Journalistic content and social network sites: brazilian newspapers strategies on facebook

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Abstract

This article aims to analyze journalistic content distributed by traditional media on social network sites, especially Facebook. Theoretical discussion is based on the migration process of conventional vehicles to online platform and its presence on social media, arguing that one of the purposes of this recent change is to give a broader scope of visibility to the content produced. This article focuses on what type of content has been selected to circulate on Facebook, as researches have shown that some issues have more visibility than others. Thus, using quantitative research methods, we analyze Facebook posts published by 11 traditional Brazilian newspapers, from July to October 2014. The results indicate the predominance of the entertainment theme on the published posts and the different strategies used by the different newspapers, including amongst these the political visibility during the electoral campaign.

Keywords: Social network sites; News production; News Circulation.

Resumo

Este artigo tem o objetivo de analisar o conteúdo jornalístico distribuído pelos veículos tradicionais nas redes sociais digitais, mais especificamente no Facebook. A pesquisa parte da discussão teórica de que os veículos convencionais migraram para a plataforma *online* e adentraram as redes sociais digitais, com diversas finalidades, sendo que uma delas é dar maior amplitude ao conteúdo produzido. O artigo visa analisar que tipo de conteúdo é selecionado pelos produtores para circular nas redes sociais, pois se entende que alguns temas possuem maior visibilidade que outros ao alcançarem este espaço. Assim, por meio da análise quantitativa de conteúdo, analisam-se as postagens publicadas nas páginas de Facebook de 11 jornais impressos brasileiros, de julho a outubro de 2014. Os resultados indicam predomínio do tema entretenimento nas postagens e estratégias diferentes entre os jornais, inclusive acerca da visibilidade do tema política ao longo da campanha eleitoral.

Palavras-chave: Redes sociais, produção jornalística, circulação de informação.

1. Introduction

The spread of journalistic content went through some changes and has acquired a new destination: social networks sites. This expansion of news reaching — in the past produced and dissipated only by traditional channels — it is the result of two process union: internet growth use —mainly by young people (Noguera-Vivo, 2010)— and the search for new market strategies (Tuñez López, 2012). Now, the social network sites have been suitable for the journalistic practice (Recuero & Zago, 2011) and have the function of increasing news circulation and diffusion (Lopez García & Alonso Rodrigues, 2013; Zago, 2012). In this context, this article has the purpose of analyze what kind of content has been prioritized and chosen by the media to circulate in social network sites.

This article is an empirical research that analyzes posts from 11 Brazilian newspapers —A Tarde, Correio Brasiliense, Gazeta do Povo, Zero Hora, Correio do Estado, Diário do Pará, Folha de S. Paulo, O Estado de S. Paulo, O Globo, O Estado de Minas and O Povo— on their fan pages on Facebook. These vehicles represent the national quality papers as well as the regional newspapers of different regions of the country and can offer a panorama of the information distribution logic through social network sites on Brazil communicational scene.

Discussion about the use of social media by traditional communication vehicles is a recurrent issue in national and international literature in the last years. (Zago, 2012; Sousa, 2015; Carvajal, 2012; Ortells Badenes, 2011; Francisco, 2010; Lopez García & Alonso Rodrigues, 2013). Many authors call attention to a specific strategy of enhancing the news reach, i.e., contributing with circulation process or diffusion journalistic information, as highlighted by Zago (2012). From this presupposition is justified the kind of disseminated content observation, since not all the news has been migrating to social network sites and there is a choose process in which themes are going to be widely widespread and which are not going to, that represents concern and strategies of vehicles about what is going to be distributed.

In Brazil, Internet access has increased and reached nowadays almost half of the population (Brasil, 2014). The news media organizations created news portals in 1990s and also saw in social network sites the possibility of increasing the visibility of produced information . In the past, news production was targeted only to print media but, since migration to online platforms, there are journalists that work for the websites with instantaneously news maintenance and a selected part of website content goes to social media. It should be underscored that most part of times posts on social network sites guide the readers to the website when they get interested in these news, acting then like a «bridge» to other contents and to the full text.

The entertainment must be the predominant theme in social network sites even in election times according to the tendency already expressed by other authors observed on Facebook´s atmosphere (Aguiar and Barsotti, 2013; Berrocal, Redondo and Campos, 2014) . So, this research is oriented by two hypotheses: (H1) Political themes gain visibility in fan pages through time as the election day approaches. (H2) Nevertheless, there is a distinction between the selected vehi-

cles because the choosen themes and news that circulate on social network sites reflect specific editorial choices of each vehicle.

For this purpose, all posts of the news pages above referenced from July 1st to October 31st were collected, a corpus of 34,151 posts. The quantitative content analysis is the methodology used in this article and the posts are analyzed from a coding book previously elaborated with variables and pre-established categories.

2. Social networks sites and vehicle migration to online

The migration of newspapers to the online sphere occurs, most times, by the influence of society habits changing. Time spent on internet has grown considerably in the last few years and it has made the news media organizations look for other ways of approaching to readers and gaining, moreover, new adepts of information consumption. According to the last Brazilian media research (Pesquisa Brasileira de Mídia-PBM), 48% of Brazilian population use internet, and 37% access social media every day (Brasil, 2014). About frequent users, 67% claim to use internet to consume news and to be informed. Besides the internet access, stands out that there is a growth in consume of information using new supports, such as smartphones and tablets, which has become easier digital information consume.

