field, but which is still, and fundamentally, social. A heterogeneous, a-centered and poly-rhythmic field made of an innumerable multitude of intertwined (inter-mental) psychic forces. These immaterial and contagious micro-vectors present differences and future possibilities, and are configured as models of action, intellection and affectation, and propagate as flows or waves, imposing their visions of the world and their organization forms of social relations. But, in addition, they interfere with each other in two ways: they combine, giving rise to new models that will spread in turn, or they are locked in opposition, producing conflicts, also contagious, capable of acquiring the most diverse intensities and scales, and all this happens at the same time. Systematicity, transformation and social conflict do not occur in large homogeneous blocks, nor in successive stages governed by the principle of mutual exclusion (where one occurs, the other is displaced or suspended). Rather, they take place simultaneously, multiply and dynamically. Tarde also wants to account for this when he speaks of social field or, more often, of social life.

As a way of conclusion

Towards the end of the 19th century, Gabriel Tarde was a world reference in social sciences and humanities. At that time, his sociological, psychological and philosophical ideas had great visibility and interest, his books were translated into different languages and the prestigious Collége of France had a subject for him. Subsequently, all this was practically forgotten, and his name was barely mentioned until the end of the 1960s when Deleuze (2002, 2009) drew his attention to Tarde's grammar of infinitesimal difference, using it in his own treatment of the social and the subjective. Later, Foucault (1989) and then Latour (2005, 2002) will do the same. Since then, Tarde's works have been republished and a growing number of scholars have been dealing with them, both in terms of the history of ideas and in relation to their possibilities of dialoguing with the present and contributing to understanding contemporary social phenomena.[3]

It so happens that many of the issues that Tarde centrally addresses in his work are today transdisciplinary concerns, such as social networks, diffusion, innovation, the media, public opinion, the contagion of thoughts and passions, leadership, globalization, among others. But, is the theoretical structure of his sociology interesting only because these "phenomena" are now important? Should we then assume that this social theory was not relevant before and is relevant now, or is it relevant again? This position is valid only if one claims that the scaffolding concepts of a social science change or must change when a society or a period change. Hence, this reasoning would be as follows: systemic approaches are valid for analyzing industrial and national societies, but reticular approaches must be used with the advent of post-industrial and globalized societies, since the notion of network would be more appropriate to capture these transformations. In the first case, Marx, Spencer or Durkheim would officiate as appropriate classical authors, and their descendants and more or less contemporary interlocutors (Parsons, Luhmann, Althusser or Bourdieu, for example) are especially welcome. In the second case, since societies have indeed changed and new objects have appeared, these perspectives are no longer entirely useful. It will then be necessary to develop a new one and, eventually, to seek inspiration from sociologies of the past that might now be useful. So, as far as classical references are concerned, Durkheim leaves (and/or Parsons), and Tarde comes (or Simmel, or Mead). We will not discuss this habitual practice, we will only point out that it does not only correspond to Tarde's position - nor, incidentally, to that of the other authors mentioned.

As said, according to Tarde, every society, in every time and place, is a network and not a system (functionalist, structuralist or systemic) nor an aggregate of atomized individuals. According to Tarde, the set of similarities, regularities and concordances between individuals, which does not lead to speak of the existence of societies and groups, is due to the presence of similar and precise ideas and passions in each of these individuals. However, these similarities in desiring and believing do not refer to the equality of their

3 For more examples see Candea (2010), Lazzaratto (2002) and Sampson (2012). For the relations between Tarde, Deleuze and Foucault I cite Tonkonoff (2017).

biological needs, nor are they the corollary of an innate reason, common to all of them, nor do they result from deep or transcendent collective symbolic structures that configure and contain them. Rather, they derive from the propagation of interaction, intellection and affectation models which, spreading from one brain to another, form psychosocial currents capable of establishing specific correlation and correspondence links. Therefore, it is correct to affirm that nations, ethnic groups and families, but also industrial or financial corporations, religious congregations, political parties and criminal gangs would be nothing other than intermental networks of family, national, economic, religious, political and criminal beliefs and desires, respectively.

Therefore, the approach of this sociology to any social group is demanding and is oriented to discern, if possible, each of the individuals that make it up, as well as to differentiate the different types of relationships that are established between them. But its ultimate goal is not the individuals and their relationships, but the faith and passion that guide these relationships and intimately communicate these individuals with each other and with themselves. Only by identifying and following these flows in their concrete socio-historical paths, mapping their extensions, measuring their intensities and speeds, describing their dynamics and characteristic effects, will we enter the level of the social itself - which, then, should not be characterized as micro-sociological but as infinitesimal. Also, the singular configurations we call individuals are the result of integration processes of a plethora of social beliefs and desires that have become memory, judgments and personal habits. Moreover, each person is a bio-psycho-social system because of the form of his/her sociogenesis, never entirely coherent nor entirely defined, which is in uninterrupted continuity with the psychosocial field that constitutes it as much as it eliminates it. Far from being the well-defined entity that we like to imagine, every individual functions always interpenetrated with others, transforming it into a vacillating and, in a certain sense, intermittent configuration, which imperceptibly comes and goes, perhaps many times a day. It happens that every individual is intertwined with others by means of two types of imitative processes distinguishable by their intensity and speed, and not by their contents. One is that of the slow and stable repetitions known as institutions and customs; the other is that of the rapid and intense imitations that Tarde calls fashions, and which include the fickle currents of opinion and collective affections, i.e., inter-cerebral.

Thus considered, social life shows itself differentially multiplied in an extraordinary variety of specific human creations that repeat and propagate themselves in imitative series that unfold with the most diverse scopes, as much as they get caught in conflicts or are integrated in new inventions that will branch out creating, in turn, new social worlds. There would then be no such thing as a global and homogeneous society, a coherent and defined system of systems, the continent of all social interactions. What emerges, instead, are associations woven by singular mimetic currents, which are not necessarily coherent among themselves or equally all-encompassing. This happens in such a way that the national association (society) does not coincide with the religious, nor with the economic, scientific, artistic, and so on. Each of these modalities of relation is regulated by distinctive beliefs (or senses) and desires (or ends), whose total concordance in a closed system is not possible —and, at least for Tarde, not desirable either. If units exist, they will be, here as elsewhere, partial, open and variable.

Acknowledgments

The author thanks the editors and reviewers of Universitas for their helpful and constructive comments. He also thanks Martina Lassalle for her valuable comments and corrections.

