From Headlines to Posts:
the formation of multiple
agendas on social networks

ADRIANA BARSOTTI VIEIRA

Professor at the Undergraduate course in Journalism of ESPM-Rio, Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. PhD in Communication, Pontifical Catholic University, Rio de Janeiro (PUC-RJ). Brazil. Email: barsotti.adriana@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0002-7834-9937

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Abstract

The growth of social media as a means of reading the news poses more and more challenges to network journalism. More than a half of the world population with access to the Internet inform themselves via links shared on social networks, reducing the reach of the headlines traditionally selected by journalists. On social networks, algorithms govern the regimes of visibility of the news, decentralizing the news agenda. This article discusses the extent to which journalists are also contributing to the formation of multiple agendas on Facebook. It does so by means of in-depth interviews and content analysis of posts and front page headlines on the country's top three newspapers – *Folha de S. Paulo*, *O Globo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo*.

Keywords
Network journalism; Social networks; Agendas.

Introduction

Printed front pages, as well as headline teasers on radio and TV newscasts, presented to the reader, listener or viewer a selection of news stories that journalists considered (and still consider) worthy of attention on that day or moment. In the early days of commercial Internet, in the 1990s, the metaphor of the printed front page inspired the home pages (Mc Adams, 1995), by transferring to the news sites the same concept adopted by newspapers. The main page – the home page – must contain the highlights of the news at that time.

The model of creating a guide to the user in the form of a home page has been effective for two decades on the Internet, but now it loses ground for new forms of distribution of news in network journalism (Heinrich, 2011). More than half of the population with access to the Internet inform themselves via links shared on social networks.[1] In Brazil, the number of users who reported reading news on social networks is much bigger: it reaches 72%.[2] As a consequence, consumption of news has been changing: readers no longer follow a reading pathway from the "menu" offered by journalists in the home pages. Now, journalists are not the only ones who act as editors. They continue selecting stories, both those published on websites and those shared on social networks. However, in these platforms, the algorithms also play the role of "editors", determining the regimes of visibility to which stories previously selected by journalists are submitted based on previous behaviour of users, personal preferences, geographical and commercial interests. The result is a multiplicity of news agendas according to different profiles.

One of the main findings of the *Digital News Report 2016*, a study conducted by Reuters Institute, was the emergence of the phenomenon classified as "distributed news" due to the growth in penetration of social media and smartphones – refered to as the "fourth screen", following cinema, TV and computers (Aguado & Martínez, 2008). More than half of respondents (53%) use their smartphones to read the news. Also, more than half (51%) report reading social media to inform themselves. The study, carried out since 2011, found correspondence between the growth of two indicators: readers use social media on their phones more often than desktops to read the news.[3]

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[1] The numbers are from the *Digital News Report 2016*, research carried out by Reuters Institute. Retrieved December 20, 2016, from http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2016/overview-key-findings-2016.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] Retrieved November 20, 2016, from https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Digital-News-Report-2016.pdf

In an article published as part of the *Digital News Report 2015* research, Emily Bell, director of the Tow Center for Digital Journalism, Columbia University, expressed her concern with the fact that Facebook[4] has become "the world's front page"[5]. She noted that "the control of pathways to audiences no longer lies with the organisations which publish news but with the platforms that carry it". The problem, as Bell points out, is that "the free press is now controlled by companies whose primary interests are not necessarily rooted in strengthening public discourse and democracy"[6].

Bell's warning (2015) about Facebook becoming "the world's front page" without having the social responsibilities of journalism, was one of the motivations for this study, whose focus is to compare news stories published by *O Globo*, *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo* on their front pages to those shared on that social network. The initial goal was to verify if there was a correspondence between the content published in the two media in order to investigate whether the multiplication of agendas happens solely as a consequence of the performance of the algorithms on social networks. To what extent are journalists also protagonists in this process?

Some key concepts

For this discussion, it is necessary to review some key concepts, such as the theory of agenda setting, proposed by McCombs (2009). The author examined the power of the media to influence public opinion. The theory supports the idea that the public has a tendency to consider those topics conveyed in the press more relevant than others, suggesting that the media influences public debates. Through various studies conducted during the period of the presidential elections in the USA, between the years of 1954 and 1976, McCombs has demonstrated the efficiency of mass media agenda. He observed that the fall or rise of some topic among the concerns of voters always happened after the change of the prominence given to it by the media (2009, p. 31).