This background of a great amount of connected people associated to new mobile devices becomes very appropriate to news media organizations to feel instigated to create portals and websites on internet. Just like that, audience migrates to online platforms with the advance of technology, the news organizations also occupy this place in a strategic way seeking to attract a new parcel of younger people (Noguera-Vivo, 2010), distributing content (Zago, 2012) and being closer to audience (González Molina & Ortells Badenes, 2012). Brazilian newspapers, for example, which only operated in the traditional logic, nowadays produce content in their portals and are inside the digital background and active in social network sites, such as Facebook.

Migratory process from the conventional format to digital platform also is part of the convergence process that news is made, integrating online and offline production and distribution, moreover creating multipurpose journalism professionals (González Molina & Ortells Badenes, 2012). Even though the study object of this article is only the social network sites as a way of journalistic content distribution, it is worth pointing that internet also offers other ways of sharing content, such as e-mail, websites, and applications, among others. Production becomes integrated, circulation occurs in multiples spaces and consume happens by distinct ways, both digital and conventional.

Internet becomes a relevant and strategic space to journalistic contents diffusion, because there is a potential audience that transits in the network: the younger audience. According to Casero-Ripollés (2012), companies that cross the conventional methods and seek for a new business model with focus, mainly, the young, who tend to read on digital medium. Noguera-Vivo (2010) also emphasizes that, mostly dealing with social network sites, information has a tendency to

be designated to young people. In the Brazilian case, young people are who access the internet the most, as the PBM (Brasil, 2014) indicates.

Internet has provided new ways of production as well as consumption of information. Here, the focus is social network sites and how they impact in this process, which justifies the analysis of content that achieved visibility. Regarding to them, Facebook is the most used network site: 83% of the Brazilian users' prefer to use it (Brasil, 2014). This network use generates a relevant background to the proliferation of Facebook fan pages of news organizations.

Therefore, the social network sites have been taken over by the journalism, even though that has not been created to journalistic practices (Recuero and Zago, 2012). An example of this appropriation is the even greater number of media organizations that create social profiles on social network sites. Gradually, journalism adapted itself to the platform and benefited from its positive aspects, such as relation to the audience and content distribution.

On online news production photos or videos can be attached, which is a great exit to call attention of the audience (Noguera-Vivo, 2010). Furthermore, journalists use the network to search for assignments, as it has already been shown on Mesquita and Vizeu's (2015) work. Concerning the news circulation process, pivotal for this research, networks expand the reaching of news, and are used as channels for content distribution (Lopéz Garcia & Alonso Rodríguez, 2013; Recuero, 2012; Zago, 2012) almost at zero cost, as emphasizes Ortells Badenes (2011). From the point of view of consumption, it is a platform with different dynamics where the reader can interact with the content. On Facebook, it is possible to like, share and comment. Although, according of Tuñez López's (2012), there is a lack of newspaper interaction with the reader and they are poorly active too, talking less and sharing more.

3. Social networks sites as circulation place of journalistic content

Emphasizing the circulation process, it is asserted the social network sites are used as tools of journalistic content disseminator, making possible information to arrive to many subnets (Recuero, 2009). In Zago's (2012) conception, social network sites can be considered tools of informative content reproduction and circulation, since the content before distributed only by paper editions can be shared online nowadays. It still stands out that social network sites are considered an effective medium of news circulation in a quick and dynamic way, because it can happen an «accidental exposure» (Assunção *et al.*, 2015) to content. Recuero's (2012) work shows how information posted by an actor —in this case in a newspaper— can reach many actors far away from him. Information arrives «accidentally» to other timelines, because the posts are shared, liked and commented. Folha de S. Paulo has more than five million followers on Facebook. This fact gives a perspective of the number of people receiving the content posted by the Brazilian journals.

«Like» and «share» mechanisms on Facebook also offer a possibility of recirculation (Zago, 2012, when content that circulated only on portals and in printed

newspapers starts to arrive to many subnets with help of the readers (Recuero, 2009). About this, Zago and Bastos (2013) reiterates that these possibilities are relevant to the journalism, because they confer more visibility to news. For example, who does not follow the newspaper profile can have access to the content due to others users' activity. In relation to the number of readers, it is possible that published news on social network sites have more readers than the printed version, because the content circulates by these interconnected actors.

Then, it is possible to say that readers are also important agents responsible for the information circulation in this process called recirculation. Themes that interest more to readers have also more circulation when they use share, like and comment tools.

Networks provoke some effects that involve information circulation (Recuero, 2012). Two effects are interesting to discuss the relation with the journalistic production on Facebook. According to Recuero (2012), first of them is the cascade effectin which an actor influence the other by imitation and the networks end up spreading certain contents due to this imitation effect. In an opposite way, other themes happen to be suppressed by this effect. This may occur, for example, with posts about polemic themes that are shared very quickly.

The other process is the audience network, which is close to the idea of recirculation, because the audience capacity to spread information through its networks. This broad circulation is only possible due to readers' active function inside their networks, sharing and replicating the posted content previously by the news organizations. Without this readers and journals followers active function, the information would not have so many diffusions.

The circulation idea through social network sites also appears, even in a less direct way, in other authors discussions. It is the case of Aggio and Reis (2015), for example, that call this phenomenon as «online information ecology». News posted on the website receives a link on Facebook, and at the same time the information reaches more visibility, it also attracts the public visit the website. The possibility of serving as bridge to published content on portals and websites is a positive aspect of content distribution on Facebook. Usually, as the interaction process has not been explored, most part of posts is about the pages news. Accessing the post released on Facebook, the reader is directed to the website through the links, something that Reucero (2012) also pays attention to and that has been proved by Lopez Garcia's and Alonso Rodrígues' (2013) research.