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EDITORIAL GUIDELINES

NORMAS EDITORIALES

Publication guidelines in «Universitas»

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

ISSN: 1390-3837 / e-ISSN: 1390-8634

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Original contributions in Humanities and Social Sciences, as well as related areas: Sociology, Anthropology, Social Psychology, Social Development, Communities, Latin American Studies, Political Studies, and all related interdisciplinary disciplines with the central theme.

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2) Full name and surnames: Of each of the authors, organized by priority. A maximum of 3 authors will be accepted per original, although there may be exceptions justified by the topic, its complexity and extent. Next to the names must follow the professional category, work center, email of each author and ORCID number. It is mandatory to indicate if you have the academic degree of doctor (include Dr./Dra before the name).

3) Abstract (Spanish) / Abstract (English): It will have a maximum extension of 230 words, first in Spanish and then in English. : 1) Justification of the topic; 2) Objectives; 3) Methodology and sample; 4) Main results; 5) Main conclusions. It must be impersonally written "This paper analyzes ...". In the case of the abstract, the use of automatic translators will not be accepted due to their poor quality.

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7) Analysis and results: It will try to highlight the most important observations, describing, without making value judgments, the material and methods used. They will appear in a logical sequence in the text and the essential charts and figures avoiding the duplication of data.

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9) Supports and acknowledgments (optional): The Council Science Editors recommends the author (s) to specify the source of funding for the research. Priority will be given to projects supported by national and international competitive projects. In any case, for the scientific evaluation of the manuscript, it should be only anonymized with XXXX for its initial evaluation, in order not to identify authors and research teams, which should be explained in the Cover Letter and later in the final manuscript.

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Journal Article (Up to six authors): Ospina, M.C., Alvarado, S.V., Fefferman, M., & Llanos, D. (2016). Introducción del dossier temático "Infancias y juventudes: violencias, conflictos, memorias y procesos de construcción de paz" [Introduction of the thematic dossier "Infancy and Youth: Violence, Conflicts, Memories and Peace Construction Processes"]. *Universitas, 25*(14), 91-95. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n25.%25x

Journal article (more tan six authors): Smith, S.W., Smith, S.L. Pieper, K.M., Yoo, J.H., Ferrys, A.L., Downs, E.,... Bowden, B. (2006). Altruism on American Television: Examining the Amount of, and Context Surronding. Acts of Helping and Sharing. *Journal of Communication, 56*(4), 707-727. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00316.x

Journal article (without DOI): Rodríguez, A. (2007). Desde la promoción de salud mental hacia la promoción de salud: La concepción de lo comunitario en la implementación de proyectos sociales. *Alteridad, 2*(1), 28-40. (https://goo.gl/zDb3Me) (2017-01-29).

Books and book chapters

Full books: Cuéllar, J.C., & Moncada-Paredes, M.C. (2014). *El peso de la deuda externa ecuatoriana*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Chapter of book: Zambrano-Quiñones, D. (2015). *El ecoturismo comunitario en Manglaralto y Colonche*. En V.H. Torres (Ed.), Alternativas de Vida: Trece experiencias de desarrollo endógeno en Ecuador (pp. 175-198). Quito: Abya-Yala.

Digital media

Pérez-Rodríguez, M.A., Ramírez, A., & García-Ruíz, R. (2015). La competencia mediática en educación infantil. Análisis del nivel de desarrollo en

España. Universitas Psychologica, 14(2), 619-630. https://doi.org.10.11144/Javeriana.upsy14-2.cmei

It is prescriptive that all quotations that have DOI (Digital Object Identifier System) are reflected in the References (can be obtained at http://goo.gl/gfruh1). All journals and books that do not have DOI should appear with their link (in their online version, if they have it, shortened by Google Shortened: http://goo.gl) and date of consultation in the format indicated.

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The epigraphs of the body of the article will be numbered in Arabic. They should go without a full box of capital letters, neither underlined nor bold. The numbering must be a maximum of three levels: 1. / 1.1. / 1.1.1. A carriage return will be established at the end of each numbered epigraph.

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The graphics or figures will be adjusted to the minimum number required and will be presented incorporated in the text, according to their order of appearance, numbered in Arabic and subtitled with the abbreviated description. Their quality should not be less than 300 dpi, and it may be necessary to have the graph in TIFF, PNG or JPEG format.

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1) Presentation and cover, in which the title in Spanish and English will appear, names and surnames of the authors in a standardized form with ORCID number, abstract in both Spanish and English, descriptors and keywords and a statement that the manuscript is an Origina lcontribution, not sent or in the process of being evaluated in another journal, confirmation of the signatory authors, acceptance (if applicable) of formal changes in the manuscript according to the rules and partial transfer of rights to the publisher (use official cover model).

2) Manuscript totally anonymized, according to the norms referred in precedence.

All authors must register with their credits on the OJS platform, although only one of them will be responsible for correspondence.

No author can submit or have in review two manuscripts simultaneously, estimating an absence of four consecutive numbers (2 years).

NORMAS DE PUBLICACIÓN EN «UNIVERSITAS»

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

ISSN: 1390-3837 / e-ISSN: 1390-8634

1. Información general

«Universitas» es una publicación científica bilingüe de la Universidad Politécnica Salesiana de Ecuador, editada desde enero de 2002 de forma ininterrumpida, con periodicidad fija semestral, especializada en Ciencias Sociales y Humanas y sus líneas interdisciplinares como Sociología, Antropología, Psicología Social, Estudios Políticos, Estudios del Desarrollo, Estudios Latinoamericanos, Estudios de la Cultura y la Comunicación, entre otras.

Es una revista científica arbitrada, que utiliza el sistema de evaluación externa por expertos (*peer-review*), bajo metodología de pares ciegos (*doble-blind review*), conforme a las normas de publicación de la American Psychological Association (APA). El cumplimiento de este sistema permite garantizar a los autores un proceso de revisión objetivo, imparcial y transparente, lo que facilita a la publicación su inclusión en bases de datos, repositorios e indexaciones internacionales de referencia.

«Universitas» se encuentra indizada en Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) de Web of Science, el catálogo LATINDEX, Sistema Regional de información en Línea para Revistas Científicas de América Latina, El Caribe, España y Portugal, forma parte del Directory of Open Access Journals-DOAJ, pertenece a la Red Iberoamericana de Innovación y Conocimiento Científico, REDIB, Red de Revistas Cientificas de America Latina y el Caribe,España y Portugal, REDALYC, además conforma la Matriz de Información para el Análisis de Revistas, MIAR y está siendo evaluada en mediano plazo para pasar a formar parte de SCOPUS.

La revista se edita en doble versión: impresa (ISSN: 1390-3837) y electrónica (e-ISSN: 1390-8634), en español e inglés, siendo identificado además cada trabajo con un DOI (Digital Object Identifier System).