In one study, a questionnaire was distributed to a sample of undecided voters randomly selected in Chapel Hill, North Carolina (USA), during the presidential election of 1968. In the questionnaire, the undecided voters were asked to name the key topics of the day according to their points of view,

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[4]Facebook is the biggest social network in the world, with 1.7 billion users all over the planet. Among them, 1.13 billion (or 66%) access the site every day. These numbers can be found in the company's financial statement. Retrieved February 17, 2017, from http://link.estadao.com.br/noticias/empresas,facebook-supera-1-7-bilhao-de-usuarios,10000065340.
[5]Retrieved November 20, 2016, from: https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/publication/digital-news-report-2015.
[6]Retrieved February 26, 2016, from http://www.digitalnewsreport.org.

regardless of what the candidates were eventually arguing on that day. The topics cited in the questionnaire were listed in a ranking according to the percentage of voters who chose them. The study also analysed the content published by nine main sources of information used by those voters – five local and national newspapers, two TV stations and two magazines. The conclusion was that there was "an almost perfect correspondence" between the rankings of topics listed by voters in Chapel Hill and those presented by newspapers during the 25 days prior to the election (McCombs, 2009, p. 23).

However, McCombs relativises the effects of the theory of agenda setting: "Despite its influence on many issues, the newspapers are not all-powerful dictators of opinion or determine their own agenda with total professional detachment from the world around them" (2009, p. 34). The author emphasizes that the media is not our only source of information on public affairs. Personal experience, which includes conversations in various social groups, also contributes to the construction of the public agenda.

McCombs also poses the idea of multiple agendas. By discussing about the future of the agenda in the Internet, the author acknowledges that probably there is "a variety of media agendas and personal agendas with little social cohesion" before the possibility of each individual using a different combination of multiple sources of information (2009, p. 224). But he maintains that there is still a part of the public willing to inform themselves about the most important events of the day, which keeps a kind of common denominator between these agendas.

However, the important news are antagonistic to interesting news, which depend on the ability to entertain the audience (Golding; Elliott, 1979 as cited in Wolf, 2009 p. 205) and are increasingly present on the news of the network journalism, as will be discussed below. The balance between the various topics covered by newscasts is, according to Wolf, one of the criteria that should be taken into account by journalists. Journalists should select news offering a wide range of topics (2009, p. 195 - 217). Gans (1979) found a distinction between "important" and "interesting" stories while Schudson (2010) observed the opposition between "information" and "narrative". The "interesting" ones play a fundamental role in achieving journalistic ideals, since, to inform the public, it is necessary to catch their attention. "Thus, the ability to entertain is on the top of the list of news values, either as an end in itself or as an instrument to achieve other journalistic ideals" (Golding; Elliott,1979 as cited in Wolf, 2009, p. 205). Gans lists a few categories used to identify the news' ability to entertain: stories of ordinary people in unusual situations, stories of exceptional and heroic acts, stories of human interest and stories containing an inversion of roles (as cited in Wolf, 2009, p. 205).

Barthes (2009) refer to these stories as fait divers. They narrate events about out-of-context facts that break with the normalcy of the day. These are news stories without relation with the political reality and that deplete themselves, such as curious facts, unusual accidents, weird events. For Barthes, fait divers combine the ordinary with the extraordinary. Besides, it has an inherent meaning, because their circumstances deplete themselves: it does not depend on the past or generates consequences.

In social networks, however, the balance that should be pursued by journalists among the topics of the news is dismantled by way of navigation links, which are detached from the original context of the edition. Each reader "assembles" his or her own "newspaper", according to their preferences. That already happened in reading of printed newspapers: readers could "skip" the politics section and go straight to the sports section, for example. But in case they wanted to read the politics news later, it would be there, available. The same as in websites and home pages, where the user finds diversity of content. On social networks, however, not every user sees the range offered by journalists, since eligible stories appear in their feed based on their reading habits and previous behavior of friends, among other criteria already mentioned.

The problem is that, as users navigation increasingly migrates to social media, a hypothesis is that the role of journalists as gatekeepers (White, 1999) is losing relevance in the face of major tech companies, of which journalism increasingly depends on for its distribution and to reach out to readers. The gatekeeping theory is another key concept for the study to be undertaken here. It provides the first clues about the selection process of news, although subsequent studies have shown its limitation. White used the gatekeeping theory to show how the editors filter the news, in a continuous process of selection and rejection. In his case study, he focused on the last gatekeeper of the chain: a front page editor, who he called Mr. Gates, who worked at an American newspaper with circulation of 30 thousand copies in a city of one hundred thousand inhabitants. He was responsible for the selection and editing of national and international news from three agencies.