One of strategies to draw audience attention, according to Aguiar and Basotti (2013), is the use of entertainment. Although authors speak about mobile devices, this kind of content may be also recurrent on social network sites in content as well as format or the headline. The PBM already indicated that great part of internet users seek not only for information, but for ways of amusement (Brasil, 2014). This happen to be emphasized, as Aguiar and Basotti (2013) claim, by the culture of mobile devices that corroborates with entertainment expansion. To the authors, what occurs is a blend between themes that are not entertainment, but uses of «drops of entertainment» on its format to call attention and denominates itself as infotainment. Hybridization of formats may appear in social network sites as a method of reaching the audience which tends to be interested in this

kind of content, as Massuchin and Tavares (2015) already identified in informative portals.

Printed news insertion on internet is also considered strategic and became relevant as research theme in measure that there is more visibility to certain news types posted on fan pages in relation to themes that are not taken to social network sites. This discussion is interesting in a very evident way to the analysis that is going to be done, because, according to Recuero (2012), networks delimit information to be advertising. Disseminating material on Facebook, for example, may highlight a few themes while others may be obstructed (Zago & Bastos, 2013). Therefore, not everything that is on the website is replicated on Facebook and it can be identified that in the same way that there are filters in facts choice, there is also filters on the choice about what achieves visibility on social network sites and obtains more circulation. It means that exposing certain themes it is on the call of the producers, who decide what is going to be published on the social network sites[1].

The themes that have more chances of being liked, commented and shared are provided on the fan page, unlike others, of minor interest, that do not migrate to social network sites, as points Zago and Bastos (2013). This is how determined criteria or values-news (Harcupl & O'Neill, 2001) determine what is going or not to be highlighted on social network sites, elevating the access to the website/portal. Likewise, that there are choices in the transformation process of events into news, following the assumption of gatekeeping theory, there is also, with social network sites inclusion, a second choice to know which theme is receiving visibility on the fan page, given its potential of information diffusion.

This research starts therefore by the assumption that, considering social network sites a space of visibility and circulation expansion of contents widespread, there are producers' choices, like a gatekeeper of network. Not all the published content automatically goes to fan page diffusion, which assumes criteria of choice and construction of a determined published content standard, what may vary according to the vehicle, its editorial line or coverage.

The differences may be, for example, between hard news and soft news, such as in themes of local or national coverage that have more or less proximity to the readers. These choices may vary according to the audience profile, which may be distinct (Massuchin & Tavares, 2015). There are themes that call more attention than others to producers as well as to internet users. This differentiation is shown in other studies (Cervi & Massuchin, 2013; Massuchin & Tavares, 2015): hard news is that kind related to public interest, and soft news is related to entertainment and celebrities. These definitions indicate differences in the kind of vehicle coverage in their traditional platforms and also may serve to discuss choices of what may have more visibility on social network sites.

The production of this analysis in election period is related to the visibility of the electoral campaign, which indicates presence of relevant theme to public

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[1] Highlight to the fact that, in reality are two filters, even though here is observed only one. There is the one made by the journalists, that has as analyses focus (that not everything that is on the portal goes to the social network sites) and the one referent to Facebook algorithms (that does not show all the news to the users)

debate and for public opinion formation. There are many studies that analyzes the electoral campaigns centrality in traditional places (Cervi, 2003; Aldé & Borges, 2004), but with the inclusion of portals and social network sites it is necessary to understand visibility logics of this theme on internet, and mainly if it is one of the interest themes to gain visibility on newspapers fan pages. This visibility offered to electoral campaign theme is also important because gives highlight to the candidates.

4. Methodology and research design

The objective of this research, as has already been pointed, is to analyze content of posts made by conventional vehicles in their Facebook fan pages to discuss the content selection and each journal priorities, mainly concerning politics theme and entertainment aspects. However, there are many researches that discuss the journalistic production dynamics on social network sites, some of them focuses on more individual analysis (Aguiar e Barsotti, 2013), in theorizations about changes (Díaz-Noci, 2010), about the format (Carvajal, 2012), networks structures (Recuero, 2012) or in producers' perception (González Molina & Ortells Badenes, 2012). There are few researches that analyze published content aspects, such as this work proposes.

Lopes García and Alonso Rodríguez (2013) case is a study among the ones that resemble to published content aspects perspective, that study the journals of Galicia region, in Spain, on Facebook and Twitter. Therefore, the novelty of this research identifies content features to understand what kind of news has been prioritized by producers in circulation process on social network sites, especially on what refers to selected themes. To the research, it is used quantitative analysis methodology, with the objective of reducing complexity through a systematic classification (Bauer, 2004), and also may reproduce inference of possible replications (Krippendorff, 1980).

The analysis is based on a corpus formed by 34.151 posts on Facebook from 11 selected newspapers: A Tarde, Correio Brasiliense, Gazeta do Povo, Zero Hora, Correio do Estado, Diário do Pará, Folha de S. Paulo, O Estado de S. Paulo, O Globo, O Estado de Minas and O Povo. The newspapers were chosen representing three national quality papers, as well as the regional/state circulations vehicles, offering general panoramas of main Brazilian vehicles.

The article analyses three aspects and refers only to the posts, as it concerns a part of a much wider range research: the publications quantity, the thematic differences between the vehicles and temporal variation. Research cutout encompass posts from July, August, September and October 2014, which coincide to the national election period in Brazil, that evince the posts about politics and importance of circulation of this kind of content in social network sites.