2. Alcance y Política

2.1. Temática

Contribuciones originales en materia de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, así como áreas afines: Ciencias Sociales y Humanas y sus líneas interdisciplinares como Sociología, Antropología, Psicología Social, Estudios Políticos, Estudios del Desarrollo, Estudios Latinoamericanos, Estudios de la Cultura y la Comunicación y todas aquellas disciplinas conexas interdisciplinarmente con la línea temática central.

2.2. Aportaciones

«Universitas» edita preferentemente resultados de investigación empírica sobre Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, redactados en español y/o inglés, siendo también admisibles informes, estudios y propuestas, así como selectas revisiones de la literatura (*state-of-the-art*).

Todos los trabajos deben ser originales, no haber sido publicados en ningún medio ni estar en proceso de arbitraje o publicación. De esta manera, las aportaciones en la revista pueden ser:

- **Investigaciones:** 5.000 a 6.500 palabras de texto, incluyendo título, resúmenes, descriptores, tablas y referencias.
- **Informes, estudios y propuestas:** 5.000 a 6.500 palabras de texto, incluyendo título, resúmenes, tablas y referencias.
- **Revisiones:** 6.000 a 7.000 palabras de texto, incluidas tablas y referencias. Se valorará especialmente las referencias justificadas, actuales y selectivas de alrededor de unas 70 obras.

«Universitas» tiene periodicidad semestral (20 artículos por año), publicada en los meses de marzo y septiembre y cuenta por número con dos secciones de cinco artículos cada una, la primera referida a un tema **Monográfico** preparado con antelación y con editores temáticos y la segunda, una sección **Miscelánea**, compuesta por aportaciones variadas dentro de la temática de la publicación.

3. Presentación, estructura y envío de los manuscritos

Los trabajos se presentarán en tipo de letra Arial 10, interlineado simple, justificado completo y sin tabuladores ni espacios en blanco entre párrafos. Solo se separarán con un espacio en blanco los grandes bloques (título, autores, resúmenes, descriptores, créditos y epígrafes). La página debe tener 2 centímetros en todos sus márgenes.

Los trabajos deben presentarse en documento de Microsoft Word (.doc o .docx), siendo necesario que el archivo esté anonimizado en Propiedades de Archivo, de forma que no aparezca la identificación de autor/es.

Los manuscritos deben ser enviados única y exclusivamente a través del OJS (Open Journal System), en el cual todos los autores deben darse de alta previamente. No se aceptan originales enviados a través de correo electrónico u otra interfaz.

3.1. Estructura del manuscrito

Para aquellos trabajos que se traten de investigaciones de carácter empírico, los manuscritos seguirán la estructura IMRDC, siendo opcionales los epígrafes de Notas y Apoyos. Aquellos trabajos que por el contrario se traten de informes, estudios, propuestas y revisiones podrán ser más flexibles en sus epígrafes, especialmente en Material y métodos, Análisis y resultados y Discusión y conclusiones. En todas las tipologías de trabajos son obligatorias las Referencias.

1) Título (español) / Title (inglés): Conciso pero informativo, en castellano en primera línea y en inglés en segunda. Se aceptan como máximo 80 caracteres con espacio. El título no solo es responsabilidad de los autores, pudiéndose proponer cambios por parte del Consejo Editorial.

2) Nombre y apellidos completos: De cada uno de los autores, organizados por orden de prelación. Se aceptarán como máximo 3 autores por original, aunque pudieren existir excepciones justificadas por el tema, su complejidad y extensión. Junto a los nombres ha de seguir la categoría profesional, centro de trabajo, correo electrónico de cada autor y número de ORCID. Es obligatorio indicar si se posee el grado académico de doctor (incluir Dr./Dra. antes del nombre).

3) Resumen (español) / Abstract (inglés): Tendrá como extensión máxima 230 palabras, primero en español y después en inglés. En el resumen se describirá de forma concisa y en este orden: 1) Justificación del tema; 2) Objetivos; 3) Metodología y muestra; 4) Principales resultados; 5) Principales conclusiones. Ha de estar escrito de manera impersonal "El presente trabajo analiza…". En el caso del abstract no se admitirá el empleo de traductores automáticos por su pésima calidad.

4) Descriptores (español) / Keywords (inglés): Se deben exponer 6 descriptores por cada versión idiomática relacionados directamente con el tema del trabajo. Será valorado positivamente el uso de las palabras claves expuestas en el Thesaurus de la UNESCO.

5) Introducción y estado de la cuestión: Debe incluir el planteamiento del problema, el contexto de la problemática, la justificación, fundamentos y propósito del estudio, utilizando citas bibliográficas, así como la literatura más significativa y actual del tema a escala nacional e internacional.

6) Material y métodos: Debe ser redactado de forma que el lector pueda comprender con facilidad el desarrollo de la investigación. En su caso, describirá la metodología, la muestra y la forma de muestreo, así como se hará referencia al tipo de análisis estadístico empleado. Si se trata de una metodología original, es necesario exponer las razones que han conducido a su empleo y describir sus posibles limitaciones.

7) Análisis y resultados: Se procurará resaltar las observaciones más importantes, describiéndose, sin hacer juicios de valor, el material y métodos empleados. Aparecerán en una secuencia lógica en el texto y las tablas y figuras imprescindibles evitando la duplicidad de datos.

8) Discusión y conclusiones: Resumirá los hallazgos más importantes, relacionando las propias observaciones con estudios de interés, señalando aportaciones y limitaciones, sin redundar datos ya comentados en otros apartados. Asimismo, el apartado de discusión y conclusiones debe incluir las deducciones y líneas para futuras investigaciones.

9) Apoyos y agradecimientos (opcionales): El Council Science Editors recomienda a los autor/es especificar la fuente de financiación de la investigación. Se considerarán prioritarios los trabajos con aval de proyectos competitivos nacionales e internacionales. En todo caso, para la valoración científica del manuscrito, este debe ir anonimizado con XXXX solo para su evaluación inicial, a fin de no identificar autores y equipos de investigación, que deben ser explicitados en la Carta de Presentación y posteriormente en el manuscrito final.

10) Las notas (opcionales) irán, solo en caso necesario, al final del artículo (antes de las referencias). Deben anotarse manualmente, ya que el sistema de notas al pie o al final de Word no es reconocido por los sistemas de maquetación. Los números de notas se colocan en superíndice, tanto en el texto como en la nota final. No se permiten notas que recojan citas bibliográficas simples (sin comentarios), pues éstas deben ir en las referencias.