White was interested in investigating the reasons why stories were rejected. Over a week, Mr. Gates wrote down the reasons. Based on them, White concluded that the selection "was extremely subjective and dependent on value judgements based on experience, attitudes and expectations of the gatekeeper" (1999, p. 145). Wolf (2009), analyzing White's study, disagreed with his point of view: he points out that the standards dictated by the professional culture prevailed statistically over Mr. Gate's personal preferences in the process of selection of the news. The gatekeeping theory is also questioned in Breed's studies (1999). From research

conducted with 120 journalists, he came to the conclusion that the company's editorial values and the professional routine in newsrooms had a greater influence in the journalists' decisions than their personal beliefs.

Studies on newsmaking (Tuchman, 1978) also broadened the perspective about the gatekeeping, showing that the process of selection of news is governed in part by productive routines in newsrooms, but also by organizational constraints, by news values shared by the community of journalists, by the gatekeeper's choices and by the various social forces envolved. Recently, Shoemaker and Vos also brought up a new point of view. For them, gatekeeping is "the process of selection and processing of several small pieces of information in limited quantity of messages that arrive to people daily, besides being the central role of the media in modern public life" (2011, p. 11). People trust mediators to be "editors of their worlds". "Journalists probing the environment and act as institutional representatives to the rest of us" (Shoemaker; Vos, 2011, p. 42).

Finally, it is important to note that the formation of multiple agendas mentioned in this study occurs in the context of network journalism. As we live in a network society (Castells, 2009), journalism could not be immune to it as an integral part of society, as noted by Heinrich (2011). The concept of network journalism proposed by Heinrich goes beyond that used by Bardoel and Deuze (2001), two of the first authors to classify online journalism as a new form of journalism. For Heinrich, it means seeing the news organizations as knots of a complex network which also involves common citizens, sources, independent journalists, bloggers and any other actor. In it, all have the possibility to connect with each other, produce and exchange information in multiple ways. Although some knots may have more importance than others, they share the same sphere of exchange of information.

At first glance, it may seem that there is no novelty in Heinrich's concept in relation to previous ones which always contemplated the interactivity as one of the forming characteristics of contemporary journalism. However, the author sees network journalism beyond the Internet. For her, the changes in journalism reach the journalistic process as a whole, with impacts on all distribution platforms, from printed to radio, from television to online journalism. As all of them are part of a network – news sources, journalists and the public – all influence and are influenced by other actors involved in the process, regardless of the degree and the technical support. So, the concept of network journalism ends with the opposition between digital and analog and encompasses online journalism.

Methodology

The aim of this study was to verify some ruptures and continuities in network journalism, following a pathway suggested by Palaces (2003), by means of comparison between front pages and the content distributed by newspapers on their Facebook pages. We analyzed 939 posts[7] published on social network pages by *Folha de S. Paulo*, *O Globo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo* between January 9 and 14, 2017. We also analyzed 231 headlines published by three newspapers on their printed front pages in the same period. The sample included all publications of news made by the three newspapers on their Facebook pages and on their front pages in that period.

The three papers were selected because they are the country's top three newspapers (Wolf, 2009). In December 2015, *Folha de S. Paulo* was the number one newspaper in the country, with 310.336 printed and digital signatures. *O Globo* was second, with 304.053, and *O Estado de S. Paulo,* on fourth position[8] with 220.387, according to the Communication Verification Institute (IVC). On Facebook, *Folha de S. Paulo* had, on January 2017, 5.807.406 followers; *O Globo*, 5.144.761; and *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 3.399.571.

After the data collection, content published on the papers' front pages and the posts shared by them on Facebook were examined. The goal was to check the correspondence index of headlines featured on the cover of the three newspapers on their respective pages on the social network during the period analysed. The headlines and the posts on Facebook were also organized in categories according to the corresponding topics of coverage. From the organization of data, it was possible to find the most frequent topics on front pages and on Facebook pages of the three newspapers. The following tables include only those topics that, combined, accounted for at least 75% of the content published on the newspapers' front pages and on their social network pages. The others were excluded for their low representativity. Some of those excluded from the analysis were, for example, sponsored posts.

The study used the following categories: Politics; Opinion; World; Sports; Culture; City; Celebrities; Crime; Lists; Fait divers; and Health, Science & Technology. Under the category Opinion we gathered printed stories and posts linking to editorial pieces and articles. All the topics presented in the tables are common to the three newspapers, except Fait divers, found only in *O Globo and O Estado de S. Paulo* and Lists, present only in *O Estado de S. Paulo*. In the

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[7]Content shared on Facebook is called posts.
[8]The popular newspaper *Super Notícias* was in third place, with 272.299, and it was excluded from the study because it did not fit the reference profile used here.

newsroom of the Sao Paulo newspaper, there is a guideline for the production of daily lists to be shared on Facebook. As part of the methodology, we also conducted in-depth interviews with the three social media editors in the three newspapers[9].