In relation to the posts themes, the main variable observed in this article is classified as entertainment —trend that has been developed on television as well as on internet (Berrocal, Redondo & Campos, 2014)—; public interest, as social themes —such as health, education, minorities, public transportation, among

others—; and politics, that involves the electoral campaign and coverage about facts that involve institutions and politics decisions. This last two thematic are much closer that what Tuchman (1978) classifies as hard news and the first one stays near to soft news. When posts were not related to none of these three categories, they were considered as «others».

All of the content was obtained on Facebook by the application Netvizz — available by the own social network site— and subsequently codified by the Research Group for Political Communication and Public Opinion (Grupo de Pesquisa em Comunicação Política e Opinião Pública-CPOP) having as a base a coding book[2] and a series of variables previously defined (Santos, 2016). After codified, the analysis was made with help of the statistical software SPSS and some tests were made, such as chi-square and standardized residuals.[3]

5. Entertainment centrality and politics grown across the time

Before testing the first hypothesis, it is analyzed in the Brazilian newspapers predominant themes on these vehicles posts on social network sites. To this purpose the total frequency of each thematic category and its respective percentage were compared. As shown in graphic 1, ahead, it is notable a preference to determined themes in front of others on journalistic fan pages.

Firstly, it is verified that there is an overlap of entertainment before others, with 45,3% of the posts, and indicates a tendency that the social network sites receive more information of this nature. As there is news that calls attention to involve famous people and celebrities, these people may be used to attract audience to portals. Sticks out here that PBM indicates that internet is used by Brazilians mainly for entertainment and information search (Brasil, 2014).

Concerning social themes — which involves news about economy, health, education, public transport, among others— these show up in second place, with 26% of posts. Their presence is to call attention of readers trying to have the same space as entertainment, because here it is treated like public interest news and not necessarily of «interest of the public». These category themes are the basis of journalism, mainly of daily print, that may bring these themes aggregated with the idea of proximity of the electors, mostly in regional communication vehicles that tend to say less of entertainment and politics, since the elections were national.

In consideration of election period, there was an expectation of the politics theme. It was shown in 18,9% of posts dealing with both institutional politics

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[2] On the coding book all the aspects to be analyzed and all the possibilities of answers that may be found to creation of variables and categories are catalogued. All the people who collected data were based on that coding book to codification, receiving a previous training.

[3] First test is used to verify the dependency and independency between variables, and the second has by finality identify in which pairs there is a concentration of cases, in other words, which categories of the variables tends to be closer or distant. The values are considered significant when up or below |+/-1,96|, respectively.

and electoral campaign, this last involved strictly facts of the dispute and talked directly of the three main candidates on the dispute. There is other 17,4% that fits in the category others.

Graph 1. Themes frequency on Facebook posts.
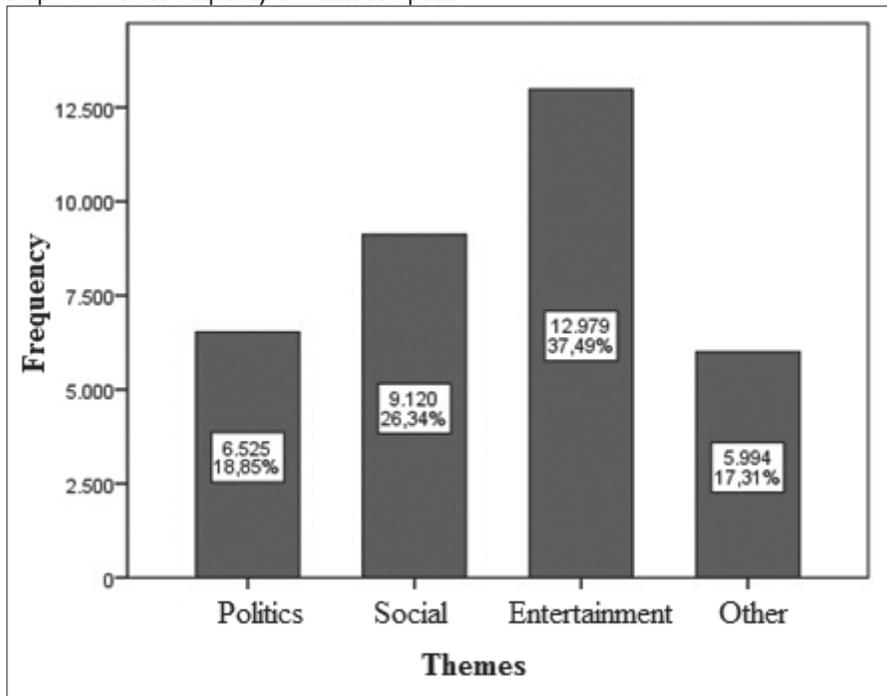
Source: CPOP/UFPR (2014).

As here there is not, yet, how to see the differences between the newspapers, the conclusion that may be obtained is that in more than 34 thousand posts in social network site there is an entertainment prevalence, that involves news about sports, TV shows and celebrities. However, this prevalence of soft news posts may be temporally conditioned, because it is necessary to wait, for an example, the major presence of this kind of posts on the period of World Soccer Cup, on July.

This way, becomes necessary a longitudinal analysis, that allow to test the first hypothesis that there are changes through the electoral campaign about the political themes inside this range of priorities, due to the proximity to elections, what would call even more the web readers and producers attention, and the producers would post more about the theme in order to obtain more access to the portal. It is worth mentioning, yet, that this research data does not deal with recirculation, i.e., the manner that users and followers interact with the content (Zago, 2012; Sousa, 2015). Therefore, even the newspapers that post more about entertainment, there is no way to know here if these are the news that recirculate more by «shares, likes and comments».