11) Referencias: Las citas bibliográficas deben reseñarse en forma de referencias al texto. Bajo ningún caso deben incluirse referencias no citadas en el texto. Su número debe ser suficiente para contextualizar el marco teórico con criterios de actualidad e importancia. Se presentarán alfabéticamente por el primer apellido del autor.

3.2. Normas para las referencias

Publicaciones periódicas

Artículo de revista (un autor): Valdés-Pérez, D. (2016). Incidencia de las técnicas de gestión en la mejora de decisiones administrativas [Impact of Management Techniques on the Improvement of Administrative Decisions]. *Retos, 12*(6), 199-2013. https://doi.org/10.17163/ret.n12.2016.05

Artículo de revista (hasta seis autores): Ospina, M.C., Alvarado, S.V., Fefferman, M., & Llanos, D. (2016). Introducción del dossier temático "Infancias y juventudes: violencias, conflictos, memorias y procesos de construcción de paz" [Introduction of the thematic dossier "Infancy and Youth: Violence, Conflicts, Memories and Peace Construction Processes"]. *Universitas, 25*(14), 91-95. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n25.%25x

Artículo de revista (más de seis autores): Smith, S.W., Smith, S.L. Pieper, K.M., Yoo, J.H., Ferrys, A.L., Downs, E.,... Bowden, B. (2006). Altruism on American Television: Examining the Amount of, and Context Surronding. Acts of Helping and Sharing. *Journal of Communication, 56*(4), 707-727. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00316.x

Artículo de revista (sin DOI): Rodríguez, A. (2007). Desde la promoción de salud mental hacia la promoción de salud: La concepción de lo comunitario en la implementación de proyectos sociales. *Alteridad, 2*(1), 28-40. (https://goo.gl/zDb3Me) (2017-01-29).

Libros y capítulos de libro

Libros completos: Cuéllar, J.C., & Moncada-Paredes, M.C. (2014). *El peso de la deuda externa ecuatoriana*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Capítulos de libro: Zambrano-Quiñones, D. (2015). *El ecoturismo comunitario en Manglaralto y Colonche*. En V.H. Torres (Ed.), Alternativas de Vida: Trece experiencias de desarrollo endógeno en Ecuador (pp. 175-198). Quito: Abya-Yala.

Medios electrónicos

Pérez-Rodríguez, M.A., Ramírez, A., & García-Ruíz, R. (2015). La competencia mediática en educación infantil. Análisis del nivel de desarrollo en España. Universitas Psychologica, 14(2), 619-630. https://doi.org.10.11144/Javeriana.upsy14-2.cmei

Es prescriptivo que todas las citas que cuenten con DOI (Digital Object Identifier System) estén reflejadas en las Referencias (pueden obtenerse en http://goo.gl/gfruh1). Todas las revistas y libros que no tengan DOI deben aparecer con su link (en su versión on-line, en caso de que la tengan, acortada, mediante Google Shortener: http://goo.gl) y fecha de consulta en el formato indicado.

Los artículos de revistas deben ser expuestos en idioma inglés, a excepción de aquellos que se encuentren en español e inglés, caso en el que se expondrá en ambos idiomas utilizando corchetes. Todas las direcciones web que se presenten tienen que ser acortadas en el manuscrito, a excepción de los DOI que deben ir en el formato indicado (https://doi.org/XXX).

3.3. Epígrafes, tablas y gráficos

Los epígrafes del cuerpo del artículo se numerarán en arábigo. Irán sin caja completa de mayús-culas, ni subrayados, ni negritas. La numeración ha de ser como máximo de tres niveles: 1. / 1.1. / 1.1.1. Al final de cada epígrafe numerado se establecerá un retorno de carro.

Las tablas deben presentarse incluidas en el texto en formato Word según orden de aparición, numeradas en arábigo y subtituladas con la descripción del contenido.

Los gráficos o figuras se ajustarán al número mínimo necesario y se presentarán incorporadas al texto, según su orden de aparición, numeradas en arábigo y subtituladas con la descripción abreviada. Su calidad no debe ser inferior a 300 ppp, pudiendo ser necesario contar con el gráfico en formato TIFF, PNG o JPEG.

4. Proceso de envío

Deben remitirse a través del sistema OJS de la revista dos archivos:

1) Presentación y portada, en la que aparecerá el título en español e inglés, nombres y apellidos de los autores de forma estandarizada con número de ORCID, resumen, abstract, descriptores y keywords y una declaración de que el manuscrito se trata de una aportación original, no enviada ni en proceso de evaluación en otra revista, confirmación de las autorías firmantes, aceptación (si procede) de cambios formales en el manuscrito conforme a las normas y cesión parcial de derechos a la editorial (usar modelo oficial de portada).

2) Manuscrito totalmente anonimizado, conforme a las normas referidas en precedencia.

Todos los autores han de darse de alta, con sus créditos, en la plataforma OJS, si bien uno solo de ellos será el responsable de correspondencia. Ningún autor podrá enviar o tener en revisión dos manuscritos de forma simultánea, estimándose una carencia de cuatro números consecutivos (2 años).

c.

GUIDELINES FOR EXTERNAL REVIEWERS OF «UNIVERSITAS»

The C**ouncil of External Reviewers of «Universitas»** is an independent collegiate body whose purpose is to guarantee the excellence of this scientific publication, because the blind evaluation - based exclusively on the quality of the contents of the manuscripts and carried out by experts of recognized International prestige in the field - is, without a doubt, the best guarantee for the advancement of science and to preserve in this header an original and valuable scientific production.

To this end, the **Council of External Reviewers** is made up of several scholars and international scientists specialized in **Education,** essential to select the articles of the greatest impact and interest for the international scientific community. This in turn allows that all the articles selected to publish in **«Universitas»** have an academic endorsement and objectifiable reports on the originals.

Of course, all reviews in **«Universitas»** use the internationally standardized system of double-blind peer evaluation that guarantees the anonymity of manuscripts and reviewers. As a measure of transparency, the complete lists of reviewers are published on the official website of the journal (www. http://Universitas.ups.edu.ec/) los listados completos de los revisores.