Multiple agendas

The result of the combination of posts and front page headlines analyzed showed incidence of only 40.7% of content published by newspapers also on their social networks (see table 1). In *O Globo*, we found the lowest incidence (34%) and, in *Folha de S. Paulo*, the highest: there was a 47% correspondence between the posts shared by the paper on the social network and headlines published on their front page. Based on these results, we conducted in-depth interviews with the three social networks editors at the three papers analyzed.

At first, 100% of the content published on the covers of newspapers could potentially appear on the newspapers' pages on Facebook, since there is no limitation of posts per day imposed by the social network. However, in the newsrooms, there are guidelines to publish a post every 15 or 20 minutes, a strategy not to annoy the reader with too much information or to hinder the reach[10] of publications. Social media editor of *O Globo,* Sergio Maggi, revealed that, when the newspaper shortened the interval to 15 minutes, expecting to increase its relevance in the network, it had the opposite effect. The regular reach[11] was dispersed by the excess of publications resulting from the new interval.

As a result, the excess of content on the social network is now avoided. However, even if newspapers published 100% of stories from printed version to the social network, still there would be "space" left on the "schedule" of publication they create for Facebook. According to these results, even if they had published on the social network all of the same stories printed on their front pages, still there would be "space" on Facebook for *Folha de S. Paulo* to publish more 254 posts; *O Globo*, more than 208; and *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 246. This number is obtained by subtracting the quantity of headlines published on front pages of the three newspapers from the total of posts shared by them on the social network in the period.

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[9]This study integrates the author's PhD thesis. Participant observation was also used as part of the methodology of the thesis, with 16 incursions in the newsrooms of *O Globo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo* between 2014 and 2017.

[10]The reach of a publication is one of the metrics provided by Facebook in their pages. "Reach" means the number of people that were exposed to the publication, without necessarily interacting with it.

[11]Personal interview given on July 8, 2016, at *O Globo newsroom, in Rio de* Janeiro.

The first hypothesis that could explain the low incidence of the content from the printed version to the Facebook page would be the possibility of them becoming "outdated" to be published on the social network after they featured in the front page of the newspaper. However, this hypothesis was rejected based on the methodology used. In the analysis undertaken, the starting point for the verification of the correspondence between contents was not exclusively the printed front page of the day. In the samples, the publications made by the three newspapers on the social network on the day before were also taken into account. Without this, the analysis could have fallen into the trap of assuming that topics such as the interest rates reduction, published on front pages, had not been shared by newspapers on Facebook. In fact, in the example cited, the topic was not shared on social media on the same day it appeared on front pages because the decision was announced by the Central Bank of Brazil on the day before and published on social media on that day.

TABLE 1 – CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN CONTENT PUBLISHED BY NEWSPAPERS ON FACEBOOK AND ON THEIR FRONT PAGES*

Newspaper	Number of posts published on Facebook	Number of content on the front page	Correspondence between contents	Index of correspondence between content (in %)
Folha de S. Paulo	324	70	33	47%
O Globo	287	79	27	34%
O Estado de S. Paulo	328	82	34	41%
Total	939	231	94	40,7%

* The table compares headlines published on front pages of the three newspapers from January 9 and 14, 2017, with posts shared by them on their Facebook pages to verify the correspondence between contents. In the category "front page content" we considered also photos and cartoons, as well as text headlines.

A second hypothesis to justify the little correspondence between posts and printed headlines would be a possible caution in newsrooms not to "cannibalize" content from newspapers, for which readers pay, on social networks. This explanation was also rejected by social media editors of the newspapers analyzed. The analysis showed that, in the case of headlines and exclusive stories, newspapers chose to share them after the publication in the printed front page to avoid the so-called "cannibalization". So, what could justify the detachment of the

content published on front pages from that circulating on the newspapers social network pages? Let's hear the editors.

