Structural mediation of technicity: audience repositioning on Twitter*

Mediação estrutural da tecnicidade: o trânsito das audiências a partir do Twitter

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents elements of a PhD thesis aimed at understanding the audience repositioning process, whereby receivers become emitters by sharing their perceptions about telenovelas on Twitter. The goal was to identify the motivations and content involved in this practice within the framework of the structural mediation of technicity. The methodological protocol included content analysis of tweets on Nvivo10 software, questionnaires and interviews with receivers who are also twitterers. The results show different content and motivations, indicating that in addition to representing *online shared reception,* this practice involves individuals seeking to satisfy their *own* possible audience.

Keywords: Technicity, media convergence, molding forces of the media, telenovela reception, audience repositioning

RESUMO

Este artigo traz elementos de uma tese de doutorado que teve como objetivo compreender parte do processo de trânsito das audiências, no qual receptores tornam-se emissores ao compartilharem suas percepções sobre telenovela no Twitter. Buscou-se descobrir as motivações e conteúdos envolvidos nesta prática, a partir do enfoque teórico da mediação estrutural da tecnicidade. O protocolo metodológico contemplou a análise de conteúdo dos tweets, no software Nvivo10, aplicação de questionários e entrevistas com receptores twitteiros. Os resultados mostram diferentes conteúdos e motivações, os quais evidenciam que, além de ser uma *recepção compartilhada na web*, esta é uma prática de sujeitos que buscam atender a sua *própria* possível audiência.

Palavras-chave: Tecnicidade, convergência midiática, forças de moldagem da mídia, recepção de telenovela, trânsito das audiências

A SCENARIO IN RECONFIGURATION

Innovations in information and communications technology have given rise to different relationships between subjects and the media. In this scenario, media are no longer merely instruments used to organize the interaction process of other fields, but have become a more complex reality, an ambience (Fausto Neto, 2008; Sodré, 2002) that reconfigures the current context of social relationships and allows emitters and receivers to combine and draw closer. It is important to consider the relationship of mass media with web space in that people voice their views as an audience in their own online media space.

This demonstrates the recurrence of a new practice considered a thermometer for measuring audiences based on internet users, which forces us to theoretically and methodologically revise receiver studies. Receivers, both fans and critics, who previously interacted in their offline social networks and produced meanings based on media content can now emit their perceptions and find out what other receivers are thinking, beyond the barriers of time and space. These receivers (potential emitters) are understood as a sign of a diverse and contemporary relationship with media in a process referred to here as *online shared reception*[1], which refers to the practice of manifesting their opinions about television programs on spaces such as online social media. On *Twitter*[2] for example, this process occurs simultaneously (among other forms) to the act of receivers consuming content from a traditional communication medium. People watch television programs, listen to the radio, go to the movies, read printed or digital newspapers and comment about it on this online social network. They can share links, search for additional information with their peers or even become part of a group that circulates mass media news online.

The ways in which products are perceived are now more visible because they leave traces that allow for new audience analyses. This gives rise to different interfaces, which form a complex scenario. Telenovela reception, online and offline[3] social networking (Recuero, 2009), convergence in different forms, interaction[4] (Primo, 2008), representation of subjectivities and cultural identities are some of the major themes raised by the phenomenon studied here.

Thus, the present study addresses the reconfiguration of today's telenovela audience[5] from a reception perspective, based on an analysis of Twitter. A quantitative and qualitative approach was used, with a focus on empirical evidence. This paper seeks to reflect some of the results of a PhD thesis[6] on online manifestations by audiences of telenovelas produced by the Brazilian television network Rede Globo (Pieniz, 2013). To that end, we briefly explain the aim of the study, the theoretical approach used, empirical object, methodological procedures, results obtained and considerations for the field of reception research.

Understanding part of the audience repositioning process whereby receivers become emitters by sharing their perceptions on Twitter was the objective that guided this study. To that end, we investigated the motivations[7] and content involved in Twitter use and characterized the practice of tweeting about telenovelas. This media product was chosen for its popularity in Brazil, the social discussions it prompts, and the quantitative importance of manifestations on the subject on Twitter, which provides good evidence of Brazilian practices in relation to different media.

THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS: *TECHNICITY*, CONVERGENCE AND THE *MOLDING FORCES* OF THE MEDIA

Theoretical support for this study is based on discussion of Martín-Barbero's (2008) mediation concept, particularly the mediation of technicity. This is developed in the form of media convergence (Jenkins, 2008), with audience repositioning as a contemporary communication condition (Orozco Gómez, 2011), and mediatization processes. Mediatization and its different levels (micro, meso and macro) are understood as one of the possible ongoing changes in media convergence. This development is considered a conceptual hierarchy in which the notion of technicity is related to other concepts and their variations, such as the structural mediation of social life.

According to Martín-Barbero (2004), mediations are a type of structure embedded in everyday social practices and therefore mold relationships with media. In the first explanatory model of mediations media does not emerge as a central factor, since everyday life, social temporality and cultural competence were considered cultural matrices of communication. The map of cultural communication mediations emerges with the rapid transformation of media and communication environments.

This form of understanding shows significant relationships between communication, culture and politics, expressed by a synchronic axis and a diachronic axis. The former occurs between Cultural Matrices (CM) and Industrial Format (IF) and the latter between Logics of Production (LP) and Reception or Consumption Competences (RC). CM is connected to LP through institutional mediation and to RC via forms of sociability, while RC is linked to IF by mediation of rituality and technicity links IF to LP. The purpose of this map is to "recognize that today's communication media are crucial spaces areas for the condensation and intersection of multiple networks of power and cultural production" (Martín-Barbero, 2008: 20). At the same time the author is against the unanimous view of technology as the great mediator between people and the world, despite its structural aspect.

7. Thus, motivations are understood as what causes people to choose, initiate and maintain certain actions. These actions are, in turn, linked to satisfying needs, which generates a motivational conflict – for example, when there are different options, possibilities and interests at play. This requires an ability to satisfy several needs through priorities and hierarchies, as proposed by Abraham Maslow in 1943 (Blackwell, Engel and Miniard, 2008).

Technicity in particular is understood as the innovative capacity of industrial formats and the forms of receiving media messages; it is "less about apparatuses than perceptive operators and discursive skills" (Ibid.: 18). There is also an indication of the author's concern with media convergence when he remarks: "the strategic mediation of technicity currently outlines a new scenario […] not only in the space of computer networks, but also in the connection between media – television and telephone – and computers (Ibid.: 19).

With regard to its structural character, Martín-Barbero explains:

> In this sense the role of culture changes in today's society when the technological mediation of communication is no longer merely instrumental to thicken up, bolster up, and become structural. Because today's technology refers not only to the novelty of the apparatus, but the new modes of *perception* and *language*, new sensibilities and scriptures. [...] technology dislocates knowledge, modifying both cognitive and institutional rules […], which leads to a significant blurring of the boundaries between reason and imagination, knowledge and information, nature and artifice, art and science (italics added by the author; our own translation) (2010: 49)[8].

As such, this study empirically analyzes these new sensibilities that emerge from new perceptions and identifies the new scriptures (writing) in the different forms of content emission, as part of the new language referred to by Martín-Barbero (2010). The intricate relationship between these dimensions creates a complex scenario for analysis, since all these emissions are stimulated by each other while leaving trails of open access that can be recorded and stored. New sensibilities prompt specific motivations to publish different content, which must be formatted within the possibilities of the medium and therefore configures and is configured by new scriptures.

The focus here is on the studies that view the role of social actors as central to the phenomenon, causing an affect inasmuch as they are affected. For example, different audiences adopt or have the potential to adopt strategies as well as tactics (De Certeau, 1994), restructuring collective action, relationships, politics and consumer rights. Media relations are shifting as a result of the alternatives offered by convergence, opening new avenues for reception studies.

We are causing these changes based on our relationships with everyday life and the skills we acquire when doing so affect how we learn, work, participate in the political process and connect with people from other parts of the world (Jenkins, 2008). According to Jenkins, who popularized the term *media convergence:* "media convergence is more than simply a technological shift. Convergence alters the relationship between existing technologies, industries,

8. Original: "Es el lugar mismo de la cultura en la sociedad el que cambia cuando la mediación tecnológica de la comunicación deja de ser instrumental para espesarse, densificarse y convertirse em estructural. Pues La *tecnología* remite hoy no solo y no tanto a la novedad de los aparatos, sino a nuevos modos de *percepción* y de *lenguaje,* a nuevas sensibilidades y escrituras [...] la tecnología deslocaliza los saberes modificando tanto el estatuto cognitivo como institucional [...], lo que está conduciendo a un fuerte borronamiento de las fronteras entre razón e imaginación, saber e información, naturaliza y artificio, arte y ciência".

markets, genres" (2008). Collective intelligence, convergence and participation are part of the same web-based reality.