1. Criteria for acceptance/rejection of manuscript evaluation

The editorial team of «Universitas» selects those that are considered more qualified in the subject of the manuscript from the list of reviewers of the Council of Reviewers. While the publication requires the maximum collaboration of reviewers to expedite the evaluations and reports on each original, acceptance of the review must be linked to:

a. **Expertise.** Acceptance necessarily entails the possession of competences in the specific theme of the article to be evaluated.
b. **Availability.** Reviewing an original takes time and involves careful reflection on many aspects.

c. **Conflict of interests.** In case of identification of the authorship of the manuscript (despite their anonymity), excessive academic or family closeness to their authors, membership in the same University, Department, Research Group, Thematic Network, Research Projects, joint publications with authors ... or any other type of connection or conflict / professional proximity; The reviewer must reject the publisher's invitation for review.
d. **Commitment of confidentiality.** Reception of a manuscript for evaluation requires the Reviewer to express a commitment of confidentiality, so that it cannot be divulged to a third party throughout the process.

In the event that the reviewer cannot carry out the activity for some of these reasons or other justifiable reasons, he/she must notify the publisher by the same route that he/she has received the invitation, specifying the reasons for rejection.

2. General criteria for the evaluation of manuscripts

a) Topic

In addition to being valuable and relevant to the scientific community, the topic that is presented in the original must be limited and specialized in time and space, without excessive localism.

b) Redaction

The critical assessment in the review report must be objectively written, providing content, quotes or references of interest to support its judgment.

c) Originality

As a fundamental criterion of quality, an article must be original, unpublished and suitable. In this sense, reviewers should answer these three questions in the evaluation:

- Is the article sufficiently novel and interesting to justify publication?
- Does it contribute anything to the knowledge canon?

- Is the research question relevant?

A quick literature search using repositories such as Web of Knowledge, Scopus and Google Scholar to see if the research has been previously covered, may be helpful.

d) Structure

Manuscripts that refer to «Universitas» must follow the IMRDC structure, except those that are literature reviews or specific studies. In this sense, the originals must contain summary, introduction, methodology, results, discussion and conclusion.

- The ***title, abstract, and keywords*** should accurately describe the content of the article.
- The ***review of the literature*** should summarize the state of the question of the most recent and adequate research for the presented work. It will be especially evaluated with criteria of suitability and that the references are to works of high impact - especially in WoS, Scopus, Scielo, etc. It should also include the general explanation of the study, its central objective and the followed methodological design.
- In case of research, in the ***materials and methods,*** the author must specify how the data, the process and the instruments used to respond to the hypothesis, the validation system, and all the information necessary to replicate the study are collected.
- ***Results*** must be clearly specified in logical sequence. It is important to check if the figures or charts presented are necessary or, if not, redundant with the content of the text.
- In the ***discussion,*** the data obtained should be interpreted in the light of the literature review. Authors should include here if their article supports or contradicts previous theories. The conclusions will summarize the advances that the research presents in the area of scientific knowledge, the future lines of research and the main difficulties or limitations for carrying out the research.
- ***Language:*** It will be positively assessed if the language used facilitates reading and is in favor of the clarity, simplicity, precision and transparency of the scientific language. The Reviewer should not proceed

to correction, either in Spanish or English, but will inform the Editors of these grammatical or orthographical and typographical errors.

- Finally, a thorough **review of the references** is required in case any relevant work has been omitted. The references must be precise, citing within the logic of the subject at study, its main works as well as the documents that most resemble the work itself, as well as the latest research in the area.

3. Relevant valuation dimensions

«Universitas» uses an evaluation matrix of each original that responds to the editorial criteria and to compliance with the publication normative. In this sense, the reviewers must attend to the qualitative-quantitative assessment of each of the aspects proposed in this matrix with criteria of objectivity, reasoning, logic and expertise.

RESEARCHES	
Valuable items	**P.**
01. Title and abstract (clarity and structure)	0/5
02. Thematic relevance 03. Originality of the work 04. Review of the literature	0/10
05. Structure and organization of the article 06. Argumentative capabilities 07. Redaction	0/10
08. Methodological rigor 09. Research instruments	0/10
10. Research results 11. Advances 12. Discussion 13. Conclusions	0/10
14. Quotations (variety and richness) 15. References	0/5
Total	50

If the original is a review of the literature (status of the subject) or other type of study (reports, proposals, experiences, among others), the Editorial Board will send to the reviewers a different matrix, including the characteristics of Structure of this type of originals:

REPORTS, STUDIES, PROPOSALS, REVIEWS	
Valuable items	**P.**
01. Title and abstract (clarity and structure)	0/5
02. Thematic relevance	0/10
03. Review of the literature	0/10
04. Structure and organization of the article 05. Argumentative capabilities and coherence 06. Scientific redaction	0/10
07. original contributions 08. Conclusions	0/10
09. Quotations 10. References	0/5
Total	50

4. Ethical Considerations

a) Plagiarism: Although the journal uses plagiarism detection systems, if the reviewer suspects that an original is a substantial copy of another work, he must immediately inform the Editors citing the previous work in as much detail as possible.

b) Fraud: If there is real or remote suspicion that the results in an article are false or fraudulent, it is necessary to inform them to the Editors.

5. Evaluation of the originals

After the quantitative-qualitative evaluation of the manuscript under review, the reviewer may make recommendations to improve the quality of the manuscript. However, the manuscript will be graded in three ways:

a. **Acceptance without review**
b. **Conditional acceptance** and therefore review (greater or lesser). In the latter case, it is necessary to clearly identify which review is necessary, listing the comments and even specifying paragraphs and pages suggesting modifications.
c. **Rejection** due to detected deficiencies justified and reasoned with quantitative and quantitative assessment. The report should be longer if a score of less than 40 of the 50 possible points is obtained.

INDICADORES PARA REVISORES EXTERNOS DE «UNIVERSITAS»

El **Consejo de Revisores Externos de «Universitas»** es un órgano colegiado independiente cuyo fin es garantizar la excelencia de esta publicación científica, debido a que la evaluación ciega –basada exclusivamente en la calidad de los contenidos de los manuscritos y realizada por expertos de reconocido prestigio internacional en la materia– es la mejor garantía y, sin duda, el mejor aval para el avance de la ciencia y para preservar en esta cabecera una producción científica original y valiosa.

Para ello, el **Consejo de Revisores Externos** está conformado por diversos académicos y científicos internacionales especialistas en **Ciencias Sociales,** esenciales para seleccionar los artículos de mayor impacto e interés para la comunidad científica internacional. Esto permite a su vez que todos los artículos seleccionados para publicar en **«Universitas»** cuenten con un aval académico e informes objetivables sobre los originales.

Por supuesto, todas las revisiones en **«Universitas»** emplean el sistema estandarizado internacionalmente de evaluación por pares con «doble ciego» (doble-blind) que garantiza el anonimato de los manuscritos y de los revisores de los mismos. Como medida de transparencia, anualmente se hacen públicos en la web oficial de la revista (www. http://Universitas.ups.edu.ec/) los listados completos de los revisores.