Executive editor of *O Estado de S. Paulo* Luiz Fernando Bovo, responsible for the digital department, claims that the newspaper is just one of the products of the *Estado* Group. He states that the brand is a "content production plant" formed by the paper, but also by the Broadcast agency, Eldorado and Estadão radio stations, blogs and partner websites. Bovo emphasizes that Facebook is a platform of content distribution of the group, and not "the platform of content distribution of the newspaper". Also, he highlights that the public who reads the paper is different than that who follows the brand in digital platforms, such as WhatsApp channels or newsletters. Therefore, he does not see with surprise the low incidence of the content from the printed version on Facebook:

> It's natural that what is on the front page of the newspaper on that day is only a portion of what Estadão published on social networks. Similarly, the newspaper publishes only a tiny part of the content produced during all day by the group. The newspaper is one of the products of the house. And, as such, it has its focus, its identity. It brings the news of the day, but also analysis, columnists, edition. That differentiates it from the web, for example. Each product's audience is different. The reader of the newspaper is not the same who reads bulletins on WhatsApp or who receives the *Estadão Noite* newsletter[12].

Social media editor of *O Estado de S. Paulo*, Gabriel Pinheiro, also indicates an intentional detachment between the agenda of the editors of the newspaper and his. Not even the headlines on the home page of the newspaper front page are guaranteed to be published on the social networks:

> I take into account the thermometer of the site, but also the networks. Sometimes, a topic is not priority for the site despite being on the trending topics. So, there are topics that go to the networks and aren't on the site and others that are in the home page but don't get published on the social networks[13].

Social media editor of *O Globo*, Sergio Maggi, also reveals a purposeful lack of correspondence between the agenda dictated by the editors of the newspaper and that he created for the social networks. He reports that there is no obligation of headlines from the printed front page to be published on the newspaper's Facebook page. Just like Bovo, he rejects the hypothesis of "cannibalisation" of the

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[12]Personal interview given via e-mail, on January 20, 2017.
[13]Personal interview given on February 16, 2016, at *O Estado de S. Paulo* newsroom, in São Paulo.

newspaper and claims that the choices are based on the profile of the public, which would be different from that of the newspaper:

> On Facebook, we try to make the content cooler. Usually, we post the headline of the newspaper, when it is not a topic that already has been published on the day before, and some special or exclusive stories, but we don't have the obligation to publish headlines from the front page on Facebook. We end up not publishing a fair amount of it because they are topics from the day before that, in most cases, are no longer appealing on the next day. But we don't have this concern with the "cannibalisation" of the printed version. It's really rather a choice considering the audience on the social networks.[14]

Assistant newsroom secretary of *Folha* de *S. Paulo,* Leonardo Cruz, responsible for the digital strategy of the newspaper, had access to the results of the content analysis, but did not reply to the e-mail. However, in interview carried out before the data collection, he has defended the need to better understand what the average reader of social networks seeks in order to deliver on demand content and criticized the overconfidence that journalists always had in their decisions regarding the printed newspaper. For him, social media brought a "reality check":

> We've always been very spoiled in the newspapers that come from the printed tradition to believe that all that curation we did and put daily in the paper was much read, much appreciated, very admired. And then, when we conducted research every three, four years, we realized that, actually, people read much less and were much less interested than we thought. I believe social networks are a reality check for all journalists about what people, in fact, are interested into. I follow my mother-in-law's posts. They're far from things that I would share and, I think, they are also far from what the majority of journalists who decide which news stories are more or less important would share and choose. But I need to respect my mother-in-law as an average reader, and try to understand what type of news I can deliver to her so she can share more of my stories than those she does.[15]

It is not only the lack of correspondence between the content published on the front page and on Facebook by newspapers that draws attention in results, but also the distribution of headlines and posts by topics. It also reveals a shift away of news agendas addressed by newspapers on their front pages from those produced by them for the social network.

In *Folha de S. Paulo* Facebook page, the two most frequently shared categories were Politics, with 22.2%, followed by Celebrities, with 11% (see table

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[14]Personal interview given via e-mail, on January 18, 2017.
[15]Personal interview given by phone, on July 21, 2016.

2). On their printed front page, the largest amount belonged to Opinion category (30%), followed by Politics (22.9%). It is noted the total absence of the category Celebrities on the cover of the printed newspaper. Among the five most frequently published categories on the two platforms, only three were coincident: Politics; Health, Science & Technology (these three grouped in one single category); and World. It should be noted, however, that the highlights for columnists (Opinion pieces) do not have the same graphical highlight of the headlines and other stories, although it dominates in quantity the number of headlines on the cover. The simplification was made considering that, on Facebook, all posts have the same graphical presentation. In *Folha*, headlines for columnists usually occupy what journalists call "candy", small colored squares of a column all over the front page.