Concerning the total distribution of the posts in four months, there was a visible balance with 27,12% of the posts in July, 23,2% in August, 22,82% in September and 26,86% in October. Chart 1, below, allows a comparative analysis of specific theme distribution along the months.

Chart 1. Relation between themes and the temporal distribution.[4]

| Politic Social		Theme			Total
			Entertainment		
July	N	819	2025	4946	7790
	%	10,5%	26%	63,5%	100%
	Rp	-22,7	-9,2	**23,8**	
August	N	1446	2404	2776	6626
	%	21,8%	36,3%	41,9%	100%
	Rp	-1,7	**6,4**	-4,2	
September	N	1432	2217	2745	6394
	%	22,4%	34,7%	42,9%	100%
	Rp	-0,7	**4,0**	-2,9	
October	N	2828	2474	2512	7814
	%	36,2%	31,7%	32,1%	100%
	Rp	**24,8**	-0,3	-17,3	
Total	N	6525	9120	12979	28624
	%	22,8%	31,9%	45,3%	100%
Chi-square: 2,166.074 sig:0.000					

Source: CPOP/UFPR (2014).

As expected, dependence is proven between the variables, by the chi-square, and alteration of distribution through months, making of politics theme highlight on the posts by the end of election period. Meanwhile, entertainment stands out in July (Rp 23,8), politics theme receives more visibility in posts from October (Rp 24,8), when the first and second round of the electoral dispute occurs. Whereas the social theme stands out in August and September (Rp 6,4 e Rp 4,0, respectively).

Among the explications to these changes in the prioritized themes, there are some events related to the World Soccer Cup that was disclosed in social network sites. In October, two rounds of election take place, which made political themes received more centrality in the process of news distributions.

The tables show that, although political themes are not being priority before entertainment, as has been already identified previously, its highlights come through time and in decisive moments, when there is more necessity of this kind

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[4]   To the table, the category «others», present in the previous graph, is excluded.

Graph 2. Week distribution of each post theme.
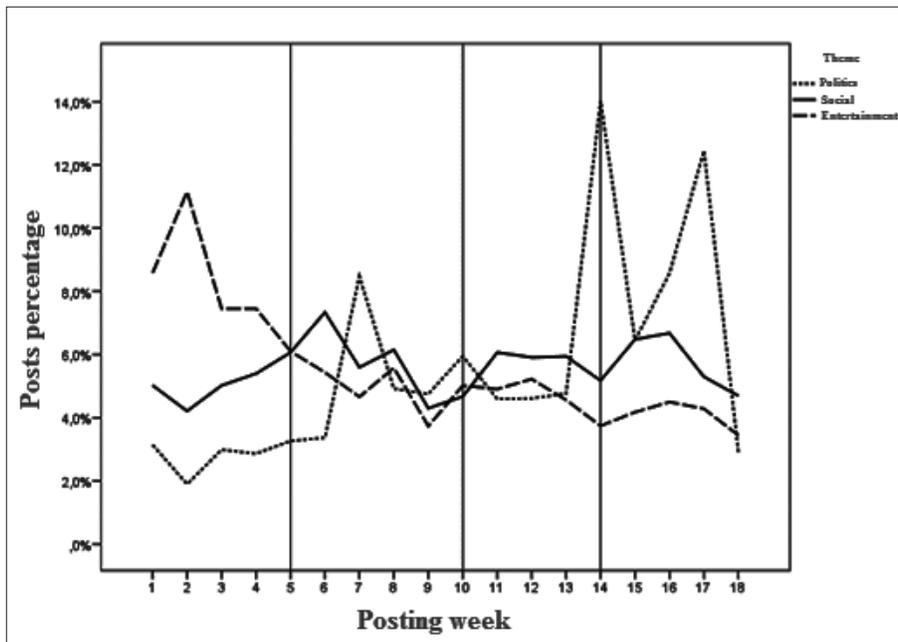
Source: CPOP/UFPR (2014).

of information circulation, when undecided electors need to make their vote and demand informational subsides (Cervi, 2010). At this point, the debate about news circulation through social network sites also contributes to the increasing of information about politics in a place that arose with a function of entertainment. Observing only the percentage, posts about politics represented 10,5% in July, 21,8% in August, 22,4% in September and 36,2% in October, which has achieved much over the average of 22,8%. On the other side, entertainment represented in July more than 63% of posts, in October had slightly more than 30% of them.

This data show that, although there is a divergence concerning to the priority themes by each vehicle to circulate through social network site, there is also a variation that depends on the events that generate more production and readers interest. They help to explain the temporal differences, in which would fit to politics posts. In order to illustrate in a more detailed way the themes' variations that stand out on social network sites, graph 2 below shows the distribution of politics, social and entertainment themes through 18 weeks.

Political themes have three peaks of apparition in Facebook posts in two decisive weeks to 2014 electoral dispute. The first is on week 7, which represents the week of August 13th, when the candidate Eduardo Campos (PSB) died because of a plane crash. Negativity of the fact connected to amplitude and involvement of a public person highlighted this happening on social network sites, which distributed posts in an instantaneous way. Second and third peaks represent the

weeks previously to the elections of first and second round, which consequently raised production and interest on the theme, mainly related to the dispute. These specific moments contribute to add growth average of each period with 16 percentage points of difference along 4 months.