1. Criterios de aceptación/rechazo de evaluación manuscritos

El equipo editorial de **«Universitas»** selecciona del listado de revisores del Consejo de Revisores a aquellos que se estiman más cualificado en la temática del manuscrito. Si bien por parte de la publicación se pide la máxima colaboración de los revisores para agilizar las evaluaciones y los informes sobre cada original, la aceptación de la revisión ha de estar vinculada a:

a. **Experticia.** La aceptación conlleva necesariamente la posesión de competencias en la temática concreta del artículo a evaluar.
b. **Disponibilidad.** Revisar un original exige tiempo y conlleva reflexión concienzuda de muchos aspectos.

c. **Conflicto de intereses.** En caso de identificación de la autoría del manuscrito (a pesar de su anonimato), excesiva cercanía académica o familiar a sus autores, pertenencia a la misma Universidad, Departamento, Grupo de Investigación, Red Temática, Proyectos de Investigación, publicaciones conjuntas con los autores… o cualquier otro tipo de conexión o conflicto/cercanía profesional; el revisor debe rechazar la invitación del editor para su revisión.
d. **Compromiso de confidencialidad.** La recepción de un manuscrito para su evaluación exige del Revisor un compromiso expreso de confidencialidad, de manera que éste no puede, durante todo el proceso, ser divulgado a un tercero.

En caso que el revisor no pueda llevar a cabo la actividad por algunos de estos motivos u otros justificables, debe notificarlo al editor por la misma vía que ha recibido la invitación, especificando los motivos de rechazo.

2. Criterios generales de evaluación de manuscritos

a) Tema

La temática que se plantea en el original, además de ser valiosa y relevante para la comunidad científica, ha de ser limitada y especializada en tiempo y espacio, sin llegar al excesivo localismo.

b) Redacción

La valoración crítica en el informe de revisión ha de estar redactada de forma objetiva, aportando contenido, citas o referencias de interés para argumentar su juicio.

c) Originalidad

Como criterio de calidad fundamental, un artículo debe ser original, inédito e idóneo. En este sentido, los revisores deben responder a estas tres preguntas en la evaluación:

- ¿Es el artículo suficientemente novedoso e interesante para justificar su publicación?

- ¿Aporta algo al canon del conocimiento?
- ¿Es relevante la pregunta de investigación?

Una búsqueda rápida de literatura utilizando repositorios tales como Web of Knowledge, Scopus y Google Scholar para ver si la investigación ha sido cubierta previamente puede ser de utilidad.

d) Estructura

Los manuscritos que se remiten a **«Universitas»** deben seguir obligatoriamente la estructura IMRyD, excepto aquellos que sean revisiones de la literatura o estudios específicos. En este sentido, los originales han de contener resumen, introducción, metodología, resultados, discusión y conclusión.

- El ***título, el resumen y las palabras clave*** han de describir exactamente el contenido del artículo.
- La ***revisión de la literatura*** debe resumir el estado de la cuestión de las investigaciones más recientes y adecuadas para el trabajo presentado. Se valorará especialmente con criterios de idoneidad y que las referencias sean a trabajos de alto impacto –especialmente en WoS, Scopus, Scielo, etc. Debe incluir además la explicación general del estudio, su objetivo central y el diseño metodológico seguido.
- En caso de investigaciones, en los ***materiales y métodos,*** el autor debe precisar cómo se recopilan los datos, el proceso y los instrumentos usados para responder a las hipótesis, el sistema de validación, y toda la información necesaria para replicar el estudio.
- En los ***resultados*** se deben especificar claramente los hallazgos en secuencia lógica. Es importante revisar si las tablas o cuadros presentados son necesarios o, caso contrario, redundantes con el contenido del texto.
- En la ***discusión*** se deben interpretar los datos obtenidos a la luz de la revisión de la literatura. Los autores deberán incluir aquí si su artículo apoya o contradice las teorías previas. Las ***conclusiones*** resumirán los avances que la investigación plantea en el área del conocimiento científico, las futuras líneas de investigación y las principales dificultades o limitaciones para la realización de la investigación.
- ***Idioma:*** Se valorará positivamente si el idioma utilizado facilita la lectura y va en favor de la claridad, sencillez, precisión y transparen-

cia del lenguaje científico. El Revisor no debe proceder a corrección, ya sea en español o inglés, sino que informará a los Editores de estos errores gramaticales u ortotipográficos.

- Finalmente, se requiere una profunda ***revisión de las referencias*** por si se hubiera omitido alguna obra relevante. Las referencias han de ser precisas, citando en la lógica de la temática a estudiar, sus principales obras así como los documentos que más se asemejen al propio trabajo, así como las últimas investigaciones en el área.

3. Dimensiones relevantes de valoración

«Universitas» utiliza una matriz de evaluación de cada original que responde a los criterios editoriales y al cumplimiento de la normativa de la publicación. En este sentido los revisores deberán atender a la valoración cuali-cuantitativa de cada uno de los aspectos propuestos en esta matriz con criterios de objetividad, razonamiento, lógica y experticia.

INVESTIGACIONES	
Ítems valorables	**P.**
01. Título y resumen (claridad y estructura)	0/5
02. Relevancia de la temática 03. Originalidad del trabajo 04. Revisión de la literatura	0/10
05. Estructura y organización artículo 06. Capacidad argumental 07. Redacción	0/10
08. Rigor metodológico 09. Instrumentos de investigación	0/10
10. Resultados de investigación 11. Avances 12. Discusión 13. Conclusiones	0/10
14. Citaciones (variedad y riqueza) 15. Referencias	0/5
Total máximo	50

En caso de tratarse el original de una revisión de la literatura (estado de la cuestión) u otro tipo de estudio (informes, propuestas, experiencias, entre otras), el Consejo Editorial remitirá a los revisores una matriz distinta, comprendiendo las características propias de estructura de este tipo de originales:

ESTUDIOS, INFORMES, PROPUESTAS, EXPERIENCIAS	
Ítems valorables	**P.**
01. Título y resumen (claridad y estructura)	0/5
02. Relevancia de la temática	0/10
03. Revisión de la literatura	0/10
04. Estructura y organización artículo 05. Capacidad argumental y coherencia 06. Redacción científica	0/10
07. Aportaciones originales 08. Conclusiones	0/10
09. Citaciones 10. Referencias	0/5
Total máximo	50

4. Cuestiones éticas

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Una vez realizada la evaluación cuanti-cualitativa del manuscrito en revisión, el revisor podrá realizar recomendaciones para mejorar la calidad del original. Sin embargo, se atenderá a la calificación del manuscrito de tres maneras:

a. Rechazo debido a las deficiencias detectadas, justificadas y razonadas con valoración cualitativa y cuantitativa. El informe ha de ser más extenso si obtiene menos de los 30 de los 50 puntos posibles.
b. Aceptación sin revisión.
c. Aceptación condicionada y por ende con revisión (mayor o menor). En este último caso, se ha de identificar claramente qué revisión es necesaria, enumerando los comentarios e incluso especificando párrafos y páginas en las que sugieren modificaciones.