TABLE 2 - MOST FREQUENT TOPICS ON FRONT *PAGE OF FOLHA DE S. PAULO* versus *FOLHA DE S. PAULO* FACEBOOK PAGE*

Most frequent topics on *Folha de S.Paulo*	Front page (in %)	Facebook (in %)
1st	Opinion (30%)	Politics (22.2%)
2nd	Politics (22.9%)	Celebrity (11%)
3rd	Health, science & technology (10%)	Health, science & technology (10.5%) City (10.5%)
4th	Culture (8.6%)	Economy (8.3%)
5th	Sports (5.7%) World (5.7%)	World (7.7%)
6th	Crime (4.3%)	Crime (6.5%)
Total	87.2%	76.7%

* The table was built from the comparison between content published on the front page of *Folha de S. Paulo and* on the newspaper's Facebook page and divided in categories. Only contents with more than 75% of representativity were listed. Samples were collected between January 9 and 14, 2017.

In *O Globo*, albeit with slight advantage, fait divers occupied the first place among the most frequently shared posts by the newspaper on Facebook (16%), followed by those of Politics (15%). The leading category in the social network is missing from the front page of the printed newspaper, which is occupied mostly by

Opinion (26.5%) and Rio (19%). Among the five most frequently shared categories on both platforms, only two were coincident: Politics and Health, Science & Technology (see table 3).

TABLE 3 - MOST FREQUENT TOPICS ON FRONT PAGE OF *O GLOBO* versus *O GLOBO* FACEBOOK PAGE*

Most frequent topics in *O Globo*	Front page (in %)	Facebook (in %)
1st	Opinion (26.5)	Fait divers (16%)
2nd	City (19%)	Politics (15%)
3rd	Politics (14%)	World (13.2%)
4th	Economy (11.4%) Culture (11.4%)	Health, science & technology (10%)
5th	World (6.2%)	Celebrity (9%)
6th	Health, science & technology (3.8%) Sports (3.8%)	Crime (8.7%) City (8.7%)
Total	96.1%	80.6%

* The table was built from the comparison between content published on the front page of *O Globo* and on the newsp*aper's* Facebook page, divided in topics. Only contents with more than 75% of representativity were listed. Samples were collected between January 9 and 14, 2017.

Regarding the discrepancy between the topics addressed on the cover of the newspaper and on Facebook, Maggi, *O Globo*, comments that the social media team" is on a knife-edge." "The question of the distribution of content is complicated because, for reach and engagement, we need to post weird stories, but without forgetting that we represent *O Glob*o brand", he says. "So, we're right on the edge, trying to balance the two things," he concludes.

Also in *O Estado de S. Paulo*, the distribution between categories was uneven on the newspaper's Facebook page and on the printed newspaper. The first two most frequently shared categories on the social network by the newspaper were Lists in photo gallery form, which accounted for 17,4% of posts, virtually tied with Politics (17%). In the printed newspaper, the largest number of headlines

belonged to Opinion (30.5%) and Politics (18.3%) categories. Among the five most frequently shared categories in both platforms of the paper, there was coincidence in three of them: Politics, Opinion and São Paulo (see table 4). It is worth noting that journalism in lists format is totally missing from the cover of the newspaper although it is part of the production of the newsroom geared exclusively to the social networks.

TABLE 4 - MOST FREQUENT TOPICS ON FRONT PAGE OF *O ESTADO DE S. PAULO* versus *O ESTADO DE S. PAULO* FACEBOOK PAGE*

Most frequent topics in *O Estado de S. Paulo*	Front page (in %)	Facebook (in %)
1st	Opinion (30.5%)	Lists (17.4%)
2nd	Politics (18.3%)	Politics (17%)
3rd	Economy (11%)	City (8%) Sports (8%)
4th	World (9.8%) Culture (9.8%)	*Fait divers* (7.3%)
5th	City (7.3%)	Health, science & technology (7%) Opinion (7%)
6th	Sports (4.9%)	Celebrity (6%) World (6%)
Total	91.6%	83.7%

* The table was built from the comparison between content published on the front page of *O Estado de S. Paulo and on* the newspaper's Facebook page, divided in topics. Only contents with more than 75% of representativity were listed. Samples were collected between 9 and 14 January 2017.