However, when addressing participation, the issue of access extends beyond technology.   Participation involves reflection on protocols and cultural practices (Jenkins, 2008). Current participants in these appropriations significantly influence media culture.   The contention and reconciliation resulting from the use of technology will define public culture in the future, today dominated primarily by young people   who make up a large part of audiences that are active, migrant, socially connected, loud and visible. "The promises of this new media environment raise expectations of a freer flow of ideas and content. Inspired for those ideas, consumers are fighting for the right to participate more fully in their culture" (Ibid.: 44).

The possible and desirable *repositioning* of receivers as producers and emitters is perhaps one of today's most significant social changes. It involves the *repositioning* of spectators and receivers as producers, (not always) irrevocably passive, but not necessarily creative or critical (Orozco Goméz, 2011). Inherently *cross-media* audiences (Schrøder, 2011) pose new challenges in the internet age – from mass audiences to interactive users in the face of convergence (Livingstone, 2003; 2004). A possible consequence of the level of *technicity* evident in the materiality of media convergence is the inclusion of society in mediatization dimensions.

According to Andreas Hepp (2011), the issue has prompted debate in several countries, involving *macro, meso and micro* levels. For the author mediatization has become a key concept, but its use is questioned for its linear and uncritical understanding of the process of change it causes in society. Hepp (2011) summarizes the Northern European context of mediatization research into three levels, which are also evident in Brazilian studies: the *meso* level involves the technological and institutional elements in mediatization research, which address media logic.   *Macro* level mediatization is a long-term, overall metaprocess. The *micro* level involves analysis based on *molding forces* of the media, a term that reflects the author's thoughts on mediatization.

Quantitatively, mediatization involves more technology, media environments and forms of appropriation, with changes in time, space, social level and interactions. It is an ongoing process of media dispersion, which corroborates the idea of convergence previously discussed. Qualitatively, however, media *molding forces* are at play when the mode of communication changes with the media environment, or when the environment changes as a result of different ways of communicating/interacting. Media exert pressure on the way we communicate (Hepp, 2011).

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Molding forces materialize in different forms of communication. The specificities in each media environment are produced by human action in its different contexts and are therefore not only the result of media logic, but how audiences appropriate these spaces. The *molding forces* of media environments should always be analyzed within their network of communicative human action. Thus, mediatization allows for the idea of ambience, which goes beyond communication media; however, spaces are not always appropriated by audiences with the full potential they might have as ambiences of communication.

The specificity of media environments can only be perceived in terms of their appropriation, which fully reflects Martín-Barbero's idea of mediations. As such, Hepp (2011) seeks to investigate the relationship between changes in communication media and sociocultural changes. Each media environment involves specific communicative powers linked to the appropriations of *molding forces,* through which subjects act within contexts that vary in time and space.

Twitter, for example, displays certain peculiarities, such as limiting messages to 140 characters, the non-reciprocal relationship between following and being followed, as well as its practicality and objectivity. These characteristics are *molding forces* that shape certain practices exclusive to audiences of a television broadcasters, for example, as explained in the next section. This area of empirical research demonstrates the material possibilities of media convergence and the underlying structural mediation of *technicity* in the practices of the audience studied.

MOTIVATIONS AND CONTENT INVOLVED IN TWEETING ABOUT TELENOVELAS

The empirical object was accompanied by observation and consisted of tweets and answers to questions in an interview and questionnaire. The qualitative and quantitative methodology was based on ethnography, with online (Fragoso et al. 2011; Braga, 2008) and offline phases. The corpus chosen for analysis was a set of more than 35,000 randomly selected tweets collected on 104 different days over a period of three years, from 2010 to 2012, using the *hashtags*[9] #passione, #insensatocoracao and #finaestampa (Globo, 2010; 2011, 2011a). The corpus was inputted into Nvivo10 software and analyzed to determine the most frequent words (based on content analysis) (Bardin, 1979), in order to identify the relevant content in the data set.