PROTOCOL OF MANUSCRIPT EVALUATION FOR EXTERNAL REVIEWERS

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6. Scientific redaction</td><td colspan="3">Mandatory comments:</td></tr>
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PROTOCOLO DE EVALUACIÓN DE MANUSCRITOS PARA REVISORES EXTERNOS

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Cover Letter

Section (Mark)
Mnographic Dossier ___
Miscellany ___

Title in Spanish: Arial 14 bold and centered. Maximum 80 characters with spaces

Title in English: Arial 14 cursive.

Maximum 80 characters with spaces

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Country Institutional email
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Abstract (Spanish)

Minimum 210 and maximum 230 words. It must include 1) Justification of the topic; 2) Objectives; 3) Methodology and sample; 4) Main results; 5) Main conclusions. It must be impersonally written “The present paper analyzes ...”

Abstract (English)

Minimum 210 and maximum 230 words. It must include 1) Justification of the topic; 2) Objectives; 3) Methodology and sample; 4) Main results; 5) Main conclusions. It must be impersonally written "The present paper analyzes ..." Do not use automatic translation systems.

Descriptors (Spanish)

6 standardized terms preferably of a single word and of the UNESCO Thesaurus separated by commas (,).

Keywords

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PRESENTATION

Cover Letter

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Having read the regulations of the journal «Universitas» and analyzed its coverage, thematic area and approach, I consider that this journal is the ideal one for the dissemination of the work that I hereby attach, for which I beg you to be submitted for consideration for publication. The original has the following title "___________________________________", whose authorship corresponds to ____ ________________________.

The authors (s) certify that this work has not been published, nor is it under consideration for publication in any other journal or editorial work.

The author (s) are responsible for their content and have contributed to the conception, design and completion of the work, analysis and interpretation of data, and to have participated in the writing of the text and its revisions, as well as in the approval of the version which is finally referred to as an attachment.

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Resumen

Mínimo 210 y máximo 230 palabras. Debe incluir 1) Justificación del tema; 2) Objetivos; 3) Metodología y muestra; 4) Principales resultados; 5)

Principales conclusiones. Ha de estar escrito de manera impersonal “El presente trabajo analiza…”

Abstract

Mínimo 210 y máximo 230 palabras *cursiva. Debe incluir 1) Justificación del tema; 2) Objetivos; 3) Metodología y muestra; 4) Principales resultados; 5) Principales conclusiones. Ha de estar escrito de manera impersonal “El presente trabajo analiza...” No utilizar sistemas de traducción automáticos.*

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Apoyos y soporte financiero de la investigación (Opcional)

Entidad:
País:
Ciudad:
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Sr. Editor de «Universitas»

Leída la normativa de la revista «Universitas» y analizada su cobertura, área temática y enfoque, considero que esta revista es la idónea para la difusión del trabajo que le adjunto, por lo que le ruego sea sometida a la consideración para su publicación. El original lleva por título "______________ ________________________", cuya autoría corresponde a _____________ ____.

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Se aceptan la introducción de cambios en el contenido si hubiere lugar tras la revisión, y de cambios en el estilo del manuscrito por parte de la redacción de «Universitas».

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Call for papers Dossier
A proposal for a research agenda in digital communication after the Covid-19 pandemic in Ibero-America

No. 37. September 2022-February 2023

Coordinators

Dra. Mágda Rodrigues da Cunha. Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (Brasil)
Dr. Daniel Barredo Ibáñez. Universidad del Rosario (Colombia); Fudan University (China)

Dr. Jorge Alberto Hidalgo Toledo. Universidad Anáhuac (México)

The objective of this publication is to address the debates related to fake news, communication, and politics in the midst of the mutations that occur in contemporary societies.

Faced with this context, in which the world is traversed by the Covid-19 Pandemic and where many countries took preventive, social, and mandatory isolation as a sanitary measure, tackling the role of the media and social networks in today´s construction of the news becomes a key element to understand how so-called fake news operate in relation to political systems and democracies in Latin America.

In this context, communication faces enormous challenges in relation to politics and citizenship, but doubtless the first obstacle to be surpassed is to be able to identify the complexity in order to inform ourselves as objectively and adequately as possible.

That is why before talking about fake news or misinformation it is necessary to reflect on the matrix that enables them. We are not talking about anything other than the post-truth; a social phenomenon that allows us to understand why this type of news circulates so easily, catalyzing and guiding public opinion.

In line with the aforementioned, the World Health Organization (WHO) recently warned about the "infodemic", the damage generated by overexposureto news (both fake and true) about the coronavirus pandemic. In addition, we are interested in delving into how fake news and big data strengthen polarizations and impact on the political systems of the Region, and in particular, how they have become a tool that puts governments and democracies at risk, enabling political expressions with hints of conservatism and authoritarianism throughout the world.

Along these lines, it is necessary to mention, for example, the lawfare processes that occurred against political and popular leaders in the region; or the media narratives that create new public spaces throughout online networks with their own rules of participation that are articulated with those already known as media and streets, squares— and that allow the emergence of cybercitizens,cyber movements but also the so-called “trolls”, “bots”, etc.

In this framework, it is necessary to rethink the role of the State, and from there, understand Technological and Digital Sovereignty as a right that allows access to technologies for the entire society. This challenge implies moving away from the gaze of neoliberalism that proposes the selfregulation of the market, while understanding that equity in access can be achieved thanks not only to the State´s intervention through the promulgation of laws; but also, to its active role regarding the implementation of public policies.

To claim the regulatory function of the State with respect to new media technologies suppose to recognize them in their complexities, in their networks of power, in the differentiated appropriations and in their link with everyday uses and practices. In sum, to understand that technologies are constitutive of the social and, therefore, that they can never be inherently neutral or aseptic.

Technologies are determined by power relations that implicitly lead to the generation of inequalities. Although one does not start from thinking negatively about the technological process by itself; these transformations entail, in their frameworks, contexts, and proposals, new ways of accessing the consumption of symbolic goods, which operate as a matrix of inequalities.