It is worth noting that, despite the detachment in relation to content prioritized by newspapers on the front page, the three newspapers have transposed to their Facebook pages those topics considered important according to news values of journalism (Wolf, 2009), demonstrating continuity in network journalism. Among the values present in the news stories, the following stand out: national and global coverage, impact on the nation, the hierarchical level of those involved, and the ability to generate breakthroughs in the news. Here are some examples: 1) the

interest rate cut announced by the Central Bank; 2) inflation in the year was below the target (see figure 1); 3) a scandal involving impeached federal deputy Eduardo Cunha and former minister Geddel Vieira Lima, who received bribes to facilitate credits in the Caixa Economica Federal bank; 4) the farewell address of US President Barack Obama when he left the White House after eight years; 5) the death of philosopher Zygmunt Bauman; 6) the crisis in Brazilian prisions; 7) Minister of the Federal Supreme Court Gilmar Mendes, in charge of the impeachment process of President Michel Temer, takes a ride on the presidential jet; 8) the lawsuit filed by former president Luís Inácio Lula da Silva against a prosecutor of Operation Car Wash[16]; 9) the revelation that the recently installed National Secretary of Youth Francisco de Assis Costa Filho had his assets blocked for misconduct; 10) actress Meryl Streep's speech against American president Donald Trump in the delivery of the Golden Globes.

Figure 1

Source: *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *Folha de S. Paulo* Facebook pages

"Spreadable" posts

Although topics deemed important by the news agenda have been mantained, the newspaper's Facebook page shows clearly the dispute for news with "spreadability" value. Jenkins, Green and Ford (2014, p. 42-44) proposed the

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[16] Operation Car Wash is an investigation of corruption and money laundering involving politicians and contractors. The Federal Prosecutor's Office estimates that those involved diverted billions of reais in resources from Petrobras, the country's largest state-owned company. Retrieved February 17, 2017, from: http://lavajato.mpf.mp.br/entenda-o-caso.

concept to replace the term "viral", which they consider inappropriate because it would indicate a passive behavior of the readers in the dissemination of content. The spreadability paradigm, on the contrary, presupposes an active participation of the audience in the distribution of the news. With characteristics of fait divers, the following "spreadable" posts appeared simultaneously on Facebook pages of the three newspapers in the period of analysis: snow in Italian beach, as predicted in apolcalyptic prophecy; a doctor who performed "surgery" in a child's toy so she would not feel scared (see Figure 2); and a thousands toys similar to those of Kinder Eggs appear in an island in Germany. *O Globo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo* Facebook pages also published the same post about a woman who wore a mask of Chewbacca, a Star Wars character, while giving birth.

Figure 2

Source: *Folha de S. Paulo, O Estado de S. Paulo and O Globo Facebook* pages

The parturient wearing a mask was the most frequently shared post by readers from *O Globo* Facebook page on January 9, 2017. The doctor who performed "surgery" on a toy was the number one most shared post on *Folha de S. Paulo* Facebook page on January 10, 2017. The snow in Italian town was the most frequently shared on January 12 on *Folha de S. Paulo* (2.833) and *O Globo* (2.076) and joined the list of 10 most shared of the week (see table 5).

TABLE 5 — *RANKING* OF MOST FREQUENTLY SHARED POSTS ON *FOLHA DE S. PAULO*, *O ESTADO DE S. PAULO* AND *O GLOBO* FACEBOOK PAGES*

Ranking	Posts titles	Newspaper	Date	Share count
1st	"Prison is not a hotel and prisoner is not a guest", says Secretary of Justice of Rio Grande do Norte state	*O Globo*	January 10, 2017	9.176
2nd	Amid the action of impeachment, President Temer travels with Mendes to Portugal	*Folha de S. Paulo*	January 9, 2017	6.275
3rd	Obama's declaration of love for Michelle	*Folha de S. Paulo*	January 11, 2017	5.920
4th	China warns Trump to prepare for military conflict	*O Globo*	January 13, 2017	4.868
5th	Secretary of Youth of Temer administration has assets blocked for administrative misconduct	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	January 13, 2017	4.686
6th	Philosopher Zygmunt Bauman dies aged 91	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	January 9, 2017	4.307
7th	Biker walks off after being thrown in accident in São Paulo state	*Folha de S. Paulo*	January 13, 2017	3.181
8th	Are you sure you need a therapist?	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	January 11, 2017	3.092
9th	Snow falls in Italian city, as advocated 500 years ago in apocalyptic prophecy	*Folha de S. Paulo*	January 12, 2017	2.833
10th	It snowed two days straight on a beach, as predicted by apocalyptic prophecy	*O Globo*	January 12, 2017	2.076

* The ranking gathered a preliminary sampling with the 15 most frequently shared news stories, combined with the most shared day by day on the Facebook page of each of the three newspapers between 9 and 13 January 2017. The 10 most frequently shared stories out of the list of 15 are displayed here.