With respect to the social themes, these are the ones that oscillate less: they start and finish with approximately 5% of posts, compared to weeks 1 and 18. The peak on week 6 is slightly over 7%. In entertainment case, it is clear the constant reduction through 18 weeks that started with more than 8% and finished with less than 4%. Connected to table 3, the graph 2 showed the evolution of political themes, and this corroborates with the hypothesis about the growth of centrality over time. However, it is worth to mention that the presence of political posts depends on specific facts, which is emphasized by the three peak periods and occurs in a different way in social network sites —that demonstrates less oscillation through time— and also, with entertainment, that was concentrated in July, though in several moments of following months, was ahead of political and social themes.

The analytical topic is dedicated to the second hypothesis that assumes differences between fan pages due to not being possible generalizing editorial choices about the themes because of what has been found.

6. Editorial distinction between journals

The first aspect to be distinguished between those newspapers is the frequency of production of Facebook posts during the analyzed period. Table 2 below indicates the quantity of posts from those communication vehicles during the period. First of all, it is possible to note a difference between national and regional vehicles. *Folha de S. Paulo*, *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *O Globo* posts represents together more than 43% of those analyzed. Folha de S. Paulo, for example, posted 5.675 times, which indicates an average of 46 posts each day. On the other side, *A Tarde*, from Bahia, posted during the same period only 1.319 times, the lower value among the 11 analyzed journals that is approximately 10 posts by day.

These data indicate (with exception of Zero Hora-12,3%) an evident difference in posts number made by the bigger national journals compared to regional ones. Here, one might find the first difference in quantitative aspects about the «supply» of information in social network sites, which is directly related to newsrooms management. A possible explanation for that difference, for example, may be related to the journalistic volume of work, which makes possible a more instantaneous production to the portal, and consequently also to Facebook. Another possible explanation is the existence of an editorial culture, especially in the smaller newspapers, that consider the constant presence in social network sites as an opportunity of circulation and visibility of production.

Briefly, national vehicles tend to offer more news via social network sites than the regionals, even though there are differences among these last ones. Gazeta do Povo, Zero Hora, O Diário do Pará and O Povo represent indi-

vidually from 12,3% to 7,9% of the posts. Meanwhile, the last four presented vehicles in the table have much lower numbers of updating on social network sites, as it is the case of A Tarde. It stands out, however, that it is not possible to note differences among the regional ones, conditioned by geographic location of each one.

Table 2. Posts per newspaper Facebook fan page.

Newspaper	N	Daily mean	%
Folha de S.Paulo	5675	46,14	16,6%
O Estado de S. Paulo	5091	41,39	14,9%
Zero Hora	4189	34,06	12,3%
O Globo	4028	32,75	11,8%
Gazeta do Povo	2891	23,5	8,5%
Diário do Pará	2778	22,59	8,1%
O Povo	2691	21,88	7,9%
Correio Brasiliense	2207	17,94	6,5%
O Estado de Minas	1899	15,44	5,6%
Correio do Estado	1383	11,24	4%
A Tarde	1319	10,72	3,9%
Total	34151	277,65	100%

Fonte: CPOP/UFPR (2014).

These initial data show that bigger newspapers tend to offer more information, and consequently contribute more to circulation of their news in social network sites. Likewise, they achieve more access to their portals, mainly because they have significantly more followers. Thus, this process of circulation of information, as nominated by Zago (2012) —or the ecology of online information flows, according to Aggio and Reis (2012)— operates in a mode more efficient in bigger vehicles that uses more the network to expand its content. This, therefore, is an action that starts in bigger national vehicles, according to data, and then follows in direction of the smaller ones, which reach modernization levels and migration in a longer period.

Despite the overlapping of entertainment themes, data could not show the differences between vehicles. Therefore, in order to answer to the third hypothesis table 3 below describes data about theme distribution per newspaper. The table indicates the relation of variables showed by chi-square, and also the distance among categories by standardized residuals.

Table 3. Theme distribution in each newspaper Facebook fan page.

Newspaper	Politics			Social			Entertainment			Total	
	N	%	Sr	N	%	Sr	N	%	Sr	N	%
A Tarde	498	42,6%	**14,1**	462	39,6%	**4,9**	208	17,8%	-14,1	1168	100%
Correio Brasiliense	477	26,8%	**3,5**	531	29,8%	-1,2	771	43,3%	-1,4	1779	100%
Correio do Estado	233	22,2%	-0,5	513	48,9%	**10,0**	304	29%	-8,0	1050	100%
Diário do Pará	236	9,7%	-13,6	979	40,2%	**7,7**	1219	50,1%	**3,2**	2434	100%
Folha de S. Paulo	1516	31,7%	**12,8**	1127	23,6%	-9,7	2134	44,7%	-1,0	4777	100%
Gazeta do Povo	679	28,2%	**5,5**	657	27,3%	-3,7	1071	44,5%	-0,8	2407	100%
O Estado de Minas	175	10,6%	-10,5	717	43,3%	**8,5**	765	46,2%	0,3	1657	100%
O Estado de S.Paulo	1024	23,1%	0,3	1431	32,3%	1,0	1976	44,6%	-1,0	4431	100%
O Globo	573	19,4%	-3,9	741	25,1%	-6,2	1637	55,5%	**7,9**	2951	100%
O Povo	519	22%	-0,9	904	38,3%	**5,9**	937	39,7%	-4,3	2360	100%
Zero Hora	521	16,3%	-7,7	818	25,7%	-5,9	1850	58%	**10,3**	3189	100%
Total	6451	22,9%		8880	31,5%		12872	45,6%		28203	100%
Chi-Square: 1,716.303 sig.: 0.000											

Source: CPOP/UFPR (2014).