Analysis of this material and continuous observation of telenovela tweets enabled the identification of the most active twitters, who were invited to answer an online questionnaire containing open-ended questions, characterizing the first phase of qualitative research. A total of 354 twitters were

9. Symbol followed by words or phrases that identify Twitter content, which were used as a search filter.

invited to participate in this stage. Of these, 60 responded satisfactorily to the questionnaire, 16 of which were invited to participate in the second phase, including those of legal age who indicated they were interested in taking part. Seven respondents continued to the next phase and were interviewed using different formats, according to the possibilities suggested by the participants. The seven interviews (Gil, 2008) were conducted between 2012 and 2013, of which two were done in person, one via Facebook, one on Skype and three via email.

The material collected from the respondents' answers in both phases of qualitative research was analyzed to determine the motivations involved in the practice of tweeting about telenovelas and to characterize this process. The quantitative phase involved analyzing content based on word frequency. The results of tweet analysis in the quantitative phase identified three main areas of content, as shown in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1 – SCOPE OF THE CONTENT IN THE MOST FREQUENTLY TWEETED WORDS ABOUT THE THREE TELENOVELAS OF THE CORPUS

Areas of content scope	Sources	Occurrences
1 Plot (internal plot aspects)	103	16,742
1.1 Characters in the plot	103	14,135
1.2 Themes in the plot	99	1,813
1.3 Relationship with characters from other telenovelas	51	513
1.4 False profiles of characters	44	281
2 Telenovela media product (external plot aspects)	103	5,636
2.1 Elements of the telenovela media product	103	2,247
2.2 Telenovela actors	102	1,885
2.3 Relationships with other products (telenovelas – programs – channels)	77	834
2.4 Tweets to celebrities	87	670
3 Actions of twitterers/receivers (tasks linked to twitterers' routines)	103	5,498

SOURCE: data generated based on categorization performed by the author using NVIVO software

Area 1 encompasses subjects directly linked to the plot, for which 16,000 occurrences were recorded over the 103 collection days (Table 1). These referred to characters in the telenovelas in question and those from other telenovelas portrayed by the same actors, as demonstrated, respectively, in the tweets: *"Tereza Cristina also goes too far. That's why Pereirão needs to win the lottery fast. #FinaEstampa"* and *"René pulls a Said and kicks Tereza Cristina to the cuuuuurb! #finaestampa"*. In addition, content was also identified regarding themes of the plot and false character profiles.

Area 2 encompasses tweets that view the telenovela as a media product, with more than 5,000 occurrences over 103 collections days. The area included comments made about actors in the telenovelas and the product's relationship with telenovelas from the same or other channels, as shown in the following examples: *"Has Lázaro Ramos become a heartthrob by popular vote? because he doesn't look like one by Brazilian or even Ethiopian standards!! hahahahahaha #insensatocoracao"*[10] and *"Globo has trumped Record and SBT and shown them how a novela should be done! #finaestampa"*. Elements such as soundtracks, sets, continuity mistakes and tweets to celebrities were also observed.

Area 3 portrays the everyday activities of receivers, with more than 5,000 occurrences in 103 days of collection. This area contained tweets in which receivers shared information about their daily routines, such as eating dinner, resting and showering, from the moment of reception of the telenovela, as indicated in these examples: *"Bye, going to have dinner and watch #FinaEstampa it's been on for a while"*; *"#away going to have dinner & then watch #finaestampa"* and *"just had dinner and now watching #finaestampa"*.

Based on the content analyzed in the quantitative phase, it was clear that the comments reflected not only audience involvement in the plot, but also with market aspects and behind-the-scenes information related to the broadcaster, as well as the product's relevance in everyday domestic settings. After scanning the most frequent twitterers and sending these individuals an online questionnaire, the qualitative phase of the study began. Analysis of the 60 respondents indicated that 22 were under the age of 18 years, 15 were aged 18 to 25, six were 26 to 30 years old, seven were aged 31 to 40 and nice were more than 40 years old. With regard to sex, 25 of the interviewees were men and 25 were women (approximately 40 and 60%, respectively).