Aren't "spreadable" posts the equivalent to the sensational news that beguiled the public at the beginning of mass media or even before newspapers,

starting with pamphlets, as Traquina (2008) points out? Published in Europe in the 16th century, they were "pre-modern form" of newspaper, without regular circulation and dedicated to a single topic, usually monstrosities, miracles and bizarre events (Traquina, 2008, p. 64). Amaral recalls that the process of communication itself is sensationalist, since it deals with physical and psychic sensations and appeals to primitive emotions (2011). The "sensational" in journalism invokes an immediate experience of the reader, as Aguiar highlights (2008). Our senses, such as seeing and hearing, are not only tools to record, but organs of knowledge, Zumthor suggests (2014). Therefore, reception passes through the body. The world belongs to the "sphere of the sensitive, the visible, audible, tangible" (Zumthor, 2014, p. 75).

In the same way that the 17th Century pamphlets could announce the birth of a pig with two heads (Traquina, 2008, p. 64), *O Globo* Facebook page, on January 10, 2017, reported the birth of a baby with two heads, who died soon after birth (Figure 3). It is possible to observe that, four centuries later, monstrosities and weird facts continue to fascinate the public. The day after publishing the baby with two heads story, *O Globo* Facebook page shared another freak show story: a monkey trying to copulate with a deer. As already discussed, fait divers stories occupy the first place among the headlines shared by the newspaper from Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, a continuity of news values of journalism in professional practices in network is observed: the "spreadable" news of the 21st century are nothing more than the sensational, that appeal to emotions. The difference is that word-of-mouth is now measurable: it is possible to know how many readers were reached by them, the number of shares and number of accesses to the link.

The posts shared by newspapers on Facebook also revealed an effort to mobilize the audience (Barsotti, 2014). The concept is based on the fact that journalists are moving away from the ideal of objectivity established by the profession, enabling the shift from the position of distant and "neutral" observer of reality to engage their audience around topics proposed for the debate, by means of polls on the websites, for example. Posts published by newspapers on Facebook confirm the hypothesis of the network journalist as mobilizer of the audience, looking for provoking the reaction or even the action of the reader. Schudson (2010) observed that the ideal of objectivity was built by the American press just before the finding of the impossibility of neutrality of the journalist.

Figure 3

Source: *O Globo* Facebook page

Such practices of sociability with the public occur nowadays mainly on social media. Two examples from *O Estado de S. Paulo* are worth highlighting. On January 10, the newspaper published on the social network a news piece about job openings, under the title "VACANCIES: See 7 open invitations to tender; wages reach R$ 3,8 thousand ". Above the title, the social media team added: "Looking for a job? Take a look at these opportunities." In a post published on the same day by the Sao Paulo newspaper, data of a survey revealed that 76% of young Brazilians dreamed of being the owners of their own business. Journalists asked, on the space for the sharing of the post: "Are you part of that number?" (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

Source: *O Estado de S. Paulo* Facebook page

Final considerations

The content analysis of posts from three newspapers on Facebook and the headlines published on their front pages showed, in the social network, a detachment from the regular agenda of topics they proposed in their front pages. Under the claim that they need to please a particular audience on the social networking sites, newspaper pages on Facebook have allocated space to topics and formats that hardly appear on the covers of the three printed newspapers, such as lists, fait divers and celebrities, revealing an appreciation of "spreadable" news. Although they have surpassed in volume the news deemed important by the professional culture, it is noted that the news with spreadability value are present in journalism since the predecessors forms of newspapers as registered here.

The study concluded that the journalists themselves are contributing to the fragmentation of the news agenda, by circulating on Facebook, in greater proportion than on the printed version, content related to interesting news than to important news according to the culture of professional journalists (Gans, 1979). Despite the detachment between the agendas of the front pages and the Facebook pages of the three newspapers in the social network, it was possible to observe that news deemed important were shared on Facebook by newspapers throughout the week of the research. Therefore, network journalists preserve their role of gatekeeper and still filter the news according to the news values.

Another conclusion points to the fact that social media teams of newspapers on Facebook seek to awake sensations and mobilise the audience by using questions that provoke reactions or even actions by the reader, revealing a rupture in the network journalism. In the social network, the language employed trigers close communication, allowing the journalist to move away from the classical position of observer detached from reality.

When printing everyday and ordinary events on their covers, newspapers build a world vision through their front pages and are vehicles of it, contributing to the agenda setting of the society. What view of the world emerges from the pages of newspapers on social networks? It is a fact, as seen here, that journalists are contributing to the spreading of the news agenda with their strategies of publication in these networks. Of course, the role of algorithms in network journalism cannot be overlooked, a problem that deserves to be investigated in further research. But the results of the study show that they are part of an ecosystem in which journalists also play a leading role.

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