There are quantitative differences already identified mainly among regional and national vehicles, and also distinctions about the content posted on Facebook. The result of chi-square test indicates that there is a relation of dependency of variation between newspapers and themes, with a value above the limit and a high significance (0.000), which shows that distribution is not balanced, i.e., some newspapers tend to approach specific themes. Observing the distribution on the table above, the relations are emphasized by high values of standardized residuals, which shows the approximation of categories. Political themes stand out in A Tarde, Correio Brasiliense, Folha de S. Paulo and Gazeta do Povo. In these vehicles, the percentage of posts about politics is over the average of 22,9%. Moreover, the bigger standardized residuals in the table are from the relation between A Tarde and the presence of politics on the posts (Sr 14,1), followed by Folha de S. Paulo (Sr 12,8).

On the other side, A Tarde, Correio do Estado, O Estado de Minas, Diário do Pará and O Povo tend to circulate news about social themes. At this moment, only regional newspapers tend to deal more with this kind of theme, and that relation is more expressed in Correio do Estado (Sr 10). Posts about entertainment tend to be concentrated, comparatively, only in three journals: O Globo,

Zero Hora and Diário do Pará. The greater residuals are found about the relation between Zero Hora and entertainment (Sr 10,3).

The standardized residuals show that themes distribution do not occurs the same way in all the vehicles, that corroborates the hypothesis about the differences in content selected by the journal to publish on social network sites. The explanation for these differences concerns the vehicle profile and producers' interests that will select posts to achieve more highlight and to call more attention of the readers.

Besides the differences already identified, political themes lose space in many vehicles in comparison to average of 22,9% of the posts, as Diário do Pará and Estado de Minas, which had very low percentages, even though the elections were running in the states for Governor, deputies, and senators, which would involve a broader and greater coverage also in smaller vehicles to supply the information demand about the regional disputes. Moreover, in O Globo, for example, there were only 19,4% posts about politics, a lower percentage compared to three of the regional vehicles analyzed.

Onwards of exposed data in table 3 and still testing the second hypothesis of this work, the next step is the comparing themes on journals through time. If graph 2 indicated that besides the centrality of entertainment theme political themes grow over time, and according to table 3 there were thematic differences among newspapers, reflecting editorial choices, the objective is verifying if the growth of politics as a theme occurs in all journals in the same way or if there is a conditioning of these information in those vehicles which already concentrate most of politics posts. For this purpose, the analysis of thematic percentage by week is shown in a comparative way, considering three groups of journal, reflecting the themes showed in table 3, onwards of standardized residuals statically significant.

So, the first group, which has more publications about politics than total average is formed by A Tarde, Correio Brasiliense, Folha de S. Paulo and Gazeta do Povo. The second group, which posts more about social themes, is composed of Correio do Estado, Diário do Pará, O Estado de Minas, O Povo and O Estado de S. Paulo —even though this group has not generated statistically significant residuals, there is a concentration above the expected to posts about social themes, above the average. Finally, the last group is composed of O Globo and Zero Hora.

Graph 3 below comparatively illustrates how the thematic percentages in this three different groups through weeks. Differently from graph 2, the growth of politics as theme of posts has not the same format in all of the newspapers.

On the first group, the political themes were more frequent than the expected results, it is possible to verify that thematic superiority does not happen only in isolated peaks, e.g. during the week when Eduardo Campos died and voting days —on both rounds, although these moments are very highlighted. Other difference is that in August and September there was also a majority of political posts from those newspapers, though entertainment has called attention in July. It is also possible to note that the percentage of social posts and entertainment among that first group stays very close, emphasizing politics.

Graph 3. Weekly distribution of each theme by groups.
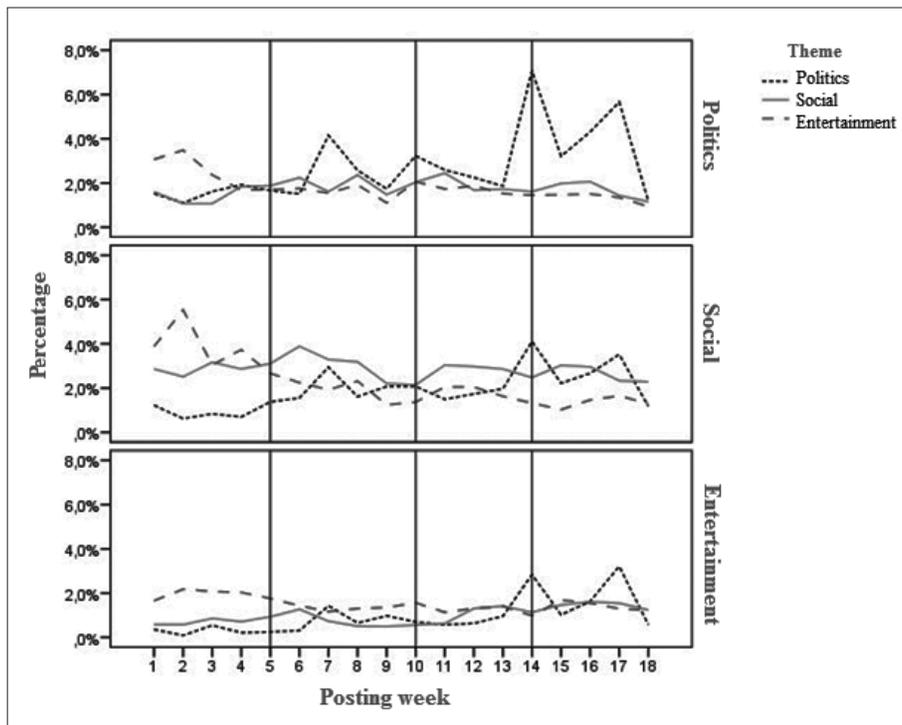
Source: CPOP/UFPR (2014).