The role of the State and public policies appears as the way to overcome these scenarios of social inequality. As communication professionals, researchers, we must unravel the meanings of technology to helping construct our own design, appropriation and use strategies that contribute to a more free and democratic consumption of information.

In a context where all the people in the region knows and identifies their executioners, who seem to enjoy punishing those that do not subjugate themselves in the face of violence and injustice and use fake news as a destabilizing factor against their enemies in popular struggles and the need to regulate communication as a matter of State.

In this sense, and without excluding other topics related to the aforementioned field, this call is addressed to researchers who, through original works, contribute to the social and academic discussion on the following thematic axes:

- Post-truth, fake news and their influences on public debates
- Online networks, polarizations and algorithms, citizen participation
- Cyber movements, media, platforms and democracies
- Technological sovereignties and the right to communication
- Fake news, implications for democracy and political systems in the Region
- Academic debates on fake news

Original and unpublished works that reflect on the theme of the call, in any of the areas indicated above, from reviews of the existing theoretical heritage, that present case studies of experiences of interest or field studies and other related research, are welcome.

Call for papers closing date: 2020-10-31

Guidelines for authors available at https://universitas.ups.edu.ec/pdf/docs/universitas/NORMATIVAUNIVERSITAS.pdf

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Convocatoria del Dossier
Una propuesta de agenda de la investigación en comunicación digital tras la pandemia de Covid-19 en Iberoamérica

No. 37. Septiembre 2022-Febrero 2023

Coordinadores

Dra. Mágda Rodrigues da Cunha. Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (Brasil)
Dr. Daniel Barredo Ibáñez. Universidad del Rosario (Colombia); Fudan University (China)
Dr. Jorge Alberto Hidalgo Toledo. Universidad Anáhuac (México)

El objetivo de esta publicación es abordar los debates vinculados a las fake news, la comunicación y la política en medio de las mutaciones que se producen en las sociedades contemporáneas.

Frente a este contexto, en el que el mundo se encuentra atravesado por la Pandemia del Covid-19 y donde muchos países tomaron como medida de prevención el aislamiento preventivo, social y obligatorio, problematizar el rol de los medios de comunicación y las redes sociales en la construcción de las noticias se convierte hoy en un elemento clave para comprender cómo operan las denominadas fake news en relación a los sistemas políticos y las democracias en Iberoamérica.

En este contexto la comunicación enfrenta enormes desafíos en relación a la política y a la ciudadanía, pero sin lugar a dudas el primer obstáculo es señalar la complejidad para poder informarnos lo más objetiva y adecuadamente posible.

Es por ello que antes de hablar de noticias falsas o desinformación es preciso reflexionar en torno a la matriz que las habilita. No hablamos de otra cosa qué de la post verdad; fenómeno social que permite entender por qué este tipo de noticias circula con tanta facilidad catalizando y orientando la opinión pública.

En sintonía con lo mencionado anteriormente, la Organización Mundial de la Salud (OMS) advirtió recientemente sobre la "infodemia", un mal generado por la sobreexposición a noticias (tanto falsas como verdaderas) sobre la pandemia del coronavirus.

Además, nos interesa profundizar acerca de cómo las fake news y la big-data fortalecen las polarizaciones e impactan sobre los sistemas políticos de la Región, y en particular como se han convertido en una herramienta que pone en riesgo a los gobiernos y a las democracias, habilitando expresiones políticas con tintes de conservadurismo y autoritarismo a lo largo y ancho del mundo.

En esta línea, es preciso mencionar, por ejemplo, los procesos de lawfare acaecidos sobre dirigentes políticos y populares de la región; o las narrativas mediáticas que gestan en las redes online nuevos espacios públicos –com sus propias normas de participación que se articulan con las ya conocidas como medios y calles, plazas– y que permiten la emergencia de ciberciudadanías, ciber movimientos pero también de los denominados "trolls", "bots", etc.

En este marco, es necesario repensar el rol del Estado, y desde allí comprender a la Soberanía Tecnológica y Digital como un derecho que permite el acceso a las tecnologías para toda la sociedad. Esta toma de postura, implica el alejamiento de la mirada del neoliberalismo que plantea la autorregulación del mercado, para comprender que la equidad en los accesos sólo puede lograrse si el Estado interviene activamente con la promulgación de leyes; pero también, con la puesta en práctica de políticas públicas.

Plantear a las tecnologías como una cuestión de Estado, es reconocerlas en sus complejidades, en sus entramados de poder, en las apropiaciones diferenciadas que se hacen de ellas y en su vínculo con los usos y prácticas cotidianas. Entender, en definitiva, que las tecnologías son constitutivas de lo social y, por lo tanto, inherentemente nunca podrán ser neutrales o asépticas.

Las tecnologías están determinadas por relaciones de poder que llevan implícitamente la generación de desigualdades. Si bien no se parte de pensar negativamente el proceso tecnológico por sí mismo; dichas transformaciones conllevan en sus entramados, contextos y propuestas, nuevos modos de acceso al consumo de los bienes simbólicos, que operan como matriz de las desigualdades. El rol del Estado y las políticas públicas aparecen como superadoras de estos escenarios de desigualdad social.

Como profesionales de la comunicación, investigadores e investigadoras, debemos desentramar los sentidos de lo tecnológico para contribuir a construir nuestras propias estrategias de diseño, apropiación y uso, que contribuyan a un consumo más libre y democrático de la información.

En un contexto donde cada pueblo de la región conoce e identifica a sus verdugos, estos parecen gozar de castigar a aquellos que no se avasallan ante las violencias e injusticias y, las fakes news como factor desestabilizador frente a sus enemigos en las luchas populares y a la necesidad de la regulación de la comunicación como un asunto de Estado.

En este sentido, y sin excluir otras temáticas ligadas al campo citado, la presente convocatoria se dirige a investigadores/as que a través de trabajos originales contribuyan a la discusión social y académica sobre los siguientes ejes temáticos:

- Posverdad, noticias falsas y sus influencias en los debates públicos
- Redes online, polarizaciones y algoritmos, participación ciudadana
- Cibermovimientos, medios, plataformas y democracias
- Soberanías tecnológicas y derecho a la comunicación
- Fake news, implicaciones para la democracia y los sistemas políticos en la Región
- Debates académicos sobre fake news

Serán bienvenidos trabajos originales e inéditos que reflexionen sobre la temática de la convocatoria en alguno de los ámbitos señalados a partir de revisiones del acervo teórico existente, que presenten estudios de casos de experiencias de interés o estudio de campo y otro tipo de investigaciones relacionadas.

Fecha de cierre de la convocatoria: 2020-10-31

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