Among the respondents only four lived alone and most resided with a family member. Most of the adults had completed higher education or were studying at college in a variety of fields. Thus, it was found that most respondents were university educated, lived with other people, varied in age from adolescents to adults and came from different regions of the country, particularly the South and Southeast. In addition, the data show that these people have watched telenovelas for years and have the habit of commenting on this in different social settings, including at home and at work, as well as indicating a preference for Twitter over other online social media[11].

Motivations for tweeting about telenovelas, evaluated in the two qualitative phases of the study, were based on different factors, as was the diversity of the content assessed in quantitative analysis. The relationship with telenovelas, both in terms of the plot and as a media product, formed part of the results.

10. The different styles of tweets featured abbreviations, onomatopoeia and even spelling mistakes (which do not limit understanding of the text). This set of factors is also included in what is addressed here as new scriptures.

11. It was found that many of the tweets were sent from mobile devices such as iPhones and Blackberries. This corroborates the statements of more than 40 respondents regarding using smartphone devices to access the internet while out, at work, school, university or home – these data indicate materiality, which operationalizes some media convergence possibilities.

The reasons behind these motivations vary, as shown in sections of the answers given: *"the feelings aroused by the scenes"*, or *"I remember a lot about the telenovela Insensato Coração and I tweeted about it a lot, mainly because I'm a big fan and virtual friend (facebook, twitter...) of the actor Eriberto Leão"*. Both the fictional plot and the cast prompted tweets about telenovelas, among other factor.

The relationship with Twitter itself, given its possibility for expression, interaction and the pursuit of popularity, was identified as relevant in terms of *audience repositioning*. This is evident in sections of interviews that reveal a need for expression: *"[…] I need to express my ideas and share them with my followers!!!"*; for interaction: *"[...] I've always enjoyed soaps and tweeting about them while they're on is a bit like commenting about a scene with a family member that's sitting on the sofa watching it with you, that's how it feels with people I interact with and we form a fun little online clique!"*.

The search for popularity in particular was a strong motivation for some twitterers, both in terms of informing: *"I never put my iPhone down!!! We become opinion makers and in many cases dictate new rules!!!"*; *"Yes, I like keeping up to date and updating people that read my tweets about soaps"*, and the emotions aroused by visibility and popularity: *"about 12 people retweeted what I said. It made me feel really popular"*. There is also the dream of fame: *"I'm not famous, but someday I will be"*; *"I'm addicted to soaps […] my dream is to be a screenwriter or even a writer for soap operas"* and *"I'd like to feel the smell of success"*.

According to these data, Twitter practices can be characterized as new *ritualities* in the reception of telenovelas and involve the search for *sociality*. The interviewees report that these practices are part of other everyday activities, alternating between online comments and discussions with family members at home. Moreover, in addition to being what is referred to here as *online shared reception,* this practice reflects individuals who are part of an audience while simultaneously seeking to satisfy their own *possible* audience. Given the cross-media nature of respondents (as emitters and receivers), this allows *audience repositioning* to be scrutinized beyond the alternating roles of receivers and emitters, based on technological appropriation.

CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING *AUDIENCE REPOSITIONING* IN THE RECEPTION OF TELENOVELAS

When combined, data collected in the quantitative and qualitative phases reveialed trends in the relationships between receivers and communication channels in a media convergence context, though confined to the spatiotemporal reality of Twitter. The structural mediation of *technicity* was felt, traced and perceived in

different nuances within the empirical scope. The theoretical hierarchy applied here inspired analysis of the data which, in turn, allowed the concepts to be revisited and better understood.

Operationalized here in the idea of *molding forces* of media, *technicity* has allowed the emergence of new *socialities* based on the relationships established in media convergence. The empirical content analyzed is permeated by the pursuit and establishment of new relationships. This characteristic was determined to be instrinsic because, if it were not, Twitter would not be used to comment about telenovelas, for example.

This search for *sociality* is evident in different content stemming from the different motivations inferred from relationships with television and the internet. Data analysis showed that some form of relationship with telenovelas is as inherent as the search for new forms of *sociality*, since the former was a selection criterion for the corpus. Practices are established based on the relationship with the genre, regardless of its intensity. The two main views of telenovelas, established as motivations, were: opinions of the plot and view of the media product. These two outlooks were clearly visible in the corpus of tweets, comprising the two most frequent areas of content.

Despite being *sine qua non* in this study, these initial results revealed a marketing view of the telenovela genre, enabling inferences to be made regarding attempted and effective criticism of these television productions. Mediatization processes allow receivers to express their understanding of the strategies behind these media products on web spaces. In this case, motivations stemming from relationships with the telenovela are beyond simple reception and leisure. Data show that telenovelas are used as a basis for socialization and may or may not be the primary motivator behind the practice of tweeting about telenovelas under a hashtag.

A second element are the motivations identified based on the possibilities offered by Twitter. With clear appropriation of the media space and new forms of scripture (writing) resulting from the peculiarities of *molding forces, expression* itself is already a motivation to tweet. An intense need to share emotions, feelings and opinions was evident in interviews with twitterers receivers.

The decision to clearly outline opinions of telenovelas, for example, is as evident as the desire to express the emotions aroused when following the plot. The assumption that their tweets are being read, of being part of a collective practice and therefore belonging to a group are sufficient to excite and satisfy the audience motivated by publishing on Twitter.

Interaction, on the other hand, implies complex relationships with media and other twitterers. When the focus in interaction, followers are always taken

into account when tweets are compiled. Ideas regarding their opinion affect the words emitted because these messages must satisfy their expectations. The goal is to awaken the desire for interaction based on what is written, as well as interaction itself when the message is effective and arouses interest on the part of the interviewee.

Slightly more refined in terms of complexity are motivations centered on popularity. This context includes individuals focused on upgrading their personal profile and, as such, looking for interesting subjects to discuss. Like football, telenovelas are recognized as a highly popular media product in Brazil and are therefore foolproof subject matter when the goal is to obtain quantifiable feedback. Writing about telenovelas, particularly using humor, is guaranteed to secure greater visibility on Twitter.

Feelings of recognition, pride and acceptance are the *emotional* results of tweets that provide the desired notoriety. *Sociality* is reflected in the desire for broad media visibility, since in conjunction with the pursuit of popularity there is also the search for recognition as a channel of information, narration and entertainment, as well as the dream of achieving fame. It is in this context that twitterers' intention to satisfy their own possible audience is evident, while using a mass media subject of which they are receivers.

Operating within the logic previously only characteristic of mass media is a reflex of the interference of underlying mediatization processes on society, where everything has to go through the media to obtain social legitimacy. When mediatized solely through the *molding forces* present on Twitter, some twitterers act strategically targeting the *meso* level of mediatization, where institutional media practices inspire their own emission space. Follower numbers, whether spontaneous or not, prompt some twitterers to view themselves as opinion makers, narrating telenovelas to inform their followers as well as entertain them.

These data, combined with the meanings inherent to the perceptions of some twitterers regarding fame, reflect the appropriation of mass media logic in their use of social media spaces. The complexity of the relationships involved in the reality analyzed here involves simultaneous criticism of shortcomings in telenovela plots, when these do not reflect the reality of receivers, and the dream of achieving fame by playing the role of a villain in a plot, for example. These empirical data prompted us to revisit the idea of strategic and tactical action on the part of twitterer receivers, in different dimensions and intentions, present in the possibilities provides by the *molding forces* of Twitter, for example.

Thus, the action of tweeting about telenovelas (Fig. 1, upper section of the triangle) is driven by different motivations mediated by *sociality* and introduces a new practice that gives rise to new *ritualities*, as per the figure below.
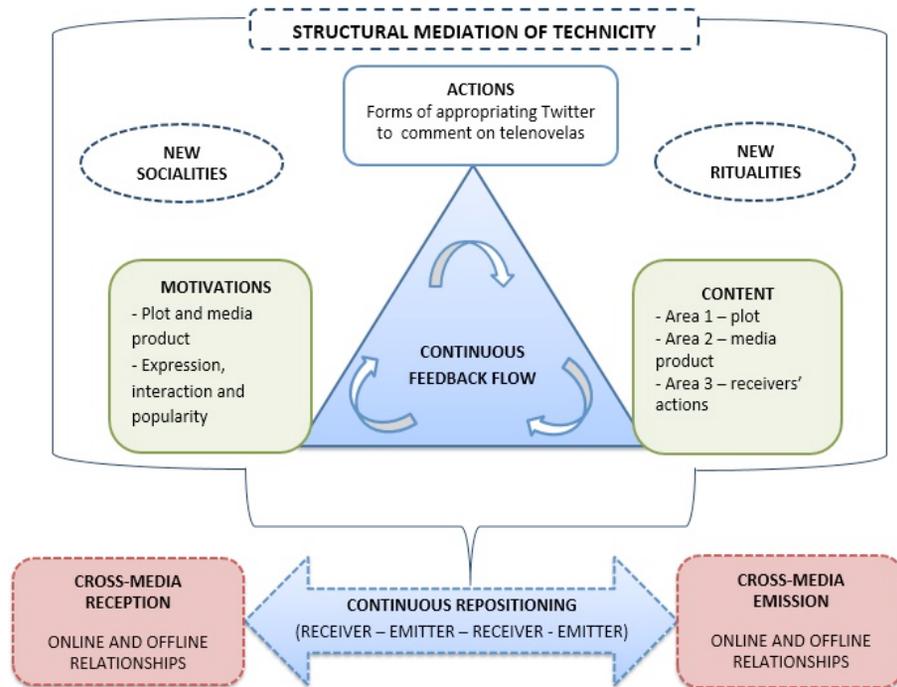
FIGURE 1 – Theoretical and empirical summary of the results
Source: Compiled by the author

In other words, commenting about what they are seeing promotes receivers to the status of emitters. This practice, already a habit for most receivers, is introduced into previous television-based *rituality*. The simultaneous or alternating roles of reception and emission described as *audience repositioning* reconfigure *ritualities*. When being used to comment about telenovelas, Twitter becomes a space for sharing impressions regarding reception. The content resulting from this process is the material product of the media pathways used by audiences. When read, it broadens perception on the subject under discussion, providing feedback on *repositioning* from receiver to emitter and producing new perspectives (as per the flow illustrated in the center of the triangle, Fig. 1).

This online exchange of ideas occurs in parallel to offline sharing. For example, when a twitterer receiver is at home and comments to family members about tweets read, the Twitter space impacts the space where the telenovela is being watched, and vice-versa. This is also understood as *repositioning* because at this moment the twitterer is not only a receiver of the telenovela, but also of tweets from other viewers and can also become an interacting agent.

This study analyzes the different paths of Orozco Gómez's (2011) concept of *audience repositioning*. Data show that the movement of *repositioning* involves not only being a receiver or emitter, but the different flows of reception and emission. Based on empirical data, the inherently cross-media character of audiences is evident both in traditional media and online social media, as well as mass media. Specifically, receivers can find out about the plot by watching the telenovela on television, via the Globo website or on Youtube. They can also read magazines, blogs and other specialized websites on the subject, tweets from other twitterers receivers or hear about developments from family members or friends. Thus, the reception process contains a cross-media element that involves traditional and non-traditional media spaces, online and offline spaces and interpersonal relationships.

The same is true in the emission process. Blogs, forums and other online social media in addition to Twitter can be accessed to publish comments. In addition, twitterers can emit what they receive on Twitter to offline relationship environments. As such, emission can also be cross-media, as shown in the lower section of the figure. *Audience repositioning* is continuous and involves feedback, with different possibilities of receiving and emitting content as well as alternating emission and reception roles. The synergistic results of each cycle reflect the beginning of a new cycle (Fig. 1).

In addition, the emergence of this new complex and contemporary *rituality* is surrounded by a variety of everyday tasks performed by the twitterer receiver. While moving from one media space to another to exercise different receiving and emitting roles, they also simultaneously perform domestic tasks, alternating between bathing, having dinner and caring for family members and the media flow previously described. These data also correspond with the scope of content in area 3, which includes everyday tasks revealed by twitterers at the moment of reception of telenovelas.

The results obtained here are limited to a specific and delimited time and space. Studying communication media and their technology innovations always involves reflection about the different elements surrounding them. However, because they are a sample of relationships in a portion of social reality, in which the results obtained in the quantitative and qualitative phases are complementary and convergent, they can serve as a basis for understanding the trends of technology appropriation by television receivers who comment on what they see, beyond Twitter and specific telenovelas. M

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