On the second group, formed by newspapers that present comparatively more social posts, it is also noted greater presence of entertainment only in July. The growth of political themes happens in a sporadic way, only in the three peaks already identified in graph 2, which also occurs on the last group of newspapers that comparatively post more about entertainment. Therefore, the growth of political themes through time and entertainment centrality occurs in distinct manner on journals, according to editorial choices of each vehicle, emphasizing the gatekeeper function in selection of what is going to be posted in their social media.

7. Conclusion

This article has analyzed news the most circulated and gained visibility in social network sites during the 2014 electoral period in Brazil, based on other studies about the theme (Zago, 2012; Sousa, 2015; Recuero, 2009). The work focus on newspapers' choices about the content distribution on social network and the object of analysis were Facebook posts from 11 Brazilian newspapers - A Tarde, Correio Brasiliense, Gazeta do Povo, Zero Hora, Correio do Estado, Diário do

Pará, Folha de S. Paulo, O Estado de S. Paulo, O Globo, O Estado de Minas and O Povo — in their respective fan pages, from July 1st to October 31st, a corpus of 34.151 journalistic posts. It intended to show which themes newspapers choose to attract readers on social networks. The conclusion is about which themes are preferred to post on social networks, not about all the published content on newsrooms.

The first relevant result is the entertainment predominance on Facebook posts, which follows a pre-observed tendency presented by Berrocal, Redondo and Campos (2014), Aguiar and Basotti (2013) in other places of the network. Notably, news about unusual facts, celebrities and sports tend to be considered more attractive, and because of that they receive more space in social network sites. Considering that social network use is strategic, the themes that circulate on it tend to call more attention, and in this case entertainment has prevailed. The readers' interest for this kind of content has already been identified in Massuchin and Tavares (2015), and Cervi and Massuchin (2012). Political and social themes are less shown in posts, even though they may be produced in a larger quantity in newsrooms, for example.

Although the prevalence of entertainment has been verified, considering the electoral period and this theme could also be posted in a strategic way to call audience attention, mainly during the period before the electoral decision. The data confirm the initial hypothesis (H1), showing that political themes, even though it is not the most central in social network posts, grows significantly through time. Longitudinal data indicate that there is a growth of those themes, mainly in October, which follows the results about the general campaign coverage (Cervi, 2003; Aldé & Borges, 2004).

On the other side, this growth is closely related to the called peak periods, referent to the weeks before first and second rounds of elections. Social themes are the ones that suffer few modifications through time and entertainment loses space if it is compared to July and October. Entertainment is highlighted in the beginning of the analysis and loses space through time, phenomenon explained in part by the World Soccer Cup in Brazil at that time, which inflated entertainment data in July. In August and September, social themes prevailed among the others, and in a general way politics will only receive visibility on journalistic fan pages in the end of the period, in October.

From the results it was possible to achieve that there are qualitative and quantitative differences among newspapers, mainly on what concerns the prioritized themes that circulate on social networks, which confirms the second hypothesis presented (H2). The results indicate differences in the volume of posts, emphasizing the divergent tendency between regional and national vehicles, and these last ones are responsible for the greater number of posts on fan pages. So, social networks contribute to more information circulation, mainly by the largest number of followers, by instantaneous publications, and by the organizational culture of inclusion of new distribution spaces of journalistic content. These data also prove that there is a newsroom modernization in biggest vehicles.

Onwards of division among politics, social and entertainment themes, the article indicates a strong distinction between the newspapers when it is com-

pared the quantity of offered information and the concentration of it. Commonly, entertainment is predominant and it appears in all the newspapers, but when it is observed in a compared way, by the residuals, it is possible to split the vehicles in three specific groups according to its tendencies of social network sites publishing.

Entertainment, political and social news' themes may receive visibility and circulation, according to Zago (2012) definition about the prevalence depending on vehicles themselves and their strategies. The comparative analysis directs to the following conclusion: even though the entertainment has a high percentage, newspapers distinguish among themselves about the priority of each one in relation to the published themes on fan pages. According to the strongest relations, there is politics presence in A Tarde and Folha de S. Paulo, social theme in Correio do Estado, and entertainment in O Globo, Zero Hora and Diário do Pará. It is noticed that the thematic differences mentioned here are not related to the local distinction versus national as already had been found about posts quantity.

The themes presence along time in a comparative way was also analyzed to identify how politics is central in each fan page. Data indicates that newspapers also distinguish themselves when it is observed the distribution of themes over time. The final part of the empirical analysis demonstrated that newspapers that focused on political themes above the expected average tend to highlight these themes in a more homogeneous way, and not as sporadic as the others. The political themes growth during the final period of elections is more punctual and concentrated on the decisive weeks, when the newspapers tend to concentrate more on social and entertainment themes, emphasizing the thematic outliers.

In short, it is possible to say that the standard content circulation on social networks is about entertainment. However, there is a variation of themes among the newspapers —in function of producers' interest—, which shows up in specific periods. Thus, specific editorial choices prevail over events and generalizations on the selection of themes to Facebook.

Furthermore, those results can enhance future researches about news recirculation onwards of readers behavior, which complements the circulation process. Complementarily, it may instigate works on different methodologies, mainly about engagement forms of readers with contents. That gives a broader dimension of news media appropriation for organizations of social network sites and the volume reached by the news posts